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in Mumbai“

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Zusammenfassung

Mit der Einführung der UN-Nachhaltigkeitsziele zum 01. Januar 2016 haben sich die Mitgliederstaaten das Ziel gesetzt unter Berücksichtigung gemeinsamer Nachhaltigkeitsprinzipien eine gerechte, umweltfreundliche und wohlhabende Welt zu schaffen, die eine gemeinsame Zukunft gewährleisten kann. Zur Umsetzung der Nachhaltigkeitsziele sind die Mitgliederstaaten auf die Beihilfe unterschiedlicher Akteure angewiesen. Teilnehmende Regierungsformen sind deshalb eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die Gewährleistung nachhaltiger Entwicklung. Allerdings hat die zunehmende Dezentralisierung insbesondere in Entwicklungs- und Schwellenländern oftmals dazu geführt, dass sich ungleiche Machtverhältnisse manifestiert haben. Politische Teilnahme und der Zugang zu Ressourcen bleiben der Oberschicht vorbehalten. Allerdings ist soziale Gerechtigkeit ein wesentlicher Bestandteil nachhaltiger Entwicklung. Die Umsetzung der Nachhaltigkeitsziele kann demnach nur dann erfolgen wenn alle gesellschaftlichen Gruppen die gleichen staatsbürgerlichen Rechte besitzen und sie auch einfordern können. Progressive Soziale Bewegungen setzen sich für die Zivilrechte aller Bevölkerungsgruppen ein, wurden bislang allerdings im entwicklungspolitischen Kontext weitgehend vernachlässigt.

Diese Arbeit wurde erstellt um die Bemühung sozialer Bewegung aus einem neuen Blickwinkel zu betrachten und untersucht welchen Beitrag soziale Bewegung zur Erreichung der Nachhaltigkeitsziele leisten können. Anhand einer Fallstudie zeigt diese Arbeit, wie die Regierung in Mumbai die lokale Slumbevölkerung von der städtischen Wasserversorgung ausschließt und soziale Bewegungen eingreifen um den bestehenden Regierungskurs zu verändern. Die Arbeit basiert auf einer Feldstudie, bei der mittels semi-strukturierten Interviews und Auto-Fotografie Daten ermittelt wurden anhand derer ein Regierungsprofil entworfen werden konnte, das zeigt wie nachhaltigkeitskonform die Regierung agiert und wie sich die Bemühungen der Bewegungen auf dieses Profil auswirken.

Diese Arbeit kommt zum Ergebnis, dass die untersuchten Bewegungen positiv zur Erreichung der Nachhaltigkeitsziele beitragen, indem sie auf verschiedene Weisen den ungleichen Machtverhältnissen entgegensteuern und die Kapazitäten der Regierung erhöhen nachhaltigere Maßnahmen zu entwickeln und umzusetzen.

Abstract

With the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals on 1st of January 2016, the UN-member states have committed to create a more fair, environmental-friendly and wealthy world under consideration of common sustainable development principles. For the implementation of the goals the nations need to collaborate with different actors at all levels. Participatory governance is therefore an essential condition to ensure sustainable development. However, the increasing decentralization in developing countries has encouraged the establishment of unequal power relations. Political participation and access to resource are reserved for the elites of the society. This is problematic because social equity is an essential component of sustainable development. The implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals can therefore only be achieved if all segments of the society have equal rights of citizenship and are ensured these rights. Progressive social movements fight for the civil rights for all segments of the society but have rarely been addresses in development literature.

This work has been conducted to assess the work of social movements from a new angle and examines how social movements can contribute to the accomplishment of the Sustainable Development Goals. On basis of a case study this thesis shows how the government in Mumbai has excluded the local slum population from the municipal water supply and how social movements have intervened to change the existing development path of the government. This work is based on a field study which gathered data from semi-structured Interviews and auto-photography. This data served to develop a profile of the current course of the government and shows how compatible the development path is with the criteria of sustainable development. This profile was used to analyse how the work of social movements influence the status quo.

This thesis concluded that the examined social movements contributed positively to the accomplishment of the Sustainable Development goals by changing the existing power relations and thereby increase the capacities of the government to develop and implement sustainable measures.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BMC	Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation
BPT	Bombay Port Trust
CBO	Community-based Organization
CRZ	Coastal Regulation Zone
HD	Hydraulic Department
IHRC	Indian Human Rights Commission
Lpd	Litre per capita per day
MCGM	Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai
NDZ	No Development Zone
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NHSS	Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti
NSDS	National Sustainable Development Strategy
PHS	Pani Haq Samiti
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
Rs.	Indian Rupees
SD	Sustainable Development
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SRA	Slum Rehabilitation Authority
SRS	Slum Rehabilitation Schemes
Sq. ft.	Square feet
Sq. m.	Square metres
PMOs	Participatory movement organizations
PSMs	Progressive Social Movements
RTI	Right to Information Act
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WHO	World Health Organization

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1 INTRODUCTION TO THIS STUDY

Climate Change, Population Growth and Globalization are three major global trends that make development efforts increasingly challenging. In response to these trends, the concept of Sustainable Development (SD) has emerged as an idea that encourages economic growth while protecting the planet and creating an inclusive environment for present and future generations. (WCED, 1987) But in a world where cultures, ideologies, geographies and societal structures vary so immensely, interpretations of the concept vary. This implies great challenges for aligning development efforts across the world. The Sustainable Development Goals were developed to coordinate the countries' individual initiatives and secure the path for a common future. (UN Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012) They provide a road map for nations to work towards the same goals while acknowledging that different local realities require different priorities and means of implementation. (United Nations, 2017b) One of the goals aims for universal access to clean and affordable water. This goal is particularly important because it is directly connected to the survival of humanity and therefore considered a basic need and declared a human right. Still more than 600 Million people around the world have no access to clean drinking water. (United Nations, 2016, p. 22)

The implementation of the goal is particularly difficult in Megacities of the Global South. These urban spaces are rapidly expanding in population size and account for much of the nations' national capital. (UN-Habitat, 2016) With an increasing number of people and economic activities being concentrated in such cities, development measures become progressively interconnected and often lead to unanticipated outcomes. No single institution can be expected to perform such a complex task to the satisfaction of all of its citizens. (UN-Habitat, 2016) Thus, in order to develop sustainably governments have to work in collaboration with stakeholder at all levels. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015) But the decentralization of power has also provided opportunities for the established elites to reserve the rights of citizenship for themselves resulting in discriminative environments and widening socio-economic disparities. (Zimmermann, 2016) In such environments, only non-governmental actors can challenge the established structures and achieve equitable rights for all segments of the society. However, traditional non-governmental organizations have been largely criticised for restricting their efforts to micro-level projects instead of challenging larger structures. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005) The question then is: what kind of actors have the potential to positively influence the development in such environments in the long-run?

Social Movements have been largely neglected in development literature because they tend to be classified as opponents of development. (Routledge, 2000) This is only partially true because many

forms of movement organizations demand the extension of rights to all segments of the society and hereby explicitly trigger changes in established structures. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005) In this context, social movements do not undermine development efforts but oppose measures that are unjust and favouring the privileged. The implementation of the sustainable development goals therefore provides an opportunity to relocate the potential of progressive social movements (PSMs) as agents of sustainable development in discriminative and highly complex urban spaces of development.

1.1 PROBLEM DEFINITION AND OBJECTIVES

Mumbai has a history of changing political agendas that have led to the categorical exclusion of numerous slum residents from municipal water supply. (Björkman, 2015) Water connections are granted to dwellers under two conditions: first, the tenant has settled on land that is owned by the state government and second, the tenant can provide a residence proof from the year 2000 or earlier. (Björkman, 2015) These policies have been adopted to reduce the rapid in-migration and to prevent people from settling in slums. (Sheikh, R., 2016, par. 4) The problem is however not that people lack employment but that Mumbai's high-priced real estate market does not provide any affordable housing alternatives. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013) Therefore more than 50 percent of Mumbai's population now lives in slums, many of them in inhumane conditions without water and electricity. (McFarlane, 2008)

Without legal access to water services several illegal and informal practices have developed to gain access to water. People illegally extend or break municipal pipelines, bore wells and buy drinking water from private networks, known as "water mafias". (Anand, 2015) But access to water remains costly, time-consuming and the water is often contaminated. (ibid.) In December 2014 the Mumbai High Court ordered the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), the executive body of the government, to provide water services to all citizens regardless of their housing structure and legal status. (Pani Haq Samiti & Ors. Vs. Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation & Ors., 2014) Although the court order has not yet been executed by the municipal corporation, with the elections in February 2017 the issue has been put back on the table. (Yadav, 2016) However, water services have been promised in electoral campaigns before and the expected changes failed to occur. People are striking new paths. They raise their voices collectively and claim their right to water.

Access to water is not the first cause that unites people. The so-called *morchas*¹ have a long history in Mumbai and are often associated with violence and hunger strikes. (Brook, 2013) One of the most popular occasions was protesting the closure of Mumbai's textile mills, and the more recent

¹ Hindi Term for protest marches.

mass demolition of slum dwellings in 2004, where many people lost their homes. (Brook, 2013) (Anand & Rademacher, 2013) Several networks that were formed occasionally have evolved into more progressive movements over time and developed a long-term commitment which is similar to that of traditional Non-Governmental-Organizations (NGOs).

One of the first progressive movements that emerged in Mumbai is Nivara Hakk. It developed in the early 1980ies to fight for the housing rights of slums dwellers. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013) Recently, another such progressive movement has been formed directly in response to the situation on water in Mumbai, known as Pani Haq Samiti². Both movements share some characteristics with traditional NGOs but also differ in their approaches from each other. The differences and commonalities compared to traditional NGOs and compared to each other may reveal some insight on the capacities of progressive social movements to bring about sustainable change. In addition, it offers an opportunity to locate and contextualize their potential in the international sustainable development agenda.

This master thesis investigates the role social movements can play to accomplish the Sustainable Development Goals. It intends to relocate the potential of social movements as agents of sustainable development in discriminative and highly complex urban spaces of development by analysing how Nivara Hakk and Pani Haq Samiti contribute to the accomplishment of universal access to water (SDG 6) in Mumbai and how their work influences other SDGs. Therefore this thesis will answer the following research question and sub-questions:

What role can local PSMs play in achieving the SDGs?

- How do PHS and Nivara Hakk work to achieve universal access to water for all (SDG 6)?
- How do PHS' and Nivara Hakk's actions influence the sustainable development path of the government?
- How sustainable are the development approaches of PHS and Nivara Hakk in terms of (a) integrity and (b) inter- and intra-generational fairness.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THIS WORK AND COURSE OF INVESTIGATION

To answer the research question this work is divided into eight chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two stresses the significance of cities as places of development and water as a central issue in development. It shows how increasing complexity has resulted in a call for sustainable development strategies. Chapter three then provides a theoretical framework to situate the research question in

²Hindi to English translation: Right to water campaign.

contemporary sustainable development literature and links it to theories of social movements. The theory is complemented by empirical field work. The structure and methods of the field research are laid out in chapter four. Chapter five drafts a detailed picture of the current water situation in Mumbai and analyses the government's sustainable development agenda. Chapter six then changes the perspective and provides a detailed portrait of the water situation in two settlements that are excluded from municipal water services. They were chosen as exemplary case studies and offer complementary insights that help to understand the different dimensions of the problem and reveal to what extent other SDGs are related to the water goal. Chapter seven then provides a detailed profiling of the two movements PHS and Nivara Hakk, and analyses the outcomes of their work under consideration of the theoretical framework developed in chapter three. Chapter eight concludes with a summary of the findings, provides an answer to the research question and proposes suggestions for further research.

2 THE WAY FORWARD IN DEVELOPMENT

The Age of Globalization has brought the world closer together. Products, services and technologies are traded across the world, and internet and telecommunication allow instant access to information, knowledge, social networking and more. But an increasingly connected world is also a more complex world with new emerging global challenges that cannot be considered in isolation. Climate Change is one of the global challenges the world is facing which doesn't know no borders. On the other hand, borders also become increasingly important. The desire to preserve identities in a globalizing environment gives rise to social conflicts about religion, migration, civil rights and other social aspects all of which simultaneously affect human action.

This chapter focuses on two issues that shape the development agenda of the present and future. It first highlights the increasing significance of cities as spaces of development (section 1.) and then directs attention to the problems of water management (section 2.) Both sections serve to emphasize that the world is moving beyond borders that cannot be addressed by linear development models but require more holistic approaches.

2.1 CITIES AS SPACES OF DEVELOPMENT

Urbanization is one of the major global trends that places great challenges on current and future development efforts. Today, more than half of the world's 7.3 billion people are already living in urban areas. By 2050 the number is expected to rise up to 66 percent. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2016) This trend shows that cities are the favoured living spaces of the future. They provide social and economic opportunities that rural areas cannot compete with. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 114) This is especially true for urban areas in developing economies where cities often provide an escape route out of rural poverty. It also explains why the number of megacities around the world are increasingly located in developing countries. Megacities are defined as urban agglomerates with a population size of ten million or more. 16 of these cities are located in Asia alone. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2014, p. 78+88) Questions of development are therefore being increasingly decided in cities.

Cities are unique in many ways. They account for large amounts of financial, human and social capital and their exchange often results in innovation and change. Conclusively, cities are associated with progress and modernity, upward mobility, access to resources and capital and freedom. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, UN-Habitat, 2016; UN DESA Populations Division, 2014) Especially megacities in Asia and Africa are vital spaces for the nation's development. They often adapt bottom-up initiatives, social innovations and participate in the sharing economy. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 141)

Urban areas present great opportunities for development but they also give rise to challenges of governance, social equity and environmental protection. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2014, p. 2) If governments are able to take advantage of the economies of scale to provide basic services, such as transport, electricity and water supply, the population can be served at much lower cost per capita compared to rural areas. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 119) But urban growth often occurs unplanned and at the expense of the environment resulting in increased pollution, environmental degradation, and arbitrary production and consumption patterns. In reality, necessary infrastructure is often not sufficiently provided and the welfares of the city are not equally distributed among the citizens. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2014, pp. 1-2)

Around 881 million people of the urban population in developing regions live in impermanent housing structures in overcrowded informal settlements without access to improved water and sanitation and under risk of eviction. (UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 57) International literature often refers to these settlements by using the term slum. (ibid., p. 13) For the purpose of simplification the term slum is used as a synonym of informal settlements in this theses. Dwellers in such informal settlements are often greatly exposed to increased health risks and live in locations that make them highly vulnerable to environmental hazards. Addressing inequality is therefore a key problem in urban development and improving living conditions is critical to guarantee that the urban poor will be recognized as citizens with an equal right to a life of dignity. (UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 57; UN DESA Populations Division, 2014, p. 3)

Governments must therefore act and implement forward-thinking policies that consider urban growth rates and demographic challenges while at the same time creating an inclusive urban landscape that encourages positive transformation and draws on the geographic opportunities of the urban landscape. Some of the major tasks lie in addressing the short-comings in infrastructure, establishing equal access to the city's opportunities, reducing the number of people living in informal settlements and preserving environmental assets. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2014, p. 3) Governments must find a way to harmonize the different forms of capital concentrated in cities. This can only be achieved if all stakeholders cooperate and contribute to the transformation process and encourage an inclusive environment. (UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 57) Stakeholders must therefore be given the chance to become the city's key resources. (UN DESA, 2012, p. iv)

Traditional development approaches have paid little attention to the relatedness of development issues and come up against limiting factors in the increasingly complex landscape of cities. In contrast, the concept of Sustainable Development recognizes that development measures are mutually dependent and seizes the idea of social inclusion to harmonize development efforts.

(ibid., 2012, p. iii) Therefore, the concept has been promoted as an adequate way forward to address development challenges in an increasingly complex world.

2.2 WATER AS CONDITION FOR DEVELOPMENT

Water is without doubt the most valuable of the planet's resources. It is essential for the survival of all species, plays a major role in the ecosystem and facilitates industrial production. Therefore it is considered not only a goal but also a requirement for development in other areas. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015; Dahan, 2017) Consequently, access to water lies at the very foundation of all development efforts. In 2012 the United Nations (UN) recognized its significance by declaring access to water and sanitation a human right and appealing to the governments to ensure these rights are provided to all segments of the societies. (UN General Assembly, 2010) Although considerable progress has been made over the past few decades more than 600 million people in the world remain without access to clean water. (United Nations, 2016, p. 22)

Global challenges emerging from population growth, climate change and urbanization now put additional stress on the world's water resources and make water management even more difficult. Presently more than two billion people across the world are affected by water stress and under consideration of the rising water demand, the numbers are likely to increase substantially. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 116) Consequently, the provision of water services are among the most urgent development issues that need to be addressed.

To meet increasing water demands more and more water sources have been tapped into. In 2010 ten countries in the world withdrew more than 100 percent of their renewable freshwater resources. (United Nations, 2016) Resource exploitation has therefore only intensified water stress and revealed the need for alternative development strategies. Environmental scientist Peter H. Gleick was one of the first who argued that management should be increasingly concerned with the demand-side. He proposed to focus on the conservation and reclamation of water, and to concentrate on more efficient ways to manage people's needs. (Gleick, Peter H., 2000)

This directs attention to the megacities of the Global South where water demands are particularly high but which often lack adequate infrastructure. An improvement of the water supply system could save significant amounts of water and reduce contamination that often results from untreated drainage, pollutants from flooding and dirty surface runoffs. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 116) But tapping into new water sources is often the easier solution because in most cases the costs for repairing, expanding and maintaining the supply system exceed the public budget. (Chattopadhyay & Guha, 2011) However, for many people living in cities access to water is not only a question of

availability. People living in informal settlement at the city's edges are often excluded from water services due to the lack of political willingness to provide water to the poor segment. (Gorsboth, 2015, p. 5) They are then forced to purchase water bottles from private companies at higher prices. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 116) Paradoxically, this political discrimination often increases government expenditures in other sectors. (Schuster-Wallace & Sandford, 2015, p. 7) Water stress can therefore be both natural and human-made. (Engel, et al., 2011, p. 11)

Consequently, access to water is not only a question of addressing environmental challenges, but also social and economic ones. Cities are spaces where many different threats such as water scarcity, contamination, consumption patterns and discrimination coincide. (ibid., p. 5) Development efforts therefore require a more holistic approach to address these different challenges. The concept of sustainable development has already been introduced as holistic approach that recognizes the relatedness of development challenges and aims for some form of social justice. It is therefore considered a suitable framework forward. The following chapter introduces the concept in more detail.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To answer the research question this thesis seeks to link the implementation of the sustainable development goals with social movements as actors of change. This chapter provides a theoretical framework to contextualize the research subject. Chapter 3.1 provides an introduction to the concept of sustainable development and discusses how ideological differences shape the understanding and the implementation of sustainable development. Chapter 3.2 traces the development of a common international sustainable development agenda and critically examines the SDGs as global goals for the implementation of sustainable development. It then suggests social movements as actors of sustainable change which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.3. The organizational structures and the strategies and outcomes are at the centre of the section because they provide a framework to analyse the movements and their activities presented in chapter six. Chapter 3.4 concludes with a brief summary of the theory and leads to the empirical research.

3.1 THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Chapter two has announced Sustainable Development as a holistic approach that recognizes the relatedness of development issues and seizes the concept of social justice. This section delineates the core elements of the concept. It first defines sustainable development (section 1.1) and then concludes with the integral dimensions of the concept (section 1.2).

3.1.1 Towards a Definition of Sustainable Development

Sustainable Development comprises the two terms “sustainability” and “development”. It is often argued that defining sustainable development is problematic because “sustainability” and “development” are both concepts for which no universal definition has been formulated. Depending on the source, development may be understood in terms of economic growth, change, improvement, or progress that is intended and regulated.³ (Oxford University Press, 2017) (Cambridge University Press, 2014) The term sustainability has its origins in the forest management where it was used in the early 18th century as a term to describe the preservation of the natural capital stock. The idea was to protect the environment by planting more trees than felling trees. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 20) Sustainable development therefore combines the idea of the preservation and conservation of natural assets with the idea of progress, growth and change. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 3) SD can therefore be

³How development is understood is closely connected to different development theories and models that have emerged over the course of years. Most recently development has been dominated by the ideas of development from below and postmodernist approaches that oppose development in its current forms and promote restructuring from below. A good overview about development theories and the different definitions provides (Todaro & Smith, 2015).

outlined as a concept where development (growth, change, progress) occurs in a sustainable manner (while preserving and conserving natural assets). As the concept emerged out of concerns for the environment it was first interpreted solely in ecologic terms. This understanding replenished when the term was seized on the political level.

The first significant definition of sustainable development was published in the Brundtland Report⁴ in 1987. The report assesses the relationship between the environment and development. It proved that human-induced environmental change has large consequences for the life on the planet and proposed a more long-term oriented concept of development that would take future living conditions into account. It argues that the economy, the environment and societies are inextricably linked with each other and that development must occur in a way that access to basic needs would be secured for present and future generations. It therefore defines SD as “development that meets the needs of the present without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. (WCED, 1987)

The most prominent idea in this definition is the concept of social justice it implies and extends to future generations. This is differentiated in literature by referring to intra- and intergenerational equity. Intra-generational equity refers to fairness between the people of an existing generation. This includes the equitable access and distribution of resources on each level. Intergenerational equity is concerned with the right of future generations to an equal level of welfare. (Beder, 2000) This idea is problematic because welfare is a social construct that is interpreted differently by present and future generations. For instance, a mobile phone that may be considered valuable today will be of less value in the future when it will be replaced by a newer version. (Stern, 2007)⁵ The Brundtland definition carefully goes around the problem by focussing on the ability of future generations to maintain at least the same level of welfare, even though welfare itself may refer to very different things. Human ability therefore becomes a decisive parameter of sustainable development in this definition. But scholars have also criticised this approach because measures taken today then depend on the faith the present generation puts into the future generation’s abilities to manage their needs. (Pearce & Turner, 1990) Under the assumption that the future generation has a lower ability to manage their needs than the present one, measures taken today must focus on restoring social, economic and environmental assets.

⁴The report was originally published under the name “Our Common Future” but it is often referred to as “Brundtland report” named after the chairman of the commission Gro Harlem Brundtlandt.

⁵ The Problem was first seized by Nicholas Stern’s ground breaking report on the economics of climate change. By the attempt to assign value to future forms of capital he noted that value has a tendency to decrease over time but that the value one assigns today to an asset, will have in future impacts on the value of the asset in future. The problem was discussed as “discounting the future”. (Stern, 2007)

If future generations are considered of equal ability to manage their needs it would suffice to introduce measures to maintain the capital stock. But most nations today argue that humans will continue making progress in science and technology and will have a higher ability in future to manage their needs. This understanding would even allow for a reduction of the capital stock and may at worse be used to justify the exploitation of resources (see chapter 3.1.2.1). (ibid.)

Another important aspect of the definition is that it draws on the idea of needs. The WCED specifies in its report that it refers to basic needs and states that priority should be given to “the essential needs of the world’s poor”. (WCED, 1987) The life-sustaining needs are food (including water), shelter, health and protection. (Todaro & Smith, 2015)

Thus, the concept of sustainable development provides much room for interpretation and has led to a variety of definitions of which most at least to some degree include the principles of social justice between and across generations. (Zimmermann, 2016) Sustainable Development also implies that the current forms of development and social organization impose limitations to meet present and future needs. It can therefore be broadly understood as an idea, concept, strategy and process which is concerned with the long-term distribution of capital in a fair and equitable manner within and across generations. (Strange & Bayley, 2008) The goal of SD is to ensure the survival of the system and to avoid irreversible damage in all three dimensions. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 49) This final state is then understood as sustainability. (Zimmermann, 2016)

3.1.2 The Dimensions of Sustainable Development

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report, Sustainable Development is understood as a holistic approach that aims to harmonize the people, the planet and the economy. (WCED, 1987) Therefore SD has been interpreted in terms of a social, environmental and economic dimension. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 46) The three dimensions are interconnected and therefore it is crucial to harmonize development efforts. (United Nations, 2017a) Actions that are limited to only one or two dimensions lead to unsustainable outcomes.⁶ (Strange & Bayley, 2008, p. 25)

Although the three dimensions have been widely accepted among scholars, several models have emerged that assign different priorities to the individual dimensions. They can be categorized as one-pillar models or multiple-pillar models. The one-pillar model assigns priority to the ecologic dimension arguing that the environment lies at the foundation of human existence and must therefore be given priority over the two other dimensions. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 17) Multiple-pillar models

⁶These three essential dimensions of SD were first proposed by René Passet in 1979. Several scholars have adopted, discussed and expanded this concept. Some of them have included a fourth dimension which refers to culture, institutions, or governance. The UN confine themselves to the three dimensions of SD. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001) (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015)

claim that there must be equal prioritization between the different dimensions. The most popular of them is the three-pillar model. It assigns equal priority to economic, social and ecologic issues arguing that human existence is not only threatened by environmental risks but also by economic and social ones. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, pp. 48-49)

It has been frequently discussed in literature whether the concept of SD should be extended by a fourth dimension that acknowledges the importance of cultural aspects, including local identities, and capacity-building. The cultural dimension has been promoted by some scholars, whereas others handle cultural aspects as a part of the social dimension. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 15) Another suggestion has been made to integrate an institutional dimension which refers to the governance of the social, economic, and environmental aspects.

As the implementation of sustainable development is at the centre of this thesis, the institutional dimension will be assessed in more detail along with the social, economic and ecologic dimension in the following units.

3.1.2.1 The Environmental Dimension

Humans are part of the ecosystem and therefore rely on the functioning of the natural cycle for survival. They also depend on natural resources for their living. The vast exploitation of resources and the extent of industrial activities are now harming the environment to a level that humans are substantially changing the ecosystem. (WCED, 1987) The ecologic dimension is therefore concerned with the nature's capacity to recover from environmental damages on the one hand and the level to which humans need to adapt activities to preserve the functions of the ecosystem on the other. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 52)

Chapter 3.1.1 has pointed out that the measures taken today primarily depend on the capabilities assigned to the human race. Ideological differences therefore affect the views on how and how much should be done to protect the environment. Pearce and Turner differentiate between four green positions: cornucopian, technocentrism, communalist ecocentrism and extreme ecocentrism. (Pearce & Turner, 1990)

Cornucopias supports a free market economy and have a strong faith in the power of technology to overcome any environmental limits. They believe that humanity will come up with technological solutions to the present problems and will use them to protect the needs of the future generations. Accommodating technocentrists believe that a free market economy has beneficial effects on the environment but only if individuals think and act green. It therefore acknowledges that human capacities may vary and be limited to achieve sustainable change. Subsequently, they believe that critical natural capital must be conserved and that it is possible to substitute natural capital with other

forms of capital. Communalist ecocentrists support the idea of a deep green economy. They demand zero economic growth and zero population growth to establish a steady-state economy. Extreme ecocentrists support a deep ecology. They demand a radical reduction of economic activity, a negative economic growth rate and a reduction in population size. All four ideologies may coexist within one individual depending on context and situation. (ibid., 1990)

These ideological differences hinder a common understanding of sustainability and have instead encouraged the formation of two broader interpretations namely weak sustainability and strong sustainability. (Daly, 1996) Strong sustainability demands a life within the planetary boundaries. It is argued that natural capital must be conserved because other forms of capital cannot fully substitute ecosystem services. This means that renewable resources, such as water should only be exploited at a rate equal to the creation of substitutes and that harvesting rates should not exceed regeneration rates. Non-renewable resources should not be exploited at all. Believers of weak sustainability have a higher confidence in human capabilities and argue that humanity will replace the natural capital it uses and depends on with human-made capital. This philosophy allows for the depletion of natural resources under the condition that natural capital transforms into another form of capital of equal value so that the overall capital stock is kept constant. (Beder, 2000; Daly, 1996; Pearce & Turner, 1990)

In reality, theorists agree that the latter has formed the conceptual basis for sustainable development. (Zimmermann, 2016) But recently a more moderate idea of sustainability has been established as a compromise between these two radical positions. It is often referred to as sensible sustainability or intermediate sustainability. The concept suggests that the exploitation of natural capital should be linked to its significance for human survival. Accordingly, natural capital that is essential to human survival must be preserved and non-essential natural capital can be substituted with other forms of capital. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 62) But considering that ecosystem services are still rarely understood, it is questionable as to what kind of natural capital can be considered essential to human survival.

3.1.2.2 The Economic Dimension

With the rising concern for the environment and the emergence of new ecologic principles, economic development can be considered both, a driver and a limiting factor of development. The economic dimension of sustainable development is therefore concerned with redefining the terms through which economic growth is achieved. Therefore scholars and business people have started to rethink how to economize within the planetary boundaries. (Zimmermann, 2016)

When following the Brundtland definition from an economic point of view, then consumption must be limited to an extent that would not inhibit future opportunities of consumption. Therefore it has been argued that societies should live and develop by drawing on the revenue of capital instead of exhausting the existing capital stock. Several new economic disciplines have emerged to integrate environmental factors in economics. (ibid., p. 9) They have been largely concerned with questioning prevailing economic concepts and the development of new economic models that would encourage the compliance with ecologic principles while at the same time ensuring economic growth and prosperity. To integrate environmental factors into the economic system several scholars have attempted to classify ecosystem functions and services, and to assign values to these categories. (Pearce & Turner, 1990) However it has been largely criticised that the knowledge about the functions for the ecosystem are limited and many would remain uncouncted. (Constanza, et al., 1997)

However, some ideas have already translated into reality. For instance, people are increasingly sharing modes of transports, nations increasingly rely on renewable energies and countries trade CO₂ emission certificates to maintain a constant level of pollution. One of the major insights generated from these concepts is that the economy and the ecology do not oppose each other but that integrated management can also favour both dimensions. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 10) Many businesses have understood how sustainable concepts can save them money and offer market advantages.

3.1.2.3 The Social Dimension

Economic growth under consideration of environmental limits is a necessary condition for societal development but not a sufficient one. Globalization has increased disparities and created many social conflicts related to migration, religion, identities and more. Therefore social aspects of the society play an increasing role in development. But the social dimension has often been put behind ecologic and economic factors because it is easier to address consumption and economic growth than to address more abstract dimensions. (Zimmermann., 2016)

Originally the social dimension was understood in terms of disparities between the Global North and the Global South but the demand for social equality has been ultimately extended to all levels of governance within and across nations. (ibid., 2016) The social dimension therefore deals with the question of equity and fairness between and across generations. There are four levels on which social equity is required. The first level refers to the integration and acceptance of cultural differences. The second level suggests an enduring form of peace and security. The third level refers to the equal distribution of resources and social justice between the rich and the poor. Here, a strong focus has been laid on the distribution of those goods that are basic for survival and those that secure a human

life in dignity, often referred to as basic needs and human rights. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, pp. 67-68)
 The forth level demands access to equal participation in the society. (Zimmermann, 2016)

To achieve social sustainability requires resolution of tensions between individuals and their societies at all levels. A society cannot be considered socially sustainable if individualized to a degree that would lead to disintegration of the individual or if in contrast integration exists to a degree that imposes pressure for conformity and leaves no personal space for individuality. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 69)

3.1.2.4 The Institutional Dimension

The institutional dimension is concerned with the limitations of the traditional representative democratic system to adequately respond to the multidimensional problems and challenges in a globalizing world. It has been argued that democracy may be better exercised through more collaborative forms of governance involving the direct participation of citizen. (Evans, et al., 2004, p. 11) Renn et al. provides two arguments in favour of direct democratic participation. From an ethical perspective it is advisable that as many people as possible participate in decision-making processes. From a functional perspective it can be argued that the representative system can only provide insufficient solutions. (Renn, et al., 1995) Good governance has become a popular term in SD literature that responds to the demands for a more consensual direct democratic system. The concept assumes that a citizen possesses information and knowledge political actors can draw upon. It is used to describe processes where formal institutions enter into a dialogue with other actors. (Evans, et al., 2004, p. 11) Good governance can be state-centric so that existing power relations continue but are complemented by participative mechanisms, or it can challenge and change existing power relations to an extent that the social contract between citizens and their governments are reassessed. (ibid., p. 13)

The level of participation largely depends on the political openness of the society. Not every form of political organization welcomes an increased influence of its citizens in the political system. Sometimes participation is restricted to those which reinforce existing structures of power. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005) In these cases it is uncertain whether, how and to what extent participatory mechanisms can be built-into the system and what actors can favour the inclusion of the excluded. At best political actors employ creative inventions to change existing structures of power relations and transfer of information. (Evans, et al., 2004, p. 13)

3.2 PATHWAY TO A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

The previous section provided an introduction to the concept of social movements. It highlighted the need for integrated approaches that address all three dimensions of sustainable development, which requires countries to align their efforts at all levels. This section therefore provides an overview of the development of a global sustainable development agenda that has the integration of national development efforts at its centre. First, it traces the development of a global SD agenda (section 2.1) and then critically examines the SDGs as global compromises to align national development efforts (see chapter 3.2.2 and chapter 3.2.3). Section 2.3 points out that the implementation of the goals can only occur in collaboration with different stakeholders. Section 2.4 is therefore dedicated to the prospects of participatory mechanisms.

3.2.1 Towards a Common Agenda of Sustainable Development

For over two centuries, economic growth was considered the main parameter for development. This ideology which was incepted in and carried on from the era of industrial revolution only began to be challenged in the early 1960s when awareness increased on how human activity relates to the environment. (Todaro & Smith, 2015; Hulme, 2009) The prevailing view was challenged by two broader issues that dominated the public discourse. On the one hand, human induced environmental change was found to affect the ecosystem, including animals and humans. On the other hand, global challenges such as population growth, globalization and urbanization directed attention to the unhindered exploitation of natural resources.

In 1972 the Club of Rome⁷ published the “The Limits to Growth” and triggered an international debate on how societies could develop and grow under consideration of the planet’s limited amount of resources. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 21) Several scholars then dedicated their research to the question whether development and growth are inseparable or whether they could and should be decoupled. Other scholars were more concerned with redefining the ways through which growth could be achieved. (Pearce & Turner, 1990) The latter significantly contributed to today’s understanding of sustainable development (see chapter 3.1.2.2).

In the 1980s the academic discourse began to shift from resource constraints to the consequences of human activity on the ecosystem. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 23) Several publication⁸ set the path for the first UN Conference on Environment held in Stockholm in 1972. The conference

⁷ An association formed to investigate the growing environmental problems and the limitations resources provide on economic development.

⁸ Rachel Carlon’s “Silent Spring” from 1963 is often quoted as the important first publication that established a relationship between environmental damage and human health. CO₂-emissions were identified to significantly change the composition of the earth’s atmosphere lead to a global temperature rise that would change the world’s climatic system. See for instance in Hulme, 2009.

revealed great disparities in environmental views and as a result the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) was established to coordinate environmental activities. The first strategy paper published by the UNEP only a year after its establishment went largely unnoticed but the idea of an alternative path of development was slowly settling in the minds. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, p. 22) (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 4) The term “sustainable development” was used for the first in a broader academic context in the 1980 “World Conversation Strategy” of the International Union for Conservation of the Nature. (Kopfmüller, et al., 2001, pp. 22-23)

In 1983 the United Nations assembly established a commission of leading citizen of over 21 nations to increase the understanding of the relationship between the environment and development. After five years of public hearing and consultations across the world and more than 10,000 pages of testimony, the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) released its report “Our Common Future”, often referred to as the Brundtland Report⁹. (Wheeler & Beatley, 2004) The report appealed to the world to rethink the ways of living and governing. It highlighted the inextricable linkage between the environment and the economy and expressed a need for cooperation on a global level. In response to the report the issue was tabled at the first UN Conference on the Environment and Development held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 5) The major outcome of the so-called Earth Summit was “The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development” also referred to as Agenda 21. It is a first global formulation of the concept of sustainable development and provides a universal political framework for the integration of the social, environmental and economic aspects under the consideration of common principles for sustainable development.¹⁰ (ibid., p. 3, 6)

Throughout the 1990s the topic was seized in several other UN conferences¹¹ but concrete measures failed to appear due to the contradicting views of the participating nations. Consequently, the question of the practicability and the implementation of sustainable development shifted to the centre of attention. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 5) In 2012 the nations agreed in the Rio+10 outcome document “The Future We Want” to formulate a global action plan for sustainable development and to develop common goals under consideration of the sustainable principles established in the Agenda 21. (UN Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012)

On 25th of September 2015 the United Nations General Assembly formally adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a roadmap for the people and the planet. The Declaration

⁹See footnote 4.

¹⁰The Earth Summit also led to the establishment of a UN Commission on Sustainable Development, which annually reviews international development efforts and a UN Division for SD which coordinates the field work.

¹¹ For instance Rio+5 and Rio+10.

recognises the need for sustainable development and provides a framework of shared principles and voluntary commitments. It announces the 17 Sustainable Development Goals as common global goals along with their means for implementation and monitoring at different levels. By adopting the resolution all 193 member nations voluntarily committed to the achievement of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. On 1st of January 2016 the SDGs officially came into force. (United Nations, 2017a)

3.2.2 The Sustainable Development Goals

The SDGs of the Agenda 2030 are the first set of global goals that intent to harmonize sustainable development efforts around the world. 17 universal goals have been formulated to eradicate poverty, fight inequality and address climate change over a period of 15 years (see figure 1). (United Nations, 2017a) The 17 goals are further divided into 169 targets (see Annex 1) and apply to all countries equally.



Figure 1: The 17 SDGs of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. (United Nations, 2017b)

The SDGs are the result of two years of public dialogs and consultations with governments, the civil society and other stakeholders. They were introduced as successors of the Millennium Development Goals. The MDGs were the first set of globally formulated goals and were developed by a UN Working Group to address the problems in developing countries. In contrast, the SDGs have been formulated to lay a path for a common future and apply to all countries equally. They build on the commonly formulated principles of sustainable development of the Agenda 21 and therefore comply

with the criteria of sustainable development: they are integrated, indivisible and balance the three dimensions of SD. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015) (see chapter 3.1)

Several scholars have expressed their concerns about the large number of targets. They fear that the approach is too broad and that this may reduce the attention of actors to the achievement of specific targets whereas other targets may be left out. This would be problematic because it undermines the implementation of integrated measures that take into account the relationships between different goals and targets. (Pogge, 2015, p. 89) Scholars have also pointed to short-comings of individual goals.¹² However, the goals have come to force more than one year ago and cannot be revised anymore. The success of the goals will now depend on the implementation process.

3.2.3 Implementation of the Global Goals

In July 2015 the United Nations held the Third International Conference on Financing for Development to discuss a global policy framework for the implementation of the SDGs. The outcomes were published in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda. The document re-affirms the commitment to all human rights and provides concrete policies and actions to assist the implementation of the goals. (United Nations, 2017a; United Nations, 2015, p. 1)

The Agenda has been developed to support the efforts of individual nations to accomplish the SDGs. The document highlights the sovereignty of the state and the responsibility of each country for its own development. National development efforts therefore lie at the centre of the document. To support these efforts the Agenda introduces several mechanisms primarily to facilitate the transfer of technology and the mobilization of financial resources. (HD, 2016, par. 3; General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 6)

The nations recognise that no universal policies can be formulated to adequately address all the different national realities and levels of development on the planet. The Agenda therefore provides governments with the necessary national policy space to set priorities in accordance with their national circumstances and the measures available in the country. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 13; United Nations, 2015, p. 3) Governments are expected to establish National Sustainable Development Strategies (NSDS) and introduce concrete policies, plans and programmes for the achievement of the 17 goals. The Agenda highlights the importance of policy coherence in the implementation process and points out that means of implementation should be combined to integrate all dimensions of sustainable development. (HD, 2016, par. 3)

¹²For instance, the German Development Institute argues that although the SDG 11 recognized the importance of cities as spaces of development but that city governance has not been sufficiently addressed. (Dick, 2016)

The Addis Agenda also recognizes that the SDGs cannot be achieved by government institutions alone. (Pogge, 2015, p. 94) In fact, most of the SDGs will be implemented on a local level. Therefore, the Agenda highlights the role of multi-stakeholder partnerships for sharing knowledge and resources, and complement the development efforts of the governments, especially in developing countries. (United Nations, 2015, p. 3) The topic is also later taken up by the Agenda 2030 which reinforces the importance of such partnerships to realize the new agenda and promotes the contribution of all stakeholders, such as the civil society, the private sector, governments and others. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 27) Both Agendas therefore seize the idea of governance introduced in Chapter 3.1.2.4.

To ensure that international efforts are effective, the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on SDG Indicators has set up a set of global indicators to monitor the accomplishment of the goals. The progress is published in the Annual SDG Progress Report. On a national level, governments are encouraged to develop their own indicators, and to monitor and review their progress. (United Nations, 2017b) The annual meetings of the High-Level Political Forum provide a platform to review the progress at a global level. The UN has also set up the Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform¹³ to share experiences and make best practices available to everyone. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 2015, p. 30)

The Addis Agenda and the Agenda 2030 provide plenty of recommendations and mechanisms to facilitate and measure national and global efforts. It is however questionable whether these ambitions will translate into reality. It cannot be expected that all governments are equally committed to the SDGs. The goals are not legally binding, and without appropriate sanctioning measures there might not be enough incentives for governments to realize their commitments. (Pogge, 2015, p. 94)

Also, Chapter 3.1 has shown that different ideologies determine how sustainable development is understood and interpreted, and do directly influence the politics and measures of actors in the field. The large number of goals and targets and the national policy space governments have been guaranteed to prioritize according to their country's needs also provide a loophole for governments to focus on those goals that comply with their own views and reinforce existing power structures. Thus, countries may even get access to new technologies and financial grants for projects that may reinforce inequality and environmental damage. (ibid., p. 94)

¹³ Accessible at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/>.

It therefore becomes the task of the civil society to control the governments and its activities. (ibid., p. 106) The SDGs therefore become an option for local actors to hold the government accountable and negotiate development within their situational contexts.

3.2.4 Participation and Inclusion

Both, theorists and practitioners have highlighted the importance of participatory mechanisms for the implementation of Sustainable Development (see chapter 3.1.2.4 and 3.2.3). Thus, participation has become a constitutive element and strategic principle of sustainable development. (Baranek, 2005) It is closely linked with the concept of governance (see chapter 3.2.3) and can be used top-down and demanded bottom-up. (Zimmermann, 2016, p. 125) Participation can take up many different forms. It can be political or social, informal or formal, direct or indirect and differ in power. (ibid.)

Sherry Arnstein developed a typology of eight levels of citizen participation arranged in form of a ladder with each level corresponding to the extent of citizen power (see figure 2). The first two levels “manipulation” and “therapy” are levels of nonparticipation and refer to actions taken by



powerholders to enlighten participants. Level three “informing” and level four “consultation” are levels of tokenism where participants gain information (level three) and can express their opinion (level four). However, there is no security that their voices will be taken into account by the powerholders. “Placation” (level five) is considered a higher form of tokenism because participants have an advisory function. Nevertheless, the decision remains with the powerholders. Level six, seven and eight are considered the only levels of real participation, in which participants enter partnerships where they can negotiate with powerholders (level six), delegate power (level seven) and at last obtain the majority of power in the decision-making process (level eight). (Arnstein, 1969)

Figure 2: A Ladder of Citizen Participation based on Arnstein, 1969.

Arnstein’s model already shows that only certain levels of participation can challenge existing power structures. Hickey and Mohan argue that the failure to engage with existing structures explains

why participatory approaches have often failed to bring meaningful change. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005) Zimmerman also points out that citizen participation often remains a privilege for the established elites. (Zimmermann, 2016) This directs attention to the question why mechanisms do not reach a level in which they challenge existing structures and how excluded citizen can be integrated in the process.

Several scholars suggest that an insufficient understanding about power structures and their significance for social change has created an obsession with the local and actors in development don't challenge the wider structures of inequality and injustice. (Mohan, 2001; Kapoor, 2002; Kothari, 2001) Thus, participation has become a tool for project work instead of a political mean for empowerment. (Cleaver, 1999) Hickey and Mohan point out that participation has become popular across different disciplines and actors and accepted as a solution without questioning what kind of participatory approaches can bring about social change. They identify three fields of development practice that have the potential to go beyond this criticism: Participatory governance, specific forms of NGOs and Social Movements. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005)

Decentralization is the main characteristic of participatory governance. Some case studies have shown that decentralization can achieve social justice for marginalized groups by empowering the poor and reducing the power of the elites. (Harris, 2000; Heller, 2001) On the other hand, decentralization has often failed to overcome socio-economic disparities and elites have claimed the rights of participation for themselves. In this case the chances for transformative change through participatory governance are nullified. (Francis & James, 2003)

Participatory approaches of NGOs have faced the most criticism in development literature. They tend to achieve great micro-level success but do not challenge the prevailing structures of marginalization. Participation is often not more than a project tool by which NGOs convert people into "clients" and disempower their lower partners by weakening the social contract between citizen and the state. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 244) Howard and Pearce also criticise their accords with neoliberal development projects. (Howell & Pearce, 2002) However, some initiatives have transformational potential. Hickey and Mohan point out that advocacy work is one such form. It increases the capacity of the oppressed and excluded to demand their rights, and helps them to participate in political decision-making processes. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 246) Harper also highlights that agenda-setting and participatory forms of advocacy open up policy processes to a wider range of people. (Harper, 2002) By aligning participatory approaches with a rights-based agenda advocacy work also enhances citizenship and encourages political engagement at all levels. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 246) Dechalart points out that participatory advocacy campaigns are often a form of

social or political protest and that such organizations should therefore be classified as movements. (Dechalart, 1999)

Social Movements and development work are strongly interrelated but often situated in different ideological camps. Development theories and practitioners tend to reject to engage with social movements because they are frequently characterized as opposed to development. (Routledge, 2001) However, both social movements and development works aim to address problems in the society that seem to require interventions to get solved. Theorists are increasingly realizing their potential to bring about social change and literature has started to differentiate between those movements that are “progressive” and promote citizen rights and those that protect privilege and promote discrimination. (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 248)

Progressive social movements are formed to promote rights, citizenship and development. (ibid., 2005) They tend to define social justice from the views of the oppressed and are transformative and radical within the understanding of modernity and are not opposing it. (Harvey, 1993, p. 116; Hickey & Mohan, 2005, p. 249) Therefore they come into existence when participatory governance mechanisms have failed to include the oppressed, and the rights to citizenship are reserved for the elites.

With regards to the Agenda 2030 and the implementation of the SDGs, this suggests that progressive social movements can address and correct the development paths of governments if their measures are introduced in an unbalanced and unilateral manner.

3.3 SELECTED ASPECTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The previous section has suggested progressive social movements as agents of sustainable change. This section therefore provides an overview of the aspects of social movement theory that are relevant to this assumption. It begins with a brief introduction of social movements (section 3.1) and then examines different organizational structures (section 3.2). Section 3.3 broadly outlines the historical corner stones of outcome theory and the last section assesses the strategies and outcomes of social movement activities in more detail (section 3.4).

3.3.1 An Introduction to Social Movements

Definitions of social movements are abundant. They often focus on key features because movements vary in range, scope, methods, targets and the type of change they induce. They can be local, national, transnational or global in scale. Some are considered conservative because they aim to preserve existing values or rights, whereas others are considered progressive and innovative because they specifically aim to change existing structures by pursuing legislative reforms or inducing a more

fundamental change in the existing value system. Social Movements pursue their goals either in a peaceful or in a violent manner and turn to individuals, groups or the entire system. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 20; Snow, et al., 2004, p. 6)

According to Diana, Social Movements are social processes that consist of three mechanisms which allow actors to engage in collective actions. First, they are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents. Hereby conflicts are seen as oppositional relationships of actors who seek control over the same stake and make negative claims on each other. Second, they are linked by dense informal networks in which the individual and the group are constantly exchanging resources to pursue a common goal. In this process the individual keeps its autonomy on the one side, and cannot claim to represent the movement as a whole on the other. Third, they share a distinct collective identity. This identity goes beyond specific events and initiatives and encourages a sense of common purpose and shared commitment. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 20-22)

3.3.2 Organizational Structures

Depending on their specific features SMs can range between spontaneous formations for specific events and fixed organizational structures. They can be divided into three types of organizations: Professional Movement Organizations, Participatory Movement Organizations and Grassroots Organizations.

Professional Movement Organizations are represented by a leadership that dedicates full-time to the movement and consists of non-existent memberships¹⁴. They attempt to influence policy by the use of media rather than mass protests. (McCarthy & Zald, 1987) Examples may be Greenpeace, Oxfam or Friends of the Earth. Gamson found that well-structured organizations are more likely to pursue their goals because they are better in mobilizing resources and are more likely to survive beyond specific events. (Gamson, 1990). Problems arise from their constant flow of funding which makes them dependent on their patrons. The establishment of working relations with government authorities is also perceived highly ambivalent. On the one side, they gain access to public subsidies and achieve public recognition. Their integration into the established system, on the other side, may limit their capacity to mobilize and they may trade-off parts of their constituency. (Lahusen, 2004). Piven and Cloward also highlight how bureaucratization can hamper the goals of protest movements. (Piven & Cloward, 1977, pp. xxi-xxii). For instance, the focus on fundraising can inhibit their capacities to mobilize people. (Donati, 1996) Thereby they also reduce mass defiance, the only resource available to the poor. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 146)

¹⁴ The members are not physically present and often exist on paper. (McCarthy & Zald, 1987)

Participatory movement organization (PMO) is a broader term used for several different types of movements. PMOs combine elements of participatory democracy with formalized organizational structures. For instance, the numbers of green parties that have emerged in response to globalizing structures can be considered PMOs. But also a more recent form of social movements, often referred to as “global justice movements” or “new social movements” belong to this category. Some contemporary examples are “Occupy Wall Street”, or global civil rights movements fighting for gay rights and gender equality. PMOs are continuously in the conflict of formalizing organizational structure and oligarchy. They often face problems when collective decision-making becomes difficult and then abandon more radical forms of decentralized organizational structures. (ibid., p. 147)

Grassroots organizations combine the participatory orientation of PMOs with low levels of formal structuration. Their existence largely depends on the willingness of their members who choose to participate because of shared ideologies, solidarity or most prominently because of their locality. (ibid., p. 149) They are often united by shared concerns and motivated by the effects of neoliberal globalization. However, grassroots movements are characterized by a low ideological profile because they depend on the voluntary participation of a highly heterogenic membership. Therefore continuity of such movements are often limited and characterized by intermittent structures. Lindgren points out that intermittent SMOs resurface each time their issues become salient on the political agenda. (Lindgren, 1987). Despite their lack of resources, grassroots movements are often successful in pursuing their goals. (Desai, 1996)

Independent of the type of organization, Social Movements rely on a political environment that allows for some kind of political participation because they all, to some extent, depend on the public. Towards the end of the movement they either evolve into organizations or resolve, although movement characteristics may prevail for some time. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 150-151)

3.3.3 Outcomes in Social Movement Theory

Social Movements are probably one of the most explicit forms of social organization that are formed primarily with the objective to bring social changes. But although Social Movement Theory has largely been concerned with the emergence and the mechanisms of social movements, their outcomes have rarely been addressed by scholars. In fact, Marco Giugni writes in 1999 that “the study of consequences of social movements is one of the most neglected topics in literature”. (Giugni, 1999, p. xv) However, a number of contributions have been made that consider certain characteristics of social movements to be particularly promising. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 226)

In 1975 William Gamson published his book “The Strategy of Social Protest”. For the first time, social movement theory became concerned with the success of social movements. His work is

still considered one of the most recognized publications on the impact of social movements. (Giugni, 1999, p. xvi) Gamson studied 53 American-born social movements between 1800 and 1945 and focussed especially on the organizational characteristics that influenced the success of these movements. Gamson concluded that the use of disruptive actions broadly, and violence in particular, is related to the success of social movements. (Gamson, 1990) His deductions then sparked a vital debate among scholars on whether disruptive or moderate actions are likely to be more effective in bringing about social change. Another debate that took off was less concerned with the organizational characteristics of the movements but rather questioned what changes occurred because of the movements' activities and to what extent changes were results of favourable environments. A third debate took off by reassessing the definitions and ideas of "outcome". Outcomes were often interpreted in terms of success or failure and policy changes have become a prominent method of measuring the success. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 229)

3.3.4 Strategies and Outcomes

Movements can draw on a rich pool of actions to pursue their goals. Protests, hunger strikes, lobbying, campaigning and advocacy work are only some of them. To name and assess each and every tool here is out of the scope of this thesis. Instead, it seems more suitable to assess strategies and conflicts in the academic discourse that have been directly linked to the outcomes of the movements activities.

Outcomes can be divided into intended and unintended outcomes. Intended outcomes refer to the goals the movements aim to accomplish. Although most movements demand legislative change, that is seldom their primary objective. Movements are carriers of symbolic messages and aim to spread their own notions of the world. (Gamson, 2004, p. 247) Typically new ideas emerge within a critical community that then translates a chronic problem into an acute problem by attracting the media through social movements. (Rochon, 1998, p. 179) The movements' capacities of realizing these aims have been considered very low, but they are perceived effective in bringing new issues into the public debate. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 232) Unintended effects can be positive and negative in nature. Unintended changes can be for instance biographical, cultural or personal but also institutional. (Giugni, 1999) Charles Tilly notes that many movement leaders consider the reorientation of the lives of the participants and the co-optation of leaders as crucial victories. (Tilly, 1999, p. 268) On the other hand, activities can also lead to political by-products which sometimes even contradict the movements' orientation. For instance, they can create legal precedents for other movements, provoke alterations in laws or encourage new police forces and practices.

Literature has mostly been concerned with strategies that lead to intended outcomes. The publication of Gamson's "Strategy of Social Protest" has provoked a diverse set of academic reactions

on whether disruptive or moderate actions are more promising. Particularly violence as a strategic choice has triggered a vital debate among scholars. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 226) Gamson himself had argued that violence appears to be a promising strategy for successful outcomes. Other studies have concealed this theory. (Giugni, 1999, pp. xv-xvi)

Organizational structures also seems to have implications for the movements' outcomes. Although well-organized movements have a higher likelihood to succeed (see section 3.2), increased bureaucratization can trigger the desire for organizational survival to the point that it outstrips the declared objective. (Piven & Cloward, 1977; Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 227)

A more fundamental problem with the study of outcomes is related to the presence of multiple actors in the field and the relatedness of social, political and economic factors. In such a complex environment it becomes increasingly difficult to retrace causes and effects and to identify which of the multiple actors are responsible for the change, and whether or not a given policy would have been enacted through other actors anyways. Therefore, the success or failure of outcomes has often been explained by environmental conditions. One of these favouring conditions is political opportunity, another the availability of allies. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 228)

Tilly describes the problem of identifying social movement outcomes by three overlapping areas that affect each other (see figure 3). Area "A" represents the effects of movement actions that are a result of the movement claim and not influenced by other actors. Area "B" represents the effects that are partially results of the movement's activities and partially outside influences. Area "C" represents the effects that are the results of outside influences but not of the movements' activities. Area "D" represents joint effects of outside influences and unanticipated effects of movements. The diagram makes clear why it has been so difficult to relate social movements to specific outcomes. (Giugni, 1999, pp. 268-269)

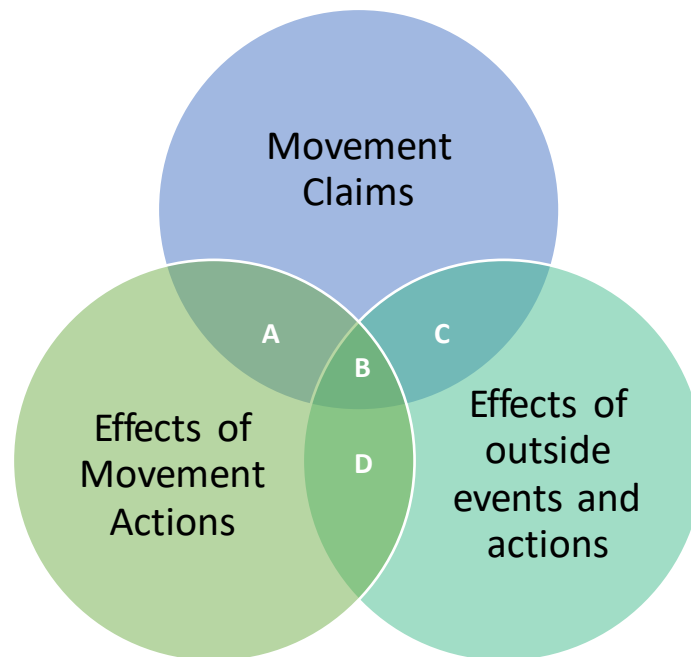


Figure 3: The problem of identifying social movement outcomes. (Giugni, 1999, p. 269)

The easiest way of measuring the outcomes of social movements is by tracing policy changes. Therefore the measurement of outcomes has been largely reduced to political effects. (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, p. 229) Schumacher differentiates between five levels of political responsiveness to collective demands (see figure 4).

Access Responsiveness

- To which extend are authorities willing to hear the concerns of a specific group

Agenda Responsiveness

- The demand has been placed as an issue on the political agenda

Policy Responsiveness

- The degree to which legislation is adopted in line with the demands

Output Responsiveness

- Measures are taken to ensure that the legislation is fully enforced

Impact Responsiveness

- Underlying grievance is alleviated

Figure 4: Five levels of political responsiveness. (Schumacher, 1975)

Access Responsiveness refers to the political openness to listen the concerns of the movement. Agenda Responsiveness is achieved when the demands of the movement have been placed on the political agenda. If the production of legislation is realized, the movement has reached the level of policy responsiveness. But because different countries have different capacities to implement the legislation, concrete gains are only achieved if it ensures the successful implementation. Is that the case the movement has reached output-responsiveness. The last level, impact responsiveness, is achieved when all forms of objection towards the policy implementation are eradicated. (Schumacher, 1975)

3.4 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, SOCIAL CHANGE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The emergence of global challenges and an increasingly globalized world have resulted into a call for sustainable development (see chapter 2). Sustainable Development requires integrated and harmonized measures at all levels (see chapter 3.1). To align initiatives across the world, the United Nations have formulated the Sustainable Development Goals. 193 countries have committed to the global goals and are requested to work in participation with all stakeholders to realize them till 2030. However, participatory governance can be particularly problematic in developing countries where elites have claimed the rights of participation for themselves and other segments of the society have been denied access to this right. In this case, participatory approaches do not lead to the desired change. The achievement of the goals therefore requires transformative processes that cannot be accomplished by the powerholders but must come from other actors. Progressive social movements can bring such structural changes by increasing the capacity of the oppressed to claim their rights to equal citizenship and increase their participation in political processes. Therefore they may have a potential to significantly contribute to the implementation of the sustainable development goals (see chapter 3.2).

But social movements have rarely been examined by development theorists and practitioner because they are often understood to undermine development efforts. Although this view is slowly changing, most of the social movement literature is located in sociology and political science. Here, much attention has been paid on the emergence and resource mobilization of movements but theories of outcomes have only been developed more recently. Understanding, locating and evaluating movement outcomes remain major challenges because they cannot be easily isolated from the intervention of other actors. Therefore outcomes have been largely measured in form of political responsiveness. Other types of outcomes such as cultural or biographical outcomes have been largely neglected (see chapter 3.3).

The formulated SDGs now provide a framework to locate the outcomes of social movements in a more holistic manner and to situate the potential of social movement in the sustainable development process. This thesis therefore attempts to bridge development practices with social movement efforts and hereby to contribute to the positioning of social movements in development theory.

4 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Chapter three has shown that the implementation of the SDGs depends on a variety of factors, requires the engagement of different actors and must fulfil certain criteria. Research has proposed PSMs as actors of sustainable change but social movement theory has been predominantly concerned with policy outcomes. Therefore, theory does not provide an answer to the question of sustainability. This thesis seeks to address this shortfall by analysing the role of two local movements in Mumbai in accomplishing the SDG 6. Reasons for the case are provided in section one. Section two outlines the research methods applied to produce answers to the research question and section three provides a critical reflection on the conducted research.

4.1 SELECTION OF THE CASE

Chapter two has shown that access to water is a central issue in development and that the question of development will be increasingly decided in cities. Development will be particularly challenging for megacities in the Global South. They grow rapidly, often lack adequate infrastructure and socio-economic disparities are exceptionally high.

India's Mumbai is not only the country's financial capital but also has the highest number of slums in India. (Census Organization of India, 2017) Socio-economic disparities in Mumbai are extremely high and access to basic services is absent in many slums. Mumbai has also a long tradition of social movements. Only to name a few examples, Mumbai was the birth place of Mahatma Gandhi's Quit India Movement but also faced a series of communal riots in the early 1990s where many people were killed. The rich information available on the city and its history and the factors mentioned above therefore suggested Mumbai to be suitable case to conduct research on the role the progressive movements can play to secure access to water for the oppressed and excluded.

Under consideration of the time constraints two progressive movements were selected for a comparative case study. PHS was chosen because it was solely formed for the purpose of achieving equitable access of municipal water services in Mumbai. Nivara Hakk on the other hand was selected because it is one of the oldest movements that has fought for social inclusion in housing. Housing and access to water in Mumbai are deeply entangled. The comparative analysis would hereby also provide the opportunity to compare how different agendas influence the achievement of the SDGs.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

The framework for the empirical study was developed to complement the theory adduced in chapter three with the objective to produce an answer to the following research question: **What role can local**

PSMs play in achieving the SDGs? With respect to the selected case the following three sub questions were developed.

- How do PHS and Nivara Hakk work to achieve universal access to water for all (SDG 6)?
- How sustainable are the development approaches of PHS and Nivara Hakk?
- How do PHS's and Nivara Hakk's actions influence the sustainable development path of the government?

The first question links the movements' approaches to the water goal and therefore addresses the question of achievements. The second question has been developed to investigate as to what extent their work fulfils the criteria of sustainable development. This includes the integration of the dimensions, the concept of social justice and the interrelationships between development goals. The third question investigates whether their actions are complementing the government measures, addressing shortfalls in their sustainable development agenda, or whether they are changing the government's course of actions in a more fundamental way.

To answer these questions varied information was required. First, access to water in Mumbai needed to be understood in terms of its dimensions and connections with other SDGs. Second, detailed information about the work and the approaches of the movements were required. In terms of the water situation, available secondary research was largely restricted to the policy frameworks and formal and informal management processes in place. Therefore, secondary data did not provide sufficient information to evaluate the effects policies had in the settlements not only in terms of access to water but also in terms of related development goals such as health and education. To develop a framework that would account for such a holistic interpretation empirical field research was required. A similar situation was found with regards to information about the work of the movements. There was no viable information available on PHS and the information available on Nivara Hakk did not suffice for answering the above formulated questions.

Access to the information required could therefore only be achieved by conducting primary field research that was then complemented with available secondary sources. The objective of the empirical field study was therefore to explore the local context from several perspectives, to understand the water situation in its different dimensions and to understand the work and actions taken by PHS and Nivara Hakk.

Qualitative research methods were chosen for information gathering and evaluation because the objective of qualitative research is to understand social, gender-specific or political phenomena,

discourses or structures in the respective context. (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 9). In contrast, quantitative research aims to investigate cause-effect relationships and to verify existing theories. (ibid., p. 10) Two methods of data gathering were selected: semi-structured qualitative interviews (section 2.1) and auto photography (section 2.3). The information gained from the field study was then systematically documented (section 2.2) and analysed (section 2.4). The methods were chosen under the principle of appropriateness because there is no research method that can be considered superior to another but more or less appropriate to answer developed research questions. (Brüsemeister, 2008, p. 28)

Several factors, such as linguistic competences and access to sources were taken into account for the selection of suitable methods. (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, pp. 233-236) The processes are described in detail in the following units. The findings from the research are presented in the following chapters.

4.2.1 Qualitative semi-structured Interviews

The interview is one of the most important methods in empirical research and has a wide range of applications which provides the opportunity to generate qualitative and quantitative data in nearly any research context and across all disciplines. (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 153) Understanding situations, actions, interpretation, experiences or theories of several actors lies at the centre of qualitative interviews. (ibid., p. 154) Therefore interviews were found to be a suitable method for gathering data on the water situation in Mumbai and the work of the two movements.

There are several forms of interviews that tend to generate different types of data. (Willis, 2006, p. 144) For this research, comparability of information was an essential criteria because information needed to be assigned to the targets of SDG 6, other SDGs and the necessary conditions of sustainable development. Second, the interview must allow for a certain openness and flexibility to reveal unanticipated information. Guidelines provide a certain structure during the interview process and generate comparable data but they also reduce the conversation to a prepared set of questions and do not allow for much flexibility during the interview process. (Hopf, 2004) Semi-structured interviews allow for guidance but at the same time encourage the flow of conversation to reveal information that may be of value but not anticipated. (Willis, 2006, p. 145) Therefore guideline based on semi-structured interviews were identified to be the most suitable interview technique to generate data in this research context. The interviewees were understood to possess undocumented knowledge and information and therefore considered as experts. (Gläser & Laudel, 2009, p. 12; Bogner, et al., 2014, p. 4)

To investigate the role PHS and Nivara Hakk can play to achieve the SDGs, 18 semi-structural qualitative experts interviews were conducted with residents, beneficiaries, the municipal corporation, a politician, and people associated with either PHS or Nivara Hakk. The guiding catalogue was developed under the SSPS principle. In a first step, questions were collected and reviewed with respect to their content, meaning for the research, accuracy, added value, language and openness. The most suitable questions were selected and subsumed in categories to avoid abrupt changes of topics that impact on the flow of conversation. (Helfferlich, 2011, pp. 178-189) Depending on the estimated time capacity and expertise, the interviews were conducted within the timeframe of 30 to 60 minutes.

4.2.2 Transcription of the Interviews

Transcripts make conversations permanently available for scientific purpose and build the foundation for further analysis. (Kowal & O'Connell, 2004, p. 248) But the transcription process is restricted to a number of verbal and prosodic features and non-linguistic behaviour because it is impossible to record all features experienced in the real-life situation. (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, pp. 17-18) Therefore transcripts face a considerable reduction of primary and secondary data. (Kowal & O'Connell, 2004, p. 248; Pfaffenbach & Reuber, 2005, p. 153)

Because transcripts only represent what has been transcribed (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 42) the selection of the notation system influences the outcome of the research. A focus on selected criteria is necessary to ensure that attention is paid on the relevant data but it requires the researcher to understand what criteria are relevant to answer the research question. (Bogner, et al., 2014, p. 39) A complex and detailed transcription creates a more accurate picture of the real-life situation but it also diverts the attention to scientifically irrelevant information until the point that much more material will be described than analysed, and the readability of the transcript gets largely affected. (Kowal & O'Connell, 2004, pp. 248-249) On the other side, too little information may impact on the outcome of the research. It is therefore important to define the scientific purpose the transcript follows in the research process and what transcription system may be most suitable for this purpose.

The purpose of this research is to explore situational contexts and relationships. The content of the conversation therefore lies at the centre of the research and too many details would only unnecessarily divert the attention from the relevant data. A second factor that influenced the decision-making process was that transcribing conversations is very time-consuming. A simple transcription system therefore allowed to focus on the relevant content on the one hand, and to transcribe the conversations in a realistic time frame on the other. Until today there are no universally accepted transcription rules. (Gläser & Laudel, 2009, p. 193) Therefore the system was developed under

consideration of the recommendation of several scholars. The transcription rules are attached in Annex 2.

4.2.3 Auto-photographic research

Slum areas that are excluded from municipal water services play a major role in this field research. The consequences of the existing policy framework can only be assessed by studying the dimensions of the problem in the field. But access to this information places major challenges on the research. Informal settlements in Mumbai are extremely heterogenic places inhabited by immigrants from all over India. (Weinstein, 2012) For instance, they speak different languages, follow different religions, and have different income ranges. The objective of the research in the settlement is to document and understand the water problem in its different dimensions. To conduct interviews in such a diverse arrangement requires knowledge about the dynamics in the field. Interviews therefore only reveal information if the researcher already knows on what to focus. Thus, it seemed more appropriate to select a method that favours the exploration of the processes through participatory research methods.

Visual techniques can provide such solutions because they can be used to make power structures and social structures visible (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 199). They can also be applied across disciplines (ibid., p. 200) and therefore provide a suitable framework in the transdisciplinary context of development research. There are many types of visual research methods but photographic approaches appeared to be the most advantageous in this context because the photo can serve as a documentation of reality on the one hand and serve as a tool to discover underlying social constructs on the other. (Harper, 2004) However, approaches vary in the degree of participation. In Photo Interviews, photo elicitation and auto-driving pictures are taken by the researcher and people are interviewed on basis of the material. This usually serves to study the behaviour of the participants or to analyse their content. (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 203; Harper, 2004, p. 236) Although the content analysis lies at the centre of the field study, the aim is to unleash unknown processes, dynamics and relationships related to the water situation. The photos must therefore be taken by those who have knowledge on these processes and dynamics. Auto-photography is a photographic method which provides the researcher with the opportunity to access information from the perspective of the participant and make aspects visible that would not have been revealed otherwise. In the process, the topic is defined by the researcher and the participants are asked to take pictures on the defined topic. (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 83) The method is particularly suitable in contexts of language barriers and cultural differences. (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 88; Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 204) It also acknowledges the existence of different perspectives and the importance of taking them into account (Dannecker & Englert, 2014, p. 210). Generative image work is another photographic method that is based on self-

photography. The difference is that the material is also interpreted and analysed by the participant. But it is not the aim of this research to generate interpretations of the slum dwellers on their own situation or to analyse why and how they have taken certain pictures. It is rather the goal to gather information that will help to interpret the work of the two movements in terms of the sustainability of their approaches. Therefore auto-photography as a photographic-visual research method was selected to study the dynamics related to the water situation in the settlements.



Figure 5: A disposable camera is handed over to a participant in Kaula Bunder.

(Photo taken at the field visit on 19.10.2016)

Under consideration of time constraints the study was reduced to two informal settlements. Auto-photography was conducted in Ambujwadi, a settlement in the North of Mumbai and Kaula Bunder, a settlement in the Southeast of Mumbai. The two settlements were selected because they are denied access to water on different grounds. Residents were instructed to take photos of scenarios within their respective localities that they consider related to water (see figure 5). The photos were then used in qualitative interviews to explore their meanings and the perspectives of the photographers. (Dirksmeier, 2013, p. 88) Interpreters were necessary to interact with the slum dwellers. In the case of Ambujwadi, the photos were taken by a single person and interpreted along with several children who are in charge of getting water to their homes. In the case of Kaula Bunder, the photos were taken and interpreted by the children themselves. In both cases the qualitative interviews were conducted in groups. This was done to reduce the children's inhibition level and to encourage the complementation of information. Although group interviews were found to be helpful in completing information the interviews became relatively unstructured. Information was therefore not transcribed word-by-word but the content was documented in form of summaries along with the respective images. The

information was then analysed and evaluated in combination with the transcripts of the semi-structured expert interviews. (ibid., p. 88)

4.2.4 Qualitative Content Analysis

A qualitative content analysis is a method to systematically describe the meanings of qualitative data. It serves for a variety of data material including interviews and visual material. (Schreier, 2014, p. 180) Therefore, it provided the possibility to comprise the interview material and the photo material into one analytical framework. The analysis was divided into three steps: the development of a coding frame, the categorization of information and the main analysis which consisted of the extraction, the improvement and the evaluation of data. (Bogner, et al., 2014, pp. 72-75; Gläser & Laudel, 2009, pp. 197-204)

The coding frame is a charter that covers all relevant aspects of the data material. It involves the creation of categories which cover not more than one aspect of the research subject. (Pfaffenbach & Reuber, 2005, p. 164) Three main categories were identified to address the research question: information related to the SDG 6, information related to other SDGs, and information related to the criteria of sustainable development. The categories were further divided into units. Information could only be assigned to one unit within a category. (Schreier, 2014, p. 175) The first category was divided into the individual targets of the SDG 6. Text segments of the second category were assigned to one of the 16 remaining goals, and category three was separated in terms of the individual criteria that must be fulfilled in order to act sustainably, namely social equity, and the integration of the dimensions of sustainable development.

Different segments of the conversations were then assigned to the category units. After assigning different segments to different units the data was analysed and verified in terms of their validity and reliability, to ensure that the relevant scientific quality criteria are met. (ibid., p. 174) For instance, information was compared to each other and secondary data and interview protocols were consulted to judge the integrity of the information. The insights generated from the analysis then served to describe the water situation and its multidimensional impact (chapter five and six) and to generate perspectives on the work of PHS and Nivara Hakk (see chapter seven). Under consideration of the created data material and the theory presented in chapter three an answer to the research question is developed in chapter 7.5.

4.3 CRITICAL REFLECTION ON THE FIELD STUDY

Planning research and conducting research are two very different things. Field research requires a certain degree of openness to adopt to local circumstances, reflect them and incorporate the learnings

in the next process. This section therefore critically reflects on the research methods applied and contextualizes the findings in terms of their objectivity and validity. Further attention is paid on the own subjectivity in the field.

The field research started with an initial phase of establishing contacts and identifying potential interview candidates. It was the first goal to gain an overview about the water situation across the city. This goal had to be abandoned because there is no single entity in Mumbai that can localize and categorize the city's water issues. This had direct implications on the auto-photography research project. It was impossible to select research relevant settlements on basis of scientific criteria. Consequently, the two settlements that were selected for the study were chosen primarily because PHS passed on contacts of their representatives in these settlements because they are denied water on different grounds and people were willing to engage into a photographic research project. Therefore the findings in chapter six should not be considered representative but as case studies illustrating the complexity of the situation in the field. During the first week of the field research in the settlements it became apparent that particularly children are involved in the processes of water and consequently they were chosen as participants for the photo-research. But for several reasons the two photo-studies could not be standardized and in one settlement the pictures were taken by an adult and interpreted by children and in the other settlement children took the pictures and also interpreted them.

Another experience in the field was that the semi-structured interviews varied significantly in terms of communication with and articulation of the interviewees. Also there were several issues with one of the interpreters. The problems were revealed once the interviews had already been transcribed and translated. Some interviews show the repetition of the same questions and answers because there has either been some miscommunication between the interpreter and the interviewee, or the interpreter had not summarized the information properly during the interview process, or questions were asked out of the interpreter's own interest but without significance to the research subject.

Another issue was the significance that interviewees assigned to the research and the researcher. For instance, government officials often had a tight time schedule and meeting them required a long waiting time. Also they were officially restricted to provide the information on the issue.

It can therefore be concluded that several factors influenced the quality of conversations and the information revealed in the field research. To address these factors, the questionnaires were revised and adapted, the interpreter was changed and the integrity of the research was supported by official university letters. Cultural barriers were attempted to be reduced by dressing adequately, respecting local customs and using set phrases in local language as conversational ice-breakers.

5 GOVERNANCE OF MUMBAI'S WATER

Mumbai is India's most modern city and the state capital of Maharashtra. With an estimated population of 27,797,000 habitants¹⁵ it is the 10th largest city in the world and projected to grow into the 4th biggest city by 2030. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2014, p. 93) It is often portrayed as India's economic hub, financial capital and as a city of hope and aspiration. It is home to India's national stock exchange, headquarters of its major banks, and the largest film industry in the world. (Patel, 2004) But in a city that has become India's release label for progress and modernity access to clean water remains a major challenge. With India's liberalization public infrastructure investments went down and today "the city's water infrastructure reveals the contestation between the illusory remake of the city and the highly contested future". (Björkman, 2015, p. 3) At the same time liberalization gave rise to an anti-migrant agenda that has encouraged the exclusion of informal settlements from official water services.

This chapter analyses how governance frames and shapes the water situation in Mumbai. It begins with a compact summary of the antecedents of Mumbai that serves to construct an explanatory framework for today's political agenda (section one). Thereupon, section two develops a deeper understanding about the institutional framework that guides broader development efforts. Chapter three has shown that sustainable development requires the governance of the economic, social and environmental dimension in an integrated, just and balanced manner. Section three and section four therefore deal with the management of the three dimensions. First, section three provides a concrete analysis of the government's water services in Mumbai and shows how economic and environmental aspects are managed to provide water in the city. The social dimension of access to water is assessed in section four. This division was chosen to highlight the disincorporation of the social dimension in Mumbai's water management. It shows how policy contradictions have framed and shaped the water situation in Mumbai. Subsequently, section five presents the effects of social exclusion and an incoherent policy management. Section six concludes with an analysis of the transformative potential in the current democratic system and review of the compliance and inconsistencies with the concept sustainable development.

¹⁵ The last Mumbai City Census was conducted in 2011 with a documented population of 12,443,373. The next census will be conducted in 2021. (Census Organization of India, 2017)

5.1 MUMBAI'S TRAIL OF DEVELOPMENT

Mumbai was initially taken by the Portuguese which named the place *bom bahia*¹⁶. When Catherine of Braganza married Charles III of England the bay was passed to the English as part of the dowry and renamed Bombay. The new British rulers filled up the marshy wetland that was revealed during low tide and “turned the Seven Isles into a long peninsula like an outstretched, grasping hand, reaching westward”. (Rushdie, 1981, p. 121) To populate the island new-comers were promised physical protection of their fort and religious freedom. Refugees from the Middle East and traders across India were attracted to the peninsula. (Brook, 2013) When Bombay opened Asia's first railroad in 1853 the city became a gateway that linked global markets to its hinterlands tapping into new markets on the one hand, and facilitating rural-to-urban labour migration on the other. Bombay became a symbol for fortune, an escape route out of rural poverty, and a cosmopolitan place creating a fascination among travellers that had never seen as city of such great variety of religions and cultures peacefully living together. When Sir Bartle Frere was appointed governor of Bombay in 1862, he aspired to build a physical city worthy of its remarkable society. His idea of ‘*urbs prima in Indis*’ started with the identification of key institutions that would be of urgent pressure to military and administration and Bombay soon became the second largest city in the world after London. (ibid., 2013)

During the American civil war Bombay's cotton industry boomed and real estate prices went up four times of where they had been. Land became increasingly valuable and the question of affordable housing for the labour class came up for the first time in 1940. The British Raj introduced a policy that did not permit the increase of rents and build a large number of affordable housing units called *chawls*¹⁷. (Shah, 2016, par. 28; Brook, 2013) After India's independence India's centrally planned economy slowly went towards bankruptcy. When India was nearly broke, the IMF jumped in and provided a 2.2 billion dollar emergency loan in return for major structural changes to the Indian economy, mainly a stronger involvement of the private sector, deregulation and liberalization. (ibid., p. 328) The license-permit raj was dismantled in days and global companies poured back into the country. Most of the reform-related transformations occurred in Bombay and India's most modern city became the flagship for success and failure of the new liberal economy. (ibid.) To compete with world-class cities over financial direct investments the government hastily introduced a number of measures to transform Mumbai into a world-class city. The sporadic course of the government first

¹⁶ Portuguese to English Translation: Beautiful Bay.

¹⁷ Chawls comprised one room, a kitchenette and a washing place and were primarily built to accommodate migrant labour. (MCGM, 2010, p. 58)

seem to pay off and led to “the golden summer of 1991”. But the collapse of the Bombay stock exchange in 1992 and the bombings of 1993 ended all initial euphuism and gave rise to a different ideological spirit in the city.¹⁸

With the liberalization urban infrastructure had become more responsive to global infrastructure requirements than to the needs of Mumbai’s hard working labourers, encouraging socio-economic segregation and deepening inequalities. (Björkman, 2015, p. 4) The entrance of foreign firms favoured those who had the education to fill positions required in the global market economy and neglected the majority of Mumbai’s population, middle-class industrial workers and daily wagers operating for a salary which hardly even accounts for the bare minimum.

Laid-off industrial workers formed unions with left-wing political parties and Bombay’s working class became “organized along with ethnic and religious lines that often crossed the line into being hate groups”. (Brook, 2013, p. 330) Extremist views continued to grow and the right-wing nationalist party Shi Sena was able to exploit this discontent and direct it at the in-migration. (Patel, 2004) In 1995 they won control over the city and promoted a vision of Maharashtra to the Marathis known as the politics of “sons of the soil”. (Brook, 2013, p. 331) Their vision of remaking Bombay translated into a massive exercise of replacing colonial names of streets and major landmarks with local ones. Finally they also replaced the city’s name with Mumbai, derived from the Hindu goddess Mumba Devi.¹⁹ With the new anti-migrant agenda a reunion for the city’s divided became a utopian idea. (ibid., p. 332)

Mumbai’s architectural landscape today portrays the greatest of all city paradoxes. The shiny luxury apartments that stretch along its coastal bay provide a refuge for the city’s riches who barricade themselves behind high fences and walls that separate them from the other part of the city.²⁰ Squeezed into only eight percent of the Mumbai’s land live more than 50 percent of the population in subhuman conditions. (Nivara Hakk, 2006; McFarlane, 2008) The 2011 census registered 1,135,514 slum pockets in Mumbai. (Census Organization of India, 2017) This may explain why the city has a life expectancy seven years below the national average. (MCGM, 2010, p. 115) Mumbai has become a city of two cities tying aspirations for modernity to a sense of backwardness. But the slowing migration now also provides an opportunity for the government and the people to re-negotiate Mumbai’s future path. (Brook, 2013, p. 349)

¹⁸ See for instance “Riots and After in Mumbai: Chronicles of Truth and Reconciliation” by Meena Menon.

¹⁹ The name Mumbai is still rejected by some of the Anglophone elite and they continue to use Bombay.

²⁰ The global and rich avoid the local and poor and this is expressed in projects such as the city’s skywalks – elevated sidewalks which allow pedestrians to walk over the slums rather than through them. (Brook, 2013, p. 343)

5.2 ASSESSMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

Multi-level governance in the increasingly federalist India plays a large role for the sustainable development at all levels. Both central government and state government set a framework for Mumbai's development agenda. India's national policy sets a tone for a common development path and provides incentives that favour this path. In some cases, the central government also directly interacts with cities but usually it is the state government who has a more direct influence on the city governance. This section provides a brief examination of the policy framework that shapes the sustainable development agenda and the water situation in Mumbai. Section 2.1 introduces essential elements of the national framework, section 2.2 reviews the influence of the state government and section 2.3 provides a brief excursion on the legislative role.

5.2.1 The National Framework

Since India's liberalization in 1991 the government follows an increasingly federalist system and promotes interregional competition to attract foreign capital. (Debroy, 2007) The central government has laid a strong focus on economic growth and the industrialization of the country. At first, sustainable development had therefore been largely restricted to the economic dimension resulting in the world's highest economic growth rate on the one hand, and deforestation and water scarcity on the other. (WRI, 2015; The World Bank, 2014) However, over the past years the government of India has begun to recognize the importance of more environmental-friendly development and has ratified several international agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. (UNFCCC, 2017a; UNFCCC, 2017b) The social dimension of sustainable development is probably the biggest challenge for the government. India's culture and traditions are loaded with discrimination in gender, religion and caste. In addition, the strong focus on economic growth has widened the gap between the country's rich and the poor. (Times of India, 2017; Gandy, 2008, p. 110)

The prioritization of economic and environmental factors over social ones is also reflected by several indices. The Global Competitiveness Index ranks India the 39th most competitive country in the world.²¹ (World Economic Forum, 2016) In non-economic performances India falls behind many other countries. The Human Development Index ranks India 130 out of 188. (UNDP, 2015)

The Government of India has signed the Agenda 2030 and hereby voluntarily committed to the implementation of the SDGs and sustainable development in an equitable, integrated and balanced manner. (United Nations, 2017b) The accomplishment of the goals will be a massive challenge for the

²¹ The most problematic factors in doing business according to the Index are tax regulations and corruption. The report also highlights the problematic situation for the large amount of informal wage labourers. (World Economic Forum, 2016)

Indian government that must manage a country with a diversity that is often compared to that of Europe, and achieve the fair distribution of resources in the second most populated country in the world²² (UN DESA Populations Division, 2016, p. 4).

