PUBLIC TOILETS in Delhi: An emphasis on the facilities for Women in Slum/Resettlement Areas

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### 1. ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APL</td>
<td>above Poverty Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BJP</td>
<td>Bhartiya Janta Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMC</td>
<td>Brihan Mumbai Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOT</td>
<td>Build Operate Transfer</td>
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<tr>
<td>BPL</td>
<td>Below Poverty Line</td>
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<td>BSUP</td>
<td>Basic Services to the Urban Poor</td>
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<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDP</td>
<td>City Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEPRA</td>
<td>Centre for Planning, Research and Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPHEEO</td>
<td>Central Public Health &amp; Environmental Engineering Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTC</td>
<td>Community Toilet Complex</td>
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<td>DCW</td>
<td>Delhi Commission for Women</td>
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<td>DDA</td>
<td>Delhi Development Authority</td>
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<td>DEMS</td>
<td>Department of Environmental Management Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJB</td>
<td>Delhi Jal Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>DMRC</td>
<td>Delhi Metro Rail Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>EIUS</td>
<td>Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EOI</td>
<td>Expression of Interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUDCO</td>
<td>Housing and Urban Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JJ</td>
<td>Jhuggi-Jhopri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNNURM</td>
<td>Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCD</td>
<td>Municipal Corporation of Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member of Legislative Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLALAD</td>
<td>Member of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNC</td>
<td>Multi National Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPLAD</td>
<td>Members of Parliament Local Area Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCW</td>
<td>National Commission for Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDMC</td>
<td>New Delhi Municipal Council</td>
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<td>NDPL</td>
<td>North Delhi Power Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Government Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIUA</td>
<td>National Institute of Urban Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>NOIDA</td>
<td>New Okhla Industrial Development Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSDP</td>
<td>National Slum Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>O&amp;M</td>
<td>Operation and Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDS</td>
<td>Public Distribution System</td>
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<tr>
<td>RTI</td>
<td>Right to Information</td>
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<tr>
<td>UBSP</td>
<td>Urban Basic Services for the Poor</td>
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<tr>
<td>ULB</td>
<td>Urban Local Body</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAMBAY</td>
<td>Valmiki Ambedkar Avas Yojana</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>YAP</td>
<td>Yamuna Action Plan</td>
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3. IT STARTED WITH AN OBSERVATION

People often call me a feminist, I wonder why, because I am not very expressive about women’s issues, it is probably because I study at a "well known" girls’ college in Delhi which is often labelled as a feminist institution. I always wonder, what exactly does feminism mean (and further whether an institution can really be labelled as “feminist”)

The idea of the paper on “Public Toilets in Delhi– with an emphasis on the facilities for women in slum/resettlement area” came up rather vividly. During our first few days with Centre for Civil Society (CCS), we “had to” come up with our topics for research. I could not think of what area to pick up which would require some interesting primary research. I was on my way back home from CCS, travelling in a bus on the Yusuf Sarai road and was looking out of the window, when a Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) public toilet caught my attention. It was one of those with old white tiles (many of them were broken) and it was divided into two equal sized cubicles. Though it had not rained that day, I observed that the toilet was full of filthy, mud-coloured water (the height of the water was probably one foot). A man was urinating just outside the toilet. And there was a woman – old, frail, she looked like a beggar; who had a ‘seek ki jharoo’ in her hand and was desperately trying to clean the toilet. What an irony I thought – “She’s cleaning the toilet for men who can anyways urinate anywhere they like” (The width of the cubicles was only enough to stand and pee - clearly not-at-all female friendly). Further, I thought "She can't even use this toilet. Where does she go when she wants to relieve herself?"

Further down the same road, I saw one of the new, red-brick wall toilet ("jan suvidhaayein" / public convenience - it said). A typical paid toilet which has a red brick wall charges Rs 2 per usage of the toilet by a female and, Re 1 per usage by a male (both these for just urinating). However, men can urinate virtually anywhere but women cannot! It is absolutely essential for women to use a closed area to urinate so they would definitely use a public toilet if available close by to them. But a man has options. A woman, therefore will use and so will have to pay. What a contradiction - "public convenience" for a profit motive.

The issue of public toilets affects, I believe, the poorest women (who live in slum areas) the most. Other women (and all men) have options at their homes, workplace (and walls) but what about a woman in a slum area?

Further, I wondered; should I be branded as a ‘feminist' because I believe that something as basic as a toilet needs to be provided especially to those women in our society who are economically backward?

We hear a lot of talk about "women's empowerment" and "feminism" (I think everyone has their own definition for these two terms) but what is the worth of all this talk if there is no provision of something as basic as toilet facilities for poorest of poor women?
4. INTRODUCTION

Men can urinate anywhere but women are taught from a young age ‘to control’. Many of us would have never seen a woman urinating in the open but seeing a man doing so is a ‘normal’ sight anywhere in Delhi (or rather, anywhere in India). Women cannot ‘go to the toilet’ in the open – as that would be considered “uncultured”. Seeing a man carrying a bottle or a jerry can of water to the bushes is seen often but seeing a woman like that is unlikely – “she is not supposed to be seen doing ‘it’ in the day time”. So, though men do have an option if there is no toilet, do women really have one?

Women from all economic strata’s are affected by unavailability of public toilets but the problems of those women from the lower economic strata are aggravated since they hardly have any options.

The issue of toilets is more serious in urban areas rather than rural areas, because in rural areas, there are open spaces and fields, whereas in urban areas, spaces are cramped and open space is deficient.

In the Indian society, typically, the women of the household have to shoulder the responsibility of washing clothes, utensils, bathing their children, doing the housework. If it is a woman from the lower economic strata then she must also earn a living by working in other people’s houses. If a woman doesn’t bathe her children, wash the utensils and clothes of her household – the husband will come home in the evening (many times drunk) and beat her up.

Women can’t bathe in the open as that is said to imply that they are trying to show their sexuality, a woman needs a closed space not only to go to the toilet, but also to bathe. Women are always taught to control, taught about shame, they are taught not to use a public toilet rather than being told how to use a public toilet.

And is the issue of public toilets for women isolated? No, there are issues of communicable diseases (we know that women are far more vulnerable to urinary tract and reproductive tract infections than men), sexual harassment (women in slum areas, typically tend to relieve themselves at late hours of the night or early hours of the morning - which makes them vulnerable to rape, molestation). "Holding on" for most of the day is a tough task and is very difficult during menstruation. I am reminded of a part of Paromita Vohra’s film Q2P which points out that: “In the Indian context, it’s sad but true that an ideal woman is one with a dress, a smile and a vagina. No one cares to look at the number of pipes and organs in her body which are there to give birth to a life and beyond this that she NEEDS a hygienic toilet.”

It is ironical that the two most politically influential women in Delhi, the Chief Minister and the Mayor are 'highly qualified' women who talk about women's empowerment and we are celebrating the International Year of Sanitation but, we not discuss this issue of public toilets for women? Why are fancy hotels and malls (I am not denying that there are toilets in these malls where people like you and me can use) far more important to us than the basic necessity of public toilets? Is there a policy issue involved?
5. RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The research questions for the policy makers on public toilets in slum/resettlement areas included: Who decides the developmental plan for Delhi? What are the norms governing public toilets at the local level (Delhi) and national level? Is there a particular way in which funds are allocated at the National level?

The research questions for the agencies that are involved with the construction and maintenance of the public toilets in slum/resettlement areas in Delhi included: How is construction and maintenance of public toilets carried out? Who is responsible for the water and electricity connections in the public toilets? Are the public toilets supposed to be paid or free? Has the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) started contracting out public toilets on a Build Operate Transfer (BOT)\(^1\) basis like the New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC)?\(^2\)

While talking to women living in a few slum/resettlement areas in Delhi, queries relating to the facilities and the issue of gender disparity in the provision of these facilities were raised. In the absence of the facilities, what do women do to relieve themselves and where do they go? An attempt was also made to understand whether residents, especially women, really consider this as an issue which needs attention. If they do consider it a problem, whether they have approached the relevant authorities and what was the response of the authorities. An effort was made to understand the politics of the issue, if any. If toilets do exist, are they paid or not and is there a difference between the charges for a woman as compared to those for a man? Finally, to probe the related issues such as sexual harassment.

The aim of this research paper is not to do a survey of the public toilet facilities in slum and resettlement colonies of Delhi. The idea is to understand the various issues concerned with public toilets for women in slum and resettlement areas of Delhi.

The NDMC areas of Delhi have not been researched on, because the NDMC area accounts for only about 2-2.5% of Delhi (against MCD area accounting for about 94% of Delhi)\(^3\), the NDMC area has very few slums and recently, the public toilet facilities in the slum areas of NDMC has been upgraded by contracting out to private agencies on a BOT basis.\(^4\)

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1 BOT is a scheme in which a private agency builds a public toilet complex/community toilet complex, then operates it for a period of time and then hands it back to the government agency (in this case, either MCD or NDMC).
2 Because, there is a clear difference between toilets in NDMC area and non-NDMC area and NDMC is presently working with the BOT basis as far as public toilets are concerned.
4 The NDMC has started the BOT scheme for construction, repair and maintenance of public toilets in slum areas like: Khanna market, Gwalior Pottery area, Indira Camp, Bharti Basti. (Information gathered from an interview conducted on 30 May 2008 with Ms. Sheena Rawat, Hythro Power Corporation Limited – an agency, which is, presently maintaining about 100 public convenience complexes in the NDMC area).
6. METHODOLOGY

This research project involved both primary and secondary research.

The primary research has been more of an interview based approach, to understand the various players involved in the issue. Among those interviewed were Central Government officials; a Chief Engineer, Engineering Department, MCD, an Executive Engineer and other officials from Slum and JJ Department, MCD and three Sanitary Inspectors from the Department of Environment Management Services (DEMS), MCD and officials from Sulabh International, New Delhi. The Slum areas visited included – Sanjay Colony, Kusumpur and the basti areas in Jhilmil Colony and the JJ Resettlement colonies visited included – Bawana, Savda Ghevra and Madanpur Khader. In each of these areas, the public toilets were visited. With the assistance of field workers from NGOs, interactions with the women of the area and with the people running the public toilets were carried out to understand the ground reality.

Secondary sources have been analysed to understand the policy on public toilets at the national and at the local levels. These sources include: the websites of the Ministry of Urban Development, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation and documents collected from these two Ministries; affidavits filed by senior officials of the MCD regarding sanitation (and in particular regarding public toilets in Delhi) in response to the orders of the Delhi High Court (based on cases filed by Social Jurist) and other related articles from the internet.
7. POLICIES AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

7.1. Prior to the 1990s

The primary responsibility of providing sanitation facilities in the country rests with the State Governments, and, more specifically, the local bodies in the urban areas. The Centre allocates funds and also ensures that funds are provided in State budgets, and progressively larger allocations have been made for sanitation in the various Five Year Plans.5

Water supply and sanitation were added to the national agenda during the country’s first five-year plan (1951-56). In 1954, when the first national water supply programme was launched as part of the government’s health plan, sanitation was mentioned as a part of the section on water supply.6

The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) identified Environmental Improvement in Urban Slums (EIUS) as a basic need of the poor.7 The scheme envisaged provision of seven basic amenities: water supply, sewer-open drains with normal outflow avoiding accumulation of stagnant waste water, storm water drains, community baths and latrines, widening and paving of existing pathways and street lighting and other community facilities to slum dwellers.8 This scheme was begun in 1972 as the Integrated Urban Development Programme (IUDP) in cities with a population of three lakhs and above with the provision that in sates where there was no city of the size, at least one city would be covered. In 1974, the scope of the EIUS was enlarged and the scheme was made applicable to all urban centres in the country. Further, the scheme was made an integrated part of the Minimum Needs Programme and was transferred to the state sector.9

In 1981, it was estimated that 27 percent of urban India had individual household latrines. It was in the early eighties with the thrust of the International Water and Sanitation Decade that the Government of India started fostering alliances with the United Nations

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(UN) and other external support agencies to focus on improving sanitation in the country.\textsuperscript{10}

The Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP) – a programme which was a part of the Seventh Plan (1985-89) took a participatory approach in tackling physical and social needs of urban poor. It was a clear break-away from the earlier policy calls and schemes as there was an attempt to address urban poverty issues directly instead of treating them with issues of rural poverty.\textsuperscript{11}

Though a series of programmes have been launched to raise the living standards of the urban poor, it is only the EIUS Programme, which has laid down certain physical standards of basic services to improve the quality of life of urban poor. As per the EIUS Programme the physical norms and standards regarding community baths and community latrines are 1 latrine for 20-50 people and 1 bath for 20-50 people.\textsuperscript{12}

According to the physical norms and standards adopted for the World Bank funded slum upgradation projects in Mumbai and Chennai, 1 community latrine seat should be there for 10 households (50 people). The norm, as suggested under the Kerala Urban Development Project, for the proposed slum improvement and up gradation project in Trivandrum, Cochin and Calicut, for community latrine seats was that there should be 1 community latrine for 50 people.\textsuperscript{13}

7.2. Guidelines on Community Toilets, 1995

A document entitled “Guidelines on Community Toilets” was released by the Ministry of Urban Affairs and Employment and the Regional Water and Sanitation Group – South Asia, UNDP – World Bank, Water and Sanitation Program in June 1995.\textsuperscript{14}

The Foreword of the document (dated 25 April 1995) written by J. P. Singh, Secretary, Government of India mentions that: “Community toilets play an important role in meeting the sanitation needs of densely populated low income settlements in urban areas.” Further, “At present there have been no comprehensive guidelines on the issues to


be addressed at the preparation stage in order to enhance the chances of proper and sustained use of these facilities”. Further, “I hope the guidelines prepared by the Regional Water and Sanitation Group – South Asia (RWSG-SA) of the UNDP/World Bank Water and Sanitation Programme will go a long way in meeting this need.” And “I also hope that the Municipal Authorities will find these guidelines useful”.

This eighty six page document covers the following aspects of community toilets: design and construction, operation and maintenance, institutional and financial arrangements. The document was prepared after an extensive survey of the players involved: the users, the bodies involved in construction and maintenance of community toilets. It also included detailed drawings, not only of community toilet models but also of the septic tanks, soakage pit and brick drains for sewerage.

It clearly mentions that in residential areas, 1 toilet seat should be there per 50 users.

7.3. National Policy after 1995

National policy guiding India’s approach to sanitation in the Eighth, Ninth and the Tenth Plan broadly followed the guiding principles of the New Delhi declaration, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1990. 15

The Eighth Five-Year Plan (1992-97), stated: “Safe drinking water and basic sanitation are vital human needs for health and efficiency [given that] death and disease, particularly of children,…and the drudgery of women are directly attributable to the lack of these essentials.” 16

7.3.1. National Slum Development Programme (NSDP), 1996

The National Slum Development Programme (NSDP) was launched by the Prime Minister in August 1996. The introduction to the guidelines of the programme says: “as far as slum improvement and upgradation are concerned, during the Fifth Plan, the Central Government had introduced a Centrally Sponsored Scheme of EIUS which was transferred to the State Sector subsequently. Experience shows that virtually none of the State Governments have been able to provide sufficient funds for the scheme as a result of which there has not been much improvement and upgradation work in urban slums except, perhaps, where external funding agencies like the Department for International Development (UK) were involved”.

The 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 envisaged a critical role for elected municipal governments in the provision of basic services to their residents. Given this Act and the fact that the condition of urban slums in most of the States and towns extremely unsatisfactory, it was considered appropriate for the Government of India to

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15 These include (a) protection of the environment and safeguarding of health through the integrated management of water resources and liquid and solid waste; (b) organisation of reforms, promoting an integrated approach including changes in procedures, attitudes, and behaviour, and the full participation of women at all levels; (c) community management of services, backed by measures to strengthen local institutions in implementing and sustaining water and sanitation programmes; and (d) sound financial practices, achieved by better management of existing assets and extensive use of appropriate technologies.
introduce an Additional Central Assistance to States for upgradation of urban slums with the elements:

1. The scheme should be applicable to all States and Union Territories having urban population.
2. Funds will be allocated to States on the basis of urban slum population.

The first component of the Programme says: “Provision of physical amenities like water supply, storm water drains, community bath, widening and paving of existing lanes, sewers, community latrines, street lights etc.”

The guidelines of the Programme say: “Provision under this scheme shall be indicated by the Planning Commission at the beginning of each financial year. The allocations between states shall be made on the basis of the slum populations living of the States. However, release of funds by the Department of Expenditure to the States shall be made only after the nodal Ministry reviews the expenditure, the physical progress of works, and other performance criteria.”

7.3.2. National Slum Policy (Draft), 1999-2001

The Ministry of Urban Development and Poverty Alleviation, Government of India finalized the National Slum Policy Draft in April 1999. One point under the ‘Physical Infrastructure Development’ heading says that “ULBs (Urban Local Bodies) should avoid constructing community latrines within slum/informal settlements as these quickly degenerate on account of poor operations and maintenance (O&M) thus becoming counter productive to public health. Where there is insufficient space for individual sanitation options (mostly where on-site disposal systems have to be adopted) group or cluster latrines with clearly demarcated and agreed household responsibility for O&M may be a suitable alternative option.”

Regarding the norm, it says “The norms for cluster latrines at the rate of one seat for 50 people are suggested, with adequate institutional arrangements for maintenance and upkeep with involvement of community.”

“It is vital that any community wide sanitation programme be preceded by an awareness campaign designed to raise demand for the implementation of specific sanitation options. This would greatly facilitate all subsequent O&M. Activities as would also assist the process of raising financial contributions. Many members of the community, especially male members, do not perceive sanitation as a clear priority need. This needs to be addressed before embarking upon the installation of sanitation.”

“Considering the limitations on improving sanitation in many towns due to the absence of underground drainage and sewerage systems, low cost sanitation options, particularly twin pit pour flush latrines may be a more appropriate and cost effective option for slums duly keeping environmental safeguards in mind. Efforts should be made to popularise and facilitate the introduction of such systems wherever appropriate. The tenurial status and likelihood of a settlement getting relocated at some point in the future should not deter promoting such systems since the benefits of such environmental improvement far exceed the initial investment incurred.”

Further, another point mentioned: “To integrate sanitation as part of the housing development and to achieve cent per cent sanitation coverage in all the state capitals and cities having more than one million population, the sub-component of the VAMBAY (Valmiki- Ambedkar Malin Basti Awas Yojana) programme: Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan is intended to be launched. New individual toilets or conversion of existing toilets into sanitary latrines and community based group toilet scheme in slum areas will be financed under this scheme. Effluents and wastes from such toilets constructed under this scheme will be used for production of manure, vermiculture, biogas etc. In the first year one lakh toilet seats in 10 cities on a demand driven basis with an outlay of Rs 400 crores is being launched soon. The outlay will consist of Rs 200 crores subsidy from Government of India under the VAMBAY and the balance amount as loan from HUDCO. To start with, pilot projects will be initiated in Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Chandigarh, Lucknow and Guwahati. The most novel features are – (a) maintenance of community toilet blocks by community based groups elected from among slum dwellers themselves; (b) family pass for each slum household @ Rs 20 per month per family for daily use of such toilets.”

7.3.3. Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana’s component - Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan, 2001

Though the National Slum Policy was never finalized, yet on 15 August 2001 the Prime Minister of India announced a new Centrally Sponsored Scheme called the Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VAMBAY), to ameliorate the conditions of the urban slum dwellers living below the poverty line. The main objective being to provide shelter or upgrade the existing shelter for people living below the poverty line in urban slums in a march towards the goal of slum less cities with a healthy and enabling urban environment. The guidelines of the scheme say: “Another very important basic amenity for slum dwellers especially in congested metropolitan cities is the lack of rudimentary toilet facilities. A new National City Sanitation Project under the title of ‘Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan’ is an integral sub component of VAMBAY. 20% of the total allocation under VAMBAY will be used for the same. The State Governments/ Local Bodies will be free to supplement the Government of India subsidy with their own grant. The average cost for a community toilet seat has been estimated to be Rs 40,000 per seat. Therefore, a 10-seat or a 20-seat block meant for men, women and children with separate compartments for each group and special design features will cost around Rs 4 lakhs and Rs 8 lakhs respectively. Each toilet will be maintained by a group, from among the slum dwellers, who will make a monthly contribution of Rs 20 or so per family and obtain a monthly pass or family card.”

(Guidelines given by HUDCO regarding Implementation of Community Toilets and Sanitation are attached in Annexure 1)

The most recently available data from the 2001 census leads one to an alarming realization that approximately 24 percent urban households living in big cities and small
towns either have no access to toilets or choose open defecation, hence polluting the environment and making it more conducive for the spread of communicable diseases.\textsuperscript{20}

7.3.4. Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), 2005

This is a sub-Mission under the JNNURM (Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission), launched in December 2005. The introduction to the guidelines says: “The ever increasing number of slum dwellers causes tremendous pressure on urban basic services and infrastructure. In order to cope with massive problems that have emerged as a result of rapid urban growth, it has become imperative to draw up a coherent urbanization policy/strategy to implement projects in select cities on mission mode.”

One of the Mission Objectives are: “Provision of Basic Services to Urban Poor including security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation and ensuring delivery through convergence of other already universal services of the Government for education, health and social security.”

The admissible components of the Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor include:

1. Integrated development of slums, i.e. housing and development of infrastructure projects in the slums in the identified cities.
2. Projects involving development/improvement/maintenance of basic services to the urban poor.
3. Slum improvement and rehabilitation projects.
4. Projects on water supply/sewerage/drainage, community toilets/baths etc.

This sub-Mission is being taken up in only 63 selected cities: 7 cities with a 4 million plus population as per 2001 census population, 28 cities with 1 million plus but less than 4 million population and another 28 cities of religious/historic/ tourist importance. Delhi falls in the first category (as per the 2001 census the population of Delhi is 128.77 lakh, i.e. 12.877 million, therefore in the first category).\textsuperscript{21}

(The Funding Pattern for the BSUP Scheme, under the JNNURM, is attached in Annexure 2)

According to a newspaper article dated 4 July 2008 (attached in Annexure 15), Delhi is not taking advantage of the JNNURM.


\textsuperscript{21} Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation. 2005. \textit{Guidelines for Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP)}. Government of India. Available at: \url{http://muepa.nic.in/programs/bsup.pdf}
7.3.5. *Integrated Low Cost Sanitation (ICLS) Scheme, 2008*

The Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Low Cost Sanitation for Liberation of Scavengers started from 1980-81 initially through the Ministry of Home Affairs and later on through the Ministry of Welfare. From 1989-90, it was operated through the Ministry of Urban Development and later on through Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation now titled Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation. A revised set of guidelines were released in January 2008. (The scheme is now called the “Integrated Low Cost Sanitation” Scheme)

The main objectives of the Scheme are to convert the existing dry latrines into low cost pour flush latrines and to construct new ones where EWS (Economically Weaker Section) households have no latrines and follow the in-human practice of defecating in the open in urban areas.

