

EXPLORING AMARTYA SEN'S DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK AND THE INDIAN ALLIANCE.

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Day 2. Afternoon Session
Sahil

MD 8

Jane – I'd quite like to focus on removing unfreedoms issues. Can we do that?

Nick – they are sort of very much related to what ... although they were designed for C3 they were distilled out of Sen's work in fact. One of the nodal ones rather than the latest one. Perhaps if we took that starting points, is it to moving downwards from the book which was entitlements and Endowments related. I'll just quickly run through a few of them. Because we were talking about the characteristics of quality processes yesterday. I think something that somebody said yesterday ...

Sundar – Nick, can I just say one thing before we begin which is just to convey this message from Sheela. She had a suggestion that if during today and tomorrow if people would like to note down what are some of the key issues that they feel need to be flagged or that they reacted to what other people have said for the 16th discussion.

Jane – I can quite imagine that we would really get into the heart of those discussion with her being here because we've only got today and tomorrow and she not going to be here for those sessions. The afternoon sessions where we can really can talk about the focus of the exploration that we are doing in terms of their ... looking into the individual and ... issues.

Alison – I'd think she's be concerned if we didn't have the confidence in her colleagues because it's the same issue and the same considerations. I think we do. Because Celine is coming and you are here and Jockin may join us at some point. So I think there's a consensus amongst that group. So I don't think we should miss Sheela's input. Great to have her but that's what she said to me on the way that it actually gives space for dialogue with others. If she is here, she tends to dominate, is what she said. Not what I said. That's why I said it is valuable to have other people.

Nick – I was just trying to really build on some of the things that got said yesterday about process and relationships. This was a program we designed.. say built very much on Sen's ideas and this idea of public goods and common property. These were the five characteristics of our program that needed all to be respected if the program had a chance of success. First one was feasible improvement. It meant that activities you are engaged in have to focus on particular policies or practices or circumstances that are amenable to change. It's pointless to focus on things that are impossible to make progress on. You have to focus on things that are meaningful to people who are.. so obviously the possibility of eviction from the Railway line means that there's a possibility of improvement because the circumstances are. And then target oriented .. benefits have to be clearly defined, clearly understood and accepted by everybody

involved. This together with the next one which is Trust. Those carrying out the design and the operations of whatever activity you are doing have to do it in a manner that engenders trust. If going back to what Sunder Said just now and as Sheela pointed out – what was the thing that meant anything to you then transparency seemed to me the message of this morning. The extraordinary lengths that everybody went to, to ensure that everybody had information, that that information was so valuable in sharing that the trust element and the target oriented was common understanding. Again that's to do with trust and transparency. All the participants have access to sufficient information about how the changes they are promoting will affect them as individuals. I think that was not any that good. But as individuals it seems to be very important. That seems to be something that Sen is saying – you respect the individuals' interests as much as you do the groups activities. That was another one. So these words could mean anything but building on Sen, I mean very specific things and appropriate skills. Success depends on people who are competent. And if you don't have competent people, Eg if you need a surveyor to help you draw up the drawing of the resettlement scheme, then you bring a surveyor in. but they come in not as somebody on top but somebody – an expert on ...

Those basically are the five key criteria that we designed. We sort of said – with the C3 project in Zambia, everything we do has to respect those principles. all of them, not just one of them but all of them. And I think trust and transparency as the key one that came up for me this morning. It was something that was so evident. So that, that was just a distillation of a combination of Sen and this woman Aus..... work on Common Property Institutions.

Sunder – if I can react to one thing that you said. Thos feasible improvement. When an idea is first mooted, it may seem completely unfeasible. Over a period of time, then, for a variety of reasons, in different ways in different contexts that idea becomes acceptable and then is seen as feasible. To come back, to illustrate – **7.32 nobody believed that it was possible to resettle these families from the Railway tracks. In fact in Mumbai it was a kind of a revelation, not revelation, it came as a real surprise that there was a plan to do it and that in fact it could be done.** I was only saying that there must be a feasible improvement, but then that should not act as a limiting factor upon our own imaginations or .. that was the only point.

Nick – that's a very good point, I agree with you. And the words, they are often focused on particular policies, practices or circumstances that are amenable to change. There was perhaps a bit more flexibility and perhaps ... but I can see you point entirely that it doesn't allow for ...

Michael – 8.37 what's interesting in that respect is that Sheela and **following the progress of C3, now recognizes that it's the kind of thing that is needed before you can start CLIFF. That it's part of the support capacity building process, that is really the work that SPARC has done on your own initiative as it were. But what it is doing in a way is formalizing that initiative so you can have it in another place. I think that's what's important about finding some words to describe those processes. But you know, they were ideas at that time and it's not – nothing is cast in stone. Which is why I think, this exercise is now a useful one that sort of can draw on so many different kinds of people's experience. I think we've got a similar goal to try and get that common understanding. And if it's utilizing someone who is started to put these down and try and draw more of the global community of thought around it then it's useful starting point. But only a starting point. I think we are the first to recognize that there's a vast way to go before these things are**

operational. But the big question was – can they be operationalised or can they be operational. Put into some sort of framework such that people can find them useful.

Alison – maybe it's a question to the unfreedom framework and also this framework – One things that's struck me as just really important. I've heard it described before, but Sheela described it very clearly yesterday and I think it's described only here that processes that very often , the particular target, the way you go towards it, how you prioritize, those decisions are taken by the community not by the NGO. And they are not necessarily taken by the leaders of the community. They may be taken or influenced by the individuals or the processes within the community. And I wonder how that rather than unfreedoms being .. removing unfreedoms or removing obstacles as a sort of objective of the process – how within that process we describe what is an extremely important mechanism that it's something that we have a .. alliance that I don't see anywhere else in India. And you see rarely that decisions are actually driven from lower down than in most organizations. and I don't know how that process gets.. or could be reflected in either Sen's or indeed in these five descriptions.

Romi – where we left off yesterday, I'd like to go back to that diagram. We begin with the individuals in the community whom we've been meeting when \we've been going out. There's something there. Then we have a sort of whatever it is in the Federation and then we have SPARC and then we have institutional structure, whoever it is – government or the donors. We know that t his process of all the individual requirements are getting fed through this process. Yesterday I think we said that this part of it is getting really monitored well because this is part of the written domain.

Alison – it's easier and it's I English.

Romi – 12.42 **it's part of the written domain and here this is the oral domain. And I the oral, things are not noted down, they are discussed. There are issues here. Because first of all the nature of this creature itself is amorphous and undefined. It's procedures are undefined, it's existence depends on a kind of coming together of people. So it has no structure which will be recognized in this domain. I think this is important because when we are talking about unfreedoms – this issue is very important because unfreedoms are in the oral tradition and by the time they get converted to being acceptable at this level they have to be changed because this written language has a different way of casting things. in the same way that they will need SPARC in order to deal with this creature, which is undefined and unrecognizable. In this process to there is a transference because I think that individual characteristics and individual aspirations have to get leveled out. So if at this level there are problems of unfreedoms --- and I think when we were having this discussion with the community and Sheela was describing them as freedoms – I think from our point of view lets look upon them as obstructions. Lets not call them unfreedoms, they are simply obstructions. **What happens I think here is that there are multiple obstructions in the lives of these people depending on where they are living, what their circumstances are, what religion they belong to what kind of a husband they have got. But these obstructions have to be reduced to the minimum acceptable along this line here.****

Maybe what happens is – the biggest obstruction is lack of housing. The whole community gets coalesced around one unfreedom, one obstruction which is housing, the lack of housing and it is pushed through till it succeeds and it get housing. But of course the problem then is that

because you've addressed only one obstruction, the whole of this effort will then obviously play out because they have already arrived in their houses. So the whole logic of coalescing them together like this changes.

What we decided about yesterday, What we talked about yesterday that this process is aired and monitored very frequently – up to here. This is never monitored. And yesterday I was suggesting that we have to open up the process for monitoring. Not in the traditional sense of the word but only in the sense that they want it in their own terms, which they are doing. I think that SPARC has a very complex and very good system of monitoring this but it's not exposed. It's not part of their perception that this complex procedure and negotiations are going on, and to me I am looking for a situation where this whole thing is one process which is open rather these guys stopping here and there being this rather artificial divide. After all at the end of the day this is an artificial divide as far as the donor is concerned.

Michael – but in fact you could .. around. I would have thought that the oral tradition within the box is also a very important... here.

Romi – what does oral tradition mean?

Michael – **you and I will agree something and then we know what we want to try and achieve but don't necessarily write it down. We might have exchanged e-mails that we try and capture what we have talked about and have discussed. But in fact that discussion is more important than the actual written down. And then there will be a whole series of other kinds of discussions – what to do with this; what on earth are we going to do about that; let's agree we can't do this – none of those things get written down. And in the end, I suppose what does get written down is only a sort of organizational speak kind of language, it is why it is so difficult to understand what people really mean when they write project documents.** But those are necessary to release money and it's only that that change from the commitment and the release of money requires that written tradition. But the setting it up is the same as the one below and I think if that can be recognized between the two..

Nick – I've got a feeling you divide your top box. Reflecting on what Mike said, it's almost a false division because I think that there's a great deal of ...

Michael – but there written as well and that is what releases the money..

Nick – but there is written even at the SPARC level, at the federation level isn't there. There is this fantastic written ..

Romi – I don't know, because if you go the SPARC office you will see all this stuff on the walls – all the savings and the books and everything else. That's very much part of this. but what's going on here, the dynamics of this isn't – we don't know what it is.

Alison – It's quite interesting because what they were showing off today with the Pass books was the map ... it's what they think we want to see. But what he is trying to probe is the things that aren't written.

Romi – I am saying that because there is tendency to over emphasize the written aspect of a project – to me the important part of the project's getting left out. There's no way in which we can make these people hear this voice. It's having to be filtered through so many aspects and having to change from the oral to the

written. It gets into ... by the time you talk to the municipality and you up bring it in municipal word what is a very complex and very interesting problem ..

Alison – it's certainly the most difficult thing to see when you are reviewing a project proposal. You want to actually understand what is beneath that. Have they really got partnership, have they really got communities engaged. From the written you can't see that. And that's where we've got differences in supporting projects elsewhere. We don't know what's underneath it.

Romi – 20.19 My point is that if we are looking for unfreedoms or obstructions we never going to get them in the written tradition process. That's why the problem of the common framework is – it's going to be so simplified. It's going to be like – here are the names of the houses and we are shifting them to another house. Right. But actually there are so many issues involved. I don't think this is peculiar for Bombay..

Michel – to put it in the simplest – Bribes aren't recorded. Bribes are not recorded. Or the imposition on – you can't do something unless you pay me some money. That is ever recorded, is it? It's an oral tradition.

Romi – I think what happens is when we talk about it (I am trying to evaluate this) let's say we earlier discussed before we had this discussion with SPARC where it was a little bit more academic. Whether we could evaluate unfreedoms. Then, you come up against, I think in this example, how do you evaluate that process down there? What is your method of evaluating a very important process.

Sunder – I think Jane wanted to say something.

Jane – I think what it sort of leads into what Romi was saying because how you evaluate what's going on with that oral tradition is very much beginning to have to look at individuals more closely and what their actual potential character might reveal itself.

And just a little side note on the way. When we went this morning with Sheela in the car we were talking a little bit about this. she was saying that how there was like almost an untrust of the written word. And that when people made a verbal agreement to money arrangements that was the truth. That was what they stuck to. If they wrote something down it became changed. It wasn't necessarily accurate. And this is very ... this begins to look at how you begin to monitor this oral tradition.. what Sen's always saying, how the individual chooses a quality of life. And to begin to monitor how that actually takes place would be .. through these unfreedoms and maybe then you could begin to look at because it's a qualitative review..

Sundar – I see that and I think we have been faced with that difficulty. But I think it is an inherent difficulty. Eg, if you take this whole issue of how do you measure the empowerment of women. This is a big question on the feminist literature and things like that. Now, it may be that a woman performing a certain act appears to the outsider or the observer as displaying a degree of empowerment. If you look at that act in it's own context, that may not in fact have empowered that person or the performance of that act may not be an index or indicator of an government. This Naila Kabir stuff and all that. Eg, if we talk of women's mobility. But the woman who goes to the primary health center to take her child for a check up – that mobility is quite acceptable within a framework of subordination. But for that woman to go a film in the next village, on her own or with a group of women, that would actually be a challenge of various norms. but extending this argument to this – because you know we have dealt with these questions with funding agencies. I remember lots of conversations with Vincent,

Celine. Like we would say – the core work of SPARC is community mobilization, organization. So Vincent would say – how do we measure this? 25.04 **some of the things were accessible to measurement, like how many savings groups have been formed, how many meetings did you have, how much money was collected. But yet at the core of empowerment that core of empowerment which is that ability to negotiate you lives with those into that complex of institutions with whom you interact , that's not very easy to capture. Capture in language. Certainly by way of measurement.** I am not sure whether it is only a question of not recording these things or whether it is also a question of the inherent difficulty of recording these things.

