

Water and Sanitation: Unheard Voices of Women

Introduction

Water and sanitation – it is one of the basic necessity of life. Today in our country, there are so many people who do not have access to clean water and proper sanitation and some how they are adjusting to the situation. Scarcity of water and proper sanitation creates lots of problem for the members of the family but it aggravates the problems in the life of a woman.

It is not the reality that these people never had proper facility for water and sanitation, but it is the aftermath of the wrong development works and programs that most of the people had to migrate from rural areas to the urban areas in search of livelihood.

On reaching the urban areas they never get the possession on natural resources. And of course, one main requirement of life – to be alive and to support the family to be alive in all situations, she/he takes the risk of finding a way to live without the facilities of basic needs.

Women in rural and urban areas face a lot of problems due to the lack of proper facilities for water and sanitation, but not many efforts are made to study these problems. Usually, governments and institutions do some work on this subject according to their own mode and forget about it. This problem is not going to get solved by providing 3-4 water connections to some of the slums. Where thousands of people are living in one place and struggling to find their daily food by going to the work in the mornings, there the quality and performance of these facilities are not met. Even though 3-4 hand-pumps, MCD pipes and stinking toilets are made, nobody has considered the necessity of making community bath rooms for women by looking at the population.

The higher authorities make programs and by the time it reaches the ground level the promises are never fulfilled. And also the authorities neither have asked the households and the women in the slums about their needs nor heard their voices.

UN-Habitat, Nairobi, with the help of some other institutes, has started an effort to understand the problems of women due scarcity of water, sanitation, and toilets. Aga Khan Foundation (Delhi), CITI Foundation (Delhi), Institute of Social Studies Trust (Delhi), International Center for Women and Child (Delhi), Center for Women's Development Studies (Delhi), Operation Research Group Pvt. Ltd. (Delhi), Vikram Sarabhai Foundation (Delhi), Mahila Chetna Manch (Madhya Pradesh), and SEWA Ahmedabad (Gujarat) are the partner institutes in this effort.

Different states in the country has been selected to get an overall picture of the toilets, water, sanitation, and drinking water according to the different situations of urban and rural areas and also to hear the problems faced by women in the situations. The states are Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttaranchal, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, and country's capital Delhi.

To study the situations on toilet, sanitation and drinking water in schools of the urban areas along with the slums, Institute of Social Studies Trust selected three slums and three schools in East Delhi. These slums are Nehru Camp, Rajiv Camp, and Sonia Camp. The three schools from East Delhi are Government Sarvodaya Boys' School, Government Sarvodaya Girls' School and MCD Primary Girls School, Mandawali. Other than this to get to know about the situation on toilets and sanitation in the rural areas Lapodia village in Rajasthan is selected.

Nehru Camp

Nehru camp, a relatively large slum cluster, is located alongside National Highway – 24. The position of the slum is such that to one side of the slum is the highway, on the other are co-operative housing societies built by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) in the late 80s.

Most current residents of the slum are construction workers, who came here at the time the apartments were being built. Starting with a few *jhuggis*, the slum has grown in size in about 5000 people living here. Initially, the residents of the apartments were anxious that the slum dwellers should be evicted and the land is cleared. They complained of dirt and poor sanitation and so on. The DDA officials intervened and put up a boundary wall dividing the slum and the apartments, and the tension has subsided. (In general, such decisions reflect political support or pressure). The slum therefore has a level of legitimacy as a '*JJ cluster*'. The community lives harmoniously even with both Hindu and Muslim families. The residents are predominantly migrants from UP and Bihar. However, a few families have their roots in West Bengal and Southern India. There is no proper infrastructure for electricity. There are eight taps for water. The MCD has provided the camp with 12 toilets which implies one toilet for approximately three hundred and fifty people (which are usually called as *sarkari sauchalaya*)¹. Six toilets are for men

¹ **MCD Toilet:** In the Juggi-Jhopri colony MCD constructed toilets with the help of Sulabh International. These constructions are of concrete in nature. The maintenance and cleanliness of the toilets are given on lease to NGOs or other parties. There is a regular watch –man posted round the clock and he stays within the toilet block premises and he is given a monthly salary of thousand rupees from the MCD/NGOs. These are open till eleven at night, however in case of emergency at night watch man allows people to use it. Also there is a sweeper who keeps the toilet clean once it is used. One rupee is being charged each person per use of the toilet. A fixed amount from the collected amount per day is given to the concerned authority.

and six for women. The scheme started in 1996. In 1991, people started making group toilets²/shared toilets. A few of them could afford to have their personal toilets.

However, still people go to the open space which is in the other side of the High way who face additional risks because there is no pavement for people to walk on and it is risky, especially for old people and children to walk along the highway. Although originally mainly construction workers, today men in the community are working as vendors, private security guards, rickshaw pullers, or manage small shops etc. Women mainly work as domestic help.

Basic Facilities

Health Services and School

There is dispensary 3-4 kilometre away from the camp and it opens only for 2 hours in the morning. Once in a week one mobile dispensary van comes which has only medicines for cold and cough. This van does not enter into the camp. Most of the people in the slum do not have enough information about this facility and they are not able to make use of this facility. They have 2-3 doctors in the slum itself. For any major disease slum dwellers go to the government hospitals, Lal Bahadur Shastri Hospital and Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan Hospital, which is 6-7 kilometres away from the camp.

There are primary and secondary schools 2-3 kilometres from the camp. There is an *Anganwadi* also in the camp for the sake of its name. The only work done by *Anganwadi* is to distribute peanuts and puff-rice to the children, that too of poor quality. The enrolment of the children in this *Anganwadi* is 40.

There are lots of difficulties like distance of the schools, commuting problems, poverty, responsibilities at home etc which keeps children especially girls away from schools. In this situation the slum has received lots of help from the voluntary Organisations.

Basti Vikas Kendra

Slum and JJ department has started Basti Vikas Kendras in most of the colonies, which is a good initiative. These kendras are given to Social Organisations at a rent of Rs.100 per year to run programmes in between children and women. There are 7-8 social organisations in the vikas

² **Group Toilet:** The toilet is used by a group of four to five families, sometimes the number of families goes up. The cost of the construction of the toilet is borne jointly by the families. The maintenance and cleanliness of the toilet is shared among the member families.

kendra and *jhuggis* of Nehru Camp. Institute of Social Studies Trust is also running programmes in the Nehru Camp for children especially women and adolescent girls for education and also to empower women to support themselves.

Electricity and Water

There is no proper facility for electricity in the camp. Around 5 years back each *jhuggi* has paid Rs.385 for the electricity meter for which they got the invoice from the Delhi Electricity Board. But, till date no meters have been installed in their *jhuggis*. There are some contractors who supply illegal electricity connection and charges Rs.35 to Rs.100 on per *jhuggi*.

Government has put 8 water connections when the camp started but now the number of *jhuggis* has increased but not the number of water connection. So, most of them has taken illegal water connection from the main pipe to cope up with the situation. Because of this there is one tap among four *jhuggis*.

Inappropriate Toilets

Few years back MCD with an organisation called Sulabh Sauchalaya made a toilet compound in the camp. The compound wall is made of bricks and the ceramic commodes have cabins made of tin sheets. There is a tap and hand-pump in the compound not inside the toilets. There are 20 toilets in the compound, 8 for women and 12 for men which are not enough for so much population. Every person who uses the toilet has to pay Re.1 per use. The children under 12 can use the toilets free of cost.

There are two bathrooms for women in the compound. Here also water facility inside the bathroom is not available. These bathrooms are used as store-rooms as women do not like to use the bathrooms because they have to pay Rs.2/- per use.

The caretaker of the toilet stays inside the compound and he gets a salary of Rs.1600/- per month.

To cope up with these difficulties the slum dwellers have adapted some ideas. These labourers who build the public housing board houses cannot compete with the rich class but some of them have tried and solved the problem of basic necessity like toilets to an extent by making community toilets.

In 1996, Nehru camp got its first government toilets, but before that in 1991 onwards some of families had made community toilets for themselves, and now about 24 community toilets are there in the slum. Some of the families do have their own private toilets and some of them use the MCD toilets. But still there are some families who go out in open space to defecate.

Occupation

Nehru Camp started by the construction workers employed in the construction of the neighbouring apartments. Today men in the community are working as vendors, private security guards, rickshaw pullers, or manage small shops etc. Women mainly work as domestic help.

When the unheard voices of women about the problems of basic necessities like toilet and water were heard then these things have turned out:

Case Study 1

Sunita, dark, slim and trim, a Bengali girl who married to a man from U.P. Around 18 years back she came to Delhi from the Farakka village of Malda district in West Bengal. She has never gone to School and belongs to a poor family. She is not certain about her age; she said may be she is 30 years old. She is not aware of her husband's age but she said that her husband is much elder to her and his hair is all grey. She does not know at what age she got married but she gave the information that she got her menstruation while she was at her in-laws.

After marriage she stayed at her in-laws in Faizabad for few days, and then she came to Delhi with her husband. They started staying with a family in a *Jhuggi* in Welcome colony near Silampur in Delhi. They never paid rent while staying in this *jhuggi*. In 1990 many families started building *jhuggis* in the Nehru Camp and the idea of having own place attracted this family to set up their *jhuggi* in the Nehru Camp.

Sunita's family comes under the poverty line and her husband, Danbahadur Sharma, is a daily wage labour. He earns about Rs 80-100 per day but he gets work only for 10-15 days. He has the habit of drinking alcohol every day. They have four children, two sons and two daughters. The eldest son is 13 years old and the youngest daughter is six years old. He gives Rs.20 per day for daily expenses, which is not enough to provide food for six people. She works at ISST community centre as a helper which pays her Rs.500 per month. Her husband does not like her to work outside and also he is not in favour of sending the children to the school. She complains of weakness and also back pain and high blood pressure.

Sunita's *jhuggi* is built up with mud but a portion of the *jhuggi* has been built with concrete for the purpose of taking bath. There is no difficulty in releasing the dirty water as there is a drainage canal in front of the *jhuggi*. Every one in the family takes bath inside the *jhuggi* only. The cleaner (*jamadar*) is supposed to clean the drainage every day which hardly happens. The residents do it by themselves. Sunita has taken connection from the main water pipe and kept one tap in front of the *jhuggi* which provides water almost through out the day.

Earlier, Sunita and others in the family used go in open place beyond the National Highway 24. They had to cross the heavy traffic in the road and had to face the fear of accidents. Some accidents occurred in this area due to the traffic. Even some incidents of harassment from passers by also took place. Due to these reasons people started making toilets on sharing basis and around 20-25 group toilets have been made.