The government has entrusted the Indian think tank NITI Aayog with the coordination of the SDGs. So far NITI Aayog has identified ministries for each target of the SDGs and adopted a government-wide approach to sustainable development. A similar mapping scheme was recommended to the individual states. (United Nations, 2017b) The Government of India has also initiated the development of a NSDS that is understood as a continuous process involving planning, action and feedback. (Indian Ministry of Environment and Forest, 2003)

India's development is planned in a five-year cycle. Currently the 10th Five Year Plan is in operation and already contains several strategies for a sustainable development. In addition, India has set up several sector policies of which water and urbanization have both been of priority to the government. The increasing urbanization has forced the government to come up with solutions addressing the inhumane conditions in urban settings. In 2015 Prime Minister Narendra Modi has launched a programme called Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana which aims to provide affordable housing for all urban poor by 2022. The central government committed to contribute two trillion Rupees to build 20 million houses in 2,508 cities until 2022. (The Financial Express, 2016; DNA, 2015) To secure access to water, India has ratified the UN Resolution that recognizes water as a human right. In 2013 the Indian government released the modified national water policy which makes access to drinking water a priority. However, it has been criticized that it lacks the means for implementation and categorizes water as an economic good which invites private sector engagement in form of Public-Private-Partnerships. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b)

The Bertelsmann Foundation and the Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) have developed a SDG performance index which will allow the evaluation of the progress of nations relative to their peers. India's starts off with a relatively weak performance in all indicators and has been ranked number 110 out of 149 countries. This means that India has a long way to catch up with other nations. Figure 6 shows the initial performance of India in the individual SDGs. The colours red, yellow and green indicate the severity of the challenge, whereby green indicates a path consistent with the respective SDG and red indicates the most acute challenges. India's performance is dominated by yellow and red. A look at the SDG 6 shows that some progress has been made but that

²² The world's most populated country is China but India is expected to surpass China by 2022. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2016, p. 4)

the government is not yet on the right path towards the achievement of the goal. The most acute problems come from the lack of access to sanitation. (Bertelsmann Foundation/ SDSN, 2016)

Indicator	Value	Rating	Indicator	Value	Rating
SDG1			Child labor (%)	11.8	●
Poverty headcount ratio at \$1.90 a day (%)	21.3	●	SDG9		
SDG2			R&D expenditures (% GDP)	0.8	●
Prevalence of undernourishment (%)	15.2	●	Logistics Performance Index (1-5)	2.9	●
Cereal yield (t/ha)	3	●	Quality of overall infrastructure (1-7)	4	●
Prevalence of stunting, under-5s (%)	38.7	●	Mobile broadband subscriptions (per 100)	3.2	●
Prevalence of wasting, under-5s (%)	15.1	●	Internet use (%)	18	●
Sust. Nitrogen Management Index (0-1)	0.9	●	SDG10		
SDG3			Gini index (0-100)	33.9	●
Under 5 mortality (per 1000 live births)	47.7	●	SDG11		
Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births)	174	●	PM2.5 in urban areas (µg/m ³)	46.7	●
Neonatal mortality (per 1000 live births)	27.7	●	Improved water source, piped (%)	53.8	●
Physician density (per 1000)	0.7	●	SDG12		
Incidence of tuberculosis (per 100,000)	167	●	Wastewater treated (%)	10.5	●
Traffic deaths (per 100,000)	16.6	●	Municipal solid waste (kg/person/year)	0.3	●
Adolescent fertility (births per 1000)	28.1	●	SDG13		
Subjective wellbeing (0-10)	4.6	●	CO ₂ emissions from energy (tCO ₂ /capita)	1.7	●
Healthy life expectancy at birth (years)	58	●	Climate change vulnerability (0-1)	0.3	●
Infants who receive 8 WHO vaccines (%)	83	●	SDG14		
SDG4			Ocean Health Index - Clean waters (0-100)	51.3	●
Expected years of schooling (years)	11.7	●	Ocean Health Index - Biodiversity (0-100)	85.6	●
Literacy rate of 15-24 year olds (%)	81.1	●	Ocean Health Index - Fisheries (0-100)	49	●
Net primary school enrolment rate (%)	93.1	●	Marine sites, completely protected (%)	4.2	●
SDG5			Fish stocks overexploited or collapsed (%)	23.6	●
Women in national parliaments (%)	12	●	SDG15		
Female years of schooling (% male)	49.8	●	Red List Index of species survival (0-1)	0.7	●
Female labor force participation (% male)	34.7	●	Annual change in forest area (%)	2.7	●
Unmet demand for contraceptives (%)	28	●	Terrestrial sites, completely protected (%)	5.5	●
SDG6			SDG16		
Access to improved water (%)	94.1	●	Homicides (per 100,000)	3.5	●
Access to improved sanitation (%)	39.6	●	Prison population (per 100,000)	30	●
Freshwater withdrawal (%)	33.9	●	Feel safe walking at night (%)	68.9	●
SDG7			Corruption Perception Index (0-100)	38	●
Access to electricity (%)	78.7	●	Registered births (%)	83.6	●
Access to non-solid fuels (%)	42.4	●	Government efficiency (1-7)	4	●
CO ₂ from fuels & electricity (MtCO ₂ /TWh)	1.6	●	Property rights (1-7)	3.8	●
SDG8			SDG17		
Automated teller machines (per 100,000)	18.1	●	Official development assistance (% GNI)	n/a	●
Adjusted growth rate (%)	0.2	●	Tax revenue (% GDP)	19.8	●
Unemployment rate (%)	3.5	●	Health, Education & R&D spending (% GDP)	8.6	●

Figure 6: India's SDG performance. (Bertelsmann Foundation / SDSN, 2016)

5.2.2 The Government of Maharashtra

With increasing decentralization in India the state governments become crucial to the country's progress. Several development programmes are introduced on the state level. The role of the state in accomplishing the SDGs has also been highlighted by the UN. (United Nations, 2017b) States are also encouraged to develop their own state goals in line with the global SDGs. (ibid.)

Mumbai is the capital of the State of Maharashtra. The Government of Maharashtra develops the policy framework that directly guides the city's administration. It has introduced several policies that regulate access to water in Mumbai. On a state level, the government has enacted a water policy and an Act for rationalization of water uses and mechanisms to manage the state's water resources. It

is the responsibility of the state to ensure that water is withdrawn in a sustainable manner and that it is equally distributed across the state in accordance with the varying demands. These responsibilities are taken over by the Maharashtra Water Supply and Sewage Board and the Maharashtra State Water Resource Regulatory Authority. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b) The State government has also introduced several policies that address the life in cities. Among these policies are some that directly influence the water situation in Mumbai and undermine the social dimension of SD. Therefore these policies are introduced in section four.

5.2.3 A Judicial Interpretation of SD in India

India's judiciary is based on the Constitution of India which was adopted in November 1949 and came into force in January 1950. The fundamental rights and duties of every citizen and the framework for all government institutions laid down in the Constitution impart constitutional supremacy and cannot be overwritten by the parliament. (Constitutional Assembly, 1949)

Although the concept of SD is of recent origin, it is surprisingly well established in India's judiciary. Article 21 of the Constitution guarantees the right to life and liberty and forms the legislative basis for most cases that try development issues. In several cases in which the protection of the environment or social justice were under threat, judgements were aligned on international statements. (Ramlogan, 2010, p. 200)

Chapter three has shown that the measures taken today largely depend on the capacities assigned to the future generation to manage their needs. To prevent industry from exploiting resources and cause irreversible damage to the environment, the precautionary principle has been introduced as part of the national law. The precautionary principle requires individuals who want to carry out development activities to provide evidence that the activities are safe. The lack of scientific evidence is therefore not reason enough to postpone measures that require the protection of the environment. (ibid., pp. 90-91) The Courts have also introduced the "polluter pays" principle to hold polluters accountable for their environmental damages. The Vellore Case is considered one the strongest evidences created where the Supreme Court attempted to establish a balance between economic growth and environmental protection. (ibid., p. 113)

Also, Indian Courts have drawn on the Stockholm Declaration to justify the application of the principle of intergenerational equity and have considered it as part of the customary international law. (Ramlogan, 2010, p. 224) It has been argues that "the environment is viewed more as a resource basis for the survival of the present and future generations (...) and must therefore be applied in full force for protecting the natural resources of this country" (Intellectuals Forum, Tirupathi vs State Of A.P. & Ors, 2006). Intra-generational equity on the other hand has been embraced as part of social justice.

All three principles were applied in the case *M.C. Mehta vs. Union of India*, also referred to as “Ground Water Case”. The court took notice of the falling ground water level in Delhi through over-exhausting the water resources and ordered the municipality to establish a water management under consideration of inter- and intra-generational equity and the precautionary principle. (Ramlogan, 2010, p. 243)

Although much emphasis has been paid on the environmental dimension of access to water, and the right to water has been ratified by India on an international level, it is not explicitly recognized as a fundamental right in the Indian Constitution. Nevertheless there have been several cases where the Supreme Court of India has interpreted the right to water a fundamental right under Article 21 of the Constitution of India.²³

Good Governance and public participation are other essential components of SD. The Indian courts have displayed their respect for compliance with public participation and Article 32 of the Constitution of India provides a direct tool that links judiciary with the public. The Public Interest Litigation (PIL) is a rule of law to protect public interest and has been established for the common man to seek legal remedy. A PIL can be filed by any legal person who seeks to correct a public wrong. (Dembowski, 2001, p. 374) Filing PIL’s has become a common tool for many advocacy organizations that seek social justice for the poor masses. (Ramlogan, 2010, p. 254) Another tool that has been helpful to hold government’s accountable for the provision of water and sanitation is the Right to Information Act (RTI). For instance, in Delhi a pipeline had been leaking for years but was repaired within days after the citizen group Parivartan had submitted an information application under the RTI. They also used the RTI to pressure the implementation of a long overdue sewage system in Eastern Delhi’s Sundernagari. (González de Asís, et al., 2009)

Undoubtedly, India’s current legal framework favours sustainable development as understood in the Agenda 2030 and other international documents. The problem lies rather in the failure to pursue the judgements. In a foreword to Zia Mody’s book “10 Judgements that Changed India” former attorney-general Soli J. Sorabjee writes: “The Judiciary, at one time, was considered and projected to be the weakest branch of the state because it possessed neither power of pursue nor power of the sword. That myth has been demolished and best evidence of it is the set of ten judgements analysed and discussed in this book”. (Sorabjee, 2013, p. xi) This view is however not shared by many interviewees in the field research.²⁴ Although T.V. Shah admits that judiciary is slowly improving

²³ See for instance: *A.P. Pollution Control Board II v. Prof. M. V. Nayudu* 2000 Supp. (5) SCR 249, *Narmada Bachao Andolan v. Union of India* AIR 2000 SC 3751, *Atma Linga Reddy v. Union of India* (2008) 7 SCC 788.

²⁴ See for instance Interview No. 15 and Interview No. 7.

(Shah, 2016, par. 106) he highlights the weaknesses of the legal system and argues that the right to approach the judiciary if people's rights are violated has no prospects if the court takes years to decide a case. (ibid., par. 98) Instead of engaging into legal disputes people therefore rely on bribes and local goons to sort things out. This way mafias grew in Mumbai and they are neither afraid of the courts nor the police. In fact the police gets a cut when they keep their eyes closed. (ibid, pars. 85-96) "So the entire system is paradox. Only because the judiciary is not working." (ibid., par. 96)

5.3 MANAGEMENT OF MUMBAI'S WATER SUPPLY

The previous section has shown how the institutional framework shapes development in Mumbai. This section now provides an analysis of the water situation in Mumbai and shows how economic and environmental aspects are managed to provide water to the citizen. Section 3.1 briefly introduces the administrative body responsible for the provision of water and section 3.2 provides an overview of the current water supply system in place. The problems and challenges of the current system are taken up in section 3.3. At last, section 3.4 contrasts the priorities given to the individual dimensions of SD in the current supply system.

5.3.1 Administration of Mumbai

Mumbai has a complex political and administrative situation. The central government sets a general tone for the development path and many processes are under the policy control of the State government. The municipal administration is in charge of the provision and maintenance of civic services, such as public infrastructure and education. The provision of water services is therefore within the responsibility of the municipal administration. In Mumbai this duty is carried out by the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (MCGM), also known as Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC). The Town Planning Act of 1954 obliges the MCGM to prepare a Development Plan for the City and its suburbs. This development plan guides all development efforts over a period of 20 years. (MCGM, 2017a) The realization of the plan is taken up by the different departments of the MCGM that are managing specific civic services. The Hydraulic Department (HD) is responsible for the provision of water.

For the purpose of governance Mumbai has been divided into 24 wards (see figure 7). (HD, 2016, par. 2) The MCGM holds offices in each ward. The individual ward offices are responsible for local level governance and the provision of public services in their wards. Ward officers therefore possess a more detailed knowledge about the situation in specific areas. (Björkman, 2015, p. 32) The Municipal Councillors in the ward officers serve as point of contact for people and keep their doors open for public consultation. (Anand, 2016, p. 12)

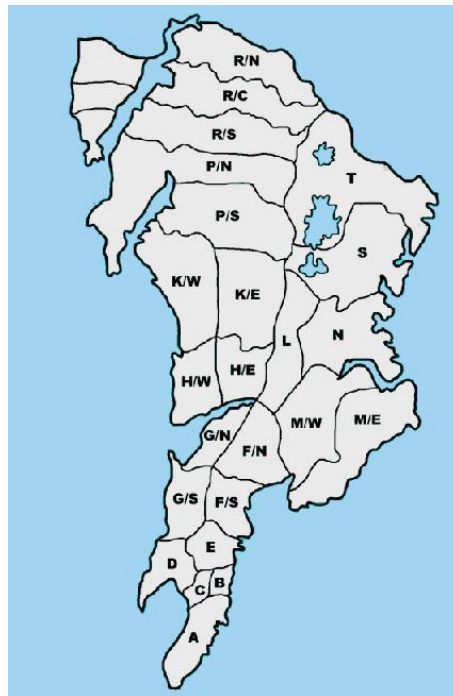


Figure 7: Mumbai's ward map. The first letter indicates the district, the second letter the corner of the Earth. (MCGM, 2017a)

5.3.2 The Water Distribution System

The city of Mumbai has no water reserves of its own. The water distribution system therefore entirely depends on surface reservoirs that are located in the state's hinterlands. 400 km transmission mains have been laid from seven lakes²⁵ to the city and about 2,335 distribution mains are transporting the water across the city to one of the estimated 400,000 water connections (see figure 8). (Anand, 2016, p. 11) Mumbai's hydraulic infrastructure is the 6th largest in the world. (ibid., p. 11)

The city has approximately 3,750 million litres of water available on a daily basis. (PTI, 2016) This calculation is based on the accumulated storage capacity of the lakes. The actual water quantity available however depends on the rainfall during the monsoon period. On the 1st October of every year the Planning and Control Department takes the stock, assesses the capacity and develops a supply plan according to the calculated per-day water availability. The plan considers the carrying capacity of the lakes, the need for filtered water and determines how much will be supplied to the city's reservoirs and how much will be released per day. (Björkman, 2015, p. 31) Weak monsoons and increasing droughts create extreme challenges on Mumbai's water management. After a bad monsoon in 2014 the city's water department introduced a three month water cut of 20 percent for residential properties.

²⁵ Modak Sagar, Tansa, Vihar, Tulsi, Upper Vaitarna, Bhatsa and Middle Vaitarna (PTI, 2016)

(Venkatraman, 2016) A similarly weak monsoon led to a water cut of 15 percent between August 2015 and June 2016. (HD, 2016, pars. 2,14)



Figure 8: Water mains laid to transport water from the lakes to Mumbai. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b)

The water that is collected by the lakes is delivered via primary pipelines to the water purification plants Bhandup and Panajarpur. After purification, the water is supplied via secondary pipelines to the 27 reservoirs in the city from where it is then diverted to the end-consumer. This entire distribution system is based on gravity. However, water gets distributed only for two to four hours per day. (Anand, 2016, p. 11) It gets stored in large underground or overhead water tanks that belong to different building complexes. This way water is made available to the individual households at any time throughout the day.

However, this is only the case for regular housing with individual water connections. Slums are not provided with such water connections. Legalized slums either rely on stand posts or water tank connections. Stand posts are shared water connections that usually serve five households or more. In case the establishment of a stand post is not possible and people are legally entitled to water, they get water from official water tankers that daily drive around the city and pump water into private water canisters. (HD, 2016, par. 14) Residential housings receive in total 130 litre per capita per day (lpcd). This is 20 litre below the national standard of water supply and the minimum consumption level determined by the World Health Organization (WHO). Slum dwellers receive only 45 lpcd. (Shelar, 2016, par. 2; HD, 2016, par. 12) Therefore more than half of Mumbai's population receives only a third of the minimum daily consumption level recommended by the WHO.

Municipal water services do not only differ in quantity but also in water charges. Different prices are applicable for different customer segments. Water is provided at a per-litre-rate of Rs.3.49

Rupees to slum dwellers, Rs.4.66 Rupees to regular residential housing structures, Rs.46.65 to commercials, Rs.69.98 to five star hotels and Rs.97.20 to water plants. (HD, 2015) The production costs for water lie around Rs.1.5 per litre. (ibid, 2016, par. 2)

5.3.3 Problems with the Water Distribution System

Mumbai's water supply system provides much room for improvement. Although Mumbai's water purification plants are considered to be the best in Asia, the tap water is often contaminated. Recent reports mention cases where water was infested with worms, smelled heavily and was not clear in colour. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b) For instance, in October 2016 a case was documented where about 50 people were suffering from jaundice and were tested positive with Hepatitis E. (Shinde & Shelar, 2016) Another problem of the current distribution system is that between 25 and 40 percent of water is being lost through unaccounted leakages. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b) Water loss is often put into context with water scarcity, because the reduction of leakages could reduce the city's vulnerability to irregular rainfalls and would also help to address the increasing demand for water resulting from the growing city population.

To address present problems in the water supply system, the Hydraulic Department has launched the Water Distribution Improvement Programme (WDIP). The programme is focusing on the reduction of leakages, the equitable distribution of water services, the increase of water quantity available to households and the establishment of a continuous water supply system. (WDIP, 2016)

One of its ambitious projects is a GIS Survey. At present, there is no functioning mapping system in place and therefore no one can say with certainty how many pipelines have been laid and where they are located. Naturally this complicates the management of the distribution network. With an updated GIS Survey the HD will be able to adjust water pressure in accordance with the topographic and infrastructural requirements. In the current mapping process the department covers between 100 and 300 meters daily and the work is supposed to be completed by the end of 2017. The GIS maps are extremely detailed and include information on leakages, damages and slum areas. (ibid.)

Another major challenge for the department is the problem of contamination. When old connections burst or pipelines are deliberately broken, drainage can enter the water distribution system through leakages and pinholes. This is possible because Mumbai's water distribution system is based on intermittent water supply and during periods of no water supply, drainage can run back into the system. The WDIP has established an emergency cell which deals with the repairing of leakages and uses sounding methods and helium gas to detect them. (HD, 2016, pars. 12-16; WDIP, 2016) To address the issue of intermittent water supply, the WDIP is currently executing a pilot project on continuous water supply in the H-West and K-West wards of Mumbai. The challenge here is to adjust

the water pressure on basis of topographic criteria. (Anand, 2016, p. 11) For instance, water is flowing faster when running down slopes which results in higher water pressure. This excessive water pressure may cause bursts. In contrast, plain areas require higher water pressure. In Mumbai's changing urban landscape water pressure therefore needs to be continuously modified. In frame of the project the WDIP now introduces control valves that shall regulate the pressure across these different areas. Slum areas provide a particular challenge to the project. To develop solutions for continuous water supply in slums, the WDIP works in collaboration with the slum dwellers. Delegates visit the settlements to surveys the situation in the slums and develops a proposal in dialogue with the community and under consideration of technical aspects. (WDIP, 2016)

Another big hurdle for the HD is the pricing of water. Mumbai's high income disparities make the establishment of a universal tariff on water highly problematic. Water needs to be made affordable, but if the tariff is too low for the higher income segment, people may waste it because they can afford to do so. Therefore the HD has set up different tariffs for different income segments (see section 2). To discourage wastage the government has also set up a water charge scheme. Water up to 200 lpcd is provided at lower rates. Beyond that usage, water charges increase significantly. Water meters have been installed to measure the amount of water consumed by the different consumers. This enables the HD to charge households according to their consumption. However, meters were only introduced in the suburbs of Mumbai and the majority of them are malfunctioning. (Shelar, 2016, par. 52; WDIP, 2016)

Beside the problems with the quality and affordability of water there is also the issue of insufficient and unequally distributed amounts of water. The water quantity provided by the water department is below the minimum consumption level recommended by the WHO. Water quantity discriminates between formal and informal housing structures. Also it has been criticised that water is not recycled and reused sufficiently. (PHS, 2016)

Another category of problem arises from internal department and management structures. According to PHS the water department is 30 percent understaffed. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b) Also the fluctuation of Chief Hydraulic Engineers is mentioned at various interviews as a factor inhibiting successful management of the department. (Shelar, 2016, pars. 2, 68-70) Higher positions are often occupied with engineers who are about to retire and they sometimes hold the position for not longer than six months. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b)

5.3.4 Management of the three dimension

In spring 2016 India suffered from one of the heaviest droughts of the past decades. Ten states officially announced critical water shortage, many residents in the rural areas did not have sufficient

drinking water and farmers suffered from large crop failures. In some regions the government had to establish relief camps and hundreds of water tankers were sent to the rural areas to supply water. The State of Maharashtra was severely affected by the drought. Several hospitals in Maharashtra announced emergency operations and had to cancel surgeries. (Putz, 2016)

This shows that the environmental dimension of development has not yet been fully understood and integrated. Water stress is often considered a human-made problem because adequate management of water reserves could save lives in such periods of droughts. (ibid.) Mumbai's water department now aims to increase its efficiency and is therefore on the right path to prevent such crisis situations in future. But addressing the inefficiency of the distribution system does not tackle the problem of prioritizing economic growth over social welfare.

The government provides massive amounts of water to commercial establishments. For instance, Mumbai's water parks use twice the amount of water of the entire city. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 131) Thus, there is not only a need for a more efficient management of resources but also to rebalance priorities of economic growth with social inclusion. The strongest evidence for this was probably when Maharashtra's rural population suffered from acute water scarcity during the drought period and water still flew in masses to Mumbai. Although Mumbai's water department established a water cut during periods of water shortage, the cut was only applicable for residential complexes. Commercial establishments, like bottling plants, were supplied with the same amounts of water even during the cut. (ibid., p. 133)

The economic dimension of access to water is therefore clearly prioritized over the environmental and social dimension. Although the shift towards more efficient solutions slowly includes measures of environmental protection, commercialization is still given priority over the city's residents during times of water crisis. The next section shows that the social dimension is not only given less priority compared to the other dimensions but even neglected by the governing institutions.

5.4 GOVERNANCE AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Access to water in Mumbai is shaped by a history of contradicting policies and conflicting ideologies favouring the rich and discriminating the poor. This section therefore focuses on the social dimension of access to water in Mumbai. It first shows how changing politics have historically shaped access to water in informal settlements (section 4.1) and then deals with the prevailing ideologies of the government (section 4.2) and the current policies that reinforce the geographic spaces of exclusion (section 4.3 onwards).

5.4.1 A brief history of water politics in Mumbai

Since the beginning of the 20th century the urban poor were permitted to encroach the inhabitable wetlands of Mumbai's urban periphery and invested material and financial resources to make the land habitable. Because official water connections did not reach into the settlements, people accessed water through ground water wells. But the rapid urbanization started to affect the city's ground water which became contaminated and people were reported to fall ill. (Shah, 2016, par. 2) The increasingly inhumane conditions in the city's hinterlands and because rapid urbanization drove up the land value, the government began to demolish the settlements and evict people from their homes. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, pp. 206-207) But without providing alternative solutions for the homeless, the evicted dwellers either began to settle down at some other place in the city or returned after the demolition process and rebuilt their hutments. With no acceptable solution for the rapid expansion of informal settlements, more and more NGOs and housing rights movements demanded the extension of urban infrastructure into slums. They argued that if slums could not be eliminated than the government should focus on upgrading them. (ibid., p. 209)

In 1971 the state government passed the Slum Areas Act (see chapter 5.4.4) which authorized the development of municipal infrastructure in declared slums but also the clearance of those that were declared illegal. (O'Hare, et al., 1998) In frame of this policy change the government conducted a slum census in 1976 and began to extend infrastructure services via Slum Upgrade Projects. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 207) Settlers were photographed in front of their dwellings and provided with photo-passes which protected them from forced eviction and made them eligible for the provision of public services. (Burra, 2005) The water department provided owners of the photo-passes with shared water connections.²⁶ All those who were left uncouncted remained vulnerable to forced evictions and demolitions. (Chatterjee, 2004) A wave of mass demolitions in the 1980s then led to the formation of new housing rights movements demanding inclusion. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 209) They negotiated on behalf of the settlers and achieved the introduction of resettlement schemes for those facing eviction (see chapter 5.4.5). (Hansen, 2001; Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001)

To extend water services to those without official documents, the water department took advantage of a BMC Act from 1992 which gave them the rights to sell movable property. The water department then declared water a movable property and started selling it to the residents. Although the concept was not ideal, it provided an interim solution that could be improved over the years. To make sure that water charges were affordable for people in the slums the HD conducted a survey

²⁶ Shared water connections are publicly accessible and provide water for five households. Five families can form a group and apply for a common shared connection. (HD, 2016, p. 14) Various applications were issued with falsified documents because many could not provide the required documents. (See Interview No. 8 and Interview No. 15)

which revealed that 90 percent of the slum residents were families that were not economically weak but simply not in the position to afford a house. (Shah, 2016, pars. 2-4) With the expansion of the slums people started manipulating the shared water connections. In a BMC slum survey it was found that two thirds of the people had individual connections. In 1996 the government then expanded the cut-off date to water service and the BMC was not allowed to sell water to the slum residents anymore. (Shelar, 2016, par. 22; Shah, 2016, par. 4) With this decision the Shiv Sena party deliberately linked the geography of land to the right to water. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 129) As a result informal practices of getting access to water services emerged (see section five).

In 2012 PHS filed a PIL in the High Court arguing that the current government policies are violating the Article 21 of the Constitution of India. In December 2014 the High Court decided that the Municipal Corporation cannot deny access to water to people on basis of their housing structures. It ordered the MCGM to provide a proposal by April 2015. (Shelar, 2016, par. 12) The issue was tabled and rejected more than five times by the Standing Committee of the Municipal Corporation. (Sheikh, R., 2016, par. 6) Only in face of the upcoming elections scheduled for February 2017 the Standing Committee changed its position and approved it. In June 2016 it released a proposal which laid down several conditions dwellers must comply with to access water services. The proposal also excluded about two third of the people in need of water. (Women Community Indira Gandhi Nagar, 2016) (Shelar, 2016, par. 70) For instance, water would not be provided to pavement dwellers and dwellers living on private lands or land for public purposes. Those living on central government land would be required to obtain a no-objection-certificate from the central agency before approaching the corporation for water supply. In addition, water would be provided at higher rates compared to authorized slums. (Yadav, 2016)

The discontent about the new proposal was expressed in form of a massive protest march on 28th of November 2016. People carried contaminated water in bottles to the Headquarters of the MCGM and demanded their inclusion (see figure 9, for more photos see Annex 23). On the very same day the MCGM made a concession in public and committed to provide water to all its citizen.



Figure 9: Women with water bottles in front of the MCGM. (PHS March on 28.11.2016)

5.4.2 The Ideology of the Government

Mumbai is a city of immigrants and was founded on the very principles of freedom for religion and tenant security (see section one). Both of these principles have been neglected by the government in contemporary Mumbai. The Hindu radical Shiv Sena party believes that Mumbai belongs to the Marathis and promotes a strict anti-migrant agenda. However, this ideology seems to be directed primarily towards the poor population. (Shelar, 2016, par. 12) To deny immigrants access to the city the party denies them access to housing and since 1996 also access to water. (Shelar., par. 8; Sheikh, R., 2016, par. 4) There are two apparent contradictions in this policy agenda. First, many of the city's immigrants are Maharashtrians themselves. Most of the rural economy relies on monsoon-based agriculture. With a bad harvest the people fall into poverty and migrate to the cities in search of employment. (Shah, 2016, par. 68) Second, there is an ethos in Hinduism that guarantees a space in heaven for those providing water to the people in need. (Shelar, 2016, par. 48) But self-interests and power aspirations are replacing traditional values in an increasingly commercialized and capitalist city. It is often officially argued that slums are illegal and therefore excluded from access to fundamental basic needs. But illegal are in principle all encroachments that are occupying land without authorization or violating zoning laws. (Björkman, 2015, p. 101) Therefore many five-star hotels and luxury residential complexes are illegal structures but none of them have been denied access to water. Instead they often receive water connections on humanitarian grounds. (Shelar, 2016, par. 12)

These ideological ideas have translated into several policies that promote an attitude of urban exclusion (see next unit). This phenomenon of removing immigrants from spaces across the city on

ideological grounds has been increasingly observed in India and described as bourgeois environmentalism. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 124)

5.4.3 Land Rights and Land Reservation

Land rights and land reservation are two significant parameter decisive for the provision of water connections to informal settlements. Land in India can be owned privately or by different government authorities. The governance of the land is reserved for the owner. (Shah, 2016, par. 14) If dwellers have settled on private or central government land, the municipal corporation does not have the authority to act on these lands. Therefore they are not entitled to provide water connections. (Shelar, 2016, par. 2) But encroachments on central government land are particularly likely because of the very fact that they are not governed locally and people cannot get so easily evicted from there by the Municipal Corporation. (Shah, 2016, par. 28) For instance, many people have settled at the railways, ports and airport land which is owned by the central government. However, more recently the municipal corporation was ordered to take over the responsibility to vacate lands owned by state or central government which had been occupied by dwellers. Therefore many settlements on state and central government land have been included into the Slum Rehabilitation Schemes (SRS) (see chapter 5.4.5). But eligibility for redevelopment schemes in this cases does not qualify for the temporary provision of water services.

Another important factor is the purpose for which land is officially reserved. In frame of Mumbai's development plan the municipal corporation can reserve land for specific purposes and evict people from private land if it undermines the city's development plan.²⁷ Land can be reserved for different intendments such as commercial and industrial purposes or for the restoration and protection of environmental assets such as forest and lakes. About 20 percent of the city's total land is reserved for housing. Figure 10 provides a detailed map that links occupied land with its land reservation. About 47 percent of Mumbai's informal settlements are residing on land reserved for housing and residential purposes. Water connections can only be granted on land that is reserved for this specific purpose. The remaining settlements occupy land that is either reserved for another purpose or owned by the central government (airport, railways, and ports). Although the numbers show that only eight percent of Mumbai's land is occupied by informal housing structures, the dwellers that are occupying land reserved for another purpose but housing account for more than six million people.²⁸ The many people who are not in the position to afford an accommodation in a settlement

²⁷ To compensate for the loss of land the government can grant land rights to the owner for another plot of land. (Government of Maharashtra, 1991)

²⁸ Calculation is based on the UN estimated population of 27,000,000. (UN DESA Populations Division, 2016, p. 93)

and are consequently living on the footpaths are also excluded from water services offending the right of the pedestrian to walk on the sidewalks. (PK Das & Associates, 2011)

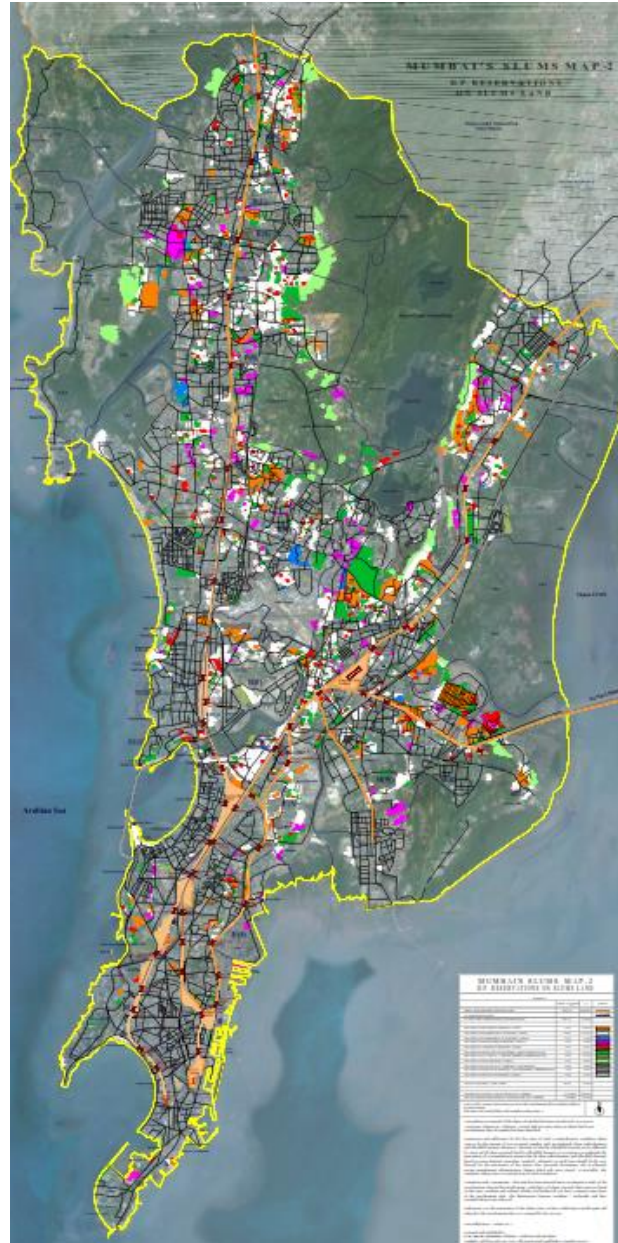


Figure 10: Slum Reservation Map. (PK Das & Associates, 2011)

5.4.4 Maharashtra Slum Areas Act

In 1971 the Government of Maharashtra passed the Maharashtra Slum Areas Act to protect occupiers of dwelling structures from forced evictions. In frame of this act the government conducted a census and provided people with photo-passes as a form of legal document that provides them with tenure security. For the issuing of photo-passes government officials came to the settlements and took pictures of the dwellers in front of their houses. This measures was active from 1976 to the 1st of

January 1995. All dwellers holding a photo-pass issued in this time period are protected under the Act. At the same time dwellers that could not provide such identification were not covered under the Act and remained vulnerable to forced eviction. This date is formally known as the cut-off date, converting a residence proof to a document that classifies people as legal or illegal. Over the course of years many people reported that no government official had ever come to them to issue a photo-pass although they had been living in Mumbai for decades. After several protests against the establishment of the cut-off date as an instrument discriminating the poor, the government was forced to extend the cut-off date to 2000, which is the valid date until today.

Regardless of the cut-off date people had been able to legally purchase water connections from the Municipal Corporation and reconcile the time until they would get evicted. But on 4th of March 1996 the Shiv Sena party extended the cut-off date to water services and the Urban Development Department of the Government of Maharashtra issued a circular instructing local authorities not to supply water to unauthorized constructions. (Pani Haq Samiti & Ors. Vs. Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation & Ors., 2014, p. 5) The new policy was adapted to the water charge rules of the MCGM effective from 1st of June 2002 stating that water connections will not be approved to settlements that have come into existence after the 1st of January 1995. (HD, 2015) With the formal extension of the cut-off date to the 1st of January 2000 the water charge rule 6.9 now provides for a water supply to slum areas in existence till 1st of January 2000 (Pani Haq Samiti & Ors. Vs. Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation & Ors., 2014, p. 4) Therefore the provision of water services now depends on whether or not one can provide a residence proof issued before the year 2000. According to PHS more than two million people do not hold such residence proof and are denied access to water and other basic services. (Pani Haq Samiti, 2016b)

One such example is the authorized settlement Indira Gandhi Nagar Pipeline that is located on top of a pipeline (see figure 11). Since 30 years there is a big leakage in the pipeline that occasionally gets repaired by BMC officials and broken up again by the residents. Many people in the authorized settlement do not rely on the leakage anymore because they have obtained legal water connections. But some of them are not entitled to water connections because they do not comply with the cut-off date. Tremendous amounts of water are lost through the leakage.



Figure 11: A woman and a girl are fetching water from the leakage in the pipeline.

(Photo taken at the field visit on 24.10.2016)

5.4.5 Slum Rehabilitation Schemes

In 1988 the first national housing policy provided a framework to secure affordable housing for the increasingly homeless urban poor. In line with the liberalization of the country in 1991 the State Government of Maharashtra decided to launch a slum rehabilitation programme that would involve private sector engagement and reduce the role of the government to that of a facilitator. (Nijman, 2008) Under the name SRS the State Government introduced a programme that grants private developers lucrative concessions for rehabilitating slum settlements. The developers construct residential buildings for the dwellers of a settlement and provide them with apartments free of cost. (Björkman, 2015, p. 111) In turn they receive the development rights for luxury housing on the land that has been vacated through the resettlement of the slum. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 205) The Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) was established to oversee the projects. (ibid., p. 210)

In Mumbai's high-priced real estate market this scheme became an attractive opportunity for many developers promising high profit margins. It links economic growth with social inclusion while being nearly of no cost to the government. (Nijman, 2008) It also grants settlers the ownership rights of the land and therefore provides them with the opportunity to negotiate the terms of the resettlement. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 202) For instance, 70 percent consensus from the

residing tenants is required for project implementation. (Brook, 2013, p. 345) Although they could practically dictate the redevelopment conditions to the builder, the heterogenic population was often unable to reach consensus about their requirements. This provided an opportunity for the builder to bypass the slum dwellers. (Shah, 2016, pars. 42-44) Therefore NGOs often take over the negotiations on behalf of the settlers. But individual occupants also bypass NGOs and engage directly with the builder in order to secure better conditions for themselves. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 206) It has also been documented that developers have forged documents on behalf of ineligible tenants to gain their consent. (ibid., p. 212)

Corrupt practices like these have empowered builders and the SRS has turned from a promising programme into a highly contradictory government scheme benefiting the private sector at the expense of the poor segment. Much resistance came from organizations, movements and dwellers when the builders tried to resettle the dwellers at the city's outskirts instead of resettling them adjacent to their previous homes as ordered by the State Government. Facing the strong resistance of the dwellers, the Maharashtra State Housing Secretary announced in 2007 in-situ housing as a more humane solution for resettlement. (ibid., pp. 201-202) Under the in-situ scheme dwellers are resettled on the very same land they have occupied. The builders are granted development rights for 60 percent of the land and 40 percent are reserved for the construction of housing for the occupants. Compared to ex-situ housing in-situ housing also provides opportunities for a better inclusion of the poor in the urban geography of the city. (ibid., pp. 203-204)

However, in-situ housing does not address the problem of corruption in the implementation process and the SRS remains a programme primarily benefiting corrupt government officials and private developers. For instance, it has been documented that corrupt officials manipulate the terms and conditions to the benefit of the developers. (ibid., p. 203) For instance, builders often take away some 70 percent of the land and squeeze the slum dwellers into the remaining 30 percent. (Das, 2016, par. 12) Seeking profit maximization, they also minimize their investments and build low-cost, low-quality, high-rise buildings that drive up maintenance costs for the new occupants. Although the builder has to provide a fixed amount of money for the maintenance of the building which is deposited on a bank account on the name of the society, it is not always efficiently managed by the diverse community. (Shah, 2016, par. 70) The SRS also does not provide solutions for increased family size (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 211). Families of five or more are squeezed into small one room apartments.

Despite these short-comings the SRS must also be evaluated in the broader picture. It is a scheme that was created with the intendment to link economic growth with social inclusion under a

neoliberal policy agenda and should therefore be recognized as such. The critical point is that it was introduced to address the problem of affordable housing in Mumbai. But the SRS policy does not directly address the problem of affordable housing but provides a solution for those who live in informal settlements and are covered under the cut-off policy. (Anand & Rademacher, 2013, p. 205) It neglects all the informal settlers that do not comply with the cut-off date and also leaves behind many middle-class people sharing rooms in rented apartments. In addition, the scheme has encouraged a surplus of high-income buildings of which around 450,000 apartments are currently unoccupied. (Das, 2016, par. 12) At the same time more and more people come to the city of which most of them are unable to find an affordable place and consequently end up encroaching land that is provided to them by the slum lords.

The current SRS scheme has two implications for access to water in Mumbai. On the one hand it grants beneficiaries official access to basic amenities when they shift into one of the SRA buildings. On the other hand many occupants remain excluded from the scheme and continue living in the same inhumane conditions. For the management of water services this means that the SRS does not change the city's geographic arrangements which is specifically what makes the provision of water services across Mumbai a big challenge for the water department. This way the department has to provide water to three different types of customers through a single network. 50 percent of the consumers are living in slums, 20 percent in old buildings and 30 percent in new buildings. However, geographically they live side by side which means that the water supply network has to vary in water pressure and quantity from one house to the next house. To provide continuous water supply in such a diverse arrangement is technically very difficult. (Shah, 2016, par. 40) Slum redevelopment therefore would provide a solution for the provision of water services only if implemented universally. Also, corrupt practices of builders further complicate the work for the water department. When builders increase the storeys of the rehabilitation buildings, water needs to be pumped up with higher pressure which increases the costs for the water department. (ibid., par. 42)

5.5 CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Discriminative policies and policy contradictions have led to the prohibiting of municipal water services in unauthorized structures. The water department has both the responsibility to supply the residents with water and the duty to comply with existing policies. In response to the political framework several consequences have evolved which are presented in this section.

5.5.1 Slums Lords, Goons and Mafias

Informal settlements are a result of the absence of affordable housing in Mumbai. However they do not naturally emerge but are brought into being by slum lords and corrupt officials. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 129) Slum lords, also known as goons, act as the representatives of the settlements or the heads of the community. They control the settlements and encourage their expansion by selling land or plots to newcomers. (Shah, 2016, pars. 29,34) They have no ownership of the land and often work with forged documents to support their legitimacy. (Depak, 2016, par. 10) Immigrants seldom have an alternative but to move into one of the settlements. From then onwards people depend on the goodwill of their slum lord, who profits from the vulnerable situation of the people and constantly betrays them. (Women Community Indira Gandhi Nagar, 2016) Slum lords seek power and financial profits and usually have strong political back-up. (Shah, 2016, pars. 62-68)

They are part of a larger mafia network and willing to enforce their understanding of law and order by violence, if necessary. (Depak, 2016, par. 14) As people rely on the local goons and fear to file official complaints against them, they rarely get arrested. (Shah, 2016, par. 32) Non-governmental actors are not directly engaging with them because they consider them a by-products of the government's policies. (Shelar, 2016, par. 64)

5.5.2 Informal Practices to access Water

The high real estate prices in Mumbai have forced many people to move into informal settlements. There they have been denied a legal status and now they rely on corrupt officials, slum lords and mafias to access water. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 127) Mumbai's HD supplies water to 99 percent of the city's population either in a formal or in an informal manner. (Shelar, 2016, par. 2) There are several ways of getting access to water in an informal manner. If people live in a legal settlement but they do not possess a residence proof issued before 2000, they may apply for legal water connections with forged documents. There are people inside the water department who are aware of the forged documents but they support the dwellers and take a stand against the existing policies. (Shah, 2016, par. 18) This can have many reasons. One is that otherwise dwellers would have to fetch water from bore wells or other contaminated sources which would result in illnesses. Excluding people from water services would then also become an issue for the health department. (ibid., par. 4) Another point is that the people that are excluded from municipal water supply deliberately break pipelines to access water which in turn impacts on the efficiency of the distribution system (see chapter 5.3.3 and chapter 5.5.3).

People living on land where the BMC has no authority may apply for an illegal water connection. This usually works for people who have ties into the water department, such as slum

lords. They pay a licensed plumber between Rs.20,000 and Rs.60,000 to organize a water connection. (Vanjare, 2016, par. 43; Graham, et al., 2013, p. 130) Sometimes they issue several water connections on the names of different individuals but local goons maintain the control over all these connections. T.V. Shah estimates that between 40 and 50 percent of those water connections are controlled by slum lords. These slum lords then charge people for the water. (Shah, 2016, par. 4)

A third method is to access water from the water mafia. There are different mafias at work but they all purchase the water from the Municipal Corporation and then sell it to the slum residents that are excluded from official water services. Individual government officials sell water to these players and pocket some extra money in exchange for a legal license. (Shelar, 2016, par. 46; Vanjare, 2016, pars. 33-41) The sale is registered as an official tender process by which the owner of the water tanker becomes the tender and the driver's salary is provided by the BMC. (Vanjare, 2016, par. 49) Such private water tankers can be seen daily all over Mumbai (see figure 12). Because this is an unofficial process it remains unclear how many people are actually involved in this kind of activities. (ibid., par. 43) According to Graham et al. Mumbai's water mafia is "a set of loose alliances used to exploit water scarcity among Mumbai's population" consisting of corrupt government officials, the police, owners of water tankers and middlemen such as slum lords (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 118). But also Members of the Parliament appear to play a major role in the informal distribution network. (Vanjare, 2016, par. 47)

The watermafias sells water to about a quarter of Mumbai's population and make large profits from it. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 121) (Ashkandam, 2016, paragraph 2) They draw on different methods to deliver the water and charge the dwellers prices way above the municipal water charges. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 135) In times of water shortages rates climb up to as much as double of the usual water charges. (Vanjare, 2016, par. 31)



Figure 12: Private Water Tanker. (Photo taken during the field research)

Resistance against these corrupt practices are rare because the mafia is considered to be dangerous and disrupting their business would have physical consequences. But there are some people inside the communities who eventually stand up against these mafias and are successful. (ibid., pars. 59-65)

5.5.3 Embedded realities

Mafias, goons and corrupt practices are no phenomena that can be restricted to unauthorized settlements. They tend to exploit opportunities wherever government policies do not reach. The present policy framework has therefore created an urban landscape where formal and informal ways of getting access to water coexist. One such example is the problem of bill recovery. Slum dwellers with legal water connections are often blamed for not paying their bills. (HD, 2016, par. 18) Though the reason often lies somewhere else. (Shah, 2016, pars. 4-6)

The government's system of bill collection in authorized settlements is flawed. People do not have proper addresses and this provides slum lords with a loophole for corruption. (Sheikh, R., 2016, par. 12) For instance, Indira Gandhi Nagar Pipeline is an authorized slum community in Bandra East, Mumbai. Many people of the authorized slum have legal water connections since 2007. Everyone who had applying for a legal connection had paid the society representative Rs.200 for the installation of the pipelines and for bill recovery. People in the settlements don't have addresses and therefore the representative receives a collective water bill for the entire community. But people came to know that the pipelines had been installed for free and that the representative had never paid the bills. They now have an unpaid bill of Rs.150, 000 which they will not be able to pay. Consequently they fear that their connections will be cut off. (Women Community Indira Gandhi Nagar, 2016) The people were

betrayed by the local slum lords who pocketed the money instead of settling the bill. This is not the only case. T.V. Shah states in his interview that he had to deal with a similar case where the representative had run away with the money. He solved the problem by making them pay 50 percent instantly and recover the rest over the next three years. (Shah, 2016, par. 78)

T.V. Shah argues that this kind of corrupt practices within the community and exercised by the local goons are one of the major reasons of why government measures do not work out. One of the consequences of the corrupt practices of the slum lords is that it has in turn created trust and faith towards NGOs. The women in Indira Gandhi Nagar Pipeline report for instance that whatever rumour or information they come to know about, they first consult NGOs to verify the information and ask them for help. They have earned their trust over the course of time and unlike the slum lords they do not charge them for filling out forms on their behalf. (Women Community Indira Gandhi Nagar, 2016)

5.6 THE WAY FORWARD

Chapter three has discussed that a representative democratic system may be limited to bring the transformative change required for social inclusion. Therefore section 6.1 examines the potential of the current democratic system to introduce change that favours the urban poor. Section 6.2 then assess the current development path of the government and the implications for the achievement of the SDG 6.

5.6.1 The Failure of the Democratic System

In Mumbai's representative democratic system the urban poor are of critical importance to the politicians. The rich and wealthy often rely on their money and boycott the elections, but Mumbai's slum residents have a near-perfect voter turn-out. (Brook, 2013, p. 343) With more than 50 percent of people living in slums electoral outcomes stay and fall with the urban poor. During the election cycle dwellers often become legal because politicians have an interest in getting their votes. They extensively campaign in slums by making electoral promises to gain their votes. (Graham, et al., 2013, p. 130) The provision of water services often becomes one such promise during the election cycle but politicians do not comply with their promises whether or not they get elected (see chapter 6) (ibid., p. 138). This can be explained by two things. On the one hand, the power of individual politicians is restricted because they alone cannot pass a policy. On the other hand, the inhumane conditions in the slums also provide politicians with an opportunity to make their electoral promises accordingly. Politicians can address the inhumane condition in the slums in their electoral campaigns and therefore have an interest in boycotting their upward mobility. One such example was described in the interview

with former Chief Hydraulic Engineer T.V. Shah. He had installed a water tank in a settlement which was taken away by politicians. Shah argued that if people's problems get solved there is no reason for them anymore to vote for any politician. (Shah, 2016, par. 56)

Therefore the functions of an indirect democracy is completely annulled in Mumbai. Dwellers have no power in controlling the government's activities but become victims of a corrupt network in which they are kept in misery only to deliver their votes. Then why do those people that are constantly being cheated not participate in the elections themselves? One answer to this question was given by former HD Engineer T.V. Shah who argued that settlements are highly heterogeneous places. The people living in slum communities are from diverse backgrounds. They differ in culture, ethnicity, income, religion and political views. Therefore the people do not unite as a collective force. No single member would be backed up by the entire settlement. . (Shah, 2016, par. 72) Instead people often align with sympathizing parties and get involved into corrupt practices to their own benefits. (Shanti, 2016, par. 18) The lack of unity in settlements is therefore often considered the weakness of the urban poor and the reason for why they can get exploited by developers, mafias, politicians and slum lords. (Shanti, 2016, par. 24; Shah, 2016, pars. 42-46) The opportunity for exploitation is however created by government policies. All government schemes develop "slum solutions" which do not recognize the settlements as heterogeneous places but treat them as single entities. Although it is questionable whether any government could develop more tailored solutions that would prevent corruption to get out of hand, the political ideology of the government has shown that this is not necessarily their intention.

This leads to the question how the urban poor can be empowered in a way that the shortcomings of the present representative democratic system could be overcome. Shah argues that people need to unite to change the system and that NGOs are required to create a sense of unity against the prevailing structures. (Shah, 2016, pars. 46, 104-106) This view is shared by Nivara Hakk's co-founder PK Das as well. (Das, 2016, par. 2)

5.6.2 Implications for Sustainable Development

Section one has shown how Mumbai has developed from a city of unity and diversity into a city of intolerance and discrimination. An explanation for this development was offered in section two. The section highlighted economic growth as a national priority with increasing focus on environmental aspects and comparatively little emphasis on social aspects. A similar scenario has been observed at the state level. The State Government of Maharashtra has introduced policies encouraging economic growth but without promoting social inclusion, the social dimensions has fallen behind and economic benefits have translated into a widening socio-economic gap. Today Mumbai's water is governed

primarily under consideration of economic and environmental aspects, leading to unsustainable outcomes. Some of the outcomes at the system level were presented in section five. The previous section has shown that the current representative democratic system does not provide a solution to restore the balance between economic growth, environmental protection and social inclusion. This suggests that non-governmental actors are required to correct the development path of the government and to accomplish the SDGs.

6 ACCESS TO WATER IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

The previous chapter revealed how discriminative policies prevent many slum dwellers from getting legal access to municipal water supply. This had systemic consequences such as the establishment of informal networks to access water. This chapter aims to look beyond the broader picture and maps the situation and repercussions in two settlements that are excluded from official water services. This micro-level analyses intends to complement the picture drawn in chapter five by analysing the current status of SDG 6 and the relationships between SDG 6 and other SDGs in frame of two concrete cases studies. Section one presents the case of Ambujwadi and section two the case of Kaula Bunder. A conclusive assessment is provided in section three.

6.1 A CASE STUDY ON AMBUJWADI

Ambujwadi²⁹ is an informal settlement in the north-western suburbs of Mumbai. It is located in Malad West, a district in the P-North ward. The ward is one of the most highly populated wards in Mumbai. 64 percent of the ward population lives in slum areas of which more than 50,000 people live in Ambujwadi. (MCGM, 2010; Tata Sons Ltd., 2014) The settlement is divided into two parts: Ambujwadi and Babrekar Nagar. Babrekar Nagar was originally a settlement in Kandiwali³⁰ but the government demolished the houses in Kandiwali and resettled Babrekar Nagar to Ambujwadi. Today Ambujwadi is spread over 36 acres³¹ out of which ten percent is occupied by Babrekar Nagar. (Sumati, 2016, par. 6) Unlike Ambujwadi, Babrekar Nagar is a legal settlement. Figure 13 provides an impression on the dimensions of the settlement.

²⁹The English spelling varies.

³⁰ Another district in Mumbai.

³¹ 36 acre equals 15.4 hectare.



Figure 13: Google View of Ambujwadi.

Ambujwadi is a 25 year old settlement. (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 2) Therefore residents technically remain untouched by the cut-off date. However, most dwellers cannot prove that they have lived in the settlement before 2000. Those who have a pre-2000 residence proof have been allotted a house in Babrekar Nagar. Currently 728 people legally live in Babrekar Nagar. More than 49,000 people remain legally unrecognized in Ambujwadi. Over the past years, many people had observed that dwellers in Babrekar Nagar got access to basic amenities. Therefore, they increasingly shifted to Ambujwadi in the hope they would be granted the same facilities at some point of time. (Sumati, 2016, par. 6) But their hopes were wiped out with the latest development plan.

For the longest time the land on which Ambujwadi was constructed had been classified as habitable. Slum dwellers were eligible for public services and SRS. Only people residing at less than 100 metre distance to the creek were not covered under the schemes because this strip of land is a protected Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ). There were however rumours among the dwellers that the CRZ would be reduced. The latest development plan of Mumbai now classifies Ambujwadi as No Development Zone (NDZ)³². With the changed classification of the land, the settlement is now considered illegal and all its dwellers ineligible for any government services. (ibid.)

6.1.1 Access to Water

From its emergence in 1992 until today there have been no official water services to Ambujwadi. (Gupta, 2016, par. 12; Sumati, 2016, par. 18; Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 2) Therefore people draw on informal practices to access water. Presently, there are three types of water sources accessible for the

³² This land cannot be developed.

people in Ambujwadi: tap water, sea water and rain water. All three water sources differ in availability, cost and quality. The tap water has the highest quality but is not available inside Ambujwadi. It is the only drinking water source for the dwellers and will be examined in detail in the next unit.

Sea water is available inside the settlement. Some people have taken advantage of the proximity to the creek and have paid between 50,000 and 70,000 Rupees for the boring of 15 to 25 feet deep wells.³³ (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 18) People refer to it as boring water. At first, there was only one public well, and everyone had contributed to its construction. The well was shut down later on and individuals constructed new wells.³⁴ (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, figs. 3-4) Today, all wells are in private ownership. Two different well water distribution systems have emerged. Some wells are publicly accessible (see figure 14). (ibid., figs. 3, 44). People pay a monthly rate of 200 Rupees and get the water directly from the well. At some wells, sea water is pumped up with a hand-pump (ibid, figs. 32, 33, 45). At others, people lower their empty buckets to the bottom of the well to fill them up. Sometimes electric pumps are used to fill the ground water into the gallons (ibid., fig. 40).



Figure 14: Women are filling their water buckets at a well in Ambujwadi. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 44)

At some places, people have wells inside their houses, or at least right in front (see figure 15). Usually they have drilled them themselves and use the water only for private consumption. (ibid., figs.. 34-37) In these cases, the owners usually use buckets to withdraw water. For selling purposes they deliver water directly to their neighbours' homes. A pipeline is lowered to the ground of the well and laid to the customer. (ibid., fig. 41) A motor is used deliver the water. For this service people pay 300 Rupees

³³ Equals four to six metres.

³⁴A reason for why it was shut down could not be given in the interview.

per month. (ibid., fig. 28) People are aware that they cannot use it for drinking purposes but they use it for cleaning, washing clothes and bathing.



Figure 15: A women is getting water from a well in front of her house. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 36)

The only free water source in Ambujwadi is rain water. But as rain is seasonal it is only available during monsoon. People use rain water for drinking, cooking, bathing and washing but they have no adequate facilities for the storage and treatment of water. (Gupta, 2016, pars. 19-22)

6.1.2 Access to safe and affordable Drinking Water

As described in chapter five, the BMC provides shared water connections to dwellers in authorized settlements. This is also the case in Babrekar Nagar. Five households share one publicly accessible connections which provides 45 lpcd. (Sumati, 2016, par. 18) But the majority of people living in Ambujwadi rely on informal ways to access fresh water. They purchase tap water at a bus stop located about one kilometre outside the settlement. (Gupta, 2016, pars. 2, 12) The water is provided by the tenants of a residence complex called mahada.³⁵ Residents living in this building complex have regular water connections and sell water to the people living in Ambujwadi. They purchase water from the municipality at a rate of two Rupees per 1.000 litre. The same water is sold to the dwellers at a rate of five Rupees per 35 litre gallon. (ibid., par. 2) This is more than 140 times of the official water charge rates. They can establish such high water charges because dwellers in Ambujwadi are nearly fully depend on their services. The only alternative water source is an additional two kilometres ahead.

³⁵The apartments in mahada are for sale. Dwellers of Ambujwadi can participate in a lottery and in case they win they get a discount on the actual apartment prize. (Sumati, 2016, pp. 34-36)

(Sumati, 2016, par. 30) Sales prices are also prone to fluctuations. In times of water shortage at mahada, people pay significantly more for the same amount of water. Also, prices have increased over time. Initially people paid only five Rupees per gallon. (Gupta, 2016, par. 2; Sumati, 2016, par. 40)

The pricing of water is a big issue for many families. Those who cannot financially afford to fill up their gallons on a daily basis either restrict their personal consumption or go to the alternative water selling point some additional two kilometres ahead. The water there is provided by dwellers with shared water connections. They first fill up their own gallons and then sell the water they can spare. Water charges are much lower compared to mahada but the waiting lines are much longer. (Sumati, 2016, par. 46) Most people cannot spare so much time because they work or have to go to school. Therefore mahada remains the primary source for fresh water.

To make water available for purchase, municipal underground pipelines that supply water to mahada have been hacked and illegally extended. Hand pumps and motors are used to create pressure to pump up the water from the underground pipelines that have been hacked. There are four or five such installments in the area (see figure 16). (Children at Ambjuwadi, 2016, fig. 14) In some cases, illegal over ground pipelines have been laid for business purposes (ibid., fig. 11). Interestingly there are also official over ground pipelines crossing Ambujwadi but they have not been broken deliberately by the residents (ibid., figs. 8, 16).



Figure 16: Water is pumped by hand at one of the withdrawal stations. (Children at Ambjuwadi, 2016, fig. 16)

Water is purchased outside the walled building complex and is available any time throughout the day. (Gupta, 2016, par. 8) People first pay a money collector who can be a shopkeeper or some individual who commutes between the withdrawal stations (ibid., figs. 11, 14). These collectors usually live in Ambujwadi. They have entered the water business and are understood to be a part of the water mafia.

It is assumed that they get paid for collecting the money and hand over the daily earnings to the people living in mahada. (ibid., fig. 12)

Water can be withdrawn for private or commercial purposes. If water is sourced privately then individuals take their empty gallons to mahada, get them filled and return home. This is either done by walking or if available by bicycle³⁶ (see figure 17). (ibid., figs. 7, 8, 15, 20, 22, 26) In most cases the children between 10 and 15 years of age are assigned with this task either because both parents are working or because the mother has to take care of the smaller children. Households can also get water delivered to their homes because some dwellers have made water delivery a business. To get the water delivered at door-step, the dwellers have to pay an additional Rs.20 per gallon. Due to additional cost, this service is either opted by those who are relatively wealthy or by those who have no one to fetch water from the source. (Gupta, 2016, par. 4)



Figure 17: A boy is transporting water gallons by bicycle. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 7)

Like money collectors, people engaged in water delivery are living in Ambujwadi and considered to be part of the water mafia. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 19) People are operating with different means of transportation. Water gets delivered by wagons, tempos, auto-rickshaws, handcarts and bicycles. (ibid., figs. 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 23, 27, 38) Tempos and handcarts are more spacious and can carry more water gallons but they can only access the main roads in the settlement. Auto-rickshaws and bicycles can deliver water to households that are more difficult to access. Especially the many narrow alleys departing from the main roads are only accessible by walking or bicycle. (ibid., figs. 42, 43) Some of the tempos are equipped with an integrated water tank (see figure 18). (ibid., figs. 19, 25) In this

³⁶The amount of gallons that are carried were used by the interviewees to estimate whether a person withdraws water for private or commercial purposes. Figure 18 shows a man carrying two gallons at his bicycle, the man on figure 17 of Annex 21 carries seven gallons on his bicycle. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, figs. 7, 17)

case dwellers can carry their empty gallons to one of the main streets and access water directly from the tank.



Figure 18: People are filling their water gallons from a tempo with integrated water tank at one of the main roads in Ambujwadi. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 25)

Technically everyone who owns a mode of transport can engage into water delivery services. Usually this is a business for people to make some extra money on the side. They pick up the empty gallons from the doorstep and collect as many gallons as they can carry. The empty gallons are left at one of the withdrawal stations outside mahada building complex. All gallons are lined and filled up as per time of arrival. (ibid., fig. 10) Deliverers may leave and pursue their usual business. Later they pick up the full gallons for five Rupees each and deliver them to the doorsteps of the individual households where they charge them 25 Rupees per gallon. (Gupta, 2016, pars. 2-4)

Households then use the water for drinking and cooking purposes. People from Ambujwadi are aware that municipal water is often contaminated. Some people use water purifiers but those who do not have one often fall ill. (Gupta, 2016, par. 16-18; Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 39)

During monsoon season people also use rain water as alternative source for drinking, cooking and other purposes. People collect the rain water streaming down from their roofs and store it in plastic containers in front of their houses. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 29) They do not have any facilities to treat the water but as rain water appears to be as clean as tap water, people who are not aware of the risks consume it and fall ill. (Gupta, 2016, pars. 18-22)

6.1.3 Sanitation, Hygiene and Open Defecation

Drinking water-related practices in Ambujwadi are extremely unhygienic. Some of them are a side effect of the informal water distribution system, others are related to household practices. Problems

already start with tapping official water pipelines. Breaking pipelines implies the risk of contaminating the water distribution network. (WDIP, 2016, p. 2) Therefore, the water pumped up through extended pipelines may already differ in quality compared to the water from the tap. Also, gallons are often left uncovered. Considering the pollution in this area, these practices may impose serious health risks. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 29) Also, much drinking water gets wasted during the process of withdrawal leading to water puddles that often transform into breeding grounds for mosquitos. (ibid., fig. 12, 33)

The situation remains equally precarious when it comes to other practices that require the use of water. The boring water people use for bathing, washing clothes and cleaning is salty and infested with insects. (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 2; Children at Ambjuwadi, 2016, fig. 3, 4; Sumati, 2016, par. 18) Bathing and washing often results in rashes and other skin infections. (Gupta, 2016, par 18). Despite their awareness on the health risks, people have no alternative but to use it as there is no better water available at comparable costs.

Another problem is that Ambujwadi has no sanitary facilities. People either practice open defecation or they use common toilets in Babrekar Nagar at a cost of eight to ten Rupees per day³⁷. But the latter also requires time to stand in the waiting line. Most people don't have the time to spare as they have work to do or schools to attend. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 30) Ambujwadi used to have common toilets but they were destroyed by the government in frame of the mass demolition in 2004 to prevent people from settling down again. The toilets used to be at the centre of the settlement. Today, the big hole that was left after the demolition is used for sewage disposal (see figure 19). Gutters are built into the pathways in Ambujwadi and used to drain water from defecation, sewing and industrial purposes to the site. (ibid., fig. 40)

³⁷Public toilets in India are usually available at the cost of one or two Rupees for urination and three to five Rupees for defecation.



Figure 19: Site used for sewage disposal and open defecation. (Children at Ambujwadi, 2016, fig. 30)

People also manually drop their sewage there and practice open defecation. Not all waste and wastewater ends up at the sewage disposal. Several dumping sites were observed during the field visits in Ambujwadi. Sewage is also dropped at open spaces, which causes a lot of trouble with mosquito-related diseases, such as dengue. (ibid., fig. 8)

6.1.4 Impact on related SDGs

Poverty (SDG 1), Health (SDG 3), Education (SDG 4) and Work (SDG 8) were identified to be influenced by the water situation in Ambujwadi. First, the daily expenditure on water had impacts on the affordability of other goods and services and contributed to the peoples' poverty (SDG 1). (Gupta, 2016, par. 14) Second, health and well-being is significantly affected by the hygienic conditions, the lack of sanitary facilities and the quality of water, especially when people bath and wash their clothes with well water, or when they use rain water for cooking and drinking purposes. Open garbage and sewage disposal as well as open water sources put people at risk of waterborne diseases.

Another problem is that the lack of official water services has a direct impact on the children's education. One reason is that it is usually their responsibility to get the water. As water is prioritized over schooling these children are missing out on their classes. (ibid., par. 52) In addition to that there is no drinking water available in the BMC schools and children often stay thirsty during classes. (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 2) The assumption can be made that this also impacts on the level of concentration and the learning capacity of the children. In addition, time needed for education and work determines whether people purchase water at a higher cost or whether they can invest more time to stand in line for water at lower rates.

6.1.5 Water Politics in Ambujwadi

Over the course of years people in Ambujwadi have had bad experiences with government officials and politicians. During electoral campaigns people are usually promised water in return for their votes, but the promises have not translated into actions. At one point of time a water tank had been installed to lure people into votes but when the respective party didn't win the election the water tank was taken away again. (Gupta, 2016, par. 30; Sumati, 2016, par. 70)

People are aware that the government does not provide them with water because they are considered to be illegal. However, their own understanding of legality largely differs from that of the government. (Sumati, 2016, par. 30) Due to the awareness work of PHS, people are aware of the High Court Order and that they have a right to water services. Although the government has been inactive in implementing the court's order, Ambujwadi is one of the communities where PHS, the local member organization YUVA and other organizations are currently in dialogue with the BMC authorities in the P-North ward to get water connections for the residents. (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 8) People have started filling out forms and are optimistic that they will get water at one point or the other. (Vanjare, 2016, par. 1; Sumati, 2016, pars. 32-34)

6.2 A CASE STUDY ON KAULA BUNDER

Kaula Bunder is an industrial site in the South- East of Mumbai and home to a 70 year old informal settlement. (Shanti, 2016, par. 92) Due to its proximity to the port the area has been largely used for industrial purposes such as Kaula production and export (see figure 20).



Figure 20: The creek at Kaula Bunder (Photo taken at the field visit on 26.10.2016)

The high demand for workforce in this area has attracted many labourers which eventually started settling on land that is owned by the central government. As per land regulations, the Municipal Corporation has no authority over this land. Therefore, people are not provided with public services.

The bad living conditions in the settlement are further deteriorated by a ship breaking yard, which creates a toxic and harmful living environment for the settlers.

6.2.1 Access to Water

As per land regulation and land reservation, settlements in Kaula Bunder are not entitled to government services. But access to fresh water has not always been a problem for the settlers. Several ground water wells in the area used to supply people with fresh water that was considered of better quality than bottled water. (ibid., par. 36) Access to free fresh water and plenty of work opportunities made Kaula Bunder an attractive area for people to settle down. But when settlements started increasing, access to water became an issue of politics and business. Political parties started installing motors to store water at their homes and sell it off to the people. Some delivered it to peoples' houses at a monthly rate of 20, 50 or 100 Rupees. The service was not expensive and very convenient for the dwellers as it saved them time and they could go to work and earn money instead of walking to one of the wells and queuing up for getting water. Everyone with money started running such kind of business but soon they overused the water sources and well after well went dry. (ibid., par. 38) Today, the situation is very critical in Kaula Bunder. People gain access to water very irregularly and on the day the interview with Shanti was conducted, there had been no access to water for the past eight to ten days. (ibid., par. 2)

Two out of 14 communities receive official water services and pay their water bills to the municipal government. (ibid., par. 8) The other twelve communities access water illegally. All the communities have settled on central government land and are officially not entitled to water services, but a strong community leader in one of the communities has fought along with a lot of other people, including PHS and local politicians to get municipal water services. (ibid., pars. 6-12) Their ward office has then granted them water connections but this rule only applies to the ward they are located in. Kaula Bunder is spread over several kilometres and stretches over two wards: the E-Ward and the F-Ward. The two communities that receive official water services are located in the F-Ward. The remaining 12 communities are located in the E-Ward. (ibid., par. 18) The people living in the E-Ward continue to be denied access to water. (ibid., par. 64)

Therefore access to water remains a major issue in Kaula Bunder. To get water from the two communities in F-Ward people would have to travel around 1.5 kilometres and would be charged for the water nevertheless. (ibid., par. 36) Therefore, people are getting water from private players.

6.2.2 Access to safe and affordable Drinking Water in the E-Ward

Access to water in Kaula Bunder is irregular and expensive and the water is usually heavily contaminated. There is a big water pipeline under the sea at the creek that belongs to the Bombay

Port Trust (BPT). (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 126) People have tapped the pipeline and transport the water through their smaller illegal pipelines out of the sea (see figure 21). (Reshma, 2016, fig. 63) These people then sell the water to other residents in Kaula Bunder. This water is the only source in the settlement and consequently used for drinking and everything else. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 124)



Figure 21: Illegal water pipelines at the creek in Kaula Bunder. (Vijay, 2016, fig. 89)

There are two pricing schemes available. Water can be filled up directly at the creek for 50 Rupees. However, water is not available at any time during the day. Whenever water flows through the municipal pipeline the sellers get water through their extended pipelines as well. To avoid standing in line for hours, the empty drums are queued up at the creek as per arrival and when the water seller receives water through the pipelines they get filled up. (ibid., par. 124) Unfortunately this is often at two in the morning. People usually have to stay up to get the water for the next day. Because most people have to get up early in the morning they cover only four to five hours of sleep every day. (Shanti, 2016, par. 46; Reshma, 2016, fig. 68)

A more costly alternative is to get water delivered to the individual households for a fixed monthly rate between 600 and 1,000 Rupees depending on the storage capacity of the household. The price per litre is four Rupees. Consequently the price per 1,000 litre would come up to be Rs.4,000 compared to Rs.2 per 1,000 litre official water charges. The water usually gets delivered twice a week. A vast network of pipelines has been laid across the settlement to provide people water at their

doorsteps³⁸ (see figure 22). People now use the pipelines for hanging their washing as well. (Reshma, 2016, figs. 58-59) The water gets pumped through the network with motors that the sellers own. It is stored in drums outside the house because there is not enough space inside.³⁹ (Shanti, 2016, par. 26)



Figure 22: Water is delivered by a vast network of pipelines. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 127)

Water that comes through these pipes is highly contaminated. The ship-breaking activities release toxins into the water and many industrial activities take place in the area without proper solutions for garbage and sewage disposal. Therefore the sea water is heavily contaminated. In case the extended pipelines burst or are leaking at the interface with the municipal pipelines the contaminated sea water gets into the system. (Reshma, 2016, fig. 63) During monsoon the water from these pipelines is black, then later turns yellow and then clear. The water is used for everything and people use cotton clothes to filter it before drinking. Naturally, people often fall sick and need to take medication. Water filters and purification tablets may be used if available. Boiling water on a regular basis is no option because the kerosene is too expensive.⁴⁰ (Shanti, 2016, pars. 28-34; Reshma, 2016, fig. 63) People have to purchase this water because there is no comparable alternative. Buying drinking water gallons from commercial companies is too expensive. A 20 litre gallon costs around 100 Rupees. Many households have only one earning member and cannot afford water at these prices. (Shanti, 2016, figs. 30-34)

³⁸See for instance Annex 21, figs. 58, 71, 82-83, 96, 114, 115, 131.

³⁹See for instance Annex 21 figs. 87, 88, 94-95.

⁴⁰One litre costs around 70 to 80 Rupees which equals one Euro.

Sometimes, people also face water shortage because the police confiscates motors and a consequence is that water is pumped with less pressure through the network. Water is then provided irregularly or at intervals but at a higher rate. In order to guarantee that everyone gets some amount of water the distributor gathers the community members to discuss who will get how much water. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, figs. 127, 128) But usually they favour their preferred customers, and people who have paid for water services but do not get water deliberately break the pipelines that are located under the sea and fetch water from there directly. This is usually done at night times. When the owner realizes that his pipelines had been cut the situation tends to escalate. (Vijay, 2016, figs. 74-75) To avoid the confiscation of motors people often hide the pipelines and motors under garbage, polybags and plastic tarps (see figure 23). (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 128)



Figure 23: Motors are hidden under plastic bags. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 128)

6.2.3 Sanitation, Hygiene and Open Defecation

The lack of regular access to affordable and clean water severely affects the hygienic conditions in the settlement. To save time and money people tend to consume as little water as possible. Therefore they do not bath on a daily basis, and they cannot wash their clothes or clean the houses regularly. (Shanti, 2016, pars. 34, 46, 52)⁴¹ Even if people have a washing machine they are unable to use it because it consumes more water than they can afford to buy. Therefore they wash their clothes by hand. (ibid., par. 54) The fresh water they have stored outside the house is often covered with cotton fabrics to prevent insects from breeding and dust from entering. Photos however also show that water was

⁴¹See for instance Annex 21, figs. 51, 64-65.

stored in dirty gallons that were not properly covered. (Vijay, 2016, fig. 88) This is likely to affect the water quality and expose people to health risks. (Reshma, 2016, figs. 52-53)

The environmental conditions in the settlement are generally a big problem. Many pictures taken during the auto-photographic research reveal the alarming proportions of open garbage and sewage disposal.⁴² Although recently rag pickers have been contracted to pick up garbage in the area, little progress has been made. (Shanti, 2016, par. 92) Many people continue dumping their garbage in the open instead of using public dust bins. (Vijay, 2016, figs. 103-107) Due to the complete absence of sanitary facilities, dumping sites and sewage disposals also become spaces to practice open defecation. Many of the illegal water pipelines that are leading out of the creek also pass directly through these dumping sites (see figure 24). (Vijay, 2016, figs. 119-121; Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 133) In case the pipelines leak or burst, the drinking water may get infested with faecal matters or other problematic substances.



Figure 24: People breaking an illegal pipeline that crosses a dumping site. (Vijay, 2016, fig. 119)

Another risk comes from the many open water sources in the settlements. Open water sources result for instance from bursting underground pipelines (Reshma, 2016, fig. 62), overflowing gutters (Reshma, 2016, fig. 55; Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 132), open sewage disposal, and water wastage (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 124). Sometimes gutters are blocked because there is not enough water to flush out the dump and dust. In these cases malodorous sewage water floats the streets. This puts people's health at risk of infections and diseases. Many mosquitos breed in these open water sources

⁴²See for instance Annex 21, figs. 76-78, 118.

and people often fall ill (see figure 25). Particularly children seem to suffer from the bad hygienic conditions. They complain about the lack of good food, the dirty houses and their dirty clothes. (Shanti, 2016, par. 50) They play without washing their hands afterwards and they often get diseases such as malaria, dengue and diarrhoea. (ibid., par. 42)



Figure 25: Mosquitoes breeding in a water puddle. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 130)

6.2.4 Impact on related SDGs

During the field research five SDGs were identified to be related to the water situation in Kaula Bunder: Good Health and well-being (SDG 3), Quality Education (SDG 4), Gender Equality (SDG 5), Decent Work and Economic Growth (SDG 8) and Life on Land (SDG 15).

The quality and quantity of water available but also the hygienic circumstances significantly affect the health of all generations. Fever, diarrhoea and cough are often results of the water quality, food quality and unhygienic conditions. (Shanti, 2016, par. 42; Reshma, 2016, fig. 66) Factors such as open defecation, open water sources and garbage disposal give rise to waterborne diseases such as malaria, dengue and chikungunya. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 130) Elder people suffer from asthma as a result of many years of living in the polluted environment. (Shanti, 2016, par. 44)

Health also directly effects education and employment. Children miss out on 15 to 20 days of schooling because they fall ill or their parents do and they can't take them to school. (ibid., par. 42) If parents fall ill they cannot attend work and daily wagers miss out on their income which in turn affects the affordability of water again. On the one side, they can't get water every day because they would then not be able to go to work. On the other side, people have to take leaves to get water particularly in times of irregular availability. But when people take leaves every two to three days they get fired from work. Especially house maids face these problems.

Another problem seems to arise from gender inequality. Women are primarily responsible for the management of the households and have to deal with the water situation on a daily basis. They need water for cooking, cleaning and washing. Therefore they are often more active when it comes to addressing this issue. (ibid., par. 80) Both, politics and the informal water supply system are largely male dominated. The water sellers perceive women to be a threat because they try to claim water from the government. Women are also held up from getting into politics. (ibid., pars. 60-62) The women however do not consider men as their opponents but the current political agenda. (ibid., par. 82)

The photographs from the research also showcased how water determined the whole life cycle through which the environment, animals, plants and humans are interconnected. Sanjay took a picture of a dying tree to showcase the need of water for the dying tree and the human need for the tree's oxygen. (Sanjay & Karthivel, 2016, fig. 122) Another such connection was explained referring to the grass that had become dry due to the lack of water (ibid., fig. 129) and that because goats have to eat the dry grass they now provide less milk to their owners. (ibid., fig. 123)

6.2.5 Water Politics in Kaula Bunder

Every year before the election some politicians come to the settlement and promise water. But after so many years nothing has changed for the people in Kaula Bunder. Although it was observed that change was possible when people in the F-Ward were granted connections, people in the E-Ward were portrayed too divided to follow this example. Engagement in politics to change the current situation on water is also seen highly controversial. On the one hand, actors from the informal water supply network threaten people that engage into activism. On the other hand, it is perceived that changes that may be achieved would only last for one election cycle and then the problem would start all over. (Shanti, 2016, par. 90)

6.3 SDG-RELATED ASSESSMENT

Chapter five and chapter six have shown that several factors influence the accomplishment of SDG 6. The identified problems either arose from technical difficulties or are the result of discriminative and disintegrated government policies and measures. On basis of the literature available and the data gathered during the field visit the following two tables were developed. Table number one applies Mumbai's water situation to the eight targets of SDG 6. Table number two relates Mumbai's water situation to other SDGs. Both tables serve as a basis to analyse the work of PHS and Nivara Hakk in the next chapter.

Table 1: Application of the water situation to the targets of SDG 6.

SDG 6	Situation in Mumbai
6.1 By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all	• Municipal Water in Mumbai is affordable but unsafe for drinking. The WDIP is currently working on the problem of contamination by reducing leakages in the system and implementing continuous water supply. • Access to drinking water is not equitable. Authorized slums receive 45 lpd compared to 130 lpd people living in regular housing structures receive. • Unauthorized slums are excluded from municipal water supply. They access water from informal networks. In both case studies access to water was unsafe and costly. In Ambujwadi people pay about 150 times the official water charges, in Kaula Bunder even 2,000 times. In both cases, prices are prone to fluctuation. • Contamination of drinking water is a problem that concerns all citizen in Mumbai but that is tied to the exclusion of people from water services in unauthorized settlements. Informal arrangements contaminate the distribution system and affect the water quality for all. Under the current policy framework the water department can attempt to achieve safe and affordable drinking water for those segments of the society that are covered under the framework, universal access to safe and affordable drinking water is however impossible under the existing policy framework.
6.2 By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations	• Access to sanitation and hygiene is not equitable. Hutments in informal settlements do not have sanitary facilities. Dwellers rely on the instalment of public toilets and showers. If these are absent or unaffordable people practice open defecation on dumping grounds and take a bath in the open. • Authorized settlements usually have toilet blocks. However, five toilets must be shared among hundreds of people. Instead of queuing up, many people continue practicing open defecation. • Unauthorized settlements do not have any sanitary facilities. People here practice open defecation. The field research in Ambujwadi has shown that the government deliberately destroys toilet blocks that had already been built to discourage settling. • In Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder water scarcity has also worsened the hygienic conditions. In Ambujwadi people use sea water to take a bath and wash their clothes. In Kaula Bunder people reduce their water consumption to a minimum and therefore do not regularly clean or wash. Under the existing policy framework, sanitary facilities are only build in authorized slums and there too few. To achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene and to end open defecation the policy framework must be changed.
6.3 By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, eliminating dumping and minimizing release of hazardous chemicals and materials, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater	• The water quality in Mumbai is very high but water gets contaminated through leakages in the distribution system. The highest risk comes from illegally extended pipelines in settlements. The case of Kaula Bunder shows how hazardous chemicals can enter the water distribution network. Also, open dumping sites and defecation put the system at additional risk of contamination.

and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally	Water quality is both a management problem and a consequence of denying access to water. The WDIP works on leakage reduction and the implementation of continuous water supply, but as long as people break pipelines to access water this will be a continuous vicious cycle. The water department can therefore improve their water quality but will have to put constant effort in maintaining it.
6.4 By 2030, substantially increase water-use efficiency across all sectors and ensure sustainable withdrawals and supply of freshwater to address water scarcity and substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity	• The current system in place ensures the sustainable withdrawal from the seven lake reservoirs and the water department works on improving efficiency in the supply of freshwater. • To improve consumption behaviour, the WDIP plans to implement an exhibition centre to increase awareness. • Commercial establishments and economic growth are prioritized over social equity and inclusion. In times of water scarcity it is ensured that business can go on as usual while residents are restricted in their daily consumption. Environmental factors now play an increasing role and water resources are managed in an environmentally sustainable manner. However, the distribution of water does not intend to reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity but to maintain the level of economic growth. To accomplish this goal the priorities in distributing water must be reassessed.
6.5 By 2030, implement integrated water resource management at all levels, including through transboundary cooperation as appropriate	This target is not applicable on the city level but can be examined on the state level. Mumbai has the largest water demand in the state and the city takes away water that may be urgently needed in rural areas. However, it is out of the scope of the thesis to assess this dimension.
6.6 By 2020, protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes	The current water distribution system relies on the lake water surplus created by the rainfall of the monsoon and does not draw on the lake water resources.
6A By 2030, expand international cooperation and capacity-building support to developing countries in water- and sanitation-related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling and reuse technologies	Not applicable on a city level. However, the water department has engaged with the World Bank and private actors to improve the water distribution system.
6B	To realize its pilot project on continuous water supply, the WDIP has engaged with slum dwellers to generate information and educate people about the changes of the new project. Following Arnstein this can be considered levels of nonparticipation. (see chapter 3.2.4)

Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management	

Table 2: Relationship between SDG 6 and other SDGs.

SDG	Influence
SDG 1: Zero Poverty	In Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder, water charges influence the affordability of other essentials such as food and electricity. People get trapped into poverty. In Kaula Bunder people also risk to lose their income source by taking leaves in order to collect water.
SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being	In Ambujwadi as well as in Kaula Bunder, people's health is affected by water scarcity, affordability, contamination, bad hygienic conditions and the lack of sanitary facilities. People are reported to particularly suffer from waterborne diseases but also skin infections, diarrhoea and asthma.
SDG 4: Quality Education	Children in Ambujwadi miss out on schooling because they have to get water. The lack of drinking water in schools probably also affects their level of concentration.
SDG 5: Gender Equality	Women in Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder are responsible for the household. Cooking, washing and cleaning are their tasks. Women have to manage all their daily tasks with the little water available. Therefore they tend to raise their voices against the established policies. The political landscape and informal networks are male dominated. Men consider themselves attacked by women when they articulate their difficulties in managing their daily tasks under the current systems. Women are also held up from getting into politics themselves.
SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth	Although most dwellers have an occupation in the formal or informal sector, their duties towards their employers determine their access to water and vice versa. People need time to purchase water and lower the price the more time needs to be invested. People therefore trade-off access to fresh water with their attendance at work. In Kaula Bunder maids have been reported to lose their jobs because they have to take too many leaves to collect the water.
SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities	Chapter five has shown that the current political framework increases inequalities between the urban rich and the urban poor. Discrimination in access to legal water services are only one aspect.
SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities	Access to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services for all is the first target of SDG 11. The SRS presented in chapter 5.4.5 addresses this target and provides an opportunity for those eligible to permanent shelter and access to water.

	However, the SRS is restricted to authorized settlements and dwellers that comply with the cut-off date. Therefore it discriminated between people and does not provide a solution for all citizen.
SDG 12: Responsible Consumption and Production	SDG 12 includes the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources. Chapter 3 has shown that the WDIP is currently working on improving the efficiency of the distribution system but that the strong focus on economic growth does not address the production and consumption patterns at the end of the chain, leading to unsustainable usage of water and water stress in times of droughts.
SDG 15: Life on Land	Humans are part of the ecosystem and rely on its functioning. Water scarcity does not only affect humans but also animals and plants. This in turn has repercussions for humans. For instance, in Kaula Bunder goats provide less milk because they have to eat dry grass.
SDG 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions	SDG 16 is a very diverse goal. For instance, it aims to achieve equal access to justice for all, to reduce corruption and bribery, to strengthen institutions, to increase participation and to promote non-discriminatory policies to ensure sustainable development. All of these targets are related to access to water in Mumbai. Chapter five has shown that although national legislation promotes inclusion the incapacity of the legislative arm to pursue judgements provides a loophole for governments to implement discriminative policies. These loopholes have encouraged the emergence of water mafias and corrupt practices to access water. In absence of a functioning democratic system, participation of the urban poor is restricted to electoral votes but those do not lead to improved outcomes.

7 THE INFLUENCE OF PSMs ON ACCESS TO WATER IN MUMBAI

Under consideration of the theory provided in chapter three and the analysis' provided in chapter five and six, this chapter merges the information and analyses how the work of Pani Haq Samiti and Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti (NHSS) affects the accomplishment of the SDG 6 in Mumbai and how it affects related SDGs. Section one provides an analysis of Pani Haq Samiti followed by an analysis of Nivara Hakk in section two. Section three then provides answer to the research question and sub-questions presented in the introduction.

7.1 AN INTRODUCTION TO PANI HAQ SAMITI

Pani Haq Samiti is an umbrella movement that aims to establish the idea of water as a fundamental right and a public good in the city of Mumbai. The movement has emerged in response to a privatization project of the government and has evolved into an issue-based progressive movement that strategically plans and executes measures to achieve equitable access to municipal water services for all residents in Mumbai.

The following sections provide an introduction to the movement and its work. Unit one provides a brief review of its developments over the course of years and unit two presents the overall objectives and underlying philosophies of the movement. Unit three examines its organizational structure and unit four introduces its strategic approach.

7.1.1 Historical Developments

In 2007, activists, scholars and others came together to stop a water privatization project of the MCGM in the K-East ward. The association was convinced that the privatization of water services could not work in Mumbai because of the large number of people who are not legally recognized by the government. (Shelar, 2016, par. 2) Under the name Mumbai Pani⁴³ they engaged with settlements, communities and cooperatives in the ward. Street protests turned violent and activists got arrested. However, Mumbai Pani was backed up by the media, the engineer's association and the labour unions. In the end, the pressure was too big and the pilot project to privatise Mumbai's water supply had to be cancelled. Mumbai Pani celebrated this as a successful outcome of their engagement. (Ashkandam, 2016, par. 18) But although the privatization of water services had been strangled at birth, access to municipal water services remained reserved rights for residents in legal housing structures. (Shelar, 2016, par. 2) To achieve equitable access to municipal water services, Mumbai Pani had to grow from a ward-wise project oriented movement into a city-wise long-term oriented movement. It organized a public convention with experts, activists and participants from the communities at which they

⁴³ Hindi to English Translation: Water.

discussed several issues related to the quality, affordability, and accessibility of water and identified three areas of intervention for which they believed a broader platform was required:

1. To understand and articulate the concerns and the policy advocacy pointers,
2. To help the communities to interact with the local administration,
3. To advocate and create spaces where policy makers, implementers and the civil society can have a dialog.

