

Women's Rights and Access to Water and Sanitation in Asian Cities (2009-2011)

A joint initiative of Jagori and Women in Cities International (WICI) supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC)

Key Findings

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Primary Partners in the study: Action India and the Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA)

Other partners: Women's Feature Service, Kriti, OneWorld Foundation

July 2011

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A brief note on women's rights and access to essential services in JJ re-location areas of Delhi

Background

Since the 1970s, the poor working class living in Delhi's slums has been regularly relocated to the periphery of the city by the government. From 1975 to 1977 city planners forcibly moved out 150,000 squatter families into JJ re-location colonies on the periphery¹. Recent studies indicate that nearly 24% of the Delhi population lives in slums². Increasing numbers of poor inhabitants continue to live in both formal and informal settlements with inadequate civic amenities.

Most of the displaced people work in the informal sector and their relocation to JJ re-location colonies removed them from the economic activities of the city, making it impossible for them to earn a livelihood. In this context, it has been well documented³ that the process of relocation and displacement has led to problems of sustained access to livelihood, education, basic services and healthcare. In particular, the water and sanitation services are deplorably insufficient - both inadequately maintained and poorly located. Women suffered the most in the process of re-location as they are responsible for homes, and children. Additionally, looking after little children during a demolition is very difficult and women often lose children in the process. Being evicted while pregnant increases the stress levels of women⁴. Several NGOs and collectives (Hazards Centre, Jagori, Saajha Manch, Action India, CFAR and others) have been working in this area to draw the attention of the government to the continued negligence and deficit in services. Several efforts have been made to lobby the government on this front.

Besides the massive deficits in the urban infrastructure of Delhi, crimes against women have also been rising. In the lead up to the first Delhi Human Development Report (2006), women's safety was identified as a public problem facing the city, along with employment and housing. Other surveys also suggest that

fear of harassment in public places structures women's lives and movement. The fear and insecurity that women face in accessing public spaces prevents them from availing the benefits of being an urban citizen. They are not seen as legitimate users of the space, except at certain times and for certain activities. Thus women are seen in public when they have a purpose - going to work, going to the market, picking up children and other such activities. But public spaces are not meant for women to be seen if they do not have a 'purpose'.⁵ This, therefore, raises emerging security issues for women who live in the so-called mix of private-public spaces in JJ re-location colonies (given the very small plot-holdings with many members of a family sharing that space), where there are no clear boundaries and safety measures in place either within the homes or outside.

Situation in JJ re-location colonies in Delhi with special reference to essential services

As communities resettle in environments that are hostile to them, they also face new insecurities and forms of violence. Menon-Sen and Bhan (2008) have noted the abysmal situation of water supply in the area and the burden of securing water falling on women and young girls. It is not just the issue of time and physical effort but the fights that ensue during the process of obtaining water. They have also noted that the drains have stagnant water, are full of waste and are seldom cleaned. In spite of paying for toilet usage, the toilets are poorly maintained and are inadequate in number and design. Large numbers of people, including women and girls, use open spaces for defecation. This study also noted the high ambient violence in both private and public spaces in the resettlement colony of Bawana. They also refer to violence from service providers, employers and local dominant communities.

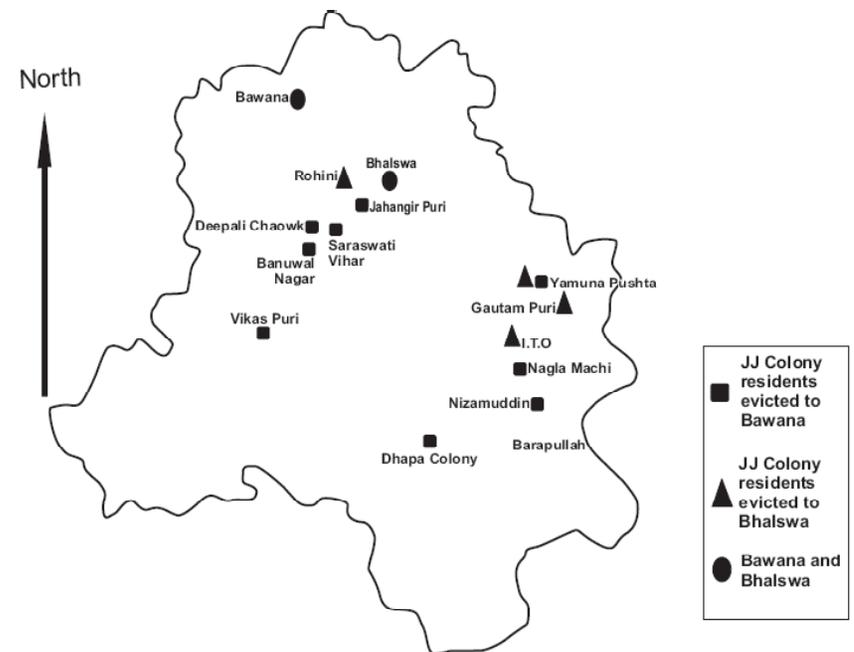
In an "Assessment of the Baseline Conditions of the Urban Poor in Delhi", Water Aid reviewed the quality of basic essential amenities and services for poor urban communities and the gaps in the services.⁶ About 1250 households were covered in an assessment of four slums⁷ of Delhi. The study revealed that

68% of households sourced water from community taps/stand posts and majority of the adult women spent 30-60 minutes in water collection daily. Most adults (78% men and 76% women) use community toilets where they spend time in long queues that are often located far from the residents' houses. Solid waste management was also shown to be inadequate. Finally, the study revealed that 92% of households dispose garbage in the lane and 4% in an MCD garbage bin while the rest pay a private person for garbage collection and disposal.