Sunita is also a member of such type of toilet which a few households have made on sharing basis. This toilet has been made by six families and the expenditure was around Rs.500 per family. The toilet is kept under lock and key which only the six families have the access. The toilet is about 5 minutes walk from her *jhuggi*. The toilet does not have the facility of water and electricity and also it is open from the top. People manage without electricity with light from the surrounding *jhuggis*. It is the responsibility of each person to keep the toilet clean after using it. Every month one of the families cleans the toilet thoroughly with acid.

Sunita said that due to the household chores women use the toilets first and men use it after the women come back. Sometimes women go to the open place across the road because they feel shy to tell the men while men are waiting to use the toilet. She said that on certain occasions like if the person is sick or in case of delivery they use the neighbour's toilet which is near by or the MCD's toilet.

The MCD's toilet is made only 5-6 years back. People have to pay one rupee per person to use the MCD's toilet which is not feasible for a family like Sunita's. She can not bear the cost. Due to this reason they use the MCD toilets rarely.

Sunita, gets up at 5 O'clock in the morning and first thing she does is to use the toilet. Still she feels even the toilet on sharing basis is very comfortable because one does not have to go in the open space. But one main problem is that children loose the key very often which costs Rs.8-10 to make it again. So she has started keeping the key with the neighbours and many times she has to take the children to the toilets leaving her work in between because she cannot give the

key to the children. Had it been a private toilet she would have then got more facilities avoid a current difficulty that is being faced.

Sunita wants to make a toilet for her family but neither has she has the money nor the space. She said that the space is not hers and because of that she has not built their *jhuggi* into a permanent construction. She has only constructed a part of the *jhuggi* to use for the bathing purpose.

Case Study 2

'I had broken the toilet door by myself deliberately so that a new toilet could be installed immediately', says 16 yrs old **Shahana** from Nehru Camp. She comes from a very poor family. Her father works as a carpenter in furniture shop. She is the third child among the nine children of her parent. Her elder sister got married and the second one is doing job, rests are not earning. Shahana used to go to school but after her brother met with an accident she was withdrawn from the school and sent to the village for some time. She has been sick for a long time, now she has been diagnosed with tuberculosis and treatment is continuing.

Shahana told she does not like to go in the open space to defecate. Currently her family shares a toilet with their neighbours. A total of eight families which includes six Hindu families and two Muslim families use the toilet. They live in a harmonious environment. Each family has contributed five hundred and fifty rupees at the time of construction. There is a tap inside the toilet but no electricity connection and is open at the top. Every month by turn each family cleans the toilet using detergents/acids etc. There is a lock and key system to prevent others to use it. During the rainy season residents have to take umbrella along with them to use the toilet. Every day women use the toilet before men. This one is newly constructed toilet. Earlier there was no lock and key system and other people used to use it. That really made the place very dirty and filthy. It started stinking and also the walls started falling down, that was the time, she got fed up and broke the door of the toilet.

Till then Shahana never used the toilet constructed by Government, she used it only when the construction of new toilet was on. She found it extremely dirty, filthy and stinking. She could not tolerate and in order to avoid using toilet, she went on fast for days till the new toilet was constructed. She survived only on liquid on those days. The other male members in family managed by going in the open that she does not approved of. She feels this makes the place dirty and filthy.

Even now she is not happy with the prevailing system but can not ever think/dream of a separate toilet for use since they do not have enough money and place to construct a toilet.

Case Study 3

The forty-two years old **Shirunnisha** has been staying in Nehru camp for the past ten years. She is poor with husband earning four thousand rupees per month and has to manage a household of ten members. She and her family share a toilet with other few families. Earlier she used to stay in a house where there was a separate toilet facility.

In Nehru camp she and her daughters used to go in the open. Soon she realized it is not safe enough to send the girls in the open as they are grown up. It is quite risky. Passers-by used to give comments sometimes pelted stones on the girls. This prompted her to become a part of a group of families who used to share a toilet. She made a one time payment of three hundred rupees and started using the same.

Gradually it was felt that the old structure had to be replaced by a new one. This time each family contributed five hundred and fifty rupees towards construction cost. A total of eight families with two Muslim and six Hindu share the facility. On an average forty–fifty people use the toilet per day. The families using the toilet are responsible for cleaning the toilet. There is a tap inside the toilet and a regular supply of water is there.

She has managed to keep a separate place to take bath inside the *jhuggi*. The family enjoys a regular twenty-four-hour water supply. All the members of the household take bath inside the *jhuggi*.

Case Study 4

The thirty years old **Geeta** has been staying in Nehru camp for past twelve years. Geeta's husband works as a rickshaw puller in a factory and earns two thousand rupees per month. She does some laundry work at home that earns her ten –fifteen rupees per day. At the age of seventeen she got married. Her in-laws have a small house with toilet facility inside the house. She comes from rural Jaithpur area of Delhi. In her parental house also she had enjoyed toilet facility inside the house. She had not been used to go in the open to relieve herself until she came to stay in Nehru camp.

To begin with she found toilet had been the major problem to stay in the camp. She had somehow managed to have place for bath inside the *jhuggi*. In the camp every one (men/women/children) used to go in the open. In the one had to cross the high way that makes people quite vulnerable to accidents. Besides, women used to fall pray of eve teasing. At times she found it difficult to go at night in case of emergency, either one had to look for a companion, or ask one's husband to accompany which was difficult, otherwise one had to wait till dawn. One day she was very upset with all this and gave an ultimatum to her husband that she would leave this place if no toilet facility is provided in side the house. Later, she realized that there was no point to push her husband for construction of toilet since he had no money to do it. At the same time, she realized that her two daughters are growing up and the need for toilet eventually become more crucial for them.

Lack of finance was the main reason that they could not construct a toilet in spite of the fact that there was a space lying vacant adjacent to their *jhuggi*. During the same time one of the neighbours came up with a proposal that he would bear the entire cost towards the construction of the toilet and they would use her space. This had been agreed and the toilet was constructed. To begin with both the family started using it. Slowly problem came up and the neighbours refused denied Geeta's family from using the toilet. Geeta even offered to pay the fifty percent of the cost incurred to make the toilet still her family was not allowed to use and it reached a stage when police had to intervene into the situation.

Now both the families use the toilet and in turn keep it clean. There is a lock and key system to avoid stranger using it. There is a tap inside the toilet with twenty-four hour running water facility. There is an electric connection in the toilet hence no problem using it at night. Geeta has five-member family and other family has also five members. On an average ten people use the toilet at least once per day. She feels very happy that her children have no longer faced the toilet problem what she had gone through at a point of time.

Case Study 5

Anju is from the Ghagadia village in Sahrsa Jilla of Bihar. She got married at the age of 14 with Shambhu from Sahrsa Jilla. During that time she was studying in 10th standard and after marriage she completed her 12th standard. She also did a diploma course in stitching after her 12th standard.

She has two sisters and one younger brother. Both sisters got married and the brother is studying. Her father is a teacher and they have their own house in village, which has toilet facility inside.

She came to Delhi after 2-3 years of her marriage. Her husband was a supervisor in a factory in Shahadra. They started living in a one room rented house in Shahadra. Anju went back to the village after one year. She delivered her first baby in the village. When the child was 3 years old they came to know that the child is mentally retarded. Around this time Anju was detected with a cyst in the uterus. Her surgery was done in Delhi only.

Anju's husband lost his job as the factory closed down and her family came to Nehru Camp to stay from 1993 onwards. Her second son is 5 years younger than the first one and her third son was born after two years second son. She delivered both the boys in Lady Irwin Hospital.

Earlier there were no toilets in the Nehru Camp. They used to dig pit in the back yard to use as toilets. At that time she had already delivered her second son. In that situation she had to face several difficulties as there was no toilet facility. She used to get up at 4O'clock in the morning to relieve herself so that nobody would see her. Anju said that due to inadequate money they could not rent a room and stay. After some months the chief (Pradhan) and some other people from the camp decided to make toilets on the drainage. Each toilet was made by 4-5 families together. The cleanliness and maintenance of these toilets are shared by these families only. The toilet is kept under lock and key so that any outsider would not dirty it.

The toilet Anju's family use does not have a tap inside the toilet. They have to take water from outside. Some times the families fight with each other as some of them do not keep the toilets clean. Even then Anju is very much relieved because of the closed toilet. She is of the opinion that if there is a proper toilet then it is very good for the cleanliness and health of the women and also the toilet should be near the house. It is difficult for Anju to go to the community toilet alone at night as it is little far away from her house. And the toilet is used between 4-5 families which is around 30-35 people use the toilet everyday. So it is impossible to keep the toilet very clean.

Anju's husband used to sell things in a trolley for some years. At this time Anju did advance course on cutting and tailoring and she has started the work on tailoring by taking a sewing machine on rent. Now she has taken a small shop on rent in west Vinod Nagar and her work is going on well. Her husband has left the trolley and started a shop inside the camp itself. With her hard work, self-confidence and also with her husband's support, Anju has reached this point.

Case Study 6

Maicy hails from Mool in Bareilly jilla of Bihar. She is 17years old and she is living in Delhi from the starting. She has three brothers and one sister. As she is suffering from fit she could not continue her studies beyond 5th standard.

Maicy's two brothers are working as labourers in construction work and they are the main bread earners of the family. They earn around Rs.70-80 per day. Her father used to work in Campa Cola factory which got shut down. Now he gets suits and saris from Gandhi Nagar to sell. Along with the problem of fit she has the disease of having white patches on the skin. She said that when two time meal itself is a luxury in her family then where is the money to take medical support for her diseases.

Maicy came to Nehru Camp to stay when she was 6 years old. Only she and her mother in her family use the MCD toilets as the family of eight can not afford to pay Re.1 per person for using the toilet each time. They do not have any problem in using the MCD toilets. They pay a fixed amount of Rs.75/- per month. The other members go to open space to defecate. They have made arrangement for taking bath inside the *jhuggi* itself and there is no scarcity of water.

Earlier they used to stay in Sangam Vihar where they had the facility of MCD toilets. When they came to the Nehru Camp then there were no toilets and they used to go out in the open space to relieve them. After the MCD toilets are built Maicy is relieved of the problems she used to face while going in open space to defecate like eve teasing, accidents on the high way etc. She never liked going out in open space because she thinks it is very unhygienic.

They tried to talk to the other families for the community toilet facility but they demanded Rs.150 per month. Maicy is of the opinion that if they have a private toilet of their own then it will be idle and every body can live in a clean environment. Due to the lack of money and space it is not possible for them to make private toilets. While she is relieved that now she does not have to go to open space to defecate, at the same time she feels very bad that because they do not have enough money to pay to use the MCD toilets, i.e., around Rs.240/- per month, the other members of the family have to go in open space to relieve themselves.