Nick – One of the things that just struck me as we were talking today with ... trends. I know Sen was talking about this was progressive achievement related to progressive removal of constraints. That things don't happen from one day to the next and even when they happen the next day then some other unfreedom will come in your way, some other constraint will come in your way and you've got to deal with that. So it's building the capacity to constantly be able to negotiate. What I am thinking is that – if the progressive achievement of capacity, ability to negotiate is empowerment then that's to do with the trend. Trend is over time. So you can set up indicators that you've got a feeling for which do measure that improving capacity. And some of the indicators have to do with things like – how many meeting did you have – with this type of official group. During one period as opposed to the next period. How many women were involved in the savings group during this period as opposed to the next period. So you can see it. They are not absolutes, there are differences from one day to next or one year to the next. I think that's what we tried to do even with C3. Was not to say that this is an absolute characteristic but it's a moving picture all the time. And it's a progressive achievement. You can actually set up indicators which are quite specific, measurable and monitorable to pick up that changing capacity. There may be proxies for this capacity rather than absolute indicators. They are sort of the most significant differences. I think that this is something that Vick Davies was saying as well. That you can do participative evaluation process by looking for most significant changes, rather than the change that is characteristic of every sort of ability. Pick on a few things which are like sort of proxies for the bigger picture. Then those proxies can be ... which have changes over time. Just a few things that came to mind as you were speaking now.

Celine – One of the dilemmas that I face in SPARC eg, as a person who is intermediary person between the Federation and the outsiders who walk into SPARC is this business of how much are you going to tell and when are you going to stop giving information because it is endless. And the outsiders who come in have been trained to extract information to an extent that it's like going through a washing machine. 29.11**And this whole business of – how can Mahila Milan tell their story again and again and again and again! Endlessly to everybody who walks in and walks out. So balancing that and yet being able to give information to the external world that's important, that you can synthesize, that you can draw lessons out of has been our challenge. It's really difficult because there are so many things that you can not extrapolate. There are so many things that are so personal and so intimate between this relationship that you don't want to blow your and tell the rest of the world. They are not secrets but you do not want to discuss it with everybody else.** So how do you..

Nick – but those women must get very used to people like us coming and asking very similar types of questions. Do you find that – as you as an intermediary between people like us and people like the women we saw this morning. You

must hear them thinking – ahaa, this one's asking that sort of question, we will give this type of answer. Do you not get.. do you find yourself hearing the ...

Celine- I see out of exhaustion they repeat themselves.

Nick – exactly. But they repeat themselves because they are .. have they not become adept and very competent at giving this sort of responses...

Celine – All of us are. All of us have become like that. You press a button and you get a particular response. Because now we know – ok, that's what they want.

Sundar – Put on tape no 5 now...

Nick – This guy's got a tie on, he needs that sort of answer.

Jane – what happens when people have (and we are talking about how you monitor). Because what Romi is saying is that you do have this extraordinary network or facility of going to the individuals and it's just monitoring what's actually taking place there. Are there .. if we use, are their obstructions being unobstructed – what are those ones at that level. Because there's an interesting article that I came about in the Fu... in Rio is now that they have got to the stage (this was an interview of people over 30 years) when they got to the stage of finally having shelter and electricity and everything, they still felt really poor. And it was an interesting .. what exactly was it that still made them feel poor after all of this. So we were looking to get at a bit more at other qualities of the quality of life and if we think about this oral tradition and how people have a kind of wisdom or their identity, whatever that might be, the way people get together when they talk, is sort of when people speak to each other in these groups – this is where the sort of shared information happens, of their values, their aspirations and it happens not necessarily by somebody intervening – like yourself – but it just happens within each other. And as they move from place to place and then whatever the new place that they are moving into – if there are new rules and regulations then they have to adjust to that and so they have to use their wisdom that they have in a new way and try and find out – are they still happy with the way they are living, or how do they express their real values.

Now lets be very specific on this. so when I mentioned earlier today – Sheela talked about the culture of SPARC and what I was thinking about it is that the culture people have as a way of life individually within their families – Eg, I noticed that there was – when we were speaking with all the women yesterday when the calls to prayer happened, they instantly covered their heads with their scarves, because unless I am wrong that's what happens. And so they have their own practices, their own ways of living and within that Muslim worlds, I know there is about three or four different sorts of Muslims, you have the Sunni or the Shiites or the Ismailis or the Bohras or whatever. So you have within this a whole variety of different people and customs and cultures and aspirations, where they get their values from, how they .. what sort of food they eat, what sort of material they may use. All these form a quality of life and actually it's very important to people. And maybe there is this sort of .. when you are beginning to look at these sorts of qualities – I don't know, do you .. does that happen to you? Do you look, although you are working with the community at large. You must be aware that there are different cultural identities.

Celine – I don't think we even discuss it or entertain those differences because it's to our disadvantage to entertain those difference. 34.03 **So we bring only those things which bring us together. We don't have water, we don't have a place to shit, we don't have house, our houses get demolished,**

those are the things that bring us together. So you focus on the commonalities and so..

Sundar – Celine if I can suggest that .. I fully agree with what you are saying – but if you look at things like under MUTP very practical things, relating to culture, religion. Mankhurd, the permanent buildings, there is a very large group of Muslims, and about ten days after they moved in they wanted a place –what was that festival that came at that time .. Ramzan –

Celine – Ramzan. They wanted a tent to have their prayers and to break their evening fast.

Sunder – exactly. And in fact that happened at Kanjur Marg as well which was a transit tenement. And Wadala. And in fact the government is very particular about setting up these structures because there is a tendency, you know, that you first start off with something small, something temporary, and gradually that encroaches upon others places and becomes permanent. And today we have a problem in one of the settlements. That people have encroached and they are building this mosque. So I thought that at that level we do try to assist – that temporary solution we didn't have a space or a long term plan to build a mosque but we were responding to that cultural need by somehow allowing them to..

Alison – reflecting on what you were saying I was getting a bit nervous. Because a lot of these cultural practices are actually obstacles and restrictions. I mean I am not sure that there's ... you were speaking as if there was an essence of them being a good thing. Whereas actually a lot of cultural restrictions are actually obstacles to ... going to a movie in the next village, there would a cultural restriction that you don't do that in our culture. That can actually stop women doing that or even sending their girls to schools. If they could only afford one kid to go to school they send the girl and not the boy because she is brighter than the boy so we'll send the girl! But that culturally won't be acceptable. You'd send the boy and not the girl. But you were speaking as if there was a value judgment in the cultural – you know maintaining or allowing people to practice their cultural traditions. Whereas actually I would ... some of them being quite negative.

Nick - ... awareness of that cultural situation, some of them might be a positive, some of them might be a hindrance.

Alison – that's what.. I was just getting nervous that you are painting them all as positive and something we have to project.

Jane – I think that Sen says that it's up to the individual to choose the quality of life in that respect and that in respect to that people are looking at and into ... looking more in the oral tradition. Many people get their wisdom or their understanding of the value systems – how they structure the roles of the family, how they have food, how they do all sorts of things that is absolutely comes down to all these quality of lives. So if you are beginning to look – it's just a process. I am using this really as an example to begin to look more specifically at the individual people and their quality of what they feel is important to them. And within, obviously what we have shown here – how you monitor that in your discussions that are happening and what the obstructions are to the quality of life overall. Not just .. they obviously want to get this housing and if there is suddenly the demolition team comes in, you absolutely need to bring them together in order to have some way to negotiate that. But that's not – as Romi was saying – that's just one housing issue that's kind of going up through while there is a whole multitude of other issues.

Smita – To me it just feels that we need to be very clear on what we are really trying to monitor. I feel like there this all these different conversations going on and I just wanted to respond to what Nick was saying and also to ... Yes. 38.45 **It's a housing issue which is initially getting them together. And like Celine says – that is the common ground because of which they are organized. But then like we saw today – they've got the housing now in Mankhurd. The ones who are in the permanent thing – they weren't talking about housing now. But they were talking about we need a school, we are talking about now negotiating to get a school on site. We need trade, so we are going to try and get vocational skills training and we've ready doing a census of everybody in this area to see what skills they have, so that then we can apply to get them more trained and whatever so that they can start up some businesses. I think it's what Nick was saying – that a process has now been created but now on their own initiative people know how to access other services, other obstructions and to me it seems that is the process that is of value and that's what I think we are trying to monitor or find indicators for. And it could be seen, as you were suggesting, like a more longitudinal type monitoring of that process. So, ten years ago they couldn't go and talk to the municipality. Today they don't even need SPARC to go with them Five years ago they could, but with SPARC. Today they can get the ration cards on their own. Similarly for other things. So if we can set up indicators to measure that, I think that is of value.**

Alison – there may be personal equivalents.

Jane – if you take eg the loan scheme. Different cultures might have a different attitude towards loans. So, there might be within this, if you start looking at people's individual .. what maybe the question I should ask is that do you find that when you are working with different cultures, that they have maybe different dreams as to how they see their houses, or different aspirations. Have you found that at all or experienced that at all?

Celine – Not with poor people. I find them similar in South Africa or Cambodia or India. Because their aspirations, their dreams, where they come from, their circumstances make them have the same dreams. So, I have not seen that difference. Means you can focus on 20 million things like you use toilet paper and I use water after a shit but that's not what you could do.

Romi – I'd just like to return to this evaluation thing. I think we are tending to look at the evaluation as a kind of a measurement within the written tradition. But in fact after our discussion, my discussion with Sheela on this – there is another way of evaluating things. Which is – let's say the community itself evaluates. So when we are dealing at the individual household level, let's say I think to put an evaluator in in these circumstances is quite an intrusion. It won't work because I think that three quarters of the replies would be modified, depending on what they would like to..

Celine – and filtered..

Romi – and filtered and changed etc. I think that from my point of view, I think it's absolutely critical to evaluate that lower process. I think we are not doing any evaluation at the moment. But that evaluation is basically community led evaluation. But it's got to come to some kind of (from my point of view) exposure of the discussion of issues and legitimacy and transparency and because I can't shroud it, I can't accept as a long term... because of the presence of a charismatic leadership and the presence of a federation itself, it's not sufficient because to me

it also becomes very fragile because it's not got any kind of a It's also you know highly prone to be fragile. Because here the leadership is very strong it may be safe but in other replicable situations ...

Alison – People outside can't actually understand it. It's not surprising that other NGO's have failed to mimic it. they've sort of agreed to start .. that we'll respect them, we'll respect this but they can't actually recreate it because they don't really understand it. it's not been exposed, it's not been publicized.

Romi – 43.16 **I think what was interesting was – when the Railway survey was carried out, when your plots, the railway line... you see we began to get maps and we began to get houses put in and we began to get colors and how the thing was moving. So, almost people who were living within the oral tradition had no difficulty at all in understanding this. they saw their names in the register, they gave their incomes, they saw the number of family members involved. What I am saying is that if we do some kind of community evaluation of these lower processes we can actually convert it to something you can communicate to higher up. I think that is very crucial for us.**

Sunder – I think you have made a very important point here that has separated also the wheat from the chaff, so to speak. In the sense that our earlier discussion was focusing more on measurable indicators almost as if we were speaking of the funding agency representative who is coming and saying – the mid term evaluation – so what's happening? I think you are talking about something else. 44.34 **You are talking about how I a way that the community should evaluate itself that helps the description of what is happening at that level and that becomes public. I think another important point you made and that is – we have seen this very recently, about what happens when external people come in with their own frameworks and agendas to evaluate.** We had this Tata Institute of Social Science for the MMRDA evaluation of this program.

Celine – so many people Sunder. MIT's say. The framework and the paradigm they come with and they juxtapose what you are doing in that context. Means nothing to you because ..

Michael – exactly, **but I think we are trying to move towards something else. Not an institutional evaluation but a society self evaluation. From which could then express demand in a way that is understood by that other world. Such that it can become universal.** What I have striven to do in the place of C 3 but now again in CLIFF, to take DFID's name off. There is no association of the word CLIFF with the word DFID. And that's an achievement I think. From my point of view. People are saying – where's our name, where's our logo? No logo, go away. Just want your money. that's all. Given your money, right. Fine, now piss off. Come back in ten years time and understand what the story is that's unfolding. **But that story has to be generated in a way that is tellable and in that same process in a period of time. But it's not anything to do with institutional evaluation work as such.** I think it's a problem with the word evaluation.