This thus raises significant gender and rights issues about the design of the infrastructure and service provision in community settlements and points to a clear need to deepen an understanding of the gender gaps in services. What are the specific components of JJ re-location design and community living that increase insecurities for women and girls? How can a deeper understanding influence the negotiations and designs of future JJ re-location colonies? What can be done to ensure low-income women's voices, needs, and priorities are part of the planning and governance process?

It is in this context that the action-research process was undertaken in two JJ re-location sites of Delhi- Bawana and Bhalswa - by Jagori and Action India respectively. The teams worked closely with the community women in framing the issues, developing tools and the methodology for the research. The groups and community women examined essential services and the impacts they have in their everyday lives.

Background of the two field sites: Bawana and Bhalswa



The Bawana JJ re-location Colony is situated in the extreme north-west corner of Delhi towards the Haryana border. It was settled in 2004. Residents were re-located from central and east Delhi to Bawana, about 35 kilometres from their original homes. They were allotted plots of 12.5 sq. m. or 18 sq. m. Today Bawana has an estimated population of 130,000. It has twelve blocks with approximately 14,000 plots. The size of each block and the services provided is not uniform.

Jagori has been working in the area since 2004 on issues of ending violence against women, youth (girls and boys) leadership development, reclaiming citizens' rights in respect to ration cards, the right to food, access to education, and other basic entitlements.

The second site, Bhalswa, is located in north-east Delhi, next to the Delhi landfill. Most of the people settled there were relocated from parts of north and east Delhi. It has approximately 2600 plots with an approximate population of 22,000.

Action India is working with the women and youth in the community in this area by strengthening existing women's group by building their capacity on issues of health, water and sanitation services.

The action research process

a) Project focus

The basic principle of the action-research and subsequent interventions was to address the 'gender service gap'. The initial step was to adapt and test the Women's Safety Audit methodology (WSA) to identify issues of safety and security with reference to essential services and then generate a concrete model for engaging resettled women with their local government agencies and other service providers. The premise was that it would enable us to begin to address the gender service gap in water, sanitation, hygiene, solid waste management, drainage and power supply.

b) Research questions

1. How does inadequate provision of essential services and management affect women and marginalised groups' access to water and sanitation facilities and services?
2. How gender-sensitive are the current urban essential services governance frameworks in Delhi? Can the adaptation and use of the women's safety audit methodology create a model to engage community-based women's groups to mobilise around their needs and engage with local governments so as to engender urban essential services provision with municipal governments, local utilities, local women's groups and local communities?
3. What kinds of solutions and technologies would appear

to increase access for poor women in a way which is environmentally-sensitive, economical and recognises the gendered nature of their access?

4. What are the obstacles to scaling-up and transfer of these governance and technological solutions?

c) Steps undertaken

The action research process began with a brief review of the existing research and policies on essential services in JJ re-location areas. A Rapid Situational Assessment to map the details of the services helped in developing an in-depth understanding of these services in the two communities. This was followed by Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) to gain insights into the diverse experiences of women, girls, men and boys. All previous steps enabled the team to gain deeper insights into the gender gaps in essential services, the issues of safety faced by women and girls, and their implications on their lives and livelihoods. These preparatory steps then led to the safety audit walk. The walk is the central part of the Women's Safety Audit (WSA).

Further, the diverse experiences of women were explored through in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews provided insights into the specific problems of marginalised women and girls, and especially of women and girls with disabilities and pregnant women. Perspectives of service providers were explored through interviews with key informants including local service providers, local doctors and local leaders, both elected and informal.

Community women have been and will continue to be the strength of the core team. They have identified problems; provided feedback on the action research methods; been active in monitoring services; participated in community meetings and focus groups; and taken part in the women's safety audit walks. Capacity building and leadership development of community women continues to be an on-going process in the work of Jagori and Action India.

d) Key findings

Though both the field sites are JJ re-location colonies, there are marked differences in the infrastructure and services provided. The following section briefly describes the services in Bawana and Bhalswa.

• Essential services in Bawana

There are 24 Community Toilet Complexes (CTCs) in Bawana in use while two are not in use.⁸ Generally women pay Rs 2 for defecation until 12 noon and after that there are no charges. Charges for bathing and washing clothes together costs Rs 5-7. Men pay Rs 2 throughout the day. There are no charges for children; however, children under 6 years are not allowed in and have to use the *nalas* (drains). These toilets are under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) and the maintenance contract has been given to private individuals who in turn, sub-contract. Toilets in three blocks are under the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) and are free of cost. However, they are currently not well maintained and close down around 8 pm. It is important to highlight that the quality of service provision has changed over time. For instance, in Bawana, during the period of our research, the DDA toilets were initially well maintained and clean but are currently not well maintained. Also, a CTC that was earlier shut down is now operational. According to the residents, the CTCs are often dirty, as the caretaker does not clean them regularly.

In most blocks the CTCs are open from 5 am to 10 pm. After 10 pm residents use open areas for defecation or use home-based toilets if they have them. About 30-40% households have home based toilets for which they have paid themselves. As there is no sewer line and they have constructed septic tanks. The frequency of their cleaning depends on the level of usage. The cost of each round of cleaning is about Rs 600 and they are cleaned, on average, every 6-12 months. The usage of these toilets varies from household to household. In some cases, all family members use it while in most households they are pri-

marily used by women and girls and especially at night.