Case Study 7

Thirty two years old **Ruksana Begum** is staying in Nehru Camp for the last 14 years. Her husband is main mason and earns around Rs.2000/- per month. She has three children.

Ruksana has made her own toilet for use. But remembering the earlier days in the camp she said that there was no toilet facility and she had to go in open space to defecate. She never had gone to open to relieve herself and because of the terror she hardly felt the sensation to defecate. And also she used to eat very little.

Case Study 8

Twenty-eight years old **Sushila** is a resident of Nehru Camp. She has been staying in the camp for the 6-7 years. Her husband works as a vegetable vendor. She lives just in front of the toilet complex. She has three children, two sons and a daughter. Her sons are leaving in the village. When she came to the camp for stay the toilet complex was ready then. She, her husband and the daughter use these toilets.

There are eight toilets for women. Of which two are in a usable condition since the sewage pipe is choked always. She feels that partly women are responsible for this. Women throw dirty clothes/pads in the toilets itself. Also there is no regular cleaning of the toilet. Once in a week toilets get cleaned. She complained that even the boundary wall of the complex is broken but nobody pays any interest to it She finds it very difficult to bear the smell and dirt comes out from the toilet.

She takes bath often inside her *jhuggi* and drain out the water outside. She says many of them want to have their own toilets looking at the dirty/stinking public toilets. However much they want to have their own toilet they can not get it done because neither they have space nor they have money.

Her husband earns only hundred rupees per day that is also not very regular. She has a place to stay in Delhi that satisfies her. In such poverty condition she can not think of shifting to other place where she might get better toilet facility.

Sonia Camp

Sonia Camp located in Mandawali area of East Delhi is considered as one of unauthorized colony. It is not a regularized colony too. This colony is also known as Harijan Basti. Primarily it is a *Jhuggi- Jhopri* colony with a history of its existence since 1985.

History of Basti

Twenty years back *Gujjar's* had their small village here and most of it remained barren land. At the middle of it has been the railway line. *Gujjar's* community used to claim, as the natural claimant of this land and no one else can have right to use this land. Meanwhile, Kailash Pandit an inhabitant of the Mandawali village emerged as leader of the village in terms of muscle power as well as resources. He himself migrated from Meerut district of UttarPradesh. Soon he took hold of the land. He recruited security personnel, Baijnath to look after the area who hailed from a place called Mahoba of UttarPradesh. He belonged to the schedule caste community.

At that time the construction work at Pragati Maidan got over and the labour were asked to leave the place. The labour did not have any place to go but to return to their natives that they did not want to. Among them a few were from Mahoba and were known to the security guard looking after the Mandawali village. The labours approached the guard and by paying some minimal amount they set up *jhuggis* and started living here. To begin with only nine families came to stay here. Slowly many others have joined the group who belonged to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Initially Baijnath used to take very minimal amount from these people and used to share it with Kailash Pandit. Some years later, Pandit started charging each *Jhuggi* dwellers rent per month. The rent amount increased from five to fifty and then to five hundred which was quite bothering the *jhuggi* dwellers. During the same time Kailash Pandit and Baijnath developed some differences over money. Pandit promised some forty thousand rupees to Baijnath since he had helped Pandit to sale some of his properties. Somehow Pandit refused to pay Baijnath which triggered differences between them.

This brought Baijnath very close to the people of the basti. By then *Jhuggi* dwellers stopped making payment to Pandit more over they banned Pandit to even enter the basti. Later they put up a case against him that he creates problems for those inhabitants. The court judgement came in favour of the people.

This camp currently consists of people not only from Uttar Pradesh but also from Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, and Rajasthan. Most of them belonged to scheduled caste. However, a large chunk of Muslims also live here.

People from the basti told us that they came here in search of a job and used to stay in the surrounding area paying rent every month for accommodation. They had shifted here mainly because, by making one time payment they could get a *jhuggi* and later if they want, can sell it off to someone. Many of the old timers are still living in the camp and some have left the basti. The cost of *jhuggis* ranges between rupees 35000-60000. For the past few years the rates of *jhuggis* have gone up since there is an upcoming vegetable market. People say that they are free to sale their *jhuggi* at any point of time. The area is covered with 250 *jhuggis* and around 1500 hundred people are living here. There is no space left to put up new *jhuggi*

We got to know that there is a line drawn to divide the basti in two parts based on religion. There are two separate portions with one portion is occupied by Hindu population and other being occupied by Muslims. But there exists a complete harmony between the two communities. They celebrate festivals together and co-operate each other at the time of crisis. The community does not have a good relation with the neighbouring gujjar village. The villagers are main hindrance for any development work to take place in the basti. As regards earning, women work as domestic help in the gujjars' households.

Election of Pradhan

In Sonia camp Muhammad Abul has been elected by the people of the basti as Pradhan. While discussing the process of election it has come up clearly that in the election mainly men take part. A few male members' names are selected for the post of Pradhan. At the meeting name of one member is suggested by one person and others support it if the candidate is likeable. Otherwise another name is suggested and so on. Once the Pradhan is elected then he continues for five years.

Amenities Available

Delhi Government has constructed road twice in this camp. It was done two years back for the second time. The roads are in a bad condition but no body takes any interest to repair. The MLA does not visit the area although at the time of election she kept coming to the area. The local counsellor takes a lot of interest to develop the area but she feels hesitant to do anything because of the gujjar village situated close by. The villagers are very powerful in terms of muscle

power and resources. They can not stand any development for the camp. They feel that the camp should be thrown out of the place or moved away.

Women from the camp told that the last time when road construction took place, many of the sewage pipes are being buried down. This has caused a lot of problem clogging the passage to drain out water. In absence of any drainage system women find it very difficult to washing utensils, cleaning & washing clothes etc. As a temporary measure what the households have done is dug up huge hole of one/two feet deep in depth to drain and opens outside the *jhuggi*. However after every three/four day they have to take out water from the hole otherwise there is stagnant water causing different set of problems.

Education and Health Facilities

In the sonia camp a primary health care centre and a high school is located within a walking distance. Dropping out of the school is a common phenomenon in Sonia camp. Men and women both opined that children get flung in the same class for two consecutive years that make them frustrated and leave the school. Mostly children in this camps studies upto seventh/eighth grade and not beyond that. Only very few go upto beyond high school.

As far as health facilities are concerned mobile van run by the MCD does not come inside the camp. There is a govt dispensary situated a kilometre away but most people are reluctant to go there. Careless attitude and rude behaviour of the hospital staff and the non-availability of medicines are some of the reasons for not going to the hospital. The community people prefer going to the private doctor for minor treatment but for major problem they seek treatment from two hospitals either Guru Tegbahadur or Lal Bahadur hospital.

Electricity and Water Supply

A few years ago all the residents paid rupees four hundred to electricity board for legal connections. But till date they have not got any connection. The residents feel it is because of gujjar's village that they were not given legal connection of electricity.

In this camp only one connection is there from which two taps are connected outside the toilet. This caters to the needs of the entire colony. The same tap is used for drinking, toilets and other works requiring water. Therefore the entire colony with 1500 population depend on the two taps for water.

Toilet Complex

The Delhi municipal corporation made arrangements for public toilets for a population of about 1500. Toilets were constructed by MCD, ten for men and six for women. Only one drinking water tap was constructed, which is fixed adjacent to the toilet wall. The water from this tap is used for both drinking and cleaning the toilets. Women can use the public toilet free of charge; however, men have to pay a nominal fee of Rs. 1 each for every visit. There is one bathing room for women however, with no provisions for water inside the bathing room. Women are charged a fee of rupees two for use. Hence women prefer to bathe in their own *jhuggis*. Those who have very small *jhuggis* have made shift enclosures with jute mats outside their *jhuggis*. Of course the drainage in these self-styled bathing areas is inadequate.

The drainage system is non-existent in this cluster. The women informed us that some time ago when the concrete road that runs parallel to the cluster was constructed; the few of the existing drains were also covered. The local leader approached the authorities to rebuild the drain, but their efforts were carried out in vain. People were forced to construct their own makeshift drains outside their houses. Each time the drain fills up they empty them out.

Cleanliness and Maintenance

We spoke to the caretaker of the toilet complex Sunil, who lives inside the complex itself. Sunil said that all the women of the community use the toilets. There is no water inside the bathing room so nobody comes to the complex to bathe. The men from the community also use the toilets. The decided sum of Rs. 200 from the daily usage fee collected is submitted to the Akhil Bhartiya Kalyan Parishad. This money is then submitted to the MCD. The remaining few rupees are used by Sunil for minor expenses like a cup of tea. Sunil told us that he gets a monthly salary of Rs. 1000; the women helper at the complex receives Rs. 500 per month.

According to Sunil an average daily collection for the complex is between Rs. 215-220 sometimes even Rs. 250. And some times he manages to collect less than Rs. 200, when this happens he has to cover the deficit from his own pocket. The caretaker of the complex has no fixed complex under him; they are on rotation every 6 months.

Corruption Even in Night-soil

The residents of Sonia camp told us that residents of the neighbouring area, Sonia Vihar also make use of these toilets. This way they end up saving on rent for a house without a toilet and the

caretaker of the complex ends up making extra money. The use of the complex is free for women but the women residents of Sonia Vihar have to pay one rupee as fee per use.

Institute of Social Studies Trust has been working in Sonia camp for the last three years. In conversation with the women of the community, we found out that 6 toilets have been designed for women, but only two are open for use, and the other four are locked. When the women ask the caretaker to open the lock he simply tells them to use the two open ones. A member of the Institute of Social Studies Trust met with the local councillor and informed her about the situation. After the meeting all six toilets for women were opened for use.

Park as Dumping Place

The space that is maintained for park for the Sonia camp has for years been used for dumping garbage. However the place filled with the garbage that is thrown by the people from the adjoining area rather than camp/community itself. In the absence of proper drainage system it becomes difficult to drain out water. The problem of drainage and its consequences can be gauged from the fact that during the dengue epidemic there were at least twenty-five cases of dengue found here. A nine-year-old child also died of dengue.

Economic Status and Employment

Most of the men in the camp are casual workers. Although residents feel that the economic status has improved over the years but they do not have regular income. Many of the women work as domestic help and some are engaged in sap sorting. Most of the households have TPDS cards. But according to the residents they do not get enough cereals and kerosene for the subsidised rate.

Case Study 1

The forty-five years old **Meera Devi** came to Delhi nearly twenty years back in search of a job from Harirahi village of Poorniya zilla in Bihar. She got a job in some company as labourer that provided a place to live near mother dairy. She was with the company for some time but the pay was not enough. So around 1990 she left that job. As a result she had to leave the place provided by the company to live. Then she went to Sonia camp and set up her *jhuggi* there.