On basis of these identified areas, Pani Haq Samiti⁴⁴ was officially found on 16th of February 2010 with more than 42 associated organizations registered on that day. (ibid., pars. 2-4) Since then PHS has constantly worked towards the achievement of equitable rights to water for those excluded from municipal water services.

In October 2011 PHS filed a PIL to secure access to water for dwellers irrespective of their housing structure. (Pani Haq Samiti & Ors. Vs. Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation & Ors., 2014, p. 1) They argued that water is covered under the Article 21 of the Constitution of India and no instrumentality of the State has the right to deny water supply to any segment of the society. (ibid., p. 4) The defence argued that the State did not want to encourage the construction and occupation of illegal settlements and that any relief would encourage this undesired outcome. They further highlighted the impracticality of delivering water to the settlements located on hills. (ibid. p. 5)

On 15th December 2014 the Mumbai High Court presented its judgement. It considered the right to water covered under the right to life and agreed with prosecutor in that the State Government has no right to deny water to any citizen on the grounds of their housing structures. (ibid., p. 11) However, the High Court also acknowledged that occupants of illegal settlements cannot be granted water supply on par with law abiding citizen and subsequently entrusted the Municipal Corporation with finding a suitable method of supply. It was also left to the Corporation to place higher water charges for delivering water to unauthorized constructions. It then directed the MCGM to formulate a policy proposal that would outline how the HD intends to provide water services to the occupants that had been excluded, and present it latest by the end of February 2015. The Corporation was directed to file an affidavit of compliance before 2nd of March 2015.

After the court's judgement, the issue was tabled and rejected three times by the Standing Committee of the MCGM. In June 2015, the Standing Committee approved a policy for providing water to occupants of unauthorized slums. The policy was highly criticised in public because it placed several conditions on the dwellers (see chapter 5.4.1). PHS demanded the inclusion of all dwellers without any conditions and used the upcoming elections to put pressure on the government. On

⁴⁴ Hindi to English Translation: Right to Water Campaign.

International Women Day in May 2016 PHS conducted a protest march and a month later the State Government approved the proposal but it had yet to be approved by the General Body of the MCGM. On 28th of November 2016 the movement conducted another protest march to the headquarters of the Municipal Corporation where 2,000 dwellers were reported to have lined up in front of the main entrance of the MCGM and offered the government officials their contaminated drinking water (see Annex 24). On the very same day the Municipal Commissioner went public and approved the proposal.

7.1.2 Philosophy and Objectives

PHS aims to ensure that water is collected, protected, conserved, recycled, shared and provided to everyone under the principles of sustainability, equity and antidiscrimination. The movement believes that this can only be achieved if water is recognized as a human right and a public good. Therefore it is PHS's overall objective to change the prevailing conceptual understanding of water as a commodity and to promote the understanding of water as a fundamental right and a public good.

PHS claims that the right to safe and clean drinking water is a fundamental right under Article 21 of the Constitution of India and therefore considers it the sole responsibility of the government to ensure equitable access to this right for all residents in Mumbai. (Vanjare, 2016, par. 2) Consequently PHS opposes the privatization of water services and challenges all measures that undermine the human right to water and its functions as a public good. In-line with this, PHS promotes democratic participation, social justice and the right to citizenship.⁴⁵

7.1.3 Organizational Structure

PHS is an umbrella movement of 42 member organizations registered on its founding date in 2010. (Shelar, 2016, par. 36) PHS consists of a core team of nine individuals who regularly meet for strategic action planning and agenda setting. The frequency of the meetings usually depend on the phase of campaigning. In interim phases they meet monthly, in the main phases they meet weekly. The meetings are led by the chairman of PHS Mr. Sitaram Shelar. The outcomes of the meetings are communicated with the representatives of the member organizations. In most cases these are the representatives of Community-based Organizations (CBOs) who are active in a designated area on a daily basis. They often live inside the community and were hired by the respective CBO. Some of these people also received trainings through PHS on the water issue. (Ashkandam, 2016, paragraph 8) However, the participation level of individual organizations varies vastly. Currently PHS counts 19 active representatives from 15 different areas in Mumbai.⁴⁶ They are invited to participate in the action

⁴⁵ Information gained from informal conversations and internal documents.

⁴⁶ Malad: 3 representatives, Andheri: 2, Kandiwal: 1, Dahisar:1, Goregaon (not so active), Jogheswari: 1, Bandra: 1, Sion-Dhanai & Mahim : 1, Bhandup:1, Vikrolli & Ghatkopar: 1, Kurla (absent), Mankhund; 2, Govandi:2, Vadala: 1, Rey Road: 2, Colaba (absent)

planning process and to communicate the issues to the specific areas they are involved in. In case the core team has come to a decision that requires the involvement of the individual communities, the representatives communicate and engage with the community they work or live in. This allows PHS to drastically increase its outreach and activate participants if needed. In addition to that, PHS has a number of individual supporters who are usually specialized experts across different areas of work, such as engineers and lawyers. They are the so-called support structure of the movement and approached and consulted whenever their expertise is required. For instance, the lawyer PHS needed to file the PIL was a supporter who worked free of cost. The organizational structure provides several benefits to the movement but it also comes along with some disadvantages. For instance, it is mentioned in an interview that many member organizations have their own agendas and their own priorities and they do not regularly attend the meetings. (ibid. paragraph 4)

Under consideration of the different types of movement organizations presented in Chapter 3.3.2, PHS can be considered a classic grassroots movement organization with no financial resources but significant social capital to pursue its goals.

7.1.4 Approach and Areas of Engagement

PHS follows a problem-centric approach to work towards the achievement of equitable access to water services for all. The core team frequently meets for reviewing the latest legislative and civic developments and identifies the issues that are momentarily undermining the achievement of their goal. In a next step the core team develops integrated measures which take both the civic and legislative developments into account. PHS differentiates between five different forms of engagement to promote the right to water and water as a public good: advocating, creating awareness, obtaining and sharing knowledge, educating volunteers and encourage participation (see table 3). A number of Campaign posters are available in Annex 23.

To execute the measures PHS draws on the resources and expertise of its network. This can be individual expertise, expertise of the member organizations or the network of the organization. Therefore the organizational structure directly influences on the types of actions taken. People can communicate issues over the network, stay informed and connected. If any information is required, they directly communicate with the representative of their area who regularly attends the monthly meetings of PHS. (Shelar, 2016, pars. 28-34) Also, a WhatsApp group of 81 members serves as a medium to regularly update each other. The following table illustrates their areas of engagement.

Table 3: Areas of Engagement of PHS.

Areas of Engagement	Measures
Advocacy	- PIL and follow-up on the High Court judgement - Analysis and monitoring of the government's activities

	- Engagement with policy-makers via memorandums, reports and protests.
Awareness	- External communications activities such as booklets, photo exhibitions and essays, press releases or reports (see Annex 23 for campaign posters) - Providing information to the communities on the right to water through training sessions, film screening and presentations.
Knowledge	- Documentation, survey, RTI, policy analysis, status evaluation, proposals
Education	- Educating communities on their civic and constitutional rights
Participation	- Facilitating interns and students - Engaging with communities - Organizing protest marches

PHS is primarily active in Mumbai but the organization recognizes the relevance of different levels of governance in the policy process. Therefore they support like-minded organizations on the state level and national level.⁴⁷

7.2 OUTCOME ANALYSIS OF PHS

This section provides an analysis on how the work of PHS influences the achievement of the SDG 6 and related goals under consideration of the theoretical framework developed in chapter three. The first unit relates the work of PHS to the relevant aspects of sustainable development and the SDGs. Unit two examines its influence on the institutional dimension of SD and unit three examines unintended outcomes that had a positive effect for the organization and its beneficiaries.

7.2.1 Aspects of Sustainability

Sustainable Development has been presented as a concept that requires a holistic development approach that integrates all three dimensions of SD (see chapter 3.1.2). In the Agenda 2030, all participating nations have committed to pursue development in a balanced and integrated manner (see chapter 3.2.1). However, chapter five has shown that the environmental dimension has only recently received more recognition and that the social dimension of SD has been largely neglected by the Government of Maharashtra. This has encouraged inefficient water management practices and led to the exclusion of the urban poor from municipal water supply.

Mumbai Pani, the pre-form of PHS, evolved because the MCGM tried to resolve problems of management inefficiency by contracting out the water department to the private sector. The government therefore attempted to solve social and environmental problems with an even stronger focus on the economic dimension. Mumbai Pani opposed this approach because it feared that the profit-oriented approach of private sector would impede social inclusion and environmental protection. (Ashkandam, 2016, par. 22-24; Shelar, 2016, par. 2) When the privatization project was cancelled, the government took measures to increase the efficiency of the system and established the WDIP as part of the water department. However, the social dimension of SD remained largely

⁴⁷ Information from informal conversations.

neglected and PHS increasingly focussed on the problem of social exclusion in the provision of water services. Thus, it can be argued that PHS has evolved in response to an imbalance of the three dimensions of SD and directed the path of the government towards a more balanced approach of development. PHS can therefore be considered to favour sustainable development.

The SDGs have been introduced as common global goals that align development efforts across the world towards a more prosperous, inclusive and environmental-friendly future. To understand how the work of PHS affects the implementation of the goals, Mumbai's water situation has been applied to the SDG 6 and its related goals on basis of secondary literature and primary data generated from the field visit (see chapter 6.3). The following two tables (table four and table five) integrate the work of PHS and allow for an assessment of their work in terms of inter- and intra-generational equity and the degree of integration.

Table 4: Assessment of the contribution of PHS to the achievement of SDG 6.

SDG 6	Situation in Mumbai	Work of PHS
6.1 By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all	• Municipal Water in Mumbai is affordable but unsafe for drinking. The WDIP is currently working on the problem of contamination by reducing leakages in the system and implementing continuous water supply. • Access to drinking water is not equitable. Authorized slums receive 45 lpd compared to 130 lpd people living in regular housing structures receive. • Unauthorized slums are excluded from municipal water supply. They access water from informal networks. In both case studies access to water was unsafe and costly. In Ambujwadi people pay about 150 times the official water charges, in Kaula Bunder even 2,000 times. In both cases, prices are prone to fluctuation. • Contamination of drinking water is a problem that concerns all citizen in Mumbai but that is tied to the exclusion of people from water services in unauthorized settlements. Informal arrangements contaminate the distribution system and affect the water quality for all. Under the current policy framework the water department can attempt to achieve safe and affordable drinking water for those segments of the society that are covered under the framework, universal access to safe and affordable drinking water is however impossible under the existing policy framework.	PHS addresses the inequitable and discriminative access to water services. It therefore focusses on the political framework and not on the improvement of the distribution system that can be achieved by the HD regardless of their engagement. PHS conducted studies to understand what policies are hindering equitable and universal access to water services. It also conducted protest marches, held educational workshops and assisted the people in their application processes for water connections. Moreover, PHS used legislative tools such as the RIA to rectify myths. The information gathered with the RIA was then collected and used to file a PIL by which PHS induced policy changes to secure universal and equitable access to municipal water services.
6.2 By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations	• Access to sanitation and hygiene is not equitable. Hutments in informal settlements do not have sanitary facilities. Dwellers rely on the instalment of public toilets and showers. If these are absent or unaffordable people practice open defecation on dumping grounds and take a bath in the open. • Authorized settlements usually have toilet blocks. However, five toilets must be shared among hundreds of people. Instead of queuing up, many people continue practicing open defecation. • Unauthorized settlements do not have any sanitary facilities. People here practice open defecation. The field research in	

	Ambujwadi has shown that the government deliberately destroys toilet blocks that had already been built to discourage settling. In Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder water scarcity has also worsened the hygienic conditions. In Ambujwadi people use sea water to take a bath and wash their clothes. In Kaula Bunder people reduce their water consumption to a minimum and therefore do not regularly clean or wash. Under the existing policy framework, sanitary facilities are only built in authorized slums and there are too few. To achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene and to end open defecation the policy framework must be changed	
6.3 By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, eliminating dumping and minimizing release of hazardous chemicals and materials, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally	The water quality in Mumbai is very high but water gets contaminated through leakages in the distribution system. The highest risk comes from illegally extended pipelines in settlements. The case of Kaula Bunder shows how hazardous chemicals can enter the water distribution network. Also, open dumping sites and defecation put the system at additional risk of contamination. Water quality is both a management problem and a consequence of denying access to water. The WDIP works on leakage reduction and the implementation of continuous water supply, but as long as people break pipelines to access water this will be a continuous vicious cycle. The water department can therefore improve their water quality but will have to put constant effort in maintaining it.	
6.4 By 2030, substantially increase water-use efficiency across all sectors and ensure sustainable withdrawals and supply of freshwater to address water scarcity and substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity	- The current system in place ensures the sustainable withdrawal from the seven lake reservoirs and the water department works on improving efficiency in the supply of freshwater. - To improve consumption behaviour, the WDIP plans to implement an exhibition centre to increase awareness. - Commercial establishments and economic growth are prioritized over social equity and inclusion. In times of water scarcity it is ensured that business can go on as usual while residents are restricted in their daily consumption.	PHS has raised its concerns about the withdrawal and supply methods of the HD. The movement conducted research on the water resources and argued that the BMC has been primarily focussing on expanding water sources through building dams because it is easier than improving the distribution network. At the same time they reproach the government that they use water scarcity as an excuse for inequitable distribution. PHS argues that there is enough water but it is inefficiently distributed.

	Environmental factors now play an increasing role and water resources are managed in an environmentally sustainable manner. However, the distribution of water does not intend to reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity but to maintain the level of economic growth. To accomplish this goal the priorities in distributing water must be reassessed.	
6.5 By 2030, implement integrated water resource management at all levels, including through transboundary cooperation as appropriate	This target is not applicable on the city level but can be examined on the state level. Mumbai has the largest water demand in the state and the city takes away water that may be urgently needed in rural areas. However, it is out of the scope of the thesis to assess this dimension.	PHS conducted studies on the limitations of the water distribution system and presented its outcomes to the BMC. They identified several issues and made suggestions for the improvement. Among these issues were: • BMC staff is not properly trained • Retirements are placed for higher positions and they are changing often • Sanction on Junior Engineers is too little (Rs.150) Their concerns remained unnoticed and PHS conceded that they could not change the attitude of the authorities but they can mobilize people.
6.6 By 2020, protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes	The current water distribution system relies on the lake water surplus created by the rainfall of the monsoon and does not draw on the lake water resources.	
6A By 2030, expand international cooperation and capacity-building support to developing countries in water- and sanitation-related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling and reuse technologies	Not applicable on a city level. However, the water department has engaged with the World Bank and private actors to improve the water distribution system.	
6B	To realize its pilot project on continuous water supply, the WDIP has engaged with slum dwellers to generate information and educate	PHS is a grassroots movement that is build and functions through participation of volunteers. Therefore PHS strengthens the

Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management	people about the changes of the new project. Following Arnstein this can be considered levels of nonparticipation. (see chapter 3.2.4)	community engagement into the improvement of water services. For instance, on the day of its foundation PHS held a public convention that took different viewpoints into consideration and engaged with participants in defining the purpose of the movement and its areas of engagement. Since its formation PHS relies on the feedback, suggestions, work and mobilization of participants. Following Arnstein PHS provides a platform that lifts up the level of participation from nonparticipation to citizen power.

Table 5: Influence of the work of PHS on related SDGs.

SDG	Relatedness	PHS
SDG 1: Zero Poverty	In Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder, water charges influence the affordability of other essentials such as food and electricity. People get trapped into poverty. In Kaula Bunder people also risk to lose their income source by taking leaves in order to collect water	PHS does not directly engage with water sellers to make water more affordable but it aims for access to municipal water services for dwellers. If achieved, this would significantly influence the expenses on water.
SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being	In Ambujwadi as well as in Kaula Bunder, people's health is affected by water scarcity, affordability, contamination, bad hygienic conditions and the lack of sanitary facilities. People are reported to particularly suffer from waterborne diseases but also skin infections, diarrhoea and asthma.	PHS is aware of the problematic consequences for health and conducted research to assess how water pricing influences health. If PHS achieves access to municipal water services water-related health issues could decrease. However, the lack of sanitary facilities and the bad hygienic conditions remain and factors that influence on people's health.
SDG 4: Quality Education	Children in Ambujwadi miss out on schooling because they have to get water. The lack of drinking water in schools probably also affects their level of concentration.	PHS conducted research on the relationship between the education of children and access to water. However, access to municipal water services would not resolve the problems. Children would still be in charge of getting water and since slums are not provided with tap water but with shared connections it can be expected that the situation will not improve. However, waiting time may decrease because more connections will be available for less people.
SDG 5: Gender Equality	Women in Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder are responsible for the household. Cooking, washing and cleaning are their tasks. Women have to manage all their daily tasks with the little water available. Therefore they tend to raise their voices against the established policies. The political landscape and informal networks are male dominated. Men consider themselves attacked by women when they articulate their difficulties in managing their daily tasks under the current systems. Women are also held up from getting into politics themselves.	PHS conducted research about how the water situation affects girls, women and the livelihood. However, access to municipal water services would not lighten the load of women and girls or will not necessarily motivate men to consider women as equals.

SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth	Although most dwellers have an occupation in the formal or informal sector, their duties towards their employers determine their access to water and vice versa. People need time to purchase water and lower the price the more time needs to be invested. People therefore trade-off access to fresh water with their attendance at work. In Kaula Bunder maids have been reported to lose their jobs because they have to take too many leaves to collect the water.	
SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities	Chapter five has shown that the current political framework increases inequalities between the urban rich and the urban poor. Discrimination in access to legal water services are only one aspect.	Reducing inequalities and encouraging intergenerational equity is the primary field of engagement of PHS. PHS challenges the existing policy framework to secure access to legal water services for all.
SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities	Access to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services for all is the first target of SDG 11. The SRS presented in chapter 5.4.5 addresses this target and provides an opportunity for those eligible to permanent shelter and access to water. However, the SRS is restricted to authorized settlements and dwellers that comply with the cut-off date. Therefore it discriminated between people and does not provide a solution for all citizen.	PHS consciously decouples the issues of housing and water. Although PHS generally opposes the idea of a cut-off date it primarily focuses on making water accessible for all regardless of their housing structure. Achieving access to water for all would therefore not improve the housing situation for those excluded from SRS but make water accessible for all.
SDG 12: Responsible Consumption and Production	SDG 12 includes the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources. Chapter 3 has shown that the WDIP is currently working on improving the efficiency of the distribution system but that the strong focus on economic growth does not address the production and consumption patterns at the end of the chain, leading to unsustainable usage of water and water stress in times of droughts.	PHS aims to induce behaviour change but is not certain whether they will be able to achieve this. PHS is aware that people are not acting in frame with their religious values and hold commercialization accountable for this. They argue that commercialization has encouraged water to become a status symbol and resource exploitation a priority. This leaves no space for people to reciprocate the concept of water as a fundamental right and are instead grateful and bless people if they are given water. (Interview No. 7, PHS, 48)
SDG 15: Life on land	Humans are part of the ecosystem and rely on its functioning. Water scarcity does not only affect humans but also animals and plants. This in turn has repercussions for humans. For instance, in Kaula Bunder goats provide less milk because they have to eat dry grass.	
SDG 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions	SDG 16 is a very diverse goal. For instance, it aims to achieve equal access to justice for all, to reduce corruption and bribery, to strengthen institutions, to increase participation and to promote non-discriminatory policies to ensure sustainable development. All of these	- PHS has conducted research on the legal situation to understand the policy framework and its legitimacy. It has also questioned the assertions made by the government and conducted studies to verify them. With the RIA it was found out that government

	targets are related to access to water in Mumbai. Chapter five has shown that although national legislation promotes inclusion the incapacity of the legislative arm to pursue judgements provides a loophole for governments to implement discriminatory policies. These loopholes have encouraged the emergence of water mafias and corrupt practices to access water. In absence of a functioning democratic system, participation of the urban poor is restricted to electoral votes but those do not lead to improved outcomes.	offices, the High Court, the Commissioner of the police, hospitals, big businesses and others are not paying their bills and that slum dwellers are not on the defaulter list. When people were denied water on humanitarian ground with the argument that people are illegal, PHS also used the RIA to find out who receives water connections on the humanitarian ground. They found out that those connections were given to malls, developers and buildings who did not have official certificates and are therefore illegal. - PHS approached the judiciary and filed a PIL to achieve equitable and universal access to municipal water services. - PHS used the vote bank power of the urban poor to put pressure on the MCGM to realize the court order. - PHS focuses on the social exclusion of people through government policies by directly addressing the government and hold them accountable through the legislation. They do not engage with informal actors such as slum lords or water mafias because they consider them a by-product of the government's insufficient policies. - PHS highlights how individual views about social exclusion affect the collaboration with the MCGM.

Table four has shown that PHS influences four targets of SDG 6: Target 6.1, 6.4, 6.5 and 6B. In target one it addresses the lack of universal access and therefore focuses on the social dimension. However, affordability and safety of water are environmental and economic factors that are being addressed by the WDIP. PHS here complements the development efforts of the water department. Target 6.4 deals primarily with environmental factors. However, PHS argues that the government uses environmental factors to justify social exclusion and enters the discourse of environmental management to decouple it from the social dimension. In target 6.5 PHS suggests measures to increase the efficiency of the water department. PHS here enters a dialogue with the government and therefore attempts to participate. The government does not accept the suggestions and therefore reduces PHS's level of participation to nonparticipation. This reduction has encouraged PHS to demand their right to participate by approaching the judiciary (see next unit). At the same time PHS has increased the level of participation required for the achievement of target 6B. PHS does not address target 6.3, 6.6 and 6.2 (6A is irrelevant at the city level). Target 6.3 deals with the water quality on which the WDIP already works on and 6.6 deals with the restoration of ecosystems. PHS therefore does not engage in environmental aspects of SD. Target 6.2 makes an exception because access to equal sanitation and hygiene is absent but PHS does not engage to restore social inclusion. However, informal conversations revealed that sanitation is treated as a separate issue for which another movement has been created. PHS can therefore be considered to primarily influence targets which require social inclusion that is absent. Therefore PHS aims to ensure the aspect of intra-generational equity.

Table five shows that PHS has invested resources to understand the relatedness between different issues of development and SDG 6. Apart from SDG 8 and SDG 16 their work somehow takes into account the related goals and introduces measures that benefits aspects of those goals. Education and housing are two goals that will not be affected by the work of PHS. SDG 11 is particularly interesting because PHS chooses to consciously decouple two related goals in order to achieve universal access in one of the goals. PHS therefore acts against the sustainable principle of integration while similarly achieving intergenerational equity in SDG 6. This leads to the question whether this approach should be considered unsustainable because it does not comply with all requirements of SD or whether it is sustainable because it should be understood complementary to the efforts of other actors in the field.

7.2.2 Influence on the Institutional Dimension

The institutional dimension examined in chapter three discussed the limitations of a representative democratic system in adequately responding to the challenges in today's increasingly complex world. The Agenda 2030 recommends multi-stakeholder partnerships and increased participation at all levels and by all actors. Chapter 3.2.4 argued that not all forms of participatory governance are favouring social change but that decentralization also provides the elites of the societies with the opportunity to

capture the rights to participate for themselves which can nullify the transformative potential. Chapter five has shown that this is the case in Mumbai. The city is governed by elites and for elites, excluding the urban poor and oppressing them to maintain existing power structures. Hickey and Mohan conceded that progressive social movements can have the transformative potential to rearrange existing power relations and increase the participation of those excluded from the city's spaces. Hickey and Mohan also suggested that advocacy work which aligns participatory approaches with a rights-based agenda promotes citizenship and political engagement at all levels.

PHS mobilizes people by educating them about their rights to water and motivating them in participating in studies, workshops and protest marches to claim their rights. The previous unit has already shown that PHS increases the level of participation of those who have been denied this right and can therefore be considered as an organizational movement that is built on the concept of citizen power.

PHS also engaged into advocacy activities. The five levels of responsiveness presented in Chapter 3.3.4 provide a suitable framework to retrace whether PHS has the power to challenge existing power structures. The following table number six assesses the degree to which PHS has achieved the inclusion of citizenship.

Table 6: Levels of political responsiveness achieved by PHS

Level of responsiveness	Description
Access responsiveness	At first, PHS began to engage in research, educational projects, protest marches and filed official applications for water connections on behalf of the people excluded from water services. The MCGM did not respond to PHS's research findings, suggestions and other actions. Then PHS decided to approach the judiciary and filed a PIL against the government arguing that they are violating the Article 21 of the Constitution of India. The MCGM could no longer neglect their existence and PHS achieved access responsiveness.
Agenda responsiveness	In December 2014 the Mumbai High Court ordered the MCGM to provide a proposal by February 2015 for the provision of water services to all, regardless of their housing structures. However, pavement dwellers whose housing structures are not covered under the Right to Shelter remained excluded from the order. Subsequently, PHS's demands were placed as an issue on the political agenda.
Policy Responsiveness	The High Court order was tabled and rejected three times at the Standing Committee of the MCGM. In July 2015 the MCGM passed a proposal. The proposal placed several conditions on the provision of water services to dwellers. For instance, those on private land were excluded and those on central government land were required to obtain a non-objection-certificate from a central agency. On World Women Day in May 2016 PHS conducted a protest march demanding the inclusion of all people and the implementation of the proposal and sent a delegation to the State government because the policy had to be passed by the State government. In June 2016 the leading Shiv Sena Party finally gave its nod to the proposal. The government had made concession and developed a legislation considering some of the demands of PHS. However, PHS had demanded the inclusion of all people, which the proposal did not fully respond to.
Output Responsiveness	However, the proposal had yet to be passed by the General Body of the MCGM. PHS used the upcoming elections to put pressure on the MCGM. On 28 th of November

	PHS conducted a protest march to the Headquarters of the MCGM. The Municipal Commissioner gave his consent to the proposal and stated that they would now begin with the implementation. PHS then began to conduct workshops in settlements around Mumbai and assisted people in the application process for legal water services. Although this is a first step towards the implementation of the policy it has not been implemented yet. PHS is therefore currently in the process to achieve output responsiveness.
Impact Responsiveness	Not achieved (yet).

7.2.3 Change from the Perspective of the Beneficiaries

Chapter 3.3.4 has shown that social movements can also have unintended outcomes of which the reorientation of the lives of the participants was found to be a crucial victory. Given that participation is an important factor of the institutional dimension of SD and perceived as the way forward to achieve the SDGs, this unit recognizes the influence PHS had on the participants.

In December 2004 the government demolished informal settlements across Mumbai. This event set a new tone on the relationship between slum dwellers and the government. Many dwellers got associated with NGOs and started actively participating in the fight for their rights. (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 35) Two interviewees mentioned this date as starting point for their own engagement. Sumati started as a teacher for YUVA and Wasim Sheikh joined PHS and became the representative of Ambujwadi. (Sumati, 2016, par. 2; Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 26)

PHS has been very engaged in increasing awareness in the 54 societies of Ambujwadi. They have trained people in talking and proposed them actions to tackle the issue. They help people in filling out forms and are working on a plan to get water to the settlements. (Gupta, 2016, pars. 60-66) People trust them and believe that they can get water with their help regardless of whether they have a valid residence proof or are residing on land that is not reserved for housing purposes. They have developed persistence and strengths to fight and resist the government's policies. (Sumati, 2016, par. 14) Wasim explains that people initially lacked knowledge and understanding of the government's agenda, and that it was very difficult to unite them for a specific cause. Today people have recognized the importance of standing up for their rights and have come together to fight for access to water. (Sheikh, W., 2016, par. 31) Increasing awareness on their rights has also encouraged people to demand other essentials, such as electricity and sanitary facilities. (Sumati, 2016, par. 12)

Shanti, the representative of PHS in Kaula Bunder states that people in Kaula Bunder used to rely on political leaders and ask them to fight for their causes. This has changed with the engagement of PHS. The movement has created awareness among the people that they can fight for their rights on their own. She now believes that people in Kaula Bunder are able to get things done on their own and that they do not rely on politicians or outsiders to fight on their behalf. (Shanti, 2016, par. 68)

These statements show that PHS has increased the capacity of the dwellers to participate in the political landscape. Chapter 5.6.1 has shown that the lack of unity is cited as a reason for why dwellers cannot change existing power structures. This has also been an initial hurdle in the fight for water but PHS has gained people's trust and increased a sense of unity because it has achieved to unite people for a cause.

7.3 AN INTRODUCTION TO NIVARA HAKK

Nivara Hakk was formed in 1981 as an umbrella federation of over 20 organizations that opposed the mass demolitions of slum settlements across Mumbai and promoted the housing rights of those who were evicted from their homes. Over the course of years the issue-based movement has evolved into an independent movement organization with a formulated constitution and several social programmes concentrating on the urban poor. However, the organization has preserved its informal network character to remain independent and unaffected by the policies of the government. Presently Nivara Hakk is active in over 40 slum pockets across Mumbai. As a Slum Dwellers Housing Rights Movement it continues to fight against forced evictions and secure the right to decent housing conditions and civic amenities. This falls under a larger fight for human rights. As an organization Nivara assists slum dwellers in negotiating terms for resettlement, provides medical assistance and skills classes. (Nivara Hakk, 2013b)

The following units provide an introduction to the history (7.3.1) and the philosophy (7.3.2) of the movement organization and examines its organizational structure (7.3.3.) and strategic approaches (7.3.4).

7.3.1 Historical Developments

In 1981 the State Government of Maharashtra adopted a policy that legalized the demolition of informal settlements. In the same year the then Chief Minister of Mumbai, Mr. A.R. Antulay, launched a massive demolition programme, which was referred to as “the midnight soup”. In the middle of the night the government demolished slums, forced dwellers into trucks, transported them out of the city and dropped them in the hinterlands. In response to the policy, 22 organizations came together and formed Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti, a movement opposing the massive forced evictions which would later grow into an independent organization. (Das, 2016, par. 2; Nivara Hakk, 1995, p.1) Nivara Hakk then started organizing massive protests with thousands of participants to undermine the current policy regulations and to fight for the right to housing, and the right to life. Several civil groups obtained a stay order against Antulay's demolition and many petitions were filed to secure the rights of the pavement dwellers. But despite the order of the high court the demolitions continued. (Nivara Hakk, 1995, p. 1) The order was overruled in 1985 when the court passed a judgement rejecting all the petitions. The new demolition drive was launched in March 1986 when the government

demolished the huts of around 350 families in Sanjay Gandhi Nagar, which then were driven on to the footpaths. On the footpath were people now gathered, Nivara Hakk's founding members Anand Patwardhan and Shabana Azmi led a group of homeless and slums dwellers to a hunger strike. The government then made a concession and granted 3.5 acres of land for the rehabilitation of the displaced families. On this occasion Nivara Hakk formed the Nivara Hakk Welfare Centre to combine its work with medical and educational programmes. (Das, 2016, par. 2; Nivara Hakk, 1995, p.2) It further successfully negotiated the resettlement of two other slums: Radjiv Gandhi Nagar at Nariman Point and Kanna Compound from Nepean Sea Road. When 1987 was declared the year of shelter, NHSS drew on this occasion to oppose the cut-off date and mobilized about 20,000 slum dwellers. The initially peaceful protest turned violent and several hundred people got arrested. The state government then extended the cut-off date to 1985. Over the years Nivara supported many slum resettlements. One project that is currently still ongoing is Asia's largest rehabilitation project in which 25,000 households shifted from the Sanjay Gandhi National Park in Borivali to Chandivali in Powai and 8,000 households are yet to be shifted. (Das, 2016, par. 22) This project presents an opportunity to assess and contrast the situation for the people in the national park with those rehabilitated and therefore provides a suitable case to analyse the achievements of Nivara Hakk in terms of access to water and other SDGs.

7.3.2 Philosophy and Objectives

Nivara is a movement organization that fights for the people's right to housing and more broadly for a life with dignity. (Nivara Hakk, 2006) It considers the problem of housing and pursuing the right to shelter as parts of a larger democratic struggle. (Das, 2016, par. 40) It argues that the right to the city is defined by the right to its resources and that in a democratic society the government must be held accountable for the provision of infrastructure and social development to all its citizen. (ibid., par. 10, 28)

Nivara Hakk believes that these rights cannot be negotiated and that engagement with the government is inevitable for legalizing and establishing these rights. According to Nivara's understanding, change can only be brought from inside the system and must be achieved through struggles enforcing the principles of democracy, participation, decentralization and empowering citizens. (ibid., par. 14, 38) Nivara envisions the city as a city of the people and believes that their struggles produce their own alternatives. Nivara Hakk therefore supports bottom-up approaches and opposes external consultancy interventions. (ibid., par. 12)

There are six struggles NHSS engages in: fighting forced eviction, opposing the demolition of settlements, fighting the current SRS, negotiating the terms and conditions of slum rehabilitation projects, fighting for human rights, securing civic amenities and securing social amenities. (Nivara Hakk, 2013b)

7.3.3 Organizational Structure

Although Nivara Hakk can be considered a grassroots movement organization it is far more formalized than PHS. The movement organization has developed a constitution and consists of a General Council, an Executive Committee, an Area Committee and office bearers. It therefore shares characteristics with professional movement organizations.

The General Council is composed of representatives from informal settlements. It constitutes at the beginning of every year to determine the agenda and the budget for the same year and elects the members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee manages the movement's operations. It has the power to make financial sanctions, to appoint staff and it forms a regional committees to encourage decentralization. The Committee consists of 17 members and has a president, a vice-president, a General Secretary, a treasurer and two joint secretaries. The president represents the organization in the public and chairs all meetings of the General Council. The General Secretary is in charge of supervising the daily operations and overseeing the implementation of the decisions taken by the Executive Committee. Nivara Hakk has five continuous members: Shabana Azmi, PK Das, Gurbir Singh, Sebastian, and Anand Patwardhan. (Nivara Hakk, 1996) The peculiarity is that all these members are relatively popular in Mumbai. For instance, Shabana Azmi is a famous Bollywood Actress and Anand Patwardhan is a film maker.

Although Nivara has become formalized to a certain degree, it has maintained its network character. Apart from the core members Nivara does not rely on permanent members. It is designed in a way that keeps it as far as possible from becoming institutionalized. Its struggle-based approach permits people, like students and activists, to join in for specific periods and projects. Nivara was also never officially registered. It argues that a formal registration would make it vulnerable to the government's regulations and that this way the government cannot impose any restrictions on Nivara.

In contrast to many professional movement organizations, Nivara Hakk does not rely on foreign or local funding. It clearly positions itself in contrast to foreign funded NGOs and opposes the idea by highlighting the influence funders may have on the work. (Das, 2016, par. 2) Nivara's rules for raising funds are laid down in the constitution draft. Members and affiliated organizations may be approached for contributions and people living in communities must be encouraged to share expenditures. Funds can also be raised from individuals who sympathise with the organisation's goals. In some cases contributions from private institutions are accepted. This is decided on a case-to-case basis. Funds from the government and foreign institutions are not accepted. (Nivara Hakk, 1996, pp. 10-11)

7.3.4 Approach and Areas of Engagement

Nivara has changed and adopted its strategic approach over the course of years. The different actors in the field including government, builders and dwellers have their own viewpoints, mind-sets and

strategies. Nivara realized that it needs to understand the battle from all its perspectives and that this sometimes requires to make a step backward before making two steps forward. (Das, 2016, par. 26)

In the beginning Nivara primarily sought to stop forced evictions and the demolition of dwelling structures by opposing the SRS scheme and the cut-off date. (ibid., pars. 26-28) To accomplish this, Nivara Hakk fought for housing rights in the courts and on the ground. On the ground Nivara led numerous protests. Many of them turned violent, people were seriously injured and got arrested. However, with the risks Nivara took by conducting these protests they gained the respect of the slum dwellers. In the court Nivara fought against demolition and eviction cases but the judges did not decide in its favour. Nivara had to admit that the battle for policy changes was lost and then changed its strategy to negotiate the terms and conditions within the existing policy framework: “After we had lost all the battles, after we were beaten up, we were thrown out (...) right of the supreme court, we lost everywhere; we then finally negotiated with the government for rehabilitation site under SRA policy even though SRA policy is highly contradictory and written with conflicts and contradictions” (Das, 2016, par. 26).

Although this was somehow undermining their own philosophy Nivara recognized that there are gains and losses in the process but that it is not only about securing housing for the people but a larger political battle: “The housing battle is not just about the commodity of houses. It’s about the whole politics of city and the rights to the city” (ibid., par. 22). Nivara’s failure to achieve policy changes was therefore considered only one loss in a larger battle for citizen power and citizen rights. Nivara would therefore continue to “organizing people to politically develop their rights, their skills, their capabilities, to sharpen their demands, to manage their own areas and so on and so forth” (ibid., par. 18). Only the battleground changed.

Nivara began to carry out many rehabilitation projects. It introduced community-based self-help and participatory mechanisms to combine architecture with governance. (ibid., pars. 4-6). Nivara tested cooperative endeavour and how to manage common assets, such as toilets or roads. (ibid., par. 2). The idea of cooperative endeavour was developed within the first resettlement project when people were shifted from Colaba to Malad. The management of common assets was considered one of the main challenges. On basis of the self-help housing ideas of John F. Turner people learned to manage their own property, land, and the common assets. People build their own houses in terms of their own capacities to raise funds etc. and under consideration of some development regulations they had mutually agreed upon. This idea took into account the socio-economic disparities that do exist among dwellers and gave people the opportunity to develop something in frame of their own capacities and according to their imaginations. By this Nivara provided a platform which provided people with equal opportunities and allowed for individual development. (ibid., pars. 2-6) “So it was not just about roads and infrastructure, it is also about social development endeavours that would contribute ultimately to

the growth of human capabilities (...) and capacities” (ibid., par. 6). The project was very successful and showcased how ownership can provide sustainable housing solutions for people. But with increasing aspirations to have a proper apartment in Mumbai the people finally sold their land to a developer who developed it under SRA. Nivara opposed the idea and considered it another big loss after an enormous victory. (ibid., par. 26).

Nivara’s work on rehabilitation projects then revealed another more fundamental problem. The absence of land for affordable housing and the government’s reluctance in providing land for this specific purpose in the development plan of the city. Thus, land for affordable housing was identified as a key issue. (ibid., par. 8) Nivara considers globalization and privatization policies that were introduced in 1991 at the root of the problem. By handing over responsibilities of social services to the private sector and letting them carry out development work, nothing was done in terms of affordable housing, social amenities and housing conditions. It is argued that the unavailability of affordable housing has led to the proliferation of slums. Affordable housing in turn is not available because under the land reservation plan of the government, land has not been exclusively earmarked for affordable housing but only for housing in the broader sense. Conclusively private buyers have invested only in high-income housing. Nivara therefore demands that the government earmarks land exclusively for affordable housing. (ibid., par. 10)

Nivara further is trying to get the land back and demands that slum land should be reserved for affordable housing and should not be traded for other purposes as applicable under the current SRS. Therefore the organization had submitted a Master plan to the government which would allow for 450,000 affordable housing units which would take care of the entire shortfall. (ibid., par. 12) Land could also be demanded back from private owners because the government can reclaim land for public purposes. Therefore Nivara explores alternatives and submits them to the government and the courts to challenge the existing development plans. Nivara therefore does not only claim the rights for people but also produces alternative solutions to induce change.

Nivara’s larger fight for democratic participation and citizen power has also translated into other development measures that intend to increase the capacity of those excluded from the city’s spaces. Nivara has developed a second pillar which carries out traditional NGO work such as humanitarian aid and crisis support. Nivara supports six day care centres for children and runs two on their own. The centres provide children a safe place to play and learn while their parents are working. Teachers provide a foundation for sending children to proper schools later on. Nivara also runs a medical centre in Goregaon, an area in the northern suburbs of Mumbai. The facility provides free health checks and medicines to slum dwellers. Nivara also carries out several educational programmes. It provides beautification and tailoring course for a period of four months. These vocational training courses for girls aim to empower them in their economic independence. Students have to pay a fee

between Rs.2, 000 and Rs.2, 500 and are awarded a certificate after successfully accomplishing the course. Nivara also provides computer courses for basic computer education. (Nivara Hakk, 2013b). The following table number seven comprises the work of Nivara Hakk.

Table 7: Areas of Engagement of Nivara Hakk.

Area of Engagement	Measures
Housing Rights	- Resisting demolitions and land-grabbing attempts of the government-developer nexus with protest marches and hunger strikes - Lobbying housing as a fundamental right
Community Service (Voluntary services to improve the life quality for people in the slums)	- Community Centres with educational programmes - Day care centres where working mothers can leave their children - Subsidised medical clinic and pathology laboratory in Malad (East) where subsidised medical assistance is provided - Programmes for children welfare, immunization and family planning - Beautification classes, computer courses, Stitching classes
Crisis Support	- Mobilization of voluntary workers and relief material - Reconstruction of houses - Medical Aid - Financing of earthquake-secure housing
Other rights	- Promote justice from law enforcement agencies (police) - Reduce corruption in the Public Distribution System

7.4 OUTCOME ANALYSIS OF NIVARA HAKK

This section provides an analysis on how the work of Nivara influences the achievement of the SDG 6 and related goals under consideration of the theoretical framework developed in chapter three. To be able to examine their work with regards to the SDGs a concrete resettlement project was chosen that is presented in unit one. The case is then used to examine the different aspects of sustainable development in unit two. Unit three examines Nivara's influence on the institutional dimension of SD and takes into account its historic developments. Unit four focuses on the unintended outcomes that have favoured the organization and the beneficiaries of the resettlement of the case presented in unit one.

7.4.1 The Resettlement of the Dwellers from Sanjay Gandhi National Park

In 1968 an area in the north-eastern suburbs of Mumbai was officially declared the Borivali National Park, today known as the Sanjay Gandhi National Park. In a Megacity of 20 million people it provides a refuge from the city life and a unique landscape of lakes, caves and a great biodiversity. But for a long time the park was not fenced or visibly shielded in any way. (Nivara Hakk, 2013a) Immigrants in rural exodus that came to the city for better prospects started unknowingly encroaching the protected area, because land mafias and corrupt forest officials illegally sold plots inside the national park at comparatively reasonable rates. (Depak, 2016, par. 10) People invested between Rs.3, 000 and Rs.10,

000 to buy a plot of land and build a home in a new city. They did not demand any legal documents by purchasing the land because they feared physical violation by the land mafia. (ibid., par. 14)

During the communal riots in 1992 many Muslims in the National Park became victims of the city-wide rapes, burnings and killings. They sought refuge in one of the relief camps bordering the national park. Here, Nivara Hakk got involved for the first time with the people of the settlement. The organization provided them relief and later organized the return to their homes. By engaging with the community NHSS became aware of the land mafia gangs who competed over the control of the territory and were selling land, evicting people and extorting money by violent gangs using swords and choppers. (Nivara Hakk, 2013a) Nivara Hakk then engaged with the people to organize against these mafias and approached the government and the police to set up outposts to control the violence.

By 1995 the Sangharsh Nagar Settlement inside the National Park had grown into a city of 50,000 huts with around 135,000 residents. In the same year, the Bombay Environmental Action Group demanded the eviction of the settlement from the forest land and filed a PIL in the High Court. Until then, people had not been aware about the importance of the land they had settled on. (Depak, 2016, par. 10) People were not only violating the Forest Act, but also residing on land that belonged to the government. Therefore the settlers were not entitled to rehabilitation under the new Slum Redevelopment Act.

When the government declared the national park land as inhabitable land the settlements became officially illegal and the government started demolishing huts, Nivara Hakk began defending the rights of people to housing in dignity. They asked the government why all these years people had been given electricity, water, and ration cards, and why they let them construct their houses in the first place if they were occupying state government land. (Kadam, 2016, par. 10) They then demanded the provision of basic services such as water and toilets, severe actions against the land mafia to stop further encroachment, and a clear policy for the rehabilitation of the people on forest land. (Nivara Hakk, 2013a; Jadhav, 2016, par. 14) Crowds of people began to block the roads in front of the bulldozers and in a NHSS-led protest march in 1996, 50,000 people demanded inclusion in the SRA rehabilitation scheme and threatened to boycott the elections. The High Court then ordered the inclusion of the forest settlement into the rehabilitation scheme, and the state government agreed to it after a meeting with Nivara Hakk representatives. However, demolition continued and in a demolition drive in June 1996 about 30,000 huts were bulldozed. Many people lost their homes. (ibid., par. 68)

In the ongoing court case known as A.R. Bharati and other vs. BEAG, the court took notice of the new amendments protecting the forest settlement and ordered a survey to determine who would fall under the rehabilitation scheme. With respect to the then 1995 cut-off date, all names that were on the electoral roles of the 1st of January 1995 were included in the scheme. The government

identified 33,000 households eligible for the SRA scheme. It also identified 50 slumlords of which each had sold more than 1,500 dwellings and used court fee stamp papers to carry out the transactions. In total 772.82 hectares of forest land were identified to be encroached. The court directed the government to find a rehabilitation site within 18 month and to evict all commercial or residential establishments and residents who were not eligible for the scheme. Out of an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 people living in the forest by that time, only 130,000 people were officially recognized. (Depak, 2016, pars. 47-50) In addition, the court ordered the stoppage of buses and bus roads inside the national park, to cut all telephone connections, to demolish all unoccupied huts, to confiscate household material, and to demolish all schools, ration cards and dispensaries after the 18 month period. For that the government should send a battalion for the demolition work, build watch towers every 500 meters and provide aerial reconnaissance. Following that, around 50,000 hutments were demolished and 200,000 people evicted.

In November 1997 NHSS led a protest and blocked the streets to prevent another demolition drive. The police began to beat people with lathi charges⁴⁸ and arrested about 100 people. Gurbir Singh was reported to be circulated and beaten up by 20 police officers. The police released them on bail after a large protest march to the police station. A journalist not associated with the movement filed an affidavit against the police violence he had been witness of. NHSS then also filed a petition for civil damage in the High Court. Only a few days later a similar incidence occurred. Using tear gas and lathi charges, and with gun shots in the air, the protestors were forced back and more than 1,000 hutments were demolished. The court then ordered the stay of the demolition and directed the government to provide rehabilitation first. But it was difficult to identify a plot of land in Mumbai on which these people could be resettled on. Therefore the government then planned to resettle the people to Kaylan, a district 60 kilometres outside the city and about 17 kilometres away from the local train station. NHSS went with some dwellers to inspect the location identified. An area of plain land was marked with powder that was used by the two nearby villages for grazing their cattle. There were no schools and no work opportunities, no markets, shops or other facilities. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 86) (Depak, 2016, par. 36; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) The government also claimed a defray cost of 7,000 Rupees from every person that was to be resettled. This policy was accepted by the High Court, and every person who paid 7,000 Rupees were registered on a waiting list for the rehabilitation and to be granted an apartment of 225 square feet⁴⁹. (Kadam, 2016, par. 14; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) However, people did not understand why they should pay the money, so many of them did not. Also they refused to be resettled in an undeveloped rural area without access to education, work and other facilities. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 86; Depak, 2016, par. 46; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) Therefore the government faced a

⁴⁸ The Police attacks movements with sticks. (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

⁴⁹ 225 sq. ft. equals 20 sq. m.

lot of resistance when trying to resettle the people. But also the villagers opposed the entry of newcomers on land they had used for grazing their cattle. Nivara Hakk started a movement and demanded that as per official regulations people would have to be resettled adjacent to the national park. (Depak, 2016, par. 36) Although a small amount of people got shifted to the outskirts, the government had to give up the plan because of the large resistance.

In March 2000 the High Court imposed a deadline on the submission of the 7,000 Rupees because the government had only been able to collect the money from 450 families while 38,500 had opposed it. The deadline was extended several times for various reasons and the overdue money was recovered over several years. (Kadam, 2016, par. 74; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) One reason was the formation of a Tribunal of the Indian Human Rights Commission (IHRC) which investigated the violence against the poor in this case. Their conclusions came down to the government and in a letter to the Chief Minister they demanded actions against the Deputy Conservator of Forest for the eviction of eligible slum dwellers and the burning of personal belongings. In another big rally over 20 organizations marched to demand the review of the land use plan of Mumbai, to rehabilitate the dwellers and to stop builders from grabbing land under the SRA scheme.

After years of fighting finally a solution seemed to be close. The Sumer Corporation hold a parcel of land of around 90 acres in the district Powai in an area named Chandivali. Land disputes and the recession in the real estate sector had prevented Ramesh Shah to develop this area. He approached the Housing Minister Nawab Malik to propose the land for the development of a Muslim community. Malik then suggested him to offer his land for a SRA project in return for FSI⁵⁰ and TDR⁵¹. After several meetings between Sumer and Nivara Hakk, and the final approval of the chief minister Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde the project plan was developed. (Nivara Hakk, 2013a) Malik showed the people the place and they agreed. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 90)

The people were to be resettled in two phases on a total of 85 acres of land. Nivara Hakk was assigned by the state government to take over the project, and to appoint a builder. PK Das, one of NHSS' founding member and renowned architect developed the draft of the new settlement according to township planning regulations, arguing that the project was not resettling a few people but some 130,000 which would account for a mid-size town in India (see figure 26). (Das, 2016, par. 22; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) The apartments were provided as per SRA regulations: a 20 to 25 sq. m. one-room apartment with an additional kitchen and a common wash room. One apartment was given to each family of four to five members. (Kadam, 2016, pars. 39,63; Jadhav, 2016, par. 78) But as per town-

⁵⁰ Short form for: Floor Space Index. The Floor Space Index describes the ratio of the total covered area of construction to the total plot size location.

⁵¹ Short form for: Transfer Development Rights. Transfer Development Rights make an amount of additional land available to the builder who has surrendered an area for land that was claimed by the government. (MCGM, 2010, p. 154)

planning regulations the draft also provided for the civic and social needs of the community. It included low-rise residential buildings of four storeys, schools, and playgrounds for children, medical centres and community centres. The plan was developed together with the community through participatory mechanisms. Nivara then appointed Sumer to realize the project according to their ideas. (Das, 2016, par. 22; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) The final draft was signed between Sumer, Nivara Hakk and the SRA. It approved the construction of 8,403 residential tenements, 85 welfare centres and 31 society offices. A total TDR of 4, 88, 740 sq. m. was granted.



Figure 26: Draft of the clusters in Chandivali (Photo taken at the field visit on 13.10.2016)

A meeting was conducted to explain the people how their future home would look like. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 78) But Sumer started to deliberately slow down the building process and consequently NHSS intervened to block the TDR and link it with the speed of construction. The builder then abandoned the plan. To increase profits from TDR, Sumer increased the buildings to seven storeys, increased the density and cancelled the play grounds and markets. (Jadhav, 2016, pars. 76, 110-114; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) In addition, he used sub-standard material which would later lead to increased maintenance costs for the residents. The people felt cheated because they had paid 7,000 Rupees for a five story building but were resettled to a seven story building. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 102) When NHSS protested, the then Chief Minister reduced its status to monitoring, and Sumer destroyed NHSS' project office in Chandivali on 17th of January 2006. PK Das described the developments as follows: "By the time we got to the second phase he (the builder) had learnt enough to throw us out and undermine the plan. (...) In that processes the builders influence the governments." (Das, 2016, par. 22) However, Shabana Azmi negotiated with the builder that if he would build the two more floors the apartments must be given for free. Also he would pay 20,000 Rupees for the maintenance to each of the 44 apartments. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 114)

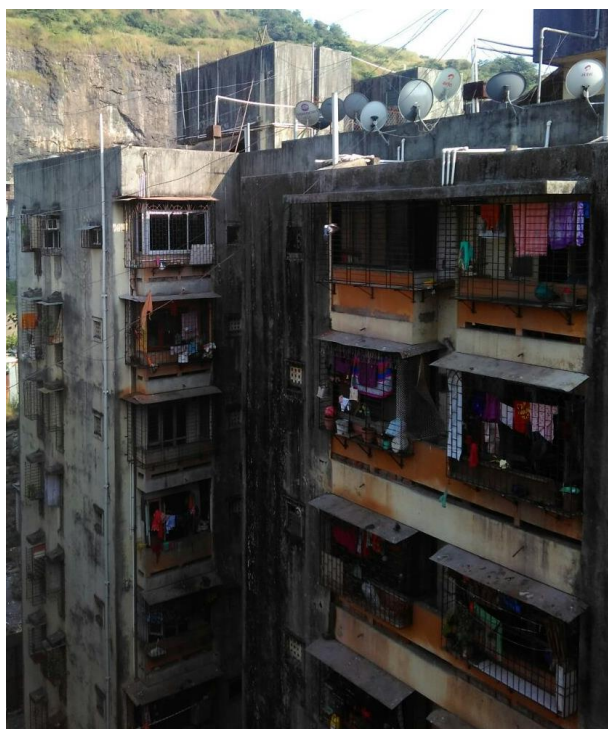


Figure 27: Building Block in Chandivali (Photo taken at the field visit on 13.10.2016)

In 2007 the first buildings were ready for allotment and the people started shifting from Borivali to Chandivali (see figure 27, for more photos see Annex 22). (Kadam, 2016, par. 6; Depak, 2016, par. 44; Nivara Hakk, 2013a) The relocation of the dwellers is a gradual process that began in 2007 and is still ongoing. When the builder finishes an apartment block he informs the SRA that a certain number of apartments have been completed. The SRA then passes a list of the finished flats to the people in the forest. The people on top of the waiting list and NHSS then inspect the localities on their completion, including the installation of electricity and water connections. (Kadam, 2016, par. 6) If the building is completed the people shift. (Jadhav, 2016, pars. 15-19)

Until today around 12,500 families have moved into their new homes. (Kadam, 2016, par. 14) Another 15,000 families are to be resettled in the second phase of the project. In 2011, NHSS invited the Chief Minister to review the progress. After seeing the illegal changes that were made to the sanctioning plan he ordered the SRA chief to carry out a hearing. Thereafter nothing occurred. In the second phase NHSS had no power to influence on the building structure anymore. The SRA sanctioned the development of 22-story buildings. However, the chief minister intervened and did not allow more than ten storeys. Today the second phase goes ahead with 14 story buildings. Also the building typology has changed and does not reflect Nivara's draft anymore (see figure 140, Annex 22). (Das, 2016, par. 22)

7.4.1.1 Water Situation at the Sanjay Gandhi National Park

Between 1972 and 1985 people used to legally settle inside the national park and got official facilities such as water and electricity connections with meters, or telephone lines. But due to the increasing influx of people the government stopped providing legal water connections, and mafias who were involved into illegal land sales started controlling the area. (Depak, 2016, pars. 78-80) To get people to settle in the area the land mafia started providing water by illegal means. (ibid., pars. 66,82) Therefore all people that settled after 1985 do not have legal water connections. (ibid., pars. 74-76)

Today, people living inside the national park access water from a 72 inch long and eight feet big waterpipeline passing through the national park. (ibid., pars. 2-8) A hole was made into the pipeline and illegal connections were established. People were free to approach the water source, line up and get the water for free. However, they had to walk almost one to two kilometres and carry multiple waterpots on their heads. (Jadhav, 2016, par. 20) Also it was very time-consuming to stand in the long lines and most people didn't have the time to stand in queues because they had to go to work. To avoid standing in line, people paid two Rupees for a can of 20-35 litres from a private provider. Some people charged 100 or 200 Rupees on a monthly basis. (ibid., par. 28) There were also people lining up on behalf of someone, getting water, and charging some 20 to 30 Rupees from them for delivering the water. (ibid., pars. 58, 68) Mafias used to have goons to do this business. (Depak, 2016, par. 54) Therefore they were not the actual sellers but only a medium. Some people were living officially recognized in the slum. The mafia had no control in these regions and people therefore were not depending on the illegal activities. (ibid., par. 56)

7.4.1.2 Water Situation in Chandivali

The water situation for people in Chandivali has changed significantly. People have access to municipal tap water inside their homes. The buildings are supplied with water from the municipal government. Each cluster has a large underground tank to which the municipal water gets supplied to. The water is then pumped up to overhead water tanks on the roofs of each building from which the water reaches each apartment. (Jadhav, 2016, pars. 32-42) This way water is available any time throughout the day. The water quality corresponds with the quality of other buildings.

As water gets delivered and stored in tanks for one entire cluster, people living in one cluster share the water bills. The representative receives a bill for the entire cluster and divides the amount equally between the households of each cluster. The bill lies usually between Rs.70, 000 and Rs.100, 000. (ibid., pars. 58-60) People also have to pay an electricity bill which includes the energy consumed by the water pumps. In 2008, when people had just moved in, the government reclaimed Rs.20 million. The community had difficulties to pay the large bill. NHSS conducted meetings to explain the people why they had to pay the bill. Then they collected the money and managed to pay the bill. Each family had to pay around Rs.1, 600. (ibid., pars. 45-55)

7.4.2 Aspects of Sustainability

Sustainable Development requires an integrated and balanced development of the economic, social and environmental dimension. (see chapter 3.1.2) Chapter five has shown that the social dimension of SD is being neglected under the current policy framework, leading to social exclusion and subsequently to unsustainable outcomes. The chapter has also displayed how the government has linked access to water with housing structures making the housing conditions a determinant of SDG 6. The SRS has been introduced as a policy scheme that intends to eliminate the slums and secure access to decent housing and basic facilities. However, land policies and the cut-off date restrict the number of beneficiaries making SRS exclusive instead of universal. Other complications such as policy loopholes and corrupt officials have divided the opinions about the SRS (see chapter 5.4.5).

Nivara Hakk demands the social inclusion of the urban poor and is therefore primarily concerned with the social dimension of SD. The movement organization has emerged in response to discriminative housing policies and can therefore be understood as a direct result of unsustainable development. Nivara addresses the issue of housing to resolve conflicts over shelter and basic amenities, which includes the provision of water services. The following two tables (table 8 and 9) relate their work to SDG 6 and related SDGs identified in Chapter 6.3

Table 8: Assessment of the contribution of Nivara Hakk to the achievement of SDG 6.

SDG 6	Situation in Mumbai	Work of Nivara
6.1 By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all	• Municipal Water in Mumbai is affordable but unsafe for drinking. The WDIP is currently working on the problem of contamination by reducing leakages in the system and implementing continuous water supply. • Access to drinking water is not equitable. Authorized slums receive 45 lpcd compared to 130 lpcd people living in regular housing structures receive. • Unauthorized slums are excluded from municipal water supply. They access water from informal networks. In both case studies access to water was unsafe and costly. In Ambujwadi people pay about 150 times the official water charges, in Kaula Bunder even 2,000 times. In both cases, prices are prone to fluctuation. • Contamination of drinking water is a problem that concerns all citizen in Mumbai but that is tied to the exclusion of people from water services in unauthorized settlements. Informal arrangements contaminate the distribution system and affect the water quality for all. Under the current policy framework the water department can attempt to achieve safe and affordable drinking water for those segments of the society that are covered under the framework, universal access to safe and affordable drinking water is however impossible under the existing policy framework.	Nivara's work directly impacts on the access to drinking water. By resettling dwellers in SRA buildings they gain access to regular municipal water supply. The resettlement therefore increases the inclusion of those excluded from municipal water services. The approach does not contribute to the achievement of universal access because it does not provide a solution for those who are not eligible for the resettlement. However, it encourages equitable access to water services because people now receive 130 lpcd instead of 45 lpcd they would have received if they had gained access to municipal water services in a slum. The resettlement also makes drinking water more affordable because people do not have to purchase high-priced water from mafias and goons anymore.
6.2 By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations	• Access to sanitation and hygiene is not equitable. Hutments in informal settlements do not have sanitary facilities. Dwellers rely on the instalment of public toilets and showers. If these are absent or unaffordable people practice open defecation on dumping grounds and take a bath in the open. • Authorized settlements usually have toilet blocks. However, five toilets must be shared among hundreds of people. Instead of queuing up, many people continue practicing open defecation. • Unauthorized settlements do not have any sanitary facilities. People here practice open defecation. The field research in Ambujwadi has shown that the government deliberately destroys toilet blocks that had already been built to discourage settling.	The hygienic conditions in the national park are very bad. There are no sanitary facilities and there have been people who died from gastroenteritis. Dwellers who now live in Chandivali have access to regular water services, sanitary facilities and there are cleaners who take care of the garbage disposal. Therefore the conditions have improved drastically. Nivara has therefore contributed to increase equitable access to adequate sanitation and hygiene. However, the resettlement does not solve the problem of universal access because it does not provide a solution for those ineligible for SRS.

	In Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder water scarcity has also worsened the hygienic conditions. In Ambujwadi people use sea water to take a bath and wash their clothes. In Kaula Bunder people reduce their water consumption to a minimum and therefore do not regularly clean or wash. Under the existing policy framework, sanitary facilities are only built in authorized slums and there are too few. To achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene and to end open defecation the policy framework must be changed.	
6.3 By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, eliminating dumping and minimizing release of hazardous chemicals and materials, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally	The water quality in Mumbai is very high but water gets contaminated through leakages in the distribution system. The highest risk comes from illegally extended pipelines in settlements. The case of Kaula Bunder shows how hazardous chemicals can enter the water distribution network. Also, open dumping sites and defecation put the system at additional risk of contamination. Water quality is both a management problem and a consequence of denying access to water. The WDIP works on leakage reduction and the implementation of continuous water supply, but as long as people break pipelines to access water this will be a continuous vicious cycle. The water department can therefore improve their water quality but will have to put constant effort in maintaining it.	
6.4 By 2030, substantially increase water-use efficiency across all sectors and ensure sustainable withdrawals and supply of freshwater to address water scarcity and substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity	- The current system in place ensures the sustainable withdrawal from the seven lake reservoirs and the water department works on improving efficiency in the supply of freshwater. - To improve consumption behaviour, the WDIP plans to implement an exhibition centre to increase awareness. - Commercial establishments and economic growth are prioritized over social equity and inclusion. In times of water scarcity it is ensured that business can go on as usual while residents are restricted in their daily consumption. Environmental factors now play an increasing role and water resources are managed in an environmentally sustainable manner. However, the distribution of water does not intend to reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity but to maintain the level of economic	

	growth. To accomplish this goal the priorities in distributing water must be reassessed.	
6.5 By 2030, implement integrated water resource management at all levels, including through transboundary cooperation as appropriate	This target is not applicable on the city level but can be examined on the state level. Mumbai has the largest water demand in the state and the city takes away water that may be urgently needed in rural areas. However, it is out of the scope of the thesis to assess this dimension.	
6.6 By 2020, protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes	The current water distribution system relies on the lake water surplus created by the rainfall of the monsoon and does not draw on the lake water resources.	
6A By 2030, expand international cooperation and capacity-building support to developing countries in water- and sanitation-related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling and reuse technologies	Not applicable on a city level. However, the water department has engaged with the World Bank and private actors to improve the water distribution system.	
6B Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management	To realize its pilot project on continuous water supply, the WDIP has engaged with slum dwellers to generate information and educate people about the changes of the new project. Following Arnstein this can be considered levels of nonparticipation. (see chapter 3.2.4)	

Table 9: Influence of the work of Nivara Hakk on related SDGs.

SDG	Relatedness	Work of Nivara Hakk
SDG 1: Zero Poverty	In Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder, water charges influence the affordability of other essentials such as food and electricity. People get trapped into poverty. In Kaula Bunder people also risk to lose their income source by taking leaves in order to collect water.	Poverty has decreased for people who have moved from Sanjay Gandhi National Park to Chandivali.
SDG 3: Good Health and Well-Being	In Ambujwadi as well as in Kaula Bunder, people's health is affected by water scarcity, affordability, contamination, bad hygienic conditions and the lack of sanitary facilities. People are reported to particularly suffer from waterborne diseases but also skin infections, diarrhoea and asthma.	In Sanjay Gandhi National Park people had no access to medical facilities and lacked sanitary facilities and suffered from bad hygienic conditions. Nivara used to run a clinic at the national park and send doctors to different settlements for check-ups. This way Nivara gained the trust of the people. (Interview No. 5: 102) When people shifted to Chandivali their health improved because many hygiene-related issues drastically improved. Although there is no hospital in Chandivali there is a small BMC establishment which people can approach for smaller health issues. For bigger problems they go to a hospital in nearby districts. The communities in Chandivali now also have an ambulance service.
SDG 4: Quality Education	Children in Ambujwadi miss out on schooling because they have to get water. The lack of drinking water in schools probably also affects their level of concentration.	Children in Sanjay Gandhi National Park have no access to education. There used to be schools in the area but they were demolished after the court had ordered so. When children used to go to school they tended to drop out after the 8 th grade. For those that have moved to Chandivali the educational situation has improved. Nivara has negotiated for two schools in Chandivali and in order to make it affordable it was handed over to the BMC in 2011. Currently approximately 2,000 to 2,500 students are enrolled in the school. (Interview No. 2: 31) Many children are now also going to colleges and become professionals. The resettlement has increased the awareness level of people and they now aspire for a better life for themselves and their children.

SDG 5: Gender Equality	Women in Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder are responsible for the household. Cooking, washing and cleaning are their tasks. Women have to manage all their daily tasks with the little water available. Therefore they tend to raise their voices against the established policies. The political landscape and informal networks are male dominated. Men consider themselves attacked by women when they articulate their difficulties in managing their daily tasks under the current systems. Women are also held up from getting into politics themselves.	
SDG 7: Affordable and clean Energy	-	Electricity in the national park was illegally accessed and people had to pay a bill of between 200 and 500 Rupees monthly. People who have shifted to Chandivali now also struggle with their electricity bills. People have to pay an electricity bill which includes the energy consumed by the water pumps. In 2008, when people had just moved in, the government reclaimed Rs.20 million. The community had difficulties to pay the large bill. NHSS conducted meetings to explain the people why they had to pay the bill. Then they collected the money and managed to pay the bill. Each family had to pay around Rs.1, 600.
SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth	Although most dwellers have an occupation in the formal or informal sector, their duties towards their employers determine their access to water and vice versa. People need time to purchase water and lower the price the more time needs to be invested. People therefore trade-off access to fresh water with their attendance at work. In Kaula Bunder maids have been reported to lose their jobs because they have to take too many leaves to collect the water.	People living in the national park get their water from informal networks like as mentioned in the case of Ambujwadi and Kaula Bunder. Here also, people choose an option that is more costly but time-saving because they have to go to work. For those who have shifted to Chandivali, work opportunities have increased drastically because people have shifted to the centre of Mumbai. In the national park there were little work opportunities and many people were unemployed. Increased work opportunities in turn also have improved the standard of living. (Interview No. 5: 96)
SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities	Chapter five has shown that the current political framework increases inequalities between the urban rich and the urban poor. Discrimination in access to legal water services are only one aspect.	Nivara fights for social inclusion and access to resources for those excluded from the rights to the city. It does not focus on

		the aspect of water but on housing. Conclusively, access to basic amenities will be achieved by addressing the housing issue. Nivara has reduced inequalities by resettling many thousands of people into SRA buildings and thereby providing them with access to basic amenities, health services, education and other as seen in the case of Chandivali.
SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities	Access to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services for all is the first target of SDG 11. The SRS presented in chapter 5.4.5 addresses this target and provides an opportunity for those eligible to permanent shelter and access to water. However, the SRS is restricted to authorized settlements and dwellers that comply with the cut-off date. Therefore it discriminated between people and does not provide a solution for all citizen.	Nivara has contributed to SDG 11 not only by negotiating the terms and conditions for slum dwellers but also by introducing sustainable concepts in their work. For instance, Nivara has introduced self-help housing and used capacity building to empower the people to overtake the task initially carried out by the movement organization. Today, Nivara Hakk is not needed anymore to manage community issues. This is taken over by the housing federation Mahasangh Sangarsh Nagar. The federation takes care of the maintenance of the buildings and community spaces and approaches the builder for these purposes. They have also employed cleaners who collect the garbage from each house and clean the dusts and walk ways.
SDG 12: Responsible Consumption and Production	SDG 12 includes the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources. Chapter 3 has shown that the WDIP is currently working on improving the efficiency of the distribution system but that the strong focus on economic growth does not address the production and consumption patterns at the end of the chain, leading to unsustainable usage of water and water stress in times of droughts.	
Life above the water	Humans are part of the ecosystem and rely on its functioning. Water scarcity does not only affect humans but also animals and plants. This in turn has repercussions for humans. For instance, in Kaula Bunder goats provide less milk because they have to eat dry grass.	
SDG 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions	SDG 16 is a very diverse goal. For instance, it aims to achieve equal access to justice for all, to reduce corruption and bribery, to strengthen institutions, to increase participation and to promote non-discriminatory policies to	When Nivara engaged with people in the national park they noticed the land and water mafias and the extreme crime rate. Today the situation has changed for the people living in

	ensure sustainable development. All of these targets are related to access to water in Mumbai. Chapter five has shown that although national legislation promotes inclusion the incapacity of the legislative arm to pursue judgements provides a loophole for governments to implement discriminative policies. These loopholes have encouraged the emergence of water mafias and corrupt practices to access water. In absence of a functioning democratic system, participation of the urban poor is restricted to electoral votes but those do not lead to improved outcomes.	Chandivali. There is no mafia and children tend to go to school instead of joining gangs. In contrast to PHS, Nivara did directly address the issue of mafias and requested the court to arrest them. Nivara has helped the policy and the forest officials to identify the criminals and thereby contributed to their arrest. Nivara has also fought against discriminative policies such as the SRS and the cut-off date both in the court and on the street. Although it was unsuccessful in changing the policies it was able to gain inclusion into these policies for many settlements such as in the case of the national park. Nivara has also increased political participation of dwellers in form of protest marches and hunger strikes.

Table number eight shows that Nivara's work affects target 6.1 and target 6.2 of SDG 6. By achieving the inclusion of urban poor in SRS the movement organization secures access to water and sanitary facilities. In target 6.1 Nivara positively influences the aspects of affordability and equitable access to drinking water. Universality in access to water is an interesting aspect because Nivara does not provide a solution for those ineligible under the SRS. However, Nivara has also achieved the inclusion of unauthorized settlements and hereby contributed to increase the number of people eligible under the scheme. The same is applicable for the provision of sanitary facilities and improvement of hygienic conditions targeted in 6.2.

Table nine illustrates that Nivara's approach goes beyond the achievement of shelter and civic services for all. The movement considers redevelopment projects as an opportunity for citizen empowerment and argues that it cannot be reduced to the aspects of infrastructure. Nivara therefore follows a holistic approach which takes into account several factors that impact on the people's livelihood, such as administrative mechanisms, maintenance mechanisms, or the management of common assets and social amenities. It then negotiates the terms and conditions for people's resettlement and achieves the construction of schools, health centres and the successful creation of society federations. In the case of Chandivali, Nivara has successfully contributed to the reduction of poverty, improved access to health services, education and work opportunities and encouraged sustainable community development by empowering citizen to self-manage their issues. Nivara can therefore be considered to encourage integrated development that contributes to the accomplishment of several SDGs at the same time. One unintended negative outcome of the resettlement to Chandivali are the high electricity bills that result from private consumption and the operation of the water pumps that serve the individual households with tap water. SRS therefore creates a new negative relationship between SDG 6 and SDG 7.

It can be concluded that Nivara Hakk achieves social inclusion of the urban poor in a variety of goals including SDG 6. Social inclusion hereby consists of both intra-generational and intergenerational equity because it improves access to basic needs for the present generation but also creates opportunities for future generations that would not have been there without their engagement. This becomes particularly clear through the positive effects the resettlement has on the children's education and health. Nivara Hakk therefore redresses the shortcoming of the social dimension in the current policy framework in a holistic and integrated manner. It therefore complies with several criteria of sustainable development.

7.4.3 Influence on the Institutional Dimension

The limitations of Mumbai's democratic system have been examined in chapter three and it has been concluded that the elites have captured the rights to the city. The multi-stakeholder partnerships and

participatory governance suggested by the Agenda 2030 can therefore not lead to transformative changes because the elites have an interest in preserving existing power structures.

Nivara has attempted to change these power structures by inducing policy changes. The following table number ten contextualizes their work with regards to the model of political responsiveness introduced in chapter 3.3.4.

Table 10: Levels of political responsiveness achieved by Nivara Hakk.

Level of responsiveness	Description
Access responsiveness	Nivara Hakk has conducted protest marches and hunger strikes, and fought in the court to prevent the demolition of slums, the forced eviction of dwellers and to reverse the cut-off date. The radical disruptive strategies could not be ignored by the government.
Agenda responsiveness	Although Nivara Hakk's demands referred to all people who are threatened under the current policy framework, the government did only respond to the demands concerning individual cases. Therefore political response needed to be worked with regards to each and every single case of forced eviction and demolition. In several cases Nivara achieved agenda responsiveness. The Sanjay Gandhi National Park case is one of them. Nivara achieved the inclusion of the dwellers who complied with the cut-off date although the settlement was considered unauthorized by the government and its habitants therefore ineligible for SRS. Nivara Hakk also daims credits for the fact that the recently published development plan for the first time includes a land reservation for affordable housing. According to Nivara this is the result of the continuous fight of the dwellers they had supported.
Policy Responsiveness	Although Nivara had aimed for changes in legislation the desired outcomes could not be achieved. However, Nivara was able to negotiate some changes in the SRS and to extend the deadline of the cut-off date to 2000.
Output Responsiveness	-
Impact Responsiveness	-

Although Nivara has not achieved any legislative changes, the movement organization has achieved considerable success within the existing policy framework by increasing political participation and empowering the urban poor.

Nivara has first mobilized people and encouraged them in demanding social inclusion. Later, it has supported the dwellers in negotiating the terms and conditions of their resettlement and when they have moved to Chandivali Nivara has empowered them to manage their civic issues themselves. Nivara's engagement has created aspirations among dwellers to aim for a better life and capacities to engage with the authorities to accomplish them. Nivara has therefore strengthened the position of the urban poor and contributes to build a gradual change in power relations.

7.4.4 Change from the Perspective of the Beneficiaries

Two unintended outcomes were identified as results of the resettlement of dwellers from the national park to Chandivali. On the one hand, the popularity of the members of Nivara have significantly influenced the trust and commitment of the dwellers. Anita and Depak, two dwellers living in Chandivali and now managing the redevelopment project have argued that there is no reason for the rich and famous to help them and fight with the police and go on hunger strikes but honest support because none of them would get anything out of it. (Depak, 2016, par. 96; Jadhav, 2016, par. 83) Depak also argues that in contrast to the government Nivara does not commit to anything it cannot hold up to. (Depak, 2016, par. 100)

On the other hand, the resettlement gives people security and has boosted their confidence. People are now living in an urban environment where they see on a daily basis how life could be better. This has created aspirations and the motivation to achieve more in life. Also, children tend to be more confident because they don't feel embarrassed anymore about where they are living. They can now talk freely about where they are living. (ibid., 2016, pars. 86-88)

7.5 CONCLUSIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE WORK OF PHS AND NIVARA HAKK

Under consideration of the theoretical framework developed in chapter three and the analysis conducted in chapter five, six and seven, the following units provide answers to the three guiding questions introduced in chapter one.

7.5.1 The Influence of the SD Path of the Government

India has ratified the Agenda 2030 and thereby committed to accomplish the SDGs under the principles of SD. Chapter five has shown that this commitment has not (yet) translated into development measures that treat all three dimensions of SD with equal importance. The government has primarily focused on economic growth which explains India's high growth rate. The disregard of environmental and social aspects of development has encouraged unsustainable outcomes leading to environmental degradation and social exclusion. Although environmental aspects have gained increased significance in India's development agenda, social aspects remain largely disregarded. This is also the case in Mumbai where the discriminative policy framework of the government has led to the exclusion of the urban poor from municipal water services. Elites have captured the rights to the city and the current representative democratic system does not provide a solution to restore the balance between economic growth, environmental protection and social inclusion.

Both, PHS and NHSS directly address the problem of social exclusion and therefore promote the integration of the social dimension of SD into the development agenda. Consequently, they can be considered as agents of sustainable development that intend to restore the balance between the different dimensions of SD. In contrast to traditional NGOs, the movements do not carry out

development work that complements the development efforts of the government. Instead, they hold the government solely responsible for the provision of basic services to the urban poor and demand their inclusion into the urban geography of the city. Both movements therefore intend to correct the development path of the government by addressing the shortcomings of governance in the institutional dimension of SD. This means that PHS and Nivara force the government to improve its own measures and policies. This is accomplished by drawing on legislative tools and civic resources. A detailed examination of their outcomes have been presented in chapter 7.2 and 7.4. Both movements have induced changes that have led to the increased inclusion of the urban poor in municipal water services. They can therefore be considered to successfully contribute to a more inclusive and henceforth sustainable development path of the government.

The difficulty hereby is that the government's discriminative approach is ideologically motivated and also serves to preserve existing power structures. Consequently it is problematic to estimate the long-term success of the movements. It certainly depends to an extent on their commitments to pursue their goals. This leads to the question whether the government will truly include people or only wait for an opportunity to undo its changes. To answer this question long-term studies would be required.

7.5.2 Strategic Approach to achieve universal access to water for all (SDG 6)

PHS and Nivara Hakk are both problem-centric movement organizations that adopt their strategies to the changing development agenda and tailor their measures to address specific issues. They also draw on similar tools to achieve urban inclusion. They both heavily rely on their network and use disruptive strategies such as protest marches and hunger strikes to win concessions of the government. Protest marches are usually peaceful but often turn violent at some point. They also both draw on legislative tools such as PILs to obtain court orders that increase the pressure on the government to include the urban poor. Another commonality is their understanding of citizenship and democracy. Both movement organizations assist the urban poor to increase their capacities to demand their rightful inclusion into the city.

PHS directly focuses on the water issue in the city and primarily aims to achieve urban inclusion in the SDG 6 by challenging the existing policy framework and establishing water as a human right and public good. In order to pursue universal access to water services, PHS decouples housing and water and treats them as separate issues. This tactic has allowed PHS to remove the cut-off date for water and to secure access of municipal water services to unauthorized slums residing on state or central government land.

Nivara Hakk in contrast primarily focuses on the issue of housing which includes civic amenities. Nivara does not aim to change the policy framework but intends to induce changes by acting within the existing framework. However, on a case-to-case basis Nivara negotiates the inclusion

of unauthorized settlements into the SRS. It therefore contributes to the achievement of SDG 6 by carrying out slum rehabilitation projects and by negotiating the inclusion of slums into the existing policy framework.

The decisive difference between PHS's and Nivara Hakk's approaches is therefore that PHS aims to change the policies to achieve social inclusion while Nivara aims to include more people without challenging the policy framework but by negotiating their inclusion on a case-to-case basis.

7.5.3 Aspects of Sustainable Development

Chapter three has presented sustainable development as a concept that requires the balanced and integrated development of the three dimensions of SD and that secures intra-generational equity between and intergenerational fairness across generations. The analysis conducted in this chapter has shown how Nivara Hakk and PHS influence these criteria. They both focus on the social dimension of SD. Conclusively they do not address all three dimensions in an integrated and balanced manner. They complement the lack of priority given to the social dimension by the government, but cannot be considered as actors that provide sustainable solutions. This is however not relevant because they hold the government responsible for developing such solutions.

Since both movements focus on the social dimension they are naturally concerned with the principles of social equity. PHS aims to establish intra-generational equity within the water dimension by making municipal water supply universally accessible. It hereby influences the achievement of different targets of SDG 6. PHS also understands and considers the relationship between water and other goals. However, priority is given to the achievement of intra-generational equity within SDG 6 while related goals play a subordinate role. In contrast, Nivara aims to establish intra-generational equity across several development goals by gradually increasing the number of people who have equitable access to basic needs compared to the elites. Nivara primarily focuses on securing housing for people and uses the SRS as an opportunity to secure access to basic amenities, work opportunities, health and education.

The aspect of intergenerational fairness is also manifested in both approaches. Although PHS and Nivara both focus on empowering citizens, Nivara specifically aims for rearranging power relations across the city. The movement organization argues that their fight consists of many battles and at their core lies the fight for a truly democratic society. They aim for political empowerment of the urban poor and therefore to strengthen their role in the current political system. This highlights the long-term commitment of Nivara to bring long-lasting change. PHS, on the other hand, intends to change the prevailing ideology of water as a commodity. It therefore aims to fundamentally change the existing relationship between water and social equity. Nivara and PHS therefore follow two different approaches to establish intergenerational equity. Nivara focuses on changing the power

relations to the favour of the urban poor and PHS addresses the ideological understanding that lies at the core of the discriminative policies.

8 THE ROLE OF PSMS IN ACHIEVING THE SDGs

Globalization has created a more complex world which has complicated the relationship between environmental, economic and social challenges. Through the example of cities as spaces of development and water as a central issue in development, chapter two has shown how these challenges have become closely interlinked. It has been highlighted that development efforts which are reduced to single aspects of development do not suffice to resolve these challenges. Thus, SD has emerged as a concept that allows to harmonize complex links between economic, social and environmental aspects of development. Chapter 3.1 provided a detailed examination of the concept and identified several criteria that must be fulfilled in order to act sustainably. Sustainable Development requires a holistic approach that integrates all three dimensions of SD in a balanced manner which is applied under the principles of intra-generational and intergenerational equity. In this context it has been highlighted that no single body is able to resolve these puzzles swiftly. Therefore participatory governance has been suggested as condition to develop and implement such complex development measures.

Although the concept gained widespread recognition, different viewpoints and interpretations placed another hurdle on the implementation of SD. Considering that increasingly interlinked development challenges go beyond physical borders, they need to be addressed by globally aligned development efforts. Chapter 3.2 has introduced the SDGs as global goals that have been established to coordinate the different national development agendas. At the same time governments are provided with enough policy space to introduce measures in correspondence with their local realities. To secure a successful implementation process the Agenda 2030 suggests multi-stakeholder partnerships and encourages the engagement with all actors at all levels. However, scholars have highlighted that participatory governance is not always successful in inducing transformative change. Hickey and Mohan have highlighted that decentralization sometimes provides elites with the opportunity to reserve participatory rights for themselves. In this case participatory governance does not lead to the desired sustainable changes but increases and manifests disparities between the elite and the oppressed. This has led to the question what actors can correct the development path of the government in such cases. Although traditional NGOs often draw on participatory methods they usually do not challenge the wider structures. Hickey and Mohan point out that progressive social movements are actors that successfully draw on participatory mechanisms to challenge existing power

structures and induce change. It therefore suggested itself to examine what role progressive social movements can play in the accomplishment of the SDGs.

Chapter 3.3 has introduced social movements as extremely diverse phenomena. It has shown that social movements have been primarily subject to research in social and political sciences and have been rarely touched in development theory because they have been largely understood to oppose development. Therefore current development literature does not provide insights on the influence social movements have on sustainable development and the implementation of the SDGs. Chapter 3.3 has therefore been primarily based on social science research. The chapter highlighted the influence of organizational structures on strategies and outcomes and provided arguments which explain why little research has been conducted on the outcomes of social movements. One of the main arguments is that it is problematic to trace back outcomes associated to an individual movement actions as there are too many factors which influence the government agendas. Therefore outcomes have been primarily measured by policy changes. This framework provided an opportunity to measure the influence social movements have on the institutional dimension of SD. However, for examining their influence on the other SD criteria and the accomplishment of the SDGs empiric research was required.

For the empirical research, access to water in Mumbai was chosen as an exemplary case study. Chapter five and six provided an analysis of the current development agenda and its consequences for the achievement of SDG 6 and related goals. It was found that the government has disintegrated the social dimension of sustainable development and does not comply with the principles of intra-generational and intergenerational equity. This form of development has led to unsustainable outcomes which affect the achievement of different SDGs in all three dimensions of SD. Chapter seven explored the influence of Nivara Hakk and PHS, two progressive social movement organizations, on the situation mapped in chapter five and six. On basis of this analysis the following section provides an answer to the research question introduced in chapter one.

8.1 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis has been conducted to answer the following research question: **What role can local PSMs play in achieving the SDGs?**

To answer this question, this work has examined the role of two progressive grassroots movement organizations in Mumbai to accomplish SDG 6 and related goals. Chapter 3.3 has shown that social movements are very diverse phenomena and it is therefore of critical importance to highlight that the type and strategies of the presented movements have influenced the outcomes of this work. They both have drawn on disruptive strategies to hold the government accountable for their development policies and have attempted to induce change with legislative tools and civic empowerment. The

following results can therefore not be generalized and should not be considered outcomes of social movements in general. Instead, they serve as a piece of circumstantial evidence that allows to contextualize social movements in sustainable development theory and examine their outcomes from a different angle.

This thesis has shown that both movements are contributing to the accomplishment of the SDGs in several ways. Nivara Hakk and PHS have been identified to be signal transducers for unsustainable development. Both movements have emerged in response to an imbalanced development course of the government and with the aim to redirect the development path. In contrast to traditional NGOs, movements do not assist the government in the accomplishment of the goals but hold them accountable for a more sustainable form of development. Movements therefore do not take over the responsibilities of the government but point out the deficits of the current development path. Therefore it can be deduced that grassroots movements provide an opportunity for the government to reassess their development strategies.