The standpipes initially installed by the government agencies do not function any more. In most cases, the taps have been stolen. The water distributed is untreated ground water. The main water points currently in use include the points near the pump stations, low pipes outside the lanes and privately owned boring pumps. Residents also source water from a temple about a kilometer away from the main road near the JJ re-location colony. The hand pumps do not pump out water anymore. Water supply is dependent on electricity, as water has to be pumped for distribution. Residents complain about the foul smell and taste of water.

Drains in most blocks are clogged with solid waste. The level of the drains is such that the water often flows back towards the houses. In other cases, the slopes do not allow easy flow of water. Some residents clean the drains in front of their plots while others block them. The waste water flow from drains in the inner lanes to drains in the outer lanes is often not possible. Finally, the large drains open into an open field and are not connected to any sewer system.

As far as garbage disposal is concerned, there are six demarcated disposal areas in Bawana. But most are too far for the residents and they dispose garbage in vacant plots, and other vacant areas such as spaces meant for parks and at street corners.

• Essential services in Bhalswa

Though there are six CTCs in the five blocks of Bhalswa, only two are operational. The mode of payment is similar to that of Bawana though children below 12 years are often charged, especially if they go without their mothers. Very few residents, mostly men, use the CTC for bathing. Most residents bathe and wash clothes in a section marked out in or outside their homes. The drains of this bathing area open into the street drains. The drains are similar to that of Bawana and end in a field.

Bhalswa is situated within a radius of one kilometer of the Bhalswa landfill site. Leachate from the landfill has seeped into the ground water making it toxic. However, due to water scarcity in the area people use this leachate for bathing, cooking and sometimes even for drinking purpose. Jaundice, kidney stones, upset stomachs and nausea are common health problems in the area. Only two blocks get untreated piped water from a nearby industrial area. Most residents rely on tankers which come to the area every ten days or so. Filling water from the tankers is often a violent process and women and girls face sexual harassment in the process. Many residents, including women, get water from areas 2-3 kilometers from Bhalswa. Many of them get drinking water from their places of work, mostly by buses.

In some blocks, government service providers collect garbage from the street corners. There is no mechanism for solid waste disposal. There are no dustbins and no particular area that is marked for disposal of solid waste in Bhalswa. Residents usually throw their household waste in the open areas. These are the same open fields that are also used for defecation. This whole area is strewn with polythene and other solid waste.

The following section analyses the gender implications of inadequate essential services and highlights the safety concerns of women and girls.

Gendered time use in essential services: a series of human rights violations

As women and girls are primarily responsible for managing the households, they spend considerable time in accessing these services. Time is spent in queues waiting to fill water or in queues for toilets. Lack of certain services has serious consequences on the lives of women as in the case of Bhalswa where lack of potable water leaves women with no other option but to obtain water from outside, including their work places located 20-25 kilometers from their homes. They often face situations of heckling in the public transport from the bus conductors/

fellow passengers for taking more space in the bus. Carrying water for long distances is exhausting for them.

Women in Bhalswa have to obtain water from areas 2-3 kilometers away from their homes and it usually takes 2-3 hours of their time. They collect water at the cost of other household chores or their free time in which they could rest or spend on any leisure activities. Some women said that they could not undertake any livelihood generation activities and other important quality tasks of the family care, as they were left with no time. It is important to stress here that though in some cases, men and boys do share in this burden of the work to obtain water, the primary responsibility rests with the women.

In Bawana, women and girls spend 1-2 hours of their time daily standing in queues, filling water and then carrying it home. However, due to the irregular supplies of water, they end up spending more time than planned and at times are not able to collect the required amount of water. It has also been noted that when there is water shortage, families get water from a temple far from the residential area and adolescent girls are not sent alone. School going girls have reported that due to time spent in water queues, especially in the early mornings; they have no time to eat before going to school. Further, in both sites, especially in Bawana, women/girls spend time in queues to access community toilets or they spend time walking to the far-off areas/fields for open defecation.

It is quite obvious that inadequate infrastructure in the community increases demands on women's time and unpaid labour as they undertake their household and family duties. The urban scenario takes away from women and families equitable access to land rights and water for productive use. Often times the plots are in the names of men. Discussion of access to water is often seen only in domestic terms, i.e., time spent on water collection or the availability of adequate water and sanitation services. Access might better be linked to productive activities, or the opportunity cost of time and energy spent in fetching water that detracts from the overall productivity and efficiency of women.⁹

Discussions with women also clearly indicate that the prevalent gender division of labour puts additional strain on girls as opposed to boys and continues to ensure the inter-generational burden of unpaid work and care economy on women and girls. As resources get scarcer and prices rise (as is the case in Delhi with its high inflation rates), the burden increases women's time load on this fundamental activity and results in the lack of time for other equally important work.

The question therefore arises as to what are the social and economic costs of such time lost due to long queues for baths/toilets, drinking water and time lost due to the irregular supply of water? How does the women's and girl's quality of life suffer as they continue to negotiate worsening of essential services? Given the deteriorating services and community unrest it will lead to unnecessary competition and quarrels among those that stand in queues, as has been seen in many other places.

It is therefore essential that women be involved in decision making processes regarding the provision, location, design and technology of water and sanitation facilities in the community and household. Leaving women out of the project design inadvertently increases her gender-specific burden, as seen above.

The experience of violence in the context of essential services

The use of WSA in the context of essential services was unique as it was aimed at identifying factors that make women and girls feel unsafe in public spaces and how they deal with this insecurity. The safety audit walks uncovered the subtle forms of harassment that are faced by women/girls in accessing such services. It helped break the silence for men and boys on issues of violence against women in their communities.