Romi – it's a problem but I am willing to say, let's stick with it because let's change it's meaning.

Michael – Yes, it sort if means what it really says rather than the institutionalized version which doesn't mean what it says.

Alison – it's an issue for rolling out or scaling up or sharing for other people understanding what's going on. Not necessarily measuring, it's even just understanding.

Nick - **Somebody at DFID.... Said evaluation is not an objective, .. saying, necessarily, it's an idea that an evaluation is going to be objective. Just present the hard facts and they are indisputable and irrefusable. Whereas in fact this evaluation ... who your audience is or what you want to get out of the evaluation. Which immediately implies that evaluation is going to be subjective and distorted slightly, certainly pitched at a particular audience. So it's always going to be an interpretation for some convenient purpose.** (audio not clear, in and out)

Romi – so the person who's collecting the money, who goes around the households and collects ten rupees everyday would to me, let's say, would be one of the really perfect people to carry out one of the evaluations. She is talking to everybody, she knows what the thing is.

Michael – it's linked to the next lot of problems.

Romi – and then, to me it's essential that somehow this becomes communicable. over the time, one gets dense information about what is happening.

Nick – 48.31 **isn't everything getting distilled all the way up. I am always a bit uncomfortable, even within the individual – I mean I've got dreams, and I've got horrors and hopes and some of those get expressed and some don't and that my family – it's slightly a different picture and then I am part of a group and that group has a sort of identity as well. The group beyond my family, but immediate circle of friends and professional relationships and at every stage of moving beyond the immediate individual there's a distillation happening. And that distillation is – some of it – there is a transition in that distillation from the oral to the written. Or the oral to the diagrammatic to the written. I think the diagrammatic level is quite an interesting one as well.**

Michael – but all we are doing at the end of the day is building confidence. Building confidence such that the donors are going to spill the money out of their pockets. Because they know it's going to be safely looked after. And that's what the federation has done. ..

Alison – the government, I was going to say .. trust

Michael – well, it's begun to develop that..trustable ..

Nick- at every transition stage you've got to design this transition of interpretation, and translation in a way that people can believe it. So if it's a Microsoft translation they'll believe it, but if it's it a Oxford English Dictionary Translation they'll believe it. so you've got to find the credible media if you want to ..

Romi – I go back to the Railway map that people have reproduced. 50.16 **The enormous value of the Railway map was – not only were we talking to the donors community as such. But I think the people who were involved in it, they understood not only that, I think there was a kind of perceptual change because they saw the volume and the method and the sequence in one picture. And to me that's an evaluation.**

Celine – and it became a legitimate data of the government.

Alison – It's a change in your perception of what you've done. Because they've suddenly gone into their ...

Romi – To me that's an evaluation.

Michael – We've had these things with, for example, the district Primary Education program, the Lok Jumbish program and things like that where school mapping has been a community process to encourage families to universally get their children to school with the peer pressures of the community to still hang on. 'Mrs. Jain, you are not sending your daughter to school. Why is that? Is there anything we can do to help you?' get your symbol on the map. Such that there's another household within the community that is actually going to school.

But just going back to the point. Was there a problem of people understanding it?

Celine – Not at all. 51.41 **Because we moved to simple to complex. People first created their own community maps**

Romi – **they measured their own things,**

Celine - **correct. And it was rough and that was crude. And then you got in a surveyor who put it on a blueprint.**

Michael – It's a bit like the resource mapping process that we go through fairly regularly, but I think what is important as Romi says, this is now accepted and it's a written tradition, kind of written tradition that I can understand this whole... (laughs).

Sunder – actually the thing about these maps – it so happens that now that they have acquired legitimacy because they ... to this project and this and that. But actually what one would call a mobilization package. We have been doing right from the beginning, hut counting, hut numbering, mapping, surveying. That is the thing that makes people together. Now, luckily for us, because of those maps, and nobody else has this information etc. what I was only saying is that this has been a thing, right from the beginning.

Nick – Isn't it max, in charts language and diagrams – the pictorial presentation of valid, legitimate both for the illiterate and for the sort of top level policy maker – and that's the difference between the written word and your ..like there was a transition between the oral and the written in a sense or that because they are legitimate at both ends of the spectrum.

Sunder – I think the key is – who has authenticated that information. Whether a map is a ... if the map is a government map it's not going to have the legitimacy in the community that this map has. Because this map has been created and is owned by the community. And it so happens that the government has accepted it's legitimacy.

Alison – (both speaking together) that comes back to my point. Who makes, who controls, who makes decision. Which is stuff within the process which means that the outputs are valuable or not in that. I mean not the opposite, valueless. Because you could do a mapping like that with another organization and come up with the same map, with the same colors round it. And the community sit around saying and nod and you would get the same impression in the same meeting

which has no value. Because the process, the quality of the process – in that it's done by the community, rather than you could produce the same map.

Sunder – this is in a context – the extraordinary significance of these maps stems from a context where nobody has information on the government side. on what lands, where are they ready to move. So when you give this map and say that on this date, which is their cut off date or whatever for eligibility.. they say 'my God, can we use this?' And this is what happened with MUTP and with these Airports. They say – My god.

Celine – But just going back to what Romi was putting down here. I am trying to think of all the situations that we get put into in trying to transfer that knowledge. 55.26 **One of the things that we are very good at is writing case studies and stories of the things that we do on an everyday basis. But we say – we do those pretty stories but somebody else up there in the north is analyzing it, and putting it into a log frame and putting it into an analytical framework and you have no control over that because it's based on theories and a knowledge base that they understand, that they look at you through the lenses through which they look at you. So, how do you make that relationship equal.** Because there is no way Mahila Milan is going to understand those theories. You tell your story and somebody else takes it and does something else with it, but there's no way for that to come back on this side, for them to say – but maybe that's not the way we want to look at it. maybe the framework we want is different.

Romi – I think – this is really the next part of the exercise. Which is that 56.17 **we have to think about ways of community evaluation not in terms of .. I think what is happening is that once an obstruction like housing has been identified by the Federation then I think the community evaluation process is valid. Because you are actually in a situation where you are trying to convince the government to do something about the obstruction. So you gather together as a community and you find your evaluation ... We are talking about just generally evaluating other aspects of the community. Just to be informed, within the community itself, and there are methods by which this can be done. I am not talking about any kind of subjective or objective methodologies, but evaluation needs to be discussed and methodology needs to be developed. Which is used by the community so that the woman who collecting the money understands it and can work at it and marks it down. I think that's an area we really should open up and make a very enriched process of this.** so that what happens is, when the community gets the housing, because the savings process forms the community. Right. And then the demand for housing or something activates it. Once that housing is satisfied, then we know from experiences all round the world that the aspirations quite radically after that. Because you know, you've removed one major obstruction in your life and you start thinking – am I better off? I have got service charges to pay and my husband has to travel longer and ... your minds are shifting, compared to what you were earlier, and so when one is not been monitoring other aspects of this right from the beginning it gets very hard to deal with this.

I think what we need to do is, where the community evaluations, self evaluation are taking place, they are taking place round much rounder definitions of the communities and of course we accept the fact that their major concern is to remove the obstruction to provision of housing. But we've paid attention to all of these aspects because this is going to emerge later and then it's very

inconvenient to deal with. Because my tendency would be – you've got housing now, stop moaning! Find yourself a job, I don't want to know about it. Or – we are trying to do that ..

Smita – But Romi, why are you assuming that. I am challenging a little bit this assumption that once people get, they've together as a collective to get one thing and the moment they've got that thing then other priorities come in and so they'll start moaning. In my experience of working with the grassroots and Celine, please share yours and sunders... I think it's a starting point. Because you've actually been able to achieve one thing, and you've worked your way through a very long process of negotiation and capacity building to get it, you are quite (jargon, if you want to use it) but you are then empowered. I find that women then approach things differently rather than the moaning attitude which is there ten years ago, when they didn't know how to do anything. Now they know what they need to do next.

Celine – they have a repertoire of skills to help them to deal with their husbands, with their children, with the moneylender..

Smita – with the need for the schooling, with the need for the trade, with the need for all. Because they know now almost a way to access it. A path has been opened up, a process has been followed. So they are now ready to start the next process for the next unfreedom – to remove that.

Rum – I think what happens over there is that (I am just going by what one has studied in other situations where resettlements have taken place) The social decisions that are made prior to the resettlement have a certain sharpness to them, a certain simplicity to them. Once the resettlement process is over, the social decision making gets very diffused. I agree with you, 80% of the people go through this smoothly. But there are 20% of the people who become very important because they are the exceptions. And because of the nature of the social decision which brought them into resettlement, these 20% can not get redressed, because they are regarded as moaners. 90% of the people are happy, they get on with it and say – you guys are just moaning for nothing. 1.01 The social decisions that get taken then begin to change. All I am saying is that I think it's a good idea that one has evaluated a much rounder identity of the community, even though you may be using one obstruction to activate them. But to keep an eye on what we are talking about is then one of five hundred things. At all times in the process.

Alison – Can I ask perhaps this to Jockin and Celine, that during this process have other things come in, like, you do do a polio campaign, or they have looked at schools or they have looked at .. I think it's not that narrow. The way they are engaging the community are actually allowing these other things. housing is the main focus but they do other things along the way.

Celine – but what Romi is telling me – he is bringing me .. like two stories are coming back to my mind.

In 89 Mahila Milan and all of us went and visited the communities in Korea who were demolished because the Olympic torch had to pass. And for a long time they struggled, they were together, they stayed with each other and then they got their houses and then they were separated as a community. Because they were all fighting for which house, which land, here there. Anyway, but they all got their houses. And when we went, the lesson that we got out of that was that getting a

house was not the end of the story. Because basically their whole organization was broken, they were disempowered, there was nothing that brought them together after that and because they had not positioned their organization in a way that was more rounded and holistic to look at things that were more than housing. Therefore that was the element that Mahila Milan very strongly brought back and said – housing is just one of the many things that we have to do. Basically our whole goal should be to strengthen our organization, because tomorrow after we get our house it shouldn't be that we are all alone and in the lurch once again.

Sunder – And actually from a very practical point of view, now these people having been resettled, there are a number of issues that they have to address. Somebody was mentioning how to deal with the property tax, how to deal with the electricity and water supply issues, law and order issues. And now just from an organizational point of view there is a Housing Cooperative Society for each building and all the buildings put together there will be an apex Housing Cooperative society. The lease of land will be given to the individual housing cooperative society. The Apex, the Federation will look after the entire complex. But now, Eg, when I was talking day before yesterday, I had taken some Indonesian lady from the World Bank in Jakarta to the same area where you all went today. **1.04 Now this fellow was telling me how there are a number of people who are unable to bear these maintenance charges. Something has happened, employment, in their lives something. So there is definitely a - what he was saying was that nobody should fall through the cracks because of some temporary vulnerability. The community is looking after that. Managing until that family is able to get on to its own feet. So I think the strength of this community organization is not necessarily going to be severely affected by the fact that they have got housing. It may or may not, I don't know.**

Celine – but that depends from organization to organization.

Romi – I wasn't saying that this is what will happen when the things fall apart. No. This has happened in many other resettlements and in your case, your resettlement process is very different. So I don't think it comes into that category. I am saying something else. **1.05. I am saying that if right from the start of a process the community begins to evaluate itself on a wider basis, this process of self evaluation has to be strengthened, so that you know, when, let's say, when you've given the housing and the problems change. And the problems will change. You might have a community that can sustain it. But that process of self-evaluation it sustains itself it that. Otherwise the other evaluation will come down. Because you know, once you've got the houses and then you've got .. then you are in much more measurable situation there. You got housing, you got to pay maintenance charge, you got distances to which husband is traveling. So suddenly you are in an area which dis-evaluation can start. Measuring you up. And passing you and failing you. 'We find that 40% of the people here can not afford the service charge.' Or 'we find that there is 8 people per room sleeping in the house'. So your entire .. some evaluation comes down and it completely destroys the perception that you have and the essence. Whereas what you really are wanting to do is –'Listen, I am sorry, there is no need for you to evaluate. We have a community evaluation. Here is the results. Go home'.**

Michael – we have a map. Let us show you our map. Our map of -- 'I mean if only we could do it diagrammatically. Here we were, back in 1997 or somewhere, here we are in 2002 and this where we expect to be in 2007. maybe it's symbols

on a time chart of something like that, as yet another non-language way of expressing a simple summary of the very complex set of things that have been moving along. But I think, ok, you saw the resettlement scheme today, but I think Dharavi is a much more typical kind of SPARC activity in as much as it is in the same location.