Chapter 3.1.2.4 has shown that the traditional representative democratic system cannot sufficiently address the complex challenges of today's world. It has promoted participatory governance which was manifested in the Agenda 2030 in form of multi-stakeholder partnerships. However, chapter 3.2.4 has presented the limitations of participatory governance if decentralization allows elites to reserve the rights to participate for themselves. Chapter 5 has shown that this has occurred in Mumbai and that rights do not apply to all citizens equally. This thesis has proved that if governments are reluctant to adapt a more balanced form of development, movements can also enforce change by drawing on legislative tools and mobilizing civic resources. The role of movements therefore goes beyond that of a watch-dog and monitoring body. Nivara Hakk and PHS both address the institutional deficits to resolve imbalanced development. Nivara Hakk works to gradually change the power relations to strengthen the position of the urban poor in the democratic system and hereby attacks the imbalance in participatory governance. In contrast, PHS addresses the government's ideology and therefore the underlying factors that prevent inclusive governance. Although the prevailing government perceives their interventions as hindrances because it has an interest in maintaining its power, both movements tend to increase the institutional capacity to manage development issues in a sustainable manner.

With regards to the achievement of the goals, the analysis of both movements has shown that their work can vary in terms of integration and type of social equity. Nivara follows a broader approach, which improves equitable access in several SDGs including water and sanitation. Therefore it contributes to the achievement of more goals but considers less aspects within the individual goals. PHS narrows its focus specifically to SDG 6 and covers more targets within the individual goal. Whereas Nivara influences equitable access, PHS aims primarily for universal access.

Thus, it can be concluded that PHS and Nivara contribute differently to the achievement of the SDGs but share commonalities as signal transducers of unsustainable development, watch dogs for governments and development agents that strengthen the capacity of the institutional dimension to manage challenges in a more sustainable manner. It was not found that PHS or Nivara Hakk had any negative implications for sustainable development. However, considering that chapter 3.3.4 has highlighted the difficulty in tracing outcomes it cannot be concluded that there are no negative outcomes but that they may not have been apparent during the field research.

To sum it up, this thesis has shown that local PSMs can play a positive role in achieving the SDGs by strengthening the institutional dimension of SD and provoking a more balanced and integrated form of development under the principles of intra-generational and intergenerational equity.

8.2 FUTURE OUTLOOK

This thesis has linked social movements to the concept of sustainable development and the achievement of the SDGs. It has shown that a specific forms of PSMs can redirect the development path of the government towards a more sustainable agenda. Several research questions can be derived from these results. First, it is questionable whether similar movements in different development contexts tend to have similar effects on the achievement of the SDGs. If so, it would be interesting to assess how governments or other actors can take advantage of these influences, and how the potential of PSMs to induce sustainable change can be used constructively to achieve the SDGs. Another aspect would be to investigate how efforts of different actors could hinder sustainable development. A different question that appeared during the study was the question of endurance. Are PSMs able to induce changes on the long-run or are governments waiting for an opportunity to undo its policy changes and fall back into old power structures? At last, it is questionable whether or not other forms of social movements have similar effects on the SDGs.

This set of questions shows the need for development theory to approach and include social movements in their research. Too little is known about their influences in the field and this may also imply unforeseen opportunities and threats for development actors.

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ANNEX

ANNEX 1: SDGs, EXTRACTED FROM THE AGENDA 2030

Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere

1.1 By 2030, eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere, currently measured as people living on less than \$1.25 a day

1.2 By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions

1.3 Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable

1.4 By 2030, ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance

1.5 By 2030, build the resilience of the poor and those in vulnerable situations and reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate-related extreme events and other economic, social and environmental shocks and disasters

1.a Ensure significant mobilization of resources from a variety of sources, including through enhanced development cooperation, in order to provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions

1.b Create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional and international levels, based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions

Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

2.1 By 2030, end hunger and ensure access by all people, in particular the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including infants, to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round

2.2 By 2030, end all forms of malnutrition, including achieving, by 2025, the internationally agreed targets on stunting and wasting in children under 5 years of age, and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women and older persons

2.3 By 2030, double the agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists and fishers, including through secure and equal access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial services, markets and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment

2.4 By 2030, ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters and that progressively improve land and soil quality

2.5 By 2020, maintain the genetic diversity of seeds, cultivated plants and farmed and domesticated animals and their related wild species, including through soundly managed and diversified seed and plant banks at the national, regional and international levels, and promote access to and fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources and associated traditional knowledge, as internationally agreed

2.a Increase investment, including through enhanced international cooperation, in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and extension services, technology development and plant and livestock gene banks in order to enhance agricultural productive capacity in developing countries, in particular least developed countries

2.b Correct and prevent trade restrictions and distortions in world agricultural markets, including through the parallel elimination of all forms of agricultural export subsidies and all export measures with equivalent effect, in accordance with the mandate of the Doha Development Round

2.c Adopt measures to ensure the proper functioning of food commodity markets and their derivatives and facilitate timely access to market information, including on food reserves, in order to help limit extreme food price volatility

Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages

3.1 By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births 3.2 By 2030, end preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age, with all countries aiming to reduce neonatal mortality to at least as low as 12 per 1,000 live births and under-5 mortality to at least as low as 25 per 1,000 live births

3.3 By 2030, end the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases

3.4 By 2030, reduce by one third premature mortality from non-communicable diseases through prevention and treatment and promote mental health and wellbeing

3.5 Strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse, including narcotic drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol

3.6 By 2020, halve the number of global deaths and injuries from road traffic accidents

3.7 By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes

3.8 Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all

3.9 By 2030, substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses from hazardous chemicals and air, water and soil pollution and contamination

3.a Strengthen the implementation of the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in all countries, as appropriate

3.b Support the research and development of vaccines and medicines for the communicable and non-communicable diseases that primarily affect developing countries, provide access to affordable

essential medicines and vaccines, in accordance with the Doha Declaration on the TRIPS Agreement and Public Health, which affirms the right of developing countries to use to the full the provisions in the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights regarding flexibilities to protect public health, and, in particular, provide access to medicines for all

3.c Substantially increase health financing and the recruitment, development, training and retention of the health workforce in developing countries, especially in least developed countries and small island developing States

3.d Strengthen the capacity of all countries, in particular developing countries, for early warning, risk reduction and management of national and global health risks

Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

4.1 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes

4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education

4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university

4.4 By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship

4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations

4.6 By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy

4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development

4.a Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all

4.b By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries

4.c By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States

Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere

5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation

5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation

5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate

5.5 Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life

5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences

5.a Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws

5.b Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women

5.c Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels

Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all

6.1 By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all

6.2 By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations

6.3 By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, eliminating dumping and minimizing release of hazardous chemicals and materials, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally

6.4 By 2030, substantially increase water-use efficiency across all sectors and ensure sustainable withdrawals and supply of freshwater to address water scarcity and substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity

6.5 By 2030, implement integrated water resources management at all levels, including through transboundary cooperation as appropriate

6.6 By 2020, protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes

6.a By 2030, expand international cooperation and capacity-building support to developing countries in water- and sanitation-related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling and reuse technologies

6.b Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management

Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all

7.1 By 2030, ensure universal access to affordable, reliable and modern energy services

7.2 By 2030, increase substantially the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix

7.3 By 2030, double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency

7.a By 2030, enhance international cooperation to facilitate access to clean energy research and technology, including renewable energy, energy efficiency and advanced and cleaner fossil-fuel technology, and promote investment in energy infrastructure and clean energy technology

7.b By 2030, expand infrastructure and upgrade technology for supplying modern and sustainable energy services for all in developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries, in accordance with their respective programmes of support

Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all

8.1 Sustain per capita economic growth in accordance with national circumstances and, in particular, at least 7 per cent gross domestic product growth per annum in the least developed countries

8.2 Achieve higher levels of economic productivity through diversification, technological upgrading and innovation, including through a focus on high-value added and labour-intensive sectors

8.3 Promote development-oriented policies that support productive activities, decent job creation, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, and encourage the formalization and growth of micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises, including through access to financial services

8.4 Improve progressively, through 2030, global resource efficiency in consumption and production and endeavour to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation, in accordance with the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production, with developed countries taking the lead

8.5 By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value

8.6 By 2020, substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training

8.7 Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms

8.8 Protect labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, in particular women migrants, and those in precarious employment

8.9 By 2030, devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products

8.10 Strengthen the capacity of domestic financial institutions to encourage and expand access to banking, insurance and financial services for all

8.a Increase Aid for Trade support for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, including through the Enhanced Integrated Framework for Trade-related Technical Assistance to Least Developed Countries

8.b By 2020, develop and operationalize a global strategy for youth employment and implement the Global Jobs Pact of the International Labour Organization

Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation

9.1 Develop quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure, including regional and transborder infrastructure, to support economic development and human well-being, with a focus on affordable and equitable access for all

9.2 Promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and, by 2030, significantly raise industry's share of employment and gross domestic product, in line with national circumstances, and double its share in least developed countries

9.3 Increase the access of small-scale industrial and other enterprises, in particular in developing countries, to financial services, including affordable credit, and their integration into value chains and markets

9.4 By 2030, upgrade infrastructure and retrofit industries to make them sustainable, with increased resource-use efficiency and greater adoption of clean and environmentally sound technologies and industrial processes, with all countries taking action in accordance with their respective capabilities

9.5 Enhance scientific research, upgrade the technological capabilities of industrial sectors in all countries, in particular developing countries, including, by 2030, encouraging innovation and substantially increasing the number of research and development workers per 1 million people and public and private research and development spending

9.a Facilitate sustainable and resilient infrastructure development in developing countries through enhanced financial, technological and technical support to African countries, least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing States

9.b Support domestic technology development, research and innovation in developing countries, including by ensuring a conducive policy environment for, inter alia, industrial diversification and value addition to commodities

9.c Significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least developed countries by 2020

Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries

10.1 By 2030, progressively achieve and sustain income growth of the bottom 40 per cent of the population at a rate higher than the national average

10.2 By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status

10.3 Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of outcome, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies and practices and promoting appropriate legislation, policies and action in this regard

10.4 Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality

10.5 Improve the regulation and monitoring of global financial markets and institutions and strengthen the implementation of such regulations

10.6 Ensure enhanced representation and voice for developing countries in decision-making in global international economic and financial institutions in order to deliver more effective, credible, accountable and legitimate institutions

10.7 Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies

10.a Implement the principle of special and differential treatment for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, in accordance with World Trade Organization agreements

10.b Encourage official development assistance and financial flows, including foreign direct investment, to States where the need is greatest, in particular least developed countries, African countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries, in accordance with their national plans and programmes

10.c By 2030, reduce to less than 3 per cent the transaction costs of migrant remittances and eliminate remittance corridors with costs higher than 5 per cent

Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

11.1 By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums

11.2 By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons

11.3 By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries

11.4 Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage

11.5 By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations

11.6 By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management

11.7 By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities

11.a Support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning

11.b By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change, resilience to disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels

11.c Support least developed countries, including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials

Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

12.1 Implement the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production Patterns, all countries taking action, with developed countries taking the lead, taking into account the development and capabilities of developing countries

12.2 By 2030, achieve the sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources

12.3 By 2030, halve per capita global food waste at the retail and consumer levels and reduce food losses along production and supply chains, including post-harvest losses

12.4 By 2020, achieve the environmentally sound management of chemicals and all wastes throughout their life cycle, in accordance with agreed international frameworks, and significantly reduce their release to air, water and soil in order to minimize their adverse impacts on human health and the environment

12.5 By 2030, substantially reduce waste generation through prevention, reduction, recycling and reuse

12.6 Encourage companies, especially large and transnational companies, to adopt sustainable practices and to integrate sustainability information into their reporting cycle

12.7 Promote public procurement practices that are sustainable, in accordance with national policies and priorities

12.8 By 2030, ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature

12.a Support developing countries to strengthen their scientific and technological capacity to move towards more sustainable patterns of consumption and production

12.b Develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products

12.c Rationalize inefficient fossil-fuel subsidies that encourage wasteful consumption by removing market distortions, in accordance with national circumstances, including by restructuring taxation and phasing out those harmful subsidies, where they exist, to reflect their environmental impacts, taking fully into account the specific needs and conditions of developing countries and minimizing

the possible adverse impacts on their development in a manner that protects the poor and the affected communities

Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts

13.1 Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries

13.2 Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning

13.3 Improve education, awareness-raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning

13.a Implement the commitment undertaken by developed-country parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to a goal of mobilizing jointly \$100 billion annually by 2020 from all sources to address the needs of developing countries in the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation and fully operationalize the Green Climate Fund through its capitalization as soon as possible

13.b Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change-related planning and management in least developed countries and small island developing States, including focusing on women, youth and local and marginalized communities

Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development

14.1 By 2025, prevent and significantly reduce marine pollution of all kinds, in particular from land-based activities, including marine debris and nutrient pollution

14.2 By 2020, sustainably manage and protect marine and coastal ecosystems to avoid significant adverse impacts, including by strengthening their resilience, and take action for their restoration in order to achieve healthy and productive oceans

14.3 Minimize and address the impacts of ocean acidification, including through enhanced scientific cooperation at all levels

14.4 By 2020, effectively regulate harvesting and end overfishing, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and destructive fishing practices and implement science-based management plans, in order to restore fish stocks in the shortest time feasible, at least to levels that can produce maximum sustainable yield as determined by their biological characteristics

14.5 By 2020, conserve at least 10 per cent of coastal and marine areas, consistent with national and international law and based on the best available scientific information

14.6 By 2020, prohibit certain forms of fisheries subsidies which contribute to overcapacity and overfishing, eliminate subsidies that contribute to illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and refrain from introducing new such subsidies, recognizing that appropriate and effective special and differential treatment for developing and least developed countries should be an integral part of the World Trade Organization fisheries subsidies negotiation

14.7 By 2030, increase the economic benefits to small island developing States and least developed countries from the sustainable use of marine resources, including through sustainable management of fisheries, aquaculture and tourism

14.a Increase scientific knowledge, develop research capacity and transfer marine technology, taking into account the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission Criteria and Guidelines on the Transfer of Marine Technology, in order to improve ocean health and to enhance the contribution of marine biodiversity to the development of developing countries, in particular small island developing States and least developed countries

14.b Provide access for small-scale artisanal fishers to marine resources and markets

14.c Enhance the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and their resources by implementing international law as reflected in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which provides the legal framework for the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and their resources, as recalled in paragraph 158 of “The future we want”

Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss

15.1 By 2020, ensure the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and drylands, in line with obligations under international agreements

15.2 By 2020, promote the implementation of sustainable management of all types of forests, halt deforestation, restore degraded forests and substantially increase afforestation and reforestation globally

15.3 By 2030, combat desertification, restore degraded land and soil, including land affected by desertification, drought and floods, and strive to achieve a land degradation-neutral world

15.4 By 2030, ensure the conservation of mountain ecosystems, including their biodiversity, in order to enhance their capacity to provide benefits that are essential for sustainable development

15.5 Take urgent and significant action to reduce the degradation of natural habitats, halt the loss of biodiversity and, by 2020, protect and prevent the extinction of threatened species

15.6 Promote fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources and promote appropriate access to such resources, as internationally agreed

15.7 Take urgent action to end poaching and trafficking of protected species of flora and fauna and address both demand and supply of illegal wildlife products

15.8 By 2020, introduce measures to prevent the introduction and significantly reduce the impact of invasive alien species on land and water ecosystems and control or eradicate the priority species

15.9 By 2020, integrate ecosystem and biodiversity values into national and local planning, development processes, poverty reduction strategies and accounts

15.a Mobilize and significantly increase financial resources from all sources to conserve and sustainably use biodiversity and ecosystems

15.b Mobilize significant resources from all sources and at all levels to finance sustainable forest management and provide adequate incentives to developing countries to advance such management, including for conservation and reforestation

15.c Enhance global support for efforts to combat poaching and trafficking of protected species, including by increasing the capacity of local communities to pursue sustainable livelihood opportunities

Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

16.1 Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere

16.2 End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children

16.3 Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all

16.4 By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime

16.5 Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms

16.6 Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels

16.7 Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels

16.8 Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance

16.9 By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration

16.10 Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance with national legislation and international agreements

16.a Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime

16.b Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development

Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development

17.1 Strengthen domestic resource mobilization, including through international support to developing countries, to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection

17.2 Developed countries to implement fully their official development assistance commitments, including the commitment by many developed countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national income for official development assistance (ODA/GNI) to developing countries and 0.15 to 0.20 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries; ODA providers are encouraged to consider setting a target to provide at least 0.20 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries

17.3 Mobilize additional financial resources for developing countries from multiple sources

17.4 Assist developing countries in attaining long-term debt sustainability through coordinated policies aimed at fostering debt financing, debt relief and debt restructuring, as appropriate, and address the external debt of highly indebted poor countries to reduce debt distress

17.5 Adopt and implement investment promotion regimes for least developed countries

17.6 Enhance North-South, South-South and triangular regional and international cooperation on and access to science, technology and innovation and enhance knowledge sharing on mutually agreed terms, including through improved coordination among existing mechanisms, in particular at the United Nations level, and through a global technology facilitation mechanism

17.7 Promote the development, transfer, dissemination and diffusion of environmentally sound technologies to developing countries on favourable terms, including on concessional and preferential terms, as mutually agreed

17.8 Fully operationalize the technology bank and science, technology and innovation capacity-building mechanism for least developed countries by 2017 and enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology

17.9 Enhance international support for implementing effective and targeted capacity-building in developing countries to support national plans to implement all the Sustainable Development Goals, including through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation

17.10 Promote a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the World Trade Organization, including through the conclusion of negotiations under its Doha Development Agenda

17.11 Significantly increase the exports of developing countries, in particular with a view to doubling the least developed countries' share of global exports by 2020

17.12 Realize timely implementation of duty-free and quota-free market access on a lasting basis for all least developed countries, consistent with World Trade Organization decisions, including by ensuring that preferential rules of origin applicable to imports from least developed countries are transparent and simple, and contribute to facilitating market access

ANNEX 2: TRANSCRIPTION RULES

The research interest lies on the content of the interview and not on its linguistics. For this reason a simple system of transcription has been selected. The following list presents the selected features of behaviour that were transcribed and the rules, including formatting rules, which were applied for the transcription of the interviews. The following rules were developed under consideration of Dresing & Pehl, 2016; Gläser & Laudel, 2009; Kowal & O'Connell, 2004; Pfaffenbach & Reuber, 2005.

- 1 The spoken is transcribed into standard orthography. This increases the readability of the interview and eliminates irrelevant verbal and non-verbal expressions. To prevail the character of the interview the transcription is done as accurate as possible. An approximation to written English is applied without changing the structure of the sentence or eliminating syntax errors. Dialects are reformulated.
- 2 Words or sentences that end abruptly are smoothed out. Repetitive wording is not transcribed unless it has been used for stylistic means. Uncomplete sentences are marked with the demolition sign: /. Overlapping in speaking is marked: // overlapping part //.
- 3 Non-verbal behaviour is only transcribed if it changes the meaning of the spoken. This includes emotional non-verbal behaviour like laughter. Non-verbal behaviour is marked in brackets. Example: Yes, sure. (laughter)
- 4 To avoid ambiguity, notations symbols for other than the conventional purpose are all described in this list and do not apply for other purposes.
- 5 Descriptions are marked with (d), comments with (c), and explanations are provided in footmarks. Example: It is there (d: interviewee points at a building down the road)
- 6 Unintelligible words or phrases are marked with a time marker and question mark in brackets. In case there is an assumption on the word or sentence it is added after the time marker and before the question mark. Reasons may be given only if considered relevant for the content such as in the case of disruptions through third-parties. They are given in brackets and after the question mark. Example: (#00:03:17- 00:04:18#?) or (#00:03:17# water system?) or ((#00:03:17- 00:04:18#? a third person joins the room and interrupts)
- 7 Longer pauses are documented in brackets. Numbers are used to indicate the lengths of the pause (in seconds). Example: Yes. (4) Actually no.
- 8 Verbal signals that indicate understanding are not transcribed unless they exist in form of an answer without any explanation. Then the interpretation is indicated in brackets. Example: mhm (yes).
- 9 Words that were particularly accentuated are transcribed in capital letters. Example: NO.
- 10 The speakers are indicated with an (i) for interviewer, (r) for researcher and (e) for expert. Each contribution receives an own paragraph. This includes interjections. Each answer to a formulated question ends with a time marker. Example: #00:01#
- 11 The interview language is transcribed in a uniform and coherent manner (i.e. same rules apply for the transcription of numbers, symbols, quotes within the interview).
- 12 In the case the interview has been conducted in Hindi language and translated into English, both versions are made available in the interview.

ANNEX 3: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Interview No.	Interviewee	Position	Type of the Interview	Date
Interview No. 1	Anonymous	Hydraulic Department	Informal Interview	07.10.2016
Interview No. 2	Sunil Kadam	Secretary at Nivara Hakk	Semi-structures Expert Interview	10.10.2016
Interview No. 3	Mitilesh Gupta	Teacher employed by YUVA and resident in Ambujwadi	Semi-structures Expert Interview	12.10.2016
Interview No. 4	Sumati	Social worker in Ambujwadi employed by YUVA	Semi-structures Expert Interview	12.10.2016
Interview No. 5	Anita Jadhav	Resident in Chandivali and community officer	Semi-structures Expert Interview	13.10.2016
Interview No. 6	Depak	Resident in Chandivali and community officer for Nivara Hakk in Sanjay Gandhi National Park	Semi-structures Expert Interview	14.10.2016
Interview No. 7	Sitaram Shelar	Core member of PHS	Semi-structures Expert Interview	18.10.2016
Interview No. 8	Raju Vanjare	Representative of YUVA at PHS and core member of PHS	Semi-structures Expert Interview	20.10.2016
Interview No. 9	Wasim Sheikh	Representative of Ambujwadi at PHS	Semi-structures Expert Interview	23.10.2016
Interview No. 10	Mitilesh Gupta and a group of five children	Residents in Ambujwadi	Photo-Interview	23.10.2016

Interview No. 11	Rais Shaikh	Political member of the Samajwadi Party and Municipal Corporater at the MCGM office in Govandi East	Semi-structures Expert Interview	24.10.2016
Interview No. 12	Group of women	Residents at Indira Gandhi Nagar, Bandra East	Group Interview	24.10.2016
Interview No. 13	Shanti	Resident at Kaula Bunder and representative of Magic Bus at PHS	Semi-structured Expert Interview	26.10.2016
Interview No. 14	P.K. Das	Co-Founder of Nivara Hakk, and architect	Semi-structured Expert Interview	26.10.2016
Interview No. 15	T.V. Shah	Retired Chief Hydraulic Officer and head of the engineer's association	Semi-structured Expert Interview	27.10.2016
Interview No. 16	Anonymous	WDIP	Informal Presentation	07.11.2016
Interview No. 17	Sanjay, Karthivel, Reshma, Vijay	Residents in Kaula Bunder	Photo Interview	08.11.2016
Interview No. 18	Avinash Ashkadam	Ex-Hydraulic Engineer and core member at PHS	Semi-structured Expert Interview	09.11.2016

ANNEX 4: INTERVIEW NO. 1

Comment: The interview was conducted with a hydraulic engineer in the water department of the MCGM. The interviewer wished to stay anonymous and did not give his consent to record the interview. The following interview is therefore a reconstruction from the notes and is not a literal transcription.

- 1 **I: Can you tell me what tasks you have in supplying water to the habitants of Mumbai?**
- 2 E: The Hydraulic Department is responsible for the provision of water in entire Mumbai and even delivers water outside Mumbai. Water comes from 27 reservoirs. I am the Chief Engineer of the department which coordinates all activities. There are several Deputy Hydraulic Engineers under my supervision, who are responsible for different wards and zones. We have divided Mumbai into 258 zones. There are monthly meetings with the Deputy Hydraulic Engineers. If there is an emergency we may meet weekly.

The Hydraulic Department provides water at a per-litre rate of Rs. 3 for Slum residents, Rs. 4 for non-Slum residents, Rs. 40 for commercials, Rs. 60 for five star Hotels and 90 for water plants. Production costs lie at Rs. 1.5. Water supply is divided into primary, secondary and tertiary provision. Primary provisions means that water is provided by primary pipelines to the consumer.

Since 2014 there is a Water Distribution Improvement Program. It has several responsibilities such as repairing leakages and developing water solutions for slum areas.
- 3 **I: Can you map for me all the key actors you are involved with in the process of water supply?**
- 4 E: The hydraulic department is a big institution and does not work together with any other actors. (d: no actors mapped)
- 5 **I: How have your tasks changed over the course of time?**
- 6 E: A problem we face now is that there are bunch of connections. So now we are working on removing them.
- 7 **I: Are you aware of any activities of NGOs in those areas? What do you think about their activities?**
- 8 E: NGOs act as representatives for the slum residents. They can approach us and bring forward complaints or other concerns.
- 9 **I: Can you identify areas which face constraints in (a) access to water (b) availability of water (c) affordability of water?**
- 10 E: Problems are spread all over Mumbai. We now have a pilot project in two wards to provide water 24 hours per day. (Constraints were not mapped)
- 11 **I: Can you classify whether the problems concern the quality or quantity of water or both?**
- 12 E: In terms of quality contamination of water is a big problem in Mumbai. In terms of quantity the current provision of water is 130 Litre per capita per day for non-Slum residents

and 45 for Slum residents. The minimum consumption level recommended by the WHO is 150 Litre per capita per day.

Certain areas are not provided with water 24 hours per day. Some areas receive between 2-4 hours water daily. There are pilot projects running on two districts (H-West and T-Ward) where everyone living in the district receives water 24 hours per day. The pilot project started in 2014 and will be evaluated by the end of the year. It covers ten percent of Mumbai's population. The wards were selected on basis of topographic criteria.

13 I: Can you tell me what factors influence the provision of water to these areas?

14 E: Our water treatment plant is no. 1 in Asia. The contamination comes from leakages and pin holes. We have an emergency cell which deals with leakages. We use sounding methods and helium gas (blue in colour) to detect leakages.

The water provision system is based on gravity. The provision to some higher areas requires pumping, which needs to be installed.

Traffic does not allow for working on the roads and the construction of pipelines everywhere. Therefore, tunnels are currently constructed. Some 90 km of tunnels have been laid already.

The climate/monsoon determines the amount of water available for the year. Last year a 15 percent cut in water was established from August 2015 to June 2016.

People must apply for water connections. They can form groups of five and approach our department. We will provide them with water if they are eligible. Eligible are those with voting rights and that came to Mumbai pre 2000.

15 I: How do the actions of other actors influence the provision of water?

16 E: Contamination is often a problem that occurs from the misuse and damage of pipelines.

17 I: In which areas of work and with what actors occur problems?

18 E: The people of the slums are often uneducated. They damage the pipelines, construct illegal pipelines, waste water. When they receive water we also face problems in bill recovery.

19 I: How could the work of NGOs facilitate your work?

20 E: NGOs can help to educate the people and increase awareness. It would be helpful if they facilitate bill recovery.

ANNEX 5: INTERVIEW NO. 2

- 1 I: Water aur sanitation k liye humara building bana k deta hai. Toh water aur sanitation k liye hum log kya karte hain, NGO? Humara NGO kya karta hai?
- I: She would like to know that what is the NGO is doing for water and sanitation?**
- 2 E: Paani ka? #01:36#
- E: For water? #01:36#
- 3 I: Haan, paani ka.
- I: Yes, for water.**
- 4 E: Building k liye? #01:37#
- E: For building? #01:37#
- 5 I: Haan, building k liye.
- I: Yes, for building.**
- 6 E: Abhi jo ye log basti main the, jo slum area national park Borivali, wahan se log shift kiya Powai Chandivali. Phele jo hai ye project 2007 main hua, isme se starting main log pehle jo shift hue, vo 2007 main. Abhi ye poora zimmedari vo jo building banaya vo builder ka rehta hai, paani supply vo karte hain. #02:25#
- E: People who were living in the national park in Borivali shifted to Powai, Chandivali. People started shifting to Chandivali from 2007 onwards. The builder who has constructed the building has the responsibility of providing water. He supply the water. #02:25#
- 7 I: Toh NGO ko beech main kuch karna nahi hai?
- I: So the NGO has nothing to do in this?**
- 8 E: NGO kyun tha! Actually vo national park jo Borivali area main jo log reh rahe the, vo jagah central government ka. #02:35#
- E: Why was the NGO there?! Actually the land on which people are living in Borivali belongs to the central government. #02:35#
- 9 I: Kaun sa jagah?
- I: Which place?**
- 10 E: Jo national park ka area hai, jidhar log base the. Toh government ne kya kiya ki inko sab tod diya, inka ghar. Ghar tod diya toh Nivara sanstha aayi. Boli ki tum log abhi itna basti 50,000 log usme the vo sab tod diya. Nivara sanstha ne kya kiya ki “agar aap log bol rahe ki ye jagah tumhara hai toh iske pehle aap kidhar the? Jab ghar ban raha tha tabhi kya kar rahe the aap log?” Phir Nivara sanstha ne kya kiya ki government k saath case apply kiya ki jab bhai tum paani, light, election card sab kuch inhe bana k de rahe toh aapko maloom nahi pada kya tab ki ye jagah government ka hai? Tab jagah banana ko nahi dena chahiye. Ye basically hum log ye case jeeta. #03:40#

E: The national park area, where people were living. The government demolished their houses. At this point Nivara Hakk came and asked the government: “Now that you’re saying that this land belongs to the government, then where were you when these people were constructing their houses here?” Nivara Hakk also said to the government: “You’re providing facilities like water, light, election card to these people. Didn’t you realized then that this land belongs to the government? You shouldn’t have given them the space to build their houses.” We won this case. #03:40#

11 I: Central government k kisko diya jagah banana k liye?

I: The central government provided the space to construct houses?

12 E: Jagah central government ka hai national park ka jo forest area hai. #03:47#

E: The forest area of the national park belongs to the government. #03:47#

13 I: Vo time pe pehle se hi bana k vo log baithe the?

I: People had already settled there?

14 E: Forest area tha. Usme kya hua ki har ek jhopada bante-bante poora ban gaya. Sabka rationing card ban gaya, light aaya, paani aaya, sab aaya. Phir government ne kya kiya ki bole ye jagah anadhikruit hai. Toh isko sab tod dene ka. Phir Nivara sanstha beech main aake public k saath se ladi. Government k saath. Aur phir unko 7,000 Rupees government ko bharne ko bola. Uske badle apan unko ghar de rahe apun 225 area ka. Jo abhi tak hum log 12,500 logon ko shift kiya. #04:22#

E: That was forest area. People kept coming there and it got populated. Everyone got ration cards, electricity, water and other things. Then the government declared that place as illegal residential space and ordered to demolish every house. That time Nivara Hakk came in to support the people and fought against the government. After that people were asked to pay 7,000 Rupees to the government and against it they were promised to get a house of 225 square feet. Until now approximately 12,500 people have shifted from here. #04:22#

15 R: Why did they have to pay 7,000 Rupees?

16 E: 7,000 high court government ko bhara per person. #04:34#

E: The High court ordered to pay 7,000 Rupees per person to the government. #04:34#

17 I: Haan, 7000 kaafi hai. Aur kitne jan ko bhara?

I: How many people deposited?

18 E: 12,500 approximately. Matlab itne logon ko ghar mila hai. Matlab aaj 50,000 basti ho gaya hai udhar. Ek ghar main 5 pakad k 50,000 ka basti ho gaya hai. Actually kya hai jo jagah hai, ye logon ko phir government ne kya bola jagah kar k hai. #04:59#

E: Approximately 12,500. There are approximately 50,000 people living there, assuming that there are five people in one family. #04:59#

19 I: Sunil, main itna bol deti hoon phir batana.

I: Sunil, let me explain this much and then you continue after that.

(d: The interviewee explains the researcher what has been said)

- 20 I: Kaun se saal main tha Sunil? Sanjay Gandhi national park se shift karne ko bola?
- I: In which year were the people asked to shift from Sanjay Gandhi national park?**
- 21 E: Vo 1995 se le ke 1999 tak vo hua tha. Actually ye 1999 se ye 7,000 bhara hai. #07:13#
- E: It happened in 1995 and 1999. In 1999 people paid 7,000 Rupees. #07:13#
- 22 I: Ye 7,000 Rupees, Nivara Hakk ne liya na Sunil?
- I: Did Nivara Hakk collect the 7,000 Rupees?**
- 23 E: Nahi. Forest, national park. #09:18#
- E: No. The forest, the national park. #09:18#
- 24 I: So, vo national park ko siddha diya?
- I: So, the money was directly paid to the national park?**
- 25 E: Haan. Vo logo ko DD bana k de diya. #09:22#
- E: Yes. They gave a DD⁵². #09:22#
- 26 I: National park wale.
- I: To the national park.**
- 27 E: Ji, ji. Matlab government ko hi gaya vo. #09:26
- E: Yes. It was paid to the government. #09:26#
- 28 I: Acha. 2016 main ho gaya na Sunil?
- I: Okay. It (c: the resettlement) got over in 2016?**
- 29 E: Nahi. Starting main inka shifting 2007 main hua. 1st May, 2007 to Andheri. 2007 se aaj tak 12,000 families udhar shift hua hai. #10:56#
- E: No. In 2007 people started shifting. From 1st May 2007 to Andheri. Since 2007 12,000 families have shifted from the national park. #10:56#
- 30 I: 2007 se Chandivali, nahi, Andheri main tha vo log?
- I: From 2007 people were not in Chandivali, they were in Andheri?**
- 31 E: 2007 main ye national park se vo log shift vahan hue aaj tak. Aise 12,000 log abhi tak shift hue hain. Unke liye udhar school bhi banaya hai vo bhi BMC ka. Nivara Hakk ne guide kar ke BMC ko dilwaya nahi toh kuch private wale lene wale the. Matlab kuch log private main lena chahte the usko ki hum chalet hain isko. But hum log kya jo poor people sab tha, matlab pooraa gareeb log. Vo log donation nahi bhar sakte the iske liye BMC ko handover kiya. Aur abhi toh acha school chal raha hai toh 2,000-2,500 bachhe log hain. #12:10#

⁵² Demand Draft

- E: In 2007 people shifted from the national park. 12,000 people have been shifted since then. There is a BMC school as well. Some private players were trying to get the rights to run the school, but Nivara Hakk made the BMC handle the school. Some private players wanted to run the school. But since we were poor and couldn't afford the donation, the school was handed over to the BMC. There are 2,000-2,500 students enrolled in the school. #12:10#
- 32 I: Electricity, water, ye sab kaise hua?
- I: How has the infrastructure changed? Electricity, water etc.?**
- 33 E: Actually vo jagah developing k liye nahi tha. Phir Nivara ne ye kar ke vo jagah government ko request kar ke development main le liya aur Sumer corporation kark ek builder hai, unhone vo sab building banwaya hai. Actually ye sabka bill baad main inko hi bharna pada, public ko. Government nahi bhar raha hai vo sab electricity. Vo abhi public hi bhar raha hai. Vo jab shifting hua toh unhone hi bhara. Aur isme Nivara ne bhi help kiya hai. #13:13#
- E: Actually that place was not for development. But then Nivara Hakk requested and persuaded the government to bring it under development zone. And the builder Sumer construction started constructing the buildings. Actually people had to pay the bills for all the facilities. The government is not paying for that. Nivara also helps with this. #13:13#
- 34 I: Kitna square feet bole?
- I: How much square feet?**
- 35 E: 225 square feet. #14:05#
- 36 R: How many people share one room?**
- 37 E: Four to five. #14:39#
- 38 I: Are they in a row?**
- 39 E: Nahi. Waisa hi hai wahan pe. Chota kitchen hai, toilet hai, ye sab ek saath main hai. #15:02#
- E: No. There is a small kitchen, and a toilet. Everything is inside the house. #15:02#
- 40 R: Has Nivara Hakk always worked with PK Das?**
- 41 I: (d: Interpreter answers directly to the question) PK Das is still founder member. All three of them are founding members (d: points at a banner).
- 42 I: Ye pooch rahi hai ki Sumer construction k saath hi kyun kaam kiya?
- I: She is asking why Sumer construction was chosen.**
- 43 E: Vo bada builder tha. Vo unka hi jagah tha. Wo jagah unka tha aur vo developing k liye nahi tha. Lekin hum logon ne request kiya government se (#16:53-16:55#) karke vo poora usne building banaya. #16:58#
- E: It's a big company and the place belonged to Sumer construction. It wasn't for the development but Nivara Sanstha and we requested the government had it got approved (#16:53-16:55#). Sumer builder constructed the buildings. #16:58#
- 44 I: Acha. Toh vo wohi pooch rahi hai ki kyun alug-alug builders aaya. Kuch problem tha ya kiske liye?

I: She is asking why there were different builders. Was there a problem?

45 E: Alug-alug nahi. #17:06#

E: There were no other builders. #17:06#

46 I: Contractor ko hum logon ne bola school banana ke liye ya itne jagah ka property banao, itna building banao.

I: Did the contractor consider Nivara's input to build the school or how many buildings should be constructed?

47 E: Nahi. Ye sab planning, ye poora planning hai humare PK Das architect ka. Unhone kaisa logon ke liye kaisa ghar chahiye, ye unhone sab architect kiya hai. School chahiye, unke liye market chahiye, vo sab unhone plan banaya. Unhone ye poora architect planning karke builder ko diya aur bola ye aisa hi chahiye. Abhi unko award mila hai. #19:35#

E: No. All the planning was done by Mr. PK Das. He architected the place keeping people's need in mind. Schools are needed, markets are needed, all this was decided by him. He designed the whole thing and gave it to the builder. He has recently received an award. #19:35#

48 I: Ye pooch rahi hai ki bahar se koi architect ko bula ke karne se acha tha kya? Ki jo Nivara ka founding member hi architect hai.

I: She is asking if it was better to let the founding member of Nivara to be the architect instead of getting another one.

49 E: Jinhone gareebon ko nazdeek se dekha hai wohi jaan sakta hai ki unko kya chahiye. #20:54#

E: Only the one who has seen the poor people closely can tell what they need. #20:54#

50 I: Vo log udhar reh ke khush hain kya?

I: Are people happy living there?

51 E: Haan. Khush hain na. Idhar vo aisa jhopad patti main rehte the. Din main chori ye sab udhar ye sab ladies log ko ye nahi tha. Bekar basti tha. #21:23#

E: Yes, they are happy. In the national park it was a slum. Various sort of crimes like theft and crime against women used to take place. It was bad. #21:23#

52 R: Now that they have to pay for infrastructure services like water and electricity, is it public? Do they have to pay the government or a private actor?

53 E: Wohi de rahe hain. Apne ghar ka bhada wohi denge electricity. #21:57#

E: People are paying electricity for the house. #21:57#

54 R: Who is delivering the water?

55 E: BMC. #22:44#

56 I: Inka poochney ka ye hai Sunil, private tanker deta hai ki phir waisa bhi aata hai kya?

I: She is asking if there are private tankers providing water as well?

57 E: Jab paani nahi rahega toh aayega. #22:59#

- E: When there is no water, then the tankers deliver the water. #22:59#
- 58 I: Ye kitna samay laga construction main?
- 59 **I: There is also another project by JP which Nivara is monitoring. How much time took the construction of the building?**
- 60 E: 3 saal. #30:21#
- E: Three years. #30:21#
- 61 I: Kitna ja aaye rehne k liye?
- 62 **I: How many people are living here?**
- 63 E: 300. Sab aaye hain. 270square feet ka area hai. 1 room, 1 hall. #31:00#
- E: 300. All the houses are occupied. It's a 270 square feet house with one room and a hall. #31:00#
- 64 I: Pooch rahe hain ki quality main fark hai kya? PK Das jo banaya aur isme.
- I: She is asking if there is a difference in quality between these houses and the ones designed by PK Das.**
- 65 E: Nahi, har k ka planning alag rehta hai. #32:43#
- E: It is a different way of planning. #32:43#
- 66 I: Kaun sa better hain? pooch rahe hain.
- I: But she is asking that which one is better?**
- 67 E: App dekhnge toh maloom padega.
- E: You will have to see the houses. #32:54#
- 68 I: Sunil idhar kya kar rahe, pooch rahe hain. #32:54#
- I: Sunil, what is your position here?**
- 69 E: Secretary. #33:10#
- E: I am the Secretary. #33:10#
- 70 I: (d: Interpreter explains the details to the researcher) So this is the head-office and he is the secretary of Nivara Hakk. Sunil Kadam. And he also supervises the vocational training. (#33:56#?) I also work with him.
- 71 **R: You also have health program here, right?**
- 72 I: Sonakshi just takes private classes. And we have beautician, computer course we have, we have a day-care center for the children and then we have a tailoring class.
- 73 **I: There are a few people still staying here right now.**
- 74 E: 2 stage main paisa bhara hai. Kuch log 1999 se bhara hai, 99, 2000, 2001, 2002 & 2003. Uske baad 2008 main bhare hain log. #40:19#

E: Money was paid in two stages. Some people paid in 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003. After that people paid money in 2008. #40:19#

75 I: Toh vo baki log udhar (national park) kyun hain?

I: So why are people still living in national park?

76 E: Unka shift nahi hua abhi. Vo log aisa kuch 13,800 kuch hai. #40:35#

E: There are around 13,800 families who are not yet shifted from national park. #40:35#

77 I: Kuch log udhar se kyun move out kiya?

I: Why some people moved out of national park? (Without getting a house through rehabilitation)

78 E: Family wale the. Unke bachche bade-bade the aur ye area aisa barabar nahi hai na. Kuch log bhade se reh rahe the. #

E: Few people were living on rent and left as this area wasn't good for their teenage kids. #41:52#

ANNEX 6: INTERVIEW NO. 3

1 I: Kya aap hume bata sakti ho ki yahan abhi paani ki kya stithi hai?

I: Can you please tell us about the water situation in your area?

2 E: Yahan pe paani ki stithi bahot kharaab hai. Kyunki yahan pe paani use karte hain, jaise nahana hai, kapda dhona hai, toh uske liye handpump ya boring ye sab chalta hai, aur baaki peeney k liye lagbhag one kilometer hoga 8 No., wahan se paani aata hai. Wahan se agar bhar ke laate hain toh 5 Rupees main dete hain, aur wahan pe log tempo se, saikal se le kar aate hain toh 25 Rupees for one can. Aur agar by chance paani ka koi shortage hua wahan pe jaise (#0:34-0:35#?)_kabhi hota hain na ki paani aaj nahi aane wala toh yahan pe 40, 50 rupees ka one can pad jaata hai. #00:41#

E: The water situation is really bad here. For washing clothes or taking a bath we use boring water⁵³, and for drinking water we have to travel for one kilometer to stop number eight⁵⁴ to get the water. If we go there to get the water, we get it for five Rupees per gallon. But if someone is delivering it to our place they charge 25 Rupees for a gallon of water. There are times when (#0:34-0:35#?)_mahada also faces water shortage, in that case the water costs us 40 to 50 Rupees per gallon. #00:41#

3 I: Who appko le ke aana padta hai?

I: Do you have to get the water?

4 E: Bahot se log paani ka business karte hain yahan pe. Koi tempo se laata hai, koi cycle se laata hai aur yahan pe aake bechte hain. Abhi main jaise yahan pe akeli hoon toh main paani lane nahi jaa sakti. Toh who log 5 Rupees main paani le kar aate hain aur 25 Rupees main bechte hain. #01:01#

E: There are a people who have made delivering water a business. They use tempos⁵⁵ or cycles to get water and sell it to us. I live alone⁵⁶ and therefore I cannot go and get the water. These people are selling water worth five Rupees for 25 Rupees as they deliver it to my doorstep. #01:01#

5 I: Ek gallon main kitna hota hai?

I: How many litres are there in a gallon?

6 E: 35. #01:29#

E: 35 litres. #01:29#

7 I: Didi paani kab aata hai? Subah ya sham ko?

I: At what time do you get the water? Morning or evening?

⁵³ Refers to water that is extracted through drilling into the ground.

⁵⁴ A Bus Stop. The water comes from the mahada building complex.

⁵⁵ A form of vehicle.

⁵⁶ She lives alone with her two children. Her husband does not live there.

8 E: Aisa kuch nahi hai, Paani subah se dopahar tak aata hai. Kisi-kisi nal main matlab day-night aata hai. Toh paani ka process yahan chalta rehta hai, Log le kar aate rehte hain, aur paani dete rehte hain. #02:34#

E: There is no specific time for it. It comes from morning to afternoon. There are a few taps though where water comes throughout the day, and therefore this process keeps going throughout the day. People keep getting water and sell it all the time. #02:34#

9 I: Toh aap paise kisko dete ho? Government ka establishment hai ya private hai?

I: Who do you pay the money to? Is it a government establishment or privately run?

10 E: Wo toh humko pata nahi hai. Udhar pe jo hai vo government ka hi hai, Lekin jaise ab ye pipe mere naam se hai, toh mere naam se paani aata hai toh ye paani main bechti hoon. #02:52#

E: I don't know that. Government is supplying water everywhere. Government has allotted water to legal residents and they are selling it to us. #02:52#

11 I: Didi, ye basti main sabke liye ek jaisa hi hai ya kisi k ghar main paani aata hai peene ka?

I: Is the situation the same for everyone or are there households which are getting drinking water?

12 E: Kisi k ghar main nahi aata! Poore all area main paani kahin nahi hai jo peene ka aata hai. Peene ka paani poori wahan se aata hai. #03:36#

E: None of the households are getting water. This entire area doesn't get drinking water. We do have to get it from stop number eight. #03:36#

13 I: Didi, paani ki dikaat aapki zindgi main aapko kaise affect kar rahi hai? Appko kya farak padta hai?

I: How is water scarcity affecting your life?

14 E: Bahot problem hai kyunki agar hum 25 Rupees dete hain toh humare roz ke ghar k maintenance toh usme bahot problem ho jaata hai. Kyunki 100 Rupees jo bahar ki kamai hai humari usme se 25 Rupees sirf paani main jaata hai, 8-10 Rupees bathroom main jaata hai, Fir plus ghar ka kharcha hai, bhaada hai, light ka bill hai, Toh adjust karne main bahot problem ho jaata hai. #04:24#

E: It is very difficult. If I'm spending 25 Rupees just on drinking water, then it gets really difficult to run my household. My daily income is 100 Rupees only and I'm spending 25 Rupees on water. Another eight to ten Rupees goes for using the washrooms, and after all these expenses we have to pay the electricity bill, and food etc. It is very difficult to manage with so little. #04:24#

15 I: Ye joh paani aap laate ho, ye saaf hota hai peene ka paani, nahane ka paani?

I: Is the water you get for drinking and for other purposes like cleaning, or is it not?

16 E: Kabhi-2 rehta hai, kabhi-2 nahi rehta hai. Jo peene ka paani aata hai usme bhi kabhi kabhi kachra rehta hai. #05:19#

E: Sometimes it is to clean, sometimes it isn't. A lot of times the drinking water is not clean and it is contaminated. #05:19#

17 I: To aap kya karte ho uske liye?

I: So what do you do for contamination?

18 E: Uske liya main filter use karti hoon. Mere pass hai toh main use karti hoon, Ye YUVA ka diya hua hai. Jiske pass nahi hai toh vo aise hi ate hain aur bimar hote hain, Kyunki unko pata nahi chalta ki vo paani gnada hai. Vo rakh dete hain aur phir 2 din baad pata chalta hai isme kitna kachra hai, Uss samay toh dikhta nahi kyunki bahot bareek-2 rehta hai aur phir baad main use karte hain toh bachche bimaar hote hain, loose motion hota hai aur bahot saani problem hoti hai.

Aur ye boring ka paani toh zaadatar toh nuksaan hi karta hai, kyunki who khaara paani rehta hai. Yahan nazdeek main khaadi hai aur samudra hai toh uska paani pooraa khaara rehta hai. Kyunki yahan pe bahot saare bachche logon ko use infection hota hai chamdi main fode jaisa aata hai toh bahor zaada khujli hota hai.

Aur kitne log hain jo bearish k time pe jo bearish ka paani hota hai, uppar se girta hai toh vo paani peete hain, khaana banate hain. #07:19#

E: I use water purifier for clean drinking water. I received it from YUVA. Since I have it, I use it. Those who don't have it drink unpurified water and get sick. Since the dust and impurities are microscopic and one can't see them, water looks clean on the surface. But when you leave it for a couple of days, you will find dust particles and impurities at the bottom. Later when the water is consumed, children get sick with diarrhea and get other stomach-related issues.

The boring water we get is very harmful as it is salty. There is a creek nearby and the water is very salty. When people use this water for other purposes like bathing, they get rashes and other skin-related infections.

There are many people who use rain water for drinking and cooking and other purposes during monsoon. #07:19#

19 I: Toh aap logon ne kuch arrangement kiya hua hai?

I: Have the residents set up any arrangement for rain water harvesting?

20 E: Kuch nahi! Vo patra hain use vo paani neeche girta hai, vo plastic containers main paani jamma karte hain. Bahot se log peete bhi hain jisko maloomaat (jaankari) nahi hai, toh use bhi unka bahot saari problem hoti hai. #07:37#

E: Nothing! When it rains the water streams down from the roof and people collect it in plastic containers. People who aren't very well aware use this water and then fall sick. #07:37#

21 I: Vo paani, boring k paani se theek rehta hai?

I: Is the rain water better than the boring water?

22 E: Actually vo meetha rehta hai, jaise null ka paani rehta hai. Lekin vo peeney k liye theek rehta hai lekin usme jo chatt ka kachra rehta hai, saath main vo bhi aata hai, Khulla rehta hai na vo boring ka paani jo hai vo nahane ke liye, kapda dhone k liye use kar sakte hain. Peene k liye bilkul nahi kar sakte. Kyunki vo khaara rehta hai aur bearish ka paani hai jo matlab achcha dikhta hai, saaf hai lekin vo baad main problem hota hai jab pet k andar jaata hai. #08:48#

E: Rain water is sweeter than boring water. It is like tap water. But it is not good for consumption, as it is streaming down from the roof it carries impurities, dust with it. Boring water can be used for bathing, washing clothes but not for drinking at all, as it is salty. Rain water seems to be clean, but create problems post consumption. #08:48#

23 I: Ye humesha se aisa hi hai? Aap bachpan se yahan reh rahe ho?

I: You're living here since your childhood. Is it always been like this here?

24 E: Humesha se aisa hai! Kyunki paani ka yahan koi suvidha hi nahi ho paa raha hai. jab baat karte hain kisi jagah kisi cheez k liye toh bolte hain ki illegal hai. Lekin abhi jo humari NGO sanstha hai ye YUVA sanstha, ye abhi is pe kaam kar rahi hai. Ye pehle bhi kaam kari thi light pe, toh light ka yahan pe hua hai. Abhi paani pe kaam kar rahe hain. Abhi humari basti ke kaaryakarta hain Wasim unhone court main vo sab arzi diya hai. Pani Haq Samiti ka chal raha hai. Kitni baar morcha bhi kiya hai. #10:03#

E: It's always been like this. There is no facility for water. Whenever we try to talk to authorities they tell us that you're living illegally. But our NGO (c: referring to YUVA) works on a lot of issues. Earlier they worked to get electricity to this area, and it happened. Now they are trying to get water here. One of our social workers, Wasim, who also lives here, has filed a PIL to get water. Pani Haq Samiti is also working towards it. We've also conducted protests many times. #10:03#

25 I: Kahan kiya hai?

I: Where did you protest?

26 E: BMC Office. #10:43#

E: BMC Office. #10:43#

27 I: Government help kyun nahi provide kar rahi? Chalo ab illegal bhi reh rahe ho, agar ye illegal construction hai, lekin reh toh rahe ho.

I: Why is the government not helping you? Even if you've illegally settled here. Now that people are living here, they will need water, as it is a basic necessity.

28 E: Reh toh rahe hain, lekin jab vote lena hota hai tab hum uss samay legal ho jaate hain! Tab hume ye nahi bataya jaata ki hum illegal hain. Lekin agar kuch kaam karne ki baat aati hai toh phir ye bataya jaata hai ki ye jahag illegal hai. #11:21#

E: We become legal during elections when these politicians need votes. That time they don't tell us that we're illegally living here. But whenever there is a work to be done, we become illegal again. #11:21#

29 I: Abhi jaise February main election aane wala hai toh abhi aapko koi benefit mil sakta hai? Matlab abhi vote maangne aayenge, aapki sansthan hai yahan pe.

I: The upcoming election is scheduled for February 2017. Do you think you will get any benefits? Politicians will come to ask you for your vote and your NGO is here. Is there a chance to take advantage of this occasion?

30 E: Aisa pehle hua tha ki Sarika humari nagar saiwak thi pehle, unhone election ke pehle vo tanki rakha tha, pata nahi kuch 2000 liters tha vo, utha k rakha gaya tha lekin vo chunaav main nahi jeete iskiye vo utha k le gaye.

Election k pehle bolte hain ki ye kaam karenge, vo kaam karenge toh aap log humara saath dijiye. Lekin jab vo jeet jaate hain toh uske baad kuch pata hai. Hum waise k waise hi reh jaate hain. #12:43#

E: A while ago one of our representatives, Sarika, got a water tank of around 2000 liters installed here. But when she lost the election, they took it back.

Before the election all these politicians lure us into false promises of our betterment to get our votes. But as soon they win their promises become futile and we remain where we were, in the same conditions. #12:43#

31 I: Aap logon ki madad kaun karta hai? Kyunki government se aap logon ko koi support mil nahi raha.

I: So who is helping you, as the government is not doing anything at all?

32 E: Kis cheez k liye? #13:06#

E: Help for what? #13:06#

33 I: Paani k liye... Aapke haq k liye kaun ladta hai? Kya aapko NGO se kuch help milta hai?

I: For water. Who is fighting for your right to water? Are the NGOs helping?

34 E: Haan. NGO se humari jo sanstha hai jo yahan pe bahot din se kaam kar rahi hai. Tootne ke pehle se kaam karti thi aur abhi bhi kar rahi hai. Jo job hi abhi aapko main bataya ki electricity ka unhone kiya hai aur abhi jo bhi hota hai. Kuch bhi jaise basti main kisi bhi cheez ka problem hota hai toh sanstha aati hai. Aur, abhi main problem yahan ki paani hai, Aur uske baad jo bhi hai bathroom ka hai ye sab hai toh maine bataya aapko abhi aisa issue hua, toh vo anytime hote rehta hai 2-3 mahine main hote hi rehta hai. #13:43#

E: Yes. Our NGO has been working here since a long time. They were working even before the demolition took place and still they are working. Like I had told you, they got electricity. And whatever is happening for the benefit of slum residents or to sort any issues here, the NGO comes and helps us. Right now the problem is water. After that it might be lavatories or maybe something else. Every two to three month there are new set of problems to be tackled. #13:43#

35 I: Ye NGO ka naam kya hai

I: What is the name of this NGO?

36 E: YUVA.

E: YUVA.

37 I: In logon ne aapke liya itna kaam kiya hai toh aapka kaafi bharosa bhi hoga is //NGO pe? //

I: Do the people of this slum have a lot of faith //in this NGO? //

38 E: //Bahot bharaosa hai. // Actually main jo hum log (d: another person enters the house and joins) jo 6 teachers hai toh vo log bhi apni family problems se bahot pareshan the, lekin ye YUVA sanstha main aane k baad humari soch bhi aage badhi hai. Main pehle 10th tak padhi thi lekin YUVA main aane k baad main teacher bani aur abhi aage ki padhai kar rahi hoon. Abhi SY main hoon (c: probably some course) aur matlab is sanstha ki wajah se bahot saare log is sanstha ko jaante hain. Isme bahot saare activity hote hain, jaise YOUTH group banate hain jo yuva logon k liye kaam karte hain. Ladke-ladkiyon k liye kaam karte hain. Isme computer class hai, beautification hai, silai class hai aur hai toh usme matlab help karte hain. Aadhar card, voting card. Toh ye YUVA sanstha bahot saare kaam karti haI. Toh isliye basti k bahot saare log jaante hain. Humari har tarah se help karti hai. Kyunki isme paisa khane ki koi baat nahi hai kyunki jo bhi kaam karte hain usme hum ek Rupee bhi nahi dete hain. Toh logon ko bharosa hai ko vo sanstha hai jo kaam kar rahi hai. #15:23#

E: //We trust them immensely! // We (d: another person enters the venue and joins) 6 teachers were very troubled by our family issues, but since we've joined YUVA our attitude and thinking has changed a lot. Earlier I was educated till 10th standard only, but after joining YUVA, I studied more and now I'm a teacher. Now I'm studying further and doing SY (ex: probably some course). A lot of people know about this NGO, and the NGO conducts various activities like a YOUTH group which works for the betterment of both young girls and boys. They also conduct computer classes, beautician course, knitting classes etc. They help us with a lot of skill development. Apart from skill development and fighting for our rights, they also help us with getting ID cards like Aadhar, voter's ID etc. Since they work a lot for us, most of the people know about YUVA. They help us in all the ways a person can be helped. They don't even charge us anything for their help, not even a penny. That is why people trust them a lot. Residents feel that there is an organization working for them and their betterment. #15:23#

39 I: Aap log paani ki samasya se bahot time se jhoojh rahe ho, aap yahan bachpan se reh rahi ho, aur aapne kaha ki humesha se aisi hi tha aur kisi ko bhi nahi mil raha hai. Aisa nahi hai ki chaar ghar main nahi aa raha hai. Aap log itne saalon se matlab kis tareeke ki aapne fight kari hai government k saath. Kya kiya aapne apni baat manwane k liye kyunki ye bahot bada problem hai. Paani na aana! Peeney ka paani basic hai vo chahiye hi chahiye sabko. toh jaise aap logon ne morcha kiye toh aap logon ne aur kya kya kiya hai.

I: You told us that you're living here since your childhood and that the situation has always been like this for everyone. It isn't that four houses are getting water and the rest aren't. No one is getting water here. You've been struggling with this for so many years and fighting with government to get your rights. Water is a basic necessity and we all need it. You people have protested, fought for this. What else have you done to get your rights to clean running water?

40 E: Actually paani k liye jo hai vo toh hai hi hai, lekin sabse pehle yahan pe saare log ek ghar k liye pareshan hain, kyunki ye unka ghar khud ka nahi hai. jabhi khud ka ghar nahi hota. Hum matlab kuch bhi kaam hota hai toh hum jaise voting karna hai aur kaam karna hai toh Sarkar kar k deti hai, lekin jab jagah ki baat aati hai, ek family main 8 se 10 log rehte hain unke saas-sasur hain, husband-wife hain unke bachche hain toh usme rehne main ek chota sa ghar hai. Lekin usme ek ghar rehta hai usme itne saare parivar wale rehte hain, toh vo pehle ye sochte hain ki pehle vo humara ghar khud ka ho jaaye, kum se kum rehne ko toh mile, paani ka fir dekhte hain. Phir bhi paani k saath ladai kar rahe hain. Pehle toh logon ko ghar ki zarrorat hai. #18:02#

E: The situation stands where it was! But people are more concerned about having their own house, as the houses they are living in do not belong to them. Government provide us voting cards and other IDs, but does nothing to help us have our own house. There are eight to ten people living in a small house (c: usually it includes husband and wife, in-laws, and children) which is very inconvenient. Therefore, they would like to get a house first and then fight for water. Though we're fighting for water, we need a house first. #18:02#

41 I: Lekin jaise paani k liye aap logon ne morche wagarah nikale hain aur kuch aapne kiya hai?

I: But like you had said, you did protest rallies for water. Is there anything else you did?

42: E: Toh vo morche kiye hain. Kitni baar morcha gaya hai, lekin wahan se zaada koi response nahi aata. #18:16#

E: We conducted protest rallies many time, but it's all futile. There has been no response from the government. #18:16#

43 I: Didi, aap yahan bachpan se reh rahe ho; year 2000 main ek arzi aayi thi ki 2000 k pehle job hi reh raha tha vo vo bhi legal ho chukka hai, toh abhi ye illegal ka kya hai?

I: You've been living here since your childhood. There is a government policy stating that all those who've been living here before the year 2000 will be declared legal residents. So why aren't you still not a legalized resident of this place?

44 E: Abhi yahan jo 2000 ek pehle k logon ko tha, kuch logon ko jo maap k diya gaya hai is taraf (d: interviewee points towards a direction) lekin wahan bhi paani nahi hai. Patrachal ye is taraf hai jahan se hum log aaye toh wahan pe area diya gaya hai lekin wahan pe bhi paani nahi hai.

Toh abhi beech main ye sab hua tha toh news aaya tha ki 2000 k pehle k logon ka jo bhi proof hai jo log rehte the unko aayega, milega paani, lekin usme bhi bahot saare log hain jo reh toh rahe hain pehle se lekin proof nahi hai. #20:09#

E: In the year 2000, the officials gave measured land to few residents there (d: interviewee points towards a direction) but still there is no water!

Some time ago there was this news that whoever has been living here since 2000 and proofs that he or she has been living here before the cut-off date, will get water. But there are many

people who don't have ID proof proving that they've been living here before the year 2000. #20:09#

45 I: Aapka ye ghar legal hai?

I: Is your house legal?

46 E: Humare liye toh legal hi hai government ki nazar main nahi hai. Humare liye toh hai kyunki hum yahan per reh rahe hain, hum itne din se reh rahe hain; ab main kehne ko kehti hoon ki main bachpan se yahan pe hoon, lekin vo unko nahi pata hai na ki hum yahan bachpan se rehte hain.

(c: The interviewee comments while the translator is translating to the researcher) Photo card 2000 main bana tha aur bahot saare logon k pass nahi hai. Hum log yahan pe 1994 se rehte hain. #20:57#

E: For us it is legal, not in the governments' eyes. For us it is legal as we're living here for so long. I've been living here since I was a child, but the government doesn't know that I've spent my life here.

(c: The interviewee comments while the translator is translating to the researcher) Photo ID's were made in the year 2000 but a lot of people don't have them, and I'm living here since 1994. #20:57#

47: I: Toh app isse ye nahi dikha sakte ki main yahan pe hoon?

I: So you can't prove that you've been living here?

48: E: Mere parents ka hai, lekin mera alag se room hai; mera alag se ID proof hai jo 2000 k baad ka hai. #21:21#

E: My parents have the ID, but since I live separately, I've my own ID card which is dated post 2000. #21:21#

49 I: App log paani haq samiti, k saath apna kis tareeke se jude, kaise vo log aaye job hi hai aap detail main batayenge.

I: How and up to what extent are you associated with Pani Haq Samiti?

50 E: Iska poora itna detail mujhe nahi pata kyunki main baalwadi padhati hoon, mera aur bhi alag se hai. Toh ye jo bhi hota hai paani haq samiti ka humari basti k karyakata log wohi log kaam karte hain. Vo log judke jo bhi court main arzi dena, baat cheet karna, wohi log karte hain. Humari meeting hoti hai, humari balwadi k through jo parents hain unke saath meeting hoti hai rationing pe, paani pe, ration card pe. Toh sab pe meeting hoti hai. #22:30#

E: I don't know about it in much detail as I'm a school teacher and we've a separate setup. There are social workers from our slum who work with Pani Haq Samiti. They filed the PIL in court. They coordinate and hold talks with various influencers and other people in government. We meet parents of our students and conduct meetings on various issues like water, ration card and other various issues. We conduct meeting to discuss all the issues in the area. #22:30#

51: I: Aapko lagta hai ki bachchon ki schooling pe asar pad raha hai paani ka?

I: Do you think that the children's education is getting affected due to water problems?

52 E: Asar padta hai. Kyunki bahot saare bachche hain jinke parents kaam par jaate hain aur bachcha 8-10 saal ka hai toh usko paani laana hai isliye vo school nahi jaata. #23:12#

E: It is affecting children's education as there are many children who have working parents and they leave early for work. If the child is eight to ten years old, getting water is its responsibility and it is missing out on schooling, as it is more important to get water. #23:12#

53: I: Agar aapko ek mauka diya jaaye ki koi tasalli se sarkaari aadmi baith k jo badlav laa sakta hai aur aapko use apni baat kehne ka ek mauka mile, toh aap unse kya kehna chahoge?

I: What would you like to say, if you would be given a chance to talk to a government representative who has the authority to bring change?

54 E: Hum unse yeh kehna chahenge ki hum log jis basti main reh rahe hain vo sarkaari hai hum bhi is Bharat desh k hain toh iske liye humne bhi jo aur logon ko milta hai vo jo zaada paise wale hain toh wohi support humko bhi milna chahiye kyunki vo humara haq hai. #24:17#

E: I would like to say that our houses in which we are living are legal. We are also Indians and this nation belongs to us as well. And therefore whatever facilities and support which is given to the affluent section should come to us as well, because it is our right too. #24:17#

ANNEX 7: INTERVIEW NO. 4

1 I: Didi aap apne bare main batayiye. Aap kaise social services main aayin?

I: Please tell us about yourself. How did you get into social services?

2 E: Actually, Meri shaadi choti umar main ho gayi aur mere chote-2 bachche the, mera thoda sa aisa tha ki main bahar jaa k kaam karun logo k saath. Lekin bachchon ki wajah se main bahar nahi jaati thi. Lekin yahan par ek center tha, abhi bhi hai, wahan par ek social worker the, main wahan apne bachon k (#0:49-0:50#?) jaati thi aur unse mera acha mulakat hota tha. Medical social worker the aur mera bhi thoda sa aisa sa hi ye tha, hum log baat karte the, Toh bole ki jab ye Babrekar nagar tode the (d: points the directions). Inka 1997 main bahot bada demolition hua tha aur inko yahan shift kiya, vo bhi bhari bearish main. Jab mere ko unse pata pada mil kar ki aisa aisa paristithi hai toh kya aap bachchon k saath kaam karogi? Tabhi mere bachche zara bade hue. Meri choti beti 5th standard. Main thi toh apna sab (#01:36#?) toh main boli ki main karungi. Aur mujhe ek acha sandhi mila, sach main toh paristithi main log kaisa ye hote hain aur bachchon par uska parinam kya hota hai aur mahilaon par uska kya ye hota hai. Toh ye sab mereko mila hai. Appko maine pehle hi bataya yahi saal main yahi mahine main mera retirement hua. Mereko pooch rahe ki kya aap ghar main rahoge? Kya karoge aage? Main boli dekhungi. Abhi main toh salary se kaam kar rahi hoon, without salary se kaam karungi logon ka saath. Humko ek soch bhi milega aur humara jo urja hai udhar jayega toh humko bhi ek shakti milega. Toh vo log bhi khush rahenge. Toh bole ki app karo karke.

Aur main actually Karnataka se hoon. Kuch mera education Mumbai main hua, kuch Karnataka main, aur main Kannada main bhi bol sakti hoon. Lekin Marathi bhi aata hai aur acha bol sakti hoon. Aur main Kannada medium se padhi toh thoda language English samajh sakti hoon, lekin humara aadat nahi hai ki main baat karoon kar ke. #03:04#

E: I got married at an early age and I had children. I always wanted to go out and work with people, but due to my children I couldn't do it. But there was this center, which is still here and there was a social worker. I used to go there to drop off my children (#0:49-0:50#?) and I used to meet this social worker who had a medical background. It was 1997, when through him I got to know about the demolition of Babrekar Nagar in Kandiwali. It was peak monsoon season when their houses were demolished and the people from Kandiwali were forced to shift here (c: Ambujwadi). That time Mohan asked me if I would like to help children in these hard times. That time my children had the right age. My youngest daughter was in 5th standard. That time (#01:36#?) I said I want to work for these people. I got to know the repercussions of the situation on women and children, and realized the hardship they face. I've told you that this month I retired from my job (c: mentioned before the interview started) and my colleagues were asking me what I will be doing now. Am I going to stay at home? I said I will see. Till now I had my monthly salary, but I will still work with these people even though now I won't get money anymore. I will have a purpose. I can pass on the positive energy I have, and get some in return. And that's how these people can be happy. #02:35#

I am actually from Karnataka. Some of my education took place in Mumbai and some in Karnataka and therefore I can speak both Kannada and Marathi. I also understand English but as I'm not used to use it frequently, I can't have a conversation in it. #03:04#

3 I: Ye jo center hai ye kiska hai?

I: Who's centre is this?

4 E: YUVA ka hai, usme main kaam karti hoon. Main, Sachin (#05:20# another name?). Main aisa committee organizer ka kaam karti hoon. 1998 se! 1997 main ye demolition kar k aaya, main 98 se yahan aayi hoon aur YUVA ka hi ye karyakarta hoon. Ye YUVA hi ek center hai, training center. Aur issi main main baalwadi chalati thi, study class chalati thi. Mahilaon ka saath kaam karti thi. Aur sirf babrekar hi nahi, babrekar k saath Ambujwadi ka bhi bachchon ka saath kaam karti thi. #05:50#

E: It belongs to YUVA. I work with them. I, Sachin (#05:20# another name?). Since 1998 I am working as a community organizer. These people (c: dwellers in Ambujwadi) came here in 1997. I started to come here in 1998 and since then I'm working with YUVA. This center we are sitting in is an establishment of YUVA. I used to run a kindergarden and study classes here, working with women. And not with just people living in Babrekar Nagar, but also with the children living in Ambujwadi. #05:50#

5 I: Didi, aap 20 saal se yahan pe dekh rahe ho, appse zaada acha shayad bahot hi kam log honge jine stithi pata hogi, kyunki aap kaam bhi karte ho iske liye, Paani ka situation 20 saal se kaisa hai? Kya badlav aaye? Kya hua? 20 saal se aaj hum dekhen toh kya stithi hai?

I: You've been working here for the past 20 years and there might not be many people who have so much knowledge of the water situation over such a long period of time. So can you please tell us how the situation here has changed over the past 20 years? If we look at the past 20 years, what has changed?

6 E: Babrekar nagar aur Ambujwadi do part hain. Ye poori Ambojawadi hai 36 acre jagah hai, isme se 3.6 ya 3.16 aisa acre jagah inka hai, babrekar ka. Ye isko government ne demolition kar k resettle karwaya. Iska alag abhi aap log gaye the vo Ambujwadi hai. Lekin abhi bhi Ambujwadi main paani nahi dete. Isko government ne hi resettle karaya hai. Aur Ambujwadi wale aake baithe. Jaise bahot gareeb log hain, Bihar se, UP se, Calcutta se aaye hain mazdoori karne toh vo itna paisa ghar main nahi de sakte. Yahan par kisi ko bhi beech main paisa de ke thoda sa jagah par ghar bana ke apna basera karein aur koi basic suvidha nahi hai. #07:47#

Ye log bhi 1998 se pehle kuch log aaye the. Bahot kum the pehle. 1998 main mujhe lagta hai ki 400-500 jhopde hi the Ambujwadi main. Aur Babrekar main, jo Kandiwali Babrekar ka 8,000-12,000 jhopade thode the, 728 ko yahan pe vo log basaye the kyunki cut-off date se unka purava hai, aap log iska kabil hai aur idhar reh sakte hain. Aisa 728 log idhar aake rehne lage. Jab vo aaye toh yahan par tin-shade kar k ye log rehne lage. Aur inke aane k baade Ambojawadi main ghar badha, log badhe. Toh unko laga kahin se bhi Sarkar yahan basai hai aur unko kuch ek saal ke andar toilet mil gaye aur electricity bhi aur uske baad paani ka suvidha bhi kare. Toh logon ko aisa laga ki Ambujwadi main bhi humko suvidha milegi. Lekin abhi bhi Ambujwadi ko log illegal hi bolte hain. NDZ aur CRZ main hota hai. CRZ se 500m ya, abhi 100m karenge. Agar 500m tak hai, job hi slums toh usko CRZ ghoshit karte hain. Lekin abhi Mumbai Development plan main isko NDZ main main dala. Isse pehle ka jo development plan aaya

tha usme isko housing ka dale the. Lekin abhi jo ek saal ka matlab 9 manine ke baad aaya toh isko NDZ main dala. Lekin kahan par bhi uska ghar bana sakte hain log aisa hai, lekin ek baar NDZ dikhaya toh bahot vo nazuk hai. Logo ko uske liye fight karna padega apna adhikaar k liye. #09:57#

E: Babrekar Nagar and Ambujwadi are two parts. Entire Ambujwadi is spread over 36 acres. Out of this 3.6 acres is Babrekar Nagar. Babrekar is the one resettled by government after the demolition of Slums in Kandiwali. The place you went to earlier is in Ambujwadi (c: the interview previous to this was conducted at a resident's house in Ambujwadi). But there is no water in Ambujwadi yet. The government resettled Babrekar here, and low income waged workers from UP⁵⁷, Bihar, Kolkatta started settling here because they couldn't afford to pay a lot for accommodation. They paid small prices to get a space here and settled. And there are no basic facilities. #07:47#

These people also started coming here before 1998. Initially there were less people. I think there were only 400-500 houses in Ambujwadi. And Babrekar (c: when it was in Kandiwali) had 8,000-12,000 houses, out of which only 728 people were legally resettled here. The government allowed people with a proof to live here and this is why only 728 people got legally resettled here. After Babrekar Nagar got resettled here other people started coming and living in Ambujwadi. Legal residents of Babrekar Nagar got basic amenities like toilets, electricity and water from the government. Residents of Ambujwadi hoped and thought that they will also get it sooner or later. But now Ambujwadi is illegal. There are two zones: NDZ and CRZ. CRZ states that any house with less than 500 meter distance from the sea is illegal. Right now it is 500 meters but there are possibilities that it will be reduced to 100 meters. But recently, under Mumbai's newest Development Plan, Ambujwadi got categorized as NDZ. The previous Development Plan categorized Ambujwadi as habitable zone but the last development plan, which came out about nine months ago, categorized Ambujwadi as NDZ. People can build their house anywhere in Ambujwadi but once it is NDZ category, it gets critical. People have to fight for their rights. #09:57#

7 I: Taki vo NDZ k bahar aaye?

I: So that they can get out of NDZ?

8 E: Aur ye CRZ jo hai vo central government ka hi hai. Jab central government ka paryavaran mantri uske bare main bata sakta hai, isko release karna hai ya kya karna hai. Lekin logo main ek ye hai, darr hai, ye NDZ dikha rahe hain, illegal dikha rahe hain. Abhi bhi main 2 din pehle hi ek aurat bol rahi "Tai, ye zameen sanction hoga na election k baad? Main boli aap log karne kyun denge? Aap fight kar rahe, itna din se idhar reh rahe, toh aap itna Shakti paaye hain training se, meeting se, aapka ek sangathan hai. Todne denge?" 2 baar toh notice aaya tha kya karenge. Morch kare the, rally nikale the, bhook hadtal kare the. Main boli Sarkar ko aap dikhayenge ki humare pass Shakti hai, humko aap nikaal nahi sakte. Aapka haq k liye jeete hain aur jeena adhikaar hai humara. Hum Bharat k nagrik hain. Toh aapko Shakti hai, sangathan hai, lado! Abhi 2 din ka pehla ye baat hua. Ab peeche nahi hanta chahiye, aage hi badhna chahiye. Hum support main hain YUVA karke aur aapko bahot ye bhi sansthan ka

⁵⁷ UP. Short form for Uttar Pradesh, a federal state in India.

support kar rahe hain jaise Medha Pathkar ka (#11:25#?) aapka 'Ghar bachaho, ghar banao' aandolan hai, YUVA jaisa sanstha hai. Ye sab aapko support kar rahe hain. #11:32#

E: The CRZ falls under the central government regulation. The environment minister of the central government decides about the length for CRZ zone. But people are afraid because Ambujwadi is now categorized as NDZ. It's illegal. A couple of days ago I met a woman and she was asking me if this land will be sanctioned to us after election or not. I told her: 'Why would you let them do it? You will fight. You've been living here for so long, you've got information on your rights through trainings which have empowered you. You have an organization. You think that they will be allowed to demolish?!' She said: 'We've received notice. Twice! Now what will we do?! We did marches and rallies, we went on hunger strike'. I said: 'You will show the government that you have strength. You can't throw us out of this place. You can't make us leave. We live for what is ours and living is our right. You're a resident of India, you've an organization, and you've strength, so fight!' This happened couple of days ago. 'Now you shouldn't step back. You should only move forward. We are supporting you. YUVA is supporting you. There are other organizations, like (#11:25#?) Medha Pathkar's 'Ghar Bachao, Ghar Banao' movement is there. Everyone is supporting you.' #11:32#

9 I: Didi aap 20 saal se kaam kar rahe ho/ (interrupted by the interviewee, c: question unfinished)

I: You've been working here for the past 20 years/ (d: interrupted by the interviewee, question unfinished)

10 E: Jaise main boli ye 1998 se aa rahe, 98 main main yahan kaam karti thi ki bachchon ka liye, bachchon ka study karne main. Aur jab bhari bearish main inka ghar tode the, bachche drop-out hue the, bachchon ka school main inka survey karke inka list nikaal k bachchon ko school main daale. Lekin ye dikkat sirf babrekar hi nahi tha! Barberak aane k baad 500 ghar jo Ambujwadi i ka toh humara bhi abhi kuch hoga karke unka bhi households badhe 500 se 1,000, 1,000 se 2,000. Bachche bhi hain. Unka bachche bhi idhar hi aate the, Padhane ko aate the aur mahilaon k saath bhi main mahilaon ko grow karna, unka SLG banana, unka soch ko badhana, unko saksham karna bhi mera kaam tha. Toh 2004 main inka bhi poora demolition ho gaya, Tab se '98 se 2000 tak wahan par 10,000- 12,000 jhopade the, ghar bane the, poora toh diye, 26th December, 2004, Poora demolition kar k rakh diye. Sabse bada mudda hai poora tod-phodne ka baad, log tabhi paani nahi tha! Paani k liye kuen khod the Ghar ka andar ya ghar ka bahar. Toh kuen ko sab band kar diye, Kachra daal k, mitti daal k, kuinki yahan par (#11:48#?) ek collector hai (#11:52#? whistle was blown somewhere) collector aur munciple aake tode the. Aur fencing daal k security ko baithaye the. Paani hai toh log phir se aayenge. Yahan par koi suvudha nahi hai, na toilet hai, paani hai, electricity hai, road hai, drainage hai, phir bhi log yahan par reh rahe hain. Aur itna dikkaton main bhi vo log 2004 main todne k baad bahar gaye, tabhi YUVA human rights ki taraf se unka saath juda aur Medha Pathkar ji ne ghar bachao ghar banao unka saath jud k unko ek, unka poora tayaari karein, sangathan bana k ghar bachao, ghar banao aandolan (#17:48#?) Tayaari kar Sarkar ka saath humara haq k liye kaisa baat karein, kaise hum unko humari taqat dikhain, main bhi boli, aandolan hai, rally hai, kuposhan aisa azzad maidaan main baith k aisa 2004 ka baad. Aur baad main sarkaar thoda apna baat mani yani ki unka YUVA ka aur ye team ka baat mane aur inko bole ki tumara purava lao, jiska '95 ka purava hoga, cutoff date usme bhi daali 1995 ka voter ID aur ration card jinka hai unko yahan par jagah denge. Toh collector ka aadmi aaye the aur yahan par baith

k hi verification hua. Toh kul mila k 410 logo ka aisa mila voters ID aur ration card, toh 410 logon ko wahan par settle kar diya 2005 tak. Lekin aaram se log phir aana lage. Ek bathroom main vo jo abhi bhi naam hai patrachar karke, patrachar main 410 log baithe, lekin dusare log phir 7,000- 8,000 log, vo log bhi apna chote-2 tin ka ya (#19:16#?) ka ye sab chote-2 jhopade bana k rehne lage. Lekin uska baad itna bada mass demolition ka baad shayad 2014 main notice aaya tha, lekin 60-70 ghar main notice diye the, demolition nahi hua. Logon main tabhi ka jo morcha tha, aandolan hai aur kuposhan hai 3-3 mahina bahot log aisa khana bhi nahi khate the. Aur 3 mahina wahin par jhopada bana k azaad maindan main rehte the. Aur aapko pata hoga poori Mumbai k 90,000 jhopade ko toda tha, usme Ambujwadi ka 12k tha. Toh main zaada Ambujwadi main thi, main aur Mohan dada, toh YUVA kar k humaunka saath jude the. unko alag-2 tareeke se unka haq k liye kaisa baat karna hai, vo training tha, meeting tha, corner meeting tha aur khas kar ke mahilaon ka, mahilaon ka group kar rahe the, bachchon ka group kar rahe the. #20:27#

E: Like I had said, I'm working here since 1998 with children and their studies. And when their houses were demolished in peak monsoon, a lot of children dropped out of school. We did a survey, made a list of these dropped out students, and got them admitted to schools again. But this issue wasn't restricted to Babrekar Nagar. After Babrekar Nagar was shifted here, 500 households of Ambujwadi started hoping that something good will happen to them as well, and the number of households started growing from 100 to 500 to 2,000 and so on. Children from Ambujwadi also used to come here to study and I also used to help women grow, prepare SLG⁵⁸ for them, to educate them, to empower them. So in 2004, Ambujwadi was demolished completely. Between 1998 and 2000, there were around 10,000-12,000 houses and all were demolished on 26th December 2004. The biggest issue is that people had dugged water wells inside or outside their houses, and authorities closed all those wells as well by pouring garbage, mud etc. There was (#11:48#?) this collector (#11:52#? c: whistle was blown somewhere) and he and the Municipal Corporation came and shut down all the wells, and moreover they put fences around the wells and assigned a security guard. They did it because they knew that if there was water, people would come here to live again. There are no facilities here, no toilets, no water, no electricity, no drainage but people are still living here. This time people got associated with YUVA and Medha Pathkar's 'Ghar Bachao, Ghar banao' movement (#17:48#?). Yuva and Medha Pathkar prepared these people to fight for their rights. They helped them creating a union. They also taught them how to communicate with the government authorities, how to demonstrate their strength. People did a strike at Azad Maidan and later the government also made concessions and accepted a few of our terms, but they set a cut-off date and asked people to produce a proof that they had been living here before 1995. Whoever has a voter's ID or a ration card issued before 1995 will be resettled here.

So the collector's team came here and did the verification. Only 410 people had proper ID's and they were allowed to live here. But more people started coming here afterwards. 7,000-8,000 people started making their small (#19:16#?) tin houses here and started living in them. After the mass demolition in 2014, 60-70 households again got a notice but nothing happened. During the protest at Azad Maidan people were suffering from malnutrition because they weren't eating properly. They were living at Azad Maidan for three months. As you might

⁵⁸ It remains unclear what is meant by that.

know, 90,000 houses were demolished in the slums, 12,000 of them in Ambujwadi. So I and Mohan *dada*⁵⁹ were at Ambujwadi and got associated with YUVA. They used many ways to educate people on their rights. They gave trainings, conducted meetings regularly, and especially groups for women and children were created. #20:27#

11 I: Didi badlav kaise aayega? Kya lagta hai?

I: How do you think change will come? What do you think?

12 E: Badlav means log hain na pehle kya karte the ki unko kuch maloom nahi. Jaisa hain hum waise hi reh jayega. Lekin abhi koshish kar rahe hai. Humara idhar electricity chahiye, humara idhar drainage chahiye, paani chahiye. Toh electricity k liye vo log apna TATA electricity se baat kare aur isme YUVA bhi unko support kari, (#23:12#? c: name of an NGO) support kari aur inka support se vo form bhare. Abhi kuch 2,000-3,000 logon ne electricity li hai. Electricity toh aaya hai kyunki vo private haanth main hai. Iska saath-saath hi yahan par jo MLA hai, Aslam Sheikh kar ke, unka saath ka judaw unka logon ka acha hai toh vo thoda sa apna fund use karke jo ye jo road hai, road repairing ka. Pehle toh bahot hi chikal hota tha abhi toda sa vo block daal k thoda sa kara hai, thoda se toilet banaya hai, 4-5 jagah toilet banaya hai. Aur abhi log 1 saal se MCGM se baat karke yahan par paani k liye koshish kar rahe hain. Aur paani k liye, uska liye ek PIL dakhil kiye the, jisme Wasim Sheikh the, Wasim ke saath Sana Sheikh karke thi, vo thi, aisa 4-5 logon ka ek yahan ka hi basti ka logon ka ek pratinidhitwa PIL k liye tha. Aur court main jab bhi ye hota tha ye log jaate the. Usme court ne bataya jo 2000 se yahan base hain, phir bhi cut-off date diya tha, 2000 ka jiske pass purawa hai, unka ghar hum pipeline. 2000 ka andar. #24:50#

E: Earlier people didn't know their rights. They used to think that they will always remain where they are, but now they try. They demand electricity, draingage, water. For electricity they contacted TATA⁶⁰ and with the support from YUVA and (#23:12#? c: name of an NGO) they filled the form. Now 2000-3000 households have electricity. They got electricity because it is privatized. Along with this, the MLA⁶¹ Aslam Sheik has bonds with people here and he uses his funds to repair roads. Earlier there was no road at all, it is already better now. They also made a few toilets at four or five places and since a year these groups and individuals are negotiating with the MCGM for water. People like Wasim Sheikh and Sana Sheikh and some other four or five people chose the slum representative to file the PIL and they went to court for the hearings. The court said that those who have been living here since 2000 and can prove that will get water. #24:50#

13 I: Pehle '95 tha, now it is 2000. Court ne bola?

I: Earlier the date was '95 and now it is 2000. Is that what the court decided on?

14 E: Toh unka liye hum paani ka kar sakte hain, connection mil sakte hain. Isliye abhi jo Ambujwadi Vikas Saimti aur GBGB aandolan ka sadasya inke liye paani ka kaam kar rahe (#25:12#?) MCGM office main dena hai. Toh vo baatein abhi chal raha hai. Log aware hain, log apna saath milke kaam kar rahe hain, aur ho sake toh shayad ye jo election ka baad paani bhi aa sakta hai. Electricity aaya hai, MLA humko road bhi diye hai, aur drainage ka bandobast

⁵⁹ "Dada" is used to refer someone as an elder brother.