Besides the above-mentioned negative impact on women's lives and unpaid work, the action research process highlighted how lack of access to adequate services affects the safety and security of women and girls. They are subject to sexual harassment, assault and abuse in public service sites as these are poorly

designed and maintained. Boys and men stare, peep, hang out and harass women and girls in and near toilet complexes. They are afraid of collecting water from certain water points due to hostile and unsafe environments.

Women and girls experience sexual harassment and violence at the hands of men/boys in the CTCs. The design of the CTCs is such that they have an open roof which allows men/boys to peep into the women's section of the CTCs. In Bhalswa, boys of neighbouring homes have kept their pet birds on the roofs of the CTC and therefore seem to constantly loiter around the roof tops. Further, both sites indicate that there are broken latches/doors in the toilets/wash space. Large numbers of boys play cricket, hang out in groups, commenting or singing lewd songs and playing cards with the caretaker. Their constant presence violates the privacy/space that girls/women need for the use of the toilets and for bathing.

In Bawana, over the years, the spaces for open defecation have shrunk due to construction and the systematic removal of green areas. As women use these spaces primarily after dark, they feel afraid and only venture out if accompanied by another woman. In Bhalswa, incidences of sexual violence against women in the open fields were reported during the research period, including instances of rape. Consequently, women have come up with several adaptive measures like going out to the open fields in groups ensuring they are out at a specific time when they can feel safer (such as when there will be other women around), eating and drinking less during the evening hours so that they do not have the need to relieve themselves or hurriedly relieving themselves lest they get seen or attacked. This results in health problems, bladder inflammation and anxiety attacks, as they have to ensure that there is no violation of their bodily integrity. It also raises the question of the social and economic costs of fear and potential of harassment and violence in such contexts.

Women and girls also face sexual harassment while accessing other services. In Bhalswa, families do not allow girls to fill water from the tankers as fights break out occasionally in the

crowd and if there are men around, they might touch/push/harass the women/girls. Similarly, younger/adolescent girls are not sent to the nearby areas alone to fetch water. In some areas of Bawana, where films are commercially screened in homes with crowds of men/boys, there is a general tendency to avoid such sites for obtaining water; however, it is not always possible to avoid it.

Poor maintenance of drains too results in increased sexual harassment. The faulty design of the drains and poor maintenance of the land around it leads to water clogging, wet garbage and wet mud spread out on the lanes. Not only does it make it difficult to walk in these lanes, it becomes an opportunity for boys/men to brush past girls while walking in the lanes. Young girls said that they were always fearful of being harassed when out and if they do confront the boys, they say it was only an accident. Again the issue of space becomes imperative. Women/girls would like some more space so they do not have to worry about such things all the time. Open drains are full of solid and other kinds of waste. At times women try to clean up parts of the drains close to their plots. They also block the inflows of waste to their part of the plot with stones leading to water clogging on either side. This results in serious arguments/fights among neighbours and at times result in verbal harassment from the men of the neighbouring families.

Electricity/power supply in accessing essential services

The study did not initially focus on electricity but its significance emerged during the course of the action research. In case of electricity failure, Bawana has no water supply, as the pumps do not work. Women/girls who have no alternatives but to wait for restored electricity services. A few who have boring pumps fill water more conveniently, some also pay their neighbours for use of their boring pump. They may wait for a male family member to get water from the temple on the main Narela road, about a kilometer away from the JJ re-location area.

Even though there are generators in the toilet complexes in

both Bawana and Bhalswa, caretakers do not use them unless paid for. In case of an electricity failure when women are using the toilet complex, they have to wait for another user to pay for the generator, or else go outside the women's wing to collect water. In some CTCs, women go to the men's section to collect water and this puts them at risk of being stared at and even followed back to their homes.

Both in Bawana and Bhalswa, women and girls have reported instances of groping in the event of electricity failure. When out in the open for defecation, they are scared of not only being in the open but also of returning home in the dark. Women shared that in case of an electricity failure, they do not leave their homes and control their urge to defecate.

On the basis of the research and the safety audits, we suggest that electricity needs to be an integral part of essential services linked to water and sanitation, especially as these services are being privatised in Delhi and this will have a severe impact on the lives of the poor women.

The costs of well-being, dignity and rights

An issue that emerged from this study is how women feel their loss of dignity in relation to access to toilets. As there are few/no dustbins in the CTCs, this makes menstrual waste disposal difficult. Women in Bhalswa often dump their menstrual waste in toilet complexes that are dysfunctional and often such waste just lies there, as there is no regular cleaning. Women feel nauseous using dirty and unclean toilets, but they do so as they have no option. In some cases, lack of access due to toilets being closed either due to their timings, or inability to pay, or due to the filth leaves no other option but to defecate in the drains or on a newspaper which is later thrown away

Design and maintenance of drains has been identified as another major cause of filth in both the field sites. Given the higher level of drains in the outer streets of Bawana, waste water does not flow properly and results in blockages. In other blocks, due

to badly planned slopes, water enters into homes. The badly maintained drains add to the woes of the people and they have gotten used to living with much dirt and filth around them. If at all the drains get cleaned, and that too happens only when the women pressure the service providers, the wet garbage is dumped by the sides of the drains. It is collected, if at all, few days/weeks later. Often the stagnant drain water, especially on rainy days, spreads on the gullies/lanes and into the homes of women.

The little space outside their homes is a crucial work space and an extension of their homes. Women also use this space to cook, peel vegetables, wash pots/pans, undertake their home based work such as sewing, embroidery, bead work, etc. The space is used for social interaction with family members as well as neighbours. As their homes do not have sufficient space, they have no other option but spend time right next to drains full of solid waste, mosquitoes and flies. This further compromises their right to a liveable, healthy and safe environment. In some cases in Bawana and Bhalswa, families have taken the effort to cover the drains.