Towns are to be selected from the various States and Union Territories irrespective of their population and also persons belonging to EWS households who have no latrines and defecate in the open in urban areas. Priority is to be given to those towns which have a predominance of dry latrines.

The scheme is on an ‘All Town’ coverage basis. The proposal can be submitted by the urban local body or organizations like Housing Board, Slum Clearance Board, Development Authority, Improvement Trust, Water Supply and Sewerage Board, Cantonment Board, etc. duly authorized by the State Government to the State Urban Development Authority for undertaking the programme. The concerned urban local body/organisation has to give an undertaking prohibiting dry latrines in the towns thereafter.

The States should select NGOs having adequate experience in this field who will be funded maximum to the extent of 15% over and above the total project cost to be borne by the Centre and States based on the ratio of 5:1 at different stages of implementation. Further, NGOs will be required to conduct a survey within a year for identification of beneficiaries and then the ULBs (Urban Local Bodies) will finalise the list of beneficiaries. NGOs will also issue biometric photo Identity Cards, look after operation and maintenance of the converted units, and organise training/ seminars for preparation of project reports and estimates by the ULBs/Development Authorities (DAs) after ensuring willingness of identified beneficiaries.22

(The Funding Pattern of the ILCS Scheme is attached in Annexure 3)

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Presently, the nodal National Ministries responsible for urban sanitation are Ministry of Urban Development and the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation. Where in, the Ministry of Urban Development is in-charge of the sewage treatment, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation is in-charge of toilets per say. But, other institutions play direct or indirect roles, including various ministries and departments, financial institutions, external support agencies, NGOs, and the private sector.

The National Urban Sanitation Policy is underway; the draft is being prepared by the two nodal Ministries. They are in the process of preparing the cabinet note and so, no information regarding it can be made public as of now.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{23} Interview conducted on 1 July 2008 with Lila Chandran, Under Secretary, Low Cost Sanitation, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation.
8. POLICIES AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

There is no policy at the local level regarding public toilets. To understand the stand of the local implementation agency, the MCD; the City Development Plan of Delhi and affidavits filed in response to the Delhi High Court orders have been referred to.

8.1. General Background

The National Capital Territory is governed by three local bodies; the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), the New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC) and the Delhi Cantonment Board (DCB). The areas under these three bodies are: 1397 km², 42.72 km² and 42.97 km² respectively.24

“Water and sanitation facilities in unorganized colonies, particularly JJ clusters, are poor. Only 21% of colonies are covered with piped water supply and 10% are covered by sanitation. Though there is satisfactory level of infrastructure availability in unplanned settlements, but these facilities are non-functional in around 75-80% of the settlements.” Further, “Around 85-90% of JJ clusters did not have even community toilets, forcing habitants to defecate in the open near the water bodies or drainage channels.”25

According to the 2004 statistics given by the Slum Department of the MCD regarding Water and Sanitation Status in Unplanned Settlements, 100% of the Resettlement colonies and 9.8% of the JJ Clusters have sewer facility.

The Delhi Jal Board is responsible for providing sewerage facility in Delhi. However, DJB’s role is limited to MCD area for operation and maintenance of the system. NDMC and Cantonment Board operate the systems in their respective areas.26

The area under the jurisdiction of the MCD has been divided into 12 zones. The Department of Environment Management Services (DEMS) is headed by the Sanitary Superintendent (SS) in every zone, who is responsible for overall sanitation within his zone. On the supervisory level, the SS is assisted by the Chief Sanitary Superintendent (CSI), Sanitary Inspector (SI), Assistant Sanitary Inspector (ASI) and Sanitary Guide (SG). Apart from this, the MCD has created a Sanitation Task Force (STF) in each zone, under the charge of the Sanitary Inspector (SI), with one refuse removal truck and 8 

26 The Appraisal Report of the Delhi City Development Plan, 2006, prepared by Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology, Ahmedabad. (Available at: http://jinnurn.nic.in/nurmudweb/cdp_apprep_pdf/CDP_Appraisals_CEPt/Delhi_CEPT.pdf)
27 An affidavit filed by Devendra Kumar, Joint Director, DEMS – II, MCD; in response to the Delhi High Court orders dated 18 September 2006.
8.2. Community Toilet Complexes

In response to the orders of the Delhi High Court, dated 12 December 2006, an affidavit was submitted by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD. He was also holding the post of the Director-in-Chief, Department of Environment Management Service (DEMS), MCD at that time. The affidavit was received on 16 January 2007.

According to this affidavit: “There are 1544 Community Toilet Complexes (CTCs) located in all the 12 zones of MCD. Earlier these CTCs were being maintained and operated by an NGO, M/s Sulabh International. They were charging Rs 2 per head for use of the toilet. Now these toilets are being operated and maintained departmentally, free of charge. Every CTC is having adequate separate provision for Ladies and Gents to use toilet facilities.”

“The number of seats varies with a maximum up to 80 in a complex and ladies seats varies with a maximum up to 20 in a complex.”

“In addition to the above, there are 34 toilet blocks that are being run by Private Agencies in the MCD area on BOT basis on advertisement rights. Every toilet block is having adequate provision for Ladies and Gents. Private agencies are charging Rs 2 per head for use of toilet and Re 1 per head for use of urinal. Apart from the (1544+34) = 1578 Toilet Block, there are 3192 urinals (only for use of urination) constructed along roads, near parks, bus stop etc. in the 12 MCD zones – which are used by the public free of charge.”

The affidavit concluded with a section called “Future Proposal”. Under this two points have been mentioned. Firstly, 70 sets of new Toilet Blocks are to be constructed in all the 12 zones of MCD through Private Agencies on a BOT basis on advertisement rights. Adequate and separate provisions will be kept in these CTCs for use of toilet/urinal for Gents, Ladies and Disabled Persons. And secondly, an Action Plan is being formulated for the existing 1544 Toilet Blocks for making provision or Disabled Persons. MCD has proposed that these CTCs to be given to interested parties including commercial organizations, MNCs and NGOs. MCD has also proposed to give advertisement rights to the bidders in lieu of the operation and maintenance of these CTCs in order to provide hygienic and efficient services along with fully satisfactory maintenance. In addition, they will also be allowed to realize the user charges @ Rs 30 per family by way of a family pass comprising of 5 members (as per ration card) per month which comes to about 5 paise per time per head in the slum clusters and Re 60 per family for a family pass in other colonies and children below 12 years will not be charged for toilet use. Besides this, the users in stray cases, shall have to pay Rs 2 and Re 1 in JJ Clusters and other areas, respectively. The bidders shall be liable to pay the Advertisement Tax under the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act as applicable for time to time directly to the Advertisement Department of MCD for the space provided to him on the CTC’s as per terms and conditions of the agreement. The proposal is under consideration of the Standing Committee. In addition to the above, Slum Department has also deployed Mobile Toilet Complex in various Slum Colonies for public use.
In response to the orders of the Delhi High Court, dated 17 January 2007, an affidavit was submitted by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD. He was also looking after the work of the Director-in-Chief, Department of Environment Management Service (DEMS), and MCD at that time. The affidavit was received on the 31 October 2007. (The first two pages of this document are attached in Annexure 4).

According to the affidavit: “Since there are certain areas falling within the jurisdiction of the MCD that compromise of JJ clusters, resettlement colonies and other habitations not having household toilet facilities, the MCD tries to provide Community Toilet Complexes (CTCs) to the inhabitants of these areas. CTCs are comprehensive/complete public utility units housing latrines, urinals and bath facilities for men, women and children.”

“In the area under the MCD, there are 1544 CTCs – having a total of 40,795 WCs – which are being operated and maintained by the DEMS, free of charge. This is in addition to the 193 CTCs – having a total of 5,943 WCs – which are being maintained by the Slum Wing of the MCD, through different NGOs.”

“The number of seats for men varies with a maximum of upto 60 and for ladies with a maximum of upto 35 in a toilet complex.”

The number of CTCs under the DEMS, MCD and the Slum and JJ Department, MCD was given as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Zone</th>
<th>Total Number of CTCs with the DEMS</th>
<th>Total Number of CTCs with the Slum and JJ Department of the MCD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Narela Zone</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Najafgarh Zone</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rohini Zone</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Civil Lines Zone</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>West Zone</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Karol Bagh Zone</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sadar Paharganj Zone</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>City Zone</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Central Zone</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>South Zone</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Shahdra (North) Zone</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shahdra (South) Zone</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>1544</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Zone wise detailed lists of Community Toilet Complexes under DEMS and the Slum and JJ Department are attached in Annexure 5 and Annexure 6, respectively)

“In addition to the above, there are presently 34 toilet blocks, which are being run by Private Agencies in MCD area, on a BOT basis generating income for the concerned parties through grant of advertisement rights. Apart from the toilet blocks and CTCs there are 2181 urinal blocks (having a total of 6339 seats), constructed along side roads, public parks, bus stops, market complexes etc. in all the 12 zones of the MCD which are
available to the public, free of charge. The MCD Slum Department has also currently deployed Mobile Toilet Vans (having a total of 1750 WCs) in various Slum colonies.”

“The MCD has already started work on the construction of public toilets/urinals for use by disabled persons/ladies and it is proposed to convert/provide/upgrade at least 30% of the existing public utility facilities to house additional seats for the disabled and ladies by September 2007.” (The Action Plan prepared is attached in Annexure 7)

It said that mobile water tanker teams have been put in place to ensure water supply to the urinal blocks that have water scarcity. Wherever required, Suction and Jetting Machines have also been provided at toilet blocks/urinals etc. for cleaning and removal of blockages, if any.

In response to the Delhi High Court order in regard to construction and maintenance of public toilets/urinals directly proportionate to the density of the population in a particular zone MCD started a time-bound Action Plan on upgrading the existing 1544 CTCs and 2181 urinals. Tenders were floated for seventy additional CTCs. MCD was also to conduct a survey in its twelve zones within 4 to 6 months to formulate a detailed report on the required numbers of CTCs and toilet blocks as per the population density of the area in addition to identifying the possible sites for construction of the same. It is proposed to simultaneously identify an appropriate agency to implement the (proposed) findings of the expert committee in a time-bound plan in order to save further time.

Under the proposed Action Plan which was to be implemented in the then future, MCD proposed to give the existing 1544 CTCs to interested parties including commercial organisations, MNCs etc along with advertisement rights to the successful bidders to provide hygienic and efficient services along with satisfactory maintenance of the same. Seventy sets of new toilet blocks were to be constructed through private agencies on BOT basis on advertisement rights.

According to another affidavit filed by Ashok Kumar, Commissioner, MCD in pursuance of the Delhi High Court order dated 23 February 2007: “It may be pertinent to mention at this juncture that 80% of the 1544 CTCs are presently operational and/or functional and necessary basic repairs where ever required have been initiated to satisfy the immediate requirements for a better, efficient functioning of the said CTCs. However, in principle, it has been decided by the Department that CTCs shall be offered to private operators/contractors for O&M purposes on an as is where is basis. It was decided to invite EOI s from all interested parties including commercial organisations, MNCs and so on. The applicant was to be experienced in the task of maintaining CTCs and/or any other similar type of activities. The applicant should have minimum five years experience and financial capacity to run/maintain the group of CTCs or similar type of work in or outside the country. In addition they will also be allowed to realise the user charges @ Rs 30 per family per month in the slum areas and Rs 60 in the other colonies. Besides this the users in individual cases shall have to pay Re 1 in slum areas and Rs 2 in the remaining areas on usages.”
8.3. Public Urinals for Women

There is a clear distinction between public urinals and CTCs, as public urinals are only for urination, whereas CTCs would not only have facility for urination, they would also have facilities for bathing, washing clothes. Though the importance of CTCs in case of slum and resettlement colonies is very high as people do not have toilets in their houses, but more than often; people make some kind of cubicle inside/outside their houses – which they use for having a bath; they don’t have the money to build toilets at home, so the importance of public urinals for them increases; further, the provision of public urinals is more so for women since a man can ‘do it’ in the open but if a woman is seen ‘doing it’ in the open, she is considered to be ‘uncultured’.

According to an inspection carried out by a Delhi High Court committee comprising A.S. Chandhoke, Bar Council President and Mr. Ashok Agrawal, advocate and the subsequent case filed on 5 December 2007; out of 3192 urinals in Delhi, only 132 are for women. Of the 12 zones of the MCD: Narela, Najafgarh, Rohini, Civil Lines, West and Karol Bagh zones did not have a single urinal for women. For the remaining the break up of the 132 urinals was found as:

- Sadar Paharganj : 07
- City Zone : 40
- Central : 29
- South : 49
- Shahdra North : 02
- Shahdra South : 05

TOTAL : 132

Ashok Agarwal, advocate, wrote that “It is submitted that failure on the part of the MCD to provide adequate number of well maintained urinals for women in every zone is a violation of fundamental and human rights of the women as guaranteed to them under Articles 14 and 21 of the Constitution of India.”

In response to the orders of the Delhi High Court, dated 12 December 2006, an affidavit was submitted by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD. He was also holding the post of the Director-in-Chief, Department of Environment Management Service (DEMS), MCD at that time. The affidavit was received on the 16 January 2007. This document mentioned: “The possibility of adding toilets for ladies in these urinal blocks shall be explored”.

The affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD, in response to the Delhi High Court orders (dated 17 January 2007), mentioned an Action Plan regarding urination facilities for ladies; this plan was to be implemented so that the existing urinals would be suitably upgraded by September 2007. (This Action Plan is attached in Annexure 7)

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28 Article 14 says: “Equality before Law - The State shall not deny to any person equality before law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India” – this is the first article under the Right to Equality and Article 21 says: “Protection of life and personal liberty – No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law” – this is the third article under the Right to Freedom.
The answers given by Vijendra Gupta, Member, MCD Standing Committee to a few questions: (This document is attached in Annexure 8)

1. At present, there are 3192 public urinals in the MCD area and in the period of 2003 to 2006, 448 were added (they are included in the 3192). 105 in 2003-04, 142 in 2004-05 and 201 in 2005-06.

The zone wise break up for the 3192 public urinals was given as following: (and the number of urinals for women was also given)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Zone</th>
<th>No. of Public Urinals</th>
<th>No. of Urinals for Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Narela Zone</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Najafgarh Zone</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rohini Zone</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Civil Lines Zone</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>West Zone</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Karol Bagh Zone</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sadar Paharganj Zone</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>City Zone</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Central Zone</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>South Zone</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Shahdra (North) Zone</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shahdra (South) Zone</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>3192</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. 2005/3192 urinals have water supply. Generally, in the public urinals with water supply, water is NOT available for 24 hours. For water supply, in the past three years, the expenditure done zone wise is disclosed. In the Sadar Paharganj Zone, Rs 3,00,000 was spent and in the South Zone, Rs 15,00,000 was spent. None of the other zones did any expenditure on improving the water supply condition in the public urinals.

3. Also, the zone wise expenditure on the maintenance of public urinals has been mentioned for the three years (2003-04, 2004-05 and 2005-06)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Zone</th>
<th>Expenditure (in Rs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Narela Zone</td>
<td>15,93,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Najafgarh Zone</td>
<td>15,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rohini Zone</td>
<td>22,60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Civil Lines Zone</td>
<td>99,75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>West Zone</td>
<td>8,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Karol Bagh Zone</td>
<td>29,89,093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sadar Paharganj Zone</td>
<td>1,14,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>City Zone</td>
<td>64,96,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Central Zone</td>
<td>1,70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>South Zone</td>
<td>21,02,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Shahdra (North) Zone</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Shahdra (South) Zone</td>
<td>37,43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,30,28,093</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. The MCD has not hired any staff especially for the purpose of cleaning the public urinals. 29

5. A total of Rs 34,98,990 has been spent by the MCD on cleaning agents for the public urinals in the three years. (Rs 26,55,865 on acid, Rs 8,43,125 on phenyl and no money on phenyl tablets and other cleaning agents.)

6. It says, that the public urinals have been established after research and according to the demands of the public. There is no yojna (plan) on this matter.

7. After considering the state of city, sub-urban villages and resettlement colonies, the facilities of public urinals have been constructed according to the need. There is no arrangement to provide such facilities to anaadhikrit (unauthorized) colonies.

8. In the JJ Colonies, the MCD Slum Department does not provide any public urinals. Hence, there are no records regarding this.

Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD 30, said: “As far as the MCD urinals are concerned, you will often not find urinals for women along with the MCD urinals for men. There is a reason for that; women need a closed space to urinate. Therefore, with every urinal block for men, we started building one cubicle for women. But, then we experienced a whole lot of problems with these cubicles, girls were being raped inside the cubicles, dead bodies were found inside these cubicles; we didn’t want the cubicles to be misused, hence we decided that the women’s cubicles will be opened only in those areas which are either on a BOT basis or where our caretaker is placed 24 hours.”

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29 The affidavit filed by by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD, in response to the Delhi High Court orders (dated 17 January 2007) mentioned that safai karamcharis have been deployed for maintenance and upkeep of every urinal block. Instructions have been issued to deploy one safai karamchari for every four urinal blocks in a surrounding area for the proper maintenance, cleaning, supervisions and upkeep of the same. Safety kits, i.e. gum boots and gloves have been provided to the safai karamcharis working on toilet blocks/urinals and an adequate quantity of disinfectants is being used. Due to the directions of the High Court, the MCD will ensure that all appropriate steps are taken to prevent any risk to the safety and injury to the health of the persons employed in maintenance and sanitation work.

30 Interview conducted on 2 July 2008.
9. AGENCIES INVOLVED IN BUILDING and MAINTAINING PUBLIC TOILETS IN SLUM and RESETTLEMENT AREAS in DELHI

9.1. The Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD)

There are three departments of the MCD that are involved with the public toilets in slum and resettlement areas: The Engineering Department, The Slum and JJ Department and The Department of Environment Management Services. People were interviewed from each of these departments in June 2008 to find a few answers to the research questions relating to involvement of the MCD in the issue. 31

9.1.1. Norms for constructing public toilets in slum and resettlement colonies

According to the Engineering Department:
Uttaam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, said: “Our norm is that a latrine seat should be installed in a place where it would be used 20 times in a day”. He clarified that a latrine seat should be used not more than 20 times in a day, as that would lead to long queues.

According to the Slum and JJ Department:
Officials from the Slum and JJ Department said that as far as slum areas (or jhuggi-jhopri colonies) are concerned, the norm is 1 latrine seat for 30 jhuggis (households). They further said that it can be assumed that each household in resettlement areas would have 5 members on an average; so in case of 30 jhuggis, it would work out to 1 latrine seat per 150 people. But on the other hand, as far as resettlement colonies are concerned, typically if there is a plot which is divided and given to 500 households – then one 20-20 CTC – Community Toilet Complex – (having 20 latrine seats for men and 20 latrine seats for women) will be made for the people living in the houses built on this plot of land.

According to the DEMS:
The Sanitary Inspectors said that the norm for public toilets in JJ colonies is a 20-20 CTC (The 20-20 CTC means a toilet complex which has 20 latrine seats for men and 20 latrine seats for women) should be built for 200 jhuggis.

9.1.2. Construction of public toilets in slum and resettlement areas

According to the Engineering Department:
Uttaam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, said: “The placement of the toilet complexes is decided upon the recommendations of the DEMS. As it is the officials from DEMS who are at the grass-root level and so they know best, they tell us if they see a particular number of people of a particular area urinating or defecating in the open.”. “Further, it is very simple to decide how many latrine seats are to be constructed in a particular area, supposing we are told by DEMS that on an average, people are

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31 Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD, was interviewed on 2 July, 2008; Hamid Ali, Executive Engineer and other officials from the Slum and JJ Department, MCD were interviewed on 19 June, 2008 and KK Lohat, Tanvir Siddiqui and K C Bhardwaj, Sanitary Inspectors, MCD were interviewed on 13 June, 2008.
coming to area 1000 times on a given day to urinate/defecate, then we just divide the 1000 by 20,\textsuperscript{32} so we then, construct 50 latrine seats.”

\textit{According to the Slum and JJ Department:}

 Officials from the Slum and JJ Department said: “Typically, in case of resettlement colonies, once it is decided that in a particular area some particular number of people are to be resettled/relocated from elsewhere, then the town planners decide on the plan for the area in which the resettlement/relocation has to take place. A detailed plan is then prepared for the area – with areas marked for CTCs – following the norm that for a typical plot area meant for 500 households, a 20-20 CTC is to be constructed. Then the finalized plan goes to the Engineering Department, MCD, which then, estimates the costs for building – roads, drains, CTCs, community centres etc. Then, tenders are invited for the construction of CTCs. Earlier; they used to give advertisements in three different language newspapers – one in Hindi, one in English and one in Urdu. But, now, tenders are invited on the internet. And typically, the builders who are interested send in their tenders via post or by downloading the necessary form, filling it up and sending it to the MCD office. And the work is awarded to the lowest tender.” When I asked are there any reservations as to who will get the contracts, they said: “There are no reservations, the contract to build the CTC goes to whichever tender is the lowest – it can be anyone.”

\textit{According to the DEMS:}

 The Sanitary Inspectors said: “The Engineering Department of the MCD is in-charge of constructing the public toilets. Though we, the Sanitary Inspectors give recommendations, and many times people come to us with complaints – so we try and pursue it with the MCD, yet the final decision lies with the Engineering Department of the MCD – which is clueless about the ground situation.” “While taking the decision, the Engineering Department only depends on the ‘data’. This is not the data which the people on the ground, we, the Sanitation Inspectors, give. They only care about the numbers. If somehow, the ratio of the total \textit{jhuggis} to the total number of latrine seats satisfies the norm, that’s all what they care about. They are not bothered about the placement of the toilets.” Citing an example, they said, that the Engineering Department of the MCD was responsible for construction of public toilets under the Yamuna Action Plan.\textsuperscript{33} There was a time constraint involved and a list of the areas where the public toilets had to be built had to be given within a very constrained time span, so obviously, the list given, in most

\textsuperscript{32} Since the Engineering Department believes that a latrine seat should be constructed at a place where it would be used 20 times in a day.

\textsuperscript{33} To arrest pollution of river Yamuna, certain measures were taken up by the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF) of the Government of India in 12 towns of Haryana, 8 towns of Uttar Pradesh, and Delhi under an action plan the Yamuna Action Plan (YAP) which was implemented since 1993 by the National River Conservation Directorate (NRCD) of the Ministry of Environment and Forests. The Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) participated in the Yamuna Action Plan in 15 of the above 21 towns (excluding 6 towns of Haryana included later on the direction of the honorable Supreme Court of India) with soft loan assistance of 17.773 billion Japanese Yen (equivalent to about Rs 700 crore). The expiry date for the loan was extended to April 19 2002. (Source: \url{http://yap.nic.in/about-yap.asp}) In 2002, Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) had given a loan of Rs 166 crore to the MCD under the YAP. For the specific purpose of stopping defecation that was polluting the river water. (Source: Sharma, Vibha. 2006. This stinks: MCD’s failed toilet plan. \textit{Hindustan Times}, 29 October. Accessed on 6 June 2008 at \url{http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/specials/toilet/index131106.shtml})
cases was not well researched and this led to only 30-40% of the funds being spent to build in the appropriate places. Many of the toilets were constructed in areas which either did not require them because people there already had personal toilets or where just a ‘touch-up’ was done by plastering and the ‘new toilet’ was shown”.