⁶⁰ Electricity provider.

⁶¹ Short form for: Member of Legislative Assembly.

bhi corporator fund se kahin-2 ho raha. Toh logon ko pata hai. Humara sangathan mazboot rahena chahiye, hum logon ko soch-masajh hona chahiye, vo soch-samajh hum aisa training deke unko de rahe hain. Unka baar-2 training de rahe hain. Har mahine main unka ek training hota hai, (#25:59#? c: some committee) isme hum batate, abhi ye GR aaya hai, iska mutabik humko jaana hai. Toh humko kaisa karna hai. Usme vo log involve hote hain aur aage badhate hain. Unka ek energy acha hai, strength acha hai, aage badane ka koshish karte hain. Apne liye jo bhi suvidha hai lene ka koshish karte hain. #26:20#

E: We can give water connections to those. Members of Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti and GBGB are working for water connections. People are aware and working in coordination and hopefully the residents will get water after elections. We got electricity, our MLA got the road better and at some places drainage facilities are also improving with corporator funds. People know that their organization should stay strong, they should develop an understanding which they develop through trainings. Every month they go through a training in which they are taught how to handle certain situations, like when they got the notice that they have to leave and their houses will get demolished. So in the training they explain us how to tackle this. People are positive. They have strength and they are trying to move ahead and get basic facilities. #26:20#

15 I: Didi aap yahan nahi rehte na?

I: Do you live here?

16 E: Nahil Main Santacruz main rehti. #26:51#

E: No. I live in Santacruz. #26:51#

17 I: Didi, paani ko le ke aap jab bhi yahan aate ho, toh kya-2 dikaatein dikhai deti hain, aur kaise haalat hain?

I: When you come here, what problems do you see that are related to water?

18 A: Abhi bhi Babrekar nagar main hai, paani ka connection hai. Lekin unko bhi ye, ye saal thoda paani acha aane ka baad inko acha mila. Nahi toh yahan par bhi bill acha aata hai, MCGM ka lekin paani nahi milta hai. Lekin Ambujwadi main bilkul paani ka sources hi nahi hai, connection hi nahi hai MCGM ka. Lekin log borewell, handpump isse nahane-dhone ka sab kaam kar lete vo paani se. Vo thoda sa salty aur peene ka paani k liye 40 liters ka 20 Rupees de kar lete aur koi tempo wala aake dete hain lekin koi bahar se leke na 15 Rupees vo cann circle se le kar aate hai. Iske liye chota bache bhi jaate hain. Iske liye jaate hue bachon ka kabhi-2 school ko deri hota hai, school nahi jaa paate hain, bimaar padte hain, 12-13 saal ka bache 20-20 liters ka cycle se le kar aata hain. Ye bada mudda tha, mudda hai! Lekin kuch log yahan par jo tempo aata hai use lete hain. Aaj bhi subah hum dekhe ki 6 baje jab paani aata hai, toh ye paristithi humko dikhai deta hai. #28:31#

E: There is water supply in Babrekar Nagar but this year they only got ample water after the good monsoon. Otherwise they don't get enough water. But their water bills are quite a lot. But in Ambujwadi there is no source of water. There are no water connections. People use borewell water for bathing and other day-to-day works. The water is salty. For drinking water, they are paying around 20 Rupees for 40 liters. There are people who bring water in

tempo⁶² who sell it for 40 Rupees per gallon and some people go nearby to get water for 15 Rupees per can. A lot of times children go to get water due to which they get late to school or even miss it at times. They often fall sick as well. They are 12 to 13 years old and carry 20 LITERS of water. This was a big concern and still is. Today at six in the morning I also saw the struggles people have to go through to get water. #28:31#

19 I: Didi ye peene wala paani kahan se aata hai?

I: Where are these people getting drinking water from?

20 E: Ye wala paani jo mahada building hai wahan par pipeline hai. Wahan se kuch thoda sa koi bhi hai aisa thoda dada type ka connect karke de deta hai. Wahan se ye log laate hain. Nahi toh unko 8 no. yani ki 1-1.5 kilometer chal k jaate hain ya cycle se jaa k laate hain. #30:01#

E: Drinking water comes from this nearby *mahada* building's pipeline. There are water mafias who control it and sell it to these people. Otherwise people will have to go to stop number eight which is some 1 to 1.5 kilometers ahead. #30:01#

21 I: The other one told me, didi ne jo mujhe bataya tha unhone kaha ki vo hum bus stop se le kar aate hain.

I: The other interviewee told us that they get water from some bus stop!

22 E: (d: nodes for confirmation).

23 I: Aur yahan par bhi *mahada* ne kuch kara hua hai?

I: And here *mahada* has done some arrangements?

24 E: *Mahada* pe abhi vo band kare hain. Lekin usme abhi bhi kuch hota, Subah kabhi vo kholte hain nut-bolt aur dete hain. #30:21#

E: They have stopped it at *mahada* right now. But they still break the pipelines to get water. #30:21#

25 R: Is it from the government or private?

26 E: Government ka hai. Jahan par bhi hai government ka hi hai. Kisi ko abhi mere ghar main bhi aata hai. #30:36#

E: It is from the government. Everywhere it is.

27 I: But government itna mehnga kyun bech raha hai paani?

I: But why is the government selling it for so much?

28 E: NAHI. Government vo kisko bech rahi! #30:48#

E: NO. The government is giving it someone else! #30:48#

29 I: Matlab humne jab wahan par baat kari thi/ (d: interviewee interrupts)

I: When we had spoken to Mithinlesh/ (d: interviewee interrupts)

⁶² A tempo is a type of carrier in India.

30 E: Inko government ka connection nahi aata. Government ka connection vo *mahada* tak hi aaya hai. Unko aisa lagta hai ki vo legal hai aur ye illegal hai. Vo zaada paisa de ke bechate hain. Paisa deke lete, Zaada nahi hai; Vo maange utna. Kyunki inko peene ka paani chahiye. Peene ka paani ka yahan par source hi nahi hai, connection hi nahi hai. #31:19#

E: These people don't have government connections. The government has given connections to *mahada* because the government feels that *mahada* is legal and Ambojawadi is illegal. *Mahada* people sell water to the residents of Ambujwadi at a higher rate. Mahada sells it because the residents of Ambujwadi need water and there are no other sources. #31:19#

31 I: Government ne ye nahi bola ki wahan jao aur paani lelo. Ye *mahada* wale hain jo paani bech rahe hain.

I: The government didn't tell these people to go and get water from *mahada*, but the people from *mahada* are selling it?

32 E: Lekin vo legal bhale hi nahi hai. Lekin logon ko jeena hai toh paani chahiye hi. Vo Sarkar nahi deti hai, ye dete hain. Toh hum usko kaisa bhi bolen mafia bole, dada bolen lekin vo apna paise k liye kuch karte hain log lete hain. Lekin logon ko mudda kya hai ki unko paani chahiye. Aur sarkaar bolti hai ki vo abhi legal settlement nahi hai NDZ hai, CRZ hai hum abhi de nahi sakte. Lekin baatein ho raha hai us par north ward se, ye jo ward officer hai unse baatein ho raha hai, vo ok bol rahe hain, form bhare jaa raha hai. Toh logon ka mann main ek hope hai ki hum logon ko bhi paani milega. #33:16#

E: It's not legal but people need water to live. The government is not providing water but these people (c: residents of *mahada*) are. It doesn't matter whether to call them mafia or *dada*. They are doing it for money and people are getting water. But the agenda is that people need water and the government tells them that they are illegal and are in NDZ or CRZ and they cannot give them water right now. There are talks happening with the concerned authorities at P-North ward and forms are getting filled, and that is why people are hopeful that they will get water. #33:16#

33 I: Wahan pe kaun rehta hai? *Mahada* building main.

I: Who resides in *mahada* building?

34 E: *Mahada* buildings main jisko vo/ (3) Ye *mahada* ka hai jiske pass paisa hai aur kisi ko bhi lottery system se *mahada* ye abhi mil gayi toh vo rehte hain. Jiske pass bahot paisa hai. #33:59#

E: People who have money or those who got a house by lottery are living there. People with lots of money. #33:59

35 R: I thought it is redevelopment housing, that is SRA?

36 E: SRA bhi nahi hai. Ye land hai collector ka land hai wahan par mahada ko diye hain, *mahada* ne koi developer ko bolti hai ye develop karo, building banao. Jiske pass paisa hai, jisko lottery laga hai wohi rehega. #34:27#

E: This land belongs to the collector and he has given it to *mahada* for housing and *mahada* has erected a building there. People who can buy an apartment or win it in the lottery will live there. #34:27#

37 I: Ye lottery ka kya system hai?

I: What is this lottery system?

38 E: Vo *mahada* apna ghar ka liye lottery nikalti hai. Toh vo *mahada* ka building bana hai toh hum jaa k form bharte hain, humara naam nikalega lottery main toh humko vo market rate se kum main milta hai. #34:45#

E: *Mahada* gives few houses on lottery basis. We fill a form and if our name comes they we get the house at discounted rates. #34:45#

39 I: Paani k prices kuch badhaye hain un logon ne? Aap itne saalon se dekh rahe ho jahan se log paani laate hain, mahada?

I: Have the residents of mahada increased the water price?

40 E: Pehle 5 Rupees tha gallon, abhi 15-20 hua. 20 Rupees main home delivery hai. 15 Rupees hai toh wahan se leke aana. Log dete hain kyunki vo sufficient nahi hai itna. Use kame k liye vo borewell ka ya handpump ka hi use karte hain. Lekin peene ka 40 liters, Kabhi-2 vo 40 liters 2 din ka liye. Jiska ghar main income ka ye hai, toh 2 din vo chalte hain. #37:17#

E: Earlier it was five Rupees per gallon and now it is 15 to 20 Rupees. 20 Rupees for home delivery and 15 Rupees if people go and get water directly at mahada. For normal use people here use borewells. Many of the people are financially weak and sometimes they get 40 liters of water and use it for two days. #37:17#

41 I: Ye rate aage peechey hote rehte hain kya?

I: Does these rates fluctuate?

42 E: Haan. Vo barish nahi aaya toh 25-30 Rupees main bikta hai. #38:12#

E: Yes. If the monsoon is bad then water gets sold for 25 to 30 Rupees per gallon. #38:12#

43 R: What happens to families who can't afford it?

44 E: 2 din main 1 baar chelate hain. #38:38#

E: They get water once in two days. #38:38#

45 I: Nahi hai unke pass paise toh kya karun?

I: What if they don't have any money at all?

46 E: Toh phir khud jaa k laate hain. Wahan jaa k layenge toh 10 liters k can ka 2 Rupees *mahada* ya 8 no stop ya depot k wahan se 1.5 kilometers jaa k 10 liters – 20 liters layenge toh 2 Rupees dena padega. Wahan se line laga k bhar ka laana padega. Toh waisa bhi laate hain. #38:59#

E: Then they go 1 to 1.5 kilometers further to get water where they get 10 to 20 liters for two Rupees. There they have to stand in lines. #38:59#

47 I: Vo unhone (ex: referring to the other interviewee) ne bataya ki depot se laate hain toh 15-20 Rupees ka milta hai 1 gallon.

I: The other interviewee told us that they get water for 15 to 20 Rupees per gallon.

48 E: Vo alug hai. #39:08#

E: That is separate. #39:08#

49 I: Ye 2 Rupees wala kaun sa hai?

I: Which is this place where they get water for two Rupees?

50 E: Vo 2 Rupees wale k liye andar jaana padta hai aur bhi. 1.5 kilometers door. Ya toh koi aisa household kaam karte hain, sham ko dekh sakte hain aur 5-10 liters ka paani ka dabbed lekar aate hain. #39:24#

E: For that they have to go even further (1.5kms). In the evening you can see few people who work in other households carrying 5-10 ltrs cans. #39:24#

51 I: Kitna paani aata hai 2 Rupees ka?

I: How much water do they get for two Rupees?

52 E: 10 liters. #39:33#

E: Ten liters. #39:33#

53 I: Uska kya scene hai? Vo government hai ya private hai?

I: It is provided by the government or private?

54 E: Government hi hai! #39:47#

E: By the government! #39:47#

55 I: Nahi paani toh government hi de rahi hai magar establishment kiska hai?

I: The government provides water, but whose establishment is it?

56 E: Vo bhi aisa common stand-post type ka hai. Usme se chalo humara ho gaya, aap abhi le lo. #40:04#

E: It is a common source. People are like: "Okay I got water, now you can take some". #40:04#

57 I: Kisko belong karta hai vo?

I: Who does it belong to?

58 E: Chawls. Vo bhi mahada chawls hi hai. #40:09#

E: Those are mahada chawls. #40:09#

59 I: Paani haq samiti appko kaise lagta hai ki badlav la sakte hain ya unhone kya aise kadam uthaye hain jo pehle nahi uthaye gaye.

I: How do you think Pani Haq Samiti can bring changes? Or what steps they are taking in the right direction which weren't done earlier?

60 E: Ek toh kya hai logon main vo awareness laane main jo ye pratinidhi hain Wasim aur Sana ye aur logon k saath jude hain, logon ka saath meeting karte hain aur humara haq ka liye ek toh humko unka saath baat bhi karna hai. Meeting bhi hua hai MCGM main aur unka response positive hi dikh raha hai, toh abhi usi ka mutabik logon ka pehla 2000 ka unko bhi mante hain 2000 ka cut-off jo 2000 ka hai pehle form bharenge aur 10-15 logon ka ek group karke hum wohi common standpost ya tap laane ka koshish karenge. Aisa abhi baar-baar unka meeting hota hai, mahine main 1-2 baar aur yahan ka Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti ka log unka saath milke kaam karta hai. Aur ye sab ache se hota hai. #41:39#

E: Pani Haq Samiti has been working with the local representatives Wasim and Sana increase the awareness of the people. They conduct meetings with the authorities at MCGM and they are getting positive response. The cut-off year is 2000 but they are asking people who've been living here post 2000 to fill the forms and they've formed a group of 10-15 people and are trying to get a common stand-post⁶³. They also do meetings with Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti on a monthly basis and all this is happening effectively. #41:39#

61 I: Aapko lagta hai isse kaam hoga?

I: Do you think this will work?

62 E: Ho jayega! Kyunki hum har mahine main ek ya 2 baar jo committee hai unka saath baat karti hai. Hum kaisa kaam karna chahiye, kaisa aage badhna chahiye, kis tareeke se baat karna chahiye taki humara ye kaam kamyaab ho. Lekin log kaam kar rahe hain, unka form bhara jaa raha hai, abhi bhi bhar rahe hai, GBGB aur Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti vo milke kar rahe. #42:44#

E: It will happen! Once or twice every moth they talk to the committee and train them on how to talk and how to move ahead so that we get success in our mission. They are filling forms with the help of Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti and GBGB. #42:44#

63 I: Toh aap ye kehna chaha rahe ho ki isse government ko lagega ki idhar aur log reh rahe hain.

I: So you're trying to say that by doing all this, the government will realize something?

64 E: Haan. Log reh rahe hain aur aap bata rahe ki 2000 ka cut-off hai. 2000 k pehle ka jo log hai aur unka pass purawa hai paani chaha rahe hai aur aap paani ka connection. #43:03#

E: Yes. The government said that people with a residential proof issued before 2000 will get water. Now people who've been living here before 2000 and have proper IDs are asking for water. #43:03#

⁶³ The term refers to shared public water connections that are openly accessible.

65 I: Yahan par awareness level kaisa hai. Matlab logon ki involvement kaisi hai.

I: How is the level of awareness level here? Are people getting involved?

66 E: Logon ko pata hai na ki ye humara suvidha hai, hum tak aana chahiye toh support karte hain. #44:42#

E: People are supportive because they know that this all is happening for their well-being only. #44:42#

67 I: Majority support karti hai?

I: Is there support from the majority of residents?

68 E: Majority support karti hai. Kyunki paani unka haq ka hai, chahiye hi. Toh ek toh sarkar batati hai 2000 ka andar ka lekin 2000 k baad wale bhi form bhare. Hum bhi support karenge. 54 societies hain Ambujwadi main, 54 society ka jo president wagarah hai vo log saath jud ke logon ka saath baat karte hain, isme YUVA aur Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti support karti hai, logon toh thoda maloomat deti hai ki hum aisa kar rahe hai, log judna chahiye aur kya humara haq ka hai toh lena hi chahiye. 2017 ka baad ek toh election hoga, job hi aacha vyakti aayega vo dene ka koshish karega. MCGM humara support karne ka wada ki hai. Vo wada nibhane k liye hum unko push karenge. Aana chahiye paani. Aur ek development plan bhi ban gaya hai. Plan main humara NDZ dikha raha hai lekin housing karke bhi ho sakta hai, Vikas kar sakte hain. Vikas karna hai toh humko suvidha chahiye, paani chahiye, electricity chahiye, toilet chahiye. #46:02#

E: The majority of the people supports this because they know it's for their own rights. The government has said that only people living here before 2000 are eligible to live here but people who came after 2000 are also filling forms. There are 54 societies in Ambujwadi and the presidents of these societies talk to people and are connecting everyone and they are supported by YUVA and Ambujwadi Vikas Samiti. They educate people on what they are doing and why they should be a part of this movement and motivate them to fight for their rights. MCGM has promised their support and we will push them to honor their words. They are also working on a plan to to get Ambujwadi out of NDZ and then get development done. If we want growth, then we need facilities like water, electricity and toilets. #46:02#

69 I: Yahan k logon main aur Sarkar main kuch aisa hai ki kisi ek point ko le ke dono koshish kar rahe hain? Ya Sarkar ki taraf se koi aisi cheez jisse aap k saath ek common interest hai. Jaise aapko aur mujhe baat karni hai toh samaj sewa ek common topic hai.

I: Is there a common ground for the government and the residents on which both can work together?

70 E: Kyunki jo bhi hai MLA hai toh uska toh thoda sa hai acha, sarkaar ko bhi aisa lagta hai ki yahan par voters ka kum se kum 5,000 log hain. Hum unko suvidha denge toh vo humko vote dalenge toh humara sarkaar bange. Coordination toh hai. Abhi jo MCGM lada rahi hai toh koi bhi banda aayega toh logon ka favor main kaam karega hi, logon ko paani dega, logon ko toilet dega, logon ko drainage dega logon ka maan bhi hona chahiye, logon ko jaankari bhi hona chahiye, log uske saath baat bhi karna chahiye, toh dene ko tyaar hai. Toh humara neta hai jo humara khayal. #48:44#

E: The MLA here is a good person and the government also knows that there are 5,000 eligible voters living here and if they will give them facilities, they will give them votes and will stay in power. Now there will be MCGM elections and someone will come will provide water, toilets, or drainage systems. People should be aware and should talk to the representatives for their rights. #48:44#

71 I: Agar आपको एक नुमाइदा मिले जो सरकार से है, और बदलाव ला सकता है आप क्या बona चाहोगी?

I: What would you like to say if you get an opportunity to talk to a government representative who is capable of bringing change?

72 E: एक तो है, लोग में जानकारी का ताकत है, बदलाव आ सकता है. पहले यहाँ का लड़कियाँ बाहरा जाती नहीं थी 7th std तक BMC school था 8th std वाले को थोड़ा लंबा जाना पड़ता था. अभी थोड़ा awareness है, लड़कियों को पढ़ाना है, लड़कियों को आगे बढ़ाना है, तो बहेजते हैं. तो मुझे लगता है मैं जब से यहाँ पर है तो लोग आगे बढ़ें ना कि पीछे जायें. अभी हमारा उधार technical का भी ये है लड़कियाँ भी है यहाँ computer seekhne को आती हैं. और लड़कियाँ भी अभी college जाती है, यहाँ पर लड़कियाँ college ही नहीं जाती थी. #50:09#

E: The change will come because people are getting aware here and gain power through knowledge. Like earlier, girls used to drop out after 7th standard because the nearby schools only provide schooling up to the 7th standard. The BMC schools which provide schooling beyond that were too far and parents didn't allow them to commute so far and preferred to stop their education. But now there is awareness among parents that girls should be educated and lifted up in life. So they are now sending them to higher schools. I feel that people should move forward not backwards. Now we also have computer classes for girls and they go to college. Earlier, girls weren't used to go to college. #50:09#

73 I: नहीं. मैं कह रहा हूँ कि सरकार का अगर आपके समान, बैठे तो आप उसे क्या कहोगी?

I: No, I'm asking you if there was a government representative sitting right in front of you, what would you say to him or her?

74 E: हमें बोलें कि ये ऐसा वंचित बस्ती है! यहाँ पर का लोग सक्षम है और यहाँ पर ये सब सुविधाएँ मिलना बहुत जरूरी है. कुं से कुं पानी जो है सबका जिवन आधार है, वो चाहिये, और महिलाओं का सुरक्षा क लिये यहाँ toilet बनाना चाहिये. आप सरकार का नुमाइदा हैं, ये होना चाहिये. और बच्चों का लिये है, road है, street light है और school है, ये आपके तरफ से होना चाहिये. ये दुर्लभ चेतना है, लेकिन इनको मालूम है और आपको देना चाहिये. #51:10#

E: I would say that this slum is deprived. People are capable here and it is very important to provide all the facilities here. At least water, which is the basic life necessity should be provided, and for women security there should be toilets. You're a representative of the government and these things should be provided, facilities for children, roads, street lights. You must provide these things. This area is deprived and these people know their rights, so you should provide them the basic amenities. #51:10#

ANNEX 8: INTERVIEW NO. 5

1 I: Aapka office, aapka duty kya hain?

I: What are your duties?

2 E: Pura Sangarsh nagar ko basaya hain uska konsa kitna kar raha hain complaint hain wo sab kaam karne ke liye hamra duty hain, jo RT hain kisi ka kuch problem hota hain uske liye hamara duty lagaya hain idhar. #0:34#

E: My duty is to take down the complaints of the residents. People come here to file their complaints and my duty is to take a note of it. #0:34#

3 I: Konse type ke complaint aate hain?

I: What kind of complaints do people come with?

4 E: Kisi kaam aisa rehta hain kisika, antargat kaam rehta hain ya kisi ko abhi room builder ne dilaya, SRA ne dilaya uske under bhi bahot sara kaam rehta hain to wo karke dene ka unke upper ye karne ka dabav, chan-been wo sab sab kuch bhi usme aata hain, wo kaam karke lene ke liye hum log hain. #01:05#

E: If a builder has given a room or the SRA has provided housing, there are lot of complaints which need to be taken care of inside the house and we need to build pressure on them to get the problems fixed. #01:05#

5 **I: Can you describe the situation in the national park compared to the situation here?**

6 E: Udhar kya, jhopadi tha; light nahi tha, paani nahi tha, market nahi tha aur kagaz daal k log rehte the. Toh abhi kaisa unko ghar mil gaya, light, paani bathroom sab andar hai, sab ghar main hi hai. Aisa udhar nahi tha. Udhar ki life main aur idhar ki life main change hai. Acha hai idhar ka. #01:58#

E: It was huts there. There was no water or electricity or market, so the people used to live with paper. But here, we have a house. There is water, bathrooms inside here, all this wasn't available there. There is a lot of different between our life in the national park and here. Life over here is much better. #01:58#

7 I: Shift karne me kitna time lagta hain?

I: How much time does it take to shift people here?

8 E: Ek hi din me ho jaata hain, sirf idhar se udhar aane ka. #02:13#

E: It happens in a day's time. #02:13#

9 I: Process to hain na?

I: Is there a process?

10 E: Process ko to bahot sara lagta hain. #02:18#

E: It takes a lot of time in the process. #02:18#

11 I: Aapka kitna time lagega?

I: How much time it took for you?

12 E: Hum log ka room milega na to ek din me ho sakta hain. #02:25#

E: Once we get the room, it takes only a day to shift. #02:25#

13 I: Aapko apply to karna padega na?

I: Do you have to apply for it?

14 E: Nahi nahi wo kya ho gaya tha na ye saare forest ka tha ye; national park main, uske liye hum log ye sanstha kuch fight kiye, sanstha fight karke, 90s se chalu hain ye fight ye hamara room chinne ke liye, kabse ye sangharsh hamara chalu hain abhitak. #02:54#

E: The whole settlement was inside the national park and that is why we fought against it along with our organization. It all started in 1990 when they were trying take our huts away. Since then our struggle is ongoing. #02:54#

15 I: Abhi jo log rehte hain idhar to yah apka jo communal hain wo kaise decide kar raha hain ye log aayega idhar wo nahi aayega?

I: How is decided who will live here and who won't?

16 E: Forest, SRA, or Nivara sanstha ye tino jan milke uske upper udharse ye room tayar karta hain builder fir SRA me deta hain wo list banake ki itna itna hamara room ready hain banake, fir wo list forest me jaata hain fir forest or hum log dekhaate hain ki room pura complete hain ki nahi, usme kuch baaki hain kya fir baki hoga paani ka connection, light ka connection wo sab kaam pura karne ke baad hum logon ko shift karte dete hain. #03:59#

E: The builder constructs the rooms and passes on a list of finished flats to SRA, then that list comes to the forest. After that the forest, our organization and we inspect the houses

to check their readiness, or if there is some work still pending. We check for water connection, electricity connection, and after making sure that the houses are completed, we shift people. #03:59#

17 I: App kaise select karte ho ki ye log aayega ye log nahi?

I: How do you decide who will shift and who will not?

18 E: Nahi-2, vo kaisa ki udhar ek-2 list main naam hai, unhone jo paisa bhara hai 7,000 forest main, wohi log ko milta hai. #04:18#

E: The name should be on the list and they must have paid the 7,000 Rupees to Forest. Only those people get a house. #04:18#

19 I: Paani ka udhar kaise tha situation?

I: How is the situation of water there?

20 E: Udhar nal nahi tha, bahot lambe se paani aise sir ke upper se lake rakhna padta tha, 1 - 2 km lamba rehta tha wo hand eke upper handa leke sir pe paani late the. #05:14#

E: There were no taps there. We had to go one to two kilometers to get the water in pots. We had to carry multiple pots on our head. #05:14#

21 I: Ye paani private hai?

I: Is this water private?

22 E: Paisa ha paisa de the, municipality ka rahega to paisa nahi lagta hain or private me lega to wo number dalke fir 100, 150 koi 200 Rupees leta tha. #05:30#

E: If it was BMC water, we didn't have to pay. But for private water we had to pay. Some people used to charge some 100, 150, or 200 Rupees. #05:30#

23 I: Kitna paani?

I: How much water?

24 E: Wo kitna aapko jitna mangta hain 4 handa, 5 handa, 6 handa utna wo bhi tak lana padta hain. #05:38#

E: Depends on how much is required: four, five or six pots. #05:38#

25 I: Dono available hain na municipal paani?

I: Both private and municipal water was available?

26 E: Municipal ka available tha lekin udhar kaam karne wale the unko udhar line me khade rehne ke liye, unka kabhi udhar number aayega, kaam pe kabhi jayega bahot dikkat hoti thi, usse aacha ye he ki do Rupees dene ka or ek can ya hunda bharke leke aane ka aisa log paani bharte the. #06:10#

E: Municipal water was available, but there's a long line and people had to wait for their turn. To avoid the hassle, people preferred paying two Rupees and get a can or pot of water. This is how people get water. #06:10#

27 I: To Municipal paani aacha nahi tha?

I: So the municipal water wasn't good?

28 E: Nahi aacha tha lekin lamba bhi tha or line bhi lagana or time bhi jata than a jyada or kaam pe jane wale paani ka line dekh ke hi kaam pe jaate the issi wajah se koi fir 2-2 Rupees deke ek can ka 2 Rupees leta tha, 35-20 litres ka rehta tha iska handa rahega to hi 2 Rupees, koi koi 1 month me paisa har month paisa leta tha 100 Rupees ya 200 Rupees. #06:36#

E: The water was good but people had to stand in long lines. Working people had to go to work and didn't have time to stand and wait for their turn. That is why they used to pay two Rupees and get a can of 20-35 litres of water. Some people used to charge 100 Rupees or 200 Rupees on monthly basis. #06:36#

29 **I: (#6:34-6:39#?)**

30 E: Municipal nahi private. #06:40#

E: Not municipal, private. #06:40#

31 I: Municipal free hain?

I: Municipal is free?

32 E: Ha! Municipal free hain, lekin bahot lamba tha wo. Sabke ghar me Nul he andar. Uska paani har din ke udhar ek jaise hamare 14 wing he yaha pe to har wing ke liye ek tanki banayi hain paani ka. #07:26#

E: Yes, municipal water is free but the line for water is long. Here, people have taps inside their homes. There are separate water tanks for all the 14 wings we have here. #07:26#

33 I: Niche?

I: Underground?

34 E: Ha. Nahi idhar samne, sab jagah pe aisa hi hain aur pratek wing ke upper eke k tanki hain unka. #07:36#

E: In the front. Everywhere it's the same and each wing has an overhead tank. #07:36#

35 I: Har wing ka?

I: For every wing?

36 E: Haan! #07:38#

E: Yes! #07:38#

37 I: Har building pe?

I: On every building?

38 E: Ha! Har wing ka wo log kya karte hain idhar se paani wo taanki bharega to wo paani chalu kar deta hain, har cluster kar jo taanki rehta hain niche usme pura paani supply hota hain, hamara bhi ye taanki bhar gaya to hum log band kar dete he fir badme upper chadate hain. #07:51#

E: They fill the water in the underground tanks in each cluster. Then this underground water is transferred to the overhead tanks. #07:51#

39 I: Niche ka Taanki ek hi hain?

I: There is only one underground tank?

40 E: Nahi, nahi! Wo bada hain wo ek hi hain, ye hamara 13 No. hai to ye 13 no. ka cluster ho gaya, 14 wing ka milake 1 cluster to 14 wing ke liye paani jitna purega utne paani ka ek tank banaya hain, hum log ke liye khali, 14 hamara 1 cluster ke liye or hamare har wing ke upper 1 taanki hain udhar se paani idhar aayega idhar se paani ye bharega to upper chadhayega. #08:26#

E: There is only one big one. We're in the 13th cluster. 14 wings form one cluster. There is one water tank per cluster and then there are overhead tanks in each wing. #08:26#

41 I: Upper bhi Bada tanki hain?

I: The overhead tank is also big?

42 E: Nahi hamare jitna 44 room hain to wo log ke liye utna paani milta hain utna hi hain taanki. #08:34#

E: We have 44 rooms in the wing. So the tank is sufficient enough for those. #08:34#

43 I: Aur central Tank hain?

I: Is there a central tank as well?

44 E: Haan. Ek bada central tank hain ye idhar. #08:37#

E: Yes, there is a big central water tank. #08:37#

45 I: Aur Bill kya hain kitna?

I: What about the bill? How much is it?

46 E: Bill kya hain pehle hum logo ne bhara lekin abhi wo municipality ke tabe me gaye to abhi uska bill nahi aata hain khali jo light jalta hain motor chalu karne ke liye, paani upper chadane ke liye to sirf uska paisa hum log bharte hain. Pehle do crore bhara hum logo ne. #09:28#

E: Earlier we had to pay the bill, but since we've municipal taps, we don't have to pay it anymore. We only have to pay for the electricity bill which gets consumed by the water pump. Earlier we had paid two crore Rupees. #09:28#

47 I: Do crore paani ke liye?

I: Two crore for water?

48 E: Hamare Sanstha ne pura wing ko batake ye karke kitna hum log magajmari uske liye kiya wo paisa utna jama kiya fir usne bhara fir uske baad wo municipality main diya. #09:47#

E: With the help of our organization we somehow managed to collect the money and paid it to municipality. #09:47#

49 I: Do Crore Paani ke liye?

I: Two crore for water?

50 E: Abhi kitna 10 saal hua, hum log ka kitna 10 saal chalu hain. #09:53#

E: It's been ten years. (c: The sentence was incomplete so the translator had difficulties translating it) #09:53#

51 I: Har log contribute kar rahe hai ya sirf NGO de raha hai?

I: Did everyone pay or or did the NGO pay?

52 E: Nahi-Nahi. Logo ke pass se hum log ne nikala meeting leke, Sabko letter batke, 7 years jo paani hum log ne piya, abhi wo BMC ne kiya uske pehle nahi tha BMC issiliye wo NGO bichme aake logo ke liye logo ko samjaya har cluster me jaake meeting liya, community hall me meeting liya, unko letter bata ki itna aisa aisa karo uske baad ye sab kar kar ke fir hum log abhi free ho gaye. #11:00#

E: NO. We collected the money. For seven years we were using BMC water and then we had to pay for it. So the NGO came to help us and explained everything to the people. They did meetings everywhere and with everyone. After that we collected and paid the money, and now we are free. #11:00#

53 I: Kitna dena padta hain har family ke liya?

I: How much does each family have to pay?

54 E: Har family ke liye 1 wing ko hum 1,100 Rupees, 1,200-1,500 Rupees ek din ko aaya hain. 1,600-1,700 Rupees pakdo #11:23#

E: Each family in a wing has to pay around 1,600-1,700 Rupees. #11:23#

55 I: Pehle jab 1990 me aap ghar shift hua to us time pe legal connection nahi tha?

I: When you shifted in 1990, was there no legal connection at that time?

56 E: Nahi-nahi legal connection tha hum 2000 me idhar aa gaye 2007 me. #11:54#

E: We came here in 2007 and there was legal connection. #11:54#

57 I: 2007 me?

I: In 2007?

58 E: Ha! Hum log idhar rehne ke liye hamara shifting ho gaya legal connection tha BMC ne hi lagaya tha ye sab kuch ho gaya tha lekin uska bill bharna padta tha to logo ko kya hota tha wo cluster me aata tha unhe bill bharna padta tha or udhar ka bhi bill bharna padta tha to 2-2 bill ho jata tha issiliye logo ne mang kiya tha ki hamara ek hi bill hum log bharenge fir kya karenge issiliye jitna abhitak 2007 se abhitak 8-10-11 tak jitna paise unka light ka ho gaya wo hum log ne wo paani ka bill bharke, light ka wo tha. #12:41#

E: When we shifted here there was BMC water connection and we had to pay the bill for our cluster. Since the bill used to come for the whole cluster. We had to pay two bills. Therefore, people demanded that they will be paying only one bill. So from 2007 till 11th of November 2008, whatever amount was due for water, we paid it. #12:41#

59 I: Har apartment me nahi aata hain-Har room pe nahi aata hain?

I: It doesn't come for each apartment or room?

60 E: Nahi-nahi wo cluster ke naam pe aata hain to hum log kya karte hain abhi cluster ke naam pe 100,000 Rupees aane do, 70,000 Rupees aane do to hamara jitna room hain utna divide karte hain ha jaisa room ke upper 500 lagta, 600, 1000 kitna lagta hain wahi hisab se hum log ek ek room se vargani nikalo or bharte hain, wo light ka bill wo 2 to hamne bhara. #13:17#

E: No, the bill comes for the entire cluster. So what we do is that we divide the water bill for the entire cluster. Let it be 100,000 or 70,000 with the total number of houses. So for each house it comes out to be 500, 600, or 1,000 Rupees. We paid the electricity bill of two crore Rupees. #13:17#

61 I: Light ka bill, paani ka nahi?

I: Electricity bill, not water bill?

62 E: Light ka nahi, paani ka bill bharna padta hain. #13:20#

E: Not electricity. We have to pay water bill. #13:20#

63 I: Paani ka bill kitna hain?

I: How much is the water bill?

64 E: Wahi aata hain jara, abhi to hum log ko kitna aaya tha 700,000 Rupees ya 600,000 Rupees aaya tha. Pani ka bill bharte hain na hum log, paani ka bill aane ke time se hi bhr rahe hain wo light ka apon ne ye kiya hain na municipality me diya wo light ka bill and paani ka bill cluster me aata hain. Iske pehle humne 2-3 time bhara tha. #14:11#

E: (c: The interpreter was unable to interpret this part) #14:11#

65 I: Ye complex chalu hua kab?

I: When did this complex started?

66 E: 2007 me. #14:16#

E: In 2007. #14:16#

67 I: 1990 me nahi?

I: Not in 1990?

68 E: Nah! Wo tabse sangharsh chalu kiya firse udhar se chalu kiya, 90s se wo sangarsh chalu hain wo toda tha room toda hum log ko beghar kiya. #14:31#

E: No! The struggle started in 1990. They demolished our houses and left us homeless. #14:31#

69 I: To pehle se hi sab legal tha?

I: So it was all legal from the beginning?

70 E: Ha! Pehle sab ye kaisa ye SRA, forest or ye builder or ye sab aisa milke ye project banaya, legally-legally hain. #14:51#

E: Yes! SRA, forest and builder, all together constructed this complex. It is all legal here. #14:51#

71 I: Apke hisab se wo design logo se puchke karta? Nahi?

I: Did they take people's opinion into consideration before they designed the complex?

72 E: Nahi logo se puchke nahi wo SRA ka rule rehta hain, railway kedabbe jaisa ghar rehta hain, bichme khali itna jagah rahega, yah wap table aaya hain abhi aap baithe hain udhar ek line ghar ka rahega idhar ek line ghar ka rahega. #15:41#

E: No, they don't ask. SRA has a set pattern. They construct houses like a railway boggie. There is space in the middle where you can keep your table, where you are sitting right now. The houses are in a line. #15:41#

73 I: Corridor jaisa?

I: Like a corridor?

74 E: Ha! Kaisa ek sath me aisa lamba rehta hain aisa nahi hain ki inhone design ka ye system banaya aisa SRA scheme me aisa room hota aisa hain hi nahi hain. #15:51#

E: Yes, they have a set pattern of houses. #15:51#

75 I: Ye railway ka scheme hain pehlese, ye architecture yahi follow karta hain?

I: Has it always been like this railway coaches? Are the architects following this design?

76 E: Ha! Yahi ye inhone hi ye kiya ki hamara ye aisa aisa hona chahiye, mandir, market fir uska ye jitna hain wo ye sab bacche log ko khelne ke liye ground, thoda sa. Lekin baad main bhi unhone thoda change kiya. #16:17#

E: Yes, they have decided that the houses should be like this. There should be a temple and a market and a playground for the children. They changed it a bit later on. #16:17#

77 I: Har ghar me kya kya dete hain? Ek room hi hain?

I: What is provided in every house? Is it only one room?

78 E: Kitchen or hall hi hain or common washroom hain. Pehle to thoda unhone aisa meeting kiya tha, ye aisa ye karna chahiye, sabko bataya tha to aisa aisa apna ye hoyega karke to unhone aisa sab kuch meeting leke bulaya. #17:18#

E: There is a hall, a kitchen and a common washroom. Earlier they had called for a meeting and explained how it will be. #17:18#

79 I: Meeting?

I: Meeting?

80 E: Haa! Pura sabke sab. #17:23#

E: Yes, with everyone. #17:23#

81 I: Vo jab architect national park main gaya tha toh aapko vishwas tha uske par?

I: When the architect came to the national park, did you trust him?

82 E: Haan #18:03#

E: Yes. #18:03# 61278897 98

83 I: Pura tha?

I: Whole heartedly?

84 E: Haa. Do ka jo jameen tha udhar se pura hum log ko bahar hi nikala tha agar ye log nahi rehte the na to hum logo ko kahi jagah nahi milti thi hum log kahi gaon me rehte the, abhi idhar mumbai me nahi rehte the koi hamare liye kuch nahi kiya, ye log aaye bahot maar bhi khaya hamare liye or logo ke liye ye logo ne or ek gaya fir kidhar jao ladhai bhi bahot sani ladhai, morcha kitna nikala kya-kya kiya sab kuch kiya uske baad me bole ki kalyan udhar bhej denge thane jila. #18:44#

E: We were thrown out from where we used to live. If these people wouldn't have come to our aid, we wouldn't have had anywhere to live in Mumbai and we would be living in some village now. These people helped us and got beaten up for us as well. They fought for us, conducted rallies. After doing so much they told us that they will resettle us in Kalyan in Thane district. #18:44#

85 I: Kalyan?

I: Kalyan?

86 E: Haa! wo pura gairaan tha jameen usme kuch bhi nahi tha khali aise powder marke jagah de rahe the chota chota udhar na kaam ka ye tha na dukan tha, na market tha kuch bhi nahi tha, gaon tha jaisa kaise khede gaon andar rehta hain pura uske upper koi suvidha nahi rehta hain waise udhar de raha tha to public ne jaake dekha to public bola ki nahi chahiye, hamare ye log bhi bole nahi chahiye. #19:20#

E: Yes, there was nothing but just a big plain ground on which they had marked the area with powder. There was no market or shops, no facilities, it was a village. So when people went there to see the place, they refused to live there after seeing it. #19:20#

87 I: Aap log bataya usko?

I: All of you told them?

88 E: Nahi. Wo forest bola aap log ko udhar nahi jane ka hain to hum log ko jagah dikhao to hum log apke liye ye karega to uske baad wo shiveraam, malvani ye wo side bahot dekha. #19:37#

E: The forest said that if you people do not wish to go there, then show us a place. After that we showed them Shiveram and Malvani. #19:37#

89 I: Apne bataya forest logo ko?

I: You all told the people from forest?

90 E: Nahi. Hum log ne dekha sab jagah pe to nahi mila to idhar ek Nawab Malik karke ek hain unhone bola ki ye jagah aisa aisa illegal hain upe permission nahi milta hain toh madam idhar aake baat aake baatchit kiye fir wo jagah SRA ke me diya uske baad ye project chalu hua. #20:02#

E: We tried to find a place, but we couldn't. There was a man named Nawab Malik who showed us this place and told us that this is illegal space and it's hard to get permission. After

that our madam came here and had a discussion. Then SRA got this land and the project started. #20:02#

91 I: SRA kya hain ye?

I: What is SRA?

92 E: Sarkari Grah Nirman Sanstha wahi he. #20:09#

E: Slum Rehabilitation Authority. #20:09#

93 I: Aap abhi to khush hain na sab?

I: Are you happy now?

94 E: Haan, abhi to hum sab khush hain, kyunki kya hain malum hain aisa shifting kabhi hua hi nahi uske aahe hoga bhi nahi, ye kaisa hain Mumbai ke log sab bahar jaate hain lekin hum bahar ke andar aa gaye hain. Ye pehli baar aisa hua hain and itna bada shifting kabhi hua hi nahi. And aage bhi kabhi hoga nahi. 12,000 family or 8,000- 10,000 ane wale hain, itna bada iska shifting hain. #21:14#

E: Yes! We all are happy now because it is one of the biggest rehabilitation in Mumbai. It had never happened before. Everyone goes out of the city of Mumbai but we came in here and this has happened for the first time and won't be repeated again. 12,000 families were rehabilitated, and another 8,000- 10,000 will be shifted. #21:14#

95 I: Ye jo shifting hain wo business ke liye aacha hain?

I: Is the shifting good for business?

96 E: Haa! Idhar aahe udhar itna kaam nahi tha logo ko, bahot sare aise hi bekar the lekin idhar aake sabka level sudhar gaya paise ke bahane, idhar kaam-bim aacha milta hain ladies ko milta hain gents ko milta hain sab aacha hain. Baache log ka bhi or bacche log ka bhi life jhopadpatti me kaisa malum nahi girta tha konse jaa raha hain collage me jane ka ya karne ka udhar kaisa 8th pass ho gaya school chod diya aisa idhar nahi hain, idhar aake thoda aur professional ban gaya, aacha padhai karte hain, aache kaam ke liye jaate hain to aacha. #22:20#

E: Yes! There (c: at the national park) were not enough work opportunities, and because of that a lot of people were unemployed. But here is a lot of work for both men and women, and the standard of living has improved for everyone as they are earning. People get good work here as we're living in the center of Mumbai. It is very good for children as well, as they are out of slums. The level of access has increased. There (c: at the national park) children

used to drop out after 8th standard, but now they are going to colleges, they are studying well, and have become more professional. #22:20#

97 I: Aapko kaise pata chala ki inlog apke liye fight karega?

I: How did you realize that these people will fight for you?

98 E: Nahi. Hum log inhe pehle se jante the pehla kaam karte the aisa hi wo kaisa jhopadpatti me kaam karte the udhar hospital nahi hain. #23:09#

E: We knew these people from before when they used to work in the slums as there was no hospital. #23:09#

99 I: Ye log?

I: These people?

100 E: Ye log means abhi clinic nahi hain to koi Dr. karta hain na 2-2 hrs ke liye me udhar karega kaam aisa, to clinic chalu karne ka, Nursary aisa chalu karne ka aisa har basti me unka aisa kaam chalu tha to issi wajah se logo ko malum tha or logo ka bharosa jeet liya, sab bharose ke upper hota hain or idhar kaise wo log 5 floors ka building banane wale the. #23:43#

E: They used to run a clinic here as there was no hospital or medical facility. There are doctors and helpers who go and visit different slums for TWO hours because there are no medical facilities. These people won our trust with that. They were planning to build a five story building here. #23:43#

101 I: 5?

I: Five?

102 E: Haa 5th floor ka humko 40,000 Rupees bharneka tha, bharne ka tha 5th floor ka, abhi 7th floor ka ho gaya. #23:54#

E: Yes, we had to pay 40,000 Rupees for a five floor building. Now it's of seven floors. #23:54#

103 I: Abhi 7th ka?

I: It is of seven floors?

104 E: Haan #23:55#

E: Yes. #23:55#

105 I: To badhaya!

I: So they increased!

106 E: Haan. To builder ne hamare ye yani unko 24:01-24:03 puchke unn logo ne badhaya 2 floor, court me jaake usko TDR ke liye ye karne ka tha to court ye log ko bhi bulaya ki baba ye aisa aisa hain inka kya karna hain, to wo madam boli ki usse hum log ko kya fayda, usse TDR ke liye fayda hum log ka kya fayda, free me deta hain to sab floor ka permission milega nahi to permission nahi milega, issiliye ye sab ko ghar free me mile hain, paisa nahi bharna pada. #24:31#

E: Yes. The builder wanted to claim TDR and for that he had to raise two more floors. That's when our madam negotiated with the builder. She told the builder that the people should also have benefits from this and if he wants to claim the TDR by building two additional floors, he must give the houses on the two new floors for free or else he won't get the permission to build two more floors. They checked with the builder and built another two floors. And everyone got the house for free. #24:31#

107 I: Free me mile?

I: You got it for free?

108 E: Haan. #24:32#

E: Yes. #24:32#

109 I: High court ke wajah se?

I: Because of the high court?

110 E: High court ke wajah se nahi hamare madam ke wajah se. Haan! Wo 2 floor chadaya na tabhi pucha nahi tha to usne TDR ke wajah se 2 floor chadaya usse TDR milta tha na. #24:50#

E: Not because of the court. We got it for free because of our madam. They built two more floors to claim the TDR. #24:50#

111 I: Ye TDR kya hain?

I: What is this TDR?

112 E: Usko paisa milta hain itna aap ye karega uska builder ko. #24:57#

E: The builder gets paid for it. #24:57#

113 I: Builder ko?

I: The builder?

114 E: Haan. SRA deta hain to uske liye usne aur 2 floor chadaye to uska fayda hum logo ka kya fayda fir, to madam bola ki free me deta hain to 2 floors ka permission milega nahi to aapko ye karna padega issiliye usko free dena pada or upper se har, har abhi hamare 44 rooms he samjo to har 44 rooms ke piche usse 20-20000 usko rakhna pada maintenance ke liye. #25:25#

E: Yes, SRA was paying him and that is why he built two more floors. It was profitable for him, and for us as well. Our madam told him that he will only get the permission to make two more floors if he will be giving it for free and that is why he had to give it for free. Also as we have 44 rooms, he had to pay 20,000 Rupees for each room for the maintenance. #25:25#

115 I: To aapka final ho gaya?

I: So it got finalized?

116 E: Haan. Ek Room ke piche 20,000 Rupees, 5 floor ka tha abhi 7 floor ka hain. #25:38#

E: Yes. 20,000 per room. Earlier the building had five floors and now it has seven. #25:38#

117 I: To abhi ye paisa aapke liye hain?

I: So now this money is for you?

118 E: Ha. Wo hamare society ke naam pe aata hain, wo 20,000 Rupees har room ke piche rakha hain na to wo humko nahi milta society ke naam pe wo bank me jama fixed deposit wala, uska byaj jo aata hain usse thoda thoda ye log kam karte hain or maintenance ka bhi idhar se nikalta hain. #26:01#

E: Yes. The money comes on the name of our society. We don't get the 20,000 Rupees. It goes to a fixed deposit on the society's account at the bank. We use the interest on the fixed deposit to pay for maintenance. #26:01#

119 I: 7,000 Rupees pehle aap bhara tha wo?

I: Did you have to pay 7,000 Rupees?

120 E: Wo bhara tha wo forest khate main, wo forest wale main forest khate main, one khata national park. #27:48#

E: That was deposited in the forest account. #27:48#

121 I: Abhi to kuch rent nahi hain?

I: Now there is no rent?

122 E: Nahil! Free me diya hain na to kyu bharne ka, abhi kya khali mahine me kitna maintenance, lift chalu rehta hain, passage ka light chalu rehta hain, aur kuch kaam karne ka hain wo maintenance. #28:10#

E: No! We've got it for free so why to pay rent! We pay for the maintenance and take care of that the lift is working, the lights are working, or other petty maintenance jobs. #28:10#

123 I: Har building me lift hain?

I: Every building has lift?

124 E: Haan. #28:12#

E: Yes. #28:12#

125 I: Next aapka next problem kya hain, Next problem or kuch hain?

I: What is the next problem?

126 E: Next hain na andar ke raste ka hain, road pe light nahi hai uska hai. #28:47#

E: The next one is to of the road inside. There are no street lights. #28:47#

127 I: Bahar ka?

I: Outside?

128 E: Bahar ka. #28:49#

E: Outside. #28:49#

129 I: Bahar ka light nahi hain?

I: Outside there is no light?

130 E: Haa. Road hain na road light, light nahi hain or rasta barabar nahi hain, ye nahi bahar ke road hain na. #29:07#

E: Yes, the road outside is not properly made and also there is no light. #29:07#

131 I: Plan kya hain aapka rasta theek karne ke liye?

I: What is your plan to get the light fixed?

132 E: Hum log SRA me jaate hain. #29:22#

E: We are going to the SRA. #29:22#

133 I: Pura community?

I: The whole community?

134 E: Haa. Hamara pura Sangharsh Nagar ka ek committee banayi hain mahasangharsh me to ye committee kaam pura karti hain. #29:31#

E: Yes. Our entire Sangharsh Nagar has formed a committee called 'Mahasangharsh', and this committee looks after everything. #29:31#

135 I: Kya naam hain?

I: What is the name of the committee?

136 E: Mahasangh Sangharsh Nagar committee. Maha sangarsh committee banayi hain, federation. Ha ha ye sab idhar ke rehne wale hain, ha ha pura ha-ha pura sab milke ek ke karke wo banaya hain. #30:08#

E: Maha Sangh Sangharsh Nagar committee. This committee has been formed by the residents. #30:08#

137 I: To ye poverty hai ya abhi aapka paisa jyada hua?

I: So is there still poverty or now you've money?

138 E: Haan. #31:31#

E: Yes. #31:31#

139 I: Jyada hua na?

I: It increased?

140 E: Haan. #31:35#

E: Yes. #31:35#

141 I: Aur jo Khana?

I: And the food?

142 E: Khana bhi aacha hain. #31:48#

E: Food is also good. #31:48#

143 I: Ye better hai national park se aur health ka?

I: So is the health is better than what you were having while living in the National Park?

144 E: Health bhi aacha hain idhar, jyda ye nahi hain aisa aacha hain idhar. (d: laughs) #32:05#

E: Health is good here. It is better here. (d: laughs) #32:05#

145 I: Kyu better kyu hain idhar, Doctor or Hospital?

I: Why is it better here? Doctors or hospitals?

146 E: Doctor ke jaisa bada hospital to nahi hain idhar aisa nahi hain, kidhar ka ghatkopar side me hain. Hum log ne yaha ek chalu kiya tha abhi wo BMC ne kiya hain, wo chota hain idhar udhar jaate hain, kuch bada problem hua to fir Rajawadi ya ghatkopar kuch hain. #32:47#

E: There is no big hospital here. There is one in Ghatkopar. We've started one here, it's a BMC establishment. It's small, so people come here for smaller health issues, for bigger problems they go to Rajwadi or Ghatkopar. #32:47#

147 I: Magar wo situation national park se to aacha hain?

I: But the situation is better here than it was when you were living in the National park?

148 E: Haan. Aacha hain, aisa ye nahi hain, ambulance bhi hum log ne chalu kiya hain. #32:59#

E: Yes, it is good here. We've even started an ambulance service. #32:59#

149 I: Aur Education?

I: And how is the education here as compared to National Park?

150 E: Education bhi badh gaya hain aacha hain udhar se aacha idhar ho gaya hain, udhar kaise utna malum nahi tha. Idhar aake thoda knowledge mila hain, idhar udhar thoda, udhar itna nahi tha idhar jitan malum girta hain udhar utna nahi malum girta to idhar aacha ho gaya aachi padhai-bidhayi bacche ki ho rahi hain. #33:50#

E: The standard of education has increased as compared to while we were living in the national park. While living there we had no knowledge, but since we've come here our awareness level has increased. Children are getting good education here. #33:50#

151 I: National park me aapka electricity tha?

I: Did you have electricity in the national park?

152 E: Nahi. #34:48

E: No. #34:48

153 I: Kuch nahi?

I: Nothing?

154 E: Nahi! Paani nahi, Electric nahi, kuch suvidha nahi tha, khali chori ka light lena padta tha, to usko abhi wo na din me 6 hours ya 4-5 hours rehta tha usko bhi 200-500-250 Rupees ena padta tha mahine ka. #35:14#

E: Nothing! No water, no electricity, no facility. We had to get the electricity illegally and we only used to get electricity for four to six hours per day. And every month we had to pay 200, 500, 250 Rupees. #35:14#

155 I: Abhi complex jo barish jo ho raha hain, barish ka paani collect kar rahe ho aap?

I: Do you have any system of rainwater harvesting?

156 E: Nahi. Harvesting ka nahi hai. #36:05#

E: No. We don't have rain water harvesting. #36:05#

157 I: Jo Kachra hain jo kachra hain uska system kya hain?

I: Do you have a system for garbage disposal?

158 E: Kachra hain na hamare yaha cluster me jhadu wala rakha hain. #36:12#

E: We have cleaners in the cluster. #36:12#

159 I: Har cluster main?

I: In each cluster?

160 E: Haa. Wo har room me se kachra leke aata hain, kachre wala dabba hain udhar lata hain, kachre dabbe main, cluster ka jhadu marta hain to wo pura kachra uthata hain. Saaf safai karke har cluster saf karte rehta hain, cluster me jhadu marega andar passage me bhi jhadu marega. #36:51#

E: Yes. They collect garbage from each house and dispose it in the garbage can. They clean the clusters and pick the garbage. They even clean the passages. #36:51#

161 I: Abhi jo government hain wo aapko government kaisa lagta hain aapke side me hain ya aapke side me nahi hain?

I: Do you think that the current government is on your side, or not?

162 E: Government hain na wo garib log ke kaam ka hai hi nahi hain. #37:23#

E: The government is not of any use to the poor segment. #37:23#

163 I: Ye government?

I: This government?

164 E: Koi bhi rehne do. Garib logo ke liye koi bhi government aacha nahi hain bahot taklif hota hain, upper jhagda kar karke mang-mangke lena padta hain aur politician wale waat lagate hain idhar ka kuch suvidha karne ka hain wo karte nahi hain khali aapka alag party inka aalg, mera alag wo ek jhagda lagake kaam karte hain, kaam to waisa ka waisa hi rehta hain. #37:57#

E: Let it be any government. No government is a good government when it comes to poor people. We go through a lot of troubles. For everything we need to ask them. And they don't do anything because there are different political parties and they keep blaming it on each other. #37:57#

165 I: To election ke pehle wo kya karte hain?

I: So what do they do before elections?

166 E: Wo khali ashwasan dete hain na, mere ko chunke do me ye karega wo karega uske baad koi nahi karta, khali apna jamane ka ye karta hain bas ho gaya. 2-3 pidhi khayega itna intazam karke baithate hain baad main aata hain nahi aayega unko kuch farak nahi padta hain, kamake baith sakte hain issiliye. #38:22#

E: They make false promises. "Vote for me and I will do this and that". But after that they do nothing. They are just concerned about getting themselves settled. They gather enough for their next two to three generations and that's all they do. #38:22#

ANNEX 9: INTERVIEW NO. 6

1 I: Aapke andar jo log rehte hain unka condition kaisa hai? Electricity ka, paani ka. Kya facilities hai?

I: What are the conditions under people are living in here? What about the facilities such as electricity and water?

2 E: Abhi ye jo log hain vo forest k andar rehte. Forest k andar jo suvidha hai vo BMC k madhyam se logon ko mil rahi hai. Lekin electricity supply allow nahi hai, forest land hone ki wajah se. Toh light to hai vo alug-2 meter se le lete hain, aisa vo legally light nahi hai. #02:30#

E: People are living in the forest here. Water facilities are provided by the BMC but electricity is not allowed as it is forest land. Therefore people are using electricity illegally. #02:30#

3 I: Aur vo jo paani ka supply hai vo gate k bahar jaa k laana padta hai?

I: And for water do people have to go outside to get it?

4 E: Nahi, gate k andar hi. Jo paani ki line aayi hai. Wahan 72 inch ki badi line hai, usko connect kar ke logon ko paani diya jaa raha hai. #03:11#

E: No, the water supply is inside the complex. There is a 72 inch big water pipeline. We are getting water from there. #03:11#

5 I: Ghar k pass?

I: Near the houses?

6 E: Haan, matlab ek center main. #03:15#

E: Yes, it's in the center. #03:15#

7 I: Zaada door nahi jaana padta?

I: So people don't have to go far?

8 E: Nahi. #03:19#

E: No. #03:19#

9 I: Abhi toh free mil raha hai, peeche ka kya history hai?

I: Right now it's free, but how was it earlier?

10 E: Kuch pockets the. Aapko shuruwat se batata hoon. Ye jo forest k andar log rehne ko aaye hain vo 1972 se hain. 1972 main Maharashtra main jo akaal pada that oh vahan k gaon khali ho gaye the kyunki paani nahi hai, khaane ko anaaj nahi hai. Toh vo log Mumbai main aaye. Mumbai main ye Thanne, Bhandup, Kandiwali, Dahisar, Malad, Godbunder, Didnoshi, Borivali, uske peeche updeshya k tha ki sheher k nazdeek rahenge. Khud ka lene ka taquat nahi tha kyunki akaal tha. Toh jahan khaali jagah mili toh wahan unhone rehna chaalu kar diya. Aur dheere-2 vo basti matlab 1995 tak chalet raha. Har saal 100-200-1000 ghar bante gaye wahan par, national park k ander. #05:19#

1995 main court ka order aaya, tab tak logon ko maloon nahi tha ki ye total national park hai. National park k under aata hai ya nahi, kuch idea nahi tha. Mumbai k alug-2 jagah se. Jaise Mumbai ka start hai colaba-nariman point, charni road vo side se. Wahan se har ek station k log jinke pass zaada paisa nahi tha ki vo legally ghar khareed sake ya reh sake, toh zameen bechne wale jo landlord the gunde the unhone vo zameen par kabza kar k in logon ko bech diya. Aur vo jo gareeb log the unko kum paise main mil raha tha toh vo wahan pe aake bas gaye. Jo 1972 main aaye unhone ne nahi khareeda #08:05#

E: Let me explain it from the beginning. The people who are living here inside the forests started coming in 1972, during the drought in Maharashtra. Villages were badly affected and people started coming to Mumbai as they had no water and food in their villages. They came here and started settling in Thane, Bhandup, Kandiwali, Dahisar, Malad, Godbunder, Dindoshi, Borivali. They came here with the hope of living near a city. They could not buy a house as they were struggling with droughts, so they started settling wherever they could find a place. This went on till 1995 and every year there were 100, 200, 1,000 new houses built inside the national park. #05:19#

In 1995 the court's order came. Before that people were not aware that this entire space is a national park. They had no idea what is part of the national park and what is not. The landlords sold these illegal lands for a cheap price to people who had no or very little money. And because these people were getting the land for a good price, they bought it. People who came in 1972 didn't buy the land. #08:05#

11 I: 1995 main jo aaya/

I: People who came in 1995/

12 E: 1985 k baad jo 1995 tak aaya, unhone khareeda. #08:13#

E: People who came between 1985 and 1995, they bought the land. #08:13#

13 I: Toh jo log vo land khareeda tha uske pass document tha kya?

I: Did these people receive any documents for this land?

14 E: Kuch nahi tha. Jin logon ne becha vo illegal tareeke se becha. Unhone kuch document nahi diya. Lekin log gareeb hone ki wajah se aur unka muscle power strong hone ki wajah se unko koi pooch nahi saka ki legally kuch do, darr ki wajah se log maang nahi sake unse. Uske baad proof start ho gaya. Matlab 1989-90 se proof hona shuru ho gaya. Main proof hai voter list. Jo ghar mil rahe hain uska base hai voter list main naam hona aur jiska naam hai usi ko permission milega 7000 main, hight court ne order diya 7000 ghar ka. Tabhi government that, Shivsena-BJP ka government that aur chief minister the Manoj Joshi. Toh 1995 main ye demolish karne ka order nikla. Toh unhone ne affidavit diya court ko ki ye forest ki land hai lekin vo land pe rehne wale log Maharashtra k hain. Phir vo kahin k bhi hon UP ke, Bihar ke, Kolkatta, Bangalore ke ho, poore Bharat ke log hain. Ye jo national park k andar log reh rahe hain. Aaj bhi reh rahe hain aur jo shift hue aap dekhoge toh poore India ke log hain. #11:08#

E: Nothing. Those who were selling the land, were selling it illegally. They didn't provide any documents. These mafias had a lot of muscle power and people were scared to ask them to provide a legal document for the purchase of land. In 1989/1990 people started getting ID proofs. The main ID was the voter's ID card and whoever had it was allowed to get a house. In 1995, when the court gave the order to demolish the slum, that time they filed an affidavit that the people living in the forest are from Maharashtra and it includes people from all over India. #11:08#

15 I: Bangladeshi?

I: And Bangladeshi as well?

16 E: Haan. The 1-2; Kolkata, Nagaland k bhi milenge, Nepal k bhi log hain. Poora Hindustan ka log wahan milenge. #11:32#

E: Yes. One or two people were from Bangladesh and Kolkata. There are people from Nagaland and Nepal as well. There are people from all over India. #11:32#

17 I: Court ka order aane k baad kya hua?

I: What happened after the court's order?

18 E: Court ka order demolition ka aaya. Vo time pe jo jhopade the, total agar aap calculate karoge toh 150,000-200,000 jhopade the national park main. Usme se legal sirf 33000 hi the kyunki unka 1995 k pehle ki voter list main naam tha. #12:43#

E: The time the court ordered the demolition, there were around 150,000-200,000 houses. But only 33,000 houses had a voter's ID from before 1995. #12:43#

19 I: Court k order k baad log kaise fight kare?

I: How did people fight after the court's order?

20 E: Har area main log apni-2 jo political parties thi, NGOs vo apne-2 tareeke se fight kar rahe the. Aur us darmiyan jo Sarkar tha shivsena-Bjp ka, toh wahan par jab logon ka awaaz gaya, jab wahan tak baat pahonchi toh unhone decision liya ye ki unka jo policy hai ki 1995 ki voter list main jiska naam hai usko hum free main ghar denge. Toh vo kanoon unhone yahan laagu kiya. #14:21#

E: There were different political parties and NGOs in the area and they started fighting. During that time when the government got to know about this. They implemented the policy that whoever has the voter's ID card from before 1995 will be given a house. #14:21#

21 I: 1995 main demolition start hua?

I: The demolition started in 1995?

22 E: Demolition 2000 tak chalta raha. Abhi bhi chalta hai. #14:30#

E: It went on till 2000. It's still on. #14:30#

23 I: Logon ko free main ghar kab mila?

I: When did people receive the free houses?

24 E: 1995 main hi hua. Ek subject hai. Ye forest hai, ye government ki jagah hai, BMC ka hai. Ye bhi land hai aur ye land k uppar bhi jhopade hain. Jaisa yahan hai waise hi idhar bhi hai. Toh inke liye kanoon pass hua. Aur vo kanoon humko pass hona chahiye, iske liye public ne fight kiya. Toh jo chief minister the, unhone zimmedari le liya ki ye zameen central ki hai-ye zameen state ki hai iske upar unka kanoon chalta hai aor iske upar nahi chalta. Toh court ne affidavit maanga unse ki unki zimmedari aap lo. Agar aap bolte ho ki demolition one side nahi karna hai toh aap zimmedari lo. Toh unhone affidavit diya unko ki vo log 1995 main forest land main-government k land main jo log rehte hain unka rehabilitation state government ki zameen k uppar karenge aur central ki zameen khaali kar ke denge. #15:53#

E: It started in 1995. There is one subject. This is a forest. This land is central government land, not BMC land. The rule for one slum should be applied for the other ones as well. People fought because the law did not include them. The chief minister took the responsibility and

said that this is state government land and this is central government land and that the state government has no power over it. The court asked the government to take responsibility for the people. Then the state government gave the affidavit stating that they will rehabilitate people that have been living on central government land before 1995. As this is central government land they also took over the responsibility of vacating the central government's land. #15:53#

25 I: Vo jo protest jo hua tha 95 main, uska scene kya tha? Sab log sadak par aa gaya tha. Kaise vo?

I: How was the protest which started in 1995? Everyone went on the streets?

26 E: 70 percent log sadak par aa haye the 1995 k baad 2000 tak, demolish hote chala gaya. #17:57#

E: 70 percent of the people became homeless between 1995 and 2000. #17:57#

27 I: Nahi-2, main pooch raha hoon Aandolan ka.

I: No, I'm asking about the movement.

28 E: Public road par aa gayi. #18:04#

E: People came on road. #18:04#

29 R: Like morchas?

30 E: Morcha yes, yes. Big Morchas. #18:07#

31 R: Did you also go to the morchas?

32 E: Haan. #18:11#

E: Yes. #18:11#

33 I: Jo aapka involvement tha is movement main vo 1995 se shuru hua ki pehle se hi chalu tha?

I: Did you get involved with the movement in 1995 or had you been active before?

34 E: Nivara ka Jo kaam hai jhopad-patti k jo gareeb log hain unka vo pehle se hi chalu hai. Pehle Colaba, alug-2 jagah pe.

Apna jo Dindoshi ka office hai jahan aap gaye the Sunil ko milne uske back side main tower ka kaam chalu hai, uske baaju main jo ghar diye gaye vo bhi Shabana Azmi aur Nivara k wajah

se diya gaya hai. Vo navy nagar k log hain colaba k. Jab state government ne zimedaari liya logon ka toh unke pass land nahi tha Mumbai k andar. So land nahi tha toh uski wajah se kya kiya (#20:29#?) station se 17 km lamba vo jagah wahan par choose kiya tha ki wahan in logon ko shift karna hai. Toh wahan pe agar shift karte naukri karna wale log hain. Ye jo log hain yahan rehne wale vo gareeb chota sa mazdoori se le ke chota-mota carpentry ya chota-mota offices main kaam karne. #21:00#

E: Nivara along with the poor people from slums living in different areas like Colaba and other places were fighting before 1995. There is an under construction building at the office in Goregaon. The houses next to it were given only because of Shabana Azmi and Nivara. Those are the people from Navy Nagar in Colaba. When state government took the responsibility of rehabilitation, they didn't have the land inside Mumbai. And therefore they were offering (#20:29#?) a place 17 kilometres away from Kalyan station. These people were working class. Some were on daily wages, or carpenters, or were working in small offices. If they had gone to Kalyan, they would have had trouble in finding work. #21:00#

35 I: Ka kaam kab se shuru hua?

I: When did Rehabilitation work start?

36 E: Vo bata raha hoon na main. State government ne zimedaari le liya logon ka, phir start hota hai zameen ki denge kahan? Toh state government ne choose kiya Kalyan, 17 km door station se, jahan jaa k log matlab reh hi nahi sakte. Bachchon ka school, college, naukri kuch nahi kar sakte the. Toh iske baad Shabana Azmi, Gurbir Singh, ye logon ne jo muhim chaalu kiya tha, aandolan karna, Mumbai k andar ghar hona chahiye rule k nisaab se.

Yahan pe agar aap ek jagah se logon ko utha k dusari jagah bhejna hai. Toh ek area rehta hai, utne area k andar hi dena chahiye. Toh Shabana Azmi logon ne fight chalu kiya, police ka maar bhi khaaya, sir fatta tha Gurbir Singh ka jo press (#22:59#?) k adhyaksha the. Toh unhone virodh kiya ki hum Kalyan jayenge nahi. Ye andolan chalte raha, uske baad Shabana Azmi ji ka mulaquat hua Sumer Shah bol ke builder hai, usse aero-plane main mulaquat hua. Tab jo government thi, uske baad jo government change hui congress ki government aayi tab Nawab Malik bol k ek Mantri the congress ke toh unse milke ye jo zameen hai vo pathar ka khaan hai, toh vo zameen builder k under thi. Toh inhone demand rakha Sumer ko vo jo zameen aap ye logon ko do jo kalyan jaan wale hain aur uske badle main jo ye FSI milta hai aap le lo toh vo tyaar ho gaya. Vo time pe Sushil Kumar Shinde CM the, unke yahan madam Shabana Azmi, builder ye log jaa ke mile unse, unke saamne prastav rakha aur prastav ko mazoori mili aur phir kaam start hua. Udhar ka vo Kalyan ka phir cancel ho gaya. #24:28#

E: That's what I'm telling you. When state government took the responsibility of rehabilitation, the biggest question was where the land will be provided. So the state government offered land in Kalyan and this place was 17 kilometres away from the station. People couldn't live there as there were neither schools, nor work for people. They had nothing to do there. After this, Shabana Azmi, Gurbir Singh and other people started the movement that as per the rules. People should get a place to live within Mumbai.

When you are shifting people from one location to another, the other location should be within a particular distance. So Shabana Azmi and others started the movement, they even got beaten up by police officers. Gurbir Singh ji who is in press and is the president of Business World⁶⁴ got a head injury. The protest was for that we won't be going to Kalyan. This went on for a while until Shabana Azmi met a builder named Mr. Sumer Shah on a flight. In the meanwhile the government changed and Congress came into power. Shabana Azmi and others met Mr. Nawab Malik who was a minister in Congress and told him that there is land that is a stone mine and it belonged to the Mr. Sumer Shah. So they offered Sumer to give this land to the people who are supposed to shift to Kalyan and in return he would will get FSI. And Mr. Sumer Shah agreed. Then Shabana Azmi, Mr. Sumer Shah and others went to meet the Chief Minister Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde to get the approval. Mr. Shinde approved it and that's how the work started. #24:28#

37 I: Ek cheez main samjha nahi. Sumer kya proposition diya tha khaan ka leke?

I: One thing I didn't understad. What was the proposition offered to Mr. Sumer?

38 E: Nahi-2, khaan jo hai, jaise pathar nikalte jaate hain zameen se khali ho jata hai. Toh ye land uske andar thi. State government ko zameen nahi mil rahi thi toh Sumer jo proprietor hai uska aur madam ka mulaquat aero-plane main hua. Phir unhone baat-cheet ki ki logon ko settle karna hai, toh unhone kaha ki humare pass zameen hai. Phir political level pe Chief Minister Sushil Kumar Shinde logon se meeting gaya aur phir done kiya ki wahan hi logon ko shift karna hai. Aur udhar ka jo plan tha Kalyan shift karne ka vo cancel kiya. #25:30#

E: The mining land belonged to Mr. Sumer Shah. As the state government was unable to find land for rehabilitation, Sumer offered his land for rehabilitation after having a discussion with Madam (c: Shabana Azmi). They met the Chief Minister Mr. Sushil Kumar Shinde and finalized the offer. After that the process started. #25:30#

39 I: Toh builder ko kya mila?

⁶⁴ Business World is a business news magazine in India.

I: What did the builder get out of the bargain?

40 E: Builder ko TDR mila, jo government policy hai aur FSI mila. #25:39#

E: The builder got TDR and FSI from the government. #25:39#

41 I: Us meeting k baad kya hua?

I: What happened after the meeting?

42 E: Kaam shuru hua. #27:31#

E: Work started. #27:31#

43 I: 1995 se?

I: From 1995?

44 E: 2000 k baad. 2007 se log rehne ko chale gaye. Abhi bhi chalu hi hai. #27:45#

E: After 2000. From 2007 people started shifting to Chandivali. It is still going on. #27:45#

45 I: Us time pe aako kya karna pada logon ko settle karne k liye? Paisa dena pada?

I: What did you have to do to be resettled? Did you have to pay?

46 E: Nahi. 7,000 ye high court ne order diya tha ki 7,000 bharo vo kis k liye-kaahe k liye, uska koi reason nahi tha. Bas bharo! #28:25#

E: No. The high court ordered to pay 7,000 Rupees. They didn't say for what and why. Just pay. #28:25#

47 I: Waiting list main naam tha?

I: Names were on a waiting list?

48 E: Haan, sabka naam tha waiting list main. 33,000 families ka naam waiting list main tha. #28:50#

E: Yes, everyone's name was on the waiting list. 33,000 families had their names on the waiting list. #28:50#

49 **R: There were around 200,000 to 300,000 people but officially only 33,000 families had their names on the waiting list.**

50 E: Haan. #29:20#

E: Yes. #29:20#

51 I: Toh vo jo baki log tha 33,000 ka baad.

I: What happened to the others?

52 E: Vo log apne-apne chale gaye. #29:48#

E: They left. #29:48#

53 I: Hume bataya gaya tha ki paani ka jo tha ki logon ko khareedna padta tha.

I: We've been told that people had to buy water?

54 E: Kaise hai ki zameen government kit hi, kisi k naam pe zameen nahi thi. Zameen becha gaya, waise hi paani bechte the, light bechte the. Jo log rehte hain jinke pass muscle power hai, 10-20 log hain jo dadagiri karte hai, uske bul pe. #30:55#

E: Water used to be sold illegally. The land was owned by the government, but it was sold illegally. Likewise electricity. People with muscle power, who have 10 to 20 goons are doing it. #30:55#

55 I: Toh kab shuru hua tha vo paani bechne ka?

I: So when did this water business start?

56 E: 1992-93 se poora jo area hai, har jagah pe nahi, jahan pe unki chalti thi ki humara area jo hai-humare area main 100,000 se zaada ghar the, humare area main paani bechane wale nahi the. Kuch log aise the jo line laga k paani bharte the aur khud jaa k logon ko bechte the, matlab unko mehnat ka paisa milta tha. Vo paani nahi bechate the, paani pahochate the ghar-2. #32:05#

E: The water business started around 1992 or 1993. But it didn't take place in the entire area. It only happened where the mafias were having control. In our areas, where there were around 100,000 houses, it did not happen. There were some people who used to get water after standing in lines and sold it to others. They were getting paid for their work. They were not selling water. They were just a medium to bring it to other people's houses. #32:05#

57 I: Us time pe toh paani ka source jo hai vo gate k bahar hi tha?

I: Was the water source outside the gate at that time?

58 E: Andar hi. Sab andar hi tha. Batata hoon main aapko, ye center hai yahan pe paani ka nul hai, yahan pahadi hai (d: starts drawing), yahan tak ghar hai, wahan tak ghar hai, jisko jamta

tha, jiska taquat tha vo khud jaa k free main bhar k leke aata tha. Jiska taquat nahi hai-jiske pass time nahi hai. Wo jo log hain paani bharne wale unko 20-30 Rupees ek can ka dete the aur vo jaa k unke ghar pe paani daalte the. Khud jaa k nahi karne ki wajah se unko paani khareedna padta tha. #33:12#

E: It was inside the gate. Let me explain. (d: starts drawing) This is the center and here is the water tap. Here is a plateau and till here are the houses. And there are houses too. Now, whoever had the strength and was comfortable in getting the water from the tap, they used to get it for free. Whoever did not have the time or strength, they used to pay 20 to 30 Rupees to those who used to get water to their doorsteps. They were buying water as they were not getting it themselves. #33:12#

59 I: Vo paani toh matlab government ka line se?

I: Was the water from the government?

60 E: BMC. #33:30#

E: BMC. #33:30#

61 I: Water ka pipeline kab aaya?

I: When did the water pipeline get here?

62 E: (#34:21#?) Paani ka line pehle se hi tha. Bada line. 8ft height badaline ko hole maar k phir connection diye. #34:47#

E: (#34:21#?) There was already a water pipeline. It was a big eight feet water pipe in which we made a hole and took the connection. #34:47#

63 I: Log jab aana shuru kar diye?

I: When did people start coming?

64 E: Tab se tha. #34:54#

E: Since then. #34:54#

65 I: Toh paani ka jo free ki hai? Kyunki baki logon ko toh 4 Rupees ka kareedna padta.

I: So the water was free? Because others had to buy it for four Rupees.

66 E: Government ne scheme nahi diya tha. Wahan jo muscle power hai jinki unhone ne hi vo suvidha kiya tha jhopda bechane k time pe. Paani nahi dega toh koi jhopada khreedega toh nahi. Toh unhone apne muscle ke dum pe kiya hua tha. #36:51#

E: There was no government facility. So the mafias who were selling to the houses were the one's who were providing the water as well. Because if they wouldn't have provided water, no one would have bought the house from them. #36:51#

67 I: Toh government ka line tha?

I: So it was a government pipeline?

68 E: Government ka legal line nahi tha. Illegal tha. Government ki line se paani illegal tareeke se liya jaa raha tha. Shuru se abhi tak illegal hai. #37:10#

E: It wasn't government's legal line, it was illegal. They were illegally taking water from legal government line. Since the beginning it is illegal. #37:10#

69 **R: Did they have to pay for the illegal pipeline or not?**

70 E: Illegal connection. Not pipeline. Connection. #58:54#

71 I: Paisa bhi nahi lagta tha un logon ko?

I: People didn't have to pay for that?

72 E: (#38:56#?)

73 I: Water-line abhi legal hai?

I: So the water line is now illegal?

74 E: Forest land declare hua baad main uske pehle kuch pocket the jo 1972 se le ke 1985 k andar jo log rehte the wahan toh unke udhar electricity aur paani connection legal the tabhi. Jo 1995 k baad k log hain vo illegally paani use karte the, lekin 1985 k pehle k log jo purane hain unke yahan legally paani k meter se, light connection, telephone connection sab legal hi tha. #41:34#

E: The land was declared as a 'forest land' later on. Between 1972 and 1985, people who were living there had legal electricity and water connections. People who came after 1995 had to get water illegally. But those who had been living here before 1985 had legal water and electricity connections with meters. #41:34#

75 I: Paani ka line legal kaise tha?

I: How could the water line be legal?

76 E: 1995 k baad jo log aaye. Abhi ye pocket hai 1985 tak ka, 1985 k baad aur badh gaya toh unko legally koi connection diya nahi. #41:50#

E: After 1985, more people started living here and they were not given any legal water connection. #41:50#

77 I: Main pooch raha hoon ki paani ka jo line tha, aapne bola gunda log ka tha.

I: I'm asking because you had said that the water connections were from the mafias.

78 E: Vo 1985 k baad shuru hua, gunda log ka. 1985 se pehle k jo log hain purane. 1972 se jo log reh rahe 1985-90 tak jo log reh rahe hai unke pass legally paani connection, electricity legal hi tha. Aur baki jo suvidha hai, jaise telephone hai vo sab legal hi the. 1991 -92 k baad phir shuru hua; 1995 se matlab shuru hua illegal. Sorry 1985 k baad. #42:35#

E: Mafias started controlling water after 1985. People who were living here since 1972 had legal water and electricity connections. Even other facilities, like telephone lines, were all legal. It was after 1995 when all these illegal business started. Sorry, after 1985. #42:35#

79 I: Aisa kyun ki 1985 k baad illegal chalu hua?

I: Why did this illegal business start after 1985?

80 E: Population badh gaya aur naya connection government ne band kiya. 1985 last tha. 1985 k baad legal connection band kiya tha. #43:42#

E: Population started increasing substantially and the government stopped giving legal connection. From 1985 onwards, the government stopped providing legal connections. #43:42#

81 I: Us time pe vo payment kaisa tha water ka? 1985 k baad.

I: What was the pricing for water? After 1985.

82 E: 1985 k baad jaise log aaye toh alug-2 jagah se illegal connection dena chalu hua. Kaun karta tha, jisne jhopda becha wohi log the. Vo paisa nahi liye paani ka, unhone jagah becha uska paisa liya. Bina paani k log reh hi nahi sakte. #44:26#

E: After 1985 people started providing water through illegal connections. Those who had sold the houses were the ones selling water as well. They had to provide water otherwise no one would've bought houses from them. #44:26#

83 I: Toh aapka naya jo ghar hai toh abhi aapko kaisa lag raha hai? Appka life kaise change hua?

I: How do you like your new house and how has your life changed?

84 E: Totally change hai. Wahan ghar kachcha tha, bijli-paani connection nahi tha, legally light nahi tha. Jo legally jo cheezein hain, jo zaroorat hai insaan koi right, kuch legal nahi tha. Wahan jaane k baad totally legal ho gaya. Pakka ghar mila gaya. #46:02#

E: Life has changed totally. There the houses were *kutchra*⁶⁵, no water or electricity connections, no basic amenities were being provided legally. After coming here, everything is legal. We got proper houses. #46:02#

85 I: Aur aapka jo bachche the unka bhi change hua?

I: And how has life for your children changed?

86 E: Haan, unka bhi change ho gaya. Wahan jahan hum jhopadi main rehte the, wahan bachche ab building main rehte hain. Koi college wagarah main bachche sharmate the ki kahan rehte ho, hum bole jhopad-patti main. Toh pata batane k liye Sharma raha tha. Toh abhi vo bindas bola hai ki area main building main rehta hoon. Matlab barabari toh nahi kar sak ta hai jo private builders k ghar lete lekin bolne k liye toh usko confidence banta hai. #47:08#

E: Yes, their lives changed as well. There they used to live in a temporary house in a slum and now they live in buildings. There were college kids who used to be embarrassed to tell that they live in slums. But now they are not embarrassed anymore. Now they don't hesitate in telling where they live. They proudly tell everyone: "I live in that building". Obviously we cannot compete with those who are living in buildings developed by private builders, but it has boosted the confidence. #47:08#

87 I: Abhi sangharsh jo kar rahe the aapke iske alawa bhi kuch chahiye kya? Isko bhi acha karne k liya kya.

I: Do you wish for something else apart from the house for which you've already struggled? To change something here?

88 E: Dekhiye, ikcha toh bahot hai, magar surrounding bhi dekhnge hum, private dealer k jo ghar hain, jaise insaan ko lagta hai ki humara bhi aisa ghar ho lekin utna taquat nahi hai na. Toh jo hai usse zaada karne k liya log koshish kar rahe hain apne tareeke se. Lekin jo hai vo kum nahi hai; aaj ka tareeq main jo hai kum nahi hai. Main toh darr tha ki jab demolish ka order hai toh aaj ghar tootega, ki kal tootega ya parso tootega. Ye jo darr tha vo khatam ho gaya. Abhi hume humare ghar main security hai ki hume yahan se koi hata nahi sakta. #48:44#

⁶⁵ Hindi Term for temporary housing structures.

E: We want to achieve a lot. We look at all the houses developed by private builders and aspire to have something like that. But right now we don't have the capability. But people are trying to achieve more. But whatever we have today is not little. I was scared when the order for demolition came through. I was scared that our house will be demolished today or tomorrow. That fear is now gone. Now we are safe here and no one can evict us from here. #48:44#

89 I: Toh aapka jo aur ikcha hai iske liye toh aap kaam kar rahe ho? Aapka bada ghar chahiye, zaada acha chahiye?

I: So you're working for having a bigger and better house?

90 E: Harek insaan apne-2 tareeke se koshish kar raha hai, lekin jab hoga tab hoga. Jab vo aayega apne haanth main tab aayega, lekin aaj jo hai vo acha hai na. #49:45#

E: Everyone is working towards it, but it will happen when it is supposed to happen. But what we have today is also good. #49:45#

91 I: Kab pata chala Nivara Hakk hai, kis saal main?

I: In which year did you get to know about Nivara Hakk?

92 E: 1995 k baad. Court ka order hua aur order k baad log darr gaye. Sab political party khadi ho gayi iske khilaaf, morcha nikala. Wohi time Nivara ne apna kaam chalu kiya. Idhar aake area main-basti main apna kaam, aandolan karna, morcha nikalna, logon ko jo takleef hai vo takleef door karne k liye prashasan se fight karna, ye sab shuru hua. Vo time se hum log Nivara se jude hue hain. #51:10#

E: After 1995. People got scared after the court's order. All political parties stood against the order and protested. At that time Nivara Hakk started their work as well. They came to the slums. They did protests, rallies and fought for the people. From that time we are associated with Nivara Hakk. #51:10#

93 I: Toh kaisa mehsoon hua jab vo Nivara Hakk aapke liye fight kar raha hai?

I: How did you feel when Nivara Hakk started fighting for you?

94 E: Abhi kaisa hai ki vo time pe job hi aayega humare baaju main khada rahega ki humara support hai. Toh Shabana Azmi rich person hain Gurbir Singh rich person hai, unko koi zarrorat nahi hai ye sab karne ki unka already naam bada hai. Architect hai PK Das high level pe politics main bhi aur prashasan main bhi unka naam hai. Gurbir Singh jo hain unko naam

ki zaroorat nahi thi, na ghar ki zaroorat hai. Shabana Azmi rich person hai unko bhi koi zaroorat nahi. Toh aise log jab humare liye aate hai toh vishwas rakhna chahiye. #52:39#

E: It is like: whoever was standing by our side at that time, we needed to trust them, and have faith in them. Rich people like Shabana Azmi and Gurbir Singh had no need to come and fight for us. They are rich and famous. Similarly PK Das who is a renowned architect and also involved in high level politics. These people were not gaining anything from fighting for us. They don't need the house. So when people like them come to help, we had to trust them. #52:39#

95 I: Aap abhi bhi Nivara Hakk k aatha kaam karte hai?

I: Why are you still working with Nivara Hakk?

