The Politics of Sanitation Policy in Urban India

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Some improvement but can you believe statistics

Source: India Census 2011, Houses, Household Amenities and Assets – Latrine Facility
## Comparison of toilet facilities in 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of latrine</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Slum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Latrine within the premises</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Water closet</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Pit latrine</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Other latrine</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No latrine within premises</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Public latrine</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Open</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Households in %

Source: Census 2011: Housing stock, amenities & assets in slums
Socio-economic costs of a lack of sanitation were estimated to be 6.4 per cent of India’s GDP in 2006 or USD 53.8 billion a year.
Why Indian cities lack sanitation for all

• 1. Institutions
• 2. Informality
• 3. Increasing inequalities
1. Institutions

Urban water supply and sewerage utilities are:

‘in general poorly managed, operate with huge inefficiency, non transparent, non participatory and unaccountable governance, tariffs well below cost recovery levels particularly from the well to do and therefore are struggling financially and lack the governance structure and pressure to improve performance’.

Institutions (2)

Colonial legacy

• segregated supply of sanitation services
• under resourcing of local governments
• failure to provide sufficient housing

Nature of post-colonial state

• lack of institutional reforms
• been dominated by coalitions of interests that have been accommodated by use of public funds to provide private goods
• a “weak state” unable to improve the welfare of the disadvantaged and marginalized populations
Institutions (3)

**Neo-liberal regime**

- continuing lack of political will to provide sanitation for all
- increasing dominance of middle class ‘voices’ in urban planning
- privatisation of basic services
- urban poor unable to ‘force’ governments to effectively implement policies designed to improve their living conditions
2. Informality and illegality

Formal and informal as organisational device

- informal slums and invisible populations
- cut off dates and service provision

Informality and criminalisation

- slums as illegal encroachment – viewed as nuisances to be removed rather than places where the state has failed to provide basic services

Informality as deregulation

- suspension of law by elites to violate planning or building controls

(McFarlane 2012a)
Informality and illegality (2)

Role of NGOs/CBOs as agents of the state in service provision

• is this sustainable?

• do they build capacity of community members to deal with government institutions and agencies?

Community participation, informal dialogues and networking

• another form of neo-liberalism?
3. Increasing urban inequalities

Top 10% of individuals own more than 50% of India’s wealth

Bottom 50% own less than 10%

One in 6 people live in a slum (i.e. 64 million)

In Mumbai

- 81 slum dwellers per toilet seat (in some places 277 per seat)
- Less than 15% of slum toilets have access to water
- 41% of population living in slums
- One in 4 women experience domestic violence (15% in general population)
Increasing inequality (2)

Criminalisation of the poor

- 2006 Cleanliness and Sanitation by-laws have criminalised not only defecation but cooking, bathing, and spitting in public places
- Being seen as a ‘kind of waste’ to be evicted, pushed aside (McFarlane 2012b)

“Politics of forgetting”

- renders the poor invisible to middle class gaze (Fernandez 2004)

Gated communities in high rise buildings

- often ‘self-contained”
- creates further distancing

Social unrest and disruption?

- everyday protests
Any optimism?

Community built and maintained toilets do work
  • can they be scaled up?

More women in local government
  • water, lights, toilets and safety

‘Right to pee’ movement in Mumbai

New policies
  • City sanitation plans
  • Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), a slum free India

Climate change impacts and urban infrastructure
References


My research


2011 ‘Indian Cities, Sanitation and the State: The Politics of the Failure to Provide’, *Environment and Urbanization*, 23(1), April, pp. 57-70


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