According to Meera Devi, she got a place to sleep but no other facilities were available. She used to use the open place in front of the Sonia camp for the toilet purpose. Men used go near the

railway tracks. In those days the number of *jhuggis* in Sonia camp was less and even in Sonia Vihar the houses were less. So there was no problem in going to open place for toilet purposes. When more *jhuggis* started coming-up and even houses around started increasing it became difficult for women to go out in open places for toilet purposes.

She had to do lot of running around to set MCD toilets for use. She went to the officials of Municipal Corporation and MLAs several times, gave applications and then at last in the year 1996 the MCD toilets were set up in the camp. In the MCD's public toilet complex there are ten toilets for men and six toilets for women for a population of around 1500. There is a water tap right outside the building, which is used both for drinking and bathing purposes.

Most men and women use the MCD toilets. But when there is a shortage of money or toilets are crowded enough people go to the open space/field for the toilet purpose. Meera's *jhuggi* is near the railway tracks and the toilet is around five minutes walking distance. There is water facility outside the MCD toilet complex not inside. There is facility for women to take bath near the complex. But there is no water facility inside and also they have to pay Rs.2/- for taking bath. So women have made arrangements inside the *jhuggis* to take bath. This arrangement is not very comfortable but they do not have any other alternatives. There is no drainage facility in the camp for the dirty water to flow away. Residents who have *jhuggis* near railway track do not face the problem for the outlet of dirty water, but the residents who have *jhuggis* inside face a lot of problems in taking bath and also in other jobs.

As Meera's is one of the first families who came to this camp to reside they are lucky to have their *jhuggis* near the railway track. She has two married sons who have *jhuggis* of their own which is situated face to face. They have made arrangement to take bath in the *jhuggi* that is near to the track and all the family members use that for taking bath.

In all situations like sickness, stomach upset or in rainy season everybody uses the MCD toilets only. In rainy season everybody go to the toilet with the umbrella. There is some vacant space behind her *jhuggi* that is used by her daughter-in-law during menstruation, for 3-4 days.

Meera has constructed a temple in this camp. She has collected money from everybody and also she has put her own money to make the temple. On asking why hasn't she thought of making a toilet of their own other than making a temple she answered that the place is owned by railway, how anybody can make toilet in that place and also her *jhuggi* had been destroyed 2-3 times before.

Meera has gastric problems. Due to this she said she can not take any hard work now. She works at one place as maid from where she gets an income of Rs.1800/-. Her husband runs a rickshaw but has the problem of asthma. So he stays in the village only. Her youngest son studies in 8th standard. When she came to Delhi she had nothing in her hand. By hard working she has made a place to stay and also made *jhuggis* for her two married sons also. In her village, she used to work as hired labour in somebody else's land and today she is the owner of 2 (bigha) of land.

If Meera has any complaint then it is about the filthiness of the camp. There is a meat shop that makes the camp dirty and also people have made the children's park to a place where they can dump the waste. Then there is no drainage facility and during rainy season all the water from the road gets logged in front of the *jhuggis*. The main necessities of the camp are to remove the garbage bin that is there in front of the camp and to get better drainage facility.

Case Study 2

Saroj who is 18 years old has studied up to eleventh and her younger sisters are studying in seventh and fifth standards. She has a brother who has studied up to ninth class and now learning the job of dry cleaning.

Saroj said that before shifting to Sonia Camp seven years ago they were staying in Sonia Vihar on rent. There they used to have a toilet in the house itself. In Sonia Camp all the family members use the Public toilets. The toilets are situated near Saroj's *jhuggi*. She uses the toilet early in the morning, so she gets up early for that. In the morning there is enough movement of people so she does not have any fear to go alone. But if she has to use the toilet at night either she waits until dawn or she asks her mother to accompany her.

About the cleanliness of the toilet, Saroj said that it is not very clean. The number of toilets is less than the number of users, so one can not expect the toilets to be very clean. Water is available for 24 hours but there is only one source for drinking water and for other purposes and this creates a lot of problems.

Saroj said that due to the lack of drainage facility there is a lot of problem to take bath. They have made a small bathroom of two feet high inside the *jhuggi* itself. On one side of the bathroom is the wall of the *jhuggi* and the other three sides are covered by one brick wall. Because of the brick walls water gets logged inside the bathroom. They fill the water in buckets and throw it

outside. They have to sit and take bath in the bathroom due to the space constraint. There is not enough space to stand and take bath. Even if they take bath very carefully the surrounding place gets wet. She feels if there is drainage facility then there will not be any water logging in front of the *jhuggi* and also everybody can take bath inside the *jhuggi* comfortably.

Case Study 3

Saraswati, (Saroj's mother), is about 35 years old. Her husband was engaged in darning in a factory and used to earn around Rs.4000-5000/- per month. The factory has been closed down and he has a problem to get work. Now he gets work from 2-3 shops. After paying commission to the shops he is left with Rs.80-100/- per day. She used to do the job of sap sorting but now she does not get the work regularly. Hence she took up a job in a garment factory for Rs.1500/- per month but that too she has lost recently. Now she is in search of a new job.

Around seven years back she bought this *jhuggi* for Rs.10, 500/-. She spent around twelve to thirteen thousand rupees to make the *jhuggi* comfortable for living. In this small *jhuggi* they have made partition and have made four small rooms. One of these rooms has been rented out to a newly married couple for Rs.450/-.

Saraswati said that they used to live in a rented place for Rs.400/- and her husband was not having any regular job. To stay in a rented place for a long time was not feasible and this *jhuggi* was on sale, so they purchased it. Her brother helped her in purchasing the *jhuggi* and they have their own house now.

All members of the family use the public toilets. She said that all women in every situation even during pregnancy use public toilets. Women who have relatives in village then prefer to go there in such situations. Saraswati delivered her kids at her mother's place in village.

On asking Saraswati why has not she invested any money towards making toilet while she has spent so much on the *jhuggi* her answer was clear, 'when there is no way to drain the logged water how can we think of a toilet'. But she said that she will make sure that Saroj goes to a house after marriage which has proper facility for bathroom and toilet.

Case Study 4

Kalpati a native of Ajamgarh district of Uttar Pradesh has come to stay in the camp almost nine years ago. She has five children, three sons and two daughters. All the children are studying in the primary school. Kalpati said that around 4-5 years back toilets were made in the camp and women use the toilets only. Before that they used to go to the open space to defecate. Now it is difficult to go out in the open space as buildings have come up in the surrounding areas. The toilets are not kept very clean but they have no other option also.

Focus Group Discussion in Sonia Camp

Around 20-25 women were present in the focus group discussion held in Sonia Camp. Most of these women belonged to Uttar-Pradesh, Bihar. They have migrated here in search of work to earn their livelihood and have been staying for the last 10-15yrs. Mostly these are nuclear families. Old parents stay in the native village. The average size of the household varies between 6-8 members. In most families the women as well as the elder son go to the factory to earn income. In many of these poverty households boys go to the factory to earn instead of school. However boys are paid better than the women.

The women told the around four years back MCD had constructed toilets in the camp. Before this people used to the field on the other side of the railway line for defecation. Due to this many untoward incidents took place including severe accidents causing death of men, women and children.

In the community people are quite happy to have the toilets. In the morning the place is very crowded and used mostly by men and women go later. Otherwise also women are busy in morning for the household work so for them it is convenient to use it later in the day.

Women can use the toilet free but are very often blamed for making it dirty. To keep the toilets clean each household contribute ten rupees per month. Women were more concerned with the drainage of water. The pipes that were meant for draining out water got submerged with the construction of road. Usually the *jhuggi* dwellers dig up hole outside the *jhuggi* and water used for washing bathing and cleaning gets collected there. The stagnant water in the hole is then emptied after three/four days. Every day emptying is not possible for them this result in dirty smells, the whole place stinks badly. The stagnant water also causes diseases. The households also use this place for urination. But as it gets filled up and does not have space for even urination. Then they go

to the public toilet only. They do not feel like going to the public toilet often so they control number of times going to the toilet. This is not good for health.

Rajiv Camp

Rajiv camp is located along side National Highway – 24 for the past 15 years. This camp comes under the East Delhi, Mandawali Fazalpur area. With just 10 families settling here initially, today the number has gone up to 175. According to the Pradhan (local leader) of Rajiv camp, the number of voters as per the voter's list is 500. The total population worked out to be more than nine hundred including children and those who are not listed in the voter's list.

The residents of this camp have migrated here mainly from Bengal, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh. One or two families are from Madhya Pradesh. Besides Hindus a few Muslim families also reside here. There are two lanes about 3 feet wide. On either side of the lanes are one-room houses constructed close to one another. In the two lanes there are four rows of houses; each of these houses face one another. For houses in the first row the back of the house opens out to the National Highway - 24. While for houses on the fourth row the back of their house opens out to the road facing Mother dairy leading to Patparganj, Anand Vihar Bus terminal. The only thing that divides the cluster from the road is a big gutter.

Provision of Electricity and Water

There is a problem of water. The number of taps is less as compared to the number of people live in this area. In this area also people have taken illegal connection of water like Nehru Camp. The matter of the fact is that if there is water in the tap then the people can manage with the supply, but at times when there is no water for 10-15 days people have to get it from nearby *Jal Board's* office. For drinking water, one has to go to the hand-pump located at the end of the *basti*. Around 10-15 families have paid Rs.400 for legal water connection two years back but till now no action has been taken place on ground. Just before the election to impress the voters one more hand-pump was installed and 2 more water connections were given by the MCD. This was done in a hurry and authorities did not pay any attention to look at the proper mechanism to install the pump. The authorities install tap in the low line area without a platform as a result the place becomes dirty and muddy making it difficult to fill water /cleaning clothes /other water related work. The local people has put wood log in the shape of circle and made it as a platform in the absence of any such structure. Electricity has taken illegally from the main line to the *basti*.

Health and Educational Services

There is no provision for the mobile health service in the *basti*. People from health department visit the camp to give vaccination to the children. They have access to the private hospitals, doctors. There is one/two-government hospitals located 3-4 kilometres away from the *basti*.

As far as schools are concerned there are three schools-Primary, Senior Secondary and Sarvodaya School run by the state government and are located within three-four kilometer from the *basti*. An NGO called Rasta has been involved in non formal education, and sanitation and hygiene activities in the community.

Toilets

The municipal corporation of Delhi has placed mobile toilets³ at the entrance of the cluster. There are 7 toilets each for women and men. At both ends of the cluster there are water taps. Each end has its own separate line from which water supply is divided in to two taps; therefore there are four taps in total that meet the demands of water in Rajiv camp. The residents have also requested that hand pumps be installed in the area. Several houses have taken their own water connection.