96 E: Kalyan main ghar milne wala tha pehle, vo ghar ka koi (#53:26#?). Aaj Mumbai k center main jisko heart bola jaata hai, vo ilaka, baaju main high profile log rehte hain, toh aisi jagah pe ghar milna badi baat hai. Wahan main ghar milta humko toh uska value zero tha aaj ka tareek main. Lekin yahan jo ghar mila hai toh uska value hai. Toh jo state government nahi kar saka us time pe vo unhone ne kar k dikhaya. Vo jagah jo dilaya hum logon ko toh unki den hai toh humara bhi koi farz hota hai ki jaisa unhone ne humko help kiya toh humara bhi farz hai ki hum dusaron ko madad karein. #54:10#

E: We were allotted houses in Kalyan (#53:26#?) where there was no value. But today we have our houses in the heart of Mumbai. It is a big deal to own a house where high-profile people are living in the neighborhood. If we had gone to Kalyan, the value of the houses would have been zero in today's time, but here it is valuable. So, Nivara Hakk did what the state government couldn't do. If we're living here, it is because of them and therefore it is our responsibility to help others, like Nivara helped us. #54:10#

97 I: Toh aapka abhi kya ikcha hai logon ko badhane k liye? Aapko kya paane ka ikcha hai?

I: What do you wish to achieve now?

98 E: Personal? #54:54#

99 R: Yes, personal. #54:54#

100 E: Kya hai personally hum kuch kar nahi sakte. Humari sanstha hai Nivara, Nivara k saath reh k jitna bhi zaada se zaada abhi facility mila nahi hai logon ko vo dilane ka koshish karna hai. Dusari baat hai, jo bachche log hain. Bachche log jo padhate hain. Parents naukri karne wale hain, maa aur baap dono, toh aise jo bachche hain unko achi tarah sanskar dilane . Unko

abhi hum log kuch din pehle Imagica le keg aye the, 200 bachchon ko Nivara k use. Toh unki taquat nahi hai aur humari bhi taquat nahi hai utna paisa kharch karne ki. Toh other jo NGOs hain unke madhyam se, jaise Gurbir Singh ji hain unhone Imagica k chief se baat kar ke uska jo fees hai vo kum karwaya. Har bachche k peeche 2000-2500 minimum kharcha aaya. Gurbir Singh ji, Adlabs Imagica aur Daan Utsav karke ek NGO hai, unki help mili. Ye sab ki wajah se vo 200 bachche jo soch nahi sakte ghuma k leke aaye. Toh aisi jo cheezein hain humse jitna hota hai, jitna taqut hai, jitna achcha kar sake utna karne ki koshish hai. Hum bol nahi sakte ki usko 500-600 sqare feet ka ghar dilayenge aur koi badi baatein hum kar nahi sakte kyunki vo humare haanth main nahi hai. Jo humare haanth main nahi hai, jo chahiye aaj ki tareek main vo zaada se zaada hum dilane ka koshish karte hain. #57:03#

E: Personally I can't do anything. With Nivara, we are trying to get as many facilities as we can to those who are living in depravity. Secondly, we are trying to develop a good morality in the children who have working parents. Few days ago we took 200 children to Imagica⁶⁶ with the help of another NGO. Gurbir Singh ji who had a word with the chief of Adlabs Imagica, got the passes at a discounted rate. But per child expenses were still around 2,000 to 2,500 Rupees. But with the help of Adlabs Imagica, Gurbir Singhji and an NGO called Daan Utsav, we were able to take these 200 children to the amusement park. We couldn't have done it on our own. So like this we try to do as much good as possible, as per our strength. We cannot make commitments like we will get people a good house of 500 or 600 square feet because it is not in our power. But we try to help people as much as possible. #57:03#

101 I: Abhi Nivara main aapka kaam kya hai?

I: Currently, what are your tasks at Nivara?

102 E: Prashasan main (#58:11#? Number of years) saal k baad adhikari badly hota hai. Unko peeche ka history nahi maloom hota ki inka peeche ka kya hai. Toh logon ka jo taqleef hai, vo taqleef bata k usko solution kya nikaal sakte hain, vo adhikari ko samjha ke logon ka jitna ho sake utna karein. Jaise documents hain, mostly 80%- 90% log padhe-likhe nahi hain. Jo koi cheez kya hota hai vo bhi unko idea nahi rehta. Toh aisi cheezon main unko haasil karne main madad karna unko. Phir prashasan k saamne rakhna aur inki taraf se unko madad dilana ye humara kaam hai. Coordination, beech ka kaam. #59:09#

E: Every (#58:11#? Number of years) years the officers are changed in the administration. They don't know the background. So my job is it to update them on the past,

⁶⁶ A theme park in Mumbai.

share the concerns and problems people are facing, and coordinate between the people and administration. #59:09#

103 I: Sabke saath kaam karna asaan hai ya hard hai?

I: Is it easy or hard to work with everyone?

104 E: Hard hai. Kyunki IAS officer uppar se aaye rehte, unko koi idea nahi rehte logon ki taqleef ka, unko samjhana bahot mushkil hota. Vo kanoon pehchante hain, rules kya hain. Vo rule le ke chalet hain aur hum logon ka condition le ke chalet hain. Lekin rule main reh k bhi logon ko madad kar sakte hain. Kyunki unko humko sikhana padta hai batana padta hai. #1:00:56#

E: It is very hard. The IAS⁶⁷ officers have no idea about the problems people are facing, and it is hard to explain it to them. They understand law and rules. So they act as per law, and we act as per our circumstances. #1:00:56#

105 I: Ye jo government ka rules hai, rules logon ka condition acha karne k liye?

I: Do you think that these government rules are for the betterment of the people?

106 E: Rules chahiye. Rules nahi rahenge toh. #1:01:52#

E: Rules are required. #1:01:52#

107 I: Rules thoda change ho jayega toh kya acha ho jayega?

I: But will it be better if the rules will change?

108 E: Rule jo abhi hain vo bhi bure nahi hain. Lekin abhi ek forest land hone ki wajah se yahan rule thode kadak hain, strictly handle kiya jaata hai. Baki state government ki zameen k uppar ek bhi agar hai toh uska haq milta hai. Yahan pe matlab har cheez check ki jaati hai tab jaa k usko ghar milta hai. Government ka issue hone ki wajah se yahan ka har jo kaam hai ekdum strictly check kiya jaata hai. #1:02:33#

E: The current rules aren't bad. Rules are strict here as this is a forest land and the government is very strict about it. As this is government land, all the processes and checkings are very thorough. #1:02:33#

⁶⁷ Short form for: Indian Administrative Service.

ANNEX 10: INTERVIEW NO. 7

1 **I: Can you tell me how Pani Haq Samiti emerged and how it has changed over the course of years?**

2 E: Yeah. So we initiated in 2007. When the Municipal Corporation came off with one project called WDI, which is Water Distribution Improvement Project. They received a donation grant received from the World Bank and one subsidiary which is called PPIF, Public Private Infrastructure Facility Advisor. And they appointed a consultant. And that consultant worked at (#00:57#?) Group. And the consultant's role was to clearly facilitate the handover from the Municipal Corporations Water Department to the private players. That was the consultancy. And then we intervened. And we realized that is clearly one initial state towards the privatization of water. And because of the many people who are illegal in India, or at least in Mumbai, this privatization of water will not work. Because see the Europeans. Now they have been municipalizing water again. After 100 years of experience of privatization. But not only because of the Europeans. Water is a common good and it is a common resource and it should not be commodified. It should be managed well. But it is a common good, it is not a commodity. Water is for life and not for profit. That is our slogan.

And then we started to interact with the Municipal Corporation, the labour unions, the engineer associations, the political parties and then with the people. We formed a group of activists and academics and others which was initially known as Mumbai Pani, so Mumbai's Water. Then we started engaging with the communities. Because the government had selected one ward so we started engaging with the ward people. When I am saying people I refer to settlements, the communities, the high rises and the former settlements as well as the housing cooperatives and the middle class cooperatives. And then these people came together and they took kind of a formation which was known as Pani Haq (#03:23#?), so Water Right Campaign.

And then we all started together to work on the proposals pros and cons and limitations and merits and demerits of all, and then in the final consultation we presented our stuff. But the Municipal Corporation is really/. We had already communicated with them (c: the Municipal Corporation) what is possible and how we can strengthen it. So we have also a governance audit document in the corporation's water department. Then in collaboration with the Municipal Engineers' association, labour union and Pani Haq Samiti, that time Mumbai Pani Haq, worked together and we thought that we need to focus on the water department and the government's (#04:25#?) department. Because there are so many issues. We identified the issues.

There is (#04:28# more? moral?) issue after T.V. Shah won. So all the people who were coming for retirement were placed for the higher posts. Every three month the HD is changing the Hydraulic Engineer. If your relationship is changing every two months this department is not going anywhere. Then there is no sanction at all on the Junior Engineers. Only 150 Rupees sanction authority. How that (#04:55-04:56#?)/. And the actual sanctioning process is very tough. And that is why the (*in*) effectivity is happened. So there are so many governance issues internally. And we come with that. See, actually you are following the mad dog theory. So you are killing this department by restricting and by misgoverning it. And you want to privatize it.

It should not happen. Because this is the department that is a pioneer on water management in Asia.

So okay a common person can say that the Municipal Corporation is not providing water. We as activists are aware that this is the only department of the Municipal Corporation serving water for all, formally and informally. So it's not always by law but many times informal. But it has a coverage of 99 percent of the population. In an informal manner. Okay, we will discuss informality later.

But this department is processing. So the department is not in power. The policy-makers are in power. So that is why. And they want this kind of privatization. And then we collectively opposed it and then finally we did these plans and all.

So we had success. From media also. Means we had very clear street fights with the politicians and all the police cases, arrests and all happened. Okay. But media, the engineers and the labour union were with the people. This is how it works. Then okay privatization is stopped. What next?

Means we also want the water. Water is a fundamental right. And then we started discussing that to retain water as common good we fought but water about access to that common good? Why is there no access? So we conducted studies. What are the reasons for why there is no access? And from that study we came to know that there are two fundamental policy reasons. One, there is a rule, which is saying cut-off date: Post 1995 Slums will not get access to water, regular water. And another one is: if you are on central government land you will not get access to regular water. And third: if you are in the slum you don't have access to the equal amount of water like other residents. So buildings have like 145 lpcd and slums are having 45 lpcd.

When this came to our knowledge we thought okay, let's get organized. Because the first organizing, that Pani Haq (#08:41#?) organizing, was at one ward only, a specific area. K-East Ward. But now it needs to be a city-wide campaign. And then we had a public meeting, not meeting but convention. So we invited many people across the city: the communities, the thinkers, the academics, the activists, intellectuals and we had a convention. And in that convention we all felt the need to have a broad platform. And that platform can one understand and articulate the concerns and the policy advocacy pointers and second helping the communities to communicate with the local administration and third advocating with the/ creating the spaces where the policy makers, implementers and the people can have a dialog. So these are the areas where Pani Haq Samiti can play a role. And then we formed that organization and named also Pani Haq Samiti. #10:08#

3 **I: When was it named?**

4 E: In 2010. February 2010. #10:11#

5 **I: By that time also the core members were fixed?**

6 E: No. That time, the initiative evolves. Yeah. #10:23#

7 **I: So when you were talking about 'we' in the beginning, it were many different people? How many people were there?**

- 8 E: Yes. More people. In 2010 there were 42 organizations joint together as Pani Haq Samiti. More than 42 officially named on that day that these are the 42 organizations who are taking this decision.

And then we started articulating these many (#11:11#?), taking the lead, researching about how the pricing affect the health, how the health results out of it, what is the legal situation, how it is hampering children, how is it hampering girl child, how it is hampering the education of the girl child, how is it hampering the education of the children on the long-run, how it is hampering women and livelihood. So small, small, small, small: so many studies were initiated. How it is different from one caste community to another cast community. Many things were explored. Okay, so many small studies.

And then we realized let's articulate this. So what is the problem? The problem is that this Corporation is denying water to the people. Is the corporation having the water? 100 Percent. This corporation is having 200 percent water. Means double of what they need. But they are not stating that. But the figures are clearly stating it. We also do that kind of analysis: What are the water resources? How many resources? How many plant resources? What about the local resources? So many other aspects were explored.

And then we started negotiation with the Municipal Corporation. The corporation didn't give a damn. Then we approached the state government. They said: "okay we are happy to give water to all". But the corporation is not doing it. The corporation is using one of the government's resolution of this Deputy Women in the Urban Development Department of Maharashtra to deny the water. Okay. So all this.

Then finally what we thought: how to go about it then? We have demonstrations, the protests and many other things. We talked to Municipal Corporation and started advocating with many other parties. Many of them didn't agree with us, some of them agreed with us is that the people who are in power, they believe in the philosophy of son of soil. Son of soil means if you are from this, yeah/. Locals. So they are looking at all the people, especially poor people, coming to the city and they don't want them to come. And to deny the access to the city, they are denying access to water. And this is not new in India. India is experiencing this for the last 5,000 years which is a caste discrimination. And this is an urban caste-ism. #15:00#

- 9 **I: So you believe that is the actual reason for why they do it?**

- 10 E: Yes. That is the reason. But that is the reason, not my understanding, okay? How I do come to this understanding? All the documents, the decision of the standing committee on why they are opposing these people, these are the reasons they are stating. No one is saying we don't have water. No one is saying we don't have enough resources to bring them water. There are not saying there is no network. They are saying outsiders are coming into our city and that's why we don't want. But they don't want poor outsiders. They want RICH outsiders. #15:47#

- 11 **I: So it is a class system then?**

- 12 E: Yes very class. But they are using the caste system saying poor is one caste and we don't want them in the city. Because they are the (5), they are the parasites. That's not true. Anyways.

So there are some myths and facts. I share these myths and facts. It's already on the website I think. So one myth is that slums are not paying bills. We filed the information applications and we found out that there is no name of the slums in the defaulters list. And who are the defaulters? All the developers, all the big businesses, all the big Municipal Corporation Offices, and state government offices. The High Court is a defaulter, the Commissioner of police is a defaulter, the hospitals are defaulters, (#17:06#?) is defaulter, the TATAs are defaulters, but not the people. So there is the myth that slum dwellers are defaulters. That's not the truth.

So we came with this kind of things. This gathering information, going to the media, and they played a very cooperative role for us: back to the people. See, this is how it is.

Then there is a connection called humanitarian ground connection. So we approached them for humanitarian ground connection. So they said they can't do humanitarian ground connection. But why? They said: "No, we can't give. They are illegal." To whom are they giving humanitarian ground connection? Again we filled an information application and we found that they are giving humanitarian connection to the malls, the buildings, and the developers who don't have official certificates, means they are illegal. And they are getting water on humanitarian grounds. So where is your humanity? And we raised that. So all these kind of studies we adopted but they still didn't give a damn about it.

So then we decided that okay we have all this knowledge. Let's put it together and approached the judiciary. And then we approached the judiciary. The judiciary then replied to it. And finally, in 2014, the judiciary replied in very ad hoc manner, it was not really ideal, okay, water is a fundamental right but you will get water not at far, you need to pay more money. Nonsense it was but still: okay fundamental right at least you said it. And you directed the Municipal Corporation to provide water for all. That's enough. So but the Corporation was not really interest in providing so they kept denying it.

Now elections come into the picture. So the Municipal Corporation Standing Committee changed its position and said that: "No, now we approve that we want to give water for all." But the kind of policy they made for water for all is again very hideous. So not really many people will get that water. So we are challenging that. So this is the very current situation. So now it's the time to actually do something about it. The next two month will be really tough for us because now the elections are in the senses and whatever happens, happens in this two month. So we have to give a push, a big push to it. October, November, half of the December. #20:53#

13 **I: Are you working right now on pushing water?**

14 E: We are not in the elections but we are pushing this agenda with the judiciary as well as the media and political parties if they want to take advantage of this. #21:18#

15 **I: You said in the beginning it all started off in K-East Ward. What happened there? Can you describe it?**

16 E: It's too much to talk Jennifer. On the case you can find out anywhere. Go and google WDIP, K East Ward, Sitaram Shelar, All Mumbai Pani. (c: interviewer notes down) At least seven to eight cases are on the case. #22:12#

17 **I: Of which year?**

- 18 E: 2007 to 2009. #22:19#
- 19 **I: So now the proposal is out and it is submitted but not many people would benefit from it. Do you have an idea how many would benefit?**
- 20 E: It's only 30 percent. #22:39#
- 21 **I: You mentioned to me, two weeks ago, that the proposal is made more complicated than it needs to be.**
- 22: E: So it's really simple. Is the Municipal Corporation denying water on basis of the cut-off date from its initial date of introduction? No. It came in 1996. Before that the Corporation was giving water to all. They just deleted or added one rider which states they need to follow the cut-off date. They just delete that, they need to delete that. There is no new policy needed. It would be as it was working in the previous years. So there is no requirement of policy. This all policy and this is really diverting and actually (#24:04# defying?) the purpose of water for all. #24:07#
- 23 **I: So the cut-off date is at the centre of the problem. Would you fight that too?**
- 24 E: Yeah, yeah! Why a cut-off date? The cut-off date we are always fighting. This year we are also fighting no cut-off date for water. For the housing we'll fight another fight. #24:30#
- 25 **I: So you are also involved in housing, but you try to separate it?**
- 26 E: Yeah. There should be a disconnection. #24:39#
- 27 **I: How do people get involved with Pani Haq Samiti? How do they get access to you? How do they join you?**
- 28 E: So all these organisations they know because they are the members of Pani Haq Samiti. Many times we got a good representation in media. So they are understanding. Sometimes we are campaigning on water as a fundamental right. And people are not aware that water is a fundamental right. Making that, reinstating that. So reinstating that we are sharing our numbers with the people and wherever the problem is people are connecting to Pani Haq Samiti: "okay we have this issue can you help us with this." So this is the way. Many people are referring to Pani Haq Samiti. #25:58#
- 29 **I: So how would someone get in touch when they have an issue?**
- 30 E: It's not only me. There are many people. Many people know. So if something is happening in Ambujwadi people will know Pani Haq Samiti is doing this. So people will automatically connect. The Andheri people will know that this is happening in Ambujwadi. The water is coming. Let us do something. So they will call (#26:45#? c: name of the contact person) who is the representative of Pani Haq Samiti in Andheri. 'Please come to us and tell us what you are doing in Ambujwadi'. #26:55#
- 31 **I: So there are areas working together?**
- 32 E: Many of them. Across Mumbai. And they know each other. In 2004 there was a mass demolition across the city. And then all these communities came together. From 2004 they are together. And they are giving support to each other. #27:34#

- 33 **I: So there is an existing network?**
- 34 E: Yeah. An informal one. #27:39#
- 35 **I: You said there are a lot of organizations you are working with. Are this still 42?**
- 36 E: Now the active, means I am not counting, I am not in touch with 42 organizations. But we told some organisations that they can't work with us because they started this water ATM. #28:05#
- 37 **I: What is a water ATM?**
- 38 E: A water ATM is that with the companies. They started a purification plant in the community and they purify water and they are selling water. That is again against the basic philosophy of common good. We clearly told them we are not part of that. #28:32#
- 39 **I: So you chose to get the fundamental basics right before you work with someone. So if a private company comes in and purifies you follow different goals?**
- 40 E: The private company is not coming for a common good. They are always coming for the maximization of corporates. Not only profits. I am okay with profits. But corporates are going for the maximization of profits. So they are the milder version of the water mafia. #29:19#
- 41 **I: I have heard and read about this 'water mafia'. What constitutes the water mafia for you?**
- 42 E: Everyone who exploits people for water. #29:39#
- 43 **I: So even individuals?**
- 44 E: Yes. #29:44#
- 45 **I: Where do they get the water from?**
- 46 E: Official. Municipal Corporation. #29:54#
- 47 **I: In Ambujwadi people are getting water from the Housing Society next to the Slum and they charge them for that. But these are people that live there. So how do you think you could change the behaviour of individuals towards these people? Because clearly there seems to be no understanding of it to be a fundamental right. So could you change the behaviour or what could you do?**
- 48 E: Behaviour change is a very painful and long process. Nobody wants to invest into that. We are volunteering and trying to do that. We are making an efforts but we are not sure that they will change their way. Some values are so superficial. So there is a value in the Indian ethos that anyone who is sustained, if we are giving them the water then you will get a good space in heaven. But still they are not behaving like that. So it's really difficult. One the one hand you want to practice that ethos. On the other hand commercialization is not giving you a space to think that okay: 'Is that a fundamental right? Who bothers? And this cities, 50 percent is not bothered about water. They think that like this. For them its status issue, right? Like opening your tap and drinking water (d: shakes his head) (4) but in communities water to the tap is heaven.

Okay so they need a purifier ago v 1000⁶⁸. So all this commercialization/ become commercialized. Is that nearly pure water that agos can give? Who ensure this? They can't. They are actually polluting water. They are wasting that. But no one talks about it.

The kind of economic model: exploit the resources as much as you can. And that's why this psyche of water is my fundamental right is not there. Now people CAN'T think that. They think that I need it and if someone gives me it will be very good. I can give them some blessings. #33:32#

49 **I: But aren't you still aiming for a behaviour change when you impose a law? Even when the law is there and there is no change in behaviour despite the law then it will not happen, right?**

50 E: Same. By behaviour change this policies will not change. For the policy change there are political dynamics. And you have to play that role in the political dynamics. If you don't play the role in that political dynamics you can't change behaviour. Because if you get water then it automatically changes your behaviour. If you are not getting water it is automatically changing behaviour. You are deprived of water and you are full of water. Changes you again. #34:27#

51 **I: I have a contradictory information. (d: interviewee mentions that he has another appointment and that we will have to hurry) From the hydraulic departments I have heard that the households have their meters and they pay their water bills. And then from other people that they have no such meters and that they are not paying and they are still having water. Is there a study or something?**

52 E: Yeah. The White Paper of the Corporation. Municipal Corporation. So it's clearly stated. Only suburban parties are having meters. City is not having meters. We are having 85 percent of meters in the suburbs out of which 75 percent are not working. #35:43#

53 **I: Do you have a list of the organisations which you are partnering with right now? Can you send it to me?**

54 E: Yes. #36:00#

55 **I: Okay so maybe we can do it like this. If you have to go. You can send me the list and we can talk next time. Maybe we can then go through the list and you can explain how you work with them.**

56 E: I will tell you that. Maybe sometimes it looks like we are talking from the people's side. I am talking from the side of water. It's not really people. And when I am talking from the water side I know about the people, the dynamics, and the issues and the concerns, and the impacts and other things. I know the policies, I know the financing of it, I know the engineering of it, I know the distribution channels of it, I know how I am getting politicised and I am connected to all. So for me it's not (3) we are not fighting only for right to water. The actual fight is for water as a common good. And as a responsible citizen, or a trustee of it, the state should be accountable managing it in an equitable manner. So this is the broader

⁶⁸ Refers to a specific model of a water purifier.

thing. And that is why we are not compartmentalized. Maybe the way you are saying, the cooperation, I think it is very well maintained in this campaign. #38:50#

57 **I: But it's loser as I understand it. It's not depending on the context, on the fight.**

58 E: Yeah but I think that is the strength. #39:05#

59 **I: Why do you think that is a strength?**

60 E: Because when you are formalizing it then nobody wants to take the risk of challenging the existing framework in a direct manner. They will help you. They will support you to weaken that discriminative framework. #39:33#

61 **I: So you think that discrimination is a bond, where someone wants something and at some point is going to exploit that?**

62 E: Why did the labour unions come into strong cooperation in 2007, 2009? Because they felt the need. Okay privatization still happened, the employments will go. That's why they want to connect with the people. But again they are also concerned about the people. And now they want to support whatever the people are demanding. They can't engage that much. They can bring in perspectives, they can give permissions, and they can share their analysis. That they can do. So we can't expect them to be as engaged as the people. #40:39#

63 **I: Would you say your relationship to government officials, parties, developers, NGOs, CBOs is the same kind of relationship or are they different?**

64 E: Different. We don't have any relationship with developers. Even mafias. We didn't raise the issue of mafia. We are not taking direct fight with mafia. Because for us mafia is the by-product of the policies. #41:18#

65 **I: So when the policy changes they will go anyways?**

66 E: Yeah. So we are engaging with the government in a critical manner. It is not that they are always my friend. It is not that they are always right. Anyway. They are there for some roles and we are there for some roles. #41:48#

67 **I: What are the bigger problems you have in working with the government?**

68 E: Actually it depends on the person changes. That is the problem. The person changes. The whole dialog. #42:18#

69 **I: So the fluctuation is one of the bigger problems?**

70 E: Yeah. #42:20#

71 **I: Do you think it is your task to bring updates or do you think information should be passed internally?**

72 E: It is done internally. But then personally they may agree to it or may not agree to it. (c: this part was deleted on the wish of the interviewee) #43:28#

73 **I: And when you work with organisations and the community what problems occur then?**

- 74 E: No problems. There are so many dynamics. But maybe for 20 years I am working with them so for me it is routine. #43:54#
- 75 **I: In the first meeting I observed you were insisting on fixing concrete days. That made me think whether this is because you need to do this in that kind of relationship.**
- 76 E: So maybe because I work with them they have ownership on me and I have ownership on them. #44:29#

ANNEX 11: INTERVIEW NO. 8

Comment: I met the interviewee at the train station and when we were walking to find a quiet place he started talking about the water situation. As soon as we reached the venue I intervened to ask if I could record. After starting to record he continued with his narration.

- 1 E: Kaula Bunder is just starting. That is port land. But there are some 19 communities where Yuva has intervened. And some communities are now having water. Like (00:40?) area where I used to stay. And Ambujwadi is now purpose to get legal water connections. We are in dialogue with the community and the BMC. Now the process to get a water connection has started. I think before this election they will get some rahat⁶⁹. #01:00#
- 2 **I: You said the government is also divided because of the many party members. So you can kind of pressure the government to get legal connections before the next elections but they have then trouble to implement that because of the number of parties inside. So you only impose pressure and they have to get it done somehow?**
- 3 E: We will just tell them. This is a NGO working for awareness and everything. So they talk with me politely and all. But still they are biased about the community. So as far as the community is concerned, I tell whoever is in touch with me (organizations, self-help group, women group, or societies) to go and talk to the government. This way I guide them and sometimes I go there with them if there are any important things and when they cannot speak on policy level and all. #02:31#
- 4 **I: When you work with the government is that functional or personal relationship?**
- 5 E: You cannot categorize this. Some people from the BMC are very helpful and some people are biased about community. Some will go as per the policy: "This is the policy we can't help you. You are coming under this policy". And so people are asking for bribes. Provide this. They also have to follow all the terms and conditions of the policy and all the guidelines but they are just not implementing. But some people are still helpful: "Okay, Raju do this I help you". #04:08#
- 6 **I: People are in very bad humanitarian conditions. That is not what a basic minimum level should be like. So what interest has the government to keep people in this situation? Could you imagine why the government would not want people to get these facilities?**
- 7 E: I can share my experience. See, minorities in a particular area like Bandra they are not involved in these things. They are busy with their stuff. That is also one type of, how to say, not getting facilities and all. #06:11#
- 8 **I: Like distance?**
- 9 E: No. Are you asking why the government puts them in this situation? #06:28#
- 10 **I: Yes. This is a very bad situation. Why would someone not want to help? Why are they keeping the people like this?**

⁶⁹ Hindi to English Translation: Relief.

11 E: See. There are guidelines, policies, everything is there. If people are staying somewhere the BMC or any other government office has to provide them basic services, housing, according to whatever scheme the government has. But in government agencies or offices they are biased about this. That is why they are neglected. Or that is also one type of thing. #07:30#

12 I: **Why are they biased?**

13 E: Biased. They think they will provide them basic services and they will settle here. They will not get out of this area. I mean slums. There was a hearing in the court on why people should get legal water connection. If they are staying there since 20 years. So someone stand and said: "Don't give them legal water connection because if government will provide them legal water connections they will stay and they will stay permanently there." So that's why they should not get legal water connection. That was one example. That could be there (#08:33#?) If we will provide them something basic, housing or anything, they will stay there and they will encroach the whole place.

And development. Means what? They have, what we say, an imagination of development. There should be a developed area, means high-rise buildings and all and everything. Slums should not be there. And that is the reason actually I think. You know that builder intervention? #09:21#

14 I: **Yes the SRA Scheme. What I understand from what you are saying is that the government is working with sanctions. They are sanctioning the people because they want something different. They are sanctioning them on water or electricity. So why are they not working with incentives? Because what they do is saying not to give water to them so they won't settle there. Why are they not creating incentives to go somewhere else? So they wouldn't even want to be there? Do you have any idea why the government is not working with incentives instead of sanctions?**

15 E: See if we stick to the government officials they will say that there are so many schemes they are giving them: SRA, RNR, and the BMC buildings. But still not everything is there. They will get structure, not all the facilities. Government must have the will to provide everything. #12:54#

16 I: **So the government thinks this is incentive enough. They give you free housing with access to electricity and water and that must be enough for these people. But the people are looking for something different because they see there are no facilities. So they prefer being without electricity and water but having access to markets.**

17 E: Markets, livelihood actually. They are staying there. They have home businesses. They have markets. They are near their customers. Everything is there. I have done a livelihood study. That is under process. It will finish next week. I will share you. #13:48#

18 I: **Yes, thank you. So as I understand it there is a gap between what people want and what the government wants to provide. But it is also a misunderstanding because the government thinks that is enough or what the people should want, but the people don't want it on the expense of their livelihood.**

19 E: They will take and develop everything if they need it. If the government needs it. Metro Stations everywhere. They will demolish. They will give notice. They will pay them for the land if it is someone's private land and they want to build a Metro station there. They will provide them facilities they are asking for. So why don't the slum people get them? Means I am asking,

They also have a right to ask. We have this thing. A checklist is there. We want this fight because then we will get it. People are ready to move from there. They are also don't want to stay without water. #15:04#

20 I: What do you think is a common ground between the people and the government?

21 E: There must be a policy sign. Actually BMC is working a little bit like that: people-centric policy, people-centric decisions. There should be/ There is a ward committee. In BMC there is a Ward Committee. Areas (#15:52#?) you might have that. Corporates have to go to the community, gather people and ask them: "What is the remaining work? What are your expectations from me?" That. Public Hearing. So government orientation. Or developer from the government go there and ask people. They have to organize public, open meetings. I am collecting suggestions from the community people who possess some knowledge. NGOs and all together we will come and review the policy. What are the hurdles and that. Means people-centric process and all. There will be some change, like that should happen. But if there will be transparency in everywhere, then something will, yeah people will understand without challenges for the government to develop everything. And really people will see and develop an understanding about this. The government also has some challenges to develop everything. That should be understood and discussed. Then maybe something else. #17:33#

22 I: Do you think your job right now is transparency between the two parties, the government and the people?

23 E: My job? Yes! I am doing as much as I can do. See, if I am reading about a new policy I will go to the community and say that this is the policy, it is for you. It's like that. But I meet them all together. So the first is: People are not aware of anything. What they say is: "You are telling me new things". I explain them as much as I can do, as much as people understand. The government terminology is confusing hard language. They use that. So in our network, for example water in Pani Haq Samiti, there is a water white paper, studies are there, reports are there, the water policy is there, the state water policy is there and the central water policy as well. We have some experts. Like you have met with Avinash Ashkadam, the ex. Corporate Engineer from BMC. So there is expertise and capital here, and we can work on it and when you communicate it you must tell them the hurdles in the policies. And we can raise the voice: "Why are these (#19:42#?) people not getting legal water connections?" We can file a PIL in the court. So that is the network effect. So as Yuva and my individual self, whatever I understand from the policies I explain them to the community people so that we stand and be united. #20:06#

24 I: Do you think you will have a break-through before the elections?

25 E: Yes. Somehow or somewhere at least on paper something will assume that. How much will work I don't know. Let me explain. I am working since 15 years. #20:48#

26 I: Where have you been before Yuva?

27 E: I was with Myra Padka. This NGO movement has a different approach. Here I have paid work and there I had to volunteer doing everything. #21:06#

28 I: So you expect at least something to change. What would be the ideal?

29 E: Yes. Ideal would be if we can make a paper with recommendations or whatever. How can I say? Demands of the community. We will write one paper and we will submit our paper

to the candidates in the areas are and we will ask them that our/ and also the existing corporate. We will go there and we will submit that paper. That is also one type of paper work. #22:12#

30 I: I have a completely different question now. I hear this term water mafia a lot. And I have read about it. So do you know how exactly it works?

31 E: Yes. See. There are some area-wise mafias here. In Govandi they have a tanker mafia and in that area tanker have to come and distribute the water. 200 or 260 Litres. You have to fill up you gallons with 40 Rupees, 80 Rupees or whatever. As per season. In rainy season there is a different cost of water. So if I speak about Bainganwadi then there is a water tanker mafia. If I will go to the other side of Govandi to Shivaji Nagar there is water tap line and they sell 35 litre cans for 15 Rupees, 10 Rupees, as per season. It can go to 30 Rupees. #24:01#

32 I: So in dry season the price goes up?

33 E: Yeah, DIFFERENT areas have DIFFERENT water mafias. If you go to Ambujwadi there are no tanker. Only sometimes there are tanker but they have proper water machines. What do you say? Motor, motor! So they sell that water for ten Rupees a can or five Rupees a pot. But it works. If they are getting water from tankers, where are they getting the water actually from? Nobody has water proxy. Only the BMC has the authority to give water sanctuary and all. But some people with ties get water from the BMC, or lake or bore well and all. They get it from there. But that is for example if one tanker costs them 500 Rupees they take more than that. 1000- 1,500. #26:02#

34 I: Making profit...

35 E: Yeah. So like that mafia works. Collaboration with the BMC and all. #26:08#

36 I: So the BMC is also making profit from that mafia business?

37 E: Not the BMC. Individual officers benefit. #26:22#

38 I: So an individual officer sells water to the mafia and makes profit with this.

39 E: Yes. For his check. For his pocket. #26:34#

40 I: And then the mafia makes another profit by selling it to the communities.

41 E: Right, yeah. #26:40#

42 I: So then the officer has an interest in that the slums do not get legal water connections. How many officers, or what percentage of officers, do you think, are engaged in that business?

43 E: See. In the BMC there are lots of departments. You will see hierarchies. There is the JO (Junior Officer) and Assistant Engineers, and then the Assistant Commissioner. So it's a big setting. If I want an illegal water connection then I have to pay a licensed plumber. So the plumber does everything. All the filing. He has to pay the engineers, he has to pay the clerk and all. He pays a certain amount which is 30,000 to 35,000. So he manages everything. But in the case of tankers there are secretary authorities in the water department. Secretary authorities sign something and they will get some water. But it is not clear how many people are involved. I can say ten percent from the one department with the signatures and all the permissions sanctioning authority. Ehhhh, it cannot be openly said. It is hidden. So five to ten percent you can say that. Not everyone. Every third person is, haha, hmm, yeah. (d: laughs, c: probably feels uncomfortable talking about it) You can say a third of all the people. #28:49#

44 **I: So then these people have also an interest in keeping them where they are because otherwise they lose their second income source. And who are these mafia people?**

45 E: Hmm. These are from. See. Those are members of the parliament, MP people. #29:41#

46 **I: All political people?**

47 E: Yeah political people. The BMC is the key actor. Political person. And the society heads of the communities. These are the key people. #29:57#

48 **I: So the driver of the water tank. Where is he getting his money from?**

49 E: Yes. He is a salary worker. His tanker belongs to someone else and he gets a call from whoever wants water. If that tanker is appointed by the BMC, the BMC provides water to the community. So the BMC also provides the salary through that vendor. That means that the tanker owner is a vendor who provides water to the communities. They will get call and like that. But the tanker owner is not the water seller. The tanker owner is the tender. He goes officially. #30:56#

50 **I: I am trying to understand. So one company comes to the BMC. And the BMC gives them a license for distributing water.**

51 E: Yeah. #31:12#

52 **I: That is an illegal license. And then the officer pockets the profit.**

53 E: Right. #31:25#

54 **I: Then there is this company which has tankers. So they get to deliver and make some profit by selling water to the people. '31:50#**

55 E: Right.

56 **I: And the salary of the drivers comes also from the BMC.**

57 E: Yes because they have filed tender and all. They are sanctioned by particular authorities. Because they don't have their own tankers. #32:14#

58 **I: So everyone knows this. Why is no one doing anything about this?**

59 E: See. This is all not officially. This is all hidden. So you have to proof everything. Second, the water mafia is really a mafia. If anyone comes around to disrupt their business you will get punished by them. #33:14#

60 **I: So you say they are criminals?**

61 E: Yeah. Mafia. #33:19#

62 **I: That is why I got irritated with the term. Is this a mafia? Are they just selling water or are they really/ (d: interviewee interrupts)**

63 E: YES, YES, YES. If you may have seen in Ambujwadi there is one lady who sits there and provides the water. So if anyone goes there against them then directly become physical. #34:58#

64 **I: So you say it is also dangerous to engage with these people.**

65 E: Ha, ha. Yes. So we directly won't go. But somewhere in the community there are people who stop them. Then they stand up against them to get rights and all. (d: starts giggling) Everything is there. One time it happened in Kanawanda. There is Vikrol our movement leader from the community. He rose his voice and stood up against them and they calmed down after his intervention. So now he is our representative. #35:47#

66 I: **So what does that mean he stood up against what?**

67 E: For illegal activities. For water mafia. How do you say? There was a beer bar in the community. Or electricity mafia. Water mafia. Everyone is tagged. Electricity will run by one person. Water will run by one person. It is in the community. So this person stood up against this electricity mafia. So he went there and stopped the work. But they are getting another person. There are some powers. Anyone has. Bigger than that. I don't know how I am explaining. #37:05#

ANNEX 12: INTERVIEW NO.9

1 I: Aap Ambujawadi main paani ki stithi bata sakte hain?

I: Can you please explain the situation of water in Ambujwadi?

2 E: Paani ka stithi yahan pe 1992 se basti hai auryahan par sarkaar dwara, mahanagar palika dwara paani yahan par nahi tha. 20-22 saal se log yahan paani k bina reh rahe hain. Yahan pe kai rajneta bhi hain, unhone bhi kabhi koshish nahi kiya ki iss basti k andar paani aana chahiye ya nahi aana chahiye, Koi aisa vichardhara unhone banaya nahi. Jab hum logon ko zaada takleef hua paani ka, chote-2 bachche hain, school main jaate hain padhne k liye. Ek taraf Sarkar bolti hai saaf safai acha hai, rakhna chahiye lekin BMC k schools main paani nahi hai. Bachche kabhi-2 wahan pyaase rehte hain, basti k andar paani nahi hai, gane hai yahan pad bawadi k paani hai usme keede pad jaate hain, kai log aise bimaar hote hain aur aspatal main jaa k unko dawaiyan bhi barabar nahi milti hain. Toh kaafi samasya uthana padta hai yahan logon ko. Issliye hum logon ne Mumbai PHS ka gathan kiya hum logon ne aur Bombay high court k andar jaa k humme case daakhil kiya, Sarkar k uppar direct hum logon ne sarkaar k uppar case kar diya ki hum log ek Bharat waasi hain aur baba sahib Ambedkar ji ne jo samvidhan main diya hai ki Bharat Sarkar us Sarkar ki zimmedari hai ki nagrikon ko mool bhool suvidha dena. Uske bawjood bhi Sarkar jo hai paani dene k liye, logon tak pahochane k liye naakam ho rahi hai Sarkar, iske liye hum logon ko jaana pada high court k andar yachika dakhil kiya gaya aur taareekh badhti rahi uske baad main hum logon ne 2 saal case chala, 2012 main.

Hum logon ne yachika dakhil kiya Bombay high court k andar, apne waqueel jo hain Meer Desai Ji hain jo Bombay Hight court k waqueel hain, unhone file kiya aur PHS Mumbai k sabhi log usme shaamil hoke apne haq k liye ladai ki. Paani jo hai vo jeevan se juda hua vo paani hai. Paani k bina koi kaam logon ka aisa ho hi nahi sakta hai. Koi marta hai tab usko paani ji zarrorat hoti hai, koi zinda hai tab bhi usko paani ki zaroorat hai, jo panchi hain unko bhi paani ki zaroorat hai, aur insaan ko Sarkar raazi nahi hai paani. Khaali insaan k liye nahi lada gaya, jo panchi hai unke liye ladai lada gaya kyunki unke andar bhi jaan hai, Jiske andar jaan hai chaahe vo insaan ho ya parinda ho unko bhi paani peene ka zaroorat padta hai. Paani Sarkar logon ko dene se inkaar kyun kari! Iss karan hum logon ne Bombay high court k andar case kiya, jab jaa kar 2 saal case fight hua tab jaa k hum logon ko faisla sunaya. Jab 1 hafta reh gaya toh wahan par BMC k waqueel pahonch gaye! 2 saal tak wahan par koi waqueel nahi gaya aur jab faisla hone par aa gaya toh BMC k waqueel wahan pahonch gaya. Unhone kaha ki sir ye log jo hain pahad k uppar ghar banate hain inko paani kaisa de! Connection kaise denge? Ye apne judge sahib aur.

PHS k saare saathi jo hain, awaaz uthaye ki pahad k uppar jo ghar banate hai ye gareebon k uppar ilzaam laga rahi hai sarkaar. Mahanagar palika ilzaam laga rahi hai ye log pahad k uppar ghar banate hain, inko connection kaise dein! toh judge sahib ne kaha ki hum connection dene ki baat nahi kar rahe hain, hum paani dene ki baat kar rahe hain. Vo mahanagar palika ka kaam hai ki paani kaisa logon tak pahonchaye. Pahad k uppar, Mumbai ki jhuggi jhopadi k uppar paani dene k liye mahanagr palika boli ki pahad k uppar kaise paani denge. Jo badi badi imarat hain 50 maale ka, 25 maale ka, 30 maale ka building uske upar Sarkar paani kaisa de rahi hai? Mahanagar palika paani kaisa pahocha rahi hai? Phir bhi last main unhone kaha ki sir humare pass paani ka force nahi hai! Mumbai ki jhopadiyan single maale ka hote hain, apne chote jhuggi jhopadi k andar logon rehte hain, paani dene ki liye sarkaar wahan inkaar kar rahi hai aur jo badi badi imarat Hiranandani jaise logon ko building uske ghar main koi hai bhi nahi 2-3 log hain magar itni badi haveli lekin unke andar paani mahanagar palika paani pahocha rahi

hai. Lekin Mumbai ki jo jhuggi-jhopadi k log hain unko paani dene k liye inkaar kar rahi hai. Toh mahanagar palika ko high court ne fatkaar lagaya ki 2 mahine andar paani Mumbai ki jhuggi jhopdai ko paani pahochana ye mahanagar palika ka kaam hai. Tab jaa k BMC k waqueel yahan jo apne Sitaram ji the commissioner Mumbai k unhone bhi maan.

Kiya, phir jaa k ward office main hum logon ne kaafi sankhya main logon ko yahan pe kum se kum 10,000 ke uppar log yahan se paidal chal k ward k office tak gaye liberty garden k andar jahan par BMC k ward officer hote hain, wahan pe log apna paidal chal k morcha le ke gaye aur unko majboor kiya gaya ki aapki mahanagar palika yahan par so rahi hai, log hazaron ki sankhya main log wahan par gaye unko paani mahanagar palika kyun nahi! Kitni pipeline mahanagar pakika ka foota hua hai, BMC k logon ko khud nahi pata hai! Sarkar se pagaar le rahe hain baithe-baithe aur unko pata hi nahi ki pipeline kahan foota hua hai? Toh sangathan k kai saathi hain jo mahanagar palika ko khud jaa k batate hain, complain dete hain ki dekhiye yahin pe pine foota hua hai aapke adhikari so rahe hain. Aise aise kai jagah paani faltu behta hai, aur Mumbai ki jhuggi-jhopadiyon ko paani dene se sarkaar inkaar karti hai! #06:07#

E: These slums are here since 1992. People have been living here without water for 20 to 22 years. There are politicians who haven't even tried to get water to these slums. They have no ideology! We started having immense troubles due to scarcity of water. There are small children and they go to school to study. On one side the government says that cleanliness is good and important but there is no water in BMC schools. Sometimes children stay thirsty at the schools. There is no water in the slums and the well water is infested with insects and people fall sick due to this. And when they go to hospitals, they don't get proper medicines. So there are lots of troubles people have to face here every day.

That is why we and Mumbai PHS came together and we went to Bombay High Court and filed a case on government. We directly filed a case against the government. We are residents of India and Doctor Ambedkar wrote the constitution which states that it is the responsibility of the Government of India, whatever political party, to provide basic amenities to the people of India.

The government is incapable of providing water to people, and that is why we had to go to the High Court and file a case. But the case kept getting delayed. It went on for two years. We had filed the case in 2012 at Bombay High Court and our lawyer Mr. Meer Desai, who is a Bombay High Court lawyer, filed the case and all the members of PHS got involved with this and fought for our rights.

Water is fused with life. Without water nothing can be done and life cannot exist. When someone dies they need water, the living needs water, the birds needs water and the government is not ready to give water to the humans. This fight was not just for the humans. It was fought for the birds as well because they also have life in them and whoever or whatever lives needs water, let it be humans or birds. Why is the government refusing to provide water?! And that is why we fought a case in Bombay High Court. And it took two years! After two years the court gave a verdict. But in the last week before the verdict was awaited, the BMC lawyer came to the court. He was never there for two years and suddenly a week before the verdict is scheduled, he appeared in the court and he said that "Sir, these people are constructing their houses on hill. How can we provide water to them?"

The judge and all the members of PHS raised their voice in solidarity that the government is blaming the poor that they are constructing slums on hill, and that the BMC is falsely blaming the people. On that the judge told the BMC: "The court is not asking you to give connection,

we are telling you to provide water.” It is BMC’s job to figure out how to supply water. For slums, BMC argues that they provide water on hill but then how are they supplying water to high-rise buildings of 25 floors, 30 floors or 50 floors? Still trying, BMC said that there isn’t enough pressure. Mumbai’s slums are very small and are single story, and people are living in them. There the government is refusing to provide water. But BMC is providing water to those people who are living in big and luxurious buildings like Hiranandani⁷⁰. And there are just two or three people living in a house like a bungalow. And refusing to give water to people living in slums! So the High Court scolded the BMC and told them that BMC should provide water to all the slums in Mumbai within two months. That’s when the BMC lawyer and the commissioner of BMC accepted it and post that we gathered as many as 10,000 people and walked to the ward office.

At Liberty Garden where BMC’s ward officer is based. There we had a morcha and told them that BMC is sleeping here. There are thousands of people who need water. There are so many BMC water pipelines which are broken that even BMC doesn’t know about it! Sitting in their chairs, they are getting salary from the government and they don’t know where all the the pipelines are broken. There are members of our organization who file complaints about broken pipelines and tell them to fix it and that their officers are sleeping. There are so many places where water is getting wasted because of this and then they refuse to give water to the Mumbai slums. #06:07#

3 I: Ye jo aapne case kiya tha vo Bombay government pe kiya tha?

I: The case you were referring to was filed on Bombay government?

4 E: Haan. #06:11#

E: Yes. #06:11#

5 I: Aur ye kab bola court ne ki 2 mahine k andar paani mil jaana chahiye?

I: When when did the court give the verdict that BMC should provide water within two months?

6 E: Jis time humara 2012 main case hua. #06:19#

E: When the case was going on in 2012. #06:19#

7 I: 2012 ki baat hai ye?

I: So it happened in 2012?

8 E: 2012 main humara case chala. Hum log yachika dakhil kiye 2012 main toh hum logon ka 2 saal chala, matlab 2014 main high court ka faisla aaya ki 2 mahine k andar mahanagar palika ki zimmedari hai ki saari Mumbai ki jhuggi-jhopadi ko paani dena chahiye. Aur unhone maan bhi liya utne time unhone maan kar liya hai. Abhi tak 2 mahine k andar ho gaya, abhi tak yahan pipeline bhi nahi aaya. #06:44#

E: The PIL was filed in 2012 and then it went on for two years. In 2014 the High Court gave the order to the BMC. It is their responsibility to make sure that within two months water should reach the slums. That time BMC accepted it but even till now there is no water pipeline. #06:44#

⁷⁰ A prominent builder in Mumbai.

9 I: 2 saal ho gaye iss baat ko!

I: It's been two years since it happened!

10 E: Abhi sarkaar main baithe log, kya karna chaa rahe hain, samajh main nahi aa raha. Jo bhi satta-dharak log hain, unki bhi zimmedari banti hai ki matdaan logon se lete hain, aur uske baad chup chaap baith jaate hain, unko yahan aake samasaya dekhna chahiye ki paani logon ko nahi hai yahan par aur bhi cheezein hain. Mahanagar palika kyun so rahi hai? Kai jagah abhi jaa k dekhiyega toh faltu BMC ka paani beh raha hai, lekin Mumbai ki jhuggi-jhopadi ko paani dene k liye sarkaar k pass time nahi hai, unke adhikariyon k pass time nahi hai ki jaa k survey karein. Lekin apna morcha jo badi sankhya main yahan se log ward office k ander, toh wahan se kaafi asar pada hua hai. Toh ward office yahan par aa kar visit kari unhone, Survey kiya, apne adhikariyon ko survey karwa rahe hain yahan pe, ki abhi unhone ek atkaane ka kaam kar diya! Ek taraf court ka order hai ki paani sabhi ko diya jaaye, Mumbai ki jhuggi-jhopadi ko koi cut-off date nahi hona chahiye, chahe 95 ka ho ya 2000 ka ho ya chaahe 2000 k baad k log ho. Lekin sarkaar main baithe log phir 2000 pakad liye, ki hum 2000 tak k logon ko hi paani denge. Uske baad k log kahan jayenge? Ek taraf court ka faisla hai ki hum 2000 k baad k logon ko paani diya jaaye. Lekin Sarkar mahanagar palika 2000 se pehle k logon ko paani dene ko tyaar hai. lekin uske baad k log kahan jayenge? Kiske pass jayenge? Ye bhi ek jo hai sarkaar ki bhoomika galat ho rah hai. Paani sabhi ko dena chahiye! Paani k upar koi cut-off date nahi hona chahiye. #08:18#

E: We don't understand what the people sitting in the government are trying to do. It is the responsibility of people in power that took votes from people, and then they sit silently. They should come here and see the situation we are living in, that people are not getting water and there are other issues as well. Why is the BMC sleeping? You go to a few places and you will see that a lot of water is getting wasted, but they don't have time or resources to provide water to the slums! Their officers doesn't have time to do a survey. But when we took a rally to the ward office. It created a lot of impact. Then the ward officer came here to visit, they did the survey. Now other officers are doing survey here but now they are finding other ways to get stucked with work.

On one side the court has given the order to provide water to everyone and there shouldn't be a cut-off date like 1995 or 2000. Water should be given to everyone irrespectively. But, people sitting in government have again established a cut-off date of 2000 and are now saying that water will be give only to those who've been living here before 2000. Where should the people who have come here post 2000 go? The court is saying that water should be given to even those who came here after 2000, but the government / BMC is saying that they will give water to only those who've been living here before 2000. But where should everyone who came here after 2000 should go? To whom we should go? This is where the intentions of government are going wrong. Water should be given to everyone and there shouldn't be any cut-off date for water. #08:18#

11 I: Toh aapko kya lagta hai ki court ne bola ki sabko paani milna chahiye, saare logon ko paani milna chahiye, ye hua 2014 main, abhi tak kyun nahi hua? Aapko kya lagta hai? Kyun nahi hua abhi tak?

I: So what do you think on that the court has said that water should be given to everyone? And this had happened in 2014. Why hasn't it been done yet? What do you think? Why hasnt it happened?

12 E: Abhi tak kyun nahi hua! Ye mahanagar palika k jo adhikari log hain, vo kabhi bolenge k humko uppar se order nahi aaya hai. Ya humare pass kuch nahi aaya hai. Lekin jab humne unko court ka order dikhaya Ki dekhiye ye Bombay high court ka ye faisla hai, aap logon ko aisa order diya hai. Toh vo log bole kaam chalu kar diya un logo ne, Kyunki court ka order hai, usko toh inkaar nahi kar sakte. Agar paani dene k liye inkaar karte toh hum log high court k andar jo hai, BMC aayukta ko hum log court main ghaseetney ka kaam karenge. #09:55#

E: Why it has not happened yet?! These BMC officers, they sometimes tell us that they haven't received any orders from higher levels. But when we then showed them the court's order and told them: "Look at this. You've been ordered to give water and this is your order." Then they said they have started the work. Now they can't refuse the court's order. If they will refuse to give water, we will drag the BMC commissioner to the court. #09:55#

13 I: Lekin iss baat ko 2 saal ho gaya hain. Aapne vo bola ki 2014 main bola tha.

I: But it's been two years since the verdict had come. You said that it was 2014.

14 E: Haan. #10:01#

E: Yes. #10:01#

15 I: 2016 khatam hoone wala hai.. Abhi tak kaam kyun nahi hua?

I: Now 2016 is about to end, why has it not happened yet?

16 E: Ye mahanagar palika jo hai, dheeli padi hui hai kiske dabawe main padi hui hai mahanagar palika ye mahanagar palika k log hi jaante hain. Lekin unke uppar abhi jo hai, PHS k madhayam se aur yahan k sangathan k madhayam se jo kaafi dabaw pada hua hai sarkaar k upar. Aur dheere-2 vo log jo hain, maan karne ko tyaar hain vo log chaalu kiya hai vo log. #10:28#

E: BMC is completely sloppy on this. Don't know if they are under pressure from someone. That is something only they can tell. But PHS and our organization keep building pressure on them. And eventually they are accepting this. #10:28#

17 I: Yahan pe jo basti main log rehte hain, sabke liye stithi ek jaisi hai ya kisi ko paani milta hai, aur kisi ko nahi milta hai?

I: Is the water situation here the same for everyone? Or are some people getting it and some are not?

18 E: Yahan pe pehli baat ki paani kisi k liye hai hi nahi hai. Mahanagar palika ka paani idhar pe hai hi nahi. Log 20-25 saal se yahan pe hain. Kai log aise khadda khod k rakhe hain. Jo khadde 20 feet, 15 feet, 25 feet foot khaade hain, nahane dhone k liya use karte hain. Peene k liye toh paani bilkul hai hi nahi hai. Toh mahanagar palika ke jo BMC k kuch brashtachari adhikari mile log rehte hain, jo hai kanooni connection dete hain aur vo paani jo hai supply kiya jaata hai mafia k madhayam se. BMC k adhikari kuch mile rehte hain, vo mafiyaon k madhayam se paani k mafia jo hote hain, unko madhayam se paani chori ka supply kiya jaata hai, toh log paani peete hain. Aisa hai Toh abhi tak jo hai paani jo BMC ka chori ka paani jo chal raha hai toh hum logon ka wahan kehna tha ki jo BMC k paani ka jo chori chal raha hai pipeline main, vo connection hum logon ko de dein, humari basti k andar paani de de, logon tak paani de de hum log jo hain paani ka bill bharne k liye tyaar hain. Jo BMC ka paani chori ho raha hai paani mafiya k madhyam se ho raha hai isliye ki vo log bill bharte bhi nahi hain, BMC main bill bharte bhi nahi hain aur chori ka pipeline le ke baithte hain. Aur jo paisa hota

hai, jo brashtachari अधिकारी होते हैं वो मिले रहे हैं पानी मफिया से, उन लोगों का कारोबार चलता है। लेकिन हम लोगों का जो मांग है कि लोग तब पानी देना चाहिये तो पानी का बिल भरने के लिये हम लोग तैयार हैं। इसीलिए जो BMC के लोग हैं, धीरे-2 वो चल रहे हैं। सरकार को तो एकदम से बंद होना चाहिये कि अगर जो भी निर्णय होना चाहिये वो तत्काल में होना चाहिये, लेकिन सरकार भी ये धीरे-2 – हाँ-2 इन्तें कर-2 के ताल्लि दे रही है। अभी तक यहाँ पर सिर्फ विसिट हुआ है, जो BMC के अधिकारी हैं वार्ड ऑफिसर (#13:22#? name of the ward officer) उन्होंने अभी बीच में जadhav साहब को भेजे थे वो सर्वे की पाइपलाइन देखना है कि पाइपलाइन कब गिराई है। खाली वो बोलें हैं कि सर्वे चालू की है – 2 प्रोसेचुर हम दाल रहे हैं, लेकिन अभी प्रोसेचुर के लिये कितना टाइम चला जायेगा ये भी BMC को सोचना चाहिये कि हम लोगों का मांग है कि तत्काल में काम होना चाहिये सरकार द्वारा तत्काल में काम होना चाहिये। #13:48#

E: First of all, there is no water for anyone. BMC is not giving water to anyone here. People are living here for the last 20 to 25 years. They have digged wells as deep as 15 feet, 20 feet, or 25 feet. They use this water for bathing and other purposes but there is no drinking water. There are some corrupt officers in the BMC who give legal connections, and then the water is getting supplied through water mafias. There are a few BMC officers who are working with these mafias and they steal water with the help of these water mafias and that's how people are getting drinking water. So we had said that all these connections which are getting used to steal water should be given to us. People of the slums should get that water. We are even ready to pay the bills. These mafias are not even paying bills and they are stealing water and are comfortably sitting with illegal water connections. And these corrupt officers get their cuts from these mafias and these mafias are doing their business comfortably. We are saying that people should get this water and we're ready to pay the bills as well and that is why these BMC officers are working very slowly. The Government should be really strict in that whatever decision the court has made should be implemented at the earliest. But the BMC is working very slowly and trying to console us by telling us that it is happening. Till now they have only visited our slums. The ward officer (#13:22#? name of the officer) had send Mr. Jadhav for the pipeline survey. Now let's see when the pipeline comes. Till now they have said that the survey has started and that they will process it soon. But the BMC should think about how much time it will take because we are asking for instant and priority base work. #13:48#

19 I: आपने जैसे कहा कि सब कुछ बहुत ही धीरे चल रहा है। सरकार भी धीरे काम कर रही है, BMC भी धीरे काम कर रही है। क्या कर सकते हैं कि ये प्रोसेस तेज हो जाये।

I: As you've mentioned that everything is moving very slowly, the government is working slowly, the BMC is working slowly: What should be done to speed-up the process?

20 E: काम ये यही करते हैं कि अगर सरकार को देखा जा रहा है, BMC को देखा जा रहा है कि अगर धीरे-2 काम कर रहे हैं। क्योंकि हम लोगों को संघर्ष करने के, एकजुट होकर लोगों को फिर BMC के अपार धरना चालू करेंगे। #14:59#

E: We're observing everything. We are observing the BMC, the government, whether they are working or not. Or else we, the people, will come together and will protest. #14:59#

21 I: यहाँ पे लोगों को पानी की समस्या को लेकर एक साथ एकजुट करना मुश्किल है?

I: Is it difficult to unite people on the issue of water?

22 E: मुश्किल तो पहले बहुत थी। पहले बहुत तकलीफ उठाना पड़ा। लेकिन कि लोगों अब जो है धीरे-2 एकजुट करने में इसीलिए कि लोगों के लिये ही समस्या है, पानी सबको पीने की ज़रूरत

hai vo aur sabse zarooratmand cheez hai paani toh paani k liye toh sabhi log ye ekjut toh ho hi jaate hain. #15:42#

E: Initially it was very difficult and we faced a lot of problems. But now people are coming together as everyone needs water and it is one of the most important and basic necessities. And for water, everyone comes together. #15:42#

23 I: Kya aapke logon main, kuch logon main ya majority job hi aap samajh lo, Kya kuch darr hai ki sarkaar k khilaf khade hone k liye? Mann main kuch darr hai unke?

I: Are people afraid to stand up against the government? Is there a sense of fear in their hearts?

24 E: Dekhiye, sarkaar se toh har aadmi darta hai. Lekin jab sarkaar logon ko pareshan karti hai, unka haq nahi deti hai. Baba sahib Ambedkar ne jo ye samvidhan banaya hai ki sarkaar ki zimmedari hai ki sabhi ko moolbhoot suvidha dena chahiye, jab sarkaar nahi de rahi hai moolbhoot suvidha ya logon ki upar zimmedari nahi le rahi hai sarkaar toh vo majbooran andolan kar k apna haq leta hi hai. #17:09#

E: See, everyone is afraid of the government. But when the government creates trouble for the people and refuses to give them their right. Dr. Ambedkar wrote in the constitution that it is the responsibility of the government to provide the basic amenities to the people. If the government is not giving these amenities and is not ready to take up its responsibility, then people have to fight for their rights, even with their inhibitions. #17:09#

25 I: Yahan par ye paani ki problem hai, jab ek ko problem hoti hai manlo jaise 10-12 ilaake hain, ek ko dikkat hoti hai toh kya baaki aate hain? Khade hote hain?

I: Let's say that there are 10 to 12 slum areas which are facing this water crises. If one is suffering, do others come to aid? Do the others stand up with the one?

26 E: Dekhiye, paani k liye pehle toh logon ko utna maloom nahi tha ki sarkaar ka kya hai, BMC ka kya hai. Lekin 2004 se jab hum logon ne dharna andolan chalu kiye YUVA k saath jud kar Ghar bachao k saath jud kart toh kafi logon ko knowledge ho gaya aur knowledge hote hue toh hum log apna deere-2 adhikar lena seekh rahe hain. Abhi hum log itna nidar ho gaya hain ki Sarkar se mangne k liye hum log bilkul darte nahi hain. #18:49#

E: See, initially people didn't know what the policy of the government or the BMC was when it comes to water. But after 2004 when the protests started and people got associated with YUVA and GBGB movement, that's when people got the knowledge and are learning to fight for their rights. Now we all are so fearless that we're not scared to ask for our rights from the government. #18:49#

27 I: Sawal ye tha ki aaj Ambujwadi main koi dikkat hai toh kya koi dusara slum jisko same dikkat hai vo aake madad karega? Aisi ekta hai slums main aapas main? Ya Ambujwadi ki dikkat hai toh sirf Ambujwadi dekhe, baaki apna dekha rahe hain.

I: The question is that: let's say that there is a problem in Ambujwadi today. Do the other slums will come to help? Is there a unity like that within the slums? Or is it like that it is Ambujwadi's problem, so they themselves deal with it? And the others are dealing with their own issues.

28 E: Dekhiye, jahan par problem hai logon ko wahin k log hi ikatha ho payenge, jahan par problem nahi hai wahan k log nahi ho paate ikatha. #19:17#

E: See, where there is trouble, people only from that locality come together. Where there is no problem, it's hard to unite. #19:17#

29 I: Lekin paani ki dikkat toh sabhi ko hai.

I: But everyone is dealing with water problems.

30 E: Paani ki samasaya toh saare logon ko hai. Isiliye ki jahan pe BMC pipeline bhi di hai wahan par bhi kabhi ganda paani de deti hai, ya kabhi pipeline k andar paani ganda chodh dete hain aur vo paani peene se kai log aisa bimaar ho chuke hain, aisa bhi aaya hai. Toh BMC ko ye logon ko dekhna chahiye ki job hi timing se paani chode saaf suthra paani hona chahiye, jo jheel se paani nikalta hai jo logon tak saaf suthra paani pahochna chahiye. Khaali connection dene se paani dene se hi logon ka kaam nahi chalne wala. Paani jo hai saaf suthra hona chahiye ki log jo use piye pani ko toh unke sharer ko aisa bimari ya kuch aisa bimar log na pade, aisa hona chahiye. #20:10#

E: Water is an issue for everyone. Even where BMC is supplying water, the water is dirty. Or sometimes they deliberately supply dirty water. And there were cases when people fell sick after drinking that water. So BMC should not only ensure regular supply of water, but also ensure that the water is clean. The lake water which is clean should be supplied. Nothing will happen by just giving connection and supplying water. The water should be clean and shouldn't harm people when consumed. #20:10#

31 I: Aap PHS k saath YUVA k saath kafi active ho. PHS k saath apka kya role hai?

I: You are actively involved with YUVA and PHS. What is your role at PHS?

32 E: PHS k ye jo ambujwadi area main main rehta hoon iss area se main logon k liye jo hai ki logon ko paani milna chahiye toh main usme PHS main ek member hoon aur jo High court k andar yachika dakhil kiya gaya. Matlab basti ki taraf se main chuna gaya aur high court k andar pesh kiya gaya. #21:17#

E: I'm a member and the representative of Ambujwadi at PHS. And when the PIL was filed in the court, I was the face of Ambujwadi. #21:17#

33 I: Aap pratinidhi ho, Appko kaam kya-2 karna padta hai? Aap Ambujawadi k pratinidhi ho PHS k saath toh aap ko kaam kya-2 karna padta hai?

I: As a representative and as a member of PHS, what jobs you have to perform?

34 E: Paani k liye hum logon ko jo hai BMC main jana padta hai wahan pe paani logon tak kyun nahi aa raha hai, adhikari se milna hai, kabhi adhikari raha - nahi raha, kabhi ye log maloon padta hai ki ye log aane wale hain toh adhikari wahan se chutti pe nikal jaate hain, aisa bhi hota hai. Aur kabhi-2 mil bhi jaate hain un logon se baat cheet hoti hai, vo log khali bolte hain ki haan kaam kar rahe hain lekin jo sangharsh hua sangharsh se hi aap jo hai mahanagar palika jo hai iss area k liye Ambujwadi k liye jo hai paani jo hai vo unhone manota kya hai ki hum paani de denge jald denge. Aisa ki yahan k logon ki taaquat dekh kar vo hili hui hai BMC. #22:24#

E: I'm visiting the BMC officer to get information. I am asking questions like "why is the water not coming" and "how much time will it take". We meet the BMC officers. Sometime when the officers get to know that we're coming, they leave the office. But sometimes we find them in their offices and talk to them. They keep telling us that they are working on it and we will get the water soon. But because of this battle, they have now accepted to provide water to Ambujwadi. They were surprised after seeing our strength and unity. #22:24#

35 I: Inka sawal hai ki aap log judicial system main ghus rahe ho, matlab aap law main jaa k Sarkar k saath ladai kar rahe ho kanooni ladai kar rahe ho. Appko lagta hai ki ye sabse acha tareeka hai paani paane k liye kyunki kai jagah pe aisa hota hai ki kai NGOs kaam kar rahi hain sarkar k saath, ki yahan pe jaise paani ka ATM laga diya, app jao wahan par paisa daalo paani peene ka mil jayega. So aapko lagta hai ki ye jo kanooni ladai hai yahi ek maatr tareeka hai ya aur bhi tareeke ho sakte hain paani k liye?

I: You people are getting into the judicial process and you have a legal fight with the government. Do you think that this is the best way to get water? For instance, there are many NGOs working with the government like those that are installing the water ATMs, where you can go, pay money, and get the water. So do you think that fighting with the government in the court is the best way possible or could there be some other ways?

36 E: Nahi, Kanooni tareeke se toh ladna hi hai! Jo samvidhan hai, samvidhan k hisaab se challenge. Jo apna haq hai. Baba sahib ambedkar ne har cheez apna haq lene k kiye unhone banaya hai. Toh samvidhan k mutabik apna vo haa mangane main koi vo nahi hai. Itna hum jaante hain ki sangharsh kar k hi jo hai sab kuch ho sakta hai. #25:01#

E: No, we've to fight a legal fight with the government. We will go as per the constitution. Dr. Ambedkar gives us a right to fight for our rights. So asking for our rights by doing something within the boundaries of the constitution isn't wrong. We just know that by fighting anything can be achieved. #25:01#

37 I: PHS k jab nahi tha, us samay aap log paani k haq k liye kis tareeke se ladai karte the?

I: When PHS wasn't there, how were you people used to fight for the right to water?

38 E: PHS nahi tha toh hum log wohi jo hain paani idhar udhar log peete the le kea ur log chori ka paani idhar-udhar supply karte the paani mafia log. Toh log jaa k koi sir pe le ke aata tha koi kahan se le k aata hai, ab aaj bhi log khareed k paani pee rahe hain. Paani toh log pee rahe hain lekin vo jo Paani mafia log jo hain, paani jo bechte hain, uss madhayam se logon tak paani aata hai aur log paani pee rahe hain. Sarkar ek taraf bolti hai ki paani toh log pee rahe hai! Lekin jo kanoon k madhayam se hai logon ko paani dena chahiye vo Sarkar nahi de rahi hai. #26:18#

E: When PHS wasn't here, people used to get water from here and there. People used to get water from water mafias. Some people used to carry the cans on their heads. Some people used to get it from somewhere else. Today also people are getting drinking water also like this. Through these water mafias. The government is saying that these people are getting drinking water, but they are not giving us drinking water legally. #26:18#

39 I: PHS k pehle kaisa tha? PHS jab ambujawadi main aayi toh uske pehle kaisa tha? Pehle aisa hi tha lekin koi ladai thi, aap kuch lad rahe the.

I: How was it before PHS? How was it in Ambujwadi before PHS came here? Were you fighting any legal battles or doing something?

40 E: Nahi uske pehle kuch bhi nahi. PHS k aane se hi jo hai logon main jagruk hua aur kaafi logon main jaankari bhi hui aur kafi jagah-2 log sangharsh kar rahe the paani k liye. #26:40#

E: Before that there was nothing. Only after PHS came to us, people became more aware. And now at many places people are fighting for water. #26:40#

41 I: Ambujwadi main aapne jaise kaha ki pehle logon main jankari nahi thi jab PHS nahi tha. paani abhi bhi waise hi laate hain jaise pehle laate the lekin ab apne haq k liye lad rahe hain. Kya ambujawadi main abhi bhi agar aap mujhe aisa pratisht bata sako ki kitne log paani k liye lad rahe hain. Ya abhi bhi kuch log hain jo isme bhaag nahi le rahe hain?

I: Like you've said, before PHS came people weren't aware. You are still getting the water the same way but now you are fighting for your right. So can you tell me in percentage how many people in Ambujwadi are actively involved in this fight? Or are there still some people who are not being a part of this movement?

42 E: Paani k liye Jab se PHS bani hai. Jab se log jagah-2 alug-2 tareeke se agug-2 sangathan bana kar paani k liye awaaz utha rahe hain. Ye toh asar pahoncha hai logon ko. Matlab PHS jo hai Bombay high court tak yachika dakhil kari lekin vo mudda dekh kar, faisla dekh kar vo jo hai kaafi logon main zaroorat hua hai itna toh hai k apne haq k liye jagah-2 log khade ho rahe hain. Paani k liye aisa hai. #28:20#

E: Since PHS has started people are forming different organisations everywhere and are fighting for water. This has been a drastic change for the people. PHS filed the PIL in the Bombay High Court and after understanding the cause and seeing the result a lot of people got aware and are now standing up for a lot of other issues which are their rights. #28:20#

43 I: Lekin kya abhi bhi aise log hain jo iss cheez se nahi jude hain?

I: But are there still people who aren't associated with in movement?

44 E: Bahot se aise log hain jo nahi jude hain, unko jankaari nahi hai. Dheere-2 unko bhi jankaari hoga, unko bhi samasaaya hoga toh vo abhi apne haq k liye awaaz uthayenge. #28:37#

E: There are a lot of people who are not part of this movement because they are not aware. Slowly they will also gain the knowledge and when they will get trouble, they will also raise their voices. #28:37#

45 I: Morcha nikalne k pehle aap logon ko kis tareeke se ikatha karte ho? Matlab kya poora aap mujhe bata pao ki kaise ye kaam karta hai?

I: Before organizing for a rally what preparation do you have to do? Can you please explain to us in details how it works?

46 E: Morcha nikalne k pehle hum log jo hain ye logon ko bulate hain. Ghar-2 main jaate hain. Unko hum log jankaari dete hain fala time par fala meeting hai, iss mudde pe meeting hai. Meeting k hisab se sun k log aate hain. Toh ikatha ho jaate hain tab hum log jo hain meeting main logon ko zahir karte hain ye apna mudda hai aur ye cheez k liye apne ko awaaz uthana hai, toh log us awaaz pe khade hote hain. #29:42#

E: Before the rally we gather people by going from home-to-home and by telling them that there is a meeting on 'XYZ' issue at that time at this venue. When the people gather we tell them the agenda and urge them participate. And people do! #29:42#

47 I: Ye app logo ka ward hai na ye aapke.

I: This is your ward, right?

48 E: Haan. #30:09#

E: Yes. #30:09#

49 I: So yahan pe aapki jo bhi dikkate hain toh ye aap warden se discuss karte hain jo yahan ka head hai ward ka ya kisi aur se baat karte hain?

I: So do you discuss all your issues with the warden? Or do you talk to someone else?

50 E: Ward k andar bhi hum log jaate hain, BMC ward k andar bhi baat karte hain aur jo BMC aayukt hain VT main, mahanagar palika aayukt wahan baithte hain. Wahan pe jaa k, wahan commissioner baithte hain. Mahanagar palika k jo main hai vo commissioner baithte hain toh wahan hum log meeting unse karte hain. Phir wahan jaisa hota hai toh ward k andar bhi meeting karte hain. #31:00#

E: We go to the ward and we talk to the people at the BMC office as well. The BMC commissioner works at the headquarters at CST⁷¹ and sometimes we go there to meet him as well. And in addition to that we go to the ward office for meetings. #31:00#

51 I: Aapko kya lagta hai ki aapka kaam asaan kaise hoga? Jo aap itni ladaki kar rahe ho isme aapko agar koi maddad ya inti mushkil ladai hai ye asaan kaise ho sakti hai?

Haan toh main aapse poocha tha ki kaise aise actions hone chahiye jisse aapka kaam asaan ho aur logon ko bhi ek saath lana bhi asaan ho aur Sarkar se bhi baat karna asaan ho. Sarkar bhi baat samjhe aur log bhi baat samjhe.

I: What do you think can make your work easier? What can help you in this battle to come closer to your goals? (c: continues after no there was no response) For instance, what actions can be taken? When people are unified it should make things easier. If the government is talking to you it should make things easier.

52 E: Dekhiye, asaan jab hoga jab log jagruk honge. Asaan koi bhi kaam ho jab ek jagruk hote hain ikatha hote hain aur apne haq k liye sangharsh karenge toh zaroor unko haq milne wala hai. Sarkar se unko haq milna hi milna hai koi aisi baat nahi hai. Apne haq k liye ladne k liye gunah nahi hai. Isliye ki apne haq k liye logon ko ladne chahiye. Koi bhi mudda ho paani ho ya koi bhi apna sarkaar se haq lena hai toh apne haq k liye ekjut hona chahiye logon ko. #33:09#

E: Look, it will become easy when people get informed and motivated. When people become knowledgeable, united and fight, then they get their rights. Government will have to give them their rights. It is not a crime to fight for what is your right. Let it be water or any other right. If people want to fight for their rights, they have to unite. #33:09#

53 I: Aap paani haq samiti k saath jude kaise?

I: How did you get associated with PHS?

54 E: PHS se se ab hum jude isliye ki yahan apna Mumbai k andar sangharsh chal raha hai 2004 se. 2004 se yahan pe ghar k mudde pe, 2004 main Sarkar yahan pe ghar tod di thi, 2004 main Sarkar muhim nikali thi aisa is team k log yahan pe the koi 15 saal koi 20 saal koi 25 saal 2004 main ye sab tod diya gaya tha, poora maidan kar diya, zameen khali kar di. 2004 main baad main hum logon ne committee banaya ki sangharsh kiya gaya, YUVA, ghar bachao medha tai aur bhi aise kaafi sangathan mil kar sangharsh kiya gaya sarkaar se tab ja k dobara yahan pe Ambujwadi basa gaya. Hum log yahan pe bas toh gaye. Yahan pe light ki zaroorat hai, yahan pe shuchalaya ki zaroorat hai, Jo bhi mool suvidha hai ab paani ki samasaya to hai

⁷¹ A train station in Mumbai.

hi hai logon ko isiliye hum logon ne kaha ki Sarkar jo hai BMC hum logon ko paani dene wali nahi hai, lag raha hai apne haq k liye hum logon ko court main jaana padega. Tab ja k hum logon ne committee banaya PHS k logon se contact hua aapas main (#34:53#?) tab ja k court k andar hum logon ne. #34:56#

E: I got associated with PHS in 2004. In Mumbai there was a battle going. It was the agenda for housing when in 2004 government demolished all the houses. People were living here for 15, 20, 25 years and the government demolished everything and left nothing. After that in 2004, we formed a committee with a vision to fight. Along with YUVA, Ghar bachao, Ghar Banao's Medha Pathkar and a lot of other NGOs and organisations we fought against the government. And that's when Ambujwadi was rehabilitated. We got rehabilitated here but we needed electricity, and toilets were required. Water is an issue here but there are lack of other basic amenities as well. That's when we realized that the government is not going to give us water and we will have to go to the court to get our rights. That is when we formed a committee and got in touch with PHS (#34:53#?) and after that we went to the court. #34:56#

55 I: Aap ne ye poora, aapne yahan logon ko ikatha kiya?

I: You were the one who got everyone together here?

56 E: Haan. Sabko ikatha kiya gaya. #35:03#

E: Yes, gathered everyone. #35:03#

57 I: Aapne hi kiya tha?

I: You did that?

58 E: Haan. #35:03#

E: Yes. #35:03#

59 I: Aapko kyun lagta hai ki PHS aap logon ki madad kar rahi hai?

I: Why do you think PHS is helping you people?

60 E: PHS hum logon ka madad kar rahi hai isliye ki apne haq k liye awaaz utha rahi hai. Isliye ki vo PHS hume humara haq dila rahi hai. Isliye hum logon ko acha laga ki PHS jo hai hum saath main jude ke ya saath rehkar awaaz uthayenge Sarkar pe toh humara haq paani hume mil sakta hai. #36:09#

E: PHS is helping us because we are fighting for our rights and PHS is helping us to get it. And that is why we liked that. With PHS we can fight this battle and we can raise our voices in solidarity and this will get us our right to water. #36:09#

61 I: Aap PHS pe bharosa hai aapko?

I: Do you believe in PHS?

62 E: Haan. PHS k upar bharosa toh hai hi hai. #36:40#

E: Yes, we have a lot of trust in PHS. #36:40#

63 I: Shuru-2 main bharosa ho gaya tha ya thoda time laga bharosa panapne main?

I: Did you trust them from the beginning or did it take time for them to earn your trust?

64 E: Bharosa kar k hi isme rehna pada. Isliye koi cheez k liye apne haq k liye lad rahe hai toh bharosa rakha hi hai. #37:01#

E: We had to put our faith in them and trust them. When we are fighting for our right, we need to keep trusting. #37:01#

65 I: PHS k prati sabka ek hi bharosa hai? Ya kuch aisa ambujwadi main kuch aisa divided hai ki kuch log kehte hain ki ye acha hai PHS ya koi kehta hai ki nahi inke saath kaam nahi karna chahiye, kuch aisa hai?

I: Is everyone trusting PHS? Or is there a divided view in Ambujwadi so that some people say that PHS is good and some are say that you shouldn't work with them. Is it like that?

66 E: Abhi ye ache k liye, agar ache k liye ladai hogi toh log acha hi bolenge. Alug-2 logon ka vichardhara hota hai, lekin zaadatar bharosa toh PHS k upar logon ka hai. Isliye paani ka hi mudda hai aur PHS acha ladai lad rahi hai paani pe. #38:04#

E: They are fighting for a good cause and when the fight is for a good cause, then people will call it good. Different people have different ideologies, but most of the people trust PHS. PHS is fighting for a good cause. #38:04#

67 I: Aapko kya lagta hai ki aisi kaun si cheez hai jisme aap aur sarkar ek saath ek table par baith sakte hain? matlab kya ek aisi cheez hai job Sarkar ko aur aap logon ko ek saath baandh sake jisse aapko bhi fayda ho aur sarkar ko bhi fayda ho.

I: What is that one thing which can bring you and the government to the same table? I mean, what is that one thing which can bond you and government together and which will be beneficial for both of you.

68 E: Sarkar aur logon ka ho sakte hain jab logon se vichardhara Sarkar legi toh. Koi bhi kanoon Sarkar banati hai toh logon se vichardhara nahi leti. Vo apni marzi se baith k un logon ne kanoon bana dete hain. Logon ka sehmati hona chahiye. Desh k rehwasiyon ki sehmati hona chahiye. Koi bhi kanoon banta hai, Sarkar banati hai, toh usme logon ki sehmati hona chahiye. #39:25#

E: It can happen when government takes the ideologies of all people into account. Whenever and whatever law the government makes, they do not consider the people's opinions. They make laws which they feel are right. It should be in sync with the people's agreement. People of this country should agree to those laws. #39:25#

69 I: Sawal ye hai ki Sarkar ko banana chahiye, vo kanoon banati hai janta se poochna chahiye, Vo alugbaat hai. Aisa kya hai jo aapko aur sakarko ek saath la sakta hai jisse aap dono ka fayda ho. Jiske upar aap aao aur baith k baat-cheet kar sako ki chalo ispe baat kate hai. Jaise ki example de deta hoon toh clear ho jayega. Aap aur sumati ji aap ek dusare ko shayad kabhi nahi jante, aap ek dusare ko jaante ho kyunki aap dono paani k liye lad rahe ho. Sarkar k saath aisi kaun si ek vo cheez hai, kya wajah hai jo aapko ekjut karegi, logon ko aur Sarkar ko.

I: The government makes laws and they should consider people's opinion, but that's a different thing. What is that one thing which can bring you and the government together and should be beneficial for both of you. Something on which you and the government can sit together and talk. For example: you and Sumati ji would not have met each other at all if it wasn't for the right to water. You both know each other

because of that. Because you both are fighting for the same cause. Similarly with government: what is that one reason which unites you two? You and the government.

70

E: Sarkar ko jo hai logon se aur sarkaar k vichardhara dono ka vichardhara milna chahiye tabhi ekjut ho payenge. Isliye ki Sarkar jo banti hai na jo matdaan hota hai yahan, India government 5 saal main matdaan leti hai. Matdaan le k hi Sarkar banti hai. Toh Sarkar ka bhi farz banta hai ki logo se kuch bhi aisa hota hai toh vichardhara logon se lena chahiye aur logon ki zimmedari hai ki Sarkar kya bole hai use bhi vichardhara lena chahiye, tabhi taal mel ho sakta hai, nahi toh humesha hum logon ki ladai chalti rahegi, gareeb ameer ki ladai chalti rahegi. Sarkar bahot sceme nikalti hai ahi modi ji jo hain bolte hain ki 2022 tak hai jo hum logo ka sudhaar karenge! sudhaar kya karenge jab Mumbai ki jhuggi-jhopadi rahegi tabhi toh? beec-2 main logo ko todne ka kaam karte hain mahanagar palika aur sarkaar main baithe log todne ka kaam karte hain. Jab log beghar ho jayenge toh sarkaar 2022 tak kya karegi logon ko? Jo bhi kaam hona chahiye tatkal main vo kaam hoye. Isliye 5 saal k andar jo hai india k andar 5 saal k andar matdaan hota hai, tab jaa k Sarkar banti hai. Ab jo nayi Sarkar aayi vo scheme bana gayi paani dena hai, road banana hai, ye karna hai vo karna hai, lekin jab 5 saal aaya Sarkar kahin vo jo gir gayi toh vo job yojna bana rehta hai vo dubb jaata hai. Phir log peeche ho jaate hain 15-20 saal peeche. Phir nayi sarkaar aayi, kaam kari, nahi kari, kya dhyaan di, kya yojna banai kya banai? Ab ye Modiji jo bahar-2 ghoom rahe hain yahan se, India k andar unko time hi nahi hai ki India k rehvasi jo hain, bharatwasi hain jo unpar dhyaan de. Suvidha karna chahiye, vikaas karna chahiye, vo cheez nahi dhyaan diya jaa raha hai aur vo bahar-2 ghoom rahe hain. Bahar ghoomney se kaam nahi chalne wala. #42:24#

E: The government should connect with the people and their ideologies and that is how we can be united. Every five year the elections take place and a government is formed, and it is because of the people. So it is a responsibility of the government to take people's opinions and ideologies into considerations and that is how both can be in sync. Otherwise there will always be a fight between the government and the people, the rich and the poor. Government releases a lot of schemes. Our Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi says that by 2022 he will uplift the people of this country. What upliftment will happen when no slums in Mumbai exist? The people in government and the BMC keep demolishing the slums. When people will become homeless then what will happen in 2022? Whatever work needs to be done should happen at priority basis. Every five years the election takes place and that's how the government is formed. Now if a new government comes into power they launch new schemes and will say that water should be given, roads must be constructed and do this and that. But after five years if that government doesn't get reelected, all the schemes made by them go into vein and people go 15 to 20 years back in time. Then the new government will come. They will work or not work. They will make schemes or whatever. Mr. Modi who keeps visiting abroad, he doesn't have the time to focus on the residents of this country. They should provide facilities, promote progress, but they aren't focusing on those. Instead he is traveling abroad. Nothing will happen by keep traveling to other countries. #42:24#

ANNEX 13: INTERVIEW NO. 11

Comment: The Interview was conducted while Rais Shaikh was on his campaigning tour. The interview was not recorded and is no literal transcription.