9.1.3. Maintenance and Repairs of public toilets in slum and resettlement areas

According to the Engineering Department:
Regarding the players involved presently in the public toilets in slum and resettlement colonies, Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD said: “As far as the slum and resettlement areas are concerned, at present, there are no toilet complexes running on BOT basis. They are either being maintained by DEMS – Department of Environment Management Services or they are with the MCD Slum Department, which has given them to NGOs. The ones which are being maintained by DEMS are free of charge. The Engineering Department is in-charge of constructing the CTCs. We (the Engineering Department and DEMS of the MCD) do not think highly of these other NGOs. When I asked him about the guidelines followed for constructing public toilets and CTCs, he said that the CPWD guidelines are followed. As far as the maintenance of public toilets is concerned, the day-to-day maintenance is taken care of by DEMS – by their safai karamcharis and all the repair is under the Engineering Department of the MCD.” I repeatedly asked him if any kind of private contractors are involved in the maintenance of toilet complexes in slum and resettlement areas – he said a firm NO.

He said: “According to the figures for last year, the expenditure made on cleaning of public toilets, public urinals, roads, drains was Rs 450 crore, another Rs 100 crore was spent on repair and maintenance of public toilets, public urinals, roads and drains.” He did not know the estimates of the money spent on public toilets and public urinals, per say.

According to the Slum and JJ Department:
Officials from the Slum and JJ Department said that as far as the maintenance is concerned of the CTCs, there are only two ways: either the DEMS is responsible or a lease of 30 years is given to an NGO (other than Sulabh International). The 30 year lease is given to the NGOs on a construction-operation-maintenance basis. When I asked them, whether these toilets are supposed to be paid or free, they said that the CTCs which are to be maintained by the DEMS are free (and then almost as if to correct themselves, they said that, they are free on paper and sniggered). But, the ones that are managed by the NGOs are pay and use CTCs – they typically charge Re 1 for each usage.

According to the DEMS:
According to the Sanitary Inspectors the maintenance of a public toilet maybe taken care of by any of the following three agencies in slum and resettlement areas: DEMS or an [34] He further told me that he did not have a copy of the same and that it would definitely be available on the internet – he told me that I should look up the chapter on toilets in the maintenance section. I did look up the CPWD website, but I could not find the required guidelines.

[35] When I asked about how the funds are routed for public toilets, I was told that the funds are given by the Delhi State Government and a part of the maintenance is carried out by the MCD funds (and it was added that MCD is very tight on funds).
NGO or private contractors. Typically, an NGO is given a lease to maintain a CTC for a period of 20-25 years. And a private contractor has to typically pay Rs 2000 per seat per year to the MCD Slum Department. Both, the NGO maintained and the contractor maintained toilets are pay and use, but those which are maintained by the DEMS are free for use. Further, explaining: “The slum dwellers know that the toilets are free for them and so they don’t pay for usage, but the outsiders who come and use the toilet once in a while pay. And about 80% of the toilet usage is by the local slum dwellers and remaining about 20% by outsiders, so in effect the majority of users don’t pay!” One Sanitary inspector said, “There are political reasons why the slum dwellers will not pay for toilet usage. The slum dwellers are politically active and would go and complain to their Councillor or MLA if they are charged for toilet usage.” The Sanitary Inspectors said that the maintenance job of a public toilet is almost like a 24x7 job and cannot be done in the confined office hours. Hence, the sweepers have to work overtime to keep the toilets clean. And then as if giving a justification as to why probably some of the public toilets which are to be maintained by the DEMS charge their users, they said “It is natural that a person wants a little bit of extra money for working overtime (working beyond his shift time of 9 am to 2 pm or 2 pm to 10 pm).”

They said that given the path that the application has to follow, the unblocking can take up to 15 - 20 days. This is because only someone from the Engineering Department can come and unblock the sewer. “Even if we, inspectors, notice a blockage, we cannot do anything”. “And naturally, we cannot have the toilet locked for 15 to 20 days, so, to do something like unblocking the sewer line, some money is required – so where does the sweeper/cleaner get this money from?” Further, “Blockage, of course, is a very big issue, but even if we see a broken tap, we have no funds under our power to expense for such small, cheap repairs. Its ironic that even though the DEMS has an annual budget of about Rs 500-600 crore, its not under our jurisdiction to spend even Rs 50 or Rs 100; when we are the people who are doing all the grassroot level checking and know where the funds need to be spent”.

9.1.4. Water and Electricity Connections

According to the Engineering Department:
Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD, said: “As far as the water connections are concerned, even though DJB is supposed to provide the water connections, but mostly, due to low pressure, there are problems, and hence, the MCD has made alternative arrangements of digging tube wells, providing tankers near the public toilets. As for electricity, he said that the Engineering Department installs the metres and the electricity is provided by the local agency – BSES or NDPL and the MCD pays the bills. They will not leave us if we do not pay.”

According to the Slum and JJ Department:
When I asked the officials from the Slum and JJ Department, MCD regarding the provision of basic services in slum areas and in resettlement areas, they said that the notified slums36 are assured the basic services, but there was silence about the ‘non-notified’ slums. And in the resettlement colonies, the water is taken care of by the DJB,

36Legally notified slums are those which have been designated as slums under the Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act 1956. (Available at: http://www.commonlii.org/in/legis/nun Act/saaca1956329/)
the electricity is provided by either the NDPL (North Delhi Power Corporation) or the BSES Rajdhani Power Limited or the BSES Yamuna Power Limited. Transport, is taken care of by the DTC. And the remaining facilities: roads, drainage, community centres etc. are taken care of by the Slum and JJ Department, MCD.

According to DEMS:
The Sanitary Inspectors said that The Engineering Department of the MCD is responsible for the sewerage and water connections in the public toilets. Many times, the boring system that this Department has put into place may go “out of order” and the water supply stops. Then the slum dwellers often carry their own water to clean-up – but there is clear problem here – a usual ‘flushing’ uses up atleast 10 litres of water, but the slum dweller carries with herself/himself a jerry can or a bottle with just about 1 to 2 litres of water, naturally the water then used to clean-up is not sufficient and the slum dweller is not able to ‘flush down’ all the filth.

9.1.5. Labour issues

According to the DEMS:
The Sanitary Inspectors said that ever since the toilets (built under the YAP) were brought back under the MCD, no new labour has been employed by the MCD as sweepers for the maintenance of these toilets. The ‘adjusting labour’ – which is defined as the labour which replaces the ‘normal’ labour when the ‘normal’ labour falls unwell – has been diverted to the public toilets. This consequently means that there is no ‘adjusting’ labour anymore. And, further, the labour working as sweepers in toilets and dealing with filth everyday are prone to sickness and there is, of course, no ‘adjusting’ labour to replace them. They also made a point “No health check-ups are done for these people who require them the most, it is essential that from time-to-time there physical check ups are carried out.”
9.2. The Sulabh International Model for Public Toilets

The Sulabh International Model for a public toilet needs no sewer line connectivity and hence would be ideal for a slum/resettlement area. If the sewer connection is available then a usual public toilet is built. Their model in which the public toilet is connected to a biogas plant is only worth installing in those areas where there are at least 500 users daily. A typical Sulabh public toilet has 10 latrine seats for men and 10 latrine seats for women. Sometimes, they also construct a few seats for children in the women’s area.

According to officials at Sulabh International for a public toilet which has about 1000 users daily, 5000 litres of water is required everyday to keep the public toilet functional. The energy that is released from the biogas plant, connected to such a public toilet, can be used to power street lights. The biogas plant is further connected to a water treatment plant. In the biogas plant, biogas is released, the solid gets converted into manure and the liquid passes into the water treatment plant. This water treatment plant then converts the liquid back into water which can be reused in the toilet. (The water is rich in the nutrients present in manure, so it could also be used for irrigation). In this way, the 5000 litres of water is circulated over and over again.

The area required for building a public toilet linked to a biogas plant and a water treatment plant is 100 sq. yards. However, the biogas and water treatment plants can be constructed underground near the public toilet. The open area available above the plants can be suitably utilised.

Two important considerations which are kept in mind when constructing women’s blocks in their public toilet complexes: a dustbin and privacy. The cost of constructing this public toilet in an area where there is no sewer line connection is the same for a slum area or a resettlement area. The additional cost in these areas is of maintenance. As there have been cases of people stealing taps and mugs. To deal with this problem, the Sulabh model does not provide taps and mugs in each of the cubicles. There is a central tap in the CTC and the caretaker (am employee of Sulabh International) has the mugs with him. When a person wants to use the toilet, he/she takes the mug from the caretaker, fills it with water (the capacity of the mug is about 2 litres, this is sufficient to flush down excreta in the Sulabh toilets) and then returns the mug back after use.

Most of the Sulabh International toilets are pay and use. As they believe that unless an individual has to pay for a service, he/she does not value the service. Further, they feel that is the toilets are free, then they would have to rely on grants. If the grants stop then their work will also stop. Sulabh International followed the strategy of accepting no grants nationally or internationally.

An official from Sulabh International said: “In some places, we get only Rs 3 or Rs 4 as profit but in some cases we may get upto Rs 5000 as profit. We explicitly mention and disclose what this profit amount is. The amount collected is used in our welfare

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37 Annexure 9 explains the Sulabh International Model for personal toilets.
38 Interview conducted with officials from Sulabh International on 17 June 2008.
39 Interview conducted with officials from Sulabh International on 17 June 2008.
The welfare programmes that Sulabh runs are aimed at uplifting the families belonging to the untouchable caste, which in the past did the job of scavenging; the idea is to liberate scavengers and finally bring an end to scavenging as an occupation.

At present, the only Sulabh public toilet in Delhi attached with a biogas plant is the one on their campus. They had started one in the close by Manglapuri area but now it has been taken over by the MCD and is not being looked after. There are no public toilets complexes in the slum areas of Delhi that are being run by Sulabh – though there are a few in the slum areas of NOIDA; these have been all connected with the sewer lines. The public toilets at the Delhi Metro stations and the New Delhi Railway Station are being run by Sulabh International. Sulabh International also has mobile public toilets that are hired by organizations having programmes in areas which have no toilets (like a park) – they typically have 5 or 6 toilet seats each for men and women. All the dirt gets collected in a chamber at the bottom of the toilet, and when the mobile toilet is returned, the chamber is cleaned out.

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40 Interview conducted on 17 June 2008.
9.3. Relationship between the MCD and Sulabh International

The affidavit on 6 May 2007, filed by Ashok Kumar, Commissioner, MCD states: “There are 1544 CTCs currently under the aegis of the MCD besides several other maintained by various other agencies including the slum wing of MCD, which have been made over a period of time and were being lastly operated by M/s Sulabh International till May 2006”.

Further, “Since, there were various complaints of multifarious nature in the past in terms of the functioning and maintenance of the CTCs by Sulabh International, the contract awarded to M/s Sulabh International was withdrawn by a resolution of the Standing Committee, MCD, duly ratified by the Corporation. As such, since May 2006, the aforesaid 1544 CTCs were transferred for operational and maintenance purposes to the hands of the Municipal Corporation, in the same condition as they lastly were being maintained and/or operated by Sulabh International."

“It goes without saying that the condition of most of the CTCs being maintained earlier by Sulabh International was in a dilapidated condition requiring costly repairs (of a major and minor nature) and some places huge renovation work as well. These repairs are estimated to cost a huge amount running into crores of rupees.”

When in May 2006, the MCD took back all the toilets which had been earlier handed over to Sulabh International, a document was released by Sulabh International explaining their stand. (This document is attached in Annexure 10)

9.4. Involvement of International Agencies

Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD41 said: “Right now, we have called for tenders from International agencies for construction and maintenance of public toilets on a BOT basis and some of the toilets that are in good shape will be improved upon by the agencies and then maintained. We would be giving them advertisement rights so that they can get some revenue, whether they will be pay and use or not, I cannot say at the moment. We want to maintain our toilets at the international level and we want them to be free as well, but I really cannot say anything at this moment.”

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41 Interview conducted on 2 July 2008.
10. CASE STUDIES – A REALITY CHECK

This section of the research paper gives an account of the reality of the public toilets in some slum areas and resettlement areas in Delhi. Three Slum areas of Delhi covered included: Sanjay Colony, Kusumpur and Basti areas in Jhilmil Colony and the Three JJ Resettlement areas of Delhi covered included: Bawana, Savda Ghevra, Madanpur Khader.

10.1. Sanjay Colony (Field visits conducted on 1 June 2008 and 21 June 2008)

10.1.1. Present facilities
Sanjay Colony is a slum area in Okhla Industrial Area – Phase II. Presently, the slum area has a population of about 40,000 people. There are two CTCs in the area. Each of them has areas marked for men and women separately. So, all in all there are two sets of toilets for women and two set for men. Currently, there is only one set of toilets for men which is being run by a private contractor. The remaining sets of toilets are stinking, have so much filth all around that they are not accessible and cannot even be visited.

10.1.2. Maintenance of the existing facilities
The only ‘functional’ set of men’s toilets is used by both men and women. Most of the cubicles have broken doors. There is no water supply and so, the ‘caretaker’ and his family fill up water from the bore well. Each person who visits the toilet, and needs water, has to fill it in a jerry can (with capacity of only 1 to 2 litres). The caretaker charges Rs 2 for each toilet usage and Rs 3 for bathing or for washing clothes. I asked the caretaker who had given him the responsibility to ‘take care’ of the CTC. He said, that they had earlier been given a contract by Giriraj Singh, Councillor, and now they are just living there and running the toilet. When I asked him more questions, he turned away and did not seem to want to answer any more questions.

A few families have constructed their own toilets at home. There is a very high expenditure incurred on constructing this private toilet, the approximate estimate is to the tune of at least Rs 10,000.

10.1.3. Women’s Perspective
Given the fact that there is a charge for every usage and that the contractor is unable to maintain the cleanliness of the toilet, most people use the neighbouring forest area. It is safe for the men to go whenever they like; but for the women, the only time of the day when they can go alone is from 6 am to 8 am; at all other times they don’t have the courage to go alone and generally make a group of about 4 to 5 women to go together. There is an unwritten rule that one side of the forest is for the women to go and the other, the men. But, after 8 am, there are always men who loitre around on the women’s side and trying to find ways to trouble women – there are several cases of sexual harassment.

Recently, a newly wedded woman who had come from the village, and had no idea about the ‘toilet system’ in Sanjay Colony, ventured into the forest as she realised that...

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42 These were constructed 10 years back by Sulabh International; when the population living in Sanjay Colony was 10,000.
43 And have been in this state for the past three years.
the actual ‘toilet’ was non-existent, she was gang raped and was left unconscious for hours before other women could find her and get her hospitalized.

A few women said: “It is very difficult for us. Imagine using the same toilet area where men also use the toilet with most of the doors broken. Then, given the filth, we have to not only clean our own filth, but we have also to clean the filth created by the person who used the latrine seat before us. Most people end up going to the forest only as there is no choice. Girls and ladies just cannot go alone to the toilet. Especially in the rains the problem only gets heightened, because, firstly, it is definite that the filth will stick to your foot when you go to the toilet in the forest area and also, the forest becomes even denser and there are ‘gundas’ (goons) who hide in the forest area, on the women’s side.”

Even when the toilet complexes were ‘functional’, there were times when men would jump into the cubicles meant for women. This leads to the question whether a ‘closed’ space or an open space is safer for women. One woman told me “…Betho ho jungal mein, aur koi aadmi dikhai deta hai toh jaan bachaane ke liye bhaag toh saktein hain, darwaaza bandh ho aur sitkani lagi ho, toh kya karego?” – which translates to: “…You tell me, if you are squatting in the forest and you see a man, then at least you can run to save your life. But if the door is latched and he jumps from above, then what will you do?”

When I entered the forest area, I noticed people going to the forest with bottles and jerry cans filled with water, and people coming back from the forest with their empty bottles or jerry cans. The entrance of the forest had excreta all over the place and it was not possible to walk around easily, without the filth getting stuck on your footwear. There were people who were trying to look for dense areas to squat and hide. There were groups of women and children together and men were alone. I saw groups of young boys roaming around - they were ones who were harassing the girls and women going to the toilet in the forest area.

The men in the area feel that the issue of toilets affects women far more. One said: “Aurat ke liye toh stithi bahut kharaab hai, mujhe dar lagta hai jab meri patni aur ladkiyaan jaati hain jungal mein” – which translates to: “The circumstances are very bad for women; I am scared when my wife and daughters go to the jungle (to go to the toilet)”. Another man said: “Mujhe sharm aati hai yeh sochte hue ki jahaan mein chal rahaan hoon, wahaan se kuch dus meter door meri ma baithne hain, toilet kar raheen hain” – which translates to: “I feel extremely shameful to think, that my mother is sitting and going to the toilet just ten metres away from where I am walking.”

10.1.4. Community Efforts
The residents of Sanjay Colony, including members of the Lok Raj Samiti – a people’s group formed by the initiative of the Lok Raj Sangathan and the Mahila Mandal have been putting in consistent efforts to make the authorities answerable to them regarding the situation of public toilets in their area. They have approached the Chief Minister, the area Councillor(s) and the MLA(s).

Response of the Chief Minister
The residents (members of the Lok Raj Samiti - a people’s group in the area which is an initiative of the Lok Raj Sangathan, and Mahila Mandal) wrote a letter to Sheila Dikshit, Chief Minister, regarding the toilets in this area. They had requested that the Delhi Government may please repair the existing toilets and construct more toilets. (Since the
toilets built earlier – non-functional now, were built as per a population estimate of 10,000; but at present, the population is about 40,000). The letter was accompanied by 500 signatures of residents of Sanjay Colony. Copies of this letter were sent to Sajjan Kumar, the then MP, Ramvir Singh Bidhuri, the then MLA, Sunil Bidhuri, the then Councillor and the MCD Lajpat Nagar office (Central Zone).

On their first visit to the Chief Minister office, the Secretary told them that this was a matter that could not be handled by this office and it was under the MCD. Varun Kumar, Deputy Secretary, Department of Public Grievance, Chief Minister’s Office then wrote a letter, dated 22 August 2006, to the MCD Lajpat Nagar office (Central Zone) which requested the MCD officials to carry out an investigation into the issue of public toilets in Sanjay Colony.

Upon their second visit Sheila Dikshit, Chief Minister met the representatives and said that this was not under her purview and that she would write letters to the MCD and the work would be done within a fortnight.

The residents wrote another letter to the Chief Minister on the 14 February 2008, which again mentioned the history of the public toilets in Sanjay Colony and said that the residents demand two things: opening of the existing public toilet complexes and the construction of 4 new public toilet complexes, in accordance with the present population size. The letter also mentioned that in case there would be no action taken within a month’s time, then the women and children of the area (the ones who are effected most due to the non provision of public toilets) would be compelled to come to the Chief Minister’s residence in protest. The Chief Minister said that she would make sure that the issue would be addressed within a month. Nothing happened within the month, so a group of women went to the Chief Minister’s office on 28 March 2008 (The document released by the residents of Sanjay Colony on 28 March 2008 is attached in Annexure 11). There is no change in the situation till now.

Responses of the Councillors and the MLAs

When the representatives of Sanjay Colony had first approached the MCD, Lajpat Nagar office, it was suggested that they go and speak to Sunil Bidhuri, their then Councillor, regarding the issue; he said that the problem of no water supply at the toilets was to be discussed with DJB. DJB said that they were unable to provide any water supply unless MCD ‘requested’ them to do so – of course, the people of the area could not ‘force’ MCD to write a request letter.

Under pressure from the people, Giriraj Singh, the new Councillor, wrote a letter (dated 22 July 2007) to the Chief Engineer of the DJB requesting him to restore the water connections in the public toilets in Sanjay Colony. The Councillor further explained to the representatives of Sanjay Colony, that he had spent Rs 30 lakhs on his election campaign and had won only because of this expenditure and NOT due to the support of the residents of Sanjay Colony. He claimed that his family was starving and his priority was to first get the Rs 30 lakhs from the Councillor’s fund which was allocated to him for his tenure and feed his family and only after that he could think of the residents of Sanjay Colony.
Members of the Lok Raj Samiti and 15 women of the Mahila Mandal from Sanjay Colony visited, Rambir Singh Bhiduri, MLA of the area who is also a part of the DJB. He said he knew about the water connection problem but was unable to do anything to help the situation. He further asked why women of the slum areas even need a toilet. On hearing this, members of the Lok Raj Samiti said that it was his responsibility to take up this issue and he is answerable to his constituency. The MLA lashed out at them and said that he knows his job and does not want to be lectured and told what he is ‘supposed to do’. He then tore the representation which the group had given to the MLA regarding the public toilet.

There is a political reason why the MLAs have not been responding to the needs of a public toilet. Earlier Sanjay Colony was a part of the Badarpur constituency so the representatives met, Rambir Singh Bhiduri, MLA of the area. Now, Sanjay Colony has become a part of the Tughlaqabad constituency, the new MLA of this constituency has no incentive to look into the needs of the people of Sanjay Colony because according to the Delhi Government this slum will be shifted out by 2010.\textsuperscript{44} Hence, by the next round of Vidhan Sabha elections, Sanjay Colony will no longer be a part of his constituency.

\textit{RTI applications and responses}

Amarjeet Kumar, President, Lok Raj Samiti, filed an RTI, and subsequently filed an appeal (dated 26 November 2007). Consequently, the MCD came and put up a notice near the toilets stating that the toilets had been closed because there was no water connection and the new Councillor of the area sent his men who physically threatened the president of the Lok Raj Samiti.

A reply given by the Zonal Revenue Officer (dated 15 December 2007) stated that there is no DJB water connection in the Lavoratory Block, Sanjay Colony, Okhla Industrial Area – II.

Another reply given by the Public Information Officer, Slum and JJ Department, MCD (dated 31 December 2007) stated that the requested information does not fall under his jurisdiction.

In response to the RTI application, information was given by the Deputy Commissioner of Central Zone, MCD, Lajpat Nagar (dated 2 January 2008). Regarding the status of the toilet complexes the reply said: “There are 2 toilet complexes in Sanjay Colony area, both of which are closed at present. In each of the toilet complexes, there are 59 latrine seats for men and 35 latrine seats for women. About 90 doors are broken. There is no electricity connection. There is only one bore well in Sanjay Colony which has not been working since the time the toilets were handed over to the MCD. The water supply is to be provided by the DJB.”