Those living in the near-by *kacchi bastis* (considered illegal settlements as they have not been allotted plots) in both Bawana and Bhalswa¹⁰ have to access toilets complexes in blocks close to them or use open areas. They have made temporary arrangements for water as well by instituting pipes and paying for electricity connections which the local authorities cut off time and again. Women/girls in this area not only spend more time in accessing such services, they are distraught at the fact that they are treated as non-existent and as criminals. They have formed strong groups to try to improve their services.

Women and girls with special needs, such as pregnant women and women with disabilities, find it difficult to access many services. Interviews with some women revealed that while they cannot stand in the queue to fill water, they are dependent on others in the family to carry the water. They have problems in accessing the toilets, as there is no support for alternate toilet

seats. They also find it difficult to sit down and worry that they may lose balance and fall on the toilet floor which often has human excreta lying around.

Some Key Project Outcomes

Part I

Bawana

A very significant change in Bawana has been between the development of a new relationship between the women, their communities and the sanitation workers in charge of solid waste management and drains. Earlier on, in any one gully or Block there used to be at least one or two women who used to fight for proper services; however, they were discouraged from engaging by their neighbours. Now, through this Project and its outreach and engagement, women and men in many gullies and five Blocks of Bawana have a deeper understanding of the link between the quality of their services provision, the role and limitations of the sanitation workers and the collective responsibilities of both sides to working together to address the problems that are causing them so much distress and hardship.

However, despite everyone's best efforts to work together to ensure that garbage is picked-up and the *nalas* (drains) remain clear, it has been near impossible to create sustainable changes in the services due to the poor quality and faulty infrastructure. Many of the drains were poorly built in the first place and they were built well after the evicted population was sent there. Furthermore, the drains were built with very limited capacity and for a small population. Bawana's population now far exceeds the limited capacity of the drains. Today, almost throughout the year, the drains are overflowing with waste water and solid waste making many of the lanes impassable and further endangering the lives and safety of not only women but all residents.

Another noteworthy change has been in the reduction in the level of harassment of women and girls on the way to and at the Community Toilet Complexes (CTCs). Earlier on, boys and men used to harass women and girls when they were walking to the CTCs or lined-up at CTCs to get in. Since the safety audit walks and the many conversations amongst young and older residents, and the subsequent follow-up conversations

with the CTC caretakers, people's understanding of the kinds of behaviours that make women and girls feel uncomfortable and unsafe has increased substantively. Women and girls now feel a lot safer around the CTCs. However, other activities such as boys climbing up the CTC roofs to fly kites continue and women's vulnerability to harassment and violence still exists.

An extensive capacity building programme with 43 women and 11 youth - 4 young women and seven young men - was undertaken to develop a core team of residents who can organize to mobilize others and create the needed changes in their communities. The trainings aimed at: enhancing community women's knowledge and political perspectives in the context of urban settings; focused on leadership development and building self esteem and identity; challenging power relations and subverting patriarchy; deepening understanding of women's health and hygiene; and learning from other similar organizing in Delhi and in the country.

Women also developed a new design for the CTCs which includes a covered roof and small windows instead for light and air circulation and taps inside each toilet. They want a separate section for children with toilets and sinks to scale for children and for both men and women to be able to take children in for the use of toilets and for bathing them. They feel that the CTC needs to accommodate men and caretakers of children and not only women. They want the toilet stalls to have hand bars for pregnant and older women to hold onto. And they want the toilet wall high enough for privacy and safety.

Another noteworthy result has been the engagement of the young women and men in the process and a deepening of their understanding about access to essential services and safety. They are keen to participate and bring about change in infrastructure in their community. They made 15 minute radio programmes that were broadcast locally and nationally. With the Jagori team, they organized meetings in the lanes to listen to the programmes with residents and to discuss and debate the issues raised in the broadcasts. This process has expanded the

awareness of the issues and their gender implications to many more residents.

Bhalswa

A small system of solid waste collection via a motorized vehicle has been established. It only collects solid waste from households from the main roads of Bhalswa. Women have to bring their garbage to the vehicle. This is the first time in the over ten years of Bhalswa's existence that there has been any system of solid waste collection.

Women's safety has improved with police patrolling the area in the day and the evenings. Girls face less harassment as they leave school in the afternoon as the police now keep watch when school ends and the girls can walk home safely.

Portable water delivery to the area has been increased in a number of ways. Now there are additional tankers that deliver water to the lanes and there is piped portable water in 4 of the five Blocks of Bhalswa. Water is released into the pipes at set times of day. Women have formed monitoring committees of four members in each of the blocks to ensure that there is no wastage of water from the pipes. As the service providers have not provided taps, as they tend to disappear or get broken, water continues to run and is wasted. Now women have devised their own way of closing the pipes with a piece of wood and a cloth so the water is not wasted until it is turned off from the source by the water provider.

A successful intervention was made at one of the only two functioning CTCs in Bhalswa. Men used to harass women and girls when they came to use the CTC and they used to peep into the women's section of the CTC from the open roof. Often they even entered the women's section of the CTC when women and girls were in there. Furthermore, when the toilet was cleaned by the toilet caretaker, he would throw all the garbage from the toilets to the back of the CTC. The women got together and went to meet the caretaker and told him of their problems. He spoke to his boss and men are now not allowed to harass the

women and the garbage has been cleaned up and removed from behind the CTC.