Alison – one that you are looking to replicate them.

Michael – and the other change in other circumstances are going to be, thinking of CLIFF, are going to be loan repayments on a collective basis. And then, you know whether or not those are continuously affordable, which will depend on people's other circumstances, whether they can find employment still or whatever, then become more of an issue over a ten year period than maybe has been the case with resettlement.

Romi – and I am thinking more in terms of let's say that there is a community which can .. it's own evaluation in it's original location next to the railway line. It's something simple like that. That they are talking about obstructions in the lives of the people. Maybe they come out with 180 obstructions per family and then when you actually go through this process and get the housing then those obstructions are reduced by half or by thirty we know. Life hasn't become a dream. But in a way then you see the continuity of this process. And I think, personally I felt it's very very important to protect your work from external evaluations which are measuring things that you .. which are not of concern to you. Neither are they of concern to the community. How many does in a month does your husband spend at home? It's all kind of random information that surveys come up with (everybody talking over each other)..

Nick – I think you are wrong, I think you are wrong because everybody's got a slightly different perspective on life. I mean you have from me, equally legitimate. And – is it wrong to expect me to look at your life and make judgments about it. it's wrong in so far as my judgments might negatively affect your life but it's not wrong for me to have the .. to be able, to be empowered, it's not illegitimate for me to look at your life and say – oh, that's the way things are. I mean, is it wrong that somebody should look at a community in the Railway line and say 'well they've got ..(what did you say about that...)' I don't think it's wrong that somebody from the World Bank comes along and looks and says 'well, these people's life appear to be constrained by xyz. That's their language they are talking in. it's what they do with that information..

Alison – the question for this process is whether that "evaluation process" can actually be constructive in the community organization process. I think ...(Celine etc talking over it..)

Celine – and whether it is equal and reciprocal..

Alison – or if the community is doing it to itself, whether that process itself helps the community. I mean he was talking about the vision business. But actually the process of asking people to dream is actually a helpful part of the community building. It can be described in evaluation process – itself as a useful step for the community. So it's not a ...or the ability to evaluate.

Romi – the thing is if I am carrying out – let's say I am carrying out a survey of the area you live in. Right. I come to you and ask you some questions, but there are a whole lot of questions- you say, 'why are you asking me this?'. What my telephone bill is. 'but why you want to know?' 'Just want to know how often you were communicating with the World, right.'

1.12.11 The trouble is that – let's say the World Bank or anybody external comes in. for making an evaluation into a well established community, which is a poor community. There's very little that's common in the perception of the evaluator and the community. And the evaluator comes from a different background, he is probing into another background and you never know when those questions are (a) going to be just answers like .. just to give you a random answer. Or, they will feel ... that you are really probing into (sunder on the phone)

Celine – I am seeing value in what both of you are saying. I feel if you are strong and you have done your own evaluation and you know what you look like for yourself then when the external evaluator comes, he is allowed to give you that criticism but then you have your own homework done which allows you to then have an equal conversation about that analysis or that whatever...

Nick– if you choose not to tell that person what your telephone bill is that's great, that's fine. If you've got the authority and the confidence in yourself, that you can think that 'sorry, that's actually private information and I am not going to tell you' but it is perfectly legitimate for that person to have asked for that information..

Michael – maybe and maybe not. if you are asking your bank manager for a loan and he asks you –well what savings have you got, then you say 'well, it's nothing to do with it'.

Romi – he'll say 'what do you mean?'

.... Laughter

Nick – 1.14.03 I am thinking of the proxy empowerment, the indicator for empowerment and one of the things we have been talking about is long term thinking. If people are able to think in long term, I mean, once you've got a house, you can start thinking of schools and children's education in a different way and jobs and .. I mean I was driving back this morning at lunch time. There were people who were real beggars on the street who have literally .. who were probably, I think, I understand, should just be thinking in just the immediate needs of the next meal or the next drink of water or a clean drink of water even. They were really on the streets and with nothing. Whereas an indication of empowerment to some extent is when you are able to start thinking in longer and longer periods of time. I think that what we saw in those people in that resettlement today was that their whole life pitched in a much longer term perspective than it would have been if they'd been on the railway line. So their capacity to think in the longer and longer term is a proxy for empowerment.

Celine – and their repertoire of options that they have ..(everybody together)

Alison – We are talking about this word evaluation. I suppose that's what I was driving at but I jumped the gun a bit, jumped the conversation. Why and for whom we are doing this evaluation? I was trying to suggest that we could think of a process of evaluation that actually is useful in the empowerment process so it's not an extractive process, it's an internal process.

Romi – let me just try and summarize this.

When we had a discussion with Rick Davies who has been doing a lot of innovative thinking about evaluations, he talked about the two systems of

evaluation which were basically deductive and inductive evaluations. And the deductive approach is basically from the top down theory of change business and the inductive process was the one that came from bottom up and was perhaps self-evaluation, community based evaluation. 1.17.51 **I think it's fairly clear that the deductive processes of evaluation are very highly developed and very sophisticated in their terminologies and their tabulations etc. and the inductive process because it is subjective, it is participatory is nowhere near developed to the same level of sophistication. I think that we have here a very very good opportunity for SPARC to develop an inductive process of evaluation; done by the community, is a subjective process. We find a way in order to communicate this, results of this inductive evaluation. Self evaluation. Not only in terms of the confidence of the community and what the community believes about itself because I think the Railway maps have shown that if we do a process like this it has enormous strengthening of the community. So the evaluation is not simply just a probing it's like your savings program. It's something that actually kind of galvanizes the community to believe in itself.** This is something that needs to get worked on.

We then move into the lower areas of the relationship between the independent householder and the Federation and look at that area and do some – the community itself does some evaluation to understand this relationship beyond trying to address one obstruction but actually making them into a slightly more rounded understanding of the community knowing full well that once the obstruction is removed these issues which we have now are very low on the priority will emerge and I am suggesting in a way that in this inductive process somewhere along the line looking at obstructions which is basically what Sen's talking about can give us some basis of enquiry which is not related to any goal or anything but...

END OF MD 8

MD 9

Contd.

Romi - ... otherwise it's just middle class dialogue, you know, what one wants out of life because they don't have the same .. and we are not giving adequate importance to a dialogue with the poor community about their higher goals. Somewhere along that line is the way we are thinking about how the Sen thinking and the SPARC operations and the federation can begin to find a common ground.

Michael – but I will re-emphasize that the ultimate, perhaps objective isn't the right word. Expectation is that by doing it a level of confidence would have been built up such that the donor community would feel happy about letting it's money go to those places that can demonstrate that they can utilize it better than... Better than rich people can.

Alison – that's the way of communicating this. Because it will almost certainly be very powerful. The stories that come out.

Michael - ... raise the profile of inductive approaches to evaluation..

Romi – but for a purpose.

Michael – for a purpose, for a given result, or a long term response.

Romi – anyway, what one is saying is therefore what goes on at the bottom is communicated – essentially what's the quality of life at the bottom is them communicated right through.

Michael – or the ability to use resources by themselves. But also then I think it can, as you've already found I think, Celine . Even the level of confidence that has been built up provides you with a tremendous leverage in your discussions with government. It's just there, people understand it's there. I understand it.

Sunder – I didn't follow this last point of the government.

Michael – the level of trust that you have built as a Federation has provided you now with a degree of recognition and leverage in your discussions with government. About what, it doesn't particularly matter. You are a factor in the lives of politicians who stand to represent maharashtrian constituencies. They have to take you into account. Whereas previously they didn't. it's that level of confidence building that I think comes out of this expression of - I am able to do this now that I wasn't able to do previously – kind of approach to life. Which I think is at the heart of Sen's approach.

Celine – but also how did you give this information strategically.

Michael – that's what's so difficult.

Celine – because everybody doesn't want to tell everything at one shot to the rest of the World.

Michael – or it doesn't need to. So long as there is a degree of understanding. And with that degree of understanding a level of trust and confidence. Then it's getting over that hump of being recognized, understanding that it's not a threat to other parts of society that it wants to work with, but can utilize resources.

Alison – but would this mechanism of evaluation, self evaluation, the process that you are hoping will start, will it in some way short cut or is there a potential for it to short cut what's been a fifteen year process in Bombay. So that when you go to other places you might be able to use this in ways that actually it won't take 15 years, it may just take 5 years to build the confidence.

Romi – this would be my question to Mike, that we need to kind of make a special package for this. Can we sit down, can SPARC and xyz sit down and actually work on this inductive process. And see whether SPARC's self evaluation can ..

Michael – possible. So long as you don't use that word.

Celine – no, we've used that word in our internal discussion in our last governing Body meeting – inductive and deductive and we are familiar with it, and evaluation. And we actually made a decision that we have to do something internal instead of an external evaluator coming and doing it. so we are on this track already.

Romi – so we need to just have a discussion also with somebody like Rick Davies ..

Celine – am I right Sunder.

Sunder – actually also we have asked people to come and I think David Sathertwaite and Karen Levee and one more person John Bennington? I don't know where he is or ..

Michael – He is the Warrick collection and he is fairly high powered government , nothing to do with DFID but a person who is used to ways of expressing what the capacity of .. and achieving things.

Sunder – so these three people are coming ..

Romi – I think what happens Sunder is that when we talk about the actual process of evaluation I think what tends to happen when we discuss is that a lot of discussion takes place and we say that this or that ought to be evaluated. But when you talk about the process of evaluation that's like a very precise kind of focused work which a person does for 15 days with you. Right. So that you come out with a specific method which is tried out and then altered and the another round of discussions takes place etc. so I think there is a need for that, because what will happen is that generally in the World of evaluation everybody agrees there is a need of inductive evaluation, nobody's agreed what is the process. People are very confused about how do you do subjective evaluation. So it all gets left a little bit in the air, simply because, I think, that nobody sat down with an evaluator and said – ok, lets work it out and then go and try it out. Let's come back, lets change it till it works.

Sunder – one, I think it's very much what you are saying, these stories of people's lives and how they have changed over time, as they see them. A collection of such stories is really a kind of evaluation.

Smita – can I just share that at SEWA, just to share an experience. One of the things that we have been using quite a lot is this exactly. Life cycle stories and first it would be external people who would come in and it's literally like a longitudinal recollection of where she was, where she wanted to be and where she is today. There was definitely a format, but then you do a life cycle story based around that. And now the women themselves do it for each other and then they share it around the federation, the organization.

Another one which was.. personally because more of a finance bend was very effective. It's a cost benefit. Like a profit and loss. Like a balance sheet and a profit and loss for women. It's not just measuring quantitative things but it's also measuring qualitative things. so very interesting. One is like looking at her outgoings and incomings and the other one is the balance sheet is looking at the longer term vision. These are some of the tools that ..

Michael – that's a bit like CPD for Architects. Continuing Professional Development.

Jane – it's backtracking a bit but not really because maybe there's a way putting ... to this but while the . when Nick Davies was talking to us he was saying that how the deductive and the inductive can actually work together. And it seemed to be very interesting because if you , say, you go into a community led by .. and they begin to list what ... as Romi said – obstructions. And this first month there are obstruction were this, this, and this. You need to somehow present this inductive qualitative evaluation to the written or the written upper level, whatever you want to call it. and what Rick suggested and because obviously we were going in and talking about this Sen framework and the freedoms, you can then take whoever it might be, but in this case let's just say Sen, who is very much in the written tradition and has come up with a set of, ok our obstructions are

freedoms and say you can begin to list. After this person whoever it might be the community begins to list what these obstructions might be. Whether it be what you are saying – with their check books or cost or whatever or whatever these areas might be, you can then begin to put them into these categories, this framework which is a very simple framework. This is why I think, this is what we wrote when what Romi put together is actually a very simple framework and this is where you can get the inductive to be made observable by the deductive theory if it's one that you actually feel is useful to ..

Michael – when you say in this framework ..

Jane – if you begin to say – now take these , it's alright, we'd have month one whatever, we went around and these people and these individuals or these groups had this obstruction, this was not right or this was not right this was not right. And then you could begin to say – ok, was there sort of within the .. deductive, the written conceptual model of Sen, for example. you could say well, these obstructions fit into economic freedoms, these obstructions fit into tr.. or really it's about transparency. Isn't that, that these ones . and you can begin to sort of make it a bit more observable, where all these obstructions are beginning to fit in and where they are interconnected and that way you can then present it. you can make a observable, inductive ..

Smita – so one is collecting it and what you are saying is the analysis part, which is the second level maybe.

Jane – yes. You said you need ... as long as you are using it and it can in constructive ways, that's right? Yes. And then you would go back in six months ..