Regarding the history of the toilet complexes, the response said: “The maintenance of the toilet complexes was being done earlier by Sulabh International – at that time, there was a facility for both, toilet and bathing. The toilet complex has been under the MCD for the past one and a half years and it was received from Sulabh International in a locked state.”

Regarding the norms pertaining to public toilets, the response said: “Toilet facility should be provided at a distance of 200 to 300 metres from slum dwellings. One toilet complex

\textsuperscript{44} One of the residents said: “The Delhi Government wants to present to the world that Delhi is as good as Paris in 2010, sadly the Commonwealth Games seems to be the only thing the Delhi Government is working towards.”
should be there for a population size of 1000. The toilets are provided by the MCD for free.”
The response ended with one line “It is a policy matter.”

Dharmender Kumar, a resident of Sanjay Colony, filed an RTI (dated 27 May 2008) regarding the toilet facility, the cleanliness, the MCD Councillor of the area and the MCD in the Harkesh Nagar Ward. According to the reply given by the Assistant Commissioner, Central Zone, MCD, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi (dated 9 June 2008): “There are 12 CTCs in the entire ward, of which only 5 are functional.” (It clearly mentioned that both the toilet complexes of Sanjay Colony are not functional). It mentioned that “The zonal office of MCD at Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi, is responsible for running the CTCs.” About the broken doors, it said: “50% of the doors in these CTCs are broken. The responsibility to get them repaired is that of the Slum Department, MCD. Nothing is known about earlier repairs, as the toilets were only handed over to the MCD 2 years back.”
Regarding the amount of funds allocated for the CTCs, the reply said: “Nothing is known about the money involved and the budgeting.” It clearly mentioned that there is a proposal to construct two new toilet complexes in Sanjay Colony. Further, “The Slum Department, MCD is responsible for constructing the toilets and the maintenance is a responsibility of the Department of Environment Management Services (DEMS).” And that “The ‘policy matter’ should be discussed with the Slum Department, MCD.”
Another reply given by the Superintendent Engineer (dated 12 June 2008) said: “No funds of the MCD have been spent on the maintenance of the community toilet complexes in Sanjay Colony. There is no information regarding any proposal by the Councillor for expenditure on the maintenance of the CTCs for this year. There is no proposal for the construction of new CTCs in the area.”

_People are losing hope_
Despite the repeated attempts of the Mahila Mandal and the Lok Raj Sangathan to ‘get the authorities’ to be accountable, nothing has happened. One woman, almost in tears, looked at me and said: “Hum sabse baat kar chuke hain iss mudde ke baare mein - parshad, vidhaayak, mukhyamantri. Par kissi ko parvah nahin hai. Humein lagta hai ki ab hum kuch nahin kar sakein hain iss ko baladne ke liye” – which translates to - “We have gone to everyone with this issue - the Councillor, the MLA, the Chief Minister. But, no one cares about this issue. We feel powerless; it seems that there is nothing that we can do to change this.”

Another woman told me “Sunaate sunaate zabaan thak gayii, hum kya karein, hum gareebon ki sunne wala koi nahin hai, koi sunvayii nahin hai” with translates to – “Talking about this issue and explaining to people about our sad state, my tongue is tired, what do we do? No one listens to us, poor people”.

People are now getting discouraged to fight for the cause. Women who were not a part of the protest or a part of visits to a ‘person in power’ are making efforts to discourage those women who want to fight for the cause. There is also a large opportunity cost that is involved, when anyone goes on a protest or a visit to a ‘person in power’, he/she often loses his/her salary for the day.

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45 Sanjay Colony is a part of Ward No. 200, Harkesh Nagar.
10.1.5. Other issues

The coming of the Metro

Approaching the forest area from Sanjay Colony, we first passed a dumping area, which had lots of garbage and cows and buffaloes sitting around. Before entering the forest area, we noticed the Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) boards, where the DMRC pillars are being erected. This DMRC construction work has not only hampered the accessibility to the forest area, but has also reduced the dense forest cover causing a bigger problem for women. The reduced forest cover is “ok” for men to go to the toilet, but for women it would be considered “uncultured”. Consequently, women must go deeper, in search of denser forest areas hence increasing the chances of sexual harassment.

Further, presently the Metro construction work is only on the surface so the people from the slum area are still able to cross that stretch and reach the forest area when they want to relieve themselves. But soon, digging will start and this will only increase the inaccessibility and the possibility of accidents. One woman told me: “Socho kya hoga jab sab khuda pada hoga, pata nahin kitne bal bache marenge, socho agar kisi ko dast lag jaye tab toh bahut badal aafat hogi. Yeh Metro hamari bhavai ke liye nahin hai, agar yahaan we log shauchalay theek kar dete tab theek reheta. Metro sirf un bade logon ke liye hai” – which translates into: “Think of what will happen when everything will be dug up, I don’t know how many children will die each day, wonder what will happen if someone gets a stomach upset. This Metro is not for our good. It would have been ok if they would have opened and maintained the public toilets. The Metro is only for the rich.”

She further pointed out that there are three pipes that open up just next to the toilets and are often overflowing with water (there is a large pool of filthy water, in shades of brown and green which is there in front of the CTCs) and also that those involved with Metro construction work are using a large amount of water, so why can’t some water be diverted to the public toilets since CTCs have a notice saying that they are lying shut because there is no water connection.
10.2. Kusumpur (Field visit conducted on 4 June 2008)

10.2.1. Present facilities
There are about 100 slums in the area beyond Vasant Kunj and Vasant Vihar. Out of the 100 slum areas, only 2 to 3 slums areas have public toilets. The Kusumpur slum area is one of them. It has a population of 30,000 and only one public toilet out of four that have been constructed is functional. There are a few cases where four to five households have clubbed their resources together to build a toilet which they share among themselves, but most households do not have that kind of money and do not think about a toilet as a priority as the last resort of the nearby forest is there. However, some of the neighbouring slums do not even have forests close by resulting in lower privacy and higher risk for women.

10.2.2. Maintenance of the existing facilities
The D-Block public toilet is the only toilet in working condition. It was built about one and a half years back mainly due to the pressure from the residents of the area. The public toilet is divided into two areas: one for men and one for women. There are 60 toilet seats in the entire complex and 14 bathing cubicles.

The person who has the contract for running the toilet is from Palam area. The person in-charge of running the toilet was not there at his seat. There was another man who was collecting money. The charges for using the CTC are Re 1 for using the toilet seat, Rs 2 for having a bath and Rs 5 for 2 cans of water (each can having a capacity of 40 litres). On an average day, about Rs 400 - 500 is collected. The man, who was collecting the money, claimed that the safaikaramchari is employed by the Palam contractor; he didn’t know how often the cleaning is done. The toilet seats inside had a large number of flies around them. The residents were not satisfied with the maintenance. Many residents who find it unhygienic or are not willing to pay, use the open space to go to the toilet as the forest cover area is too far for them.

There is a public toilet on the ‘pahari’ (hillock) which has been lying locked since Diwali last year. The toilet was run by a person from within the community itself. Presently, he had gone to the MCD office, so was unavailable. When the toilet was functional, this man would collect money from each user. The price to be paid by men and women was the same: Re 1 for latrine seat usage, Rs 2 for bath, Re 1 to wash one pair of clothes, Rs 5 for a 40 litre can of water. The money collected by the man would travel the following route: he would give the money to the ‘thekedaar’ (contractor – who is an MCD contractor from Palam area), who would further submit the money at the MCD office. Then the man, running the toilet, would collect his salary from the MCD office. The reason for locking up the toilet is due to non-availability of water; the motor/pump which facilitates the water to come from the bore well to toilet has burnt. Though the authorities have been saying that there is no water in the bore well, the actual reason is that they are not willing to sanction money to get the pump repaired.

10.2.3. Women’s Perspective
Recently, there had been a case, in which a 6 to 7 year old girl had gone to the toilet in the forest area, when a drunkard happened to see her, he came from behind while she was squatting and sexually harassed her. A short while later, a group of women saw what was happening and started screaming, called the men folk, who then rescued the girl and beat
up the drunkard. Cases such as these are rampant but very few people talk about them. When such a thing happens with a child it does come out into the open, but young girls and women often do not even talk about what may have happened to them because it is a question of their honour (or “izzat ka sawaal hai”).

The problem has now got further aggravated as liquor is being sold everywhere in the basti, a number of males – not only men but also boys take to drinking at a young age and they are often found in the forest cover area, walking around, aimlessly, staring at the women and young girls who may come there to go to the toilet. Often, a group of four to five drunk men/boys get together and harass females. Even when the B-Block toilet was functional, there were cases of men jumping into the women’s cubicles and sexually harassing them while they were either going to the toilet or bathing. During rains, the toilets would often get filled with water and then “doing it” in the open spaces was the only option.

Ever since the toilet on the ‘pahaari’ has been closed, the situation has worsened for women, there have been cases of rape and even cases where women were sexually harassed and killed when they go to the forest to go to the toilet. One woman told me, “Kuch din pehle ki baat hai, ek ladki gayi thi jungal mein toilet ke liye; ek aadmi ne uska rap kar diya aur uske muh par tahzeeb daal diya jisse uski shak al pehchaan mein naa aaye” – which translated to: “Recently, a girl had gone to the forest area to go to the toilet, when a man raped her and poured acid on her face and left her there so that she could not be recognized.”

While we were walking to Kusumpur, we passed a slum area, where there is no public toilet. The forest area, which is across the road, is where the people from this slum go to the toilet. There are a number of commercial sex workers from the slum area, who operate in the forest area. During the night specially, a large number of men from that area and the surrounding area, come to the forest area to take the services of the commercial sex workers. When women and girls, who are not commercial sex workers, come to the forest area to go to the toilet, either in the late evening or in the night, they are often sexually harassed by the customers (often drunk) of the sex workers.

10.2.4. Community Efforts

On asking them as to who do they think is responsible for providing public toilets: the prompt answer is that it is the responsibility of the government. I asked them whether they had put up the issue ever to the government. Though the issue was raised, only once did some ‘officials’ come to inspect the ‘area’ and nothing has happened ever since then. One woman said: “Ve sirf hamare vote ko mayene detein hain” – which translates to – “They only care about our votes.”

One woman said: “It is amazing how much these politicians are doing for the rural people in the country, they show it all the time on the TV – farms, mechanization of agriculture, irrigation systems, but we, who are living in the capital city, just at a short distance from all the ‘people-in-power’, are not even recognized as legitimate ‘people’, the land we live on is ‘unauthorized’. We are the ones who are cleaning the dirt of the city and doing the low grade jobs, can the capital city survive without us? If we die, due to lack of basic amenities, then where will they get their votes from?”

Given the problems faced by the women in the area, they even put up the issue to the Delhi Commission of Women (DCW) which replied saying that the DCW could do nothing beyond writing a request letter to the MCD.
10.2.5. Other issues

Animals as pets are kept in public toilets

One public toilet I visited had been opened about 8 to 10 years back and has been closed ever since. The authorities have told the residents that the toilet was closed down because the bore well did not have enough water, but the residents said that there is enough water but the authorities are not allowing that water to be used for the toilet. Presently, there is a meat shop opposite the toilet. The owner of the meat shop brings his goats and hens to feed them in the toilet area and these animals also do their dirt there as well. The owner has a cot there on which he lies down while the animals do their business. I saw this and went on the other side to talk to the residents there and take out my camera, when I returned, the animals had been removed, the owner had gotten up and the cot there was empty, I could now only see the feed of the animals lying around on the floor of the toilet area.

Another toilet (which is called the B Block toilet) has pigs and cows being kept as pets in and around that area. The area is very filthy and has a lot of garbage dumped there and pools of dirty water. So, quite naturally, the people have no option but to answer nature’s call in the open (or the maidaan area) as the forest cover is too far for them. When the toilet was functional, some private contractor used to run it and everyone had to pay Rs 10 for bathing or to wash clothes, Rs 2 for going to the toilet.

Water supply

It can be pointed out that there are chiefly two reasons why public toilets have been neglected: one reason being that there is no proper water supply in the area and the other being that the MCD has washed its hands off this responsibility. There is no water supply in people’s houses, and no one ever knows when the DJB tanker will come – it can come once in two days, once in three days and sometimes even once in a week. When the tanker does come: there is a kind of riot. One woman told me - “Paani ke maamle mein, koi kissi ka dost nahin hai”, which translates to: “As far as the issue of water is concerned, no one is anyone’s friend.” Another woman said – “Agar koi mar bhi jaaye aur uski body ghar ke baahar padi ho aur tanker aa gaya, toh koi nahin dekhega ki kaun ro raha hai, aur kaun mara pada hua hai, sab bas tanker ki taraf bhaagengey” – which translates into: “If someone passes away and the body is kept outside the house, and then the tanker comes, no one will look at who is crying and who is dead, everyone will just run towards the tanker”. The water they get from the DJB tanker is the water they have to use for everything – drinking, washing clothes, utensils, cooking, bathing and going to the toilet.

What is very ironical is that, most of the residents of this area are gardeners, sweepers, peons, maids, servants, working in houses and offices which have clean toilets or working to clean toilets itself – yet they themselves have no access to clean toilets to relieve themselves.
10.3 Basti areas in Jhilmil Colony (Field visit conducted on 26 June 2008)

10.3.1. Present facilities

**Rajiv Camp**
Rajiv Camp is a slum area in Jhilmil Colony in East Delhi. The population of this slum is about 3000. There is one CTC in the area – this has 17 latrine seats for men and 17 latrine seats for women (out of these, 3 latrine seats are for children). There are 4 cubicles for bathing in each of the sides, but there is NO water supply in the bathing cubicles and the roof above the bathing cubicles is falling. There is no water supply in the toilet cubicles, there is a central tap area from where the people have to fill jerry cans or bottles and use it when they go to the toilet. During the morning and evening hours there are long queues at the toilets.

**Balmiki Basti, B Block Basti area**
The Balmiki Basti, B Block Basti area in Jhilmil Colony has a population of about 600-700. The toilet area is in a corner of the *basti* area and seems that it has been abandoned. The board at the entrance of the toilet area is blackened, and one is unable to read anything written on it.

**A Block Basti area**
The A Block Basti area in Jhilmil Colony has a small population of about 150-200. The *basti* area is adjacent to an area where the *makaanwalas* (people with proper brick houses) live. Earlier, there was a proper toilet complex where the facility of toilets and bathing existed. There was proper water supply, all the *basti* people were very happy. The facility was run by the MCD. Each person had to pay a mere Rs 5 for the month for to use the toilet. But, about one and a half years back, the toilet complex was broken down and it has been replaced by a park. The *pradhaan* of the area – who is a ‘*makaanwala*’ (an owner of a proper brick house) bluntly told me that everyone is very happy in the area and no one has any problems. The women and children of the *basti* area told me that about two years back the ‘*makaanwalas*’ went to the area Councillor and told him that the toilet complex was of no use to them and that it must be removed and it must be replaced by a park – and that is exactly what has happened. The remains of the toilet complex are still lying in the park – broken wall parts.

10.3.2. Maintenance of the existing facilities

**Rajiv Camp**
Earlier the toilet in Rajiv Camp was under some private contractor who had a contract with the MCD, but the condition of the toilet was quite bad at that time. For the last two years this arrangement of the MCD officials-cum-community people has been in place and the users seem quite happy with it. There are two MCD officials, Nanak and Ashok who come and sit at the toilet complex. They told me with a sad face that they do an eight-hour duty, from 6:30 am to 2:30 pm. They emphasized the “6:30 am”, looked extremely sleepy and did not disclose what exactly they do at the CTC.

The community understands that the MCD officials can not stay for anytime longer than their duty hours, a member of the *jhuggi* society said: “*Kabhi ye log reh jaate hein chaar*...”
“baje tak, agar koi aur aadmi nahi reheta hai” – which translates to – “Sometimes the MCD officials stay overtime till about four o’clock if there is no one else from the community to come and sit” and so the jhuggi society has deployed four people other than these two MCD officials. These four people do the cleaning: there are three men and one woman. The three men are from within the community itself, but the woman comes from the Nandnagiri area in the morning and leaves in the evening. The jhuggi society pays Rs 3000 per month to these safai karamcharis (cleaners/sweepers) whom they have deployed. The people from the community itself value the toilet facility and pay for the service, a household generally contributes Rs 30 - 50 per month for toilet usage voluntarily.

As far as the cleaning agents are concerned, a certain amount is provided by the MCD officials, but this is generally not enough and so the jhuggi society contributes towards the extra cleaning agents.

On an average day, Rs 200 - 250 is collected in the CTC, so where does the money go? A part of it is used to pay the salaries of the safai karamcharis and the remaining is used for paying for expenses like small repairs, motor repair and sometimes to buy cleaning agents as well. The jhuggi society does not have enough money to spend on the roof that is collapsing; they have filed applications with the MCD requesting them to allocate some money in their budget for this, but the MCD claims it has no money. The people say that if after repeated trials they get no responses, then they will have to contribute themselves, even though the cost will be high.

Balmiki Basti, B Block Basti area
A man, who claims that he is from the MCD, comes every morning and does the cleaning of the toilets in the B Block Basti area of Jhilmil Colony. He collects Rs 50 per month from each household for the service that he is providing to them. But the people claimed that they are sure that he is not from the MCD for the simple reason that if he was, then he would have at least done an eight-hour duty at the toilet and not taken money from them. There is neither water supply nor any electricity in the toilet area. Every morning, the man takes water from the houses to clean to toilet area. Anyone who needs to use the toilet has to get his/her own water in a bottle/jerry can from home. I could make out that toilets were made by Sulabh International; the toilet pan had a higher angle of inclination – like the Sulabh model, which uses only 1 to 2 litres of water for flushing the excreta. However, there were a few filthy toilets.

The residents claimed that whenever there is some repair work required in the toilet area, the man who claims to be from the MCD says, that he will get the work done only if the residents of the slum area pool in the money and pay him. (The Rs 50 payment per month is other than what the residents may have to pay up to make sure the toilet area is in a usable state). When the toilet area was constructed, a hand pump was put outside, near the gateway; but it soon went dry. The residents pooled in money for a hand pump in the toilet area, so that they would not have to carry water each time from their houses; but no water comes in the hand pump anymore. The only light which was erected in the toilet area does not work.
10.3.3. Women’s Perspective

Rajiv Camp
The women in Rajiv Camp are not charged for toilet usage each time they use the toilet. The men have to pay Re 1 for each usage. Only one bathing cubicle has water supply in the women’s section, this cubicle is the cleaner woman’s personal cubicle; she keeps her belongings here and has a bath in the evening before she leaves. People have made some kind of cubicles at home for bathing but just a few people have been able to afford the building of a proper toilet at home.

The women users said that they do pay some amount each month to the woman in-charge of the cleaning, but did not clearly state the amount. The cleaner woman said “Galat hi kya hai, agar mein saaf kartein hoon latrine ko toh mein dus-paanch rupaiyah toh le hi sakti hoon har maheene ka”- which translates to: “What is wrong, if I clean the latrine seats and take five to ten rupees per month for toilet usage?”. When I attempted to ask her, why she needed this ‘extra’ money, she walked off.

Balmiki Basti, B Block Basti area
I asked whether there are any other options for the people, of the Balmiki Basti, B – Block Basti area, one lady said: “There is no other option for any of us, all ladies and gents come here only, even if there are long lines and one has to wait to go to the toilet. If someone takes too long, people start banging at the door”. There is no arrangement to have a bath in the toilet area, most houses have a cubicle area made at home where people have a bath, but there is no toilet facility at home. One lady said: “Ghar ko hum nahaane ke liye hi toh istemaal kartein hain” – which translates to: “The house is only used for bathing”. There are few houses at the other end of the basti area whose owners are rich enough to build their own personal toilets.

There were 15 latrine seats on the women’s side and I expected it to be the same on the men’s side. It was stinking too much and I could not stand in the area for too long so I asked the residents how many latrine seats are there on each side (men’s and women’s). They said were unable to give me an exact number as most of the doors are rusted and have no bolts. People have to use the jerry can or the bottle to shut the door while inside the toilet.

While walking away from this basti area, we came across an MCD office area, where a number of MCD trucks, designated for solid waste management, were parked.

A Block Basti area
None of the basti people in A Block Basti area have latrine seats at home. They either go to the forest area which is just across the road from the basti area or “Lineon par jatein hain” (“We go to the railway lines”). The railways lines are (of course) very dangerous, no one is sure whether they will return home when they go to the railway lines to ‘go to the toilet’. Recently; five people were run over by a train when they had gone to the railway lines. The girls and women; can't go alone - as they are scared of being sexually harassed and being laughed at (in case seen 'doing it' in the open on the railway lines).
10.3.4. Community Efforts

In Rajiv Camp, it is due to the efforts of the residents and those of the jhuggi society that the CTCs are at least usable for the toilet facilities. The residents of A Block Basti Area feel powerless since the pradhaan who is the representative of the people supported the decision of replacing the only existing CTC in the area with a park.
10.4. Bawana JJ Resettlement Colony (Field visit conducted on 10 June 2008)

10.4.1. Present facilities

Bawana JJ Resettlement Colony is a resettlement colony in North Delhi. When the colony was established in 2003, about 11,000 plot areas were allotted. It was expected that there would be about 5 to 6 members living in each house built on a plot. Ten community toilet complexes had been built for these resettled residents, who live in blocks A, B, C, D.

Out of the 10 functional CTCs, I visited five. Each of them had some private contractors or their men sitting and ‘taking care’ of the CTCs. In each of the CTCs, there were 20 latrine seats on each side (men’s and women’s) and 3 bathing cubicles for women and 1 for men. The charges for using the CTC are the same for all users: Re 1 for going to the toilet\(^{46}\), and Rs 2 for bathing. The charge for washing clothes varied between Rs 2 to Rs 5. The CTCs remain open from 4 am to 11 pm. The peak hours are 7 am to 8 am, when there are long queues to use the toilet. Each of the caretakers claimed that the cleaning of the CTC under them is done 3 to 4 times in a day.

10.4.2. Maintenance of the existing facilities

The caretaker of the D-8 Block CTC said that they collect the money and give it to the caretaker of “dus number” (caretaker of the D-10 block toilet) and then he probably gives it to Indravatiji, Area Inspector, MCD. When I asked him why the money is not used for maintenance, he did not give any answer and shrugged his shoulders.