The literal meaning of '*Pakhana*' means the place for keeping one's feet. Similarly the literal meaning of '*Tatti*' means the place where there is a cover/curtain. From the word toilet one would imagine a covered place with a ceramic pot inside with a flushing system, which is far from reality here. The toilets that are seen here reminds of the basic words used for explaining toilets. The *jhuggis* that are located on the bank of the gutter have put up brick walls from two sides and a door with a jute bag or plastic. To keep the feets 2 slabs are kept for usage. Men /women while sitting positioned in such a manner that the excreta goes straight in to the gutter. The same place is then used for other purpose bathing, washing etc.

³ **Mobile Toilet:** These toilets are provided by MCD. These are movable ones and can be put up wherever there is a need for toilets. In each block there are six to eight toilets. There are separate toilets for men and women as well. Each toilet is connected by a pipe to the next one and so on and ultimately all these pipes get connected to a major pipe which opens to a gutter/any place where there is a flow of water. The maintenance and cleanliness of the toilets are given to slum dwellers. The sweeper charges each family (using the mobile toilet regularly) rupees thirty per month.

Cleanliness and Maintenance

Kids go in the open space lying near the *jhuggis* that is why perhaps at the entrance of the Rajiv Camp one can see lot of dirt on the two sides of the lane. There is a facility to drain out water using drainage pipe but MCD workers do not come and clean the drain. But people themselves have to clean it. The MCD workers never come to clean the place nor do they spray medicine/oil on the stagnant water in the drain to control mosquito. A NGO called *Rasta* has taken up the task of keeping the camp clean. They have organised the camp people and few of them have been given the responsibility to over see that people bring all the dust and throw it in a common place which has been de-marked as dustbin. To be more organized in this endeavour *Rasta* has collaborated with ISST. Both *Rasta* and ISST are in touch with MCD so that it takes some concrete step towards cleanliness drive. However, MCD has informed that the camp is located on the land owned by DDA. No step could be taken without the permission of DDA and also developing any specific strategy for this slum will be difficult was opined by the MCD.

Two years back mobile toilets were installed in this camp. The pipes are broken by now as a result there is a leakage of water. The dirt/filth are strewn all over making the whole place stinky and dirty. Also the dirty water flows down near the hand-pump making the whole place filthy and unhygienic.

Women from the *basti* have complained that the drains never get cleaned. As the dirt/filths from the mobile toilets go to the open drain it becomes dirtier. The women who stay near the open drain said that some times it is difficult for them to eat food also.

Because of this water gets dirty resulting in water borne diseases, even skin diseases among women and children of the *basti*.

Occupation and Economic Status

The men in the *basti* are engaged in different types of occupations like, vegetable sellers, plumbers, cycle or three-wheeler drivers, or casual labourers. Very few are engaged in the lowest rungs of government jobs. Most of the women are engaged as domestic helps in the nearby apartments and some others work as labourers. Most households in the *basti* depend on casual or daily work for their livelihood.

The average size of families ranges between 8-10 people. Even though, in 1997, the TPDS cards were issued for residents of the *basti*, nobody gets subsidised cereals using this card. Only

kerosene is available and some times even the issued quota of kerosene is unavailable. Around 10 percent of the households got the red card with the recommendation from the *Pradhan*.

Case Study 1

Rani a resident of Rajiv camp knows in and out of the camp in details since she has been staying here for thirteen years. She comes from Tamil Nadu and has been quite active to fight against odds. She is currently the chairperson of the Rajiv Camp for the Cong-I party.

Around twenty years ago she came to Delhi and for initial seven years she stayed in Nehru camp and for the last thirteen years she has been staying in Rajiv camp. Her husband used to work in the railways. Last year he is got retired from the service. She has two daughters of whom the elder is married off and the younger one is studying in ninth grade.

The mobile toilets have been installed at the camp at the behest of the earlier counsellor of the area. He took up the issue of toilets with the MCD and managed to get it installed. A total of seven toilets for men and women are being provided. There is a hand-pump available just at the adjacent to the toilets. The residents mostly use these toilets who have '*jhuggis*' closer to the mobile toilets. The number of such users will be between thirty-thirty five. There is a person who does the cleaning of the toilets but does not belong to the camp. Each family who use the toilet has to pay rupees thirty per month to the person for cleaning the toilets. There are several views for not using the toilets. One of the reasons for using the toilets is the politics played by the local parties BJP and Congress. The general opinion of the people that since congress party has not done anything so those people supporting that have no right to use it. However, Rani does not bother to go by this view and she and her family members use mobile toilets only although she herself is congress party worker. Also she pursue other women to join them in using mobile toilets.

Case Study 2

Twenty-five years' old **Meera** is a resident of Rajiv camp. She has been living for the past six years. Meera stays five *jhuggis* away from Rani's *jhuggi*. The location of her *jhuggi* falls in between the mobile toilets and open space where usually go for defecation. She prefers going to open. In the morning hour's women remain busy only in case of emergency women go for defecation. In the evening women are relative free and move in a group. Every time they go have to carry water with them.

She has a lot problem-taking bath. For kids she some manage to give them baths outside the *jhuggi* but for her it is difficult. Whenever she has to take bath, she asks her children to out of the house and then she takes bath. There are times that for a stretch of fifteen days there is no water available. This makes the situation worse. To cope with the crisis she is left with no alternatives but to go to the 'Jal Board' office located nearby to fetch water.

Case Study 3

Usha, a graduate from Kurukshetra University and a teacher in a private school opined that she likes to go in the open for defecation. The place is quite safe and has no problem from security point of view. As far as privacy is concerned the place is covered with trees and hedges. The male members of the community go to a little farther so that, women can use the place for the purpose. She has been staying in this camp for the past six years. She has invested a lot of money to make her place more comfortable. She has constructed two more rooms above. Of the two rooms, one room is being used for dumping the furniture and other materials and the other room is given on rent.

Case Study 4

Anita, 45 years old, came to the Rajiv Camp around 10 years back. Her husband, who is from Delhi, is working as a gardener with NDMC. Before shifting to Rajiv Camp he used to stay with his brother in Trilokpuri and the family used to stay in Khoda village. Ten years back he had to pay Rs.10000 to the chief (Pradhan) of Rajiv Camp to make a *jhuggi*. Since then the family started living together in the camp.

Anita said that earlier their *jhuggi* was made out of bamboo and sack and they spent Rs.500 to make that. After sometime they made the *jhuggi* permanent and made it by themselves.

She has three children, two boys and one girl. The eldest son has studied up to B.Com and now he puts up toyshop in the weekly market that takes place in different areas of the city. He also teaches the children in Sonia Camp through the community programmes conducted by ISST. He earns around Rs.4,000 per month. He is married and has a two months old son. Anita's second

son is studying for B.A second year and also earning for himself. Her daughter is studying in the eighth standard.

In Rajiv camp the MCD has kept the mobile toilet around two years ago. Before that they used to go in the open space for defecation. When they shifted from the village her daughter was around 4-5 years old and she never liked the place. In the village they used to stay in a rented house which had a toilet inside the house. Here, her daughter had to go in the open space to relieve herself, which she was not used to. Frequently, she used to ask her parents to go back to the village. Anita tried to convince her that they have made the *jhuggi* with so much difficulty and this was done to save the rent since it was difficult for them to stay in a rented house. There are better education facilities for children in Delhi.

The mobile toilets are not very clean. But even the open space is equally dirty and on the top one might fall prey of eve teasing. When there were no mobile toilets there was no option left to the community but to use the open space for defecation. At that time the population was not much in the camp but now it is other way round, the number of *jhuggis* has increased. There is continuous traffic for 24 hours due to the new highway that has been in operation for the past two years. She feels afraid to go out in the open space and when there is the facility of the mobile toilet one should make use of it.

Anita's entire family members use the mobile toilet since the mobile toilet started functioning. To clean these toilets one person from another slum comes at around 10 or 11 in the morning and goes back in the evening. Approximately 20-25 families are using the mobile toilets and they pay an amount of Rs.30/- per month to the cleaner. There are lots of families who use the toilets but to escape from paying money they do not disclose it. They usually use the toilets in the nights. Because of this even the cleaner does not clean the toilets properly and he comes only 2-3 days a week. She feels if everybody is honest enough to pay the money then the number of users will increase and also there would be more cleanliness. She uses the toilet at nights so that she can avoid looking at the dirt strewn all around. She ties a kerchief on the nose while she uses the toilet. Now a days her stomach is upset and in spite of taking medicines she had to go to the toilet 3-4 times per day. She is quite unhappy about it.

Anita's *jhuggi* is located on the one end of the camp. As there is no other *jhuggis* in the backside there is vacant space where they have made bathroom for taking bathe. Earlier there was no drainage facility as a result there used to be water logging in the backyard. Now there is a drainage and the dirty water flows out to that drainage. The place is clean because of this. The people from the community only do the cleaning of drainage. Anita has no problem in taking

bathe. All members in the family take bathe inside the *jhuggi* only. She has to walk a little distance to bring water. Anita is of the opinion that there are not enough pipes as compare to the population. Because of that it takes time to fill the water. In between there was no supply of water for 10-15 days neither from the pipes nor through tankers. There was only one hand pump for the entire community. They used to bring water from the office of *Jal Board*. Now one more hand pump has been installed by the efforts of the chief (Pradhan) of the camp.

Anita has bought 50 yards of plot in Ghoda village. In few days the construction of the house would be finished. But they are not planning to shift immediately as her husband has some years to retire. Also they would have to face a lot of problem of electricity, as for 6-7 hours in a day there would be no electricity. She has three earning members in the family and she has already purchased plot for herself and she is not planning to shift there immediately. On asking why not they have made their own toilet in spite all inconveniences, she answered that in Nehru camp where she has her *jhuggi* is not hers and at any time it can be demolished. Therefore she does not want to do any unnecessary investment. Earlier people had given the petition to MCD for permanent toilets in the camp. MCD had started the work also but DDA did not give the permission to make the permanent toilets in DDA's land. DDA destroyed whatever construction for toilets MCD had made. After this incident, MCD provided the facility of the mobile toilets in the camp. Anita feels that this can happen to her *jhuggi* also at any time.

Case Study 5

Twenty years old **Manu** has come to stay recently in Nehru camp. She has come from a village located in Raibareli of Uttar Pradesh three years ago. She has a three-month-old child.

