Appendix 6

Types of benefits involved in fence maintenance

Type of benefit	Associated quotations
Payments for fence maintenance (including employment and illegal payments)	Interviews with Riphu* from a fringe village with a well-maintained fence mentions, "This is public property but nobody from the village comes and maintains the fence I am given a salary of Rs 4000 a month and hence now it is my responsibility to maintain it all alone." (BR03.10.6, June 2020).
	Kishor*, a community maintainer mentions why paying him for maintenance is beneficial to all the entities involved, "without the fence, people would be facing massive losses due to the elephants, it was certain that we would lose several moons [1 moon = 40kg] of paddy; but now, by paying a part of this to individuals like myself in lieu of maintenance, the public has much higher yields, and their homes are protected and I also make a little money- whatever is left after subtracting the costs of maintenance etc". (RL02.12.5, May 2020)
B > C for the political elite	Mathura*, a part of the political elite in Mrigamari* ensures the maintenance of the fence by delegating individuals because "I have been elected as the ward member of the region and it is my duty to maintain the fence. I was the one responsible for collaborating with WWF and the Forest Department to get this here and see how useful it has been - [pointing at the ripe paddy fields] - before the fence you would not get even one handful of paddy but now see how productive this land is. So even if people do not want to take efforts etc, they know that I am here to take care of it and that is why they appreciate me and trust me - because I have their best interest in mind." (JH.C.03, February 2020)

Goodwill from the community

Jishu*, a community maintainer highlights the reasons for him maintaining the fence, "The maintenance is done by me, as I am the secretary. The fence has been given for the safety of the people and the houses so I do my best to maintain the fence. It is not to kill elephants. It is just for the safety of the people.

Earlier we collected Rs 10 [0.13 USD] from each household towards a stipend for the community maintainer. However, now people don't want to give - when we ask for this contribution, they try to avoid it saying 'oh, we'll give it tomorrow or the day after'. Anyway, I don't really do this with the intention of getting a salary but rather, because people and the village should be saved. And the elephants too- we let them go to the farm and eat as they are hungry. It doesn't affect us. Let them eat the paddy [but not destroy our houses and injure/kill us]" (GL01.23.2, February 2020).

Pilot*, a community maintainer for a fence around the staff quarters within a tea estate mentions, "I don't get anything and neither do the other members get any monetary compensation. We do it for the village's safety. We had initially thought of collecting Rs 20 [USD 0.26] from each house every month. Benedict* and I should have got that because we do a lot of work and go and talk to everyone, but some people didn't contribute and hence others stopped too. However, the people here are nice. They put the gate themselves and are aware- even if they forget to put the gate, someone else will do it. And the people know that we are all one village so it's okay, anyway, I wasn't doing this for the small amount. Now people know me as the fence-person and know that I am working for the betterment of the people. (GM07.11.3, March 2020)

Reduction of the individuals' crop damage or house breakage or probability of loss of life Bagh*, an individual in a village with a poorly maintained fence illustrates his reasons for engaging in fence maintenance. "The fence maintenance committee had taken Rs 20 (0.26 USD) from each household to

repair the bamboo posts [of the fence] but instead, used that amount to party - blowing it up on meat and alcohol. When we asked them what happened to the money, they abused and swore at us and didn't give us an answer... After repeated attempts, I realised that they are not interested in taking care of the fence so Kulu* and I took it upon ourselves to maintain it. Now we maintain the fence ourselves because the consequences of it not being there are deadly - his house was broken 2 years ago but still hasn't been repaired or even received a single rupee. Therefore, if we are to keep ourselves safe, we need to ensure that the poles haven't fallen down, and fix the places where there is a leak. The community maintainers say thisand you won't believe it but they really say this - and therefore do not maintain the fences, 'everybody has to die at some point of time, what is the point of constantly trying to avoid it and being fearful? Ah relax, you can be killed under a truck today, an elephant tomorrow..!" (RJ.04.1.1, January 2020)

Peace of mind, rest and sleep

Purnima* from Kanimari* says, "Now we can sleep peacefully at night- the elephants come and eat the vegetation outside the boundary of the fence and go. We don't have to use fire or anything as such. It's so much better now." (EN2.17.5.2 May 2020)

Molo* from Boribeel* mentions, "Whether I grow paddy or not is immaterial because my house is still protected as it lays within the boundary of the fence. And now, I can sleep well at night only because of the fence." (GG2.15.6 June 2020)

Richa* from Sagunbasti* finds the fence very useful "...Because of the electric fence, now we can sleep peacefully at night- otherwise they would come and break houses. The wall of our house was broken a few months ago, fortunately none of us was injured." (RL5.15.3 March 2020)

Security and safety

A resident of Babamura* remembers that circumstances had become so dire so that "There was a time when there were no women in our village. Not even one, they had all gone back to their parents' homes owing to the threat from elephants. In those days, the elephants would wreak havoc every night; in fact, one night the elephants destroyed 10-12 houses". (HA7.25.2 February 2020)

Momi* from Kolbasti* describes the implications of conflict before the establishment of the fence, "The electric fence was not set-up when we were farming here. We are a little distance from that spot now, but our house was near the bamboo clump there [pointing]. The elephants tried to come in from there in the dead of the night and on noticing them, I screamed that they were here! We burnt a fire as we had to save our paddy. There was nothing, no electric fence, nothing. They stayed the entire night. It was circular, we would chase them and they would come back again and the cycle went on like this the entire night. We couldn't sleep during the day because of work and not at night because of the elephants. We would end up sleeping only for 1-2 hours. It was a tough time." (CH5.19.2.2 February 2020)

Less guilt due to potential harm to elephants (potentially emanating from empathetic or religious beliefs) Krishna* on why he prefers the fences as an HEC mitigation tool, "We have destroyed the forests where elephants lived. We are settling down in forest areas by cutting forests. They don't have a place to live and the reason that they visit human habitation is their hunger. And to think, we work so much for food. Look at them! They need to eat quintals of food so they are compelled to come into human areas. That's why we like the electric fences, because they can go wherever they want but just not break our houses." (SL01.19.1.2 January 2020)

Zika*, on the reasons for coexistence, "We feel bad because the people here, and not just here but in the places I have visited where they follow Hinduism, the elephant is considered our living Lord Ganesh. That's what we feel and believe. In that sense, when they get hurt we are hurt too. That's why we don't want to harm them much but we also want that they get enough food to eat and live peacefully. We have our farms and we have our stomachs too" (JH3.25.12.1 December 2019).