I went into the women’s toilet area to look at the facilities; on my return I was told that the “dus number” caretaker was there. Upon being asked as to where the money (that is collected) goes, he promptly said: “Arre madam, who paisa toh is jagah ki dekh bhaal ke liye use hota hai, saph saphiee hame rakhnee hai na? – aur, agar jaise motor kharaab ho jaye, toh us paisa ko use kar ke hum theek karatein hain – hazaar-do hazaar rupiah tak lag sakta hai; paisa Indravatiji ko nahin jaata hai, unhone toh sirf haemin contract diya hua hai in toilets ko chalaane ke liye!” – which translates to – “The money is used to maintain this place itself, we have to keep it clean no? – and if the motor stops working, then this is the money that we use to get it working, the motor repair can cost us Rs 1000 to Rs 2000 at times, we don’t give any money to Indravatiji, she has only given us a contract for running these toilets”.

I asked him how much money is collected on a daily basis in every toilet – he said that it is about Rs 250-300; which is also used to pay the four staff members, who sit in the caretakers’ chamber in each of the CTCs.

At the D-10 Block toilet (of course) the caretaker was missing and had left someone else – who was eating his food, in-charge of collecting the money. He hesitated and said that the money collection is about Rs 500 a day, but this is low since many people, especially women come and use the toilet for free and don’t pay, if they would pay, they would be

\(^{46}\) One caretaker of a CTC said that they charge a woman Re 1 for a day – as in the first time she comes in the morning and then we recall her face and she can use the toilet as many times as she wants – whereas the men must pay Re 1 for each usage. But, in none of the other CTCs there were any such exceptions for women as far as usage was concerned, everyone had to pay for each usage.
able to collect at least Rs 1000 - 1200 on a daily basis. He, further said “Yeh paise sirf saphaii ke liye hi nahin istemaal kartein hain, kuch paisa aagey jata hai, MCD ke paas” – which translates to – “The money collected is not used only for cleaning, some goes to the MCD”.

In the remaining three CTCs, the actual caretakers were not there – “They have gone out somewhere for a while, and will be back sometime later”, I was told. The people sitting and collecting money did not want to disclose any details about the money.

At each of the CTCs, the ‘staff’ members were all men and they were in-charge of cleaning both and men’s and women’s section. When I enquired if they encroach on the women’s privacy when they go to clean the toilets, they rather coolly said that they shout out and warn the women that they are coming to ‘clean-up’ and that they should shut any open doors.

Very few cubicles with latrine seats have water facility inside, and so, water has to be filled from the central tap area in bottles or jerry cans and taken inside for going to the toilet. Most of the bathing cubicles had water supply.

On being asked about the group of men who are found standing outside the toilet in the evening/night hours, one of the caretakers said: “Hum kya karein agar woh baahar kharhe hein, bahut bari aisa hota hai ki ek aadmi toilet istemaal karne ke liye aata hai aur uske dost baahar kharhe rehtein hain” – which translates to - ”What can we do if they are standing around, many times it happens that one man comes to use the toilet and the others – his friends- come with him and wait outside for him”.

**Rules for the CTC**

Right outside the caretakers’ room on the wall, there is a list of rules : toilet use for children is free, washing hands inside the toilet with mud is not allowed (this clearly reflects that when people go to the toilet outside in the forest area and do not have water, use the mud to ‘clean’ their hands), smoking is not allowed inside, washing clothes inside the toilet is not allowed, taking water outside the toilet is not allowed, once you have washed your hands – please ensure that you close the tap and for any further information, please call_______ (the number had been partly rubbed off – I wondered could the reason be too many complaints?)

I immediately asked a caretaker, if the washing of clothes is not allowed, then how come there is a charge for the same. He says that they have one pipe, which they connect to a tap and divert it outside the CTC and there people wash their clothes there. I went out and saw that just near the CTC, there is an area, which has good flooring. This is also the area where often, drunk men come at night and hang around, harass girls/women who are going to the toilet and play ‘jua’ – that is they gamble.

**A meeting with Balkishan, Cleanliness Supervisor for the area, MCD**

“These ten community toilets were built (when the plots were allotted) before the people were evicted from elsewhere and relocated here. At that time they were under Sulabh International, due to poor maintenance they were taken back by MCD. Subsequently, Sulabh laid off the workers who were maintaining the toilets earlier. MCD was short of staff, so we made a ‘deal’ with the laid off workers that they would continue to maintain
the toilets and make sure that the people continue to have the facility – after all we have to work for the welfare of the people. So, there is like an ‘informal agreement’.”

“Currently, there are only 31 sweepers allocated for the area out of which only about 13 come to work.” He said that he had requested Narayan Singh, Councillor, MCD, to increase the number of sweepers to 100 but nothing has been done; so the ‘informal agreement’ continues. “Waise, MCD jo hum ko safai ke liye samaan dayti hai, usme se hum tehzaab aur bleach in logon ko toh de detail hain jisse saphaii rahe ” - which translates – “Whatever cleaning agents the MCD send for us, we give some like acid and bleach to the caretakers of the toilets for free to keep the toilets clean”.

When asked whether he knew that the ‘staff’ charges for each usage; he replied saying “Ab unhe maintenance rakhni hai, logon tak bas saaph facility pahuchni chahiye” – which translates to – “Now, they have to maintain the toilets, clean facilities should reach the people”.

When the toilets were built, it wasn’t possible to divert the sewer line here, so at each toilet site a pit was dug up which opens into a gutter. The filth gets collected in the gutter and every 2 to 3 months, the MCD truck fitted with a suction mechanism sucks out the filth.

10.4.3. Women’s Perspective

The facilities of toilets affect women the most here, because most women do not work and do only housework – washing clothes, washing utensils, cooking food. The men folk are mostly employed in the Bawana Industrial area and do have some toilet facility at their place of work. Some men have to go far off for work due to which they are away from their houses for most of the week. Most women do not have a source of livelihood and therefore are not willing to pay to use the CTCs. One lady said “Aadmi log toh de sakte hain paisa kyunki woh kamaatei n hain par janana kidhar se deygee paisa?” – which translates – “The men folk can pay, since they earn but from where are the women supposed to pay?”

If they don’t give money for going to the toilet, very often the caretaker verbally abuses the women and says: “This facility is not free. What do you think; you are too smart if you use this without paying?” This makes the women feel guilty and so they have to pay. When women had asked the caretakers why they are charging money to use the toilet even though it is supposed to be free, in response to this the caretakers have told them that they have ‘paid-up’ to get the contract from the government and now they want the money reimbursed to them.

Women who are not willing to pay or for whom a CTC is too far off when they feel the ‘pressure’ go closer home – which is in the open fields or close by forest area.

Even though some women pay to use the latrine seat in the CTCs, most of the women are not willing to pay for bathing. Some households have either constructed some kind of cubicles at home, with an outlet into the drain outside the house; women use these cubicles for having a bath. In case, they are not able to make these cubicles within the house due to space or financial constraints, then, the women and young girls go to the “naala” (the drain, also known as the ‘nehar’) where they have a bath, but there also, they can not have a bath in the open as it would be considered vulgar. Searching for the ‘right’ spots, so that they are not seen; women and children have drowned in the “naala” in the past.
Washing of clothes is also often done at the stream ("nehar") as saving those Rs 2 is very crucial for them. One lady says: “Agar mere paas paanch rupaih hai toh mein usse apne bachon ke liye sabzi khardeoongi, naki use toilet jaane par kharch karoongi, par majboori mein toilet jane par kharch karma parta hai” – which translates – “If I have Rs 5, I would spend the money on buying vegetables for my children, and not on toilet usage, but under obligation we have to pay.”

When I asked them about the rule that “the toilet use is free for children” – they say that only children up to the age of five are allowed to use the toilet for free, any child above that age must pay for toilet usage. And children are seen as the woman’s responsibility, so she has to not only pay for herself, but also pay for her children.

The women also brought up the issue regarding the electricity – typically the electricity goes off for two to three hours in the morning and in the evening. The motor in the toilets works on electricity and if the electricity goes off, the water supply stops. Some of the caretakers have installed generators to take care of this problem. But if the caretaker does not have a generator or decides not to switch on the generator, the toilet is left without water supply for a couple of hours. There are bulbs in most toilets, which are switched on in the night; but if the electricity goes off, accessing the toilets becomes difficult due to the darkness. This problem is aggravated for women; as groups of men drunk on ‘ganja’ crowd around the toilets and harass the girls and women who are going to use the toilet in the late evening hours. There have been cases of sexual harassment near the CTCs; in a recent case, a woman’s necklace had been snatched.

Cleaning the CTC even four times a day is not effective. The cleaner only collects the filth and dumps it in or near one of the toilet seats – which then of course cannot be used. If the cleaner is requested to remove the filth, he replies, “Just look the other way and do your business”. The ‘silli’ (stone) which covers the gutter is many times left partly open and so many ‘keedas’ (bugs) come out into the toilet area. If the ‘sewer’ gets blocked, then it takes at least one day for the caretaker/cleaner to get ‘sewer’ opened during which the toilet remains shut.

A few women openly claim that some women do not know how to use the toilet and this only makes matters worse. Women, after bathing leave the tap running and some of them just ‘do it’ outside (but inside the women’s toilet area) and not inside the cubicles.

There are some cubicles in each toilet complex which don’t have a latch, but most women don’t consider this an issue, as they use a jerry can or a bucket to make sure that the door does not open when they are inside the cubicle. Even if it does open, it opens facing women only ‘which is ok’.

Many of the caretakers are related in some way to the local Councillor – very recently a case happened which highlights the politics of the situation. One of the CTCs had a seemingly ‘good’ caretaker, who would maintain the toilet complex better than others. The Nigrani Samiti (a women’s group of the Bawana JJ Resettlement colony, initiated by an NGO named Jagori) was impressed with him. One day some ‘new man’ came and asked this old caretaker to hand over the keys of the toilet to him. The old caretaker thought it to be a kind of a joke and gave him the keys, once the ‘new man’ had the keys in his hand, he told the old caretaker that now he has been sacked and that he (the ‘new
man’) is the current caretaker. The old caretaker argued with him for a while and asked for the keys, the ‘new man’ did not care. The old caretaker went to a few members of the Nigrani Samiti and told them about what had happened (seemingly everyone believes that the Nigrani Samiti is strong in the area) and asked for help. A few members of the Nigrani Samiti reached the toilet with the old caretaker and told the ‘new man’ that the old caretaker was the ‘legitimate’ owner and not him. The ‘new man’ immediately said that the ‘legitimate’ caretaker is the one who has the keys. The Nigrani Samiti and the old caretaker forced the ‘new man’ to go with them to the Police Station. The ‘new man’ started saying things to the effect of “How dare you bring this group of women to speak in your favour?” and further in the Police Station told the Police that the old caretaker was trying to do ‘dangaa phasaad’ (organize an upheaval) and had collected the group of women for that purpose. The Police did not do much and beat up the old caretaker, as it turned out that the ‘new man’ was the Councillor’s nephew. Presently, the ‘new man’ is taking care of the toilet.

10.4.4. Community Efforts

On 19 March, 2008 a jan baithak (people’s meeting) of the residents of Bawana was organized to discuss basic issues of cleanliness and put pressure on the administration. (The pamphlet distributed prior to the jan baithak is attached in Annexure 12). The concerned MCD officials, including the Area Inspector, the Councillor and the MLA were invited for the meeting. But none of these ‘important’ people came for the meeting. Balkishan, Cleanliness Supervisor of the area, MCD, came for the meeting but arrived late. When the women of Bawana, present at the meeting, raised the issue of toilets, he bluntly replied that they should speak to his seniors.

10.4.5. Other issues

The newly constructed but locked toilets

Another 50,000 people are in the process of being shifted to Bawana from places like Naraina, R.K. Puram, Vikasputri. New plot areas have been marked for them, with eight new community toilets – which apparently seem to be ‘ready for use’ but have not been opened for public use yet.

The DDA has built these toilets, but they have been locked for the last one to one and a half years. DDA claims that the work is incomplete. So, these people use the close by open ground for defecation. Some of them go and use the toilets that are meant for the “old” part of the colony. Many of them do not see any point in getting the toilets opened, because they will have pay for usage which they are not willing to do. So, since the option of the open ground is there, they are just happy with that for the time being. A street hawker looked at us helplessly and said “Hum toh chahtein hain ki ye khule, par DDA waale kehtein hain ki andar kaam khatam nahin hua hai; koi sunvayii nahin hai, aap daal saktein hain kya complaint hamaare liye?” – which translates to – “We want the toilet to be opened, but the DDA people say that the work is incomplete; no one listens to us, can you put in a complaint for us?”’. This statement only shows that there is an opportunity cost even for lodging a complaint for something as basic as toilets, which is in terms of their wage that they may have to give up for that day – so they are not able to protest or get actively involved to make the authorities accountable for a basic need.

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47 By the Nigrani Samiti, A women’s group of the Bawana JJ Resettlement, initiated by an NGO named Jagori.
10.5. Savda Ghevra JJ Resettlement Colony (Field visit conducted on 19 June 2008)

10.5.1. Present facilities
Savda Ghevra is an upcoming resettlement colony in North West Delhi. It is believed that it is the Chief Minister’s baby (“Shiela Dikshit ji ne Savda Ghevra ko apni godh mein le liya hai”). It is said that Savda Ghevra is visualized as a ‘Model JJ Resettlement Colony’, an effort by the Government of Delhi and the MCD to ensure that all goes right with this resettlement colony – given the blunders that they have committed with regard to other resettlement colonies around Delhi.48 The number of people who are presently residing in the Savda Ghevra area is approximately 40,000. There are still large patches of land that are lying empty, where more people, who live in other JJ colonies will be resettled soon. Though nine CTCs have been constructed in the area, only four are functional currently.

10.5.2. Maintenance of the existing facilities
Most of the CTCs were inaugurated during the period October 2007 to early January 2008. They did not have water and electricity supply at the time when they were inaugurated. More importantly, if there is no electricity there will definitely be no water – as the water is supplied by use of the pump (‘motor’). By January 2008, finally some kind of arrangement was done for electricity supply by North Delhi Power Limited (NDPL). The CTCs started working for free, and MCD employees would report for their eight-hour duty. As a result of this, the maintenance was very poor, and the resettled residents started stealing various things from the toilets – taps, bulbs, bulb holders, switch boards. Then after a month, in February 2008, as the MCD had not paid the electricity bills to NDPL, the electricity was disconnected. In March 2008, Shiela Dikshit, Chief Minister, Delhi, was to visit this colony, so the NDPL and the MCD ‘patched-up’ and decided that they would make an arrangement on a ‘prepaid’ basis. The CTCs started working again for free and MCD employees resumed their eight-hour duty. The thefts continued. Very soon, the amount ‘paid up’ ‘dried up’ and so, again the NDPL stopped the electricity supply. The status of the CTCs became so bad that they were in no longer in a useable state. The Councillor called a meeting and told the community members that the only way to have properly maintained CTCs was for people from within the community to take care of the toilets. They could collect money from users, which would be the caretaker’s and an MCD sweeper would come once a day to clean the toilets. The A - Block CTC has a paper on the wall which lists all the nine CTCs of the area. The paper says “sava je je colony ke shauchalayon ko chalaane ke liye karyakartaaon ke naam” – which translates to “The names of the workers who are responsible for the running of the toilets in the Savda Ghevra JJ (Resettlement) Colony”.

The Councillor further said the MCD would persuade NDPL to fix new metres and resume the electricity supply. Eventually, in the end of May 2008 four CTCs started functioning. Hopefully the MCD will pay the NDPL for the electricity usage and the CTCs will continue to function.

Out of the four functional CTCs in the area, I visited three. The CTCs have 20 latrine seats in the women’s section and 20 latrine seats in the men’s section. But, out of the 20

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48 The Government of Delhi and the MCD are aiming at making Delhi slum-free by the 2010 – the year of the Commonwealth Games.
latrine seats for women, 4 are for children – which have no enclosures – these four latrine seats are in one row. There are 3 bathing cubicles for women and 4 for men in each of the CTCs.²⁹ There is no sewer line in the area. The CTCs are connected with a pit where all the filth gets dumped.

Every user is charged Re 1 for toilet usage. Children up to the age of 10 to 12 years do not pay any money. The timings of the CTCs are roughly from 5 am to 11 pm. In two of the three functional toilets that I visited, there was no water supply inside the toilet area. So, what do the users do? When the people want to use the toilet, they take in a jerry can, which has been filled with about two litres of water from a pipe that is connected to the pump outside; the water is used to ‘flush down’ the excreta.

In the B-Block CTC, the caretaker was surprisingly a woman. Her husband, who is the actual caretaker, had gone for the function for which Arti Mehra, Mayor, Delhi, had come to Savda Ghevra. It seemed that the CTC had just been cleaned – probably because the Mayor was visiting. As per the caretaker, the CTC is cleaned thrice a day. She said that they themselves do the cleaning twice a day and the MCD sweeper is supposed to come once a day and clean the toilet. When the MCD sweeper does come, he accuses the caretaker of making money and says that he will only clean the toilet if he is given “dus-bees rupaiyah – chai-paani ke liye” (Rs 10 to 20 for tea). In case they say that they will not give the money, the MCD sweeper says that he will complain to the Councillor and then the ‘caretakership’ will be taken away from them. On an average, they are not able to collect more than Rs 100 in a day and from this they have to pay Rs 20 to the MCD sweeper. Even though, the caretaker can tell the MCD sweeper who asks for money for cleaning and accuses the caretaker of making money, that the Councillor has allowed him to collect money; but he can not be sure that the MCD sweeper will not complain. The caretaker is very scared of his only livelihood being taken away. The caretaker and his wife worked as labourers at construction sites when they were living elsewhere, but now, they do not have any source of livelihood; though sometimes the caretaker does odd jobs to earn some money – leaving the wife in-charge of the CTC.

The caretaker woman said: “We ourselves want the toilets to be free, but if that happens then we must get some money from the authorities for sitting here.” The caretakers of the G-Block CTC said “Aakhir, hum yahaan chaukidaari ka kaam kar rahein hain, hamein kuch toh paisa milna chahiye. Koi labour jo ek din kaam karta hai usse nahi milta ek din ka sau rupaiyah?” - which translates to: “After all, we are doing the job of a security guard over here; we must get some money for it. Does a labourer who works for a day not get a minimum of Rs 100?” A caretaker mentioned that they have to ensure that no more thefts occur in the CTC and the money collected is not supposed to be for cleaning and maintenance since there is an MCD sweeper who is assigned to clean the CTC.

The caretaker of the A-Block CTC said that he is on the verge of quitting. Since his job is only for the ‘chaukidari’ (security), he felt that the MCD should just keep one of their own employees.

²⁹ This is given the fact that culturally it is ‘ok’ if a man has a bath in the open but if a woman has a bath in the open then it is considered ‘indecent’.
The routine of the MCD cleaner is not known, so the caretakers have to get the cleaning done themselves. One caretaker said that they are from the balmiki caste, it is not that difficult for them to get the filth cleaned. “We get it done by the children”. Amazed at this statement, I immediately asked: “why children?”. He gave me a blank look at first and then said: “You do not understand this correctly. I do not mean children, I mean these youngsters”. So I asked whether he pays the ‘youngsters’ for cleaning. He said “I sometimes give them Rs 10 - 20, or some other remuneration like food”.

A group of caretakers said that the women in the area are mostly illiterate. They dirty the CTC much more than the men. They often throw their dirty cloth/sanitary napkins into the toilet and this leads to the pipes getting blocked. Effort and money has to be spent to unblock the pipes and therefore it only makes more sense to charge the women for toilet usage.

Only the G-Block CTC had water in some of the cubicles, there is also a central tap on each side of the CTC (one on the men’s side and one on the women’s side) where jerry cans kept, which people can fill and take to the toilet. The bathing cubicles have taps which have water supply. Rs 2 is charged for having a bath. There is no water supply in the bathing cubicles of the other CTCs. The caretaker woman said: “Yahaan nahaane ka koi prograam nahin hai” – which translates to – “There is no arrangement to have a bath here”.

10.5.3. Women’s Perspective

Men still travel to far off places for their jobs (where they were employed earlier – near Yamuna Pushta area, Shahdra area.) but most women have lost their jobs. They are mostly skilled in household work and there are no middle class or upper middle class or rich households close by where they can be employed. Some men are ready to pay but the women feel they should not pay as their source of livelihood has been taken away due to relocation. A few women said “It is not possible for the women to pay as they do not have a source of income; most men can afford to pay for toilet usage. It is not fair that the women are charged for toilet usage.”

Another woman said “No! But I feel many of the women do not know how to use the toilet. I have many times seen dirty cloth lying around in the toilet. And a man will never pick up a woman’s dirty cloth”. This only increases the dirt and filth in the toilet.

Due to the poor maintenance many women go to the open field area; this way they also save money. There are cases of harassment when women go to the open fields to go to the toilet. A woman said: “Abhi kuch teen din pehle, ek ladki iss khet mein gayii thi toilet jaane ke liye, chara logoon ka jhund uski taraf aaya aur anaab shanaab bakne lagey, usse apne jaan ke liye bhaagna pada. Agar usne unhe dekha nahin hota, toh rape ho jata!” - which translates to: “Recently, a girl had gone to the field and four men came towards her and started saying some nonsense; she had to run for her life. If she had not noticed them and had stayed longer; she would have been gang raped”. The owners of the open fields sometimes even beat up women, if they are seen urinating or defecating in the field.
While we were walking along one of the parks in Savda Ghevra, we saw cement platforms made on the sides of the park. The pradhaan explained that these platforms were made as places where the resettled people can have baths. But, there are no taps on or near the platform; and it is not even an enclosed area – clearly not women-friendly. Consequently, people have put strings and they dry their clothes there. An enclosure has also been made with cloth and sticks where women of the close by households bathe.

Further, I saw peculiar looking cubicles outside a few houses. They are made of materials like bamboo, or large pieces of cloth, a plastic sheet and four long sticks at the four corners. Some women have a bath inside these using the water they get from the DJB tankers. Being an upcoming resettlement colony, there are vacant plots of land, which people often encroached to make these ‘cubicles’. There are also households which are unable to encroach on the vacant land, and so have made an enclosure within their house itself where the women can bathe. The ‘flooring’ of this cubicle is usually of red sandstone flat stone - silli (which is placed on top of the mud). The bathing enclosures are connected to an outlet outside their house and so while walking in the gali (narrow street), a number of potholes full of dirty water are seen. While we were walking in G block, one young girl was coming out of her house and was carrying a jerry can which had very dirty water. When I asked her from where she had got the water, she said, under her breath, that it was rain water. To me, it seemed to me that it was dirty water from the potholes.

We, then, arrived at the same place where Art Mehra, Mayor, Delhi, had just laid the foundation stone for a Community Centre in G – Block. The plot of land, at present, lies empty. In the middle of the plot of land I saw two grey bricks that had been laid by Arti Mehra. Just few metres beyond the auspicious bricks were a row of these ‘cubicles’ built by the resettled residents. We are to believe, that our Mayor came to lay the foundation stone for something as important as the Community Centre, but did not notice that due to the poor maintenance of the CTCs, cubicles have been erected by the residents for the women folk to bathe and may be go to the toilet as well; these eyesores were ignored completely by a woman at a senior Government position and also by her worthy supporters.