Manu has a fascinating experience of rural and urban life. She spent her childhood in the city of Indore in Madhya Pradesh. When she was in third standard in school, she was sent back to her native village in U.P. Rest of her education took place in the village only. She has studied till tenth grade. In Indore her father was working in a factory and used to live in a rented house located in a central place of the city. In that house all the facilities like sanitation and water were there inside the house. While in the village home she could bath inside but had to go in field to relieve herself. She never felt going out in the field as an uncomfortable experience nor does she feel it was difficult to do. Since there is no dearth of lonely and bare land in the rural area there was no risk involved in going out in the open on one's own. But still women preferred to go in a group and to a place/location that was not usually used by men. Therefore there is no risk of eve teasing for the women and girls. One had to walk about half a kilometre with water to reach the place. She

feels it is absolutely okay to go in field because the human excreta become natural manure for the agricultural field that is very productive the land as such. After using the field people used to cover the place with mud, so that the place does not look dirty. Most of time there is sun which is an added advantage to keep the place dry and this helps in reducing the pungent odour.

While narrating her experience in Nehru camp she feels quite disgusted with the whole situation. The very first day she went to use the mobile toilet she could not do so and more over felt sick. Next day her mother -in -law took her in the open that was filthier than even the mobile toilet. She was very uncomfortable using the open space although trees and plants covered the place, so one did not have to face public. But what about the other women who were sitting next to her? She was very hesitant to go in the open. She developed constipation and started eating less. She had to under go treatment in the Lal Bahadur Shastri Hospital. Slowly she had adopted her to the situation and started using the mobile toilet. She feels it is still better than going in open since it has at least door to lock oneself inside.

Manu has a place for bath at the backside of her *jhuggi*. She uses hand pump for drinking water. She otherwise do not have any problem of water. There is a regular supply of water. During her pregnancy she found it was difficult to stay here at that stage since the main problem was toilet. She went to her parent's place with six months' pregnancy stayed two more months after the delivery. She had delivery at home. In her hometown there is small place at the backyard, which is used for growing vegetables for daily consumption. Till nine days of her delivery she used to go this place to relieve herself which is very commonly used in the villages for those who do not have toilet facility inside the house. This is called as *Bada* in the native language. What is done usually, the place is covered with small branches of trees and dry leaves and a big hole is dug up. As when one use the place the excreta will go straight to the hole and then it would be covered with mud.

Information from the Schools

To understand the situation on sanitation and drinking water facility in the schools of Delhi, principals, teachers and students from three schools of East Delhi were interviewed. The three schools are Primary Girls' School (MCD), Sarvodaya Balika Vidyalaya, and Sarvodaya Senior Secondary Boys' School.

Primary Girls' School (MCD)

This school, Primary School of MCD, which has strength of 1120 students and around 30 teachers has 8 toilets in which 4 is for the students and the other 4 is for the male and female teachers.

In this building of MCD three shifts of two schools, which is maintained by MCD, are held. As one of the schools does not have its own building they use one third of this building. Only one shift is carried out of this school. The strength of students from 1st standard to 5th standard is around 450.

In the morning shift of the other school classes for girls and Nursery is carried out and the number of students in that shift is 670. The second shift is of boys and there are 600 students in that shift. Even if the timings of the shifts are different but the facility for toilets is the same for everybody. Female teachers keep their toilets under lock and key.

According to the teachers schools starts at 8 in the morning and small children finishes their daily routine only after coming to the school. There is one cleaner who does the cleaning frequently. As compared to the number of students, number of toilets is very less and there is also lack of water. Due to these reasons it is not possible to keep the toilets very clean. The toilets stink very badly because of the water scarcity.

In order to decrease the problem due to the scarcity of water MCD has introduced mergible wells in every school around 4-5 years ago. The problem is solved up to a level because of this. There are two sintex tanks to store the water. Water in one tank is used for drinking purpose and the other one is used for the toilet purpose. There is a motor, which is used whenever there is no water in the tanks.

They are also of the opinion that in winter the usage of water is less but in summer problem occurs. When the principal was asked about the purity of water he said that as the water is coming from around 200 feet depth it is very clean and also to keep this purity they make sure

that the tanks are cleaned regularly and also they put chlorine in the water. Even after these precautions he does not have full faith in the purity of this water, so he asks the students to bring water from home. There are six taps for the drinking water. There is no platform for these taps which has a height of 2-2½ feet. While drinking water half of the water is wasted because of this. Due to the plain place and lack of any facility for the water to flow the problem of water logging is there.

The toilets are dirty due to the lack of water and due to the lack of proper facility around the drinking water taps along with the dirty surroundings there is a lot of wastage of water.

This is the situation of sanitation and drinking water in primary schools of Old Delhi. Other than this there are lots of problems in the school. The principal and one senior teacher is not very sure about the when the school building was built. But they are of the opinion that the building is at least 50 years old. They also mentioned that the school is amongst the top in the list of damaged buildings. Last year permission for a new building is granted but they are not sure when the work will start. They said that it would be started after the construction of railway colony's school building is completed.

There are some rooms in the school which is in the lower side of the building and in rainy season water get filled there. Then those are not used for classes. Due to the lack of space two classes are held in one room. The school management has informed the authorities but they are of the opinion that government work is not done very easily. And usually rainy season is over by the time they come for inspection. Everything is discussed and the authorities promise that it will be done by next year.

Principal and teachers are not aware of water harvesting but they want rain water harvesting system in their new building to solve the problem of scarcity of water.

Sarvodaya Balika Vidyalaya

During the prayer time in the school students are given information about the importance of using toilets and cleanliness of it. But due to the dirtiness of the toilet many of the small children do not use the toilets and they prefer to go out in the open space. If they get clean toilets then they would use toilets only for their purpose rather going out in the space. One of the reasons for the dirtiness of the toilet is number of toilets is much less as compared to students and other reason is lack of water to clean the toilets.

This is the situation in the Sarvodaya Girl's School run by State govt of Delhi. The number of students in this school is around 1300 and there are 6 toilets for the use of both teachers and students. Out of these 6 toilets, 3 are for the students, 2 for the female teachers and one for the male teachers.

The principal of the school informed that earlier the school used to function in two shifts, the morning shift for girls and the after noon shift for the boys. At that time there was no problem of scarcity of water and toilets.

In April 2003 when the girls' and boys' schools got separated and the problems like lack of water, toilets, and space got aggravated. When the schools got separated it was decided that tin shade for the students would be provided to meet up shortage of rooms. One year has passed and nothing has happened yet. Because of scarcity of rooms two sections of a class are made to sit in one classroom. Around ten sections are there where two sections are held together in one room.

There were toilets that got choked and not in use for long. Recently these were got cleaned. The aluminium seats got rusted and have been replaced with ceramic seats.

For all these things money is needed and the school authority depends on government for the money. Rs.1, 20,000 from the *Bhagidari* cell of the Delhi government was given to the school for the purchase of furniture, small maintenance of the school etc. The amount is given in three instalments, Rs. 45,000 in first instalment, Rs.30,000 each in the other two instalments. Despite the fact that there is students' welfare fund, to get this money in hand it takes around 6 months. The principal said that last year she got the money on 26th December and was asked to show the utilisation of money by 30th December. On requesting the time period was extended.

They school has managed to get an illegal temporary connection by joining a pipe from the main connection to the toilet within the school premises from the Delhi *Jal Board*. Since the joining pipe was not long enough the connection has reached up to a certain point close to the toilet. Water comes up to 7 in the morning and they have two 2000 litre sintex tanks for stocking water. One tank is used for drinking purpose, and for cleaning the toilets mainly ground water is used. They also have a motor.

The school authorities have asked for a new toilet complex, a closed room etc., but they are not sure how many years it will take for govt to provide such facilities. They said that government work takes its own sweet time.

In front of the school there is a huge dustbin which is always covered with waste. There is no response from the MCD on several occasions when school complained them to take away the dead animals or garbage lying in front or around the school informs the school authority.

Sarvodaya Senior Secondary Boys' School

The third school that we visited is a senior secondary boy's school but till 2000 it was a co-education school. The school is located in Mandawali area of East Delhi. This is a Sarvodaya Vidyalaya run by state government of Delhi. The school has students from 1-12 grades. Since the inception school had girls enrolled till eight grades only. The co-educational school has only two permanent female teachers as against thirty-five male teachers.

It has been found that ever since the inception of school there was provision for toilets. Most of these were lying unused or under used. Although the school do not have enough female teachers but have around female staff consisting of sweeper woman, water woman, ad hoc teachers/teachers on contract, besides two permanent teachers. All of them had to say that they had so much of problem without the toilet and had to go to the near by residents to use their toilets. The real problem was faced during the periods/menses. After the new principal has taken over, the toilets started functioning properly. In the school premises there are two blocks for toilets each for males and females. Each block consists of 6 toilets. As per the school estimate there are around hundred girls studying in class 3-5th standard. On an average sixteen to seventeen students use one toilet. But for male students it seems the number is not enough. There are around fourteen hundred male students studying through grade one to twelve who use the toilet facilities. Clearly six toilets are not sufficient at any point of time for fourteen hundred students. There are few toilets meant for handicapped students too. The sanction for constructing one more block of toilets is there. However things are not so easily done in the Government, it takes its own time said the principal of the school.

Sanitation in Rural Areas

Lapodia is a village in the state of Rajasthan around 360 kilometres away from the capital, Delhi. This village is situated 20 kilometres from the main Jaipur-Ajmer National Highway. There are 250 families staying here with a population of 2000. The main castes among the residents of the village are *Gujjar, Jaat, Kumhar, and Berwah*. Some *Rajpoot, Daroga and Brahmin* families are also there in the village. Even if the structure of this village is not different from any other villages but some of specialties are there which makes this village separate form others.

Basic Facilities

Road

The 20 kilometres of road from the National Highway is not entirely of permanent construction. There is no road in the name Mahatma Gandhi or any other political leader or any statue of Mahatma Gandhi. But the whole village lives in harmony, believe in each other and also there is likeness between the people belonging to different caste and religion. Even if some problem arises then everybody sits together and solve the problem by talking to each other.

Transportation and Communication

There is not government transport facility to reach the village from the main road. There are three private jeeps which makes 2-3 trips a day. They charge Rs.10 per travel.

In most of the villages there is no facility for STD or ISD, even it is there it will be business for one of the shop-keepers. But in Lapodia, the STD connection is there with a feeling of harmony and provision for the villagers.

When Gopal tailor got the phone connection it became the connection for the whole village. Many people from village go to nearby towns or to Jaipur which 80 kilometer from the village. And if anybody from this crowd has to convey some message to the family members then Gopal tailor's phone comes to rescue.

In front of Gopal's house there is a loud speaker in a pole which works with the help of a battery instead of electricity as the supply of electricity is regular in the village. If somebody receives a phone then the name of the person and details about the call is announced three times through the loud speaker with respect and also requests the caller to call back after 10-15 minutes. The

height of the pole and the volume of the loud speaker is adjusted such that the voice reaches the house at the last end of the village.