Romi – here we are really kind of beginning to arrive at which is ...

Nick – fascinating. Today when Sheela was talking why are we there and explaining to them that we were coming to understand their life and see whether Sen's idea resonated. They immediately said, they seemed to want to know what Sen's ideas were about. Sheela said don't talk to them about concepts, real things are their lives. But actually they seemed to be quite interested in the conceptual stuff.

Celine – they were all interested.

Everybody talking over each other about this experience.

Smita – ... then ofcourse Sheela launched into the whole Sen thing and they ..

Nick – even Jockin was accepting that there was a conceptualization.

Celine - ... and we said let's do our own framework network, Shack Dwellers International and SPARC.

Jane – you would then have, this would be something the community could specifically could do themselves. And then you would come back you know, six months time or something and you could then see whether these obstructions still there or not. and if not, maybe there's more.

Alison – maybe seasonally they are different! (laughter)

Smita – but I think it needs to also be done at the individual level and at the collective level. There's certain things that you would look at.

Romi – so I think initially, what is interesting is that initially when we discussed this in London, there was a certain kind of question in Sheela’s mind, that you know we believe in the collective and Sen’s thing is emphasizing the sens... of the individual and this would go contrary to the whole idea the SPARC has been built upon. 13.39 **I think what is beginning to emerge after our discussions is that the formation of collective is a very critical issue in this. Because in the way that the federation is functioning it’s actually negotiating and monitoring individual problems.**

Celine – that’s right. And then you synthesize it collectively..

Romi – you synthesize it collectively and also as Jockin says there are five hundred problems we settle. They don’t even go beyond the federation because in the negotiation process, that nobody outside sees, that in the process of the loan problems and the women going out, I mean hundreds of obstructions are solved. 14.25 **The point remains that the individual obstructions are important and what we are seeing is that there is a very very complex and very well developed collective system that deals with it but we are not seeing it.**

Alison – you are just seeing dealing with the obstacles about procurement.

Romi – 14.43 I think, once we open this process up this whole thing will begin to make sense.

Alison – it will be easier and I am pushing at the issue of communicating it so that people outside actually understand the difference that there is in this process and in other NGO processes. And the value that the alliance brings it.

Nick – formation of the collective or formation of the community process of how that is indicative of the quality of ..

Alison – and how do we then communicate it, how do we then share it. I mean listing best practices..

Nick – in order to share it with, presumably the people at the top level we need to present it in language that they understand, in formats that they understand. Which means categorizing it, which might mean categorizing in terms of the unfreedoms but ..

Alison – we can get better ways of communicating but we might not get some The way of communicating it. people have to come and see it.

Tea/Coffee Break.

16.00

Alison – I need to ask, we have a friend coming to a workshop at the end of the month. In Nairobi, Urban Indicators program, Tamsin. He’ll bring some of these?

Michael – e-mail him and tell him to bring 250.

Nick – vast long paper.

Michael – Foolscape

Celine – foolscape,

Michael – as the Americans ... as opposed to quarter. Ask Europeans like we in Britain, relate to the metric system.

Celine – Like, we are --- colonial partners!

Michael – laughs. Yes, exactly. You've heard about the space craft that was sent to mars. That was designed and built cooperatively. It's the story that defines cooperation. Co-operatively between NASA in America and I think it was the Germans actually, Space Agency. Anyway the final story is that it crashed.

Celine – because one was the metric system and the other was ..

Michael – absolutely right. As far as the Americans were concerned it hadn't got there yet. And as far as the Germans were concerned it should have arrived ages ago. (laughter) Which is exactly I think our point, isn't it. The inside and outside of these .. need to be on the same system. To Understand.

Nick – our task is to extend that box.

Alison – could you summarize this.

Romi – Basically tell Jockin what we've been talking about.

I think Jockin we are saying is that – is it possible for your Federation members, 18.24 **is it possible for the federation to find out about it's members more. In terms of – what are the obstructions and difficulties they have. And it is not for the purpose of anything else but to have more information than just struggling around the main obstruction. Let us say it is housing. But there are other problems they have. Is it possible for us, for your people, for instance, who go and collect the loan everyday or somebody in the federation itself to have more evaluation of the community itself. To be more better informed, over a period of time, so that when, for instance, the housing process is complete, one can address these other problems because one has already been discussing them apart from housing, in some process. And also to say that it is the federation that should carry out these evaluation, it is the community that should do it. it is not that then outsiders should come with some evaluation methodology and then try to come to some conclusions. That's the area we are discussing.**

Michael – **and the objective is so that the international community or even national governments in the case of India, should have confidence in what is expressed by the community. That would result in more resources coming to them. Now, whether that's directly as grants or by way of assistance to get access to private sector capital or it's by way of concessions, maybe subsidies, maybe land or non-obstruction of access to land, or non-obstruction to processes of building, non-obstruction to going to school, non-obstruction to getting access to health services etc, etc. or in Amartya Sen's terminology we are removing what he calls the unfreedom, the blockage that is imposed especially on poor people. The richer people have found methods of getting round problems but .. and that's exactly what the Federations been doing. Finding methods of getting round problems on behalf of people. But is there a way that that can become universal so all poor people can enjoy that kind of situation if in the leadership being shown by the federation here and the federations internationally, the methods of getting over these obstructions is understood by others.**

Romi – and also I think when you are talking in your community, you are just asking them. If we forget for a minute, Amartya Sen's word 'Freedom'. Let's drop it and say that – you are talking to your community, you are trying to just understand what are the obstructions that there are at individual level, at community level. These are the blockages that we have to get rid of. Similar discussion goes on in Brazil or goes on in Korea. Now we need some way in which we can compare these things. Essentially.

I think what Sen is saying is that there are basically five kinds of obstructions. Even what can happen is, what we are discussing now is that you have a discussion with your community and you say – alright, these are the BIG obstructions before us. And somebody else who wants to categorize then, puts them in five categories. There are basically five, there are economic obstructions, there are social obstructions, political obstructions. Similarly an exercise is done in Brazil, and similarly in Korea, Then we begin to see what is the quality of life of these federations. More than the collectivization process. We'll go a little bit more into this process. This is what we were discussing until you came in. Basically.

Jane – I just want to add. Because it started off, I was like, what stories to connect, show a progression of thinking because it's like building a house. How things build up and ideas evolve and.. we did start taking about the difference between when the local people in the communities discussed their ideas, in this oral tradition, they speak about it and everything happens on that sort of level. While a lot of these decisions that are made at the donor level is more about the written language and that there is meeting point where these two very different types of revealing information or wisdom and that when this whole area of (maybe I am repeating it, but I'll try hopefully not) but then this area where we were talking about also before where there is this interaction with someone who is going around in the community of the people hearing what their thoughts are and speaking to them. We would already have quite an extraordinary process where by you're always doing this but it's not made observable and it's not sort of monitored and in some way that can show it's happening or that how it's progressing.

So the discussion went along these lines where how this could be monitored and who were the people in the community who actually go round like the woman who goes and collects the money for the women's savings. She is actually interacting all the time with everyone on a daily or weekly basis. So there is this team, .. there is this already pool of information that is there that's happening. So we were talking about how that sort of information is monitored and how it's very much the oral tradition and that you've got these two (because I remember one of your e-mails that Jockin wouldn't like anything theoretical... what he is doing.) We were talking about what I think is so interesting is if you've got to say – what you are doing is the oral, people talking and yet you've got to be able to communicate with this written academic world. Then in a way you've got to have this sort of synthesis, a bit like what SPARC is doing. But if you take a sort of what – say, someone's going into your community and said- ok, what else is causing these obstructions? And they are talking about it in this oral tradition. But you have got a very simple sort of framework whereby you can begin to put these things into these subjects, then it is like a bridges. And because in a sense if you've already working with someone like – oh, in this case I am not ... any of these ideas. Somebody who has already been acknowledged in this world and it's a very simple sort of framework and if it works there could be community led. So that if the community is doing it themselves then it could be evaluated like after six months, are these still the same obstructions, have they been addressed or not.

Michael – I think that's exactly right. What came out was the power that you've already developed of the self evaluation and the maps that express them are the recognizable elements. Having got to that stage we've built confidence not only amongst the community - that they can express what they want to have said about their condition. But also this understandable or recognizable from the resource holders, whoever they may be, government, international whatever, funders. Our question is – is it possible to build on that kind of starting point and arrive at an agreed framework. That might use Sen's of ways of expressing what the overall conditions and the substructions faced. I think. So that's where we have come to.

Jane – the idea was that there wouldn't be a need for any external examiner to come in at all. Evaluator is the word. If it's generated out of the community and they are actually working out what their obstructions are. And there are some very simple way of framework, that's already acknowledged that they could put it in. then this would be their own evaluations even every six months or so that if someone came along say – we are doing this, we have been doing this and this is how we are doing it, how we are monitoring it. so if you can begin to make observable all this very interesting and worthwhile work that is happening .

Michael – better be careful about time impositions for a ... but I think when people found – did you find Jockin, that when people realized that the maps that they produced themselves led to (in this case) new houses. Did they feel that it was worthwhile going through the time consuming exercise of producing the self evaluation on the maps. I think that's very ...

Jockin – I think presently today, however we started out with the community mapping, today it is accepted all over India for anything, not only the rehabilitation. Housing, formal information. This map has become authentic. Today this is what happened in Nepal. Now Nepal doesn't talk about housing unless you have a map done. And we have to import some people from here to Nepal. Then Nepal has decided to do themselves, but the cost was – I think if it is Rs 100 here, it was Rs 1500 there. So even we sent the senior people, just to do the survey, this mapping. But in India now map is the only thing everywhere all over India.

Romi – what effect did it have on the community to do this?

Jockin – 29.58 **In the beginning when we started off with the community we said – what kind of a document which could prove our stay here. And this is what our discussion. I remember this is in 74 and 76. that time SPARC didn't even exist. That's when we thought of making a map, to see what kind of a document which could be checked by the authorities to see what is right what is wrong. Ration card you can fabricate, voting card, you can make it. Insurance, you can get it. birth Certificate, you can get it. Death certificate you can produce, you can do it somehow. But the only thing, the map is one which can not be duplicated, set wrong. Even of you bulldoze this many houses were there, we can produce this, one of the main documents was the mapping. So that is where we started mapping.** That time nobody believed it. I remember 1974, I went to a municipal office. I was arrested there itself. They took me, I said 'no problem'. I was there, then I pulled up another four people together. Five of us, went got arrested, got released in the evening only because the senior, the head of the Police Station came there and said – what is the biggest problem? 'Oh, they did a mapping'. And he had a debate with us and we said 'what is wrong with you. This is the map, we have done it. what is your problem'.

Alison – you were arrested because you'd done the map.

Jockin – now many places, you go there, they will stop you. Unless the community is strong enough to stand up and say – 'no. who are you to stop me to do my mapping'. Even now, it's not that easy. Many places, many cities. This is what is threatening to the politician, threatening to everybody. What is the politician doing, he takes his letterhead and certifies that he is staying here. But map is not there. Map is saying – this many structure, this much land has been occupied by these people, this is one of the documents. So community felt ..

Alison – with the house numbers and the names and the photos...

Jockin – no. see, this is all secondary. Name, this all could be changed, somebody put it in, somebody take out. But today government of India, down to everybody, go to any town any city, even the court accepts a document produced by the Federation. Now luckily we managed in Bombay .. the federation has the power to sign with the authorities. Yes, the structure is listed. The complete Railway, I am a signatory. In Bangalore another federation member is a signatory. Like that many places, we manage that there are somebody from the .. who ... the tremendous hope on the community, once the map is done everybody relax. The minute after that, you ask any information. That's what I am trying to look at it, when you talk about the information, which information you wanted? How many people are, what pregnancy, dates, months, that information is there, education information is there, school information is there, employment information is with us, young people's information. Anything we are focusing on the house but that is not the .. see that is what we see. That is the dream, knowing very well that is very far away. But that is our main focus. But rest of the thing, continuously we do various things. complete in the building set up there is a complete committee which is looking after the school admission only. They do nothing.

Romi – but we are saying something else. How can we ask the community what is obstructing them. How can we ask each individual, not the community. We are asking each individual – what is your obstruction, where are you being prevented from doing what you want to do. Then we go to the next guy and ask him. is it useful to do this exercise. That's the first point.

Jockin – that is what I am trying to worry about it. but I said – you collective ask the question, not as an individual. Yes, individual everybody will talk to you , tell you. Like for example, I go to a settlement, what is about this school. 'My son I want to put him in a English medium', straight. First answer, number one. What is the cost? Half of the monthly salary. 650-750 only the school, then tuition is a must for them because both the parents are illiterate. They can not do anything, just send the child to the English medium. That is a direct aspiration. Then, ...