10.5.4. Community Efforts
The caretakers of the CTCs are people from within the community itself, they have taken up the job as they wanted a source of livelihood but believe that it is not viable anymore. They have made efforts to tell the Mayor and the Councillor that they do not want to do the job any longer. The Mayor, in response, said that the only way is to give the maintenance of the CTCs to some NGOs.

10.5.5. Other issues
An abandoned CTC
The E-Block CTC was inaugurated on 15 January 2008. I understand that initially the CTC was free. Later, the CTC was taken over by a person from within the community but since the person charged a fee, the residents, in frustration, broke the entrance gates and stole bulbs, bulb holders, switch boards. As the CTC stands today, it is full of filth and has been abandoned. It has no users; the only users (children) use the front open space. There is no caretaker. The filth was unbearable – I could only walk up to the inner gate,
but seeing excreta lying on either side; I could not go any further inside the blocks of the CTC.

**What the users’ feel about paying for toilets**

A large number of people are not able to pay for use of the toilets. The pradhaan said that: “A family needs to pay Rs 20 – 40 per day for usage of the toilets”. Assuming, that the man of the household, who is the only earning member – as is mostly the case, gets the minimum legal daily wage of Rs 100; this is a huge expenditure. This, results in a large number of families opting for open defecation. The pradhaan said – “Ek aadmi ka koi vikas nahin ho sakte hai yahaan pe, kya kamaega, kya khaege agar har bar toilet jaane ke liye ek rupaiyah dena hoga?” - which translates to: “How can a person improve his standard of living, when he has to pay Re 1 for each toilet usage; what will he earn? What will he eat?”. Some residents also felt that even though they pay a fee for usage, it is not worth it since the maintenance levels are very poor.

Earlier these residents have been paying and are still willing to pay for toilet usage. In the Shahdara slum area where they used to live earlier, there was a family card system that was in place; depending on the family size, each family would pay Rs 20 – 30 a month and could then use the toilet however many times in that month.

The residents said that, whenever the Chief Minister or any other minister like Arvinder Singh Lovely, Education Minister, Government of Delhi, or Arti Mehra, Mayor, Delhi come to visit Savda Ghevra – the toilets are very clean and no money is charged is charged that day.50

**The ‘poisonous water’**

There is no water supply in the residents’ houses. Some of them had installed hand pumps but many of them are lying dry and rusted now. The residents feel that the water that comes in some of the toilets is ‘poisonous’ (one man took off his shirt and showed me dark marks which were due to the water from the toilets, used for bathing) and so, they fill water from the DJB tanker for drinking, cooking, washing clothes and utensils, having a bath and going to the toilet.

According to a newspaper article dated 23 June 2008 (attached in Annexure 14) three Slum and JJ Department, MCD officials deployed on duty at Savda Ghevra were suspended because of the condition of this colony.

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50 But even though the day I visited the area, the Mayor had come to the area; yet everyone was being charged for toilet usage and the toilets were not particularly clean.
10.6. **Madanpur Khader JJ Resettlement Colony** (Field visit conducted on 28 June 2008)

10.6.1. **Present facilities**

This resettlement colony, set up in 2001, has people who have been relocated from the slum areas of Nehru Place, Alaknanda, Gaganpuri, Lajpat Nagar, Okhla. At present, there are about 15,000-16,000, most families have about 6 members and many residents have given one floor of their house on rent. The population of this resettlement colony is about 1.5 - 2 lakhs.

The CTCs were built before the people were relocated to this area. The toilets have never been free of charge; the caretakers of the CTCs have always been people who are ‘close’ to the Councillor or the MLA. Though there are supposed to be 20 CTCs in the area, only 18 are functional at present, there is placed marked for the other two but they have not been constructed. There are 13 CTCs of the MCD and 5 CTCs of the DDA. The CTCs are open from about 4 am to about 11 pm.

10.6.2. **Maintenance of the existing facilities**

The D-Block CTC was under Sulabh International, but for the past two years it has been with the MCD. There is no interaction between the CTC and the MCD – except for the fact that the Councillor allowed the caretaker to sit at the CTC. I asked the caretaker if he has any contract with the Councillor, he said that there is none on paper; if anyone tries to challenge him, he is asked to talk to the Councillor directly.

The Councillor does not give any money to the caretaker, even if any repairs have to be carried out, the caretaker must carry it out with his own money. The caretaker has to buy all the cleaning agents.

There are 30 latrine seats in all – 14 on the women’s side and 16 on the men’s side. I asked why this disparity, I am told that the CTC was built like this and the caretaker had no say in the matter. There are three bathing cubicles in the women’s side, but there is no water supply in them, one of them lies locked, one lies open – with a broken tap and a jerry can lying on the floor and the third one has a phuka hua (not working) generator. There is also another generator that is lying phuka hua just at the entrance of the women’s side of the CTC.

Given that both the generators are bad, I wondered how the pump (“motor”) works presently; the caretaker told me that he has made an alternative arrangement for one pump. This pump is in the cubicle that is meant for the disabled people. The water drawn by the pump is available at the central tap. The cubicles with the latrine seats do not have any water supply, there is a central tap in each of the sides (men’s and women’s) from where the people are supposed to fill their bottles/jerry cans to take in to the toilet. What if this pump also goes bad? – in that case, the caretaker himself has made a hand-pump arrangement which is connected to the bore well; when the pump stops functioning, people fill up water from this hand-pump in the jerry cans and take it inside the cubicles.
On an average day, the caretaker said that he collects about Rs 150. Further, the caretaker also said that he does not make any payment to the Councillor, but some users tell me that the men of the Councillor come and collect Rs 200 daily from him. So, obviously, the caretaker must be collecting much more than Rs 200 per day.

Another toilet I visited was earlier run by the DDA, an arrangement that was there for about 5 years after the people were resettled (till about 2005-06). For the past two to two and a half years, though the CTC is supposed to be under the MCD, some private people have been running the CTC. The pradhaan (whose name is Tenaram ji) nominated them and asked them to run the CTC. There are no contract papers. The toilet has never been free for use; earlier the DDA people would charge Re 1 for going to the toilet and Rs 2 for having a bath, and now the family running it, lives in the room marked for the caretaker and charges Re 1 for each usage and there is no arrangement for bathing at the CTC any longer.

Cleaning is done thrice a day – 7 am, 2 pm and 7 pm. The cleaning is done by a person who is paid Rs 60 per day by the family. The CTC remains closed during the lunch hours. When I reached, I was told that the CTC was locked, because the cleaning had to be done and the family members had to eat their lunch. The caretaker woman said: “If someone is too desperate to go to the toilet during the lunch hours they can go to the other CTCs in the area.”

There are 14 latrine seats on the women’s side and 16 latrine seats on the men’s side. I asked her why this bias – she immediately said that the CTC was handed over to them like this.

When I asked, how much gets collected on an average day, she said about Rs 250. On enquiring from her where the money goes, she said: “I do not know.” But, when I try to probe further, she said, “We pay the cleaner Rs 60 a day and then we have to also hire a private vehicle, fitted with a suction mechanism, which sucks out the filth from the septic tank for this, we have to pay Rs 250 per day”. I asked her if the vehicle is hired everyday, she replied in the affirmative. I gave her a questioning look, wondering whether she was telling me the truth. It appeared to me that they were running into a loss everyday. Immediately, she said: “The collection per day is about Rs 350.” I asked whether the pradhaan gives their family any money or does the family have to pay any money to the pradhaan; to which she said a firm “no” and said that the pradhaan only asked her family to take care of the CTC and that is what they are doing.

Earlier there was a generator that was used for the pump (or motor); but now, the generator is not working anymore (it is phuka hua). With their personal money, the family has put another pump and an electricity connection – the meter for which was fixed only about a month back and no one knows who will pay the bill for it. The water comes at a central place in each of the sides, from where people have to fill their jerry cans when go to the cubicles to go to the toilet. In the event of a power break down, there is a hand pump outside from where people fill their jerry cans.
10.6.3. Women’s Perspective

The main issue which angers the women is the payment; though they feel that for three DDA CTCs the payment is worth it, they do not feel the same about the other CTCs. The water that the people receive at their houses is contaminated so stomach ailments are very common. On a day if a person has lose motions, the person may have to go to the toilet ten times, and will have to pay Re 1 each time. So, for an ideal family of four members, all the members having a stomach upset, the expenditure would work out to be Rs 40. For many households, the ‘dahari’ (daily wage) is Rs 80 net only, as they spend about Rs 20 daily just commuting to and from their place of work.51

The DDA CTCs are connected to a sewer line; the users know this and say that is probably the reason why the toilets are functioning better than the MCD toilets in the area – which are not connected to a sewer line. The people say that if the sewer line was near their house, many of them would actually be able to make a toilet arrangement at home; they seem to understand the costs involved, as well as gains, especially with respect to women users.

There are people, who avoid using the CTC due to the payment and go to the toilet either at empty plot areas, sometimes sit just outside their houses on the drain, or go to the ‘nehar’ (or the ‘naala’ – big drain).

Out of the 5 such DDA CTCs in the area, only three of them are in a good working condition – is what the people say. Some of the men, I spoke to, said that they are satisfied with the level of cleanliness and also mentioned that there are others, who come from far off areas to use these DDA CTCs, since the CTC near their houses is unusable. The women said that the cleanliness is temporary and exists only for a brief time just after the CTC is cleaned out.

One thing that I found peculiar about all the CTCs was that there is a peshaab ghar (a urinal) just outside the complex, which has two ‘open’ cubicles for men to urinate without any charge. There is no such facility for women – they must pay to use the toilet, even if it is only for urination!

10.6.4. Community Efforts

The users understand that there is a complicated hierarchy in the way the MCD CTCs function in the area, there is the Councillor from the MCD, then there is a pradhaan of each block of the Madanpur Khader JJ Colony, who is given the ‘go ahead’ by the Councillor to suggest names for the caretakers of the CTCs. The pradhaan and the Councillor, then jointly decide who will be in-charge of the CTCs – these people are generally close to the MLA/Councillor/pradhaan, but do not have any paper saying that they alone are in-charge of the CTC. These caretakers are then allowed to charge the users, and have to pay a hafta (a daily/weekly amount) to the Councillor’s men, so that the ‘informal contract’ is not ‘brought to an end’; the caretakers themselves are responsible for the maintenance of the CTC. The hafta ranges between Rs 100 – 200 per day, the exact amount depends on how close the caretaker is to the Councillor.

51 As many of them have been resettled from slum areas of Alaknanda, Nehru Place, Lajpat Nagar, Okhla; they continue to work in areas close to these places and hence spend Rs 10 each way for travelling.
Given this situation, the residents do not see any point in raising the issue as it is all about a political nexus which seems unbreakable.

10.6.5. Other issues

Not MCD, but DDA

One of the CTCs, I visited was unique, as it was not an MCD CTC, but it was a DDA CTC. The front wall of the CTC had it clearly written that Re 1 has to be paid for each usage and there is no charge for the use of the urinal – which is only for men, constructed just outside the complex.

The caretaker lady told me: “Humne ek thekedaar se theka liya hua hai” (which translates to: “We have taken a contract from a contractor”). There is a system of ‘sub-contracting’. I asked her if she has any contract papers, she says that the actual contract is between “the” contractor and the DDA. The contract of the five DDA CTCs is with the same contractor, who has further sub-contracted them to different people. Further, “Uss thekedaar ke pass hai kaagzaad, hamare pass kahan se hoenge?” – which translates to: “That contractor has all the papers, from where will we have the contract papers?”

The repair work of the CTC is carried out by the main contractor. Broken doors and seat are fixed by him. The repair work is done speedily when a known politician is visiting the area. “Kareeb ek-dedh saal pehle, Shrimati Sheila Dikshit ji aayein theen toh phir sab seat aur darwaze theek kar diye gaye the. Thekedaar ko bhi toh dikhana thaa ki sab yahaan theek chal raha hai” which translates to: “Shrimati Sheila Dikshit had come here about one-one and half years back, at that time all the seats and doors had been repaired. The contractor had to show her that everything was working well here”.

On any given day, she claimed that they collect not more than Rs 150. Out of this they pay Rs 60 to someone who comes and does the cleaning of the CTC. Cleaning is done twice a day. “Humein har din kuch paisa mill jata hai, jo yahan baithega usse kuch toh paisa milna chahiye daal-roti ke liye” which translates to: “We get a little money everyday, whoever sits at the CTC should get some money for his/her food.” I asked her if they have to pay the contractor any money, to which she replied in the affirmative; but when I asked her the amount, she said: “I don’t know, my son knows and he has gone on duty.”

The caretaker woman said that she has been running the toilet complex for about six years now. Earlier some ‘biharis’ were the caretakers of the CTC; then there would be fights every night and many cases of sexual harassment in the evening.

The caretaker woman claimed that this DDA CTC has 24 latrine seats on each side (men’s and women’s); there is no facility for bathing or washing clothes. When I went inside, I saw that many of the cubicles have broken doors and broken seats – the stink was unbearable and so, I could not go in further and count the seats. There is no water facility in the cubicles; therefore, everyone has to fill up their jerry cans from the hand pump outside.

The caretaker said that the people do not maintain cleanliness, even if they take the water in the jerry cans with them, they don’t flush down the filth they create – so obviously it
gets dirty. According to her, the women leave their dirty cloth just anywhere – near the door or on the wall.
11. DISCUSSION
This section of the paper is aimed at analysing the findings presented in the preceding sections. This analysis helps me to conclude the research paper with recommendations to improve the situation.

11.1. Confusion regarding the norms
At the National level, most documents and policy schemes note the norm for public toilets to be 1 latrine seat for 50 people. The CDP, 2006 of Delhi states that the norm according to the Environmental Improvement Scheme of JJ clusters is 1 latrine seat for 20-25 people.

The Chief Engineer, Engineering Department, MCD, stated that 1 latrine seat is installed if there are 20 users to use it in one day. The officials from the Slum and JJ Department, MCD, said that the norm in slum areas is 1 latrine seat for 150 people and a 20-20 CTC. (The 20-20 CTC means a toilet complex which has 20 latrine seats for men and 20 latrine seats for women) for a plot meant for 500 households. If it is assumed that there are 5 members in each household, 500 households would mean 2500 people, and assuming there is an equal number of males and females, then there are 1250 males and 1250 females. Now, there are 20 latrine seats for each sex in the 20-20 CTC. Hence, it works out that there is 1 latrine seat for 62.5 people; or 2 latrine seats for 125 people of each sex. The Sanitary Inspectors, DEMS, MCD, said that the norm for public toilets in JJ colonies is that a 20-20 CTC should be built for 200 jhuggis (households). If it is assumed that there are 5 members in each household, 200 jhuggis would have 1000 people, approximately equal number of males and females. Now, there are 20 latrine seats for each sex in the 20-20 CTC, which translates into 1 latrine seat for 25 people of the same sex.

The following table is based on the field visits to the various slum and resettlement areas in Delhi and the information gathered from the residents and caretakers of the CTCs in these areas.

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52 Interview conducted with Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD, on 2 July 2008.
53 Interview conducted with Hamid Ali, Executive Engineer, Slum and JJ Department, MCD, and other officials from the Slum and JJ Department, MCD, on 19 June 2008.
54 Interview conducted with K K Lohat, Tanvir Siddiqui and K C Bhardwaj, Sanitary Inspectors, DEMS, MCD, on 13 June 2008.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of Slum/Resettlement Area</th>
<th>Estimated Total Population at present</th>
<th>Number of Latrine Seats in the Women’s Blocks of the CTCs</th>
<th>Ratio of latrine seats to number of women *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sanjay Colony</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kusumpur</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1:500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rajiv Camp, Jhilmil Colony</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1:100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Balmiki Basti, B – Block Basti Area, Jhilmil Colony</td>
<td>600-700</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>A – Block Basti Area, Jhilmil Colony</td>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Bawana JJ Resettlement Colony, Old Blocks</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1:150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bawana JJ Resettlement Colony, New Blocks</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Savda Ghevra JJ Resettlement Colony</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1:250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Madanpur Khader JJ Resettlement Colony</td>
<td>1,50,000</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>1:250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Assuming that 50% of the population in each of the areas is women and that all the existing latrine seats in a particular area are usable.

Therefore the ratios, in reality, work out to be very different from the norms suggested. Typically, out of the 20 latrine seats in a Women’s Block in a CTC, 4 are reserved for children; the ones for children are without a door. Due to this, the ratio is actually even more skewed in the case of women.

The MCD officials believe that the latrine seats for children are mostly used by women. But, they probably do not understand that there is clear difference between ‘going to the toilet’ in a closed cubicle and in one without a door.

11.2. The MCD-NDMC divide

An important point, made by the Sanitary Inspectors was regarding the difference between the way MCD and the NDMC deal with the construction of toilets. “The work culture of the two and the mobility of funds for the MCD and NDMC cannot be compared. The MCD is BJP – led and the Delhi Government is Congress – led. If, the MCD asks for certain funds, then the MCD – which is BJP-led will first have to submit the request to the Delhi Government – which is Congress-led. Due to political reasons, some deductions are made by the Delhi Government in the request. The request is then forwarded to the Centre, which is also Congress led; so, there are further deductions. On the other hand, an NDMC request for funds is directly sent to the Central Government. The disbursal of funds for the NDMC can be expected overnight where as the time taken for disbursal of funds for MCD cannot be predicted. Over and above this, the politically influential people live in the NDMC area, so a request which is ‘pushed’ by them only
gets returns much faster.” This is probably the reason for the great difference between the public toilets in the NDMC area and the MCD area – it is sad that a basic need such as that of public toilets is getting neglected due to purely political reasons.

On 17 January 2007, the Delhi High Court directed the MCD and the NDMC to relate the number of public conveniences to the density of the population. The responses given via the affidavits filed by them are entirely different. According to the affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD, the MCD would conduct a survey in its twelve zones within 4 to 6 months to formulate a detailed report on the required numbers of CTCs and toilet blocks as per the population density of the area in addition to identifying the possible sites for construction of the same. On the other hand, the affidavit submitted by Lt. Col. S.K. Garg, Medical Officer of Health, NDMC, had a detailed table regarding the norms for construction of public conveniences at different locations. (This table has been attached in Annexure 13).

11.3. Involvement of Private Contractors

The Sanitary Inspectors told me that there are three ways in which maintenance of the CTCs in slum and resettlement areas is done: (i) by the DEMS (free for users), (ii) by NGOs – other than Sulabh International, (iii) private contractors - where in these contractors pay a certain amount per latrine seat to the MCD e.g. Rs 2000 per seat per year (pay and use). The Chief Engineer, Engineering Department and the officials from the Slum and JJ Department, MCD, said that there are only two ways in which the maintenance of the CTCs in the slum and resettlement areas is done: by the DEMS (free for use) and by NGOs – other than Sulabh International on a 30 year lease (pay and use). An NGO person, who was present at the MCD Slum and JJ Department site office at Savda Ghevra, claimed that he is maintaining 25 CTCs which are all on a 30-year lease. They charge Re 1 per visit – for going to the toilet or bathing; washing of clothes is not allowed. When I asked him how much money they collect on a daily basis, he declined to give an answer. On being asked what the money is used for, he said that they are there for the service of the country and the money collected is used for maintaining the toilets. When we were leaving the MCD Slum and JJ Department site office at Savda Ghevra, this same man was very respectfully talking to the MCD Slum and JJ Department officials: “You should come to my home sometime. I have been requesting you to come for so long.” Earlier, when I had talked to the caretakers at Savda Ghevra, they had told me that they had approached the Mayor on that day, to inform her that it is getting very difficult to maintain the CTCs. The Mayor had said that the only way out was to give contracts to NGOs on a 30 year lease.

Possibly, the MCD Slum and JJ Department officials were aware of the problem and so had told this NGO person to be present to impress the Mayor.

55 Interview with K K Lohat, Tanveer Siddiqui and KC Bhardwaj, Sanitary Inspectors, DEMS, MCD, conducted on 13 June 2008.
56 Interview with K K Lohat, Tanveer Siddiqui, and KC Bhardwaj- three Sanitary Inspectors, DEMS, MCD, conducted on 13 June 2008.
57 Interview with Uttam Vasvani, Chief Engineer – IV, Engineering Department, MCD, conducted on 2 July 2008.
58 Interview with Hamid Ali, Executive Engineer, Slum and JJ Department, MCD and other officials from the Slum and JJ Department, MCD, conducted on 19 June 2008.
59 Field visit to Savda Ghevra JJ Resettlement Colony conducted on 19 June 2008.
My guess is that private contractors provide some kind of documents to show that they run an NGO. Once they have the 30-year contract to run the CTCs, they can do so on a pay-and-use basis. To maintain the fact, that the private contractor is not an NGO person undercover, the private contractor pays the MCD Slum and JJ Department.

11.4. Involvement of Sulabh International

While the CTCs were being maintained by Sulabh International, the condition of the same may have not been up-to-the-mark but unfortunately, the situation has only worsened ever since the CTCs have been taken over by MCD. Amidst, this changing relationship between MCD and Sulabh, the people who suffer the most are the women from slum and resettlement colonies.

11.5. Payment to use the CTC

After finding out the average monthly income of a household and the charges of using the CTC in Bawana JJ Resettlement Colony\(^{60}\), I estimated the expenditure of each family on the usage of a CTC. On an average a household has five members, the man of the house being the only earning member of the family. So, there is the husband, wife and 3 children – all above the age of 5 years. Daily, each of them would use the toilet about 5 times, paying Re 1 for each usage; bathing at least once a day entails paying Rs 2 each. The woman of the house has to pay an extra Rs 2 for washing clothes. So, the total expenditure on usage of the CTC, by the family, works out to about Rs 25 + Rs 10 + Rs 2 = Rs 37. Assuming that the man is a daily wage worker and gets the legal minimum wage of Rs 100; 37% of the earnings are being spent solely on the use of a CTC by the family – this is a large proportion of the entire income.

This situation can not be seen in isolation. The family has also to confront with their ration supplies through the Public Distribution System (PDS). On relocation to Bawana, each family was given a small plot of land by the Government after a certain payment. Those families that built four *pakka* walls on this plot were given APL cards. These cards appear to be only a ‘feel good factor’ as many have lost their jobs and so have slipped back into poverty. The APL cards are also a ‘feel good factor’ for the government as, they can boast about having moved people up the income ladder (from BPL to APL); further since APL would mean fewer entitlements – the government would be ‘saving’ on food and transportation.\(^{61}\) Even though the cards have been given to the relatively newly relocated residents, the PDS shop keepers claim that their names are not in the register. Due to this, the PDS shop keepers do not release the ration and the residents are forced to buy food at higher prices.

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\(^{60}\) Field visit to Bawana JJ Resettlement Colony conducted on 10 June 2008.