These development works are done by a voluntary organisation called "Navyug Gram Vikas Mandal" and the main worker of this organisation Lakshman Singh has contributed a lot to these development works.

Education

There is a government school which has the classes up to seventh standard. The strength of the students is around 400 and the number of teachers is four. There is a hand-pump for the drinking water and a toilet in the school compound.

The school has been upgraded class by class slowly but the number of teachers is stagnant. Two years back the school has started the 7th grade. The number of boys is high compared to the number of girls. The main reason for this is the responsibilities of the family along with the absence of any female teacher in the school. Along with the gap in the education the distance between the villages also increases. There is a government high school in Gagaradu village four kilometres away from Lapodia. And there is a college in the Kishangad town which is 25 kilometres away. Due to the lack of transportation it is very difficult to travel even up to Gagaradu. Who ever has the facility to travel to Gagaradu pursue their studies further and rest of the students leave their studies in between. Because of these reasons mostly girls are not able to pursue their studies further.

Electricity

Around 10-11 years back the village got the illegal connection for electricity. Initially, some times electricity was not available for 5-6 months. Even now the situation is not very good. From the last 6-7 months (from August 2003) load-shedding has been started. The timing of the load-shedding is from night 11 PM to morning 10 AM, but even in day time regular supply is not there. Some families in the village do not have electricity connection.

Water

There are many villages in India where the pipe line for water has not reached yet and Lapodia is one of them. Ninety percent of the arrangement for water in this village is not supported by the government. The residents of the village have made the arrangements themselves and it is

reliable. Because of this even in the sixth year of the drought the wells did not dried. There are around 103 wells in the village out of which four of it is used for drinking purpose only. The village has three very old ponds which they use for irrigation. Around 10 years back the villagers collected money and cleaned the ponds. Because of the persisting incidents of drought water is not available through out the year in the ponds but this collection of rain water has helped the village to sustain their water level in the wells and fields. The government has made 7-8 hand-pumps which gives only salty water. So the villagers use this water for other than drinking purposes. Recently the government has started to make a well in the village from their side.

Health

For small diseases the villagers depend on homely remedies. The primary health centre is in a place called Padasauli, 20 kilometres away from Lapodia and the government hospital is 10 kilometres further ahead in a place called Doodu.

The deliveries are mostly taken care by the *dayis* (unofficial midwives) at homes only. In some cases nurses from the government hospital are called for help. But women go through lots of troubles because of this situation. There are such situations also where women had to face several abortions due to the lack of medical support.

The woman employee of the organisation "*Navyug Gram Vikas Mandal*" gives information on health to the women in the village and also calls nurse from the government hospital to assist them. The organisation even helps the villagers to reach the hospital in emergency times.

Occupation and Economic Activities

Most of the villagers are engaged in farming and cattle farming. Some of them are doing government jobs and some are into non-governmental jobs. The rest of the population who do not have field, work as labourers.

Toilets

There is no scarcity of open space in the village. So everybody, men and women, children, old people prefer to go in the open space to defecate. Usually vacant fields are used for this purpose.

For men and women different sides of the fields are pre-decided. The daily routine starts from morning 4 O'clock onwards. They take water with them and women mostly go to the filed in a

group. So there is no fear of eve-teasing, raping or any such problems. The women utilise this time to talk to each other as there is no time for them to interact with others during day time due to the heavy work schedule at home and field. So they like to go in groups only. As there is a system of *pardah* (veil) among the Rajputs they have made toilets inside their houses only. But due to economic constraints and scarcity of water it is not necessary that every Rajput households have private toilets.

One project, to build toilets for 100 households, was initiated by a voluntary organisation around four years back. At that time the cost for this one pit toilet was Rs.2021. In this project to get the toilet built the household had to pay Rs.500 and the rest of the money was paid by a funding agency. Even though, only 30-40 households went for this project and the rest of the money was given back to the funding agency.

The main reason for the families who have denied this project was scarcity of water. If one person goes out in open space to defecate the usage of water is around one litre, at the same time 4-5 litres of water is required for one person to clean the toilet after using it. In the end, even this extra usage of water will creates more work for women only. The people neither did have the money they have earned in a hard way to spend on toilets nor the water they have collected during summer. So they did not accept this project.

Mostly Brahmins and Rajputs families have built the toilets. Due to *pardah* system Rajput women are not allowed to go out freely and Brahmins do not have fields near their households. These families also used go in open space only before four years. Even though there are conflicts between the villagers nobody denies anybody to use the field for this purpose. But it was an opportunity and the economic situation favoured these families to build their own toilets. For water some families have made their own hand-pumps and some others who have political influence made sure that they have the government hand-pumps near their houses. But only 10-15 families are using these toilets regularly.

While discussing about the toilet system exits in the village one thing which came out is that when the people go to the fields to relieve themselves they do the other possible works also. Usually men try to shoo away the birds while they are in the fields for this purpose. The cattle shed is usually located little bit away from the house which is called *baada*. Here provision for water is available. Women who go for defecating takes water from here and while returning they clean the *baada*, milk the cattle and bring water from the well.

The distance between the households and field is around half a kilometre. During rainy season some modification on the timings are done according to the weather. If it is not possible either umbrella or polythene are used to go to the field. In Rajasthan as the duration of rainy season is so brief that it never comes on the way of any daily routine but everybody waits for the rain to come.

Some issues have come out while talking to women regarding the toilet system in the village.

Case Study 1

Jatan Kunwar who is 40 years has studied up to sixth class and got married at the age 14. She has 4 daughters and 2 sons. All the four daughters have studied up to 4th or 5th classes and are married. Two sons are studying in 9th and 6th classes.

She is staying in a joint family. Other than her mother-in-law her husband's brother's family is also staying with her. Her husband is an alcoholic and she has to earn the livelihood for her family. She works in different places for that like '*Anganwadi*' and also in the voluntary organisation. She is working in the *Anganwadi* for the last 8 years and she gets Rs.500/- from there. She said that her family used to have 20 yards of land and she sold 7 yards of the land for her daughters' marriage. Whatever cultivation in the rest of the land is not sufficient to support the whole family.

Everybody in the family use field to defecate which is ½ a kilometre away from the house. Unlike other women, Jatan Kunwar likes to go to the field to defecate alone.

She gave the information that during delivery time family members make arrangements for the patient to defecate inside her room itself. One iron basin is provided to defecate and one of the female family members removes the faeces and cleans the vessel afterwards. This is done as a service to each other in the family. This temporary arrangement is only for 4 to 8 days. But some women prefer to go in the field for defecation even during this period instead of makes use of this temporary arrangement. In this situation one of the female members of the family accompanies the patient to the field. She mentioned about her sister-in-law who did not use the arrangement and Jatan used to accompany her to the field.

For taking bathe, women makes temporary cover and take bathe. Even to take bathe they have to bring water from a distance. Men take bathe in the open or in the banks of the well in the field.

When the voluntary organisation helped the villagers to make the toilets in some of the households four years back, then each households had to pay Rs.500/-. Jatan neither did have the money nor the water for the toilet. According to her more water is required for cleaning the toilet and the responsibility of bringing water for that would have also come on to her only. She did not have the time for that and if she can work for that more time then she can earn some more money for the family.

Case Study 2

Thirty year old **Seeta Devi** has three children, two sons and one daughter. She has a little land and some goats. As it is not possible to survive on her own cultivation she has to go to other fields to work as labourer. Her both sons are going to school. Her daughter went to the school only for one year and her studies were stopped due to the responsibilities of the family. The daughter takes the goats for grazing with 3-4 other girls from the village in the morning around 10 am and returns only in the evening.

In the day time she spends most of her time in the filed only. She fills the water in the afternoon when she comes to her house for lunch. Usually she returns from the filed at around 6 or 7 in the evening and some times she goes to the field at 5 in the morning when it demands.

She said that everybody go to the field to defecate even before sunrise. Usually there is no need to go for a second time in the day time but in unusual situation people go for defecation after sunset.

When asked about the toilets Seeta Devi said that if government gives the provision to make toilets without any cost then she may think of constructing one, but she is not very sure whether it will be used or not as there is scarcity of water. The main reason for not making own toilet is scarcity of water and economic crisis. Seeta Devi does not mind going to the filed to defecate. According to her there is no dirtiness as there is one worm called '*upajau*' or '*latt*' which converts the faeces to sand.

Case Study 3

Nandu has five sons and one daughter. Three sons are married and she wants her daughter to study further. But her daughter does not like studying. Nandu does not feel the necessity of making a toilet at home. She is just worried about her daughter-in-law who is pregnant for the third time. The other two times she delivered the babies at the 8th month and both the children did not survive. Nandu said that she just want a grand child either girl or a boy and then she will make her daughter-in-law under go sterilisation. She said that there is no health facility in the village and she has to take her daughter-in-law to Doodu or Kishangad to show her to a doctor.

Case Study 4

Around 20 years back **Anand Kunwar** from Kishangad got married to a Jamindaar family in this village. She stays in a joint family, other than her in-laws, her husband's brothers' family is also staying with her. There are almost 18 members in the family including children. For such a big family, five toilets and three bathrooms with facility of water inside are there. There is no scarcity of water as there is a well at home.

She said that the facility of toilet is there in her family from the last 4-5 generations. The number and purvey of the toilets have changed over the years. The main reason for this is that there system of *pardah* among Rajput females. Among the Rajputs, women going out of the house are not considered good and because of this most Rajput households have private toilets. She said that even there is a *pardah* system at her place there is openness there.

Anandji said that there are 10 children including her brothers-in-law's children who go to school in her family except her youngest brother-in-law's daughter. Earlier everybody used to study in the school in the village, but after her daughter's 10th class there was a difficulty for her further studies. So for the last two years all the children are staying at Jaipur to study further. One of the female members of the family stays with the children at Jaipur.

Case Study 5

Prabhat Kunwar who is working in the voluntary organisation is the daughter of this Rajput family. She said that there is toilet facility in her family from the starting itself. Earlier *bhangis* (human

scavengers) used to clean the toilets. Slowly that system came to an end and regular toilet system came to an existence.

She has one son and one daughter who studies at Gangaradu after completing 7th standard from the village school. They go to the school in a bi-cycle.

She gives basic information about health to the women and she also takes diseased and pregnant women to the primary health centre in the neighbouring village. She said that in between the discussion among the women she came to know that there are 20-22 women who get aborted naturally in 4th or 5th month of pregnancy. The priority of these women is health services.

Emerging Issues and Policy Insights

No society can exist in a vacuum if the govt and NGOs are not able to provide basic amenities then the society itself creates such structure to fill these gaps. The study under review has brought out some of these important gaps related to water and sanitation.