1 I: Why are you supporting PHS?

2 E: In 2010 I have filed a PIL myself and submitted it to the High Court. When I was elected I was asked to withdraw my PIL because I could not file a case against the government if I was a member myself. I am in favour of equitable distribution and consider access to water a basic right and I believe that it should not matter whether people live in legal or temporary structures. But the law does not apply for everyone equally. There are two things that shape the case of access to water in slum areas. First, law should be equal for all. The second thing is that representatives of the slum areas are not effective. From what I have observed is that they cannot get the laws changed and they lack leadership.

3 I: Why is the government opposing the provision of water to the slum areas?

4 E: Migration is one of the reasons for the denial of access to water. They argue with the son of the soils. Minorities have always been the victims of politics.

5: I: Why did it take the government so long to come up with the proposal that was requested by the court?

6: E: The issue was tabled more than five times. Even the current proposal is very discriminative but it was impossible to get anything passed. There was the opposition by the ruling party and other opponents. Even the current proposal cannot be implemented properly. It does not have the teeth in it.

7: I: What should PHS be doing now?

8 E: I have been telling them that they should file a contempt.

9 I: How will you promote access to water to slum areas?

10 E: When I will be hopefully re-elected I want to form an association of municipal councillors to push the topic on the agenda.

11 I: It is often argued that slum dwellers do not pay their bills.

12 E: Yes, it is true. Slum dwellers do not always pay their bills. The system of bill collection is a very flawed one because in slum areas they have no real addresses.

13 I: How do you think change can be brought?

14 E: People who bring change come from inside the government.

ANNEX 14: INTERVIEW NO. 12

Comment: I went to a women community space and talked to the women collectively about their situation on water. Jerry, an Intern at YUVA, was translating for me. We were shown around and introduced to the group of women by Lakshmi, a woman that lives inside the community and is very actively engaged with YUVA. The following provides a summary of the information collected during the conversation.

The community is residing on a water pipeline. They moved there because it was a clean space and seemed very convenient to them. People have covered parts of the pipeline with soil so that it became easier to walk on it. There is a leakage in the pipeline where people are getting water from 24 hours per day. When people started settling there some 30 years ago they deliberately broke the pipe so that they would gain access to water. Most people have moved there more recently. For them the leakage has been there forever. The government came to fix the leakage several times but people continue breaking it after it had been fixed again. Not all people are using this water. The water is used by people who have not applied for a legal water connection. The Slum has been recognized and they have the right to legal water connections in the community. All the women in the community centre have legal water connections since 2007. They applied for it because they noticed that if the leakage will be fixed permanently they would have no access to water at all. So they decided to apply for a legal connection. There are several reasons for why some people have not applied for legal connections. One is that they do not want to do it because water is already available. Another one is that some are not entitled to water connections because they have moved there recently or they cannot prove that they have settled there before the cut-off date. A lot of water is wasted through the leakage. The open water source and the water that is wasted cause many health issues in the community. They had some serious dengue cases.

Currently the payment of the community bill is an issue for those who have a legal water connection. The residents have paid an initial Rs.200 to the society representative for the installation of the legal pipe and for bill recovery. Later they found out that the pipes had been installed for free and that the representative who had collected the money did not pay the bills. They cannot recover the money from that person because they depend on the person to solve other issues. No one wants to take over the responsibilities and tasks the representative is currently doing and therefore there is no replacement of that person. But because people are aware of the betrayal now they tend to trust NGOs more than the people of their own community. If there is a rumour or a new formula they first seek the approval of NGOs. NGOs in turn had built up their relationships with the people over the years. People in the community did not trust them right away because there had been many empty promises made by politicians over the course of years. But YUVA helps them with a lot of things and wherever help is needed.

The situation right now is precarious. They have received a bill for the last two years of Rs.150,000 which they will not be able to pay. Due to that they are afraid that the connections will be cut off. People in the community have no addresses and therefore they receive a collective bill that is addressed to the representative of the society. No one knows how the bill was calculated.

But right now their biggest fear is the insecurity of housing. Although, they are eligible for a rehabilitation scheme under MCGM which will rehabilitate them in Mahul, not all can prove that they have lived there before 2000. But even if they get an apartment under the scheme they would be resettled to the Eastern Suburbs and lose access to all the facilities they have right now. They prefer a home that would be on the Western Line but they do not want to be resettled to the Harbour Line.

ANNEX 15: INTERVIEW NO.13

1 I: Iss area me paani ka kya situation hai?

I: What is the situation of water in this area?

2 E: Paani ka to bahot critical situation hai yahan pe, Jaise iss ghar me 8-10 din se paani nahi hai, paani na hone ki wajah se aaj mujhe kaam pe jane ko bhi late ho gaya kyuki paani mugge bahar se leke aana pada and abhi me nahane jaa rahi thi. Is tarah paani ka bahot hi samasaya hai. #00:48#

E: The situation of water is very critical here. There is no water in the house for the last eight to ten days. Since there is no water, I even get late to work, as we have to get water from somewhere else. I was about to go for a bath now. The water situation is very severe here. #00:48#

3 I: Yahan pe koi private paani nahi he?

I: Are there no private actors providing water?

4 E: Yahan private hi paani aata he koi BMC ka paani nahi aata. Yaha pe jo paani bechne wale hain unhe khud BMC paani chori karne bolti he issiliye hum koi complaint bhi kar nahi sakte. Ye private land hai BPT issiliye yaah pe koi BMC ka paani nahi aata. Yahan se 1-1.5 km distance par BMC ka paani hai. Sirf ye basti pe BMC ka paani nahi dete, bahar basti me milta he BMC ka paani. Yahan total 14 community hai usme se sirf 2 community me BMC ka paani hai or ye central government ka land hai. #02:52#

E: The water here is provided only by private players. The BMC doesn't provide water here. People who are selling water here are doing it with the BMC's permission and that is why we can't even complain. This is a private land which belongs to the BPT and that is why the BMC doesn't provide water here. There is municipal water supply 1 to 1.5 kilometres away from here. It is only this area where BMC doesn't supply water. The slums outside get BMC water. There are in total 14 communities here but only two are getting water from the BMC. This is a central government land. #02:52#

5 I: Jo 2 community hai uska land bhi central government ka hai?

I: Are these two communities also on central government land?

6 E: No, wo bhi private jagah he jaise hamara hai. #03:11#

E: They are also on private land. #03:11#

7 I: Fir unhe kyun BMC ka paani mil raha hai and aapko kyun nahi?

I: Then why is the BMC providing water to them and not to you?

8 E: Un logon ne paani ke liye morcha nikala. Paani samiti ke through complaint dala. Toh waha ke jo politician hai wo paani laane me success huye. Aur aise karke unhone 2 communities main BMC paani laya, aur ab vo Water bill bhi bharte hain. #03:54#

E: They protested for water, filed a complain with Pani Haq Samiti's help and the politicians there were successful in getting water supply to those two areas. They are paying water bills as well. #03:54#

9 I: Vo 2 community ka society/ housing society or politician kaisa hai?

I: How is the housing society or the politicians of that area?

10 E: Unka community ka society bahot mazboot hai aur vo politician wahi ka tha. Abhi nahi he, abhi basti chod ke gaya. #04:44#

E: Their community leader is very strong and even he was from the same society. Now he isn't there. He has shifted somewhere else. #04:44#

11 I: Vo community ka leader kaise bana?

I: How did he become the community leader?

12 E: Yahan pe development ke liye ek election hota hai and tabhi usse logo ne support kiya and he won. Aur vo election sabhi jagah ke liye hota hai yaha pe bhi hua tha and yaha pe bhi ek politician jita but kaam sirf ussi community wale politician ne kiya. Aur waha ke community me fight karne wale log jyada the, or ussi wajah se unhone government se fight kiya aur BMC ka water supply pass karwa liya. Yaha pe 14 out of 12 community aise hain jahan more than 35 percent people rent pe hain and yaha saare religions waale people hain like, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, etc.. Toh koi saath me aane ko mana karte hai aur inme unity nahi hai aur har koi ek dusare ko bolta hai ki tu Congress party ka hai ya tu MNS party ka hai ya Shive sena party ka hai etc. #06:44#

E: There are elections for choosing the leader for development here and he had won. This election takes places in every area. The election took place here as well and we also had a representative. But only the leader (c: refers to the same politician mentioned above) of that society worked. Also there were more people in these communities who fought against the government and the BMC and got the water in their locality.

In the twelve societies here most of the residents are living on rent. Also they are of different religions like Hindu, Muslim, Christians etc.. So that is why they don't come together for a cause. They keep blaming each other for being from Congress or MNS or Shiv Sena.⁷² #06:44#

13 I: Vo 2 community ke log kaise hai?

I: How are the people in those two communities?

14 E: Wahan ke community me bhi sab religions ke log hain but waha ka jo politician tha vo bahot strong tha. Usne sabko sath pakad ke rakha aur sath me unhone water supply ke against fight kiya tabhi to BMC ne waha pe water supply diya. #07:08#

E: They also believe in different religions, but their leader was strong enough to unite them and encourage them to fight for water. They fought together for water and that is why the BMC had to give them the water supply. #07:08#

⁷² Different political parties.

15 I: Uss 2 community me bhi people rent pe rehte hai?

I: Are there people living on rent in those two communities as well?

16 E: Ha but compare yah se waha pe kam log hain jo rent pe rehte hain. #07:35#

E: Yes, but as compared to here, there are less people living on rent in those two societies. #07:35#

17 I: Waha pe jo rehte hain wo uss place ke owner hai issiliye unhone fight kiya?

I: The people living there (c: in those two communities) fought because they are the owners?

18 E: Nahi ye sari land BPT ki hai. Jaise hum yaha ghar banake reh rahe hain vo bhi wahan pe waise hi reh rahe hain. Vo community F South ward me aata hai and hum E ward me. Iss E ward me bahot sare politician hain aur yahan pe political illegal activity bhi bahot hota hai. Koi kissi politician ke sath toh koi aur politician ke sath issiliye yaha pe unity nahi hai.

Beech main hum sab logo ne decide kiya tha ki water supply ke liye hum morcha nikalenge or koi kisi politician ke pass nahi jayega aur humne morcha nikala. Jab BMC gaye tab dekha ki sare politician flags dikh rahe the. Hamara updeshya kya tha ki hum koi bhi party ka banner, poster ya flag used nahi karenge. #09:07#

E: No, this entire land on which we've constructed our houses is owned by the BPT and the people of the two communities live the same way. Those communities are in F South Ward and we are in E. In E-Ward there are many politicians and there are many illegal activities that takes place. Different people follow different leaders and that is why there is no unity here.

Once we decided to do a rally for water and not to include politicians. We did the rally and when we reached the BMC, we saw that all the politicians were showing flags and party banners. Though we had decided that no political posters or flags would be used. #09:07#

19 I: Uss 2 community ke log jyada kyu ladna chahte the?

I: Why did the people of those two communities fight?

20 E: Kyun wahan pe ek aisa person tha jo bahot purana hai or tabhi waha pe sirf 55 house the bhi wo 500-1,000 ho chuke hai. Uss time bhi vo Delhi me jaake ladta tha ki mujhe ghar chahiye. Tab waha ke koi politician aate the hamari query sunne ko tab hum uss ko bolte the ki hume BMC ka water supply karo aur jab koi vote mangne aata tha tab wo log bolte the ki hamara BMC ka water supply chalu karo tabhi hum vote denge. #09:48#

E: Because there was a person who was living there for a long time when there were just 55 houses and it went up to 500 and to 1,000 houses. That time as well, he used to go to Delhi and fight for the need of a house!

So some politicians used to come to listen to our queries and we used to ask them to help us in getting municipal water supply. And when someone used to go there to ask for votes they used to say: "give us BMC water supply and then we will vote." #09:48#

21 I: Uss community ka jo politician he wo piche se hi lad rahe hai?

I: Has that politician from that community been fighting for a long time?

22 E: Koi bhi election me aate hai, mujhe vote do. Vote do bolte hain to ye log pehle hame water supply do bolte hai. #10:08#

E: Whenever someone comes to ask for votes, the people tell them to get them water first. #10:08#

23 I: Ye jo 2 community hai wo baaki community se alag kyu hai?

I: Why are these two communities different from the others?

24 E: Because baaki community me sab alag alag political party ko leke baithe hain aur unity na hone ki wajah se ye sab ho raha hai. Uss community me ek Buddha aadmi hai wahan pe sirf unka hi sunnte hai. Waha pe political party koi bhi hone do but unka fight karne ka power strong tha. Koi bhi decision unko puche bagair nahi leta tha, ussike wajah se udhar success ho gaya. #11:29#

E: The other the communities, everyone follows different political parties and all this is happening because there is no unity. In the one community, there is an old man and everyone listens to him. It doesn't matter which political party is in power there, they fight and no decision is taken without consulting that old man. And that is why they were successful. #11:29#

25 I: Abhi aap Kaise paani manage kar rahe hain?

I: How are you managing through this water crisis?

26 E: Paani ka bahar ek drum mein rakha hua hai. Vo log hame 60 Rupees me ek drum paani dete hain. Usse hum apne ghar ke bahar laake rakh dete hai. Fir hume jaise-jaise paani chahiye hota hai waise waise hum ek chote bucket me bharke ghar leke aate hai. #12:51#

E: We've a 200 litre drum outside for which I pay 60 Rupees. We keep it outside our house and when we need water, we take it out with buckets. #12:51#

27 I: Ye Peene ke liye paani hai?

I: Is this water for drinking?

28 E: Sare kamo ke liye hum yahi paani use karte hain. Bus peene ke time hum isse cloth se filter karte hai. #13:08#

E: We use this water for everything. Before we drink the water we filter it with a cloth. #13:08#

29 I: Aapko ye paani peene ko sahi lagta hai?

I: Do you like this drinking water?

30 E: Aacha nahi hai but hum bhi kya kare? Hum bisleri kaha se leke aye. Ek ke ghar mein ek hi person kamane wala hai. Hamare bhi ghar mein sare log kaam nahi karte. #13:32#

E: It's not good, but what can we do? From where would we get Bisleri⁷³. In most of the houses there is only one earning member. Even in my family not everyone works. #13:32#

31 I: To isse bimar koi nahi hota?

I: So aren't people falling ill from this?

32 E: Bimar toh hote hain but medicine bhi lete hain. Ab bisleri ka 20 litre ka bottle yaha 90 Rupees me hai or usme bhi agar koi usse leke aayega to usse 10 Rupees as a tip dena padta hai. #13:44#

E: People are falling ill and take medicines too.

20 liters of Bisleri is for 90 Rupees and on top of that if someone is getting it delivered here they have to pay another ten Rupees as a tip. #13:44#

33 I: To aap paani ko boil karke drink kar sakte ho.

I: So you could boil the water and then drink it.

34 E: Boil karne ke liye bhi kerosene ya gas hona chahiye na! Toh issiliye hum cotton cloth ke help se paani ko filter karte hai. Kerosene 1 litre 70-80 Rupees hai. Ek din kar sakte hain, do din kar sakte hai, full month kaise karenge?

BMC mein meri ek friend hai wo mujhe water purification tablet deti hai aur usse me beech-beech mein paani ke andar dalti hun. Kabhi-kabhi hum 2 din bath nahi lete hai. Mein yaha se clothes leke jaati hun aur ground me nahati hun, waha pe paani hai. #16:15#

E: To boil water we need kerosene or gas! And that is why we use cotton cloth to filter the water. One litre of kerosene is for around 70 to 80 Rupees. We can do it for one day, two days but how can we do it for an entire month?

One of my friend who works in the BMC has given me water purification tablets and I use it regularly.

Sometimes we don't bath for two days in a row. I take my clothes and go to the playing ground⁷⁴ to take a bath as there is water there. #16:15#

35 I: Vo 2 community ka paani hai wo aapko kyu nahi milta?

I: Why don't you get the water from those two communities?

36 E: Yaha se wo bahot Door hai. 1 to 1.5 km.

Mera bachpana yahi pe gaya tabhi bhale paani well se nikalna padta tha aur ye line me 5 well tha or wo line me 3 well tha. Aur yahan basti mein well system thi or vo drinking ke liye aacha water tha. #17:17#

E: It's far. It's around 1 to 1.5 kilometres.

⁷³ Mineral water brand in India.

⁷⁴ The interviewee is currently employed by Magic Bus, a CBO that offers sport activities in Kaula Bunder. They have a playing ground and a wash room.

I have spent my childhood here. That time there were wells and we had to get water from them. There were five wells in this line and three in the other one. There was a well system in this slum and even the water was good for drinking. #17:17#

37 I: Abhi vo well kaha chala gaya?

I: Why are those wells gone now?

38 E: Jaise-jaise awareness badta gaya. Pehle yahan pe illegal activity bahot hota tha like fighting, Rape case. Meine bachpan me yaha ye sab bahot dekha. Tabhi log paani kabhi bhi leke jate the, jitna chahiye utna leke jao. Night me leke jao, koi bhi time pe jao well bhara hua rahega. Aur paani itna aacha mitha tha or itna pure ki uske samne bisleri water bhi fail tha. Wo bhi nul ka paani tha jo jameen ke niche se aata tha aur thanda-thanda lagta tha. Dhire-dhire kya ho gaya yaha pe log badne lage, political party aane lagi to unhone usme motor lagana start kiya. Fir vo paani khichke apne ghar bharne laga. Fir apne aju-baju logon ko dene laga aur itna dur jaake lane se aacha agar gharke pass hi paani mil raha hai aur monthly 20 Rupees, 50 Rupees, 100 Rupees me paani mil raha hai toh logo ne kya kiya well me jana chodke wahi pe paani khardne lage. Toh dhire-dhire jiske pass paisa jyada he vo motor khareed sakta hai usne usne motor lagana chalu kiya aur paani ko khichte chalye gaye aur issi tarah se paani well se kam hote gaya. Fir 1 well band hua, fir 2nd well band hua, fir 3rd well band hua aisa karte karte sare well band hue. Aur jo well ki jagah thi waha pe sare political leader ke offices ban gaye. Pehle kitna aacha tha log waha well ke pass jaake paani leke aate the tabhi kisi ko paise dene nahi padte the. Jab paise deke bharne lag gaye tab vo log bhi lazy ban gaye. Itna lamba jaa nahi sakte so issi tarah kaam ho gaya. Pehle paani ke waja se log kaam pe nahi jaate the ab kaam pe bhi jaane lage because ghar ke bahar hi paani milne laga hai. Dhire-dhire log paani ke wajah se kaam pe jaane lage, unhe aacha lagne laga aur ab paise bhi gharpe aane lage. Lekin jo unko choti si khushi mila na wohi unko bada dukh diya. Pehle paani ke wajah se log time pe kaam pe pohoch nahi sakte the toh baccho ko naya kapda kaha se aayge unka school ka kharcha aur tabhi ek din chodke ek din chutti marna hi padta tha paani ke liye. Aur aaj-kal job se bhi nikal dete hai. Kaam karne wale ke ghar me aisahi hota he. Paani ke liye weekly 2-3 days chutti marna padta tha. #24:13#

E: Earlier, a lot of illegal activities used to take place over here, like fights or rape. I've seen a lot during my childhood. That time people used to take water anytime (c: from wells), as much as they wanted, day or night. Anytime you could go and take water from the well. And the water was so good and pure that it was even better than Bisleri. The tap water was also ground water and quite cold.

What happened is that slowly more and more people started coming here. Political parties started coming here and they started installing motors. Then they started using the motors to store water in their homes and started selling it to people. People began to use this service because it was convenient. They didn't have to go far to get water and they were getting it near their homes for a monthly cost of 20 Rupees, 50 Rupees, 100 Rupees. As they were getting water at their homes, they stopped going to the wells. Slowly whoever had money, started doing this business. They kept using the wells until they ran dry. The 1st well went dry, then the second, then the 3rd and like this all of them went dry.

And where there were wells, these political leaders built their offices. Earlier it was so good. People used to go to the well and get water and no one had to pay. When people started getting

water for money they became lazy. They didn't wanted to go far to get water and it started working like this.

Earlier people didn't go to work because of water and later they started going to work because they were getting water at their homes. They started going to work and started liking this services as because of this they were able to work and earn money. But the sad part is that the small pleasures led to the bigger sorrows. Earlier because of water people couldn't reach at work on time and used to get worried about their childrens' clothes, or education. At that time they had to take leaves on alternate days for water and nowadays they are getting fired from work. This is what happens to the working class segment. They have to take leaves every two to three days to get water. #24:13#

39 I: Logon ka naukri bhi chala jaa raha hai iske liye?

I: Are people loosing their jobs because of this issue?

40 E: Ghar kaam karne wali aur hai. Kitne baar hum meeting lete hain toh bolte ki didi usne kaam se nikaal diya. Ek din usse kaam pe se nikal diya, uss din paani bharne ko gayi paani nahi mila socha aaj bhar lungi so aaj me kaam pe nahi gayi or phone karke bola to wo bolne lage ki kal se kaam pe mat aa. Toh me paani bharu ki kaam pe jaun! #24:51#

E: Mostly it's the house maids who are loosing their jobs. So many times it happens that we have meetings and they tell us that they got fired. Recently a woman said that since there was no water for the past few days: "I thought today I will get water. So I called my employer to tell that I will not be coming today, so she he told me not to come to work anymore. What should I do? Get water or work?" #24:51#

41 I: Ye paani ka jo issue hai vo bacche pe kis prakar effect kar raha hai?

I: What kind of effects is this problem having on the children?

42 E: Bacche log ki to dangerous condition hai. Hamare ghar pe naa mein jyada paani piti hun naa mere husband. Sabse jyada bacche zid karte hain aacha khana nahi milta, saf safai ka chees na kapda aacha nahi milta to usike wajah se wo bahot sare diseases me pade hain. Malaria, Dengue, Diarrhea, bahot sare bimari ke shikar. School me 30 days ka attendance hai lekin usme se 15-20 days hi ye school jata hai because hamesha bimar kabhi fever aa gaya to kabhi sardi-khasi, ya fir kabhi mummy bimar hai leke jaa nahi sakti school ya kabhi dady bimar he. Mumy daddy kaam pe jaa nahi sakte to bacche ko bhi leke jane wala koi nahi rehta. Bacche log ke life me bahot sare difficult aati hai. Abhi aap hi dekh rahe ho mitti kitna aa raha hai, isme bacche khelte hai aur issi mein se jaake wo dono bina haanth wash kiye khana khate hai aur iss kaaran wo bimar bhi padte hai. #26:56#

E: Children are in a really dangerous situation. In my house neither I nor my husband drink much water. Mostly the children complain that they don't get good food, that it's dirty, and that they have no clean clothes. And because of that they get many diseases like malaria, dengue, and diarrhorea.

There's a 30 day count in school attendance but out of that there is only 15 to 20 days of presence because they are usually ill with fever, cold, and cough. Sometimes the parent s are ill

and since they can't go to work either, there is no one to take the children to school. There are a lot of difficulties in childrens' life.

You can see how much dust is here, children play in it and they eat without washing hands and fall ill. #26:56#

43 I: Buddhe jo log hain unka kya haal hai?

I: What is the situation for older people?

44 E: Asthma, fever, jyada karke yaha pe asthma ka patient jyada hain. Umar wale ho jaate hain, vo log chal bhi nahi paate. Unko saans ka takleef hota hai zaada mitti kar k hai us wajah se. vo log bhi safe nahi jee paate hain. #27:47#

E: Asthma, fever. Most of the patients have asthma. These old people can't even walk properly because of asthma and it happens mostly due to the dust. #27:47#

45 I: To aap daily kaise manage kar rahe ho?

I: So how are you managing the situation on daily basis?

46 E: Meri life bahot struggle hai. Mera duty ka time hai 7:30 am ka jab me duty pe jane ka adha rukne ka na to night me 2 baje hum log sote hain. Paani sab manage karke fir 2 baje sote hai fir wake-up hota hai accurate 6 baje ya 5:30 ko. Agar bahot pain hota hai to 6 ya fir 6:30am uth jaate hai. Mein toh 5:30am ko uthati hi hu, fir uthake khana banana ye sab kaam karke fir me chali jaati hum. Waise bhi ghar pe sabko bol ke rakha hai ki ek din chodke bath lene ka, agar daily nahana hai to khud ko paani lana padega. Toh daily kapde wash kar nahi paati to 2 days mein ek baar ya 3 days mein ek baar raise daily ke daily paani nahi milta hai na. Agar me paani daily leke aaun to mujhe kaam pe nahi jana padega aur 120 Rupees paani ka 2 drum leke aayega to 1 day to hame 2 drum paani pura lagta hai. Sab log nahate hai, sab log kapda dhoyega to 2 drum paani pura lagta hai. 400-500 litre paani to jayega hi fir vo paani lane ke liye hame job chodke baithna padega. Abhi last Wednesday aur last to last Wednesday me apni manager se boli ki aaj paani aane wala hai mujhe please chutti de do. Toh iss tarah jabhi bhi paani aata hai to me apne office me bolti hun ki aage chutti chahiye. #29:34#

E: I'm struggling a lot in my life. My duty starts at 7:30am. We usually sleep at 2am after getting water, and get up again at 5:30am or 6am. When I feel too much of pain, I get up at 6 or 6:30am, but I usually get up at 5:30am. Then I cook and finish all the other work before leaving.

We've told everyone at home to take a bath on alternate days. If you want to bath every day then you should get the water yourself. I can't even wash clothes everyday so I wash them every two to three days as we don't get water everyday.

I can't go to work if I've to get water every day.

If we get two drums of water for 120 Rupees, it will be consumed completely as everyone will bath and wash clothes.

Last Wednesday I told my manager that I've to get water and therefore won't be coming to office. I've to do it whenever there's a situation like this. #29:34#

47 I: Tum kitne log ho?

I: How many people are living in your family?

48 E: Hum 6 log hain, including mere 4 bacche. Ek ki toh shadi ho gayi. Vo yahi pe baaju me rehti hain, vo log bhi yaha pe aate jaate rehte hain. One of my daughter went to Houston USA for Magic Bus. #30:40#

E: I've four children. The eldest daughter is married. She lives nearby and keeps visiting often. She went to Houston in the USA because of Magicbus. #30:40

49 I: App abhi life me struggle kar rahe hain, aapke jo baache hain unko kaise itna aacha life mila? kya secrete hai iske piche?

I: You've struggled a lot in your life, but your children have a good life. What is the secret behind it?

50 E: Mera bachpan to yahi se gaya hain. Mein chahti hun ki mere bacche log issiliye me yahi bolke padhati hun ki wo log ki life to aache se jiye aacha hain issiliye wo logo ko abhi se prepare karwa rahi hu ki wo log kamake dusre kahi aacha jagah pe ghar leke chala jaaye. Meri life to aisa hi gayi, paani struggle and etc., lekin wo log ka life aacha ho. Toh isme badi wali ladki ka jab shadi hua na tab mene usko Jui nagar me half-half price me usko ghar leke diya. Jaise half paisa mera or half paisa unka. Hum log me kaisa hain ki ladki wale dahej dete hai na jab ladki ki shadi hoti hain. Lekin ladka dahej manga nahi vo bola ki nahi cahiye to ladki mujhe boli ki mummy mughe ek chota ghar de de. Toh mene uske naam pe thoda paisa rakha tha. Meri badi wali ladki ko dust ka allergy hain. Durst aayega na toh body pe scratch karte baithegi. Toh vo log bhi half paisa diya hum half paisa diya to usne bahar ghar le liya. Kum se kum vo to aacha chali jayegi. Mere jo bacche log hain hum log ka toh daily fighting hota hain, kisika T-shirt wash kiya nahi hoga to kisi ka pant wash kiya nahi hoga, to daily bacche chillake bolte hain mummy ye wash nahi kiya mummy ye wash nahi kiya, mummy wo nahi kiya. Mera husband toh aacha hain. Pehle toh me bhi unka cloth wash karti thi, abhi wo kya karte hain pura kapda carry karke leke jaate hain, waha hamara company hain waha pe ek drum purchase kar ke lenge or wahi kapde wash karenge to ab unke kapde ka to mughe tension nahi abhi. Abhi toh sirf bacche logo ke kapde ki liye hi mujhe tension hota hain, usme bhi bahar jana hua to kapda dhone ke liye time jaata hain. #34:42#

E: My childhood was like this but I didn't want the same for my children and that's why I got them educated so they can live their life nicely. I got them prepared early so they earn well and settle somewhere else. My life is like this with all the struggle for water etc., but their life should be good. When my eldest daughter got married I got her a house in Juhu Nagar. What happens in our society is that the bride's side pays dowry to the groom's side but because my son-in-law didn't ask for dowry my daughter asked me for a small house. I had some savings for her, so I paid half. My daughter is allergic to dust. When she asked for a house, us and the groom's side split the cost and bought it. Now at least she is living in a better situation.

My other children keep fighting with me everyday because their T-shirts are not clean. They fight all the time, that 'mom you haven't done this or that'. Earlier I used to wash my husband's clothes as well but now he takes it to the company and buys a drum and washes the clothes. Now I'm not worried for his clothes, now I just wash my childrens' clothes. #34:42#

51 I: Aapke ladki ke bacche kya?

I: Your daughter's childrens?

52 E: Nahi ye toh mere bache ke bare me bata rahi hun girl and boy. 2 boy and 1 girl hain na abhi. Vo log ke sath to hamesha hota hain mera T-shirt wash nahi kiya, mera pant wash nahi kiya. Paani nahi rehta aur vo log bhi wash kar nahi paate. Vo log bolte hain ki hum wash karenge hamara kapda but mein unhe iss liye nahi deti ki wo log ek dress ke liye 4 bucket water waste karate hain, aur mein vo 4 bucket me 4 jodi kapda wash kar sakti hu. Toh iske liye vo hota hain kya 1 jodi kapde ke liye 4 bucket water use karte hain aur mein usme itna sara kapda wash kar sakti hu. #35:08#

E: No, I was telling you about my children. I still have two boys and a daughter.

It always happens that they complain that their T-shirt or pants are not washed. There is no water at times, so even they couldn't wash it too. They insist on washing their own clothes but I don't let them as they will use four buckets of water for one dress and I wash four pair of clothes in those four buckets. So I feel why to use four bucket of water to wash one piece of cloth, when I can wash a lot more with the same amount of water. #35:08#

53 I: To aap daily kapde wash karte ho kya?

I: So do you wash clothes on daily basis?

54 E: Nahi 1 din chodke. Every alternate day. Wahi boli ki 2 baj jaate hai night mein sone ko. 2 baje soke morning me jaldi uthna padta hain. Aur washing machine bhi hai but usme paani jyada chahiye mujhe aur ab to ye washing machine bhi kharab ho gaya hain. Usme paani jyada lagta tha toh issiliye usme bhi nahi wash kar sakti. Toh uske liye me hath se wash karna pasand karti hun. #36:28#

E: No, I wash them on alternate days. I told you that I sleep at two in the morning and then get up early. We have a washing machine but it consumes a lot of water and now even the washing machine isn't working. But the machine consumes a lot of water water and therefore I can't use it and wash the clothes by hand instead. #36:28#

55 I: To aapko kya lagta hain ki ye situation kaise badlega?

I: So how do you think the situation can be changed?

56 E: Bahar ke log aake to nahi badlenge. Jaise bahar se koi aake jise badalna hain wo badal sakta hain, jaise hum log fight kar rahe hain paani samiti ke sath jude. Abhi pehle kya hua tha yaha pe jaake local leader ko pakadte the, please sir hamari help karo, aap hume water de do to wo bolega this year mughe vote do mein tumhe pani deta hu. Aisa hi mein bachpan se dekhte aa rahi hun. Every year yaha pe ek khadda khoda jayega usme pipe lagaya jayega aur jab voting aate-aate paani aane ka jaisa bolega tab bolge ki mujhe jita do mein tumhe paani dunga. Aur pipe dalke ready rahega aur vo haar jayega to wo aisa hi rahega. Fir next year koi aur aayega fir hum unhe bolenge ki sir please hame paani de do fir vo aake baat karega hume vote do mein tumhe paani dunga fir wo pipe dalega fir wo bhi haar gaya to wo bhi chala jayega. #37:40#

E: Outsiders will not change the situation here. I mean outsiders who are willing to help and change the situation will do, like we're fighting along side PHS. Earlier we used to go to the local leader and him to help us and get us water here. And then he would say: "vote for me and I will get you water." I'm experiencing this since I was a child. Every year they will dig a hole here and lay pipelines when the elections come closer, and they will ask for vote and they will keep everything ready before the elections. But if they lose, they leave it like that and nothing happens. The year after someone else will come, then we ask them to help us and to get us water and they will lose and they will go without doing anything. #37:40#

57 I: Kitne years hog aye ki tum sun rahe ho ki paani aayega?

I: For how many years are you listening that water will be provided?

58 E: Bachpan se, 42 years se. #38:55#

E: Since I was a child, I'm listening to this commitment for last 42 years. #38:55#

59 I: How can this be changed?

60 E: Wo time pe me sochti thi ki paani ye log leke aayenge toh mein bhi unke sath kaam karti thi. Un logo ke liye vote mangti thi, sab karti thi. Jab me bhi rajniti mein chali gayi thi tab me bhi political taluka president thi. Kyunki yaha pe paani lana hain na, to hum logo ko ticket bhi mila election main khada rehne k liye. Mein khadi hoti to mujhe jeetna hi tha. Toh mere husband ne mana kiya ki tu social field me jitna kaam karti hain utna tu politics me rehke nahi kar payegi aur sach mein nahi kar pati thi kyunki mujh par itna saara pressure tha. Iske liye mein election me gayi. Ye election ladne ka taaki me jeet jaun aur pure community mein paani, bathroom, school chalu kar paun, aisa mere maan me tha. #39:57#

E: That time I used to think that these people will get water here and I used to work with them. I used to ask others to vote for the leaders I believed in. When I joined politics I became the president of the Taluka because the objective was to get water here. I also got a ticket to compete in the elections but my husband said that the amount of work I do in the social sector, I won't be able to do it anymore if I'd be in politics and honestly I couldn't have done it as I was under so much pressure. I wanted to compete in the election, and fought so I can get water for the community and start schools. It was my desire. #39:57#

61 I: To ye kyun nahi hua?

I: Then why it didn't happen?

62 E: Kyun ki mujhe ghar se allowed nahi aur jo situation mene dekha na, agar me one time political leader banungi sirf 5 years ke liye, agar me paani ka pipe dalke ke success bhi kar dun fir next time koi or leader aayega fir vo band kar dega. Toh iska main jad kidhar hain usse search karna hain. #40:25#

E: My family didn't allow me and if I had won it and if I would've succeeded to get water to this area, after the next election someone else would have come and shut it down. So I wanted to find the root cause of this issue. #40:25#

63 I: To kya lagta hain aapko ki problem kidhar hain?

I: So what is the root cause of the problem?

64 E: Problem yahi hain ki mujhe jitna study karne ke baad pata chala ki yaha pe paani lana bahot easy hain. Lekin ye kuch andar ke logo ke haath me uska jaadh pakda hua hain. Abhi jitna humne study kiya aur humne government ke sath letter head kiya, signature campaign kiya, hume paani nahi, commissioner office me gaye hamara bunch jama kiya. Sab kuch kame ke baad abhi pura study kiya, study karne ke baad aisa lag raha hain ki ye yaha pe paani lane ke liye kisi ke to hath me hain. Wo isse chodh nahi raha hain. Baaki kyunki ye jo public hain inhe aap paise pe ghuma sakte ho. Paani ka study karte-karte itna malum hua ki baaki jagah bhi BMC ka paani hai, toh main BMC ke office me gayi letter leke ek sath gayi thi ki hame paani do. Toh unhone bola ki jao electricity bill leke aao, ration card leke aao or 6,000 Rupees me aapka paani pass ho jayega. Mein bahot khush hui lekin wo gayi to officer bola ki ye F-Ward hain toh unhone bola ki aap E-Ward me jao, main E-Ward me gayi to E-Ward wala bolta hain ki (#43:07– 43:12#?). #43:12#

E: After studying the problem, I realized that getting water here is easy, but there are a few people here who are holding it back. Whatever study we did or we coordinated with the government, we did a signature campaign, we went to the BMC commissioner's office and we got everyone together. After studying everything in detail, I feel that it is in someone's hand and he isn't letting it happen, because they can manipulate people with money.

There is municipal water in other areas, so I went to the BMC office with a letter and asked them to give us water. They asked me to get my electricity bill, ration card and 6,000 Rupees and I will get water. I was happy but when I went to them with my documents and money the officer told me that this is F-Ward and I must go to the E-Ward officer. (#43:07 – 43:12#?) #43:12#

65 I: Toh ye government ka problem hain?

I: So this is a government problem?

66 E: Government kaun chalata hain? (d: laughs) #43:21#

E: Who is running the government? (d: laughs) #43:21#

67 I: Toh water committee isme kya kar sakti hain?

I: So what is it the water committee can do?

68 E: Wo log kuch nahi kar sakte jaha tak hame malum hain. Pehle hum log lad rahe the aage ke liye, sirf political leader ke pass jaate the paani ke liye, hume lagta tha ki wahi hamara dost hain aur wahi laake hame paani dega. Lekin hume malum nahi tha ki hamare haqq ke liye hum fight kar sakte hain, hum BMC si jaa sakte the, mantralay jaa sakte the, E-Ward jaa sakte the, hume pata nahi tha. Aur Water committee ne aware kiya hume basti ke logo ko aware kiya ki tum tumare haqq hai tum hi lado koi tumhe upper se aake dalega nahi. Hum log ko lagta tha ki pehle politics leader hi karega lekin abhi hume aisa lag raha hai ki wo kuch nahi kar payega. Hum political leader ko hi god mante the, wahi hume pani dega. But abhi unko lagta hain ki hum abhi khud ke liye fight kar sakte hain. #45:28#

E: They can't do anything. Earlier we used to go to the political leaders to get us water and fight for us. We thought that they are our friends and they are someone who can get us water. But we didn't know that we can fight for our rights ourselves! We can go to the BMC,

we can go to the ministry, and we can go to the E-Ward. We didn't know that. PHS made us aware that the residents of the slums have to fight for themselves and for their rights. No one will come and get us our rights. We thought of the political leaders as gods, but now we realize that we can get it done on our own. We can fight this on our own. #45:28#

69 I: Kaise fight kar sakte hain?

I: How would you like to fight?

70 E: Jaise morcha leke gaye the commissioner office tak hamara complaint gaya. Pehle unhe pata nahi tha ki itne log sath me aa jayenge. Hum pehle kya karte the Paani ka bucket leke police chowki ke wahan jaake road block karte the, tabhi koi political leader aata tha aur bolta tha ki haan-haan abhi aapko paani mill jayega. Next week me aapko 15 ghar me ek water tap mil jayega aisa bolke wo chale jaate the. Hum log sab clap karte the aur bahot khush hote the ki abhi 15 ghar me ke water tap aayega fir return aate the. Fir vo dusara 5 years me chala jata, water tap nahi aata. Fir hum morcha leke jaate fir koi dusra politican leader aata tha fir wo tassali deta tha ki 'aap tension mat lo, aapke liye hum fight karenge' aisa bolke wo bhi chala jaata. Har koi aata hain yahi sab bolta hain or 'Ta-Ta bye bye karke chala jaata hain. Lekin abhi kuch logo ke andar itna toh pata chala ki ye log kuch nahi kar sakte. Kuch karna hain toh hume hi karna hain. Public abhi aware ho gayi hain ki mann jo baat hain kisi dusare ko bata sakte hain ab confidence aa gaya hain. Abhi unke haqq ke liye wo log municipal tak jaa sakte hain. Jaise abhi follow-up ho raha hain, humse 500 logo ke signature ka bunch diya Mantrayal me, waha se BMC office, BMC walo ne fir mantralay bheja, fir mantralay se fir BMC office, aise ghum ghum ke worli me jake paper atak gaye hain. BMC office me jaise humne signature campaign kiya, uska bunch leke gaye, hum logo ko water nahi hain please hame help karo usme aisa likha tha aur hamari ghar ki condition aur usme ke poster tha ki hum ek din paani ke liye kitna tadap rahe hain. Wo sab poster banake aur letter likhake humne sign karke (500-1,000 logo ka signature kiya) Women day 8th march uss din commissioner office mein submit kiya. Uske pehle hum morcha leke gaye at Azad maidan 22nd March ko tabhi international water day tha tabhi 2,000 log the hamare sath. #48:55#

E: When we did a protest rally, our complaint went to the commissioner's office. Initially, they didn't realize that so many people would come together. What we used to do earlier was to take the water buckets and to block the roads in front of the police station. Then some political leader used to come and tell us that we will get water. "Next week you will get one tap on every 15 houses." And they used to leave after saying this. We used to clap with joy and used to get so happy that we will get water in every 15th house and used to go back home. But he left after five years and there were no taps, then again we used to do a protest rally. Then some other politician used to come and console us. "Don't worry, we are fighting for you." And then they used to leave. Everyone comes, said the same thing and left. But now we got to know through some internal sources that these people can't do anything. If there is anything to be done, it has to be done by us. People are also getting aware. We are confident and can share our thoughts with each others. Now for their rights, people are directly going to the Muncipal Corporation. Like recently we did a signature campaign with 500 people and sent the bundle to the Ministry, from where it went to the BMC and then the BMC sent it back to the Ministry. It went through a loop like that before getting stucked in Worli.

In the signature campaign we did we stated that we're not getting water and asked the BMC to help us. It was written like that. There was a poster as well with the condition of our houses and the kind of struggle we have to go through for water. We created posters and wrote the message and got it signed by 500 to 1,000 people. We submitted it in commissioner's office on 8th of March on women day. Then we went on a protest at Azad maidan on 22nd of March on water day. Around 2,000 people participated in it. #48:55#

71 I: Abhi vo paper kaha pe atak gaya hain?

I: Where are those papers stucked now?

72 E: Worli office me. #49:51#

E: In the office in Worli. #49:51#

73 I: Kitna time hua paper stuck huye?

I: How long have they been stucked there?

74 E: 8th March ko diya tha, tabhi se hum follow-up hi kar rahe hain. #50:09#

E: We had submitted them on 8th march. Since then we are following up. #50:09#

75 I: Abhi ka kya plan hain? Firse morcha nikalna hain kya?

I: What is the plan now? Another rally?

76 E: Morcha nikal ke ho gaya na abhi aisa lagta hain ki morcha se kuch nahi hone wala hain. Lekin abhi aisa malum pad raha hain ki ek baar iss follow-up ka end malum pad jayege jo humne signature karke jo paper ka bunch bheja hain uska abhi tak government ne hame koi replay nahi diya uska reply malum padne ke baad ek aur morcha nikalenge aur vo morcha aisa hoga ki ussme sab kuch finalise hona chahiye. Wo log bol rahe hain ki Bombay port trust land unka hai BMC issiliye paani de nahi rahi hain ki tum pehle ye ghar fix kar lo. Already ye ghar fix ho chuke hain, lekin paani basic need hain na, har ek fly karne wale birds, animal unka har ek logo ka jarurat paani hain. Tera place jab tak hain tab tak paani do na, jab hamara ghar tutega tab tumhara paani tum le lo. Toh ye hamari mang hain, last abhi ye folow-up ke baad karna hain. #51:47#

E: We've already done that and now it feels like nothing will happen. We are waiting for a response to our signature campaign. Once we will get to know the response then we will see if there is a need for another rally. But that protest should bring result and things must get finalized.

Those people are saying that this is the BPT's land and that is why the BMC is not providing water and that our houses do not belong to us. They said: "get the ownership of the house and then we will give you water." But this house is already fixed and water is a basic need. All the birds, animals, living creatures need water. Untill we are living here they should give us water at least. If or when our houses get demolished they can keep their water. So this is what we want. #51:47#

77 I: To aap log government ke replay ke liye wait kar rahe hain?

I: So now you're waiting for government's response?

78 E: Abhi hum log jaane wale hain 10 lady leke next week aur else next to next week. Diwali ke wajah se vo log holiday holiday bol rahe hain na toh Diwali ke baad hi jayenge. #52:16#

E: We are planning to go with ten women in the next week or the week after that. Authorities are on leave for Diwali, so we will go after that. #52:16#

79 I: Women Jyada active hain?

I: Are women more active?

80 E: Support karne ke liye ladies log jyada hain aur usme gents log bhi hain but vo log politics ke wajah se bande huye hain. Kabhi-kabhi ghar pe fight bhi ho jaati he ki kyu gayi thi tu waha pe aur jitney log paani sale kar rahe hain unko lagta hain ki mein unke opposite me hu. Lekin me unke against me nahi hun, mein against hun sarkar ke jo chori karne ke khule aam darwaja open kar diye hain. #53:58#

E: Women are more active when it comes to support a cause and men are more involved in politics.

Sometimes my husband fights with me aboutnwhy I went there! And people who are selling water feel that I'm against them. But I'm not against them. I'm against the government who is letting this happen. #53:58#

81 I: Husband sochta hain ke aap unke against ho ya political log?

I: Does your husband feels that you're against the people or do the political leaders feel like this?

82 E: Ladies log ko gents log bolte hain ki tum log kyu jaate hain unka. Mera opinion ye hain ki log paani jo sale karte hain na unko lagta hain ki mein unke against me hun. Mein unke against me nahi hu. Unke wajah se hume utna toh paani mil raha hain agar utna bhi nahi milta to. #55:01#

E: Men question us women that why we go there. My opinion is that, people who are selling water feel that I'm against them, but I'm not. It is because of them that we are getting at least some water. What would have happened without them? #55:01#

83 I: Jo log paani sale kar rahe hain vo log community ke andar hain?

I: People who are selling water are from within the community?

84 E: Community ke andar wale hi log hain. Lekin vo log sochte hain ki me unke against hu lekin me unke against me nahi hun. Mein government ke against me hun. Jo leagally hume paani chahiye. #55:24#

E: They are people from the community. They feel that I'm against them but I'm not against them. I'm against the government who should legally give us water. #55:24#

85 I: Aap Kisi se darte ho?

I: Are you afraid of someone?

86 E: Pehle darti thi ab Kisi se nahi darti. #56:47#

E: Initially I used to fear, but not anymore. #56:47#

87 I: Log aapko darate hain?

I: Do people try to scare you?

88 E: Paani wale log darate hain. #56:56#

E: People who are selling water try to scare me. #56:56#

89 I: Abhi bhi?

I: Still?

90 E: Abhi nahi. Actually vo paani wale logo ko kya lagta hain ki me unke against me hun aur vo logo ko mujhse darr hain kyunki me social field me hun. Unko lagta hain ki me unke bare me complaint karti hu, unke bare me likhti hun aisa unko lagta hain. Lekin mein government ke against me hun. Mein government ko bolti hun tum legally hume paani do hum pay karenge bill. Crime kaise hota hain jaise fighting, theft etc., uska jadh kon hain ye government, government agar hame legaly water provide karega toh ye log theft nahi karenge na. Wo log bhi aache field me chale jayenge, aacha kaam karenge. Toh uska jadh kya hain ki government humko chori karne ke liye door open kiya. #58:37#

E: Not now. Actually those people who are selling water feel that I'm against them and they are afraid of me as I'm from social sector. They fear that I will file a complaint against them or write against them. But I'm against the government. They should give us water legally and we will pay the bills.

All these crimes like theft and fighting are happening because of the government. If the government gives us water legally, these people who are stealing water wouldn't be able to do so and will start working in better fields, they will do honest work. But the government is keeping the doors open for crimes. #58:37#

91 I: Aapko kya lagta hain ki jo government aur community ke log hain isme common kya hain? Government community ke logo ke liye kuch karega?

I: What do you think is a commonality of the government and the people? Do you think that the government will do something for the society?

92 E: Government ka yaha pe koi common nahi hain. Na yaha pe school hain, na sanitization ke liye yaha koi facility hain, na koi kachra uthane ke liye contract base me abhi log aaye hain. Iske pehle koi nahi aaya 70 year old basti hain, yaha pe pehle koi facility nahi thi. Ek common hai ki yaha help ke liye log aate hain. Helath checkup ke liye, polio enjection ke liye, to ye dekhake kia yahan log raha hain ki yaha log aa rahe hain, bacche log ko medicine de rahe hain but ye sab upper-upper dawa dalne ka dekhava hain na. #59:58#

E: The government has done nothing here. There are no schools, no sanitation, no other facility, no one comes here to get the garbage. Now we have people on contract basis to come here to pick the garbage. Before this there were no facilities. This is a 70 years old slum and there are no facility. The only common thing is that they come here for health check-ups and polio drops. So we see that these people are coming here and provide medicines to infants but this feels very superficial. #59:58#

93 I: To abhi kyu aap fight kar rahe hain?

I: So why are you still fighting?

94 E: Me pehle se hi fight kar rahi hun. Bachpan se meri elder daughter jab mere pet me thi tabhi se maine fight karna start kiya tha. Tabhi mein education ke liye fight karti thi. Tabhi yahan pe paani tha. Fir education ho gaya fir mene health ke liye fight ki, fir health wale aa gaye, government yaha health provide kiya 1995 se yah aap kaam chalu ho gaya. Uske pehle 1993 se education ka kaam kiya. Me tabhi NGO ke pass jati thi ki hamare pass aao yaha baccho ko sikhaao to wo log bhi bhag jate the. Aisa bahot sara NGO aaya sabne dekha aur chala gaya, fir meri mom off hone ke baad me school nahi gayi tab mene socha ki 3rd, 4th and 5th standard ke logo ko sath me liya unko leke gayi hum sabko trained karne, hum padhayenge, to iss tarah education start hua. 40 balwadi tha mere under, study class non governmental education fir hum log direct bacche ko BMC me admission karwate the. Uss din se fight chalu hui hai aur abhi bhi fight kar rahe hain. Uss din education ke fight kiya fir health ke liye fight kiya wo jo maara-maari, bachche gambling karte the, chori karne wale bachche etc., fir mughe magic bus mila. Magic bus main saare gunde-gunde bachche sudhar jaate hain. Sports ke through, fir vo mila to mughe aur bhi aacha hua. #1:03:29#

E: I'm fighting from the beginning. When I was pregnant with my eldest daughter I started fighting. That time I used to fight for education, that time there was water here. After the education problem got solved, I started fighting for health. Then the health department came here and the government started working here for health in 1993. In 1993 it was for education. That time I used to go to the NGOs and ask them to come to our slums and teach children but they used to run away. A lot of NGOs came and they went after seeing the condition. I stopped my schooling after my mother passed away, I took the students of 3rd, 4th and 5th standard and asked them to teach. I had 40 kindergarten under me. We used to provide them with education and then get them admitted to the BMC schools. I'm fighting since then. That time it was for education, then health and then for the children who were turning into criminals. They used to fight, gamble, steal. Then I found Magic Bus where these children can be educated through sports and when I found it, I felt happier. #1:03:29#

95 I: Drugs ka bhi problem tha?

I: Is there a problem of drugs as well?

96 E: Sab tha. Toh mere bache sudhar gaye. Magic Bus aane se mere bachche sudhar gaye. Abhi me unke naukri ke liye kaam kar rahi hun. Jaise abhi vo job pe jane ke liye. #1:03:43#

E: Because of Magic Bus these kids who were turning into criminals got back on the right path. Now I'm fighting to get them a job. #1:03:43#

97 I: 40 log ka mein samja nahi?

I: I didn't understand the 40 people.

98 E: 40 Balwadi (Nursery, Jr. Kg, Sr. Kg etc.,) the mera. 40 jagah pe alag-alag ye chalu hua fir aage 7th standard tak school bhi chalu ho gaya. Ek balwadi me 40-50 students the. Fir mene Pratham naam ki ek NGO hain jo child labour ke upper kaam karti hain mene unko sab handover kar diya or bola ab ye tum chalao. Fir unhone 2003 me usse band kar diya, fir wo

leke doorstep ko de diya. Alug-2 NGO chala raha hai. Abhi main usse hat gayi paani k liye.
#1:05:47#

E: There were 40 in the kindergarten (Nursey, Junior KG, Sr. KG etc) under me. 40 at different places then it grew up to 7th standard. In every kindergarten there are almost 40 to 50 students. I handed it over to an NGO called Prathan who work in the field of child labour. They did it till 2003 and then handed it over to another NGO named DoorStep. Different NGOs are running the kindergartens. Now I'm out of it because I'm focusing on water issues.
#1:05:47#

ANNEX 16: INTERVIEW NO.14

1 **I: How did you get involved in Nivara Hakk?**

2 E: You get so many documents on that. Even personally a lot has been published. Maybe I can pull out something and give it to you for your research purposes. Anyway. Very briefly speaking: Nivara Hakk is a very old organization. It was set up somewhere in the early '80s, late '70s, almost early '80s you can say. When there was a huge eviction drive by then Chief Minister of Maharashtra. That was Antulay. He was the Chief Minister. He has cut what was called the midnight soup. What that meant was he was taking trucks in the middle of the night to Slums, demolishing them. And he believed that he could then transport those people outside the borders of the city. So that was his drive. So that was at that time nearly 22 different organizations came together and formed the broad forum, called the Nivara Hakk Suraksha Samiti. Which later of course grew to become an independent organization. But it started as an umbrella organization of 22 different bodies. So at that time the idea was to oppose that massive forced eviction that was taking place and demand housing rights for people. That is when Nivara Hakk came into being. #01:37#

Thereafter, there have been many significant struggles. Nivara Hakk is completely rooted and born out of the idea of struggles. That's why we keep saying it's a Slum Dwellers Housing Rights Movement. We are not an NGO in the typical sense that we are not a funded NGO. We are not a foreign funded NGO; we neither are a locally funded NGO. We have no funds really within the organization other than recently some contributions that have come. But what we did was: whenever there was any struggle in any particular Slum that Slum people contributed funds required for that struggle. That was the basis on which we survived. And then individually all of us of course supported our own work at our own end to the movement and that's how Nivara Hakk grew and became a very big organization. #02:36#

Nivara Hakk became a big organization because it sort of believed in the idea that these are issues of rights, these are matters of rights and not concessions. That the question of housing, the question of civic amenities, the question of human rights, these are all rights that people must achieve (2) through struggle. And therefore there was no question about negotiating for concessions on questions of human rights or housing rights or civic rights and so on and so forth. That's what most NGOs in fact engage into. It is always the state of negotiation either with the government or any other private agency that is in charge of that particular land or eviction to win certain, you know, concessions. #03:36#

So Nivara Hakk also believes very strongly that it is the government who is ultimately responsible to provide social infrastructure and undertake the responsibility, SOLELY undertake the responsibility, of social development agendas. Those matters of social development cannot be entrusted onto private agencies nor to NGOs or other funded organizations because it is a democratic society and people have elected a democratic government and so it is the primary responsibility of the government. So Nivara Hakk forever has always therefore worked, you can say, in certain ways worked with governments while protesting and opposing governments in order to win rights of people. So that's the politics which Nivara Hakk is really rooted in. #04:41#

In fact we are opposed to foreign funding. We are opposed to large scale funding that sort of dictated terms or specific projects. Because we firmly believe that the donors would always lend a sort of a tone and colour from their point of view to the movement and which in many instances we had observed and experienced was IN FACT undermining movements by such measures of funding and concessional claims and demands. #05:26#

So that's how we fought. And so what we did was we were physically involved with communities, with Slum Dwellers against forced eviction, against violence, for human rights, and in that process we physically have fought many battles on the ground. And that's Nivara Hakk's reputation, or you can say, antecedent (d: laughs). That we actually physically fought with the Slum Dwellers against eviction and so on and so forth. In that event many of our activists had been arrested many times. They have been put into prisons. They have been slapped with many, many kisses. They have been seriously hit and injured by the military, by the police, by attacks of the government and so on and so forth; implicated in many cases. So that's been a long history of most of the activists and the organization Nivara Hakk. #06:38#

Nivara Hakk has also carried out many rehabilitation projects. Besides defending the rights of Slum Dwellers on the Slum land which they have occupied. There have been certain forced evictions and we fought those battles against evictions but we lost at the end of it all, including the battles in the courts, like in Supreme Court as in the case of the National Park Slum Dwellers. We then sort of got into an arrangement with the government for their rehabilitation. But that was after the battle was lost. But the battle is inevitably the path to political victory. So there may be physically some gains or losses in the process but for us it is the political battle which is of significance. (d: phone rings and interviewee takes the call) #07:32#

Nivara Hakk always attracted many students, many activists who came and worked on specific periods and projects and went by. Yeah. So Nivara Hakk is not a much institutionalized organization. And it's been designed that way. So Nivara Hakk Suraksha Hamiti is also not a registered organization for these reasons: that it's a struggle based organization. That cannot be scanned on banners and impose a restriction. If we are registered then we are vulnerable to the whims and fancies of the government. So it's by design that it's a struggle organization. And it's open, and thereby transparent in terms of not institutionalizing it. #08:43#

(3) Yeah, so that's the short background. As far as I am concerned, right from the beginning I have been involved with it. And at that time I had also completed my studies in architecture, in '77. And this was around '78, '79 when this eviction was happening. And there was another battle happening parallel when there was a big eviction of a Slum at Nariman Point. When two of our leaders, Shabana Azmi and Anand Patwardhan, the film maker, had set on a hunger strike, demanding land for the Slum Dwellers. And at that point we all joint in and we won the battle. The government gave us land in Malad, and we moved 300 Slum Dwellers families from Colaba to Malad. #09:41#

And there I was very active in particular because those were the years when we were reading John F. Turner and following his works in England. And John F. Turner had then published this very interesting book called '*Housing by people*', I don't know if you have read that. And we were all, as students and young architects, very motivated and influenced by his thoughts. And so here was an opportunity, when we were moving these people, to try and work out housing

alternative for resettlement and rehabilitation on the lines and ideas of John F. Turner, on the basis of self-help housing. So what we did, and what I did quickly at my end was we prepared a site plan of the three acres of land that was given, which actually ultimately people bought that land from the government by paying money. So they became the owners of the land. And the idea was that they would themselves develop it through the self-help ideas that we talked about in John F. Turner's work. And so what we did was, we prepared a site plan, a layout, where we distributed the land to 300 small plots. And each plot was to be then allotted to a family. So we prepared these layout through a participatory mechanism where the layouts were been discussed continuously with the community. They participated and the layout was finalized with common roads, common infrastructure, like toilets and other things. And we also set out a common set of development control regulations, as the city has in form of projects. We constituted/ we framed certain development control regulations for our own plot and development within, which each individual would sort of honour and go by so that they are not pushing the side plot or bringing justice to the plot at the back or the front of their own plot or house. So there was a certain sense of equity, a certain sense of cooperative endeavour that had to be obviously/ (d: interviewer interrupts) #12:00#

3 I: Were these set up together with the community?

4 E: Absolutely. That is what I said: through participatory processes. And there was continuous dialog about that. And that came into an understanding. So it became like a peoples' manifesto, more than rules and regulations. So the whole idea of a cooperative endeavour really came from there and emerged from it. And for the first time also these people would then growing up to learn to manage their own land and property and the common assets. The problem in most housing schemes is the common assets, their maintenance and their management. People look after their individual homes or houses and keep them very beautifully but the common assets/ Even in middle and upper class areas. I mean we find that the common assets are always under abuse and misused often by those who are more powerful or influential. And often even encourage the problem. For individual gains and benefits. So what was very important at that time with the preparation of the layout was – which is a very physical exercise – was actually to form the cooperative and to bring into place a governance mechanism of the entire land, and all management and maintenance of the common assets of the Slum Dwellers. #13:30#

5 I: So one could say that you connected architecture and governance?

6 E: Yes. We connected architecture to so many different issues: of governance, of cooperative endeavour, and of all of those administrative mechanisms, maintenance mechanisms, we talked about funds for it, so fundraising. You know all of those issues were discussed. Then also through that we discussed many more important issues and that of common assets in terms of social amenities. Let's say Balwari, or society office, or a school, or a health centre. So this was also discussed and this was also built in that process. So it was not just about roads and infrastructure, it is also about social development endeavours that would contribute ultimately to the growth of human capabilities and, you know, capacities. So all of that happened in Sangharsh Nagar. And we did that. We also prepared models. As an architect I prepared models to demonstrate HOW various options could be exercised within each plot and how they would appear. And that was a beautiful experience in the sense that people build

their own housing or houses, depending on their own capacities and capabilities to raise funds and so on and so forth. #15:09#

So there was a kind of unequal development, if you say so, within an equality platform. Unequal in the sense that some people have a greater capacity to invest or raise funds, some don't have. And when we are talking about Slum Dwellers we must remember that this is not one synonymous or coherent group of people with equal social and economic standards. There are people who are hard, you know, selling their labour power working in quarries and mines and earning, at that time maybe ten Rupees a day. And there were other people who through other sources were earning probably 100 Rupees a day. So these kinds of disparities do exist. #16:02#

And so people started building their own houses. Within the plot they were allotted by lottery and within the development control regulations that were mutually agreed upon. And so that was a very beautiful experience and we continued with the management of the area through elections, through committees and so on and so forth. Then Nivara Hakk also set up a health centre and an educational centre in Sanjay Ghandi Nagar. That's what the name of the place was. And it continued for many, many years and turned out to be a very interesting example on questions of access to land, rights of/ and how land should be, you know/ unconditional land tenured if granted to people could produce wonderful housing options or sustainable and affordable housing options. So that was Sangharsh Nagar. And I would say that it was probably one of the first examples in that sense in Mumbai City. So it was very successful. #17:18#

And then Nivara Hakk grew of course and became much bigger. We expanded into working in probably about 25 to 30 different Slums in the city. Across from the city to the Suburbs, in Eastern and Western Suburbs. #17:30#

7 I: How does this area look like today?

8 E: I am coming to that. (3) But the government would often not allot land to Slum Dwellers. But that's the key question. (d: phone rings and interviewee picks up the phone) But the key question of land is always a battle in cities. And governments would always be reluctant to provide land to Slum Dwellers. Or even for that matter assign land for affordable housing in the development plan of cities. And that is one of our primary demands. #18:11#

9 I: Why do you think that is?

10 E: Because of globalization, because of privatization, because of governments have their own responsibilities under the guise of privatization to allow private agencies to take the total responsibility of social development, including health care, education and housing and so on and so forth. And which in India as you know, happened really in 1991. So 1991 has been a huge turning point in the history of India and its development, and urban development in particular in India. Before that, as you know, upon independence we were a social state where the governments took direct responsibility upon itself for carrying out social welfare projects. But soon after '91 it gave up its responsibility and began to sell public assets and handover resources to private agencies to carry out development work. And we know from '91 to now that the private sector did nothing in terms of affordable housing or building affordable housing or for that matter social amenities for people, and the housing conditions and therefore have deteriorated (#19:29# stead?) fast. #19:30#

It is only because that there has been never any production and availability of affordable housing in the market that Slums have proliferated. So Slums have a reflection of non-availability of options in affordable housing in the formal set. So the central point is always land and we have always demanded the old socialist slogan: Land to the tiller and land to the worker, in the cities. And that's always a continuous battle because right to the city is about right to the resources. And land is the most vital of all resources in a city. So the right to land becomes therefore one of the most primary battles or demands in the housing rights struggle. What we now say is that in the development plan of cities there must be land exclusively earmarked for affordable housing. Not just towards housing. What the development plans do is that it earmarks land for housing. Broadly, like it does for commercial or industrial and so on and so forth. And we know from our experience that this land earmarked for housing has always been captured and colonized in the open market, in the free market economy and taken away by the developers and builders for profiteering. And in that process of profiteering, they have developed only high-income or high-cost housing. As a result there has been no construction or no land utilized for affordable housing. #21:22#

11 I: So how do you demand this?

12 E: Demand is a demand. How do we achieve this is the question. So that can be done and if that is the question then let me say that in the new development plan which is currently on the way or under preparation, whose draft has been prepared and has been now open to public suggestions and objections, for the first time Mumbai's development plan has come up with a new reservation called AH: affordable housing. So that's how it is possible. #22:00#

We all believe that there is enough land, there is enough resources, and it is only the will of the government to execute it. And due to the pressures by the private sector and the larger neoliberal globalization phenomena that governments have been flirting with public resources and assets and gifting them to private developers for private profiteering. #22:26#

Now it's another thing how much land is being allotted and how much housing can be done in the land that they have been allotted etc. But the point of victory is that for the first time governments have now recognized that it is land that has to be allotted exclusively for affordable housing. And they did that not because they have been a progressive government but because of the strengths and the struggles of the Slum Dwellers for demanding land exclusively for that, which Nivara Hakk has consistently fought for. #22:59

Nivara Hakk has also made a demand in order to get land back for affordable housing to say that the Slum land be also reserved as land for affordable housing. We are saying that these land, occupied by Slums, should not be traded in for commercial and other high-income projects as it has been done under the present SRA policy. As you know, under the SRA policy builders squeeze the Slum Dwellers into 20-30 percent of the land take away that balance of 70 percent of the land with 50 percent development rights and utilize it for high-income and commercial projects. Now if you look at the market conditions there is about 450,000 vacant apartments of high-income category lying in this city. Unsold. Unoccupied at least if not unsold. That means these are investors, speculators, business people who bought these places but they are not occupied. There is a surplus in that sector of housing compared to the demand. So what we are saying is that you stop building these high income housing on the Slum land and let Slum land be entirely utilized for construction of affordable housing besides the

rehabilitation of the existing Slum Dwellers and the Slum population. And then we worked out a Master Plan which has been published and submitted to the government since ten years now by Nivara Hakk and my office where we have shown by planning, not by theory or by arithmetic calculations, that if Slum land is reserved for affordable housing, we can produce 450,000 surplus affordable housing units which would take care of your entire shortfall in affordable housing that governments have calculated. So that's a way of getting land back as an example. #25:18#

Where do you get land from? This is one way of getting land back. The other way of getting land back is obviously imposing restrictions and reservations. DP⁷⁵, as you know, is a land reservation plan. And that reservation can be imposed on land irrespective of ownership. So even if it's private land, the city needs land for housing and it COULD reserve land for housing even if it's privately owned. So there are ways of achieving this. We don't need to encroach into environmentally sensitive areas. We don't need to take on salt plant lands as governments have always been trying to do and divert from the main issue of Slum land which business people are pandering over and profiteering from etc., etc.. #26:03

So Nivara Hakk, in short, has always been producing specific alternatives and putting them up on the table to the government and to the courts, challenging the existing plans and policies. So we have not just said that this is bad, we are always saying what the other alternative is. (2) And we have done that at every stage. Whether it's the rehabilitation of Slum Dwellers of the out cities in the Sanjay Ghandi National Park, or it is the master planning and re-envisioning of the city to make it into a people's city to deal with affordable housing and affordable social amenities, we consistently produced these specific alternatives. And we believe that this is the way forward. That struggles of people must produce their own alternatives. Those peoples own plans must be the way forward for city planning. That city planning cannot be an imposed external high-consultancy service. That this must be a bottom-up process. And we therefore believe that neighbourhood planning, participatory planning, are the ways forward. #27:29

13 I: So if I understand that correctly, Nivara Hakk has an approach where you, to some extent, work with the existing system, and to some extent you work against the existing system. Or challenge //the existing system.//

14 E: //LOOK// You have to work through the existing systems to change them. You can't be a utopian working from the sky. #27:55#

15 I: Let me explain myself. On the one hand you are working with SRA schemes/ (interviewee interrupts)

16 E: Ultimately who carries out the legislation and legalizes change? It's the government. So it's inevitable that you have to engage the government in each struggle, in order to legislate and legalize the demands and the changes that we are calling for. And therefore Nivara Hakk has very, very extensively influenced many, many policy changes in the Slum Dwellers Acts, in the Slum Act of the government of Maharashtra. #28:36#

⁷⁵ Short form for: Development Plan.

17 **I: Okay. So when you are working with government and you are changing policies this is one area of work. The other area of work is: You are working with communities and develop //SRA// (d: interviewee interrupts)**

18 E: //That's of course a political// struggle or what we call it: the other hand. Means we are organizing people to politically develop their rights, their skills, their capabilities, to sharpen their demands, to manage their own areas and so on and so forth. So that's a political battle that must parallel be developed. #29:25#

19 **I: So how did you manage to become the architect of one of the redevelopment buildings?**

20 E: HOW? I am a part of the organization. #29:34#

21 **I: Yes, but normally projects are given to developers and they do it, right? So that is why I am asking //how// (d: interviewee interrupts)**

22 E: //No, but// because this project was sort of initiated and promoted by Nivara Hakk. So we imposed that on the developer as a condition to use this plan that has been developed through consensus through participatory mechanism. And the developers agreed to that. So we carried out the first phase of our project by our plan, by the time we got to the second phase he had learnt enough to throw us out and undermine the plan. So you will find parts of the areas not exactly our plan. Even the housing typologies have changed. Because then they tried and find corrupt ways to gain further etc., etc. But Nivara Hakk continued as an organization of the Slum Dwellers to monitor the builder's project in terms of the provisions that they have to make, the construction they have to carry out etc., etc.. But in that processes the builders influence the governments, and even build up on land that was also reserved for open spaces, for example. So in that sense they undermined the plan. #30:54#

What we got out of that, as a benefit is, let's say, we influenced policy changes with the government. Government owners had in SRA a policy that for every 100 units they would allow three units for community purposes at Balwari society office or something else. Now, we found that that was not a very good policy because for the first time 25,000 houses were being planned at one place. Now 25,000 houses of families means a city on the move. 100,000 population: that is a mid-size town in India. They had never done this kind of project ever before. Slum Improvement or Redevelopment projects were individual Slum pockets of 200 houses, 300 houses, and 150 houses. It was 25,000 houses. So we had prepared the master plan which we called *hamara naha shaha*—our new town. Now there we provided space for everything as per town planning regulations, whether it's open spaces, whether it's amenities etc. So there we argued with the government that rather than scatter these amenities which often get misused and hard to manage, and moreover when there is such a big town coming up, you can't have 50 schools of 250 square feet each. So they brought up a new policy changed through our influence that these individual units be clubbed together and having big schools, community centres and certain plots. So we built that in Chandivali. We have three big schools reserved, we have large community centres at two places, so now it has become a very good school and then we handed the school to the Municipal Corporation to run the school in order to make it affordable for all the children in the area. Because of a lot of pressures by private agencies to take over those properties and run private schools which would have been unaffordable. So you see the housing battle is not just about the commodity of houses. It's

about the whole politics of city and the rights to the city and so that's the struggle, really.
#33:24#

So it's about the houses, it's about schools, it's about amenities, it's about amenities, it's about markets, roads, infrastructure and the cooperative endeavours. So in Sangharsh Nagar we have also formed, not only the societies. We are not only registered societies. There are over probably 150 societies already registered. We also have a *Mahasangh* – as we call it. An apex body, which manages the entire assets of the entire land and property, like the schools or the community centres or the roads, you know? And that is through elections. So the societies then vote for the apex committee, which is called the *Mahasangh*. So that's the whole battle.
#34:15#

23 I: Does that work well?

24 E: Well until now, for now close to eight to ten years it's working extremely well I would say. They are managing themselves. #34:29#

25 I: So this is not the colony we were talking about earlier.

26 E: No. What happened there was a big tragedy. After close to what? 20 years? 25 years? The Slum Dwellers decided to sell the land to a developer and get apartments in return. Now the point is we have to understand the aspirations people have when they come to cities. The average aspiration of the poor people and the working people and the Slum Dwellers is to somehow get an apartment in the city of Mumbai. This apartment is a symbol finally their achievement in social status. That they have succeeded in their lives. And so they sold the land to a developer who then developed it under the present SRA policy and give 20, 25 story buildings to them for their rehabilitation. And to cover 50 percent or 60 percent of the land for profit. For high-income projects. Now there Nivara Hakk was not involved. Nivara Hakk was against it. But that is it. It is an enormous victory and then an enormous loss in that battle. But we have to understand. But that also shows in Chandivali, in Sangharsh Nagar that how after we had lost all the battles, after we were beaten up, we were thrown out of the supreme court, we lost everywhere: that we also then finally negotiated with the government for the rehabilitation site under the SRA policy even though SRA policy is highly contradictory and written with conflicts and contradictions. #36:34#

And as a matter of fact Nivara Hakk is the only Slum Dwellers organization that had challenged the SRA policy when it was introduced in 1991. It was Nivara Hakk and TATA Summon, the Union Leader of Textile workers who had challenged this policy. So, even though we are against the policy, the fundamental principles of the policy, even though we were the only Slum Dwellers organization who had challenged the policy from its inception: we had to then, since we lost everywhere, to sit with the governments and work out an alternate scheme for the rehabilitation of the Slum Dwellers. And these are 25,000 families who would have been otherwise thrown out to the footpaths. And other miserable conditions of living after that. So the Slum Dwellers desire to the rehabilitation project that we have been worked on with them. That the textile worker after the closure of the mills then got down to negotiating on voluntary retirement schemes, VRS, and took money and went away. Where the primary demand was that the mills should be reopened, and those workers could contribute to the running of the mills. So I think we have to understand the battle, the strategies, the

tactics, the gains and the losses. And really in that sense, like Mao Zedong put it, it's like two steps forward and one step backward. #38:08#

27 **I: What is your position on the cut-off date?**

28 E: Nivara Hakk has consistently taken a position against any cut-off date that discriminates between people. That sets some discrimination. We are against cut-off date completely. And in fact it was Nivara Hakk's huge morcha in '85, '87, I can't remember the exact year, to the collective's office in town, which turned big and violent and there were nearly 10.000 people in that protest which was primary against the idea of cut-off date. And that time the cut-off date was, I can't remember, was probably 2000 as announced by the governments. And because of Nivara Hakk's morcha and that violent turn, congress quickly called a public meeting and then announced the extension of the cut-off date from 2000 to 2005. (d: giggles) So that's Nivara's position. We believe that all the people who contribute to the economy of the city have equal rights. #39:28#

29 **I: I found your organizational structure interesting, but it is still a bit lose in my head/ (d: interviewee interrupts)**

30 E: It is lose. Not in your head. The organizational structure is lose. #43:21#

31 **I: (d: tries to continue with the question) But how do you achieve all //these things?//**

32 E: //That's the primary// design! It's a design! Why are you trying to push and back and be institutionalized? #43:21#

33 **I: I don't want to. I only want to understand how you achieve something/ (d: interviewee interrupts)**

34 E: I think it has its own benefits, and has proved to be successful in many ways.

35 **I: So when you want to push a policy you call random people up?**

36 E: Not random people. The organization has a core dedicated people. And we have representative Slum Dwellers bodies in every Slum! So we call a meeting of 25 Slum Dwellers Committees who are a part of the organization!

37 **I: So it is a network. So in the case of a new policy you/ (interviewee interrupts)**

38 E: We run a campaign. It's all about public campaigning. It's about public dialog. It's about people's own voices. So all that cannot be structured strictly. It has to be strategized. Each time with each issue. The principles being of course democratic, participatory, people-oriented, people-led and so on and so forth. #40:59#

39 **I: Do you think it is an Indian structure?**

40 E: No. It is an international structure. Again you are trying to call it structure. We have experienced this in Chinese revolution, we have experienced this in Soviet Union, and we have experienced this in many, many countries. Decentralization if you may use that word from the history. That it should not be centric, it should not be centralized. So how do you exercise that? It is a continuous, sort of experience, an ongoing battle of democratization if I may use

and put it into the correct perspective. Democratization cannot be fixed and defined with a boundary and a specific solution that is applicable everywhere and every time. So I think that openness, that democratic understanding of democracy, democratic democratization of democracy, and there can be authority in democracy. These are the things that we have to sort of keep as principles while we are working yet in every step we are open to new ideas emerging through new dialogs and experiences and battles. That keeps sharpening the ideas about democracy and politics. So this is a hard core political ideology. And that constitutes the basis of struggles. Not demand for a house. We see housing as a movement being a part of a larger democratic struggle. (3) And so Nivara Hakk has also always been there for big collaborations and networks with other democratic struggles. Not just those who are engaged in housing but other democratic struggles. #43:13#

ANNEX 17: INTERVIEW NO. 15

1 **I: Can you tell me how the water situation for the people in slum areas changed over time?**

2 E: So the ideas of the slum. In 1955 Municipal Corporation was not providing them with water connections. And all the slum dwellers were depending on wells. Wells were the facility. But because of urbanization ground water slowly started contaminating. Then we found that lots of people were falling sick by drinking the ground water. So BMC somewhere in 1955 decided to close and organize. Now suppose I close down the well what will happen in the slum? So we found a way of giving them water connection. Since BMC Act does not recognize water in slums we took advantage of one BMC Act. It's from 1992. Now the Municipal Commissioner came and told the Municipal Corporation it is immovable property. Do you understand what falls under immovable property? #01:47#

3 **I: No.**

4 E: The legal term immovable property like buildings and land. They are immovable, they cannot move. Movable property is something you can own. The dwellery (c: unsure what he means by dwellery) this are all movable properties. So according to this 1992 Municipal Corporation Act the Municipal Corporation can sell movable property and we defined water as a movable property and started selling. Now if the value of that movable property is more than 200 Billion Rupees then the Municipal Commissioner has to get the consent of the standing committee if he wants to sell something. So we did it. Now all the mess that happened there after this. When I am selling you something, so man to man, it is not ... (#03:03#?) structured. Means ok, what we are doing exactly does not fit but we can find out later. Now that is the sale of water. #03:15#

Now what happened is that in 1976 there was a slum study. We started counting the slums. The (#03:23-03:25#?). It did not stop. Why did it not stop? Because one of the development control rule (#03:36#?) of/ in Mumbai about 50 percent of the people were providing services. They cannot afford to buy houses. Even middle-class people. Housing is so costly. Even right from beginning. And then there weren't made any provisions where would this people stay? They cannot afford to buy. You need lot of labour force here in Mumbai. Even BMC said the majority of (#04:07-04:09#?) is coming from the labour force. So is the railway, so is the port trust, so is the police. So many things. And so are the private organizations. The offices, factories, taxis, rickshaws: they all come, all this is labour class and they don't have place to stay. They will be happy to go but they can't. #04:31#

Now when I started selling water how can I differentiate? Suppose we go to a store and he is selling something. If you pay his price he must sell it. He can't say I will not sell it to you. Or to you. Or you. Unless government has some restrictions. So we made a mess. When I am selling you water we have nothing to do with this value. But the government went on with an order which has no backing of law. You don't give water to slum that have come up after 1995. Now when I am giving you water connections to the individuals where is the question of slum? So they started giving some vague proofs. And I tell you, most of the slum connections that we granted on the way are not based on facts. All of them had manipulated the things and (#05:38#?). So, initially in 1955 it was decided on the water connections to slums. There were 15 people who form a groups, who will apply for a water connection. And people of one group can have one water connection. Later on, the 15 peoples were (#06:07#

scoring?), mean I had to take a fine. As I told you the people who are staying in the slums economically they are not weak but they can't afford to buy house. We carried out so many slum survey before we decided about the, say: tariff. We took (#06:32-06:35#?) driver license, so many NGOs. We found that 90 percent of the slums in Mumbai are families and have a decent salary. So what happened is that they manipulated these things. We had directed that, it belongs to five people but if you now take the number of slums and the number of water connections they have been given almost every second person has a water connection. Again it's your (#07:03#?). Then it comes down to almost two third who have water connections. Almost everybody has a typical water connection. So that they can live peacefully. They don't have to (#07:14#?) with the rate. This is how now people say that they don't pay. That's wrong. Most of them pay very well. #07:25#

Now the third thing that happened in Mumbai are these slum clusters. Who created slums? Everybody knows there are slum lords. Social animates who are in the amendments. They create the slums. They sell this. But until today not a single man has been arrested. There is a political back. It's a need of the people. So the worst was that the water connections initially were in the name of the individuals but obtained by slum lords. And they were controlling it. That's happened. But now I think 40 or 50 percent of the water connections may be controlled by those slum lords. And then whatever money they charge, they will not take credits. Where (is) this paid?

In 1992 the (#08:31# SCD?) said that we recognize slum. So BMC said it could give them some facilities, like say water tank. They can form a society. Not 15, not 20, but entire cluster. Suppose they come together. They are supposed to build slum connection. They will come together and then I will inspect the water tank for them. I will provide a pump. And I will hand over the entire things to them. And I give one water connection instead of so many connections. And let them have water at their own facilities. Because this was necessary because of two things: The slums were on (#09:15#?) they buy water and all. So in such case now there is a lot of disputes. Some colonies are vertical but most of the colonies were we give one water connection to a big cluster then what even the police can do. Out of all the member even when ten percent members failed to give their dues, they were not able to pay the Municipal Corporation's bill. So this is where the bill prejudice is. But still as our database: so I give you for the long term discovery. It used to be what? About 60 to 62 percent people, slum people, pay our bills very regularly. Now the remaining 38 percent pay their bills a little later, not regularly within a few days. They (pay), say after a month or two month, but there was a recovery. Now what was the bad recovery? I am giving the water to the slum on a very nominal rate. I don't have a very big revenue. So suppose my total budget is some six to seven percent from the Slum and giving them nearly about 55 percent of my water supply in Slums. But they give me hardly six to seven percent revenue. And that too, 80 percent bill recovery. 20 percent bad means almost two percent (revenue). I submitted a proposal to Municipal Commissioner said we will not cut them. What will happen then? Suppose I cut the water connection. They will have to fetch water from somewhere. And they will drain water from say bore-well or well, which is not hygienic. Then again: the health is also your problem. If someone falls sick it is the duty of the BMC again. So we will be compounding our misery. But see the health department is not linked to the water department. Actually there has to be some connection between. Yeah? There is health! #11:45#

5 I: Are they not working together in some way?

6 E: Not at all.

So at that time I have put up a proposal to 20 percent of six percent. Sadly on 1 percent, 1.5 percent. But I can't make that law. Otherwise no one will start paying. Everyone will take me for granted. So I said there is the problems that they cannot pay. But giving them or not giving them in future you will notice. This is what happened. They are paying money. They are not paying money. Now once the politicians come to know then they tell them "Okay do not pay. I will take care." #12:32#

7 **I: Sitaram told me that they have gotten a default list with the Right for Information Act to see who is not paying their bills and they found out that business are not paying their bills.**

8 E: There are many. See, water supply nobody will tell this, like electricity supply: It's a need. Nobody can afford to get their water connection disconnected for a day. But that they are not paying is not correct. They are not paying for some reason. And what's that? Say, right in 2003 we published a very strict policy that I will charge two percent interest rate on your delayed payment. Means this is not very soft. Two percent per MONTH. That comes to 24 percent per year. So most of the government offices which were lethargic in paying their dues they started paying immediately. Because otherwise they will put the resources you will provide in your payment. So that case is normal there. Now our own internal BMC heads they are not paying. It should have happened but it is not happening. They stopped them. People, I got to think that people are not paying. I don't know how much the total is. It can't be more than five percent. Now you see that's five percent. Take the world. You won't find 100 percent return anywhere in the world. Whether it's taxes, whether it's water supply, you don't find 100 percent return. But we are still efficient enough. There is no problem. As far as this thing is concerned I don't think there is a problem. #14:29#

9 **I: The cut-off date connects the housing debate with the debate on water services. Why do you think some people are excluded from services by a cut-off date?**

10 E: See. What has happened is that they are not without water. I know. They have taken record out for somebody and gave it to me. And they have taken it. Everybody is having water connection almost. There is nobody without water connection.

Now we are telling the government we had gone to the High Court and High Court has asked 'how can you do such thing?' When I am using sets of '92 Slum Report 2000, Slum after 2000 don't come into the picture. If he wants to buy something from me and I have that commodity available, I must sell. I can't say no. As far as Slums are concerned I have converted water into a commodity, movable property. And if it is a commodity and somebody wants to buy something from me I must give it as per market rate. Whatever law I offend. So I told Sitaram you are not with the correct argument before High Court. You must address the law not the government's order or government's (#16:20#?). The government's superior is the act not the bylaws or the charges rules or the recovery rules which is made subsequently. If they are not as per the BMC Act itself they are of no use. But I talked to Sitaram but I think he did not pay much attention and then I also did not bother. So before 2000, after 2000 this point does not come into picture when I treat water as a commodity. When I treat water as services, I must follow all the BMC Acts. #17:00#

11 **I: So now in slums you have a lot of these private water tankers coming which contain water that was sold by the BMC and the water price for the citizen has gone up.**

- 12 E: Which slum are you talking about where they are buying from tanker? It is very costly of course. Why would they buy it? #17:32#
- 13 **I: It is. I went for example to Ambujwadi. That is in Malad West on the creek side. It is a no development zone.**
- 14 E: They have not been granted water connections some over there, right? See, then such people will be how many? See, forest land I cannot grant water connection, railway I cannot grant water connection, people who are staying in the slums on (#18:05# ores?) I cannot grant water connections. These are certain rules we made. Nobody can get such things there, where this is offended by other rules. For example railway land is not governed by my act. Or forest land that is not governed by my act. I can't apply anything there. But how big will be such kind of slums? Hardly not even one percent. I tell you about 400,000 water connections are there in Mumbai. And I am not very precise because I don't know today's number. What I remember is that. But I retired ten years back. Out of that 50 percent connections are in slums: recognized. Now if you take that 50 percent of that slums and 25 percent of my water supply which comes up to almost 800 million litres per day. Then that water supply is almost 100 litres per person which is officially given in my record. That is not a small water supply. #19:26#
- 15 **I: The official record now is 45 litres per person.**
- 16 E: 50 litres is official norm. But if you take the entire water supply into consideration and divide it by the number of people: nowhere in (#19:54#?) is less than 100 litres per person per day. #19:57#
- 17 **I: I understand the conflict of central government land and state government land and also that the BMC cannot do anything about it/ (d: interrupted by the interviewee)**
- 18 E: No, no, no. Central government land. State government land. BMC land. Where the government has declared them as slums I can give water. What is happening is that government made some law. And slum people found out some loopholes with, maybe can I say, once with the BMC people. They will produce some record from here that 'see I am recognizing percent'. Now where are you staying, give me some address of that and we will give connection nearby. So there is no restriction on that. Now what has happened is that water connections are not being granted on footpaths, or on forest lands and railway land. The rest of the places we have granted water connection. We are knowing that they have brought wrong documents. But instead of breaking my pipe to get water, let me help with water connection. We took that way. We took a stand there. #21:28#

The better way: see, since 1994 Mumbai's development control rule recognizes slum Redevelopment. At that the government should have formed some policy that within so much time let the slums get redeveloped entirely. This is not happening. Now third thing that has made our policies legally and technically very impossible. That somewhere in 1995 or so, the government took a decision that we can allow vertical expansion of the slum. Under what conditions will you allow vertical expansion of the slum? The condition was: say suppose you have a 20 meters dwelling in the floor. Then 75 percent of it, that means 15 square meters, you can expand to first floor provided the same family stays there. Vertical expansion was allowed by taking into consideration that family sizes increase and they need more space. This is the condition. And then we took a one storey survey of the slum. Now what we found is: 2nd storey, 3rd storey, 4th storey. And two separate families are staying. Not the same family. Now how did the people settle? The first family in the first floor, the second family in the

second floor, the third family in the third floor. How will they get water? Nobody knows. I can't give water connection. They cannot construct. Now unfortunately what has happened that government Act, BMC had taken a decision that all the plan building will have a ground level dwell. They will fetch water in ground level dwell and then it will be pumped up to supply water. So many new buildings and everybody is fetching water at the ground level my water pressure is really low. I don't require strong pressure. They won't go up at all because everybody is drawing water from the ground level. So now in slums water will not go to first floor, water will not go to second floor, water will not go to third floor.