Finally, in both Bawana and Bhalswa, the staff and community women have learnt a lot about doing research. They have also learnt a lot more about essential services and about their rights to these services. Examining and working on issues of essential services such as water, sanitation, drainage and solid waste and their relationship to gender is a new area for the staff of both Jagori and Action India. In Bhalswa, the staff, the women and the youth learnt how to identify, lobby and advocate for their rights with MCD officials, other service providers such as the Delhi Jal Board (DJB) and elected officials. In Bawana, the women and the youth have established enough rapport with the service providers that they now regularly drop by the Jagori office in Bawana to check in with the women about the situation of solid waste and drains in the five Blocks that Jagori works in.

Further Findings

Governance must lead to a more equitable world, where women also have choices and their rights are realised. It cannot be effective if there is no understanding of the differing needs of women and men in public spending, policies, legislation and treaties. Nor can it be effective if women cannot exercise their right to participate equally in the decisions that affect their lives. In short, governance cannot be effective, or 'good', unless it is gender-sensitive (Brody, 2009).

- Issues of lack of security of tenure, land rights and housing need to be tied to the right of women and girls to sanitation.
- Explore further the issue of women's right to clean and hygienic sanitation services - not only in the home, but also in informal and street-based workplaces.
- There is a need to look at research/experiments to explore how to de-link water from the provision of sanitation via

sewers and create non-water borne sewerage systems in cities such as Delhi.

- There is a need to explore design, technology and policy advocacy to ensure that women who are primarily affected by these services are centrally involved in planning and decision making of services that they need.
- The budget for water and sanitation services for the urban poor needs to be augmented and provisions need to be made in local budgets for women and girls' daily living in JJ re-location colonies and other low-income areas.
- The health and safety impacts of communities are dependant on the time, labour and livelihoods of women and girls. This means that poor women are subsidizing services. The Delhi government is spending a mere Rs 30 (US\$0.66) on water supply and Rs 80 (US\$1.78) on sanitation per JJ colony resident in 2011-12.

Part II

The Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA), in collaboration with Jagori, carried out two gender-responsive budget analysis studies in the water sector as relevant to Bawana and Bhalswa. The first study explored the opportunity cost of water in the two communities and the second study examined the public provisioning of water and sanitation services in the two re-location colonies. Key points from both the studies are reproduced below beginning with the Opportunity Cost of Water study.

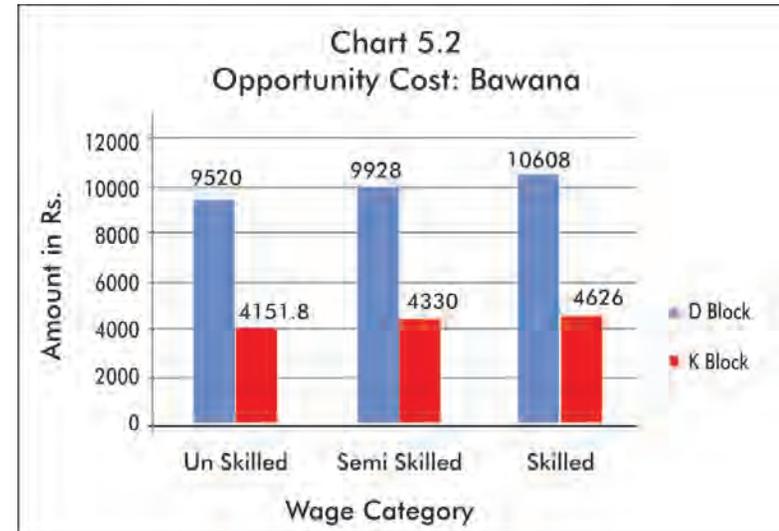
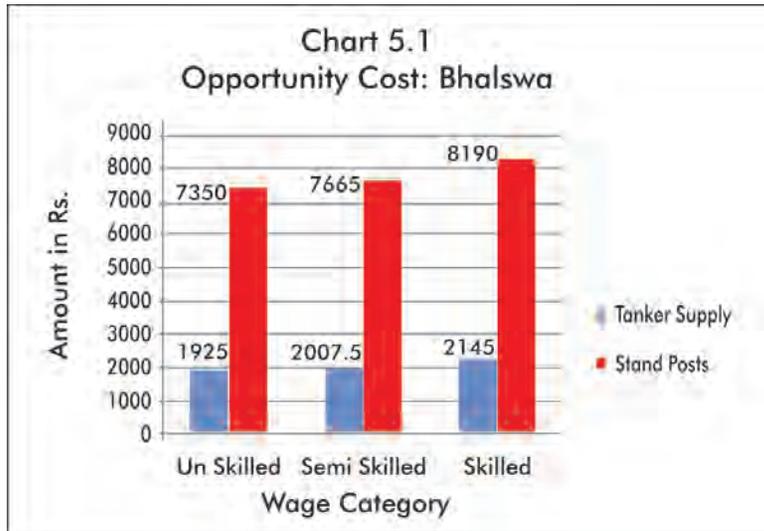
A brief study on the Opportunity Cost of Water in Bhalswa and Bawana by the Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA)

NOTE: This study was conducted in the summer of 2010. Since that time, the accessibility to water has changed significantly in Bhalswa. Now, the majority of the households have sufficient potable water to satisfy their daily needs, as noted in the action research project outcomes. The discussion below helps to illustrate the change that has occurred in the past 12 months.