- There are only 8 taps for the population of 10,000 in Nehru Camp. They can not serve the demands of this area. This has compelled the people to have illegal connections from the main pipe. A gross estimate of 8 MCD taps and around 250 illegal connections for water are currently on in the Nehru Camp. Similarly for the electricity people have taken illegal connection. Few years back each household have paid Rs.385 to the government for the electricity connection but there is no further steps have taken from the government's side on this regard. Even in the *Basti* Vikas Kendra run by Slum and J.J.Department, there is no electricity, which reflects the lack of inter-departmental co-ordination in the government sector. If this is the situation exists within the government departments then one can imagine the situation in the community.
- There was a time when public toilets were constructed by the govt for the public for free use. This could not continue since the toilets were found increasingly dirty and public could not use it. At that point decision was taken that NGOs dealing with sanitation related work would be given the responsibility to look after the maintenance of the toilets. Later the NGOs took over and started charging one rupee per person per use. This was done with a view that it would help maintaining cleanliness of the toilets in a better and efficient way. However over

the years this did not work properly. It is unfortunate on the part of the service provider that they are unable to satisfy people with their services even after charging money from the users. It is a serious issue and one needs to look at process what has gone wrong in to the policy. This calls the need for developing strategies to satisfy users of public toilets, to influence more people to use such toilets instead using open spaces creating unhygienic conditions with special reference to the slums under study and strengthen the role of the service provider for efficient service delivery mechanism.

- During the last ten-fifteen years organisations working in the area of sanitation and related aspects have developed low cost techniques to design low cost toilets for better drainage system and got overwhelming responses from all over. One of the important techniques was the 'soak pit'. A lot of funding agencies came forward and spent huge amount of money for development and wide usage of these techniques. However, during the study we have not come across such popular techniques anywhere in the slums under study. There is a need to do the review of the low cost technology for sanitation and effective drainage system.
- The group toilets should be given priority. By and large it has been observed that neither the government run toilets nor NGOs run toilets are successful sustainable for long time. Therefore the idea of community toilets should be encouraged and the use of low cost technology used by the group should be thoroughly studied so that with little modification if needed maximum can be achieved. The responsibility of cleanliness and maintenance of the toilets should be given to the people themselves on a sharing basis.
- There is no provision of water inside the toilet and the bathing place provided by MCD. Within the toilet complex a separate place should be maintained to dump the dirty piece of clothes/pads/ and other material etc so that the complex remain clean. The maintenance of the toilets should rest on the women who are the regular users. A committee may be formed and the responsibility could be entrusted to women users for maintenance, cleanliness etc. The women could revolve around the duties among themselves. This would enable them to realise that they have to maintain their own things by themselves and not the outsiders. Similarly the toilets meant for men need to be maintained by men.
- Most often the children are blamed for dirtying the toilets. But many a times it is seen that the toilets are not designed for the children. So children are left behind for using the toilets. In Mumbai an NGO called Spark has been engaged for the last twenty years in the work of constructing community toilets. This is one of the pioneer institutes which have given thought for the children and for the first time designed toilets in such a manner so that children can

use it conveniently. The word 'user friendly' is very often used in the development 'Jargon'. The usage of the word should get reflected in the area of sanitation and water management as a part of the Millennium Development Goal. This would help training of sanitation behaviour and sense of hygiene among the children from the childhood.

- The use of night soil in the production of electricity was in discussions for years. In Vinoba's Ashram in Pavnar, Wardha (Maharashtra), electricity is generated from the 'night soil'. During 1980s' even in Gandhi Maidan, Patna the lampposts were lighted using electricity generated from night soil. The Sulabh International did this on an experimental basis and did a lot of campaign through posters, pamphlet etc. After sometime there was a complete silence on the experiment. Not much is heard about it since then. Even in China, a large amount of electricity is being generated using night soil. Lakhs of households are involved in the experiment of generating electricity from night soil. This way each household has control over the electricity generated by them using the night soil. Some of these experiments can be tried out as a pilot projects. There is a need to re- look into the research to generate electricity from night soil. Whether the same can be translated into application. If this can happen in practice, then it would be of immense use for the people of the community. They can be provided with electricity that would help them to get rid off the illegal connection. Such researches should become the part of the Millennium Development Goal.
- There is a need for analysis of the rural and urban scenario. The plan of action on sanitation may not be the same for urban and rural area since situational demands are different. This suggests that no standard plan of action would apply in both places. This would create problems rather than solving the problems.
- There are three important things, water, space and money are needed to provide toilet in the urban slums under study. Most of these people have come from rural area to earn their livelihood. For them spending a small amount of money towards toilet can be possible but how will they arrange for space and water is the challenge for them. It is impossible for them to collect rainwater since the maximum space of the *jhuggis* here is between 10-12 feet. Even if these people want to have a toilet they simply can not make it. However more and more people in these communities are going for group toilets. A group of 10-12 families are coming together to build toilets for their use. Therefore there is a need to deeper analysis of the whole process by the concerned authorities, planners and implementers this would enable them to devise effective mechanism for sanitation facilities.

- The schools run by MCD and State Government located in the adjoining area of the slums under study can be initially used for Rain-Water Harvesting project. Most of the *jhuggis* are illegal so to carry out an experiment to harvest rain-water is difficult. The schools' building can be taken for the purpose. This would help reducing water crisis in the schools as well as the slums located nearby. There is a need to do such experiment with much more seriousness.
- Even today, the Lapodia village of Jaipur district, Rajasthan has no water to supply in the households located here. In some of the villages 1-2-hand pumps were installed few years back, as of today that also got dried up. The sources of water for the common man in the village are the ponds and wells. The women of the households go all the way and fill water in the earthen pot and carry them home for drinking. These people started facing acute water crisis since 1999 after a period of five years of draught. In view of the situation it is just unfair to expect a have toilet inside the household and even to expect that members of the household would bring water from far away for toilet purpose regularly. The lack of water could be one of the reasons for people to go out in the field to relieve them. In this case they need water at the most one litter per person but in case the toilet is inside the house they would need more water to flush the slurry into the drain.
- The institute of Social Studies Trust conducted a survey exactly twenty years back and found the same situation what exists today. In other words, there is no improvement in the situation. For the last twenty situations remained same as far as water and sanitation is concerned in the villages.
- In our discussion with the villagers from Lapodia village made it clear that going in open is the solution to meet with the challenges of sanitation and water management. They are rather happy to go by this system since they have large fields, agricultural lands and privacy too because of the plantation. There is also no danger for women and girls going to the field. Men and women go in different fields for the purpose, which are almost located in different directions. In the village those who do not have land, go to others field to relieve them. This is taken as a healthy practice since the human excreta after some time become manure for the lands.
- In this village there are four well used for drinking purpose. These are meant for different caste people. The different caste community such as Gujjars, Jats and Rajputs inhabits the village. Though the wells are located in the common land but are used by the community. In this village a hundred-year-old, three abandoned ponds were renovated and revived with the

help of an NGO called Nava Yuvak Gram Vikas Mandal, Lapodia. A large amount of rain water is being harvested. Apart from this there are hundred and three small wells helping in irrigation of the agricultural land. This seems to be one of the reasons that this part of the village, Lapodia has survived all odds even after a draught for a period of six years.

- The rural community is still open to the idea of new technology /more facilities for better sanitation and hygiene. The Navayubak Gram Vikas Mandal, Lapodia with the financial assistance from Council for Advancement of Peoples' Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) have made toilets in thirty households out of the total of two hundred and fifty households in this village. The scheme was supposed to be implemented at least in hundred households. The target of hundred households could not be completed since the households did not have enough money. They were to contribute one/fourth of the total amount given by CAPART for construction of toilets. The other important reason was lack of water due to drought. The NGO had to return the amount that was to be invested for construction of toilets for another seventy households. Out of the thirty households with toilets, till date, only fifteen are using the toilet and rest of the households has locked their toilets because of lack of water. This makes it clear that the organisations involved in designing policy and the implementing agencies should give due importance on the ground realities instead of following the same old policy designed for sanitation and water harvesting system for the rural area. For the past fifty years such policies were followed and implemented but nothing very remarkable noticed as outcome with reference to sanitation and water management.
- There is a need to analyse the unheard voices of people in general and women in particular while developing policy on sanitation, if any. Sometimes these unheard voices speak of the same thing for rural and urban area. It seems these unheard voices are repeatedly saying that they hate the state of being unsanitary. They are asking for toilets but not the unclean toilets; they are asking for toilet and bathing place that will not require money from their pocket. They do not need such toilets where they have to pay money each time they use toilet. The important things that are required to carry out this job are social status, security, cleanliness and water. However these voices are not that weak. It has made some or the other arrangements for man kind surviving all odds. The people who have moved out of rural area to the urban to earn livelihood have made arrangements for their daily needs. Therefore the most important issue here is how and to what extent India can fulfil peoples' need should become the agenda of the millennium development goals.

Inner Cleanliness and Sanitation

In any healthy society an entire plan is made for the sanitation by joining its outer cleanliness along with the cleanliness in the mind of people. This is not made like a project. For this, the society makes the members of the society to understand some values. These values are inspired by the culture and spirituality of the society.

The first component of sanitation is availability of water. To provide this component Indian society had discovered a number of small and large techniques for collecting rain water and applying these methods numerous water bodies were created. But societies did not stop just by doing the provision for water. They made the members of the society aware to maintain the purity and sanctity of water through many values and these members have taken care of these values sternly for several generation. Even now where ever these water bodies are in the hands of village people these values are followed and they have maintained the purity of water. They do not allow the water to get dirty while using it whether it is from well, stream, pond or river. Water is called as the God *Varun*. In many places even now people celebrate festivals and do prayers for water and protect the source of the water by social and individual vigilance. In many parts of the country, as a community effort, temples, sacred pillars etc. are constructed on the site of water sources and generations to generations have maintained and looked after these sources through ceremonies and prayers which used held in time to time on these sites.

Energy of life comes from food. After digesting food, what ever the residues left is called excreta or '*Mal*' i.e., toilet. The '*Mal*' or the '*Maieel*' (dirt) should be removed from the system. Removal of excreta from the body is a natural process. The process of excreta removal was based on norms made by the society, so that defecation would not create any environmental pollution. This whole process which is considered as dirty was connected to the word '*suchita*' (cleanliness). *Suchita* was maintained in both physical and mental level.

But today, much of the population is denied of the basic need of sanitation because of society's economical problems. Today they do not have the space nor the solitariness, otherwise lack of space, lack of water and lack covered space have denied them of the basic need of sanitation. So a major part of the population has become helpless in the matter of '*suchita*'. Today there is no chance for the inner cleanliness or the outer cleanliness. This should be one of the main challenges in front of the MGDs.