So what they are doing they are taking unauthorized connections. Like that. They are taking pumps and they are messing up the entire distribution system. But for this vertical expansion we have found no way out. Neither legally nor technically. #24:33#

19 **I: So what do you think has to happen?**

20 E: You must have seen the slums now. They have gone second storey. First of all even 1st storey. They are renting it out to somebody and earning money. So it is a separate family. It is not the same family staying at the ground floor. Why would I (#24:55#?) the conditions of allowing a slum to expand vertical. #24:58#

21 **I: But obviously this is affecting the water supply.**

22 E: This is very true. Now see the two departments of BMC do not go anytime. Water department cannot give water connection because it's illegal. At the same time, if it is illegal the building department should have demolished it. It is not permitted to come. But everywhere you can see it. And still there are getting licenses. If you go to Bandra East people there have four storeys. There was a fire accident recently in Bandra and they didn't have the staircase for five people to go up. And the cops have given it directly to the government to demolish the Slums. You can't permit that. The best way for the government would have been to set up a deadline to reach that goal. #26:02#

23 **I: Do you have any suggestions how this issue between housing and water supply could be solved?**

24 E: Yeah see, legally I cannot do anything. Technically also I cannot do anything because the land does not belong. Now see the government rent out this land. When the Slum Improvement Schemes came I cannot put public money on private land or even government land. We started investing in say we can get a pipeline, we can get such thing. I can't do anything else. The slum resident may do something illegal. As a government official I can't do anything. That's how my hands are tight. So this problem has to be solved politically. Not by the BMC. And not by the people. #27:14#

25 **I: So it must be integration of central, state and local government?**

26 E: Not central. Central does not come into picture. It is mainly state government. #27:25#

27 **I: They are not in sync?**

28 E: See. One thing had happened that sometimes they are allowing corps to take decisions instead of taking decisions administratively, and executing is two things. Now when we say okay, then they have gone to (#27:48#?) agency. Don't go to the private! Construct so many houses and then this house I have given you: look at the Slums. Go and stay there. You will need some money. #28:01#

But then you can find out from where the government lends to the people by selling them land. Bandra Kurla complex they make huge profits out of the selling of land. They all have sold their land. The government should have taken some land. In 1940 there was one act that you can't increase the rent. And if you go to the central Mumbai rail all the textile mills are located (there). The British is all there. All small dwellings. Under 100 feet, 120 square feet means 12 metres, 10 metres for each venue. Rented houses (#28:59#?) and this is why you are finding so many old buildings in those areas like if you are going ,say, to Parel or Bandra. There are so many chawls. And the government is in charge: government path road, common toilet blocks. They were affordable dwellings for the workers. Now after independent India I think 1966 the development control rule for Mumbai came. Not then they have addressed the housing problem for the worker. That is where the slums are now. This is how it has worked out. And most of the central government agencies say like airport authority or defence they have their own way of protecting their land. So this is an easy target. Central government's lands are easy targets for constructing slums for slum lords. #30:04#

29 **I: That is a good key word. Because when I went to slum areas what I found was a lot of corruption inside the Slums. And there is always someone pulling the strings.**

30 E: Yes, you are very right. Most of the slums are controlled by slum dwellers. #30:33#

31 **I: Who are these people?**

32 E: Who are these people? Everybody know who these people are. But until today not a single man has been mocked. #30:44#

33 **I: Are they living inside the community?**

34 E: They are living inside the community. They have a political backing. If you find the records until today not a single (#31:02#?) has been put (#31:03#?) because if nobody is complaining (the) police will not do (anything). Unless you complain that somebody is (#31:08#?) me, somebody is charging me, somebody is harnessing me, (the) police will not come and arrest anybody. So they are not only. This is how it's happening. #31:18#

35 **I: People told me that they rely on this person so they cannot really argue with them. And you told me they have political backup. So who can change something here?**

36 E: So who can change? I was trying to talk to a couple of NGOs, like YUVA. But they are not in the position to. So I don't know because sometimes they become part of such system. #32:05#

37 **I: Institutionalized?**

38 E: Yeah. And we find that nothing is coming out of it. This is the rare. I think the political system must (32:18?) in the democracy. #32:19#

39 **I: What would you expect from NGOs?**

40 E: NGOs are not studying the problems correctly. And hence they don't have the solutions. I have been talking to Sitaram for many times and some other NGO I forgot the name and I talked to a lot of political people also. This is how they can make it better but it never happened. I give you literature to read. #33:04#

(Goes up and tries to find the document but couldn't find it, and comes back) #36:25#

What is happening is that out of my consumers 50 percent are in slums, 20 percent are in old building, and 30 percent are in well buildings. (d: interruption because tea is being served) So these three kind of consumers as long as they live side by side I cannot have a technically correct water supply. Because everybody has its different needs. The old buildings need more pressure, Slums need more water, the 30 percent people who are living in say planned building they are better because they have a tank. We can get water any time. They can use water at any time. But if you look at the old buildings in Mumbai clusters they have about five storeys. People stay on the fifth floor. They go all the way. There is (a) way to supply water. Water will not go. And they allow them. I spoke with the then Municipal because my water will not go and then everything is not working. As long as all the three consumers live side by side. And that's how even if we (#37:57# feel inadequate?) I cannot provide water 24 hours. #38:12#

41 **I: So you think redevelopment is the only way to solve this issue?**

42 E: Yes. But government has so little willingness. That's how they incorporated the Slum Redevelopment clauses. What they have done is they have left it to the slum dwellers themselves directly, if you read that correctly. They are the owner. They can decide. But in practical way what happens (is) that some political man will bring (in a) builder. He will make the rules. He will get everybody's signature. They are not united. They do not know. So instead of owner(s) they are becoming slaves. The act has given them almost ownership right(s) on land redevelopment. Whenever they have land they can/ so what happens is, they can decide what they want. And they can dictate the terms to (the) builder. But instead of bringing private builder(s) in, we thought that some government agencies should have done it. That private builders are exploiting it. Now it was eight and ten storey buildings and then the water is pumped up. Who bears the costs? How they will make, how they will teach the society? This is (a) very big problem with the slums. But in those societies they are not in the concept to have property. #39:52#

43 **I: I think one argument could be that the current scheme is almost free of cost to the government. They give it to the developers.**

44 E: As far as law is concerned the developer has no right. But they have become powerful. They have grabbed that. They have become owners now. And it happens because slum dwellers are not united. #40:18#

45 **I: So you think unification is one of the big issues in these areas? Do you think NGOs can do something about it?**

46 E: NGOs are doing something about it but if you go to, what was his name? There was one architect who is working with slums. He is also with one NGO. I think what is happening in slums there is no cooperation in the slums. Why is there no cooperation in the slums? It's a big problem that India faces. People are not coming from one community, they are not from one language, they are not from one state. They don't see things the same way. This is why they don't unite. Otherwise what is the democracy? They are more powerful than anybody else. Cause they are 50 percent already themselves. But they are not united. #41:49#

47 **I: What do you think could unite them?**

48 E: What is happening is that NGOs are not putting proper efforts. Sometimes I think they do this work only for namesake. Not real. Otherwise that would have improved long back. You see we constructed a very big tank in Shivaji Nagar, which is a municipal slum itself.

I thought every water supply will go very nicely. It failed. It did not work. Why did it not work? Because (#42:42#? d: honking from outside) #42:42#

49 **I: In M-East?**

50 E: In M-East, Shivaji Nagar. Despite of putting a 60,000 litres water tank, such a big tanker, and a pumping stations, just to boost up the places. Now vertical expansion is (#43:06# less?) as far as water supply is concerned I have no services.

(c: chai is discussed)

See for the High Court case I was trying to discuss with Sitaram and tell him: you are not arguing properly. But he didn't come. He always tells me: I will come, I will come. I will sit with you. You see what I know from the legal point of view he won't know. What I can tell you about the Act he can't tell you. So there should have been arguments should on it. #44:26#

51 **I: So do you think not all perspectives are listened to and that is why the core problem is not understood?**

52 E: I had a lot to do with the Tata Institute. But they are working in different directions. They have their own minds. Not prepared to change, not prepared to listen. #44:50#

53 **I: So maybe the same lack of unification that is missing in Slums is...**

54 E (d: interrupts): Have you studied the management also? What was your basic study? #45:04#

55 **I: Development with focus on natural resources.**

56 E: You know nowadays people take self-photography. Most of the NGOs are self-photographing. And they have their own interests. I am very critical about it. Some industrialist movement will come and join an NGO and they will do some work in slums and they will put their photos into papers and magazines and everything. You know that they won't do anything. They don't go into the depth of the problem.

I have one slum in Parel area. I am forgetting the names nowadays. There I installed a tank and it is very, very soon water supply. But then the political leader have taken a stand and their stand is there. The main worry of political people is that if the slums vote their vote bank will go. Slums are now vote bank. To keep them under the threat they will come after you. This is the problem. Once they have no problems they will not listen to you. So how do you keep them under the thumb?! #47:02#

(Phone call with Sitaram to ask for the architect's number) #50:00#

He was trying to unite everybody. He was trying to educate them on their rights. What gets carried away by builders? But what is happening is that this is not working. The government must take some decision like the redevelopment of slums. Ten years back all the slums from Mahim to Mahalaxmi were removed and rehabilitated elsewhere. About 50,000 families were shifted, with all the passengers. #50:53#

57 **I: One argument that I hear a lot here is that under the current SRA scheme people are shifted somewhere, where they have no facilities. So they will be provided with a new home but they have no market, no school.**

- 58 E: That also can be taken care of as they don't have market and all. The slums have come and the conditions in the slums are very-very difficult. Particularly the way women and girls suffer. #51:31#
- 59 **I: So you think there is a big different between gender?**
- 60 E: Yeah most of the sufferings is bread by the women as far as Indian society is concerned. Who will fetch water? The girls. Boys will never fetch water. They don't bother. So government must come out. That's the only way. And there must be a time frame to re-locate the slums. There has to be an executing order. Nobody can say: No I will not go. I want this, I want that. Nothing. They go there. It has to be done. #52:20#
- 61 **I: From your perspective, are there a lot of people inside the government who are trying to come up with new solutions?**
- 62 E: So far I am not finding anything. There is no will. Despite the court order on airport land. When you land your plane on Mumbai airport, can you see the slums? It's a high court order now that you save them. And nobody can say no as per the court order. Now the court will not come in the way. If you rehabilitate them properly the court will not come in the way. But still nothing is done. I tell you the biggest problem among slums is that people are not united. And most of the slum lords are political people. Let me tell you, this cannot happen. They cannot survive without political backup. #53:50#
- 63 **I: Would you say these people are dangerous?**
- 64 E: Yeah! They are almost (#53:58# anti..?)
- 65 **I: What are their interests?**
- 66 E: Money. One interest is money and second interest is power.
- 67 **I: How does someone become a slum lord?**
- 68 E: I tell you. We have a middle class in India that is much better off than in Europe. You must have seen a woman who is working in the house as a maid. Now she comes to us. What has happened is that if you see India's growth story in 1951 we were about 330 millions. Today we are about 1,200 millions. Three times the population. Now, our rural economy is monsoon-based agriculture. People don't have anything to eat. What they do? They come to the city. Once they come to the city they can find work easily. There is a shortage of labour in Mumbai. We don't get the worker. So you will find a work. Now he has found the work so at least one problem is solved: you can eat. Now the second question comes: the dwell. So once he has money he will start finding out whether he can find some place, where he can pay rent and live. And then he will approach the slum lord. Then the slum lord may ask him for some 50,000 Rupees per acre or 100,000 per acre. Now house prices are up to one Million Rupees. And then somebody will rent out or somebody will take the money and say: "things are good. Come in." But most of them are paying rent and money comes forth. #56:38#
- 69 **I: So if it gets redeveloped will it also destroy this structure?**
- 70 E: Ha. Redevelopment destroys the structure. As far as (the) Act is concerned redevelopment power is all with the slum dwellers themselves. They are becoming owner. But still they are not united. They are not deciding. Who will I stand (with)? Either some political man, mostly in Slum Redevelopment. And one builder will come, or the builder won't go. I don't think any builder in Slum Redevelopment will go. They are working their way. There is

a political man, so he takes his cut. The builder earns and the slum dwellers are at least out of slums. They are going to better conditions. But what is happening is that nobody is solving the problems of later on. Say like running a lift, running a water pump, common water pump. All this common expenses who will bear the cost? As far as the act is concerned they are supposed to form a society. And some money will be given to society out of that interest. They will give money to the bank and whatever issue comes up they are supposed to run the system. There the government has made an arrangement. But they are not cooperating with each other. And until that time it does not work. #58:20#

71 **I: So, inside the Slums it's unification and outside the Slums it's cooperation what they lack? And as I understand from your description things are not thought through in the long-run.**

72 E: Yeah as long as you don't address the affordable housing. And I don't think so. The government isn't doing anything. No. We are paying as high rents as New York City here in Mumbai. So there is no question. My son is studying in US. He can easily afford to buy house. I can't. Despite of all my services. This is (a) rented house of (an) old type. So they are not finding a way out of it. How can they address this system? How can they bring out people from such misery? They are not citizen. And nearly 50 percent of them. Nor they themselves are united. See they can elect entire cooperation from themselves. They don't need politicians. They can get elected themselves. #59:55#

73 **I: Do you think people don't want to take over responsibilities?**

74 E: No, no, no, no. It's not the responsibility. I think it is mistrust and selfishness. Why should I trust you, you will cheat. But outsider come and see those (#1:00:19#?) they will accept. Themselves they will not accept it. Or maybe they are not capable. He will cheat also. And it has happened. They have been very badly cheated. #1:00:35#

75 **I: Is it because people have become cheaters that everyone is aware of/ (d: interviewee interrupts)**

76 E: Yes. And I have a lot examples for such cheating. In one of the areas where I had a tank they were not paying the bills. So we put up a notice that we will cut the water connection if they don't pay the bills. So they came. And what was the story? "Sir, we have given the money to the secretary who we had elected. We were depositing money with him and he was supposed to pay you but he has run away with the money." So I told them: "Then what can I do?" "This is (#1:01:18#?). We don't have money now." I told them either their water connection gets disconnected which I don't want to do, but at the same time I am also responsible for recovering the money. At least give me 50 percent. I try to see that for 50 percent money I will write you. But I can't make that policy otherwise everybody will start doing that from tomorrow. It is a great difficulty. I could convince people that okay I will not charge you anything, you just start paying from the next bill. From that then maybe 10 percent, 20 percent you pay me regularly in two year, three years' time but you pay. That's how we resolved. Because that person ran away with the money. #1:02:09#

77 **I: So it's the middle man who creates the problems?**

78 E: Yes. First the trust among themselves is not there. And in our country one of the most horrifying things is that our legal system isn't very strong. Either Slum Lords, either middle people, everywhere! The legal system is not working. #1:02:50#

- 79 **I:** I observed something that I find really interesting so maybe you have an explanation to it. It is not related to water but it is related to unification. So what I saw was that for the train everyone pays their ticket. They line up even if they have to wait for half an hour.
- 80 **E:** Yeah, yeah, they are paying.
- 81 **I:** And I find it interesting because where I come from people may try to avoid it. Not everyone. Me for example: I won't feel comfortable because it's a service and I am paying for it. But especially young people they jump into the train and hide inside the toilet room and when their station comes, they go out. So this does not happen here regardless of economic disparities and whatever background you have. People don't even question to just get on the train. So I was wondering what it is that makes them behave like this?
- 82 **E:** Exactly. You have come to the point. Now as I told you I have one water connection with two slums so they can manage. They will pay my money. When it comes to a community usually if everybody is buying water from me I don't think there will be a single man not paying. I told you about 62 percent of the people pay their water bills regularly. So where is the problem? Very little problem is there. The bad effect is when they have to work collectively they won't find trustworthy people among themselves. Hence the outsider comes into picture. #1:04:54#
- 83 **I:** So if it is just concerning myself I am going to pay my bills but when it comes to a collective there is mistrust and that is why it is not working.
- 84 **E:** Yeah it is not working. Yes you are very right. There is no checking in the train at all. But people buy their train tickets and go. They will not cheat. One thing is it is affordable, so is the water supply. It is affordable. There is no problem. Only problem is that I cannot give you water connection individually. Because my system does not take care of it. Even in this building we have a landlord. But sometimes three or four people will not give their contribution. They will do but not in time. So he cannot pay the bill. Or somebody else will have to pay the bill. This is happening in most of the societies here. They are owners. #1:06:07#
- 85 **I:** Do people not face consequences?
- 86 **E:** See. Suppose what happens that I can take them to court. And if I take them to court it is not that they are punished I am punished. The court will take years together to decide the case. #1:06:29#
- 87 **I:** And the landlord could not expel them from the flat?
- 88 **E:** No. That's the law. #1:06:34#
- 89 **I:** There is no law for that?
- 90 **E:** No. He can expel. There is a law. But suppose that fellow goes to the court that court case will take 20 years. So nobody wants to go to court. I tell you one of my friends has no water connection. I told them that you make an application to the high court. This is really the problem. They are telling me "we are prepared to bribe the people to get water connection but don't tell me to go to court". This is how the bribing has started in Mumbai. As well as in the government services. #1:07:21#

- 91 **I: So we are forming the legislative body? (d: interviewee interrupts)**
- 92 E: Legislation is one thing and deliver another. It's quite different. So you must be reading a lot of newspapers: today some builders have been put up by high court. So what is happening this have been executed orders. I should have taken the decision. Why am I allowing court take the decisions? Only thing is I am unable to force it. The court comes in. #1:08:07#
- 93 **I: I sum it up a little. Unification of the Slum is a problem. The middle man or slum lord is a problem. The lack of cooperation across different responsible bodies.**
- 94 E: Yes, right! They don't trust and it has a reason. There is reason. #1:08:33#
- 95 **I: And the execution of consequences: so law implementation. Not only filing of the case but the whole process is so long that one will never make an effort.**
- 96 E: You know. (4) We can talk about mafia. That was there in America, say New York City, Chicago City. And it was very difficult unless the people published how they were working and what is happening. They used to purchase the judge. Even here it happens. Now since courts are not delivering where could people go? So if I have a dispute with my neighbours and the neighbour is not agreeing I will go and complain to the local goons. The local slum lords and he will call him here and he will decide things. That is how we have allowed mafia to grow up in Mumbai. Slum lords, drug lords, whoever is there you know they are not afraid of laws, they are not afraid of the police. They know that in court nobody will give any order to the police. So what is the police doing? The police is also happy. Okay you give me your sale and I will keep my eye closed. So the entire system is paradox. Only because judiciary is not working. #1:10:18#
- 97 **I: How can you make it work?**
- 98 E: There is no political will. There is no enquiry in democracy. If people's rights have been violated where can they go? Only to the judiciary. And the judiciary doesn't work. What will you do? #1:10:43#
- 99 **I: When I studied in JNU I met a lot of bright, smart, and thoughtful young students. They were very ambitious and politically active. So when I asked them why it takes so long that the system changes they told me that most people leaving from university aim for government positions. And once you have it you become lazy and quickly institutionalized. So they will never try to do anything. So why is are people so easily institutionalized?**
- 100 E: You must be now aware of what has happened recently in JNU. I was so disappointed with this government. There was an emergency in India in 1975-1976. But if you knew that period no government has ever put students into jail for whatever reason. Now here they were being charged for something which was not happening. And police got them such a charge that they cannot get the bail. Let the court decide whether the police action was right or wrong but it takes years. And that is how they put students in jail. This is something unacceptable. How can you do this? They are all your students. How can you put a student into jail? They are not criminals. Criminals are outside and you are putting students into jail. This is how the government wants to council. You cannot. They were maybe reasons. I don't think there were reasons. And I mainly know because they have a right that doesn't mean you will put him in jail. So this is how our country is getting into (#1:13:47# colonisations?) and with the new government I am not finding any way of improving the judiciary. No way. And that is why

India has a lot of corruption. Because they bribe the people to get them fix their problems.
#1:14:11#

101 **I: I see clear differences between friends I have. The current central government is very middle-class oriented. People I know tend to get really inspired by this kind of politics. And they believe it can bring about change. And now you are telling me the opposite. Why do you think that people have so different perceptions on this?**

102 **E:** There are two states in India. One is Kerala and one is Bengal. When they elected a communist government years ago even there the things didn't change. Okay we see that most men of the elected political parties they back the industrialists not the labourers. They are so that they are not against labours but their main intentions are in these areas. But the two governments in Kerala and Bengal, I didn't find any changes there even. Even they created their own mafias to control the poor people not to control the other people. I don't know why it's not working. Are we lacking in education? I don't think so. Even in Kerala and Bengal they have the highest literacy rate. #1:16:36#

103 **I: It is a very subjective point of view but what I feel sometimes is that there is a very oppressive underlying thought. What I have, I have because you don't have. If I give you power I will lose it. There are people all over the world who are thinking like that. But not because I give you something I automatically lose out on something. And in my head sometimes I think about whether that is what affects it so much.**

104 **E:** I will answer to this. From your own country Karl Marx wrote '*das Kapital*' I think year 1868. And it took almost 70, 80 years to change. Perhaps we are facing the same crisis. Change will come but it's very slow and time-consuming. They did not change. Karl Marx created two countries that was in Russia and in China. But after Karl Marx wrote this sceptical book, after 40 years of writing. And something happened in Germany only after World War II. See at the end of the World War the new socialist government that was established after Hitler they nationalized the entire land. No private ownership. India should have done that. China did that. Here we are giving advantage to the people who are holding land. So that when we got independent from British rule. And what you did in Germany that was option of this Karl Marx theory. Peasant. Right of the peasant. And that is why it went to the top again. So that is what we are not doing in India. And that is a very big disadvantage for people who are not having land. The second thing is that we are slowly moving. Processes are very slow. But everywhere in the world it is slow. Now if you see the reforms that took place in British it took almost 800 years to come to this states. And if you study our Indian caste system our religions have divided us into so many sections. And we are not united in that. That is almost prohibiting these peasant people to move up. They always talk first about what is your caste. But this will go. #1:21:30#

105 **I: So do you think change will only come from people outside?**

106 **E:** No. Change will come but it is a very slow process. It's not a fast process. Change in Germany came because of the World War. We have not suffered yet. Once you start suffering the slum people will unite. If you make their entire land miserable. You won't get anything until you come and sit together and find a solution. Then they will do. But again. This won't work in there. So the good thing that is happening is that even the judiciary is very slow but they are taking some decisions. Not executing themselves. This is solely taken over by the government not by the judiciary. They are being taken. So let's hope something new will come out of it. And second thing unless judiciary improves nothing will happen. The democracy is

a big threat and that is how mafias, I am saying the political system is all mafia, they are all goons. They are not social workers. #1:22:56#

ANNEX 18: INTERVIEW NO. 16

Comment: I visited the WDIP office in Bandra West to get some information on the work of the department. They took some time for me and held two presentations. I was allowed to take notes but not to record. The following is a summary of the notes I have taken.

ABOUT

The WDIP provides ten services. About 200 people are working in the department, including those in the office and in the field. The department was set up with the agenda of privatization of water. The WDIP works independently. There is no direct communication between the WDIP and other water departments.

FIELDS OF WORK

- 1 GIS
- 2 Network Modelling
- 3 Zoning
- 4 Leak Detection
- 5 Customer Survey
- 6 CRM
- 7 Asset Registration
- 8 Water Solution for Slum Areas
- 9 Quality Assurance & Reporting
- 10 Knowledge Monitoring

GOALS

- (1) Continuous supply (connected to Public Health)
- (2) Reduce losses from the system
- (3) Equitable distribution
- (4) Quantity improvement

DISTRIBUTION NETWORK

Sources → Primary Network → Secondary Network → Service Reservoirs → Tertiary Network

PROBLEM

Improving water quality is one of the major challenges for the Hydraulic Department. Contamination occurs between the service reservoirs and the tertiary network. Tertiary networks are the housing connections. They are partially very old and people do not maintain them properly. People also do not repair their own connections. Due to the intermittent supply of water, sources of contamination (such as drainage) run back from the tertiary network into the water distribution system, which is the reason the water gets contaminated.

SOLUTIONS

There is a program for the renewal of the connections and the replacement of certain connections that have emerged over the time with single connections. This project is executed by the construction department.

To tackle the problem of intermittent water supply the WDIP is running a pilot project on 24 hours per day continuous water supply in two districts of Mumbai: H-West and K-West. The success of the project will be evaluated end of 2017. The results will be published. Continuous water supply is achieved by modification of pressures. The water distribution system of Mumbai is entirely based on gravity. Some areas face excessive pressure which causes bursts. The modification of pressure will allow for burst reduction and ultimately for the reduction of losses. The implementation of this pilot project is done in phases. Control Valves are used for successfully regulating the pressure. If continuous supply can be achieved, the drainage which comes from tertiary connections cannot flow back into the system and water quality will improve for the end consumer.

For the development of solutions in slum areas participation of the slum dwellers is required. An in-depth study was conducted to map and survey the situation in the slums and to develop a solution. The proposal was developed in the participation with the communities and under consideration of technical aspects. Six meetings were held with the communities in order to communicate with them and also to increase awareness. Delegates of the department visited to understand their problems and to explain the residents the changes in the system (that they would get more water) but also educated them on how to deal with the changes (not leaving taps open).

To encourage a general dialog between customer and water department a customer facility centre (CFC) will be set up where people will be able to report their expectations and get feedback.

AWARENESS

There are currently discussion on how to educate the people on consumption behaviour. A training and exhibition centre, which showcases the work of the Hydraulic Department and its water supply to the city, has been suggested. The exhibition of models of dams and treatment plans may be one component. School visits and media education should be made mandatory. Such an exhibition project could be executed within the next two to three years.

BILL RECOVERY AND WASTAGE

95 percent of people living in regular housing have meters. Meters have been introduced for a better bill recovery but are also essential to reduce the wastage of water. The establishment of a tariff is a political issue because water needs to be affordable on the one side but people should not waste water on the other. Up to 150-200 litres water per day are delivered at low cost. Above that water charges per litre are raised. Still, people with a considerably high-income do not get bothered by this. Water may also become a status symbol. Water gets wasted because one can afford it. If meters were removed water would be wasted even more. If continuous water supply is implemented people may waste even more.

GIS SYSTEM

The GIS mapping that the WDIP is currently executing will be made available to all stakeholders. There are two components in the mapping process: a physical and a technical component. It is a continuous process that must be executed under difficult circumstances (such as regular traffic) and maps all sorts of details such as leakages, damages and slums. The GIS data will be made available to the different departments and serve them in different ways. Data that is required and requested from other departments will then be made available on a single platform database. This will make working processes more time-efficient and interlink the departments' information. It is projected that the GIS mapping will be completed in another year. In average 200-300 meters are covered daily. In difficult areas the coverage may be 100 meters per day. 30 employees are working in teams of three in the field. 22 people are working on it from their offices.

ANNEX 19: INTERVIEW NO. 18

1 **I: How did you get involved with Pani Haq Samiti?**

2 E: Actually I was working with many social organizations. Especially I was working with cultural organizations. And I was working for the Bombay Municipal Corporation as an engineer for some 30 years in the water supply department. So I found that this Pani Haq Samiti was doing some work. By that time they were opposing the privatization of water and I thought I could be of use.

Then only the people in the structure got a right to water. And that changed the focus of Pani Haq Samiti. We found that out of 24 Lakhs people, one quarter of the people was not in the structure. They were getting water from private tanker mafias by unauthorized connections. They had to purchase a 20 Litre can for 35 Rupees whereas official connection is three Rupees for 1000 Litres. We found that injustice. Anyone who is a citizen or has come to work here, has a right to work. Water is a right to life.

And we did so many things: educational projects, morchas, official applications but post '95 connections were not given. That is not in line with our Article 21 of the constitution of India. So we filed this PIL and we won. But nothing happened. So when on 10th of July the IHRC declared the right to water a human right we used that to communicate with the government and tell them you should be doing that. As per Court order BMC had to send a proposal by the 15th of September 2014. Two years have passed and the proposal has not been submitted. Some parties were against it. They said that structures would then become legalized. But it is not true. These are two separate issues. They just tried to avoid the issue. For example they also said water has to be pumped up. But water is given to Malabari Area and that is also on hill. Those were the arguments.

But there are other issues. One is that people on government land area get official connection but not sufficient. For example there is a road and on the one side there is water and on the other there is not. They have the right but they don't get the water. So it is about inequity of distribution of water.

Then there is the issue of quality of water. Water is polluted because of the stagnant supply of water. You need 24 hours of supply otherwise it gets contaminated. But BMC says there is scarcity of water. But you have 3,400 Litres of water and 12 Million people, so you have 270 Litres of water per person. So why you have scarcity? We filed a request and ask them to give us how much is wasted in leakage. And we found that 30-33 percent is wasted. Normal is about 10 percent. This is why there is scarcity of water. And the total wastage can be brought down to 15 percent. So BMC should not say there is scarcity of water.

But when you meet them and talk all requires some technical knowledge. Engineers will come up and bring some technical excuses and there is where I am useful. I am a civil engineer. I can argue with them. This is how I can help. And I have knowledge on the constitution.

3 **I: Do you think PHS as an organization can change the situation?**

4 E: Pani Haq Samiti is affiliated with other organizations and political parties and they tell us "we are with you" but they are not practically contributing. The problem is to mobilize

people. This issue has to be brought to the BMC authorities but we are a voluntary structural organization. All NGOs have their own priorities so we try to found an organization which makes this topic a priority. But the problem is that not all representatives always attend the meeting and then they don't know what has been happening. So these are the issues we are dealing with. And unless more people are mobilized. And unless the mobilization will give priority to this issue. But that way Pani Haq Samiti is making many ideas, many application, and this court case also, many things we have done. But to get results there has to be some broader mobilization. And people more dedicated to participating.

5 I: How do you think you can better mobilize the people?

6 E: One thing is that we have not certain areas. Especially these severely affected areas are there: Chembur, Manpur area is this. And then there is Ambujwadi and that area. Much of the previous land. More official people are there in these areas now. And most of the people/ there are some talks in Bombay also. But then there are very less people. So the mayor locality is there in (#01:14? #) Manpur, Ambujwadi etc. So we are trying to consider down these particular areas. There we can get support of many more people and more people can be mobilized. And then even in South Bombay there are some problems, right to water problems. They are not officially getting water connection. There are some problems. But then to mobilize about this problems will be difficult. So we are getting this two areas Manpur, Chembur and this Govandi. #01:50#

7 I: You said it is also a problem that the representatives do not attend all the time. How do you think you can change this?

8 E: You know, that is what I said that we have to form a group and then there are some people who are working with them. We call these people into our meetings also. And we are helping those people with all the information. So that they can independently try to mobilize the people. They will independently talk on the issues involved. So we are trying to train them personally. The people who are working there those people are trained. And it is not necessary that every time we should go there and talk to the people. We are trying to mobilize and we are trying to train local people. So that they will be independently dealing with these issues. We are arguing see that otherwise we have to make everything ourselves.

Even after the court order BMC is not giving water. So now this time we are making applications. We are forming, as per BMC schedule for a standard water connection where five families are forming a group: that is common connection not individual connection. Common connection outside a particular chawl they are given. So we are asking people to form a group of five families and apply. When they are applying they should now submit the copy of the court order and they should mention in their application that as per this court order we are asking for the water. And this application will be submitted to the BMC department. They want the proof of residence and proof of identity etc. So you should submit that particular application with the narration, and attached the court order. And then we should attach also Pani Haq Samiti's later request. So legacy agreed with their reply. Say we are able to find people, say 500 families. Then we will say at least 200 reply. And then basically our case will be strong in the court also. Because we are now appearing in the court again. So these are the people who have applied. And there are so many people who have applied for this and what sort of reply will be given by BMC? BMC said: "okay we are ready to supply water when

you submit this and submit that. Then we can issue it”. But BMC says that court order is not/ proper order is not issued yet and that policy has not been decided properly on the court order. And then we fight in the court. After that order of 15th September 2014 BMC has not implemented that particular order. We go into the court say after two years or three years. In three years even BMC has not made any arrangement to implement that court order.

And now there will be elections in February, March. And in elections this issue becomes / we make this issue personally. We will be asking political parties what we are doing on this. “What is your stand on this? This is the court order and BMC has not implemented this in two years. So what is your stand?” Whether you are going to put your efforts and make this being implemented or whether you are not. So that has to be dealt with. We are trying to make it a political issue. We take formal meetings and make statements and take press conference. And we ask political party that we take a stand and this has to be implemented on that and when you will be elected as a local representative in BMC the local representative has to take this issue as a priority. And then only that is only how we set our relations. So we are now/ on that day we have decided first let us make applications. But let us go to the proper court. Let us get reply from the BMC. In that case we will see how it will make events. Legally we are going to court and politically also we make people aware that see this is the reply BMC has been given and on that it appears that BMC is reluctant. They are not denying. But they are not taking initiative also. That way we can go. #07:25#

9 I: So what would be the best outcome?

10 E: Best outcome is only at least we think that after all these things BMC will at least formulate a policy to give water to the communities. And okay, it won't be a proper policy and it won't be agreed by us, but still they will pursue a policy. They have to pursue a policy. So now we get water in discussion. They have to say and they have to commit. Because now they cannot deny. They cannot say that we will not be giving water to the people. They will say that they will give water. But then they might put some conditions, political conditions, and then we negotiate with them on the political condition. There one condition is that we have to find some licensed plumber. And you should apply for licensed plumber. #08:32#

11 I: How long do you think will take the fight to get water connections for the people?

12 E: I think that actually before this election this issue will take some speed. Because when our election comes people are taking some decisions. Political people are taking some decisions. So I think before elections there will be some progress and I think BMC will come out with a proposal and submit their proposal to court at least. #09:24#

13 I: How many years do you think will it take to get acceptance to the right of water?

14 E: Actually it will not take years now. Now since the court has said and now so many deliberations have been made and so much education has been done. I think it will not take much time. The only thing is that at some place laying of the private pipeline with the proper pressure etc. that will be actual work on the side. Maybe it will take one or two years to be implemented but starting to build it at least this year. In 2017 they will start implementing it. They may take time to lay the pipeline and they will take time to try to find out the (#10:25? #) etc. But they cannot now deny that. That will go. #10:30#

15 **I: When did you start to work with PHS?**

16 E: I started to work with Pani Haq Samiti in 2011. 5 years. #10:56#

17 **I: How has the movement changed over time?**

18 E: Changed? Change means, when we set up our team there was the issue of privatization of water. BMC had a pilot project. They wanted to hand out the distribution system to private companies. So on that issue we won. Because BMC could not do that. The private project that was carried out was for six month. But then BMC could not implement it. That was a success for a particular ward: K-East ward campaign.

But this issue we not sufficiently/ we at least could contact many people, many organizations, many people. And we can explain this issue to them. And now many people in Bombay know that this is the issue and court has given order and now it's a right to water. Anybody should get water. We are with the legal status of the structure. That has been properly communicated with people. So that is our success. Now people have to come out. This implementation has to be done so that BMC can be pressurized to work. Actually this issue took speed only after court order. Before that we were just mobilizing people and we were taking our morchas and delegations with BMC. Then BMC was replying to us. Then we had a delegation to state government also because primarily the policy was decided by the state government. State government also gave some answer to us. So that was going on. It took speed only after court decision. #13:23#

19 **I: You were working in the government so you must have a better idea of the internal structure. The water department is only executing as per policy regulations. I met T.V. Shah and he told me that he was trying to get people access to water by selling it because he was legally not allowed to give it to them. Is that a strategy?**

20 E: Selling water? No. We don't believe in this. Actually BMC is/ all the water that is supplied BMC is taking some revenue. Means water taxes are there. Even for 1,000 Litres BMC has reached some rate. Means BMC is getting 50 percent out. BMC is not giving water for free. So these people are paying that huge amount, say for 1,000 Litres they are paying 50 Rupees for 30 Litres or 40 Litres of water. They are ready to pay three, four Rupees for 1000 litres of water. They cannot pay at all. Actually our proper demand is that 50 litres of water should be given for free. And that has been implemented in Delhi. Certain amount of water should be given for free. And any further amount of water will be charged. So that is there in Delhi. But now people are ready to pay on every litre of water. But not with the rate. Not with the rate they are given by private tankers. People need food also. Means they are paying per 1,000 litre say 30 rupees for 50 litre can. #16:23#

21 **I: Another problem I often came across was that there is so little unification inside the Slums. Do you perceive it to be a problem? And if yes how could it be tackled?**

22 E: It is not difficult to mobilize people because there is a sort of issue for that. This is a very hot, very important issue. People will get mobilized when we approach them. But then we don't have that much schedule. Means organizations have 10-15 people who are working and taking this issue as a priority. But not many people are there. So it is not that the people won't be mobilized. People are facing the problem very much. Water becomes a very

important issue. Say one day if water supply is not given to any particular area the whole basti⁷⁶ becomes panicky. So that is always that people are always very sensitive with this issue. But then they have to be properly informed what the BMC policy is and why they are not getting water. Why they are having issues. It has to be explained to them. For that we have to have a bigger organization of many volunteers.

And then another that people are living in scarcity of water. Initially they are not getting water. Then they are getting water but they are not getting sufficient water. Almost half of the population is in crisis with the water. And then there is enough water available. BMC mentions that they don't have water. This is totally wrong. They have and when we are sitting in the meeting we say that it's you who says you have scarcity of water. It's you who wants to build some dams in remote areas 100 km from Bombay. One thing is BMC is doing nonsense on the source side and they are not considering the distribution side of it. The demand side they are totally being reckless.

They are going and constructing the dam because there is a monetary corruption and all this. So dam building is an easier thing than to handle the proper distribution in the city. So they will go and constructing a dam. Constructing a dam is a very simple technology. It is not so complicated. They have to go and constructing bulks of concreted blocks. If you going to construct concrete dam it is a very simple technology it is not so complicated. But then to bring that water to city and to distribute properly make the proper pressure is a very complicated job. So BMC is not considering on that front. They are only concerned with building dams.

And always they are saying there is scarcity of water. We have always argued with them that you cannot prove that there is scarcity of water. You, on paper, do your calculations. That is what I said. Internally people started with availability per head per day. And that is double the national standard. That is some 40 litres per head per day. And then why many people in this city are getting less than 40 litres per head per day? 35 Lakh people cannot get 40 litres per day per head. And one percent of the population is getting 40 litres. Where the water goes? And we were breaking up how they are distributing the water. They are saying we are giving permission to industries and commercial use. But then much of the industries which were consuming more water: textile industries, chemical industries, they have reduced in Bombay. Textile industries are almost closed now and chemical industries are reducing in Bombay. And we are asking them: "if these industries that are consuming more water have reduced in last 25 years so who will say they are getting the water?" So who does the break up? How are you distributing water to industries, commercial use, and commissioners? #22:17#

23 I: So if you were head of BMC now, how would you solve this?

24 E: As far as possible I will try. But then policy also matters. But I was there in South Bombay. And that time many people were coming by morchas and all. Ladies were coming in the morning and I used to talk to them very softly. I used to go to their places and I used to solve their problems. We were finding out some solution in the present system because I cannot totally say. Okay then I used to say I give permission to your connection which will be larger. Say they are dealing with the 1.5 inch of permission I used to increase the dimension of

⁷⁶ "Basti" is a Hindi term and refers to informal settlements or slums.

the permission. And then I used to tell them temporarily you will ask for permission this way, we will change your agreement. Those things I can do. But then what about the policy. I wasn't able to implement a policy. So what I wanted in policy-matter I used to go and ask to my superiors what is the problem. I will explain you the problem you will go and explain the problem to them. And my superior used to ask me: "How do these people know so many things?" And I told him okay I said it. "I have been inspecting this particular area and told them that problem. I told you that problem but you are not listening to me so let them tell that problem to you." So this things I have made. So that way I was a help to the water department. And then T.V. Shah was head of the department. And T.V. Shah wasn't pro people. But then he also had said people are also not sincere and they are also wasting water this and that. And we tried to convince him: No, if you are not getting much water how are you going to waste so much water? There should be sufficient water to waste also. Because old policies to be decided by the state government. This policy is a political decision also. There are political parties that are making some decisions. Political parties are deciding whether dams are to be built or whether the system is to be strengthened. So they are more interested in building dam and giving contracts. They can manage their percentage of most of the dam construction. So they are more interested in sanctioning the proposals of dam, then the improving the distribution system.

Even BMC staff is not properly trained to find out the leakages in the system. But then much of the BMC staff is not able to handle them also because they are not trained properly. No proper training is there. So all of this things. Operation system is declining and that is where they are trying to bring the operation system to the private places. They were trying to take fraud. See this thing is always that BMC staff is not properly working. So they wanted to give a whole part of that operation to the private sector. And BMC was giving the water. And BMC will be given in the hands of the private company and then private company will become the institution. And that has been done in Nagpur. And water charges have increased five times. Then it was given to (#24:18? #) Nagpur that was illegal to hand the distribution system over to private corporates. And that has increased water charges by five times. So we were opposing in Bombay. In Bombay you cannot do that. It is the BMC's duty to handle the distribution system also. And BMC staff is inefficient and that is why. BMC staff has not been given proper training. And on top it has not enough incentive also for the work they are doing. Means there were some critical problems when I was working in Bombay. In Parel Nagar there was one burst. BMC commissioner took a / so commissioner asked for my boss how much time it will take to stop the burst and start the supply. We told him that it would take 24 hours. And then BMC did it in eight hours. And then we started within eight hours why did you tell me it would take 24 hours? So I have worked with the technical BMC staff and I know the technical staff is deprived in solving any new things. But then I am not talking because I am not interest in telling that staff. We used to talk with the commissioner whenever there was a meeting but we cannot increase the attitude and the policy of the superior political representatives who are coming in this term. And then we can only start people mobilizing. #27:46#

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Auto-Photography in Kaula Bunder

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ANNEX 21: INTERVIEW NO.10

Picture

Information



The pictures had to be taken from distance because otherwise people would have gotten suspicious.

Figure 1: Children on the way to get their gallons filled with drinking water.



This is the same as picture no.1 but from a little closer.

Figure 2: A wagon carries water gallons.



This image was taken in the morning. Frist there was one well. Everyone contributed to the construction. Later it got shut down, and someone got a new well-constructed. The well belongs to a person that charges money for the water. People pay Rs. 200 on a monthly basis. The water is salty and not used for drinking purpose.

Figure 3: People are getting water from a well in Ambujwadi.



Figure 4: People are washing and drying their clothes next to a well.



Figure 5: People are washing and drying their clothes next to a well.



Figure 6: A Tempo delivers water to the residents of Ambujwadi.



Figure 7: A Person carries water gallons on a bicycle.

There is no clarity whether this person is carrying the water for his household or whether he makes money from it. The person was unknown to the photographer.



Figure 8: A person carries water gallons on a bicycle.

The picture also shows a water pipeline. This is the pipeline that serves residents in mahada building. The pipeline crosses through waste water. The pipeline is not leaking and therefore it is not the source of the water. There is no knowledge on how the waste water got there. It is assumed that people dropped it there. It is mentioned that waste water causes a lot of issues with dengue and other mosquito-related diseases.



Figure 9: Water gallons are loaded into an Auto-Rickshaws for transportation purpose.

There are various ways how water is being transported to the people's doorsteps. People carry the water by walking, by bicycle, autos and other. The picture shows one person transporting water on a bicycle and one loading water gallons an auto. It is assumed that the auto driver is selling the water to other households and not using it for his own household because there are so many gallons he wants to load. In case of the bicycle there is no indication whether it is for private use or commercial sale.



Figure 10: Empty water gallons are lined up.

People leave their water gallons in the order they arrive and once it their turn the water gets filled up in a gallon. Sometimes also empty gallons are brought by people who have made delivery their business. The gallons are picked up from the households, filled with water and delivered back to the households. The water source is not visible in the picture but is located to the left of the picture.



Figure 11: A person gets water from a withdrawal station at mahada building.

The picture shows a person getting water from a water source located at a wall. This wall separates Ambujwadi and the mahada building complex. A pipeline has been provided by the residents from mahada building which leads from their side of the wall to the side where Ambujwadi is located. This is the only drinking water source for the people in Ambujwadi.

Empty gallons are located to the right of the person. Two water gallons are located next to an auto-rickshaw. It is assumed that they are going to be transported with the auto and that the person is transporting the water to households where he will sell it off.

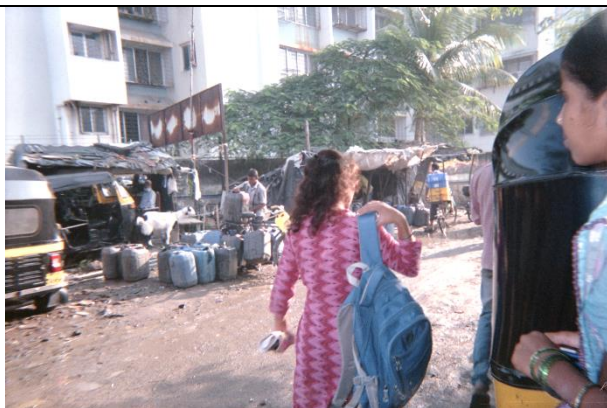
It seems that there is no one overlooking the process but it is explained that the person in charge that people have to pay has a shop that is on the roadside from which the photo was taken (see picture 12)



The shopkeeper lives in Ambujwadi itself. It is unclear who the shopkeeper pays the money to after collecting it from the people. It is assumed that the shopkeeper gets a cut for this service from the main person who is selling water.

A look on the ground also reveals how much water is wasted in the process.

Figure 12: The shopkeeper on the right side of the picture collects the money from the people who are getting water.



Empty and full gallons are visible. One person is loading gallons for transporting it on a bicycle.

Figure 13: Withdrawal station at mahada.



The water is not fetched from the ground but from a pipeline. The hand-pump is used to create pressure that pumps up the water. There are four or five such installments in this area. There is someone standing nearby to whom the money is being paid. After being asked the children say that they have never just run away with water because otherwise the collector would come to their place.

Figure 14: A man is fetching drinking water from a manual hand-pump.



Figure 15: A man carries water on a bicycle.



Figure 16: Official overhead water pipeline that passes through Ambujwadi.



Given the quantity of cans he is carrying, it seems like that it is for commercial purpose and the man will be selling the water to others.

Figure 17: A man carries drinking water on a bicycle.



Figure 18: A person carries drinking water on a bicycle.



Figure 19: A tempo with integrated water tank.

These driver of the tempo is living in Ambujwadi. Smaller water mafias (with bicycles) buy water from these bigger ones and sell it in locations where tempos cannot go to. The water is sold to the residents of Ambujwadi for Rs. 25 per can (because they are relatively big and they can only deliver on the street but not in the dense housing areas).

The people living within the society are only doing all the delivery jobs.



Figure 20: A person carries two gallons of water, probably for personal use.



Figure 21: People go for their night shift, work, and get water when they come back.



Figure 22: A person carries water gallons on a bicycle.



Figure 23: A tempo carries water cans.

There are tempos with tanks in it, tempos with gallons, auto-rickshaws and people selling water on bicycles.



Figure 24: The hutment of the interviewee Mitilesh Gupta.



Figure 25: A tempo with an integrated water tank is selling water to the residents.



Figure 26: A man carries water gallons on a bicycle.



Figure 27: Handcart are also used as carriers by the water mafia.



Figure 28: The picture shows a pipeline that carries boring water.

Some people have got individual pipelines (boring water only). They have paid between Rs. 50,000 -70,000 to get the boring done. Now selling water to other residents for around Rs. 300 per month. They charge people Rs.100 more compared to the boring water well in picture 3 & 4 because they deliver water directly to the homes via pipelines.



Figure 29: Water filled in gallons.



Figure 30: Sewage Disposal in Ambujwadi.

Drills and gutters lead the slum's waste water to this hole. This includes sewer water and water from defecation. The place is also used for open defecation. The hole is located at the centre of Ambujwadi.

A long time back the hole there used be restrooms where now the hole is. It was demolished. The reason is not clear. It can be assumed that this happened in frame of the mass demolition in 2004.



Figure 31: A women is washing clothes outside her house in Ambujwadi.



Figure 32: A man fetches ground water with a hand-pump.

The owners of hand-pumps also sell water to other residents.

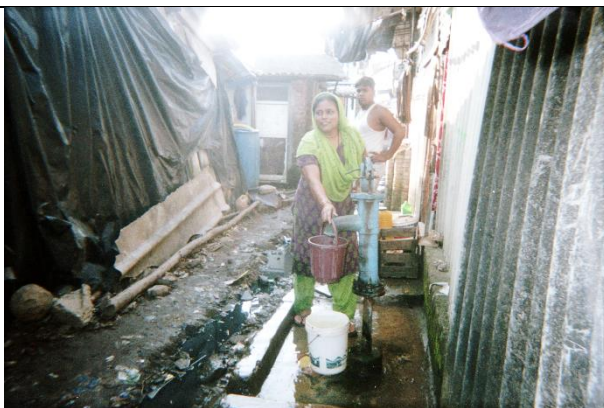


Figure 33: A women fetches water with a hand-pump.

The dirty water on the ground comes from spilling water while filling it into the gallons.



Figure 34: A woman fetches water from her well inside her house.

This family has a well inside their house. It is not visible in the picture because of the angle the picture was taken from.



Figure 35: A woman fetches water from a well inside her house.

The well is almost 30-35 feet deep and people who have one have made it themselves. They use the water only for private consumption. There are many people who've wells inside their houses.



Figure 36: A women fetches water from a well outside her house.



Figure 37: A women fetches water from a well inside her house.

Information: There is not a single place in Ambujwadi were you can get water for free.



Figure 38: A tempo carrying water for commercial purpose.



Figure 39: A tempo which carries water gallons.



The picture also shows the open drainage. Water goes to the big open sewer we had seen in previous image.



Figure 41: A boy fills drums with water.



Figure 42: A man carries water on a bicycle for commercial purpose.

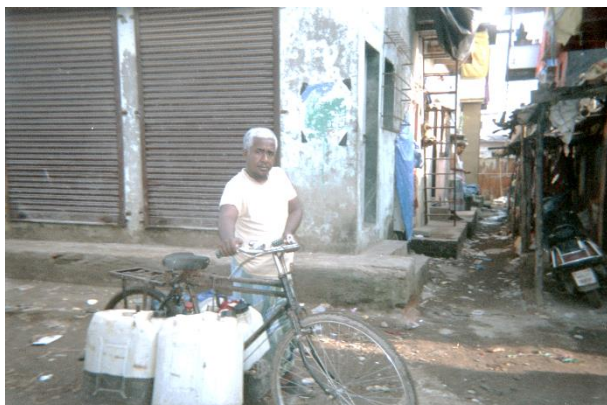


Figure 43: A man carries water on bicycle for commercial purpose.



Figure 44: A women fetches water from a well.

The well owners sell the water to others for Rs.200 per month. Unlimited water for Rs.200.



Figure 45: Men are queuing up to fetch water with a hand-pump.



Figure 46: Hutment of Mitilesh Gupta.

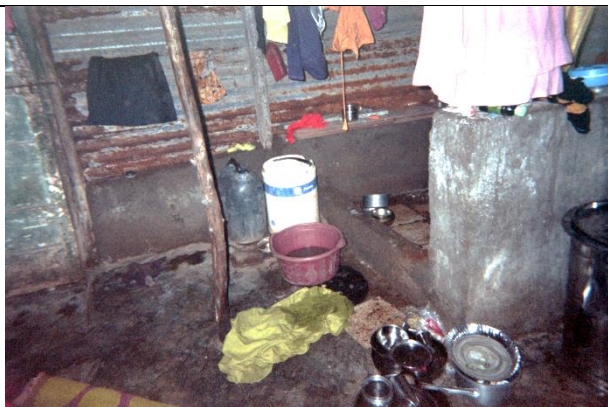


Figure 47: Dish-washing space of Mitilesh Gupta.

ANNEX 22: INTERVIEW NO. 17**Reshma's Photos:****Additional Information:**

Figure 48: Filthy water and garbage at the creek in Kaula Bunder.



Figure 49: Hidden water pipeline.

The pipelines are hidden under the plastic tarp.



Figure 50: Hidden water pipelines

The pipelines are hidden under the waste.



Figure 51: Women washing dishes.

People use very little water for cleaning their utilities.



Figure 52: Dirty water drums.

People cannot clean properly when little water is available to them. This has also repercussions on hygiene. People live in a dusty and dirty environment. Water stored in dirty gallons is likely to affect water quality and expose people to health risks.



The picture shows a half full watergallon covered with a plastic tarp and a smaller bucket that contains clothes that need to be washed. The picture has been taken to show that due to the lack of water, people cannot wash their clothes regularly. It also shows that water is stored very sporadic, and that dust and dirt may get into the water gallons.

Figure 53: Full water gallon covered with plastic tarps.



Figure 54: Dirty water puddle.



The sewage water visible on the picture comes from an overflowing gutter. Open sewage water causes many diseases.

Figure 55: Sewage water on the ground.



The same sewage water as in figure at but from another angle.

Figure 56: Sewage water on the ground.



Figure 57: Sewage water on the ground.



Figure 58: Illegal water pipelines leading to individual households.



Figure 59: Wet washing hangs on the over ground water pipes to dry.



The picture shows water pipelines coming from under the sea. Garbage is disposed in open spaces.



Figure 61: Water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 62: Water running to the surface from the burst of an underground water pipeline.

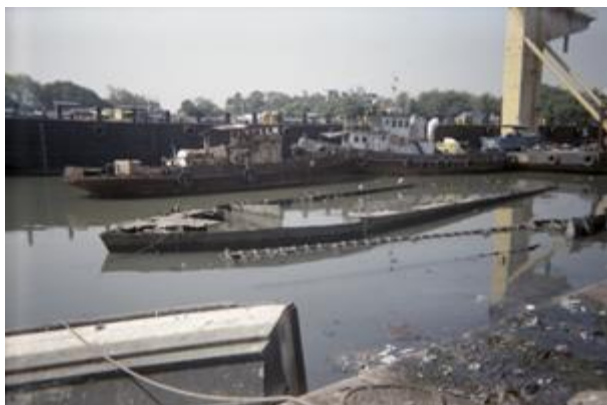


Figure 63: Creek at Kaula Bunder.

Water pipelines are under the sea. In case there is a leakage in the pipeline, impurities / dirty water gets into the pipes. In such cases people sometimes get black colored water at their homes. Especially during monsoon time the water is usually first black, and then after few times of rain the color changes to brown and then to yellow. People use clothes to filter the water and then cook with it.



Figure 64: Utensils and two water gallons.

People have many utensils but little water to wash them.



Figure 65: A woman washes clothes.

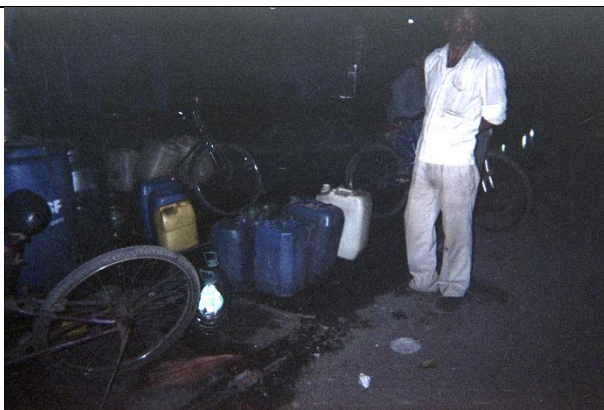
People are using very little water for washing clothes.



People keep falling sick from consuming contaminated water.



Figure 67: Bunch of water pipelines.



Often water comes at 1am or 2am during the night or 6am in the morning or 4pm in the afternoon. When water comes during the night people stay awake until water comes and queue up until it is their turn.

Figure 68: People are getting water at night.

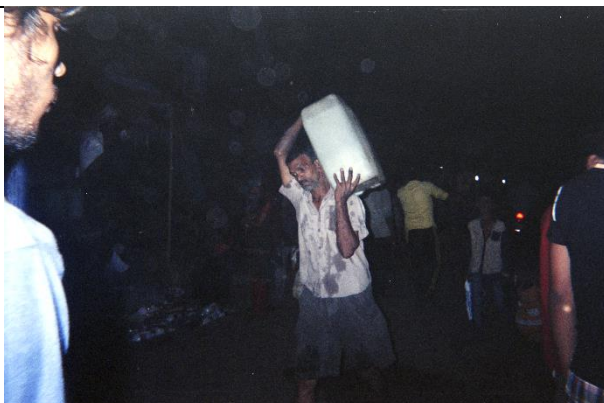


Figure 69: A man carries a water gallon.



Figure 70: A man carries water gallons on a bicycle.



Figure 71: Water pipelines are leading out of the creek.



Figure 72: Contaminated water in the creek.



Figure 73: Street vendors are selling food on the handcarts in a dirty and unhygienic environment.



Figure 74: Empty water gallons left at the creek side.



Figure 75: Empty water gallons left at the creek side.



Figure 76: Openly dumped garbage at the creek.

Because water is available irregularly people line up their empty water drums instead of queuing up themselves. That way they don't have to stand there all day long and wait for the arrival of water. When water is available the drums are filled up by the seller/owner in the order they arrived.

In the case of water shortage sellers can only provide water irregularly or at intervals, such as once a week. They usually provide water first to their preferred customers and then to all other people. People who pay for the water services and do not get water deliberately break the extended pipelines that are located under the sea and fetch water directly from there. They usually do this at night but when the owner realizes that his pipelines had been cut and people have "stolen" the water, the situation tends to escalate.

Although there have been many requests to not dump the garbage openly, people still do it. Open garbage disposal is related to the spread of diseases.



Figure 77: Openly dumped garbage at the creek.



Figure 78: Openly dumped garbage at the creek



Figure 79: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines.



Figure 80: Shipyard at the creek.



There was no information on who owns the tank and for what purpose.

Figure 81: A large water tank.



Figure 82: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines.



Figure 83: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines.



Figure 84: Common street in Kaula Bunder.



Figure 85: Open Sewage water and garbage disposal at the creek.



Figure 86: Empty water drums left at the creek.

Same background as in picture one. It is added that people leave their drums sometimes for days. Sometimes they also get stolen.



Figure 87: Full water drums outside the houses.

People store their water drums outside their houses because there is not enough space inside.



Figure 88: Full water drums outside the houses.

The picture shows that the water drums are not properly covered. Dirty cotton is used to protect the water from dust, thieves and insects. But this solution is also not very hygienic.



The picture also reveals the dirty environment through which the pipelines are laid. In case of leakages or deliberate breaking water can easily get contaminated.

Figure 89: Illegally extended water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 90: Illegally extended water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 91: Illegally extended water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 92: Illegally extended water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 93: Illegally extended water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 94: Full water drums kept outside the house.



Figure 95: Full water drums kept outside the house.



Figure 96: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines.



The picture shows over ground water pipelines laid from tree to tree. The ground of the picture shows open waste disposal and water puddles. At the right side of the picture there are water buckets and dust bins. The concrete floor on the right side is wet. It is probably used for washing. The picture therefore shows the unhygienic conditions people interact with water.

Figure 97: Over ground water pipelines.



Figure 98: Dirty ground of a street in Kaula Bunder.



Figure 99: Over ground water pipelines.



Figure 100: Illegally extended pipelines at the creek.



Figure 101: Bunch of water connections with motors hidden under the plastic bags.



Figure 102: Bunch of water connections with motors hidden under the plastic bags.



Although there is a dust bin, people throw their garbage on the road.

Figure 103: Dust bin for garbage disposal.



Figure 104: Dust bins for garbage disposal.



Figure 105: Dust bin for garbage disposal.



Figure 106: Dust bins for garbage disposal.



Figure 107: Dust bins for garbage disposal.



Figure 108: Dirty water puddles on the ground mixed up with waste.



Figure 109: Dirty water puddles on the ground mixed up with waste.



Figure 110: Dirty water puddles on the ground mixed up with waste.



Figure 111: Dirty water puddles on the ground mixed up with waste.



Figure 112: Dirty water puddles on the ground mixed up with waste.



Water pipelines and electricity lines take some same route. There seem to be no awareness on the deadline combination of electricity and water in case of a leakage.

Figure 113: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines laid from the tree to the roof.



Figure 114: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines passing from roof to roof.



Figure 115: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines passing from roof to roof.



Figure 116: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 117: Illegally extended over ground water pipelines at the creek.



Figure 118: Open Garbage disposal at Kaula Bunder.



The smaller cans can be filled for 10 Rupees. The picture shows two people in the background that have broken one of the illegal pipelines at the dumping site and are filling their cans with water.

Figure 119: Water stored next to the dumping site and sewage disposal. Pipelines crossing the dumping site.



Figure 120: Water stored next to the dumping site and sewage disposal. Pipelines crossing the dumping site.



Figure 121: Water stored next to the dumping site and sewage disposal. Pipelines crossing the dumping site.

Sanjay's and Karthivel's Photos**Information**

Figure 122: A dying tree.



Figure 123: Goats looking for food in Kaula Bunder.

Everything needs water and consequently the lack of water affects everything. Trees need water. And if there are no trees, there will be no oxygen and life will stop.

Animals are also suffering because of lack of water. Animals aren't getting water to drink and they eat dry grass.



Figure 124: Empty water drums left by their owners in line until they can be filled with water.

The drums belong to people living in the slum. There are a few people who have water motors and they are selling water to others. In this picture we can see a queue of drums which have been left by the owners. So when the water comes next, they can get water. Each gallon of water costs around 50 Rupees. But when there is scarcity of water in the area the same gallon is sold for 100 Rupees. This water is used for drinking and other household purposes. The water on the ground also reveals that water is wasted during the filling process.



Figure 125: Water flowing into a gutter.

The picture shows water flowing into a gutter. A lot of times, the gutter is blocked as there is not enough water to flush out the dump and dust. Therefore, the dirty water then starts floating the roads. This causes various diseases, and it also smells really badly.



Figure 126: Pipelines passing a dumping site.

The picture shows a site where people drop their waste and sewage. Many water pipelines pass this site. People get the water from these pipelines, and the pipelines are coming from the creek. There is a big underground pipeline in the creek. People that are stealing water from that pipeline are supplying to us. The water is not filtered. The underground pipeline belongs to BPT (Bombay Port Trust). There are people in every area who have multiple motors. They steal the water and sell it to people. There are two pricing schemes. People either pay 50 Rupees per gallon, or a monthly rate. In the latter case, they first visit the house to see the water storage capacity (in liters) of a particular household (including gallons and utensils) and charge accordingly. Usually

they charge 600 to 1,000 Rupees per month, depending on the water storage capacity of that house. The minimum charge is 600 Rupees. Shanti pays 1,000 Rupees per month for the water. The water comes twice a week and she has a storage of almost 1,000 liters and this water is shared between five to six family members. In a month Shanti gets 4000 liters of water.



Figure 127: Water pipelines are laid to the doorstep through the vast connection of several pipelines.

The water has been provided at the doorstep through a vast connection of pipelines. Sometimes there is water scarcity for example when the police seizes motors and less water gets pumped through the pipelines. In this cases, the water distributors gather everyone and decide who will get how much water. Like this they guarantee that everyone gets something.



Figure 128: Bunch of unofficial water pipelines. Plastic bags are used to camouflage the motors.

Motors are hidden behind a dense network of pipelines. They are covered up with polybags or jute bags (as visible in the image) or hidden under or covered with pipelines to hide them from the police, because the police would destroy or confiscate them.



Figure 129: Dry land.

There is not enough water for plants as well and hence the grass is dry.



Figure 130: Mosquitos breeding in a water puddle.

Mosquitos then start breeding in the water puddles. They are visible at the water surface on the picture. This habit therefore causes many mosquito-borne diseases such as Dengue and Malaria. Shanti suffered from Chikungunya.



Figure 131: A woman connecting two water pipes.

In some cases water gets delivered to the doorstep. To increase the length of pipeline, so that it reaches peoples' homes, pipelines are connected by connectors. On the picture a woman is connecting two pipelines with such a connector. The blue water drums on the right side of the picture are located in front of peoples' houses. People keep the full drums in front of their houses since there is not enough space inside the house.



A cause of diseases.

Figure 132: Dirty water leaking from a gutter.



The image primarily showcases the filth in the area. There is also a ship in the creek. The water pipelines are coming from under the ship and buried under the garbage.

Figure 133: Ship-breaking Yard in Kaula Bunder.

ANNEX 23: PHOTOS OF CHANDIVALI



Figure 134: Rooftop view from one of the buildings in Chandivali.

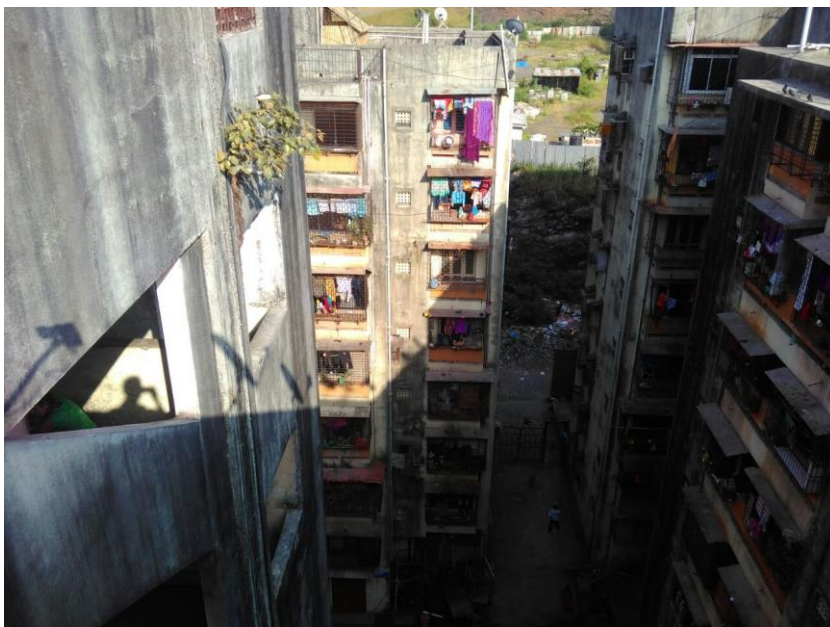


Figure 135: A building duster in Chandivali.

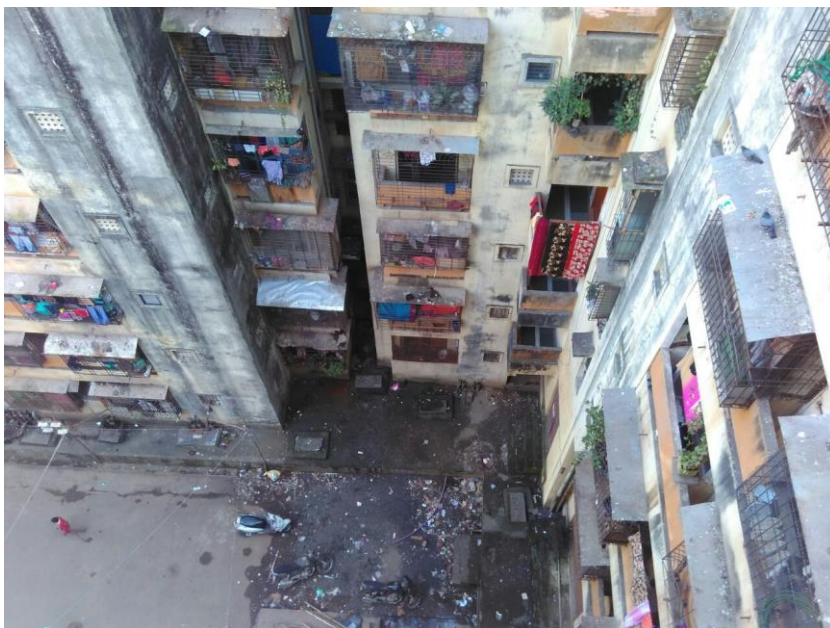


Figure 136: Building Cluster in Chandivali



Figure 137: Building Complex in Chandivali.

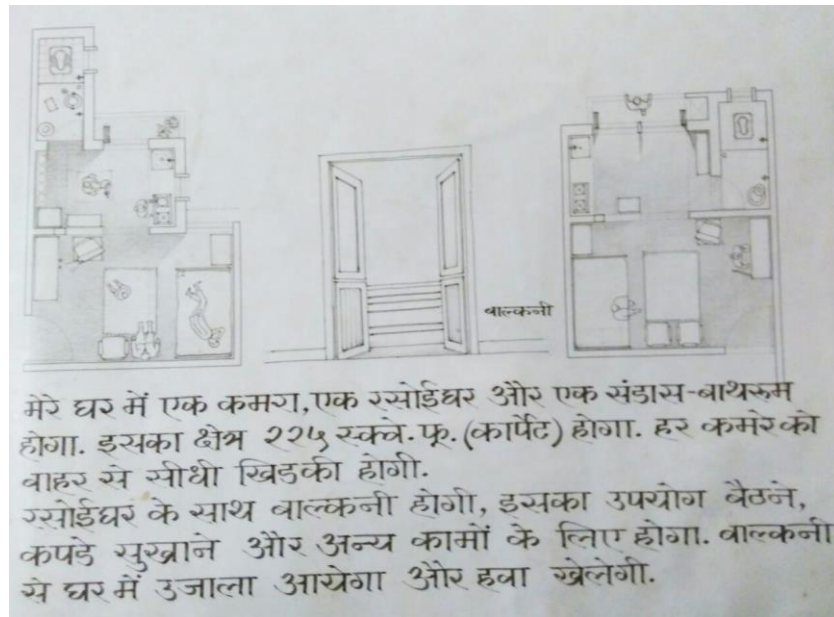


Figure 138: Draft of the Apartment Structure.

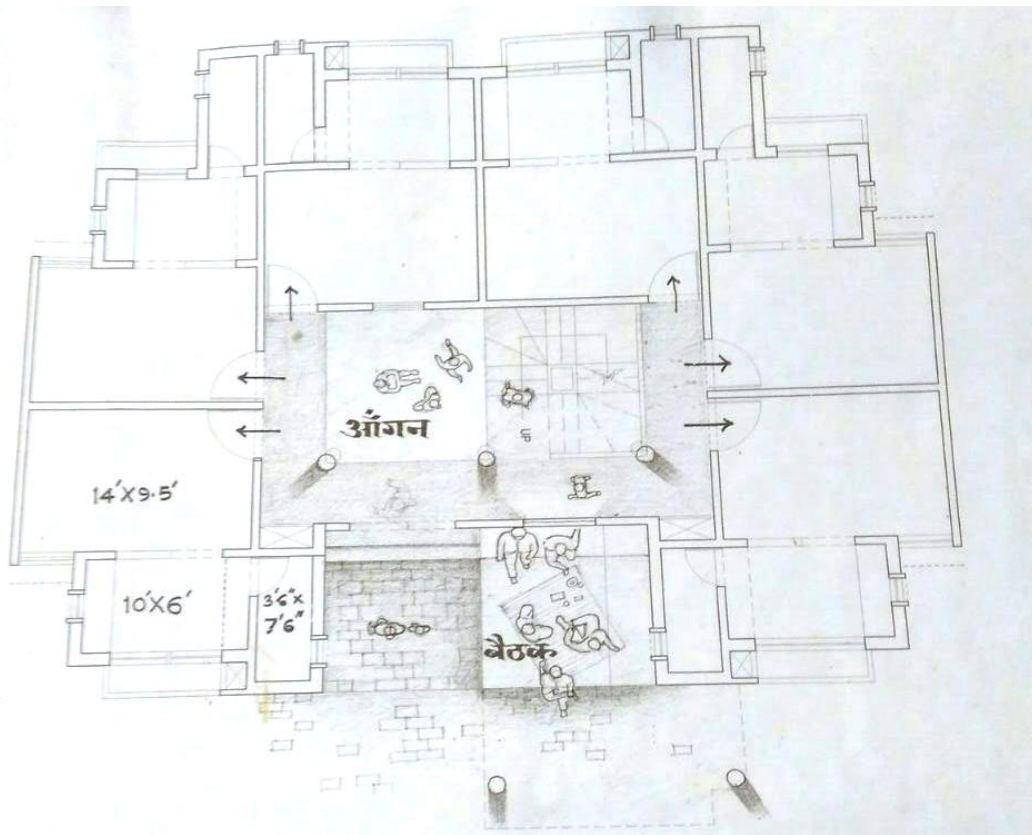


Figure 139: Draft of the Building Cluster.



Figure 140: Front view of the new Buildings.

ANNEX 24: PH CAMPAIGN MATERIAL



Figure 141: Campaign Photo 1

“Mother you carry so much burden, and never get tired.”



Figure 142: Campaign Photo 2

„World’s most beautiful picture.”

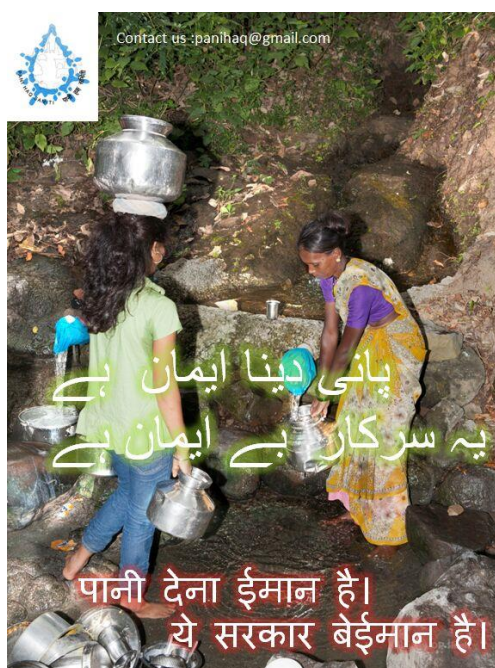


Figure 143: Campaign Photo 3

“Giving water is creed. This government is corrupt.”

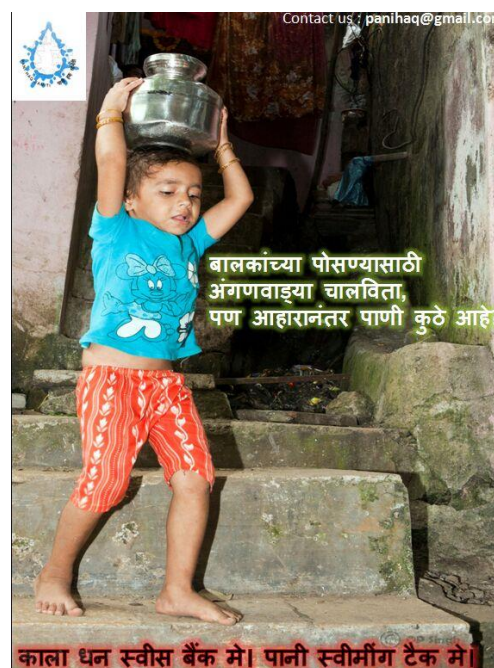


Figure 144: Campaign Photo 4

“Black money is in Swiss bank. And water is in swimming tank”



Figure 145: Campaign Photo 5

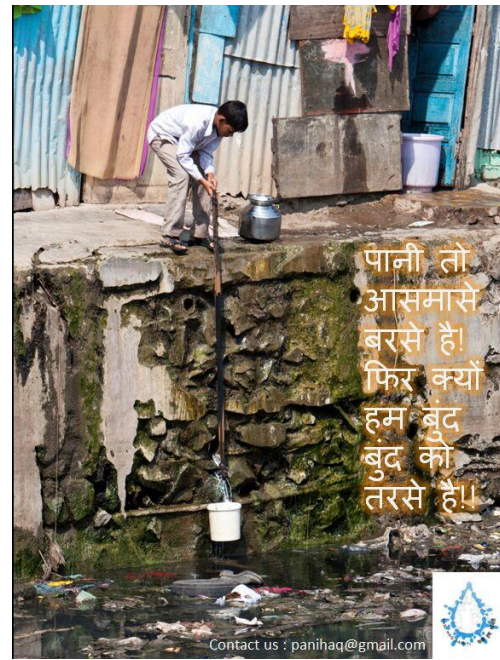


Figure 146: Campaign Photo 6

“Water rains from the sky. Then why do we languish for even a drop?”

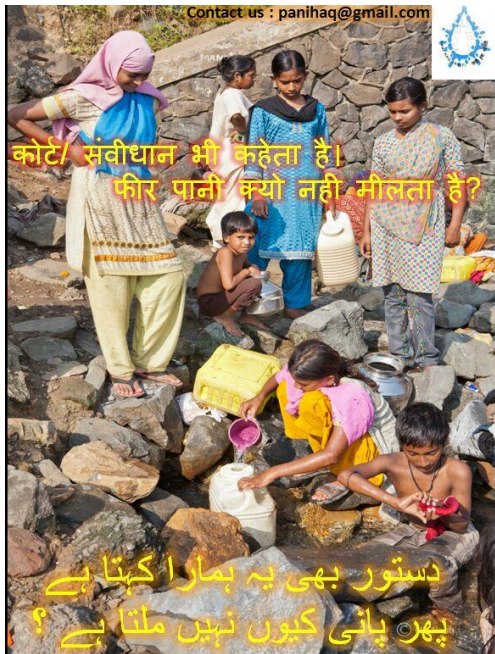


Figure 147: Campaign Photo 7

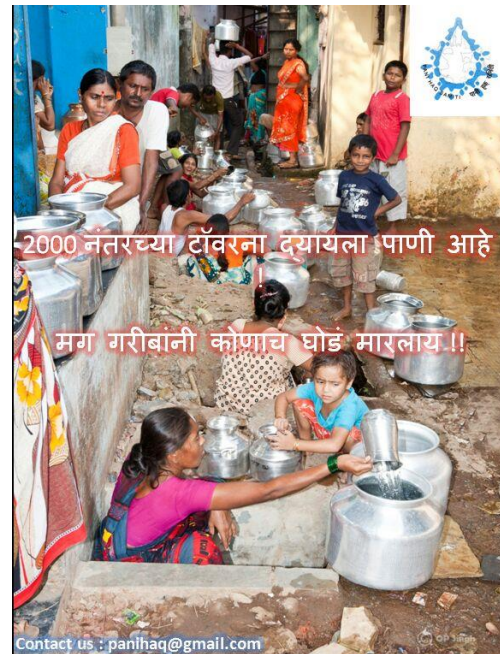


Figure 148: Campaign Photo 8

“The Constitution also states it. Then why are we not getting water?”



Figure 149: Campaign Photo 9

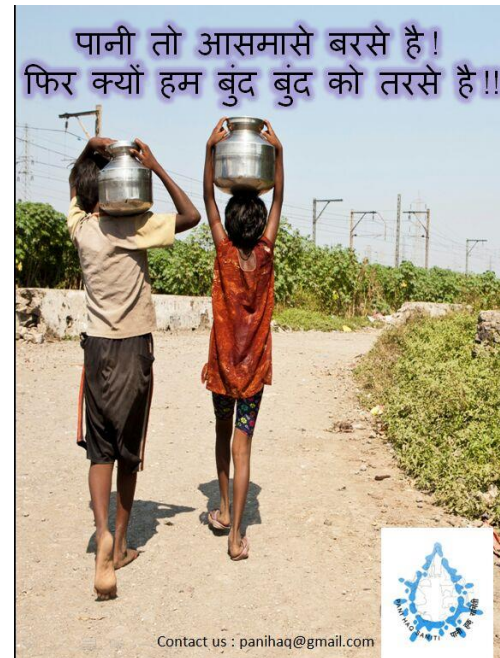


Figure 150: campaign Photo 10

“Water rains from the sky. Then why do we languish for even a drop?”

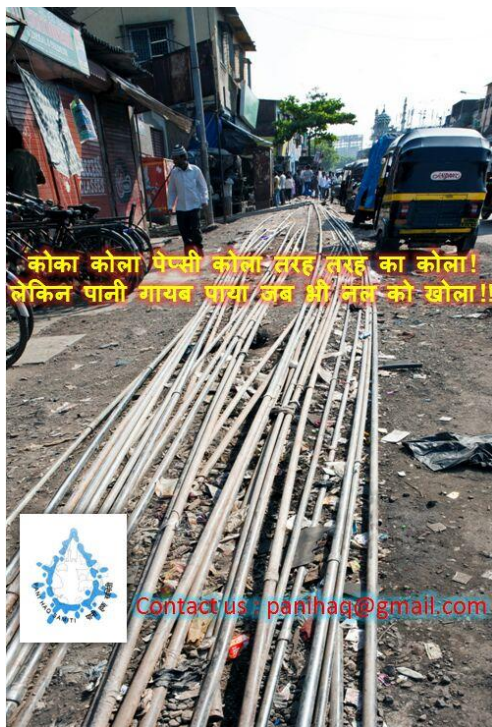


Figure 151: Campaign Photo 11

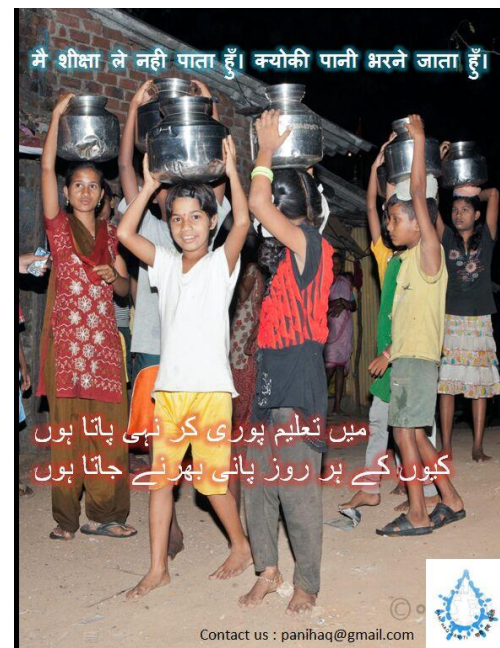


Figure 152: campaign Photo 12

“Coca-Cola, Pepsi Cola... there are different types of Cola. But the water is absent whenever we opened the tap.”

“I cannot get educated because I go to get water.”

ANNEX 25: PHS MORCHA ON 28TH NOVEMBER 2016



Figure 153: Women with plastic bottles



Figure 154: Women in a queue in front of the Municipal Corporation



Figure 155: Dwellers in front of the Municipal Corporation



Figure 156: men queuing up in front of the Municipal Corporation



Figure 157: Queue in front of the Municipal Corporation

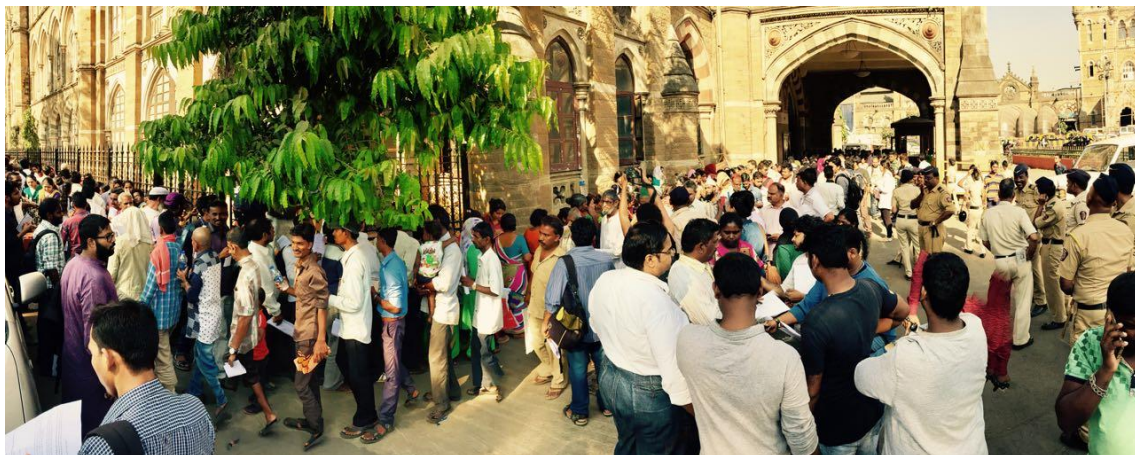


Figure 158: Queue in front of the Municipal Corporation