Romi – but you see, we have already asked them about a school, suppose we go one behind that and tell them – you tell us what is your problem, what are the difficulties you are facing.

Jockin – they will say, yeah, that is there.

Romi – is it worth doing it so that we can look at some pattern emerge. Because there is of course in the collectivization process, there is always a possibility that a social decision has been pre-made. That we may say – of course you should have a school and of course you should have a house. And when I don't have 50 things and you are offering me one I'll ... but there is always a possibility that you have taken a social decision without there being any basis for it. except that one has a certain conception that education or schools are important and all that.

Houses are important. That's where the essential problem lies that how is a social decision made. The individual think differently. At what point the federation makes social decisions and that's something we discussed yesterday that the representatives of the Federations make social decisions but it's not clear at what point the individual aspirations get converted to a social decision or is that social decision already there before us.

Jockin – I don't know, I don't think .. for me for these last 30 years of being in .. I don't think even the.. I am All India President, I have not even used even once as a president to do something anywhere in the country. Anywhere within the Federation also. I don't like sitting here and now dictating to Bangalore what to do or other city what to do. I most of the time push back. You decide, I'll support. So I don't think... almost all decisions, even to come to this housing, it took 536 people more than six months to come down to the decision of – housing is to priority number one. At the time Supreme court Judgment was there.

I don't know whether Sheela started off with it. In the beginning of SPARC dialogue, when I started up – I started – forget about talking about housing, forget about employment. And we went back and back and said – what is that which we want to start with. So that is where we first – first thing for us started out with – stop evictions. Then the whole question – after stopping evictions what are you going to achieve. At least we can , if there is no eviction then we sit and talk about it. This is the second. Then we talked about .. I think we know what are the other question to be addressed. Most of the time, this is how I would rather put this as individual's aspiration was brought into a forum. I have not taken the kind of a lead or any other leader could take on one single leader, taken and decided how to convert these people to move into this direction. That was not the case at all. It was the collective people Individually, all come together but hardly, the only uniqueness in that was that most of the time, 90% of people come from one kind of situation. Maybe all of them living in a bad condition of the house. Maybe two or three people, ok, forget about, my house is very nice, fine. I am worried about what happens if I join with them. This has happened in terms of many things. Like – most of the time if you talk to any individual women, simply straight away they say – I want some employment. Fine. Let's call a meeting, all of them together. Employment, employment, employment. So that discussion is there – some employment for the women, why? 'we have free time'. Somebody says 'we don't have income', or 'income is less'. Then we collectively try to argue, then it becomes like a group, makes a decision, 'yes. We are going to go for an economic activity'. In fact we have lost (I have been telling sunder, he is the main person) who always will being some government project is there, some millions of rupees there . so many thousand .. it will be .. to the community, if the community is going to improve, I told him, come on, let's take it to these people. Put it to them and discuss with them. 99% I have got rejected all these projects. How do I put it.

We had a good insurance program was developed. I was very cynical about it as individual, but I compromised after discussion a lot. Then we went for insurance. Hardly we experienced for two years and that is closed.

Romi – what was that insurance thing?

Jockin – it was an insurance for a wife and husband, just two rupees a month, about Rs 15 and it cover s for natural calamity, man made calamity, if their house get burnt, the houses get demolished or you have a cancer, you will get Rs 10,000. Al kind of .. you are sick, you get something, died somebody. Last 7 years I am fighting, 11 people died, nobody has got one penny also. This is what

we discussed earlier. Individually everybody accepted it. it was very attractive. I could not say that you are not...

Alison – It's a government scheme?

Jockin – it's a insurance, not a government.. boss..

Sunder – it's one of the nationalized Insurance companies.

Jockin – nationalized Insurance. Very nice people, very nice. Talked about, is fantastic. Every individual is completely thrilled, in two rupees you are getting Rs 5000. you go to hospital – this crisis was going on, one was Tb, one was accident death, somebody was sick and dead, one went to hospital had a cancer, died. But it is individuals demand. It was attractive to everybody, that finally we had select people, community wise and we went for insurance, we had done the insurance plan. But finally the same community, we said, the decision has to be taken. I sat together, ;why are you wasting our money, come and please close it. Stop it, this is nonsense, we are not getting anything'. Many cases I can tell about this kind of individual kind of decisions.

The Ration shop is not a collective, it's not in my head. It's not Sheela's head. I don't think Sheela even imagined having a ration shop. The community felt, because instead of going to the agent we can sign for a ration card which is supposed to be the main document. But we went and now people are managing it. Lot of problem. Same people, I remember, once it's about a year back, somebody had a big quarrel. This ratio shop which is supposed to be the community ration shop and some woman came and beat up the person who was giving because the kerosene was less and the whole.. there is a gang. One is organizer, another one is the residents. Then I just went there and I asked, - how can this ration shop have a quarrel? Because it's a people's shop, it's your own shop. Not somebody is making it. And they said the kerosene measurement was less. This is where very clearly, it's an individual, she took the bottle, it was a little less, went home, came after three hours, saying that kerosene is less. So the shop fellow who is sitting there she said – 'no, no, she could have not even gone home, told us this is not to be filled, why it is there.' And she went there and coming back after three hours also with some stick and knife and all those tings. I had to ask the police don't register a case, they will sit and sort it out, what has happened. Immediately the community, they collected. It's supposed to be their ration shop. They decided to put up the big grill and only a hand could go with the ration card. I said – this could be one of the shamest thing to happen. This is why we don't want that shop and made our own shop and here you are doing much more than the private shop. Then why should you have a shop at all. Then they changed. They said – everybody has to sit together, evolved a method of how to get a supply. Why there should not be a crowd on the shop. These things --- I don't know how to argue or express, I am getting you I am not ...

Romi – I understand what you are saying, I think that we have an idea that actually all the individual aspirations are addressed by the process that you have. More we are thinking – (a) how do you compare these things across other projects. How do we have a process whereby this very complex process you have of filtering the individual decisions into collective decisions gets known, rather than just remains. Because this is a very crucial part of the work that you are doing. What tends to happen I think is that the work that gets seen outside is the top end of this complex process. Which is the alternative to the existing democratic processes. I mean it's importance is – I think it's been referred to as Deepening Democracy. But it's not actually deepening democracy in the same sense. Because the democratic structure that we have is very high up. It has no

connection with this at all because at no point do you refer to it. this is some other independent democratic process going on and I think it's very important that it should be known, that we should find some way. I am convinced that the procedure that you are following has enormous lessons for governments. But also it remains shrouded, because it's a very informal system. Our question to you is – how do we communicate this? Not formalize it, no. How do we communicate it. How can other people see it without interfering with it. without trying to pull it apart, without trying to intervene in it.

Jockin – is it like the outcome of this process – there are products.

Michael – resources generally. More CLIFFs.

Jockin – that is maybe one. The other thing I would, I don't know I started up with today morning, it's a parallel government in that particular settlement. Today we are having more than 50,000 families parallel government, nothing to do with the government. And then it could be measured in terms of – you know what are the things of parallel government today? The government is struggling to give water. In the next two years in the places where we are working at, our work is getting done, even we are going to bring out the water directly, by us not going to the system. Or we are trying to work out a system whereby the CLIFF kind of support comes in. We buy the bulk water and we manage it. look at the whole thing, there we are having police system. Normal police will never come inside. We have a police station, we have a police system. We have all the crimes, except anything which is major, which we find it goes to the police station, through the collective, not individually. In Kanjur Marg in 1999 and 2001 there was meeting. Everybody was screaming, this and that and all. The DCP asked me, 'the only three complaints from a settlement of 900 families in a year went to the police station. If you calculate in the terms, the existing police force is three times more than what you require. If you really do this kind of a heavy calculation etc. Then I was talking about them – if this is the matter, you should facilitate through this and help the women to run their own police station. Disconnect from your police station. Only the major crimes, if they happened could be referred to the police station. What I am trying to look at it – there are some products out of this organization. In terms of management of police station community policing system. It takes care of one set. Second, look at the income generation activity of the communities. We are looking at in the buildings – by the time they are third or fourth year in the building the Federation is looking at – every family will have one person meaningfully employed. One person who will definitely be employed having an income to look after the family. Third – schools. Today morning before you came this is what we were talking, negotiating with the education .. people who are running education institutions. What kind of a standard of education we require, how do we provide place, how do we manage it, how do we control the teacher, how the system, how fees structure. Everything has been discussed. This is to take care.

So, like sanitation, you saw that same toilet ... that's the kind of toilet here. The bank, everybody said – community toilet will never work. Here is the community toilet, it's working. All over Bombay, everybody said, people will not pay for cleanliness. In all these places everybody paying between Rs 10-25 a month, only for cleaning, garbage, drainage, dumping, road etc..

Don't think these kind of a products could be taken up, evaluate, community evaluation, but that that is happening. Through this, this individual aspiration is been addressed. It's not that it is --- it's very clearly addressed, very clearly how you people ... I am trying to talk about the consensus of 90%, I am not talking about the consensus of 100%. This is never going to happen, it will be never

there. Impossible it is. That is the reason. Luckily that lady came, I showed you, she is mother and daughter fighting.

Romi – yes, you can't solve that.

Jockin – Impossible. But we still managing and running, Police, government, everybody failed. And these two people trusting – only we can do it. now they are fed up. They said – nothing going anywhere. They come and sit there for sometime 12 hours, sometime 6 hours. They know morning I am coming there, there is a group meeting, she will be there definitely. And after you all I went, that is where I took time, I sat in the car, that is the next meeting. The mother has come. I spent an hour with them, talking to both of them and dividing in two houses. Then I said – ok, you have three lakhs rupees, I will give another house to you. But I said, go to the group, collect, check it out, but if you have three lakh rupees, the room is ready next door. She said – no, she should pay half of the money. I said that is right. Let the daughter pay. And the daughter can't pay on food. How she is going to pay half of that. So we are talking about these kind of a decision, which is all 90% acceptable decision. **53.09 I had a bigger problem, like yesterday I came in. Just now we are moving, some 350 families are getting houses. Yesterday I went, everything was sorted out. Means I and Mahila Milan, seven of us went. All on a sudden I got a call from the government and say – this is 1,2,3 building number 8 and 3 and 4 is reserved for somebody. I said fine, it is fine it is reserved. But in one complex there are 8 buildings. All the people who had agreed to move into the building the minute they didn't get the building number 8, they walked out. They didn't get the allotment, they don't want it. they wanted only building number 8. today after lunch I went there, I went to see how things are happening. But nothing was happening, nobody has taken key, nobody. .. because the problem, within the same settlement one society is 32, another one society was 47, another one 57, another one 56, another one 58. this 32 fellow is stopping all the five. Look at the number. The society which is formed only 32 – he is saying because I am not getting what I want to get I don't want the bigger group to go into anything. So I just asked them – you are 32, they are 58. which is big, which is small. And they said 'break the 53, not the 32'. Then I asked then what is the reason. You won't believe it. Around 60-70 people sat, In ten minutes all of them said 'ask the 32 to break into five groups. That is the end of it.'** and the person who was heading it yesterday, stopping all the allotment, are stopping at 2.30 today, at 3 o'clock he signed the paper and said ;no, let the 32 break into five'. But it sounded – they went to eh MLA yesterday night, they went to the member of Parliament yesterday, they went to the councilor and the Municipal councilor two of them waiting there with the letter to me, 'sir, how to sort out this'.

Romi – they were not part of the federation?

Jockin – Just joined the Federation. Hardly six months. They were just working on it. but luckily they got the house immediately. They have not even gone through any other process of numbering, measuring, this and that and .. the map is non-existing.

Romi – and they have a saving scheme..

Jockin – just started saving scheme.

Romi – so I think what you are saying essentially is that the outcome of these individual decision, the product of these individual decisions is what is, other people can come and see.

Jockin – that's what I am trying to look at it. other people can see, other people could be communicated, other people can evaluate looking at somebody, somewhere – where were you. What were your capacity, how did you come to this decision. What were the outcome of these decisions. What have we got.

Romi – how can see that this product. Let's say that the community toilet is part of a community decision because there is nothing sure. You had a discussion maybe five weeks ago to do something in a particular way and then the toilet comes up and somebody comes to see it and it is shown as a community built and a community maintained toilet. And he says – how do I know that it is part of a collective decision that came about?

Michael – wouldn't you look at two toilets and see one that was in terrible condition and see that comparative – the quality of the use currently is indicative of the ownership of that toilet by the community.