\(^{61}\) According to the prices on 31 July 2007, the [http://delhigovt.nic.in/dept/food/fpds2.asp](http://delhigovt.nic.in/dept/food/fpds2.asp) website says:

The APL and BPL card holders are classified as rice eaters and wheat eaters; the entitlements are as: APL and BPL rice eaters are entitled to 25 kg per card per month of rice and 10 kg per card per month of wheat and APL and BPL wheat eaters are entitled to 25 kg per card per month of wheat and 10 kg per card per month of rice. Wheat is available to APL card holders @ Rs 6.80 per kg and to BPL card holders @ Rs 4.65 per kg. Rice is available to APL card holders @ Rs 9.00 per kg and to BPL card holders @ Rs 6.15 per kg. The APL card holders are not entitled to any sugar, the BPL card holders are entitled to 6 kg of sugar per card per month. Sugar is available to the BPL card holders @ Rs 13.50 per kg. The BPL card holders are entitled to 22 litres of kerosene oil @ Rs 9.09 per litre and the APL card holders are entitled to 9.5 litres of kerosene oil @ Rs 9.09 per litre).
Having been to slums and resettlement colonies of Delhi and talked to the women in these areas, I feel it is not correct to have a ‘blanket’ policy regarding payment for toilet usage by women for all slums and resettlement areas. The women in slums are, generally willing to pay for public toilets, since they have a source of livelihood and their place of work is close-by. However, in resettlement colonies, women are often not working, as they are skilled only in housework and find it difficult to get suitable employment in the neighbourhood. If women travel to far off areas for work, it increases the opportunity cost of work – in terms of the time and money that they have to spend to commute. Once they are resettled/relocated to far off places (in an effort to make Delhi slum-free), the sources of income for women decrease drastically and hence they are unable and unwilling to pay for toilet usage each time.

11.6. Awareness among women on how to use a toilet
This issue was brought up many times during my research. The Sanitary Inspectors, DEMS, felt that many women do not know how to use the toilet. They themselves recommended that there needs to be a kind of ‘coming together’ of the residents (especially women), the MCD and the NGOs working in that specific area to understand and explain ‘how to use’ the public toilet.
Even within the areas visited, there were women who felt that the ‘other women’ do not know how to use the toilet and therefore, the maintenance levels are poor.

Further, it is surprising that none of the CTCs, I visited, had a dustbin. This means that even those women who do know ‘how to use’ and ‘how to dispose’ their dirty cloth/sanitary napkins would have to wonder ‘where to dispose’. Probably those (mostly men) who have constructed and are maintaining the toilets do not understand this basic requirement of women in a toilet complex. I recall one set of caretakers laughing at me when I asked them where the dustbin was.

Given the importance that the MCD is giving to solid waste management, they do not seem understand that emphasis needs to be given to the ‘management’ of the waste created by women too.

11.7. Cases of sexual harassment
Many women and girls from slum and resettlement areas are forced to go to the toilet in close by forest areas or railway lines as the toilet facilities for them are either not enough, not there or not affordable. In most areas, there is no end to the number of cases of women and girls being sexually harassed while they go to the toilet. It is extremely sad that there is a constant fear about something as personal as ‘answering the call of nature’. Going alone to the toilet is not even an option for women and girls from slum and resettlement areas.

11.8. Limitations of the study
One set of players that could not be covered in the ‘economy’ of public toilets in Delhi in the slum and resettlement colonies are the NGOs – other than Sulabh International – which are involved in the maintenance of public toilets in some slum and resettlement areas in Delhi.
Due to the time constraint, it was not possible for me to obtain the up-to-date documents of the MCD on public toilets and therefore, the affidavits of senior officials of the MCD, filed in response to Delhi High Court orders were used.

I acknowledge the help rendered by various residents and caretakers of the CTCs in the slum and resettlement areas I visited. During my interviews many spoke hesitantly and a bit reluctantly; possibly the issue of personal hygiene and toilets is not something to be discussed with an unknown person.
12. RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION

12.1. Norms to be clearly defined
It is suggested that the policy makers clearly define the norms for the number of latrine seats to users, the infrastructural requirements for CTCs and the placement of CTCs. The implementation agencies must follow these norms.

12.2. A focused implementation agency
Presently, the issue of construction and maintenance of CTCs in the slum and resettlement areas of Delhi is largely under the MCD. Within the MCD, there are three different departments (Engineering Department, Slum and JJ Department and DEMS) involved in the issue. The three departments appear to be playing a blame game and not taking the problems regarding public toilet facilities for the women of slum and resettlement colonies seriously. DEMS is in-charge of maintaining 1544/1737 CTCs\(^{62}\), but it seems that a majority of the resources are being diverted towards solid waste management at the cost of something as basic as maintenance of public toilets. There is, thus, a need for a dedicated department to deal with this issue.

12.3. Policy recommendations on whether or not public toilets should be pay and use for women
Pay and use toilet facilities for women can work as a policy for slum areas. The model for maintenance of public toilets in Mumbai slums is interesting and could be adopted in Delhi. The project was initially supported by the World Bank. Every adult made a one-time deposit of Rs 100 towards the maintenance fund for the constructed public toilet. If a family consists of more than five adults, it has to pay Rs 500 only. The money is placed in a bank account, jointly managed by a Brihan Mumbai Corporation (BMC) official and the slum society, and is used to cover future repair costs. Meanwhile, the community decides on matters related to routine maintenance and operation costs, and devises its own schemes of regular collection of contributions. Many slum welfare societies are charging Rs 10–15 monthly, per person. The toilets constructed have two important features: there is a separate section for children and they have two storeys – with the caretaker’s family living in the first floor of the toilet complex and a terrace which can be used for community functions (renting out of this terrace leads to a higher revenue for maintaining the public toilet).\(^{63}\)

In resettlement colonies, if there are CTCs, the toilet facilities for women should either be free or they should need to pay only a token amount, like Rs. 30 per month (as envisaged by policy documents). The idea of resettlement is to improve the standard of living of the relocated people who earlier lived in slums. Apart from CTCs, laying proper sewer lines

\(^{62}\) From the affidavit submitted by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, MCD on 17 January 2007 in response to orders of the Delhi High Court.

gives the option to the resettled residents to install personal toilets at home; this would lead to increased levels of personal hygiene especially for women and effectively lead to an improvement in the standard of living.

12.4. Possibility of BOT in slum and resettlement colonies

It is proposed that the following model be considered: MCD make it mandatory for companies who show an interest in constructing, repairing and maintaining CTCs on a BOT basis in lucrative areas to also do the same in the slum and resettlement areas within a certain ratio that would benefit the latter. The income from the advertising rights in the up-market areas can be used by the company to cross subsidize the maintenance and repair of the CTCs in the slum and resettlement areas. There are few takers for advertisements in the lesser known area and so it is financially difficult for the companies to successfully and hygienically run the CTCs in slum and resettlement areas. There are slums in the NDMC area where public toilets have been constructed and are being maintained on BOT basis by a private agency which also has the advertising rights.

A recent call for EOIs by MCD should improve the situation for women but this, unfortunately, does not include the slum and resettlement colonies. (Document attached in Annexure 15).

12.5. Awareness Camps

Along with providing public toilets for women in slum and resettlement area, awareness camps need to be organized in slum and resettlement areas to educate people on ‘how to use the toilet’ and the consequences of communicable diseases especially urinary tract and reproductive tract infections. This is particularly important for women, as they throw their dirty cloth/sanitary napkins in the toilets – leading to blockages and clogging; if left carelessly, there is an increased risk of communicable diseases. NGOs working in slum and resettlement areas can organize camps every few months so that the message of personal hygiene and clean toilets (especially for women) spreads.

12.6. Need for Public Urinals for Women

Only 4% of the public urinals in Delhi have facilities for women. Women face a constant risk of being sexual harassed while going to the toilet outside. It is essential that this percentage is enhanced, so that women, even from the lower economic strata have access to a proper enclosed cubicle as a toilet.

12.7. Need for a lobby

The first priority for people from slum and resettlement colonies is to have food for themselves and their family members. Though public toilets are an issue, it is often overlooked by the people, especially women. To raise any issue and fight for it involves time, energy and money; this is more prevalent in the context of the present problem.

64 The NDMC has started the BOT scheme for construction, repair and maintenance of public toilets in slum areas like: Khanna market, Gwalior Pottery area, Indira Camp, Bharti Basti. (Information gathered from an interview conducted on 30 May 2008 with Ms. Sheena Rawat, Hythro Power Corporation Limited – an agency, which is, presently maintaining about 100 public convenience complexes in the NDMC area).
There is a vocal lobby fighting against sexual harassment of women, but it fails to understand that the non-provision of something as basic as safe, hygienic public toilets for women is leading to many cases of sexual harassment in slum and resettlement colonies. The officials at Delhi Commission for Women (DCW) told me that they are unable to take a stand on the issue, since they have assigned a project to Centre for Planning, Research and Action (CEPRA) to survey the facilities for women in slum and JJ colonies in Delhi.

It is imperative to ensure articulation for the voices of people, from slum and resettlement colonies, which are otherwise ignored. This raises the possibility of analysis and scrutiny of public policies. RTI applications and Public Interest Litigations (PILs) filed have brought issues like non-availability of public toilets to the forefront.

There is no denying the fact that adequate facilities with regard to public toilets need to be provided to the vast population living in slum and resettlement areas and more so for women. The provision of basic facilities like toilets would ensure quality health, both physical and mental, which is the foundation of a developing society.
13. ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Guidelines of HUDCO regarding Implementation of Community Toilets and Sanitation

(Available at: http://www.hudco.org/cts.htm)

"THE SCHEME"

The programme is for funding of construction of Community Toilets and Sanitation facilities for the benefit of floating population and the public in general. The scheme is for construction of community toilets in Schools / Institutes / Hospitals / busy market places / Bus stands / Railway Stations / slums etc. ELIGIBILITY HUDCO's grant assistance will be available to State Govt. nominated agencies, Corporate Sector agencies, NGOs, CBOs, Charitable Trusts / Institutions, provided the agency is competent under its constitution or the law governing it to raise the grant / loan for the activity. Agency should also have requisite experience. The agency should have good track record. Agency will be required to submit its audited account for last three years. The "No objection certificate" along with the copy of agreement is required to be given by the land owning agency if construction of community toilets is done by borrowing agency or agency other than landowner. The agency should not have defaulted in respect of loans / grants, if any, availed from HUDCO or any other Government department etc.

FINANCIAL PATTERN

The scheme envisages the ceiling cost of WC / Bath at Rs 40,000/- each (excluding the cost of land). HUDCO would make available a maximum of Rs 20,000/- (50%) as subsidy amount and the matching share Rs 20,000/- would be borne by the implementing agency from its own sources, or from MPLAD / MLA funds etc. HUDCO's funds would be released only after agency invests its share of Rs 20,000/-in the project. In case the gross cost per WC / Bath exceeds Rs 40,000/-, then HUDCO can finance the balance project cost as loan to the agency depending upon financial viability of the project, and this loan would be extended under HUDCO's infrastructure guidelines and 'Action Plan' schemes terms of financing and agency will be required to pay application fee and other applicable charges as per HUDCO's prevailing financing pattern HUDCO will release its share of grant only after agency ensures that all statutory approvals are obtained and invest its share in the scheme duly supported with photographs of work in progress, alongwith expenditure statement duly certified by the Authorised Officer in case of public agencies and by Chartered Accountant in case of other agencies like NGOs, CBOs. The HUDCO's grant will be released in two instalments. Second instalments will be released based on the utilization of the previous instalment.

- Agency would be free to add small Kiosks / Shops enabling generation of additional funds which can be used for repayment of loan / maintenance of the Community Toilet Complex.
• Depending upon the need / demand, a Night Shelter component could also be added on the 1st floor of the Community Toilet Complexes.

The use of local building materials, substitutes for cement and secondary species of timber shall be encouraged in such projects. Copy of Agreement for O & M cost to be provided.

To improve the viability, the implementing agencies may explore the possibility of availing the schemes/subsidies regarding solar water heater, solar energy, biogas etc. To improve the viability, the implementing agencies may explore to avail the schemes/subsidies regarding solar water heater, solar energy, biogas etc. from the MNES and other departments and also display advertisement as per the rules of the local authority and other applicable laws for the time being, in force.

SCHEME SIZE

HUDCO will provide maximum grant of upto Rs 50.00 lakhs per district.

MONITORING

The borrowing agencies are required to submit progress reports on the sanctioned schemes to HUDCO in the prescribed format before release of funds. HUDCO will not finance any cost over-runs. In case, the project is not completed by the agency or the grant is not utilized for the purpose due to whatsoever reason, within the given time frame, the agency is liable to refund the released amount to HUDCO along with penalty as would be decided by HUDCO.

O & M

The entire O & M cost will be borne by the land owning / implementing agency, the details for the same to be indicated in the proposal. In case the facility is for an institution then, the O & M cost will be borne by the Institution from its own sources.

SUBMISSION & SANCTION OF SCHEME

The scheme should be submitted along with details of design / cost estimates, implementation and maintenance methodology etc. at HUDCO's Regional Offices.”
Annexure 2: Funding Pattern of BSUP Scheme, under JNNURM


The BSUP Scheme will be funded in the following manner:

“Under Sub-Mission on Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), wherever State Level nodal agency releases Central & State funds to the implementing agencies as soft loan or grant-cum-loan, it would ensure that at least 10% of the funds released are recovered and ploughed into the Revolving Fund. This fund will be utilized to meet operation & maintenance expenses of the assets created under the Sub-Mission. At the end of the Mission period, the Revolving Fund may be graduated to State Basic Services to the Urban Poor Fund.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Cities</th>
<th>Grant, Central Share</th>
<th>State/ULB/Parastatal Share including Beneficiary Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cities with 4 million plus population as per 2001 census</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities with million plus but less than 4 million population as per 2001 census</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities and Towns in North Eastern States and Jammu and Kashmir</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other cities</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The percentage is on the total project cost.

Central assistance, as aforesaid, would be the maximum assistance available under JNNURM. The Central assistance provided under the Mission can be used to leverage market capital, if and where required.

Mobilization of State share
If necessary, internal resources of implementing agencies, MPLAD and MLALAD funds may be substituted for institutional finance or for State/ULB/Parastatal share. However, MPLAD/MLALAD fund would not substitute beneficiary contribution.

In case any Mission project is also approved as Externally Aided Project (EAP), the EAP funds can be passed through as Additional Central Assistance to the State Government as funds contributed by State / ULBs / FIs and Mission funds can be used as Government of India contribution.
Beneficiary Contribution
Housing should not be provided free to the beneficiaries by the State Government. A minimum of 12% beneficiary contribution should be stipulated, which in the case of SC/ST/BC/OBC/PH and other weaker sections shall be 10%.
In order to enable cities to prepare City Development Plan, Detailed Project Reports (DPRs), training & capacity building, community participation, information, education and communication (IEC), a provision of 5% of the grant (Central & State) or the actual requirement, whichever is less, would be set apart for cities covered under the Mission.
In addition, not more than 5% of the grant (Central and State) or the actual requirement, whichever is less, may be used for Administrative and Other Expenses (A&OE) by the States.

Release of Funds
The funds would be released as far as possible in four instalments by Ministry of Urban Employment and Poverty Alleviation as Additional Central Assistance (100% Grant in respect of Central share) to the State Government or its designated State level agencies. The first instalment of 25% will be released on signing of the Memorandum of Agreement by the State Government/ULB/Parastatal for implementation of JNNURM projects. The balance amount of assistance shall be released as far as possible in three instalments upon receipt of utilization certificates to the extent of 70% of the Central fund and also that of State/ULB/Parastatal share, and subject to achievement of milestones agreed for implementation of mandatory and optional reforms at the State and ULB level as envisaged in the Memorandum of Agreement.”
Annexure 3: Financing Pattern of the ILCS Scheme

The ILCS scheme will be funded in the following manner:

“1. Central Subsidy 75%, State Subsidy 15% and beneficiary share 10%.

The second installment of Government of India subsidy portion (i.e. with reference to total funds earmarked for a given State/UT) will only be released after the State’s share for the first installment has been released. The subsidy will be released by Central Government directly. The funds will be released to State Urban Development Agency (SUDA), District Urban Development Agency (DUDA) or any other agency designated by the State Government. The services of the NGOs and community extension units of the municipalities selected for Urban Basic Services programme could also be utilized for motivating the community and for technical help.

2. The upper ceiling cost of Rs 10,000/- may be fixed for the complete unit of a two pit pour flush individual latrine with superstructure (excluding States falling in difficult / hilly areas). For the States falling in the category of difficult and hilly areas, 25% extra cost may be provided for each two pit pour flush latrine. In other words, in States falling in the category of difficult and hilly areas, the upper ceiling cost will be Rs 12,500/- for one complete LCS Unit.

3. 1% of total central allocation may be retained by the Ministry every year, to be utilized for MIS, Monitoring System, Capacity Building and IEC components. The IEC funds could be utilized for creation of awareness amongst the public on the advantages of using sanitary latrines, hygiene education in schools and colleges and Nehru Yuvak Kendras and Chetna Sanghs for non-student youth, carrying out surveys, newspaper advertisements and mid term evaluation studies etc. States may also utilize or keep aside 1% of their allocation under this scheme for MIS, Monitoring System, Capacity Building and IEC components. The funds retained, if not utilized may be made available for ILCS projects. The IEC component may also include expenditure on field visits by the Ministry officials for better coordination with State Governments/ Implementing agencies, outsourcing of manpower for speedy and effective implementation.

4. The Ministry will develop an IT enabled MIS and Monitoring System and similar systems will be created at the State &ULB level out of 1% earmarked for this purpose. MIS & Monitoring through quarterly Progress Reports along with Utilization Certificates which will ensure smooth release of subsequent installment of funds.”

He was also looking after the work of the Director-in-Chief, Department of Environment Management Service (DEMS). The affidavit was received on the 31 October 2007.
Annexure 5: Zonewise Detailed list of CTCs under DEMS, MCD. (Source: affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD, in response to the Delhi High Court orders dated 17 January, 2007.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Name of Zone</th>
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<th>Gents</th>
<th>Urinals</th>
<th>Ladies</th>
<th>Gents</th>
<th>Urinals</th>
<th>Gents</th>
<th>Urinals</th>
<th>Disabled Persons</th>
<th>Gents</th>
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<th>Gents</th>
<th>Urinals</th>
<th>Disabled Persons</th>
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<td>50</td>
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</table>

Total CTCs = 1544 No.

Water Closet (WCs) = 
- Gents: 21660
- Ladies: 20147
- Disabled Persons: 579

Urinals = 
- Gents: 4838
- Ladies: 3822
- Disabled Persons: 6

Total = 26400
Annexure 6: Zonewise List of CTCs under the Slum and JJ Department, MCD. (Source: affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD, in response to the Delhi High Court orders dated 17 January 2007)

Summary of Toilet Complexes Zone wise under Slum and JJ Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone name</th>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>WC seats</th>
<th>baths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Lines</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karol bagh</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Najafgarh</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>145</td>
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<tr>
<td>Narela</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohini</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>900</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sadar Paharganj</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahdara(N)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>193</td>
<td>5943</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Present Seats</th>
<th>Proposed Seats</th>
<th>Action Plan for Provision of additional/upgradation of seats in urinals for Ladies and Disabled Persons</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>South Central</td>
<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>South West</td>
<td>208</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>South East</td>
<td>184</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>South West</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Central West</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Central East</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>North Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1133</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

*Note: The table above outlines the action plan for the provision or upgrade of additional seats in urinals for ladies and disabled persons, as detailed in the affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department MCD in response to Delhi High Court orders dated 17 January 2007.*
Annexure 8:
Answers given by Vijendra Gupta, Member, MCD Standing Committee.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>क्रमांक</th>
<th>अत्याचारकृत प्रश्न</th>
<th>विमानीय उत्तर</th>
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</table>
| 1.     | दिल्ली नगर निगम के अधिकार क्षेत्र में किए गए पुलिस कूटनीतियों हैं और 2003-2004, 2004-2005 तथा 2005-2006 के लिए नए पुलिस कूटनीतियों का निर्माण किया गया है ?<br> (a) इसकी जल्दी की संयुक्त समीक्षा की जाए ?<br> (b) इसने से बिना र कार्यता से कार्य कर सकता है ?<br> (c) इसमें से किन नियमों के लिए परीक्षा की जाए ? और क्यों परीक्षा की जाती है पुलिस नियमों में पालन की अनुशंसा करें?
|       | दिल्ली नगर निगम के अधीन इस निर्माण के अधिकार क्षेत्र में 3192 पुलिस कूटनीतियों हैं और 2003-04, 2004-05, 2005-06 में नये निर्माण किए गए पुलिस कूटनीतियों का विवरण इस प्रकार हैं:
|       | 2003-04 | 2004-05 | 2005-06 |
|       | 105     | 142     | 201     | 448     |
| 2.     | बनाए जाने<br>के लिए पुलिस कूटनीतियों की कौनसी क्षेत्रीय मात्रा की गई है जब में यह इसकी अथवा (क) कूटनीति का विवरण किया जाए ?<br> (b) परीक्षा के लिए पुलिस कूटनीति के रूप में किए जा रहे जाने वाले पुलिस कूटनीति के लिए परीक्षा किया जाए ?<br> (c) दिल्ली नगर निगम के अधीन इस निर्माण के अधिकार क्षेत्र में 3192 पुलिस कूटनीतियों हैं और 2003-04, 2004-05, 2005-06 में नये निर्माण किए गए पुलिस कूटनीतियों का विवरण इस प्रकार हैं:
|       | 1- नेता ज्ञान 55  | 6- मेट्रो जोग 431  | 11- बालादोल-मोबील 425  |
|       | 2- निवासिय प्रकाश 251 | 7- सिटी जोग 393 | 12- शिक्षा-मुख्य 281  |
|       | 3- विशि जोग 392 | 8- सिटी जोग 272 | 13- महान ज्ञान 120  |
|       | 4- मेट्रो जोग 269 | 9- सिटी जोग 120 | 14- वार जोग 108  |
|       | 5- विशि जोग 222 | 10- साराखान्त विस्तार 108 | 15- बालादोल-मोबील 425  |

क) 3192 रीमेंटक प्रकाश से काम कर सकता है।<br> इसने 2005 में पालन की जाए ? परीक्षा के लिए पुलिस कूटनीतियों में 24 प्रति परीक्षा नहीं अंकित है। जब परीक्षा की जाए तो जिस परीक्षा की जाए जिस परीक्षा की जाए का परीक्षा करें।

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>क्रमांक</th>
<th>जोना</th>
<th>रक्षा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>नेता ज्ञान</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-</td>
<td>निवासिय प्रकाश</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>विशि जोग</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-</td>
<td>सिटी ज्ञान</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-</td>
<td>मेट्रो ज्ञान</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-</td>
<td>कार्यालय ग्राम पंद्रह</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-</td>
<td>साराखान्त विस्तार</td>
<td>2,000,000/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-</td>
<td>सिटी ज्ञान</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-</td>
<td>जीवन</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-</td>
<td>साराखान्त विस्तार</td>
<td>12,000,000/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-</td>
<td>शिक्षा-मुख्य</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-</td>
<td>शिक्षा-मुख्य</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-</td>
<td>महान ज्ञान</td>
<td>बुधवार</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. क्षेत्र दिल्ली गृह निर्माण ब्यालोनिंग एवं पल्लकी सूचीकरण की साधन के लिए होने वाले कार्य को कैसे करते हैं? याद रहेगा ये है कि उसका राज 3 वर्षों का विद्यमान है।

3. क्षेत्र परिसर पुरस्कार की सन्दर्भ के लिए राज्य/राज्य सहित/राज्य सहित की गोलियाँ या अन्य सूची की प्रक्रिया की जाती है? यदि ऐसा है तो इस पर विचार 3 वर्षों का राज्य के अनुसार विवरण दिखाएं?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>पुरस्कार पुरस्कार की गोलियाँ के लिए इस प्रकार</th>
<th>राज्य सहित/राज्य सहित की गोलियाँ</th>
<th>अन्य सूची की गोलियाँ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>राज्य/राज्य सहित/राज्य सहित की गोलियाँ</td>
<td>28.56.865/-</td>
<td>5.43.125/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>राज्य/राज्य सहित/राज्य सहित की गोलियाँ</td>
<td>34.38.396/-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. क्षेत्र परिसर पुरस्कार की जालियाँ या इस के साथ किया गया है और इस प्रकार में कोई बारंबार समान नहीं है? इसके क्षेत्र के अनुसार विवरण दिखाएं?