The objective of the study undertaken by CBGA in partnership with Jagori was to reinforce the importance of time savings associated with better access to services, in this case water, and the disadvantages suffered in the absence of the same (loss of time, loss of income, etc). For Bhalswa, the analysis is presented in two categories:¹¹ those who source water from tanker supply and those who rely on public stand posts; and for Bawana, a comparative chart is presented to showcase the difference in the opportunity cost (OC) for the two blocks D and K.

- The data suggests that the primary responsibility for water collection is borne by women and girls, though in some cases men are also responsible for this activity. Often two to three members of the household, including children, are involved in the water collection, however the primary responsibility continues to be shouldered by women.
- The way that the time spent on water collection was calculated by adding the time spent on all related sub activities (i.e. the time required to reach the water source (WS), the time spent waiting at the WS and the time to return back from the WS). The time spent in each sub activity is subject to many variables such as the frequency of water collection, number of cycles, distance of the WS from the house, size of the household (this determines the consumption patterns), waiting time and time to return with heavy loads (this is again subject to individual capacities). The average time spent each year on the activity was then calculated under the two categories and was valued using the minimum wage standards of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labour categories.
- In case of the tanker supply in Bhalswa, the tanker-dependent households source water once in six days and the average time spent in the activity annually is 110 hrs/year. By valuing this time against the minimum wage standards of unskilled labour, the wage loss in a year is approximately Rs1925. *Note: this value is approximate and subject to variation.*

- With regard to public stand posts in Bhalswa, the numbers are grossly inadequate and the services inefficient. There are only a few stand posts that supply water in the colony. The water is collected from this source on a daily basis and may involve one, two or three trips to collect water, depending on household need and availability. Again, the patterns vary and are subjective. Households that source water from stand posts spend an average of approximately 70 minutes/day/cycle collecting water. The total time spent annually on this activity for one cycle is 424 hours/year/cycle. By valuing this time against the minimum wage standards of unskilled labour, the wage loss in a year sums up to approximately Rs7350 (See Table 2). The value is subject to a host of variables such as patterns of water collection, the periodicity and cycles and patterns of water consumption and the needs of the household.



- The comparative OC for those who source water from tanker supply and those who are dependent on public stand posts for Bhalswa (considering one cycle/day throughout the year) is presented in Chart 5.1. The OC for tanker supply is less compared to that for public stand posts. Before arriving to any conclusions, one should bear in mind that there is no definite time for the tankers to arrive at the fill point. This means that the time required for water collection could actually involve an entire day when you consider the time cost of waiting (as reported by the respondents). Some respondents also reported missed school days for children who were involved in water collection, however this is not factored into the calculations for OC at this time.
- Chart 5.2 presents the comparative OC for block D and block K in Bawana.¹² The OC for K block is low when compared to that of D block. This by no means is indicative of better services/provisioning. As has been discussed earlier, this block has no public provisioning of water supply. The residents are solely dependent on bore-wells

that are motor operated. There are huge costs related to installing and maintaining these bore-wells. These costs have not been included here as this was outside the scope of the study.

- Based on these findings, a few solutions can be recommended to reduce the opportunity costs associated with water collection in Bawana and Bhalswa:
 - i. Direct access by means of piped connections in the dwellings - this could be metered. In the course of the survey 99% of respondents reported willingness to pay if such services were provided. Paid connections would also mean reducing the non-revenue water loss¹³ suffered by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. In the survey, majority of respondents expressed that they were willing to pay anywhere between Rs 50 to Rs 200/month for such services. Only few were unwilling to pay.

Or

- ii. Installation and maintenance of an adequate number of stand-posts commiserate with the size of the population, conveniently located for ease of access (equidistant locations should be specified in the development plans), and availability of water 24-hours a day - this is a must. A functional stand post at the end of each lane would also considerably cut down time spent in queues, walking to the water supply and back to the dwelling. Watch and ward committees for each lane could be used to oversee the repair and maintenance work and also guard against theft and damage. Members of the community - both men and women - should be trained in minor repair related work and tools should be provided so that the community can make their own repairs

The above provisions would increase both convenience and time-savings for women and would also ease the burden of water collection, coping and health-related costs would come

down drastically.

Gender Responsive Budget Analysis of the public provisioning of water and sanitation services in Bawana and Bhalswa by the Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA)

The analysis has covered specific urban water and sanitation policies and programmes at the level of federal (Union), state (Delhi) and local government (MCD). Since water and sanitation services affect women and men differently, an attempt has been made to understand if these policies and schemes specifically address women or not. The quantum of budgetary outlays has also been captured for urban water and sanitation in Delhi with a focus on the north-west district of Delhi, i.e. Narela and Model Town sub-divisions. However, due to the lack of availability of budget data at the sub-divisional level, the state government's outlays through the budget of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) and the Delhi Jal Board (DJB) (the agencies responsible for creating essential infrastructure, maintenance and sustenance of water supply and sanitation services), have been used in the study.

The study was based on a comprehensive review of available literature on public expenditure analysis of the urban water and sanitation sector in Delhi. Analysis of various budget documents, particularly the 'Detailed Demands for Grants'¹⁴ at the State (Delhi) government levels pertaining to water and sanitation for the last four years from 2007-08 up to 2010-11 has been undertaken. Additionally, an in-depth study of various policies and schemes pertaining to water and sanitation at the Union and State government levels has been done to assess what it offers low-income urban women. Interviews with officials of the MCD, DJB and the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB) were undertaken to gain a clearer perspective on relevant issues.

The lack of sex-disaggregated data in budgets and the reluctance of concerned officials to part with information regarding

budgets for water and sanitation in the study areas were some of the challenges faced by the study team.