Jockin _ I partly agree with you. What is happening is, that this is also true. Everything is not .. everything went into ... where we were today – I missed it. I should have shown the toilet when we were sitting in the transit. Next to itself one toilet is getting constructed. That group of women have fought at least for 6-7 years, they couldn't get the toilet, and the corporation could not give. They have become part of the federation now and then explained it and I think it was in the BBC about a year back. The commissioner asking me – how is it the women are talking to the BBC and this is ... I said 'what BBC, it will even come in CNN. They don't have a toilet, their women are saying .. all the women are sick in that area. And it's the illiterate women explaining, which I never know. That if you don't go, use toilet properly, you have to wait for the whole day from morning to evening and then you go and ease out and all these kind of things. Now, there is a collective toilet. That is what they wanted. They wanted a toilet and they worked for it. even they know very clearly their Member of Parliament could not give .. and really what happened was that, because it was the federation, what we did, we said – there is no place in the settlement. And the community pushed two people to shift somewhere else. Then the federation said, 'ok, we will give two houses to them in another place, they vacate this place'. So we got the land. Otherwise they were saying, we will build the toilet, let these two families go on top of the toilet. And we agreed, but that person said that instead of going on top of the toilet we will go out there. And that is the toilet came in today.

This is one model. There is another model that we generally some of the Federation we decide that this toilet is very bad. Go to the people, sit with them, talk to them. They want to have it. somebody says, 'nothing doing, we don't want pay toilet. We want a free toilet. It is dirty, bad, no water, no electricity. That is none of your business, we will take care of it.' but still worst. But some places we force, say no. But what happened, when we force and started demolishing and building, in three years time the community comes back around saying, no, no, no. don't give it to anybody we want to look after it. we will pay but we will pay according to what is our capacity. We will maintain, it looks nice, it is good, it is what we wanted, but we can't afford to pay this much. Things like that. That negotiation goes on, takes time and they take over it. so this is not one clear community completely managed, but all in given point of time – out of 180 toilets, today we have built something around 160, 135 is completely community. Having a committee, managing it. today, about a week back there was a

suggestion from many of the toilet who have come and told me 'how about everybody, all the toilets monthly contribute to the federation something, 250, 200 Rs. a month'. If we just collect that income a huge amount of money monthly will come to the federation. I don't know what is that? Maybe constructing more toilet or maybe employing more.. then this toilet because of the whole concept; there's a family living there. Employment for a family and a beautiful house for a family. These two three things are built in. but I will agree totally with you - it has not totally begin with it. it begin with all kind of a problem, finally the community comes and takes over, controls. Then they realize the method of that. How do we own the total... eg, after the toilet construction there is no demolition there. No eviction. It took a long time for them to understand this. so that is one,

Then after getting a toilet, the rest of the other facilities started coming in. Drinking water, street, pathway. So there are different kind. Somewhere organization begin first, because of toilet, organization came in. this is the two kinds.

Michael - does that mean, do you think that all situations are so variable that a framework as such wouldn't provide us with a useful mechanism.

Romi - I think the variable situations can be recorded in whatever format we do. And can be re-graded. Simply because we.. I think the importance of what's being needs to be communicated and we need to communicate it in some sort of a comparable form to other situations. Although I think the community itself is not thinking in terms of obstructions or five categories, there is some importance in putting them into those categories to cross..

Alison - 1.02.48 **what Jockin's description though says to me is challenging slightly the value of going right to the individual preference.**

Romi - yes.

Alison - **and in fact if you probe individual preferences and aspirations, you actually challenge the value of the community approach. I mean Jockin's description to me has strengthened the maybe an idea that individual aspiration actually can't be met by poor people. You can only meet community aspirations. Because you need that strength to actually challenge all these obstacles. And therefore even any kind of evaluation that probes into individual aspirations isn't helpful.**

Romi - I think what he is saying is that individual hopes and things are variable, they keep changing. They may express one thing here and they come to a meeting and what you said yesterday, those aspirations will change. The numbers may change, the expectations may change, but at the root of their enquiry is the individual aspiration eventually. Because even if a collective is formed, there is a perception of 500 people that they share an aspiration.

Alison - yes, the power of the collective, collects you of individual aspiration because that becomes possible. The aspiration as an individual, that I want to learn to read and write, isn't the one that happens to be being addressed, therefore that aspiration gets dissipated to some extent, till my aspiration actually becomes focused.

Romi -their strength is derived eventually -let's say if it's a housing project or even a community toilet, I think the Federation's strength is derived from the fact the each individual wants this toilet.

Alison – yeah, but it's a feed back loop. It want a toilet because it's been proven, they've seen it elsewhere, that it's actually being well looked after and therefore individuals who didn't back it 90%, becomes 90%. Whereas before maybe it was only 50% but then other people buy into it.

Romi – I think the process is important. Because what the Federation is doing is that they are collecting people and saying – 'ok, is this what you need, then it should be really ... are you members of the Federation and should we give the strength of the federation to you'.

Alison – they are also trying to influence the individual aspirations. (everyone talking over each other)

Sunder – **I think somewhere Romi, 1.05.08 whether it's conceptual or whether it's to do with language or whatever, somewhere I think the focus here is really upon the collective. I know he is telling about how the individual aspirations are tempered and so on, but fundamentally the individual is subordinate to the collective in our work. Which does not necessarily mean disrespect for the individual work but it means a clear priority for collective aspirations over individual aspirations. And those individual aspirations which are there themselves shaped by the collective experience. So that it's not opposition of an individual and a collective.** I don't know if I am being myself...

Michael – the federation can only respond to a collective view. Because it is a Federation.

Alison – if it is a good ... it could be influenced by individuals if they were too powerful or exploitative.

Michael – I suppose really the problem comes, this is an ope.. proposition, no an awkward thing to mention. What happens if you get a bad federation? or a bad leader or a bad group or some of those .. where they can unduly influence

Jockin – No, this is how the federation has get build – If we have a dictator kind of a leader, who is not collective, who is not very good, there are federations in India. There's not only this, many many people who are individuals are federations. They are not Federations. There are individual calling ... there's this bird... Federation is there existing in Bombay. It's run by an MLA.

Michael – more like sort of an NGO or...

Jockin – it is more than.. worse than a NGO, worse than any . it is worse, it is just name, it is a *dada* (bully)

Alison – How do you avoid that within your federation?

Jockin – listen, here in this federation you have to go from the scratch one. And that's what I am explaining, what is happening in Wadala today. In the last six months the new thing – people are coming up – in the federation everybody has to go back, see, it is (I don't know how to put it) everybody some time or the other go to some place or the other place, look at it, learn from there. Somebody asked for a (I think).. yeah, another Federation who can't get a ration shop but they believe, federation can get a ration shop. It is in Dharavi. So the community decision was that to them – all of the majority of them would go to look at our existing four or five ration shops. Learn lesson from there and then come and get it. Then you can get settled to your own ration shop. People learn. Here, many

leaders, those who have not been productive, the system is such they are eliminated automatically. Nobody is pushing, nobody is taking action. Suspending a president? No. He get himself kicked out. Eg, somebody was corrupt. Or somebody who is authoritative, or somebody who is without consulting making decisions. When it comes up to the forums, the collective groups, like in a different Federation it very clearly reflect, these are the people who are not working, just playing the leadership role.

Alison – explain a bit more.

Jockin – some people, those who are not working but they become leader, they may have been good at some point of time.

Alison – what's the process that they leave. How does that work?

Jockin – In the whole process of – organization decision making process it very clearly reflects – these are the people don't work, but they play a leadership role. And the get eliminated very easily in the forums.

Michael – like peer pressure.

Jockin – Just pressure because it's reporting system. Somebody stands up and says in the forum of the whole federation, I have not seen this leader for six months. And he didn't attend that meeting, he didn't attend that meeting. He has taken such a decision to give loan to so and so person without asking the collective. This is how it reflects very easily in the forum.

Alison – these meetings you were talking about – the monthly meetings..

Jockin – monthly meeting, regular meeting, even in the meeting of the smaller units..

Alison – they are empowered enough to say ..

Jockin – yeah, yeah. People don't.. here if there is a corruption it is openly talked about.

Romi – no, I think the problem arise, Jockin, that .. let's take a federation which is run by some Dada, or a corrupt guy and we want to let's say compare. We want to find out what's wrong with that, or we would like that federation to engage a different process of working. It's very difficult to being across how you are functioning to this Federation.

Jockin – very simple. Let me put it. One of the group of people were absolutely corrupt, opportunistic. It's called *Railway Punarvasan Prakalp*. They immediately called – all the people wanted two houses, three houses, there's enough number who is not part of the ... and Idea and started taking rally's and political rallies, going to the Minister, going with a black flag and you know, and the Railway federation reacted very badly. We are all felt was - where has these buggers come now? Now, even last three years they are doing the same thing. these fellows were arrested twice. The whole community of about 200 families beat up the leaders so badly because they fooled them and the police have to take action. And once they wanted to take a demonstration against us, directly to Byculla, to our office. And they wrote to the Police Station that they have this big complaint. And the police asked the Federation called the Mahila Milan. 'you want to talk?' I said – these fellows come and go every time. This is the one who has collected, printed same our ID card, and sold it to people in terms of Rs 2000 to Rs 5000 a

card. To be a member of the Federation. Now the government has to ask me – who is these people, why don't you throw them out? They somehow registered. Then it went to the ... one of the times the luckily, the former Prime Minister, VP Singh became very close to us and he came to one of the meetings and I made this bugger sit next to VP Sing. And Celine was screaming, 'don't allow this rogue and crack buggers to sit here'. I said 'let him sit, get him exposed.. what is our problem'. He was trying to know, this is injustice, and I said I want to sit quietly and show the injustice, so what is wrong. Till today ... the other day we were sitting in VP Singh's house, I was there with VP Singh in the guest house and this fellow comes in. I just straight away told him – look, ask this cracked bugger, who is the Chairman of the Federation, stand up and say what is the problem. I have been asking last one year what his grievances are. Papers to give to me and I want to look into it. this crack is not giving. He is going and collecting money and doing all these nonsense things. he got his leg broken and I have to go and tell the people, 'don't break him, don't kill him'. He is a crack bugger, what to do. Then what I did was that I asked the Federation and the Federation was very angry that we should not talk to them and all. I said, no, we have to give them a chance. So collective Railway federation agreed – arrange a meeting. It was very .. it's a big kind of a political ... like Bush going and meeting some Bush, like that. They fixed a hotel where I am supposed to go and meet. So I went. Then I could see, I go with these Federation, about 24 people. That fellow arranged some *goondas* (goons) and all. Many of the goondas I know them very well. They can't even stand, they know me very well because I have been in this all along. So they saw me, and in the hotel this fellow is sitting. Till then, I didn't know this is the fellow that was there. Who used to work with me ten or fifteen years back. Then I told him – what is your problem. 'No, no, no this is all our doing, you are such good man, you are doing this and that and your federation is very good. But, we also have a federation...

END OF MD 9

MD 10 contd.

Jockin -... I am sorry I can't compensate because this is what you are doing business. Showing me sitting there, sitting next to me and I attended remarks, sending the papers to the right authority and all. Mischievous. This is another kind of Federation.

There is another Federation which is run by the MLA, which ahs promised all kinds of things, not even given a single house till today. Or even listened to the people. So this is what is existing.

This is also the same kind of problem we are facing with NGO's. the NGO organizes a seminar. for what? Talking about how to get a ration card. Here the Mahila Milan, completely uneducated women get a ration card within two days time. And NGO called for the three workshop, on how to get a Ration card. I used to get angry when sunder says, you are a very horrible fellow, you don't want to talk to the NGO. Hoe can I go and sit in an NGO meeting for three days listening to the crap they are talking about your not getting ration cards. How to get ration card, you have been eliminated, this government is corrupt, this is nonsense, this is bull shit. How can I sit there for three days listening this. I told Sheela, I think this is your NGO drama, I don't want to get into it. you go there and sit and listen and do paper or read paper or something. I can't go bull shit. And take three women and they will get you a ration card for everybody. That's why many of the NGO's will not work, talk, tolerate. We are the untouchable, we are the scheduled castes. The Federation means Schedule caste. Because you talk. We talk means, we have done Ration card 15 years back! We got ration card for more then 300

street children. Today street Children are getting ration card done. You have to work for it. you just talk, present paper and tell the policy is bad, it is not doing it.

I told you the map system. Today ration control is adopting that system. Till now if the map is not there, every settlement they had it – more ration card than the number of families living there. Today in all our settlements wherever we go, this is very clear. You don't have a ration card, the Federation in public will say – yes we will get you a ration card within a weeks time. And the MLA, councilor, everybody will scream and say – how can you get it? you can't get it. but we can get it. We go with the map. These many thing and open your register. Show me how many cards you have from the settlement. Al the time 90% they used to have more cards than the people who are living there. So we said, this is wrong,. Take the map, mark it, hereafter this nobody will get a ration card here. Whoever doesn't have a ration card we will give it. whoever have a double or triple card, just take it out. This is what ... they can't. This is how it is.