5. क्षेत्र अन्य काजों के लिए शहरी और पंचायती रेखा और विवरण की का विवरण की जाती है। इसके सम्बन्ध में कार्य की कोई अनिश्चित की जाती नहीं?

6. क्षेत्र सरकार और अ.ज.क. कला कला के लिए स्थापना बनाना या स्थापना सूची के लिए विवरण और सूची का कोई निर्देश प्रस्तावित नहीं है। पहले ऐसा है कि कोई भी इनके निर्देश उपयुक्त कृपया अनुसार विवरण दिखाएं?

अंतिमता अद्ययाल्मी/प्रेम, प्रमुख अधिकारी(सी.एम.ए. में की)
Annexure 9: A note on the Sulabh International Model for personal toilets

Sulabh International has designed personal toilets with different materials – taking into account different geographical areas and differences in income (and hence different amounts that people are willing to invest in a personal toilet. These toilets do NOT need to be connected with a sewer line. The main model they use is the ‘TWIN-PIT Model’. The materials used in making the pit and the pan differ depending upon the target family and geographical area. This TWIN-PIT Model does not require connectivity with any sewer line. The broad idea of the model is that the urine, excreta and the water gets collected in one pit while the route to the other pit is blocked. Then once this pit gets full (the time period depends upon the size and capacity of the pit and the frequency of usage of the toilet, being in the range of 2 to 20 years), the route to the first pit is blocked and that to the other pit is opened. Then the first pit is left as it is for about one and half to two years – during this time, the manure is formed and any methane gas that is released is absorbed by the soil. The inner layer of the pit has a honeycomb structure which allows the methane gas to pass directly into the soil. The manure is then removed by the household (no scavenging is required in the process) and can be used as manure. During this period the second pit is used for 3 to 5 years and once it is full, then the route to it is blocked and the route to the first one is opened. Manure is subsequently extracted from the second pit. So, in this alternating manner the toilet usage can proceed for several years. This above model is preferred vis-s-vis a SINGLE PIT Model because a single leach pit would be appropriate only if desludging (removal of all the excreta and urine from the pit) can be done mechanically by a vacuum tanker, since the contents are not pathogen-free. But in a two pit system, since ONLY one pit is used at a time, the filled up pit can be cleaned manually by the household since enough time is given to the contents of the pit for digestion, it becomes foul free and safe for handling. The idea is to make the toilet affordable for all income groups. The cost of building personal toilets depends on the materials used in making the substructure (consisting of the pits and the seat) and the superstructure of the toilet. The range is from Rs. 1,600 to Rs. 58,000. The Twin Pit Model also aims at conserving water. In a usual toilet, with a septic tank, it takes about 12 to 15 litres of water to flush, but in the toilets designed by Sulabh International, the pan has an inherent angle of inclination such that only 1.5 to 2 litres of water is required for flushing. Not only this, even the trap at the end of the pan which, in case of a septic tank flush, holds 5 litres of water at any given point of time, in case of the Sulabh model, the trap holds only 1 litre of water. Therefore, overall water usage is less.
YAMUNA ACTION PLAN

MCD ALLEGATIONS UNSUBSTANTIATED, FALSE AND MISLEADING, SAYS SULABH

For quite some time news items have appeared in the press, quoting Municipal Authorities of Delhi, damaging the reputation of the Sulabh International Social Service Organisation in which it has been alleged that the organization did not maintain properly the toilet complexes entrusted to it by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi from April 2006 to March 2008 and the MCD was compelled to take them back. In this connection, we would like to state that the allegations are unsubstantiated, false and misleading, as will be evident from the facts contained in the following paragraphs.

To begin with, it may be mentioned that Sulabh experience with the Municipal Corporation of Delhi dates back to the year 1986 and since then Sulabh had constructed 122 toilet complexes and had been maintaining them. Besides these, Sulabh was also entrusted with the maintenance of toilet complexes which were constructed by contractors of the MCD. Thus till the end of April 2005 Sulabh was maintaining 206 community toilet complexes in all of which 122 were constructed and maintained by Sulabh and 84 toilets were constructed by contractors of the MCD and handed over to Sulabh for maintenance. There was no complaint in respect of toilet complexes constructed and maintained by Sulabh. However, the toilet complexes constructed by MCD contractors which were given to Sulabh were of poor quality.

Then came another phase of maintenance of toilet complexes constructed under Yamuna Action Plan extended Phase-I. The Japan Bank of International Cooperation financed projects for the construction of community toilets in Haryana, Delhi and other States. The Haryana State Government gave entire responsibility for the construction and maintenance of public toilets to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation which we are still being operated and maintained and there is no complaint from the Japan Bank of International Cooperation, the State Government of Haryana or from the people regarding quality of construction and their proper maintenance by Sulabh. In Delhi, however, the MCD in their wisdom chose to adopt a different line and gave the work of construction of 959 toilet complexes to inexperienced contractors. The MCD allotted the work of maintenance of some so-called non-governmental organisations (NGOs) after issuance of tender on the basis of license fees. These organisations who claimed to be non-governmental organisations had no experience of maintaining these toilet complexes and for them it was a business merely for profit motive and as such they quoted high rates of license fee and obtained the licenses to maintain and operate these toilet complexes. However after the said complexes had been allotted to these organisations they neither paid any license fee to the MCD nor did they take any interest in the maintenance of the said toilet complexes thereby causing great inconvenience to the general public and frustrating the very purpose of the Yamuna Action Plan. The quality of construction of these toilet complexes was very poor. Within a span of two years, the MCD found that the NGOs who were entrusted with the operation and maintenance of CTCs were not maintaining them properly and some of the CTCs had been kept locked by them. They also found that the NGOs were not depositing their due payments such as license fee, insurance premium, electricity bills etc. Thus the problems arising out of poor quality of construction by private contractors were compounded due to poor maintenance by the other NGOs which did not have enough experience nor had they necessary infrastructure. In fact out of 959 CTCs constructed under Yamuna Action Plan 359 toilets were lying closed. The MCD decided that all the 359 non-functional CTCs be handed over to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation for operation and maintenance without levy of any charges because according to them Sulabh is highly professional and experienced agency and can make these CTCs functional.

Subsequently, a sub-committee constituted by the Standing Committee of Municipal Corporation of Delhi in July 2004 examined the proposal of the Commissioner, Municipal Corporation of Delhi to hand over 1963 public toilet complexes including 959 constructed under Yamuna Action Plan to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation for operation and maintenance for a period of 30 years. The sub-committee arrived at the conclusion that construction, repair and maintenance of public toilets in MCD area by Sulabh International Social Service Organisation would be in public interest. Subsequently this was approved by the Standing Committee and the House of the MCD. At this stage, we would like to mention the fact that Sulabh was not at all keen to take over all the toilet complexes because of the poor quality of construction and the fact the location of some of them was such that they were not usable. In fact before Sulabh took over the maintenance of these toilet complexes, it was brought to the notice of MCD that quite a good number of toilet complexes were in dilapidated condition and were non-functional. The Commissioner, MCD took cognizance of this fact. When Sulabh, on persuasion by the MCD, agreed to take over these toilet complexes for maintenance, it was the Commissioner who
decided that before taking over CTCs, each CTC would be inspected by a joint-team consisting of MCD officials and the representative of Sulabh International Social Service Organisation to assess and record the condition of each CTC and prepare estimates for renovation, rectification and removing major defects. An agreement was signed between the Municipal Corporation of Delhi and the representative of the Sulabh International Social Service Organisation regarding maintenance of the toilet complexes in which there was specific provision in clause 2 of the agreement which provided the expenditure required for renovation / rectification and removing major defects / structural defects will be borne by the MCD.

Out of 1503 CTCs, 1544 toilet complexes were handed over to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation by MCD in phases from April 2005 to March 2006 as given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No. of CTCs taken over</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>April 2005</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>May 2005</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>June 2005</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>July 2005</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>August 2005</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>September 2005</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>October 2005</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>November 2005</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>December 2005</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>January 2006</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>February 2006</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>March 2006</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of 1544 toilet complexes handed over to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation by MCD, 10140 were functional and remaining 5290 toilets were in dilapidated condition and could not be rectified because funds promised by Delhi Municipal Corporation, as per clause 2 of the agreement, were not released by the MCD. Even then out of 504 non-functional public toilets, Sulabh International Social Service Organisation had made 128 public toilets functional by carrying out renovation and necessary repairs etc. out of their own funds. The remaining 322 public toilets required heavy repairs and could not be renovated / repaired to the satisfaction of the users as the fund as agreed to in the agreement was not released by the MCD. In 594 toilet complexes, there was no arrangement for tube wells and some of them were being operated by the Sulabh by hiring water tankers.

An impression has gone around arising out of some of the statements made by the Municipal authorities that Sulabh International Social Service Organisation was interested only in those toilet complexes which earned revenue from advertisement. This has absolutely no basis as out of 1544 toilet complexes handed over to Sulabh only 21 were located in areas where it could earn revenue from advertisement. This is further evident from the fact that the organization had received advertisement revenue of only Rs. 52 lakhs from 21 toilet complexes. This amount was used by the Sulabh for repairing the toilet complexes. This wrong impression has been deliberately created among the people to tarnish the image of Sulabh International Social Service Organisation.

We would also like to make a specific mention of the fact that while entrusting public toilets under the Yamuna Action Plan to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation, one of the factors which weighed with the MCD was that with a view to save Yamuna from pollution Sulabh would install biogas plants in 693 toilets in place of septic tanks. The cost of installation of one biogas plant roughly comes to Rs. 5 lakhs and thus, the total cost of installation of biogas plant in all the 693 public toilets would be Rs. 35 crores which could have been done by Sulabh over a long period from the resources accruing from the advertisement. This could, however, could not materialize as the toilet complexes were taken back by the MCD only within a year or in most cases within a few months of their being handed over to Sulabh International Social Service Organisation.

Sulabh International Social Service Organisation after taking over the toilet complexes took several steps for their proper maintenance. Necessary machinery was put in place. The organisation after creating elaborate machinery had started moving but before it could take off, the MCD in their wisdom vide letter dated 10-05-2006 took back the toilet complexes. It is surprising that before taking over these toilet complexes they did not issue a notice giving an opportunity to Sulabh to explain its point of view. It was an essential requirement of natural justice and for which there was provision in clauses 18 and 23 of the agreement. In the letter it was mentioned that there toilet complexes were being taken back on the ground of their improper maintenance, complaints made by Councilors and the failure of the Sulabh to attend to the complaints regarding maintenance of these toilet complexes. A mention was also made of a Compact Disc (CD) which was shown by an Hon'ble Councilor.

In this connection, we would like to mention that during the short period of only 3 complaints were received from MCD which were promptly attended to, rectified and the persons who had made these complaints were duly informed. As regards the allegations made by the Councilors, it is rather strange that on a single day 73 Councilors reported to the MCD about the poor maintenance of toilet complexes by Sulabh International Social Service Organisation. It defies logic that on a single day 73 Councilors could report to the MCD about the improper maintenance of the toilet complexes by Sulabh. It is obvious that the whole thing was manipulated to take back the maintenance of these toilet complexes from Sulabh International Social Service Organisation. The matter did not end there. All of a sudden a Compact Disc (CD) was prepared...
in respect of four toilet complexes out of 1544. These toilet complexes were deliberately selected out of those which were in dilapidated condition and for which funds were to be provided by the MCD for renovation which was not done by them. It is evident that four toilet complexes could not be treated as sample of all the toilet complexes maintained by us. Incidentally, these four toilets were constructed by the MCD contractors. It has been informally learnt that this disc was shown to the Commissioner, MCD and all the members of the Standing Committee. Surprisingly this was not shown to us for the reasons best known to them. In fact in normal course this should have been shown to us and we should have been given opportunity to explain the position.

In response of the decision of the MCD to take back these toilet complexes we thought it proper to comply with the decision and not to resort to any other course which is available in the agreement and the court of law. For example there was a clause of arbitration in such situations but we did not take advantage of this because the organisation does not believe in confrontation and wants to have cooperation and collaboration with governmental agencies. We also did not approach court of law for which there were ample provisions in the Agreement.

Sulabh International Social Service Organisation also wants to clarify the actual position regarding an impression which has been created that advertisement is a great source of revenue in the construction and maintenance of public toilets. The exact position is that the advertisement as a source of revenue is mainly confined to NDMC areas. In so far the MCD area is concerned, this is available in only certain selected pockets. There are areas like Nand Nagri, Tilokpuri, Mangolpuri and similar other places within MCD where there is absolutely no scope of revenue through advertisement. In NDMC areas by investing Rs. 7 lakhs for the construction and maintenance of one toilet block, one can earn more than 2 crores during a period of 7 years from advertisement and users’ charges. This also finds support from the fact that commercial organisations have constructed and are maintaining toilet complexes in the NDMC areas as they find this as profitable investment. The same will not be the position in respect of areas of MCD except a few.

This is being published in the newspapers only with a view to correct the impression that has gone around that MCD took back these toilet complexes on account of inefficient management by the Sulabh. As is evident from the foregoing paragraphs, the Sulabh did not fault in proper maintenance of these toilet complexes. In fact Sulabh had made necessary arrangements for their maintenance. It was MCD which did not meet its obligation under clause 2 of the agreement and failed to provide funds for renovation/rectification of the toilet complexes which were in dilapidated condition.

The full facts have been mentioned above so that the people can make an objective assessment of the situation. The best thing for the people would be to see the present condition of the toilet complexes which have been taken back by the Sulabh and are being maintained by MCD. In fact it would be a good experience to have comparative idea of the maintenance of toilet complexes by the Sulabh before they were taken back and their present condition.

Issued by

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E-mail: sulabh1@nde.vsnl.net.in / sulabh2@nde.vsnl.net.in
Website : http://www.sulabhinternational.org, www.sulabhtoiletmuseum.org
Annexure 11: Pamphlet released by the residents of Sanjay Colony on 28 March 2008.
(The date printed on the pamphlet reads 28 February 2008; but the actual date when the pamphlet was circulated was on 28 March 2008)
Annexure 12: Pamphlet distributed prior to the jan baithak at Bawana.
Annexure 13: Location norms proposed by NDMC.
(Source: An affidavit filed by Lt. Col. S.K. Garg, Medical Officer of Health, NDMC; in response to Delhi High Court orders dated 17 January 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>PARAMETER</th>
<th>NO. SUGGESTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Markets</td>
<td>&gt;60 shops</td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20-60 shops</td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-20 shops</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiok cluster</td>
<td>2 or more</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stails</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road berm market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro station/ train stations/ bus station</td>
<td>Entry gates</td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places of worship</td>
<td>In Proximity</td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>Near Emergency and OPO</td>
<td>1-3 blocks of 6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts *</td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;3 blocks of 6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist/ Heritage places *</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>Near Entry</td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle Parking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus terminus</td>
<td>In Proximity</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Party offices</td>
<td>Near gate</td>
<td>6 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools (Bus parkings)</td>
<td>In Proximity</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinema Halls</td>
<td>In Proximity</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office complexes **</td>
<td>In Proximity (in still area also)</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roadside***</td>
<td>Near Bus Q shelter</td>
<td>4 units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Parks, play ground, stadium, sports complex</td>
<td>Inside</td>
<td>4-5 blocks of 6 units</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Space will be asked from the owner of the premises to construct public toilet inside the premises and in the mandatory set backs.

** Existing building byelaws do not permit toilet blocks in mandatory setback area. But large office complexes like Shastri Bhawan, Rail Bhawan, etc. were built in 1960s – 70s. With the growth of population, there is intense requirement of additional toilets. Feasibility would be assessed for additional toilets with facility for handicap in mandatory set back or still area of the offices complexes and public building including courts, markets etc.

*** In one-kilometer linear length stretch, not more than 2 largest units.

**Note**: In the radius of 50 sq. mtr. Only the largest unit would be constructed.
Annexure 14: Document released by MCD for EOIs

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF DELHI
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE ENGINEER (P)-III
TOWN HALL, DELHI-6

Expression of Interest for Construction of 10 Mahila Toilets at market places on Design, Develop, Operate and Maintain basis’ by the Corporate Houses.

Municipal Corporation of Delhi intends to make Delhi a global city. As a part of this strategy, it aims to facilitate clean and hygienic Mahila Toilets at specific locations viz., Defence Colony Market, Lajpat Nagar Market, Ajmal Khan Market, South Extension Market, Green Park Market, Tilak Nagar Market, Kamla Nagar Market, Chandni Chowk, Vikas Marg Market and Rajauri Garden Market.

The specification of the Mahila Toilets shall have the international standards in terms of sanitary fittings, plumbing system, ventilation system, non-slippery and aesthetically appealing flooring toilets, round the clock water and electricity supply for the facility with energy saving devices.

The Expression of Interest is invited from reputed Corporate Houses as a part of corporate social responsibility and to enter into agreement with MCD for the development of said project for a period of five years.

Brief scope of work:

The brief scope of work include:

1. Design, develop, finance and construction of the proposed project as part of the corporate social responsibility.

2. Operate and maintain the project efficiently, hygienically and in echo friendly manner.

3. Provide barrier free environment for disabled person.

No advertisement is allowed to be displayed on any part of structure except the name of corporate that will operate and maintain the facility.

The bidders will be short listed by first assigning the facility to different segments of Corporate Houses and further in the order of ranking of the Corporate Houses in appropriate list in terms of their market share etc. reckoned as on 30-6-08. MCD reserves the right to relax the aforesaid criteria without any obligation on the part of MCD. The selection shall be at the absolute discretion of MCD and MCD’s decision in this respect shall be final and binding.

The interested parties may send their Expression of Interest on or before 15.00 hours on 30th June, 2008 in the office of Superintending Engineer (Plg.), Room No.86, Town Hall Delhi, 110 006. The envelope containing the EOI shall be written on the top “Expression of Interest for Mahila toilets”.

MCD reserves the right to accept or reject any application and to cancel the bidding process at any time without any liability and assigning any reason thereof.

Ex. Engineer (P)-III
Annexure 15: Recent Newspaper Clippings.

**Delhi nowhere in JNNURM race**

By Arundhuti Pathak

New Delhi is an economical city where the development of infrastructure is at par or ahead of the major cities. However, there are some areas of the city that are yet to be developed. The JNNURM project aims to improve the infrastructure in these areas. The project has been approved for 42 projects, of which 16 are approved in Delhi. The project covers various sectors such as transport, water supply, sanitation, and electricity. The project is expected to be completed by 2012.

**A GRIM REPORT CARD**

The report card highlights the performance of the government in the project. The report suggests that the government needs to improve its performance in terms of implementation and delivery. The report card also suggests that the government should focus on the areas that are yet to be developed.

**Projects Eligible**

- **MCD**: Development of roads, walkways, and drainage systems
- **PFD**: Water supply and sanitation
- **DJS**: Solid waste management
- **NODM**: Energy conservation projects

**MCD**

- Rehabilitation of roads and footpaths
- Improvement of drainage systems
- Provision of street furniture

**PFD**

- Improvement of water supply and sanitation facilities
- Provision of drinking water
- Improvement of sewage systems

**DJS**

- Improvement of waste management systems
- Provision of composting units

**NODM**

- Improvement of energy conservation systems
- Provision of solar panels

**Three MCD officials suspended**

New Delhi: MCD commissioner R. Mehra said that the MCD has initiated a probe into the alleged corruption by three MCD officials. The probe has been initiated after receiving complaints from the public. The officials are accused of taking bribes and indulging in corruption.

**Coming soon, 100 more disabled-friendly toilets**

With the new MCD project, 100 more disabled-friendly toilets will be constructed in the area. The project is expected to be completed by the end of the year. The toilets will be equipped with modern facilities and will be fully accessible for people with disabilities. The project is expected to benefit a large number of people with disabilities in the area.

**Nirdhitka Khambekar**

New Delhi, June 22

The construction is expected to complete in one year after the contract is awarded. Moreover, since the construction will be carried out in phases, the project is expected to be completed within the given time frame.
14. LITERATURE SURVEY


Policy Documents:


Affidavits:

• An affidavit filed by Devendra Kumar, Joint Director, DEMS – II, MCD; in response to Delhi High Court orders dated 18 September 2006.

• An affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD; in response to Delhi High Court orders dated 12 December 2006.

• An affidavit filed by Ravi Dass, Engineer-in-Chief, Engineering Department, MCD; in response to Delhi High Court orders dated 12 January 2007.

• An affidavit filed by Ashok Kumar, Commissioner, MCD; in response to Delhi High Court orders dated 23 February 2007.


Newspaper Articles:


Other articles from the internet:

Additional Internet Resources:
• Official website of CPHEEO : http://cpheeo.nic.in/ (Accessed on 4 June 2008)
• Official website of HUDCO : www.hudco.org (Accessed on 3 July 2008)
• Official website of JNNURM : http://jnnurm.nic.in/ (Accessed on 6 June 2008)
• Official website of the Planning Commission, India : http://www.planningcommission.nic.in/ (Accessed on 1 June 2008)