Findings from the Gender Responsive Budget Analysis

- Policies and schemes regarding urban water and sanitation do not explicitly have anything for women and girls, with the exception of the Urban Sanitation Policy 2008 and the National Urban Habitat and Housing Policy 2007 which recognize women and children as being more negatively affected by poor water and sanitation services than men and boys. The Basic Services for Urban Poor (under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission) fund is supposed to earmark 20% of municipal funds for the urban poor. However, this has yet to be implemented.
- In the Delhi budget, water and sanitation is the second priority after transport and constitutes approximately 17% of the total Plan outlays in the 11th Five Year Plan. In spite of an increase in overall budgetary allocation for water and sanitation from 2007-08 to 2010-11, in absolute terms it has gone down when compared to the total budget of Delhi. In the 2007-08 financial year, the share of actual expenditure on water and sanitation to total budgetary expenditure of Delhi was 7.4% and it went down to 6.1% in the financial year 2010-11.
- For *Jhuggi Jhopri* (JJ) clusters, in the financial year 2011-12, Rs 90 million (US\$2 million)¹⁵ has been spent on water supply and Rs 240 million (US\$5.32 million) on sanitation facilities. One needs to question whether this allocation is adequate keeping in mind the unsafe and unhygienic water and sanitation services existing in the study areas as well as the growing population of the low-income settlements. Considering that the Delhi government is spending a mere Rs 30 (US\$0.66) on water supply and Rs 80 (US\$1.78) on sanitation per JJ colony resident in 2011-12, inadequate funds for these areas is surely a cause for concern.
- Although the government comes out with a Gender Budget Statement (GBS) every year, water and sanitation is not reflected in it. Neither the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation nor the Department of Urban Development report in the Gender Budget Statement (GBS) of the Union government which makes it difficult to assess women's share in water and sanitation services in either rural or urban areas. Departments should be urged to report in the GBS so that the true picture of actual allocations is revealed.
- Sewerage and drainage in the re-location colonies of Bawana and Bhalswa are the main issues of contention as pointed out by officials from the MCD and DUSIB. Since the DJB only provides water and no underground sewerage in these areas, MCD's efforts to keep the area clean has proved to be a wasted effort. It is difficult to assess who is accountable for the prevailing water and sanitation situation in the study areas.
- Lack of effective collaboration and consultation between the urban local bodies (ULBs) and the agencies such as the DJB, MCD and the DUSIB was highlighted in the research, and confusion and lack of ownership was found to be prevailing in the departments. For this, the larger political picture needs to be kept in mind. Continued low allocations towards this sector reflect the lack of political will to improve urban water and sanitation services; more so, in JJ re-location colonies, where a paternalistic attitude has been observed among the ULBs towards the residents. The recent increase in allocation for the Member of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development (MLALAD) scheme from Rs 20 million (US\$0.44million) to Rs 40 million (US\$0.88 million) and an additional amount of Rs 10.5 million (US\$0.23 million) to the MCD Councillor Fund have given greater financial powers to the elected representatives of the government. Monitoring of how these funds are spent would significantly bring in some degree of transparency and accountability.

- The issue of privatization of urban water and sanitation services is a matter of some concern. In the study areas, although the MCD does not impose any charges on residents for the use of community toilet complexes (CTCs), the ones that are contracted out to private agencies charge a fee, consequently putting a financial burden on the residents and more so on women who have to pay for the children as well. With talks of public private partnership through Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JN-NURM), in all likelihood, privatization would translate into high out-of-pocket expenditures for the urban poor.

End Note

- ¹ Roy, Dunu 2005
- ² Delhi Development Report 2009
- ³ Menon-Sen and Bhan 2008
- ⁴ Menon-Sen and Bhan 2008, Water Aid 2008
- ⁵ Viswanath, Kalpana and Surabhi T. Mehrotra, 2008
- ⁶ Indcare, Water Aid, FCM 2008 Assessment of the Baseline Conditions of the Urban Poor in Delhi March 2008: 42
- ⁷ Amarpark Colony, Sudampuri, Shivanand Colony in West Delhi and Vivekanand Colony in New Delhi.
- ⁸ This number may vary as some toilets are shut down due to disrepair while a closed one may be reopened.
- ⁹ UN-DESA, 2005
- ¹⁰ Sections of the illegal settlement were removed by the state agencies during the course of the research in Bhalswa.
- ¹¹ Tankers supply water once in six days and therefore the periodicity of collecting water from the two available options- tanker supply and public stand posts vary. For tankers the periodicity is once in six days and in case of stand posts it is done on daily basis.
- ¹² This calculation is for an average 2 cycles/day/year for the sample in both the blocks
- ¹³ The S&JJ Dept owe approximately Rs.3 crores to the DJB for un-metered water use in Bhalswa JJ Colony
- ¹⁴ Detailed Demands for Grants are detailed budget documents that record up to unit level expenditure of various administrative units/departments of the government.
- ¹⁵ Note: 1 million is Rs 1,000,000 (Rs. 10 Lakhs) and the currency conversion rate from INR to USD (\$) is used with Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27 June 2011.

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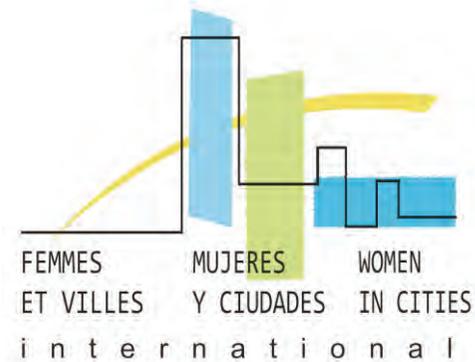
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