I basically try to look at it – what you are suggesting. How do we - **3.11 in the beginning, I really felt about 15 years back that nothing could be documented, we don't want to share to anybody. We don't want to do these things and publicize and .. Those days I had a little bit problem. The minute you do one and it's announced, there are ten visitors and fourteen this and that and finally most of your time is gone into these. Today we are well equipped. Even anybody can come, I can ask some street children 'take Mutter and go and show the places'. You don't waste your time. You don't grumble about it and also take what you can take out from you. The visitor.** Today we are not absolutely comfortable any visitor, anybody come, take camera, take video, do anything people just know about it and it is not .. even we said some program we organized, we said – no translator, if you would like to come, please, no problem. No translator. If you want to go there and observe, you are gone. You will get whatever information collected. This has taken a time and change. Otherwise, as I put it, if you would have talked to me on this I would have said 'no, nothing, not this information, not documenting. Why somebody should get know about it!'

Michael – so how can anew place... let's take Orissa. Because it's a real situation where we are looking at working with DAWN, working comprehensively with SPARC and DAWN and looking towards a possible CLIFF operation in Orissa. Now, is that going to take them 30 years?

Jockin – no, no. which has taken 30 years is taking 3 months. Not even 30 months. We measure it between 3-6 months time. That is done there.

Alison – How do you shortcut there?

Jockin – we are not short cutting there.

Alison – but how do you make it so quick?

Jockin – number one is, a collective of people coming and sitting and looking at it. if you come to this shop (I am putting it like that) Bombay shop. You want to do something on toilet, you go and see toilet. You want to see how to get Water supply, go and see water supply. Want to do a road, go and see the road. Want to see about my saving, go into the saving. We want to do some leadership negotiation, yes, go and talk to the Municipal office, how the women deal with the Municipal office. How do you deal with the politician. The women immediately have a meeting in the evening, talking to the politician. You can see.

5.57 Practically going there, it triggers off. Let me tell you, when I went to Orissa, I get a shock. Because any time I had a .. there not less than 500-1000 people I could meet. And all of them will talk individual, this problem, that problem and I .. tell them – you tell how could we get water. And it's done. And we are really Orissa today is like a fire, and people can directly without you, referring you, as the .. taking the federation, talk to the city authority, port authority and get things done. So it's possible; hut counting, at least it has taken for us three months. Now it is one day. In our line first is head counting. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10. I did this at least a hundred times. Asking you to count. Asking you to count, asking you to count. This was the beginning practice. Today people very clearly, even in a meeting you come there the community, they stand up and say that first job is – how many people are living here. In the meeting. 7.11 Hut counting means how many hits are there in this settlement. That is to be taken a long time to understand also. Now it is done in a day, within a week survey is being carried out.

Alison – are there examples. I actually know there are, but there are examples where you take slum dwellers from here and you actually for example in Delhi took a group of six or eight from here, of slum dwellers and they worked with the slum dwellers in Delhi and started a savings and presumably hut counting as well. I don't know what they started. Is that right, when we went to that place near Delhi haat. How many people came and what was the process there?

Jockin – see, 5-6 people came in there. Three times. 18 of them. Today. Four or five settlements completely doing all things. Savings and this and that and .. it's a kind of the federation emerging there.

Alison – so it's actually rolling out, using the oral tradition. I mean you are actually not going up, documenting, sharing the documents through the NGO and going down to the ... you are actually going horizontally from slum dwellers to slum dwellers and rolling it out that way. Orally and physically.

Michael – I come to in fact a slight contradiction to our starting point here. 8.32 **And that is in fact, even inside the governments and donor organization the oral tradition is very strong as well. Because you will agree something and then you'll write it down later. It's very rarely that it's only on the power of the written word that things get decided. Very rarely. Or shared, specially. So it's the same. But, we do then go through a process of recording.** Do you think it would be useful in the future that your processes become recorded. So that they can be shared.

Jockin – earlier I used to get worried. Supposing we completely create... I don't know – because of PRIA and many other organization have the module federation. It's easy for somebody to take it and completely mess it up. But using the milestones. Eg, I don't know, somewhere we used to always talk about the federation as something around 40-50 rituals. You know hut counting, numbering, measuring ... But this had to happen some point of the time in the federation. Not necessarily 1 2 3 4 5. sometime 5 could start with , sometimes 20 can come in. Eg, land is today there. But today you start land then go for survey, then go for numbering, then go for mapping, then go for final house. Sometimes take final house but rest of the things also have to be completed. 10.32 **But this if it is written and it is documented properly spelt out, this is how it has to go, there is no way. The rituals. It is easy for somebody, some group to take it. Ok, we did this, we did this, everything. But they would have not really done, provided that kind of a time and opportunity for people, group or others to express about their concern. To get to reach these things.**

Alison – but the essence in the process of who makes the decisions and who drives it is being important which is almost impossible to document. You can say – then people don't live up to ..

Romi – 11.25 **the Federations are growing, so there is communication going on there. It's not as if you are only one federation. Somehow this information is being very accurately communicated to another federation which is having some problem. The process may be that their group comes, it sits with you. It's fine. But the fact that your Federation is growing and that you are able to take new federation in and that those federations are functioning means that there is a very clear communication. And we are not saying that we should record it in the traditional manner. We are saying that there is a communication process going on here, what is it?**

Jockin – correct me if I ma right or wrong. Two Federation in South Africa. One is Ges.. and company and other one is our federation. Here is a team of homeless people, belongs to another NGO.. in South Africa Gershwin and team.. this is the separate federation. That is where the struggle is going on. Where we are trying to help both of them to retain. Ok, let them be there, let them be also there. But then one federation can't accept it – 'how can there be another Federation!' but they are believing in everything the same. Maybe except individual level getting communicated, getting merged with the other federation. But here many time, many people tried other things. Even started Federation. But finally somehow got merged with us.

Romi – so, there is a system somewhere.

Celine – but what is the discrepancy? It's ok to have two federations.

Jockin – that's what I am saying. I am not saying that we shouldn't have it. I am encouraging that we have it.

Romi –13.15 **but, I mean they have a system. It may be an amorphous system, it may be an undefinable system there is a system and when you have federation forming itself in Poona or in Delhi or in some place like that, some essence of what you believe in is being communicated. And that, we are not able to define that. I'm willing to accept that we don't define it and that we have to think of a way in which the Federation thinks about what it's content it. Not somebody. So I would again return to that thing and say that the Federation needs to do some introversion to understand what is this special essence or flavor that they are able to export.**

Alison – it is more than the 51 steps. Or they have so many steps, they have more than that.

Smita – I don't know but to me it seems to be just the result. I mean that the fact that they hear that in Bombay which is supposedly the hardest city to access any kind of land, poor people have got housing. Isn't that what sells the concept instantly? Like they will think, ok, I want to buy into that process.

Romi – but that doesn't make you function like they are functioning. In order for other federations to function like this..

Smita – isn't the first thing that you have to have some people in Lucknow who have access to that information. Once they hear the people in Bombay have got

houses then they are ready, and hungry I would guess, to hear about 'how'. And that's where you have this lateral learning or some facilitating of .. they'll come and listen ..

Romi – they'll come and they'll listen. The they will say – but why don't you start with the saving scheme, you need to first of all get a commitment from the community towards the federation. Here's a process going on. Very very exact process going on. And if somebody from Lucknow comes and talks to you, you have very specific advise to give them. You are not saying to him that – I don't know how you are going the problems, you can see how we've solved them. You are actually saying – I think you should do this, this and this. and then there is a process by which you can actually begin to build your federation .

so I think that we are talking about something that the Federation can say that this is... it's already saying actually. All we are saying that this is totally undocumented process. Nobody knows how it functions and yet it is there.

Jockin – today is an example like what we are doing in Gujarat. The federation is two years old but it is spread into three cities. And as a national Federation we have not invested anything there at all.

Alison – are there any NGO's there?

Jockin – no NGO's. completely community. 63 settlements in Ahmedabad, 40 settlements in Surat, now they have gone to Rajkot for I think 12 settlements. Only thing is that those people are coming to Bombay and going. Only about last month one small exchange of about 6 people went from Bombay to there and come back. And it's getting stronger and stronger.

Smita – isn't this what – they come for exchange, so that tool is the exchange tool, which is a very clear, defined, documented tool that .. There is methodology.

Jockin – this is very clear. Without any community to community exchange, you can not build Federation.

Sunder – actually Romi. There is some documentation. We have not brought it along. This South Africa thing 'Face to Face'. Actually we should bring that stuff to show

Celine – sunder I think here you have to help. Because there is a lot of thing that we have formally written and .. ready for the external world but it's not done in other languages or for other people different groups.

Smita – but there is a whole thing on horizontal exchanges.

Sunder – horizontal exchange. There is a fair amount of stuff . We should organize that tomorrow.

Nick – the other side is that the Federation isn't unique in the World as being capable of facilitating these processes. I think there is a danger that we are putting the Federation in Bombay on some sort of pedestal, as being the only place where this knowledge or this ability exists. I have seen similar things in all sorts of societies. And it's unique in Bombay, it's unique in these particular circumstances.

Celine – it's unique for the urban poor in different cities. Because the urban poor have come together as an organized voice. Rural groups you see lots of groups.

But urban poor I have not heard of. Trade Union groups yes, but this is not a trade union group, it's different.

Nick – I mean there are community land ownership models which exist in other countries which.. where you get a collective of people who have a common interest, coming together, who are excluded in one way or another. This isn't a unique model if you want.

Michael – the thing Nick is, it's the heart of a global federation. That is unique. And urban.

Nick – I have got a feeling that it could gain strength through association with rural models of something similar or with other models of community land trust in America eg. By saying that it is unique for the urban poor makes it exclusive to those who are urban poor and that I find a little bit tricky to deal with. Yes, there's a particular space in the urban poverty world, ie ..

Michael – well, whether it is or it isn't is slightly irrelevant. I mean what we really want to do is see what we can document in a way that non-peer level people can get an insight and understanding of what is going on.

Celine- if they wish to replicate it...

Michael – it just .. resources available to it.

Alison – I think this is a very important issue because there are blockages that stop it happening. Because there are NGO's in other cities trying to work with the urban poor who aren't willing to actually let this horizontal work. This horizontal linking happening because they feel disempowered by it. Because if it works really successfully those NGO's actually have no role. I mean if it's actually happening..

Celine – notionally they think that they won't have role.

Alison – that's right. And I think for India, for Indian urban poor because this is a ... issue we, somehow need to break that to challenge that all, communicate it in a less threatening way to some of those NGOs. so that the shelter Associates don't run away and start being top down about it. and whatever other NGOs actually are willing to see that they can be empowered by this process. And that is quite difficult. For NGO's that are struggling themselves to keep afloat and keep themselves in jobs.

Smita – I think it depends on how this thing is addressed.

Alison – but it's not your problem. It's other cities problem, it's not your problem at all.

Romi – personally I find that the replication has no problem at all. I don't think they need to be strengthened. It is being replicated, it is successful in various other cities, to various degrees and again I'll come back – the reason I why I was asking Jockin these questions is not really that – give us a blue print for replication. Because the replication is going on through a diffused process of community exchange or whatever. and that's fine. I am not really concerned with that. I am saying that you come back to evaluation and see that – therefore how do you tell whether the Federation that is working in Pune or in Delhi and the Federation that you've got working here is working somewhere at par. You need some indicator to say right, you know, you diffuse the knowledge, you've

instigated and begun a federation. There is no problem about that. That's fine. I am willing to accept that it's a process that is not definable. It's an amorphous process of communications where communities have exchanges, where they have specific problems, they get taken to various locations and shown examples and discuss everything. But at the end of the day, after a years work or something, we need to still see the relative way in which because they are being assisted by the State, they are being assisted by donors, we need to see somewhere along the line, whether we can use this criteria that we have before us.

Michael – I just wonder we can get to a stage where – say, eg, there's an argument to the like of DFID India, to say, well, 20% of DFID India's resources will be available for this kind of urban work. That's the challenge that I see.

Alison – you want really good communication to persuade very senior people that they are going to put big money into it.

Michael – Absolutely. In all sorts of strange language.

Alison – and the government money too.

Celine – Michael is singly focused on that! Laugh

Michael – Celine what time do we get ourselves to gather tomorrow morning.

END OF SESSION