

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

A RAPID GENDER ASSESSMENT OF
THE CITIES OF
Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore and
Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, India



UN-HABITAT



United Nations Human Settlements Programme
In cooperation with
Mahila Chetna Manch, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh





Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

A RAPID GENDER ASSESSMENT OF
THE CITIES OF

Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore and
Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, India



UN-HABITAT



United Nations Human Settlements Programme
In cooperation with
Mahila Chetna Manch, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh



Contents

1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. LEGAL, POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK	11
3. INTRODUCING THE FOUR CITIES	17
4. WATER AND SANITATION	49
5. EMERGING ISSUES FOR A STRATEGY AND ACTION	81



List of Graphs

- Graph 1.** Anganwadi Centres (AWC) in slum areas of four cities.
- Graph 2.** Women in slums reporting being subjected to domestic violence.
- Graph 3.** Women in slums reporting reasons for domestic violence.
- Graph 4.** Primary/Middle schools with drinking water, toilets, separate toilets for girls
- Graph 5.** Gender gap in enrollment of children in schools.
- Graph 6.** Decision makers in the slum households about purchase of food
- Graph 7.** Decision makers in the slum households about purchase of clothes
- Graph 8.** Decision makers in the slum households about purchase of ornaments
- Graph 9.** Decision makers in the slum households about education of children
- Graph 10.** Decision makers in the slum households about immunization of children
- Graph 11.** Decision makers in the slum households about performing social ceremony
- Graph 12.** Working Mahila Mandal/SHGs/Women's Organisation in slum areas
- Graph 13.** Age at Marriage of respondents in surveyed slums
- Graph 14.** Age at Marriage of spouses of respondents in surveyed slums
- Graph 15.** Land Rights of house site land in surveyed slums
- Graph 16.** Household by location of source of drinking water (Percentage)
- Graph 17a.** Water use for Cooking, Cleaning by men & women
- Graph 17b.** Water use for Bath, wash toilet
- Graph 18.** Households by availability of Bathroom, Toilets, Drainage
- Graph 19.** Households reporting payment for using public toilet
- Graph 20.** Women reporting coping methods when having to use open areas of defecation

List of Tables

- Table 1.** Urban Population and Decadal Change in Bhopal
- Table 2.** Urban Population and Decadal Change in Gwalior
- Table 3.** Urban Population and Decadal Change in Indore
- Table 4.** Urban Population and Decadal Change in Jabalpur.
- Table 5.** Migrants to cities by reason for migration, Census 1991 (Percentage).
- Table 6.** Slum households with stay in the present location.
- Table 7.** Total Population, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Population (In Million) in four cities.
- Table 8.** Population, Sex ratio of total population and of 0-6 years population in four cities
- Table 9.** Households, Population and Household size in four cities.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

- Table 10.** Work participation rate.
- Table 11.** Male, Female main workers and marginal workers
- Table 12.** Households with type of building material of house walls.
- Table 13.** Households by flooring material in houses.
- Table 14.** Gender Gap in Literacy.
- Table 15.** Informal Employment
- Table 16.** Children attending Anganwadi centres in slum areas
- Table 17.** Malnutrition among children age 0-5 years in slum areas
- Table 18.** Crimes against women in four cities (January-July, 2005)
- Table 19.** Number of children of school going age and .not in school. children in slums of four cities
- Table 20.** Number of women in slums spending time daily in earning livelihood
- Table 21.** Number of men in slum area spending time daily in earning livelihood
- Table 22.** Number of women in slums spending daily time in cooking
- Table 23.** Slums in MP; Sex ratio and Gender gap in literacy 2001
- Table 24.** Urban Population And Sex Ratio In Slums In Four Cities
- Table 25.** Child Sex Ratio, Literacy Rate in Slums in Four Cities
- Table 26.** Surveyed population in slums in four cities
- Table 27.** Agency of water supply to households in slums in four cities
- Table 28.** Respondents reporting availability of water facility in house in slums in four cities
- Table 29.** Respondents in four cities reporting access of water source outside the slums (those who get water from outside)
- Table 30.** Duration of tap Water Supply (those getting tap water supply)
- Table 31.** Distance of piped water supply source (those who fetch water from piped water source outside)
- Table 32.** Quality of water supplied/received
- Table 33.** Households getting sufficient/insufficient water
- Table 34.** Persons controlling use of water in slum households
- Table 35.** Respondents reporting time spent by different family members in fetching water.
- Table 36.** Availability of toilet facility in house in slum areas in four cities
- Table 37.** Availability of bathroom in house in slum areas in four cities
- Table 38.** Type of toilet available in house in slums
- Table 39.** Respondents reporting availability of separate toilet for male and female in community toilets
- Table 40.** Maintenance of public toilet by different agencies as reported by slum dwellers (users only)



Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



1. Introduction

The Development Context

At the beginning of the 21st century, India has 27.8% of population living in urban areas and 10.3% of its population in metropolitan cities. Madhya Pradesh with a population 60.3 million and as the second largest state in the country in area has 26.5% urban population and accounts for 5.6% of country's urban population.

The per capita net state domestic product of MP (2000-2001 Quick Estimates) is Rs. 10, 803 against the All India Average of Rs.16, 487. In India 27.1% of persons in the rural population and 23.6% of the persons in the urban population were living Below Poverty Line (BPL) (1999-2000) based on income criteria. In Madhya Pradesh 37.1% of the persons in the rural population and 38.4% of the persons in the urban population were living Below Poverty Line. In rural population this placed it just above Assam, Orissa, Bihar and North Eastern states and in urban population just above Orissa state (with 42.8%). At country level, percentage of BPL population is lower in urban area but in MP it is slightly higher in Urban areas. Madhya Pradesh also has a significant population of scheduled tribes (20.3%) and scheduled castes (15.2%) in its total population

Per Capita Net Domestic Product

MP	INDIA
Rs. 10803	Rs.16487

Below Poverty Line Population

	MP	INDIA
Rural	37.1%	27.1%
Urban	38.4%	23.6%

BPL Population in MP. Urban Area only less than Orissa.

37.1% BPL in rural area only less than Bihar, Assam, Orissa and North Eastern states.

The social indicators for the state show the relative deprivations and challenge for development in the country's context. The literacy rate for all population is 76.1% for male and 50.3% for females in MP against 75.3% for male and 53.7% for females in India. In rural M.P. it is 71.7% for males and 42.7% for females against 70.7% for males and 46.1% for females in India. In urban M.P. it is 87.4% for males and 61% for females against 86.3% for males and 72.8% for females in India. So while both India and M.P. have a gender gap in literacy in urban areas, this gap is 13.5% in India against 26.4% in MP and in rural areas it is 24.6% in India against 28.9% in M.P. This is the gap even after significant achievement in male and female literacy in the last decade of the 20th century.

The crude birth rate and death rate are 32.2 and 10.4 in rural and 22.7 and 7.2 in urban M.P. against 26.6 and 8.7 in rural India and 19.9 and 6.1 in urban India. The Infant Mortality Rate is estimated at 85 (in 2002), with 90 for rural and 56 for urban areas. It is to be seen against 64 total in India - 69 in rural and 40 in urban area. Maternal Mortality Rate is 498 against the all India rate of 407 (SRS 1998).

The total fertility rate is 3.9 in M.P. against 3.2 in India (SRS 1999). The life expectancy is 55 for male and 54.7 for female in M.P. In India it is 60.1 for male and 61.4 for female (1992-96). The gender ratio of urban population is 898 in M.P. and 900 in India.

Gender Gap in Literacy

	MP	INDIA
Rural	28.9	24.6
Urban	26.4	18.5
Overall	25.8	21.6

Maternal Mortality

MP	INDIA
498	407

Crude Birth Rate

	MP	INDIA
Rural	32.2	26.6
Urban	22.7	19.9

Infant Mortality Rate

	MP	INDIA
Total	83	64
Rural	90	69
Urban	56	40

Life Expectancy

	MP	INDIA
Male	55	60.1
Female	54.7	61.4

Death Rate

	MP	INDIA
Rural	10.4	8.7
Urban	7.2	6.1

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Madhya Pradesh has 394 towns of the total of 5161 cities and towns in India. The four cities of Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore and Jabalpur together have a population of 4.9 million which is 30.9% of the urban population and 8.1% of the total population in M.P. The four cities of Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore and Jabalpur are located in different agricultural regions and socio cultural and historical contexts of the state. Jabalpur was part of British ruled India. The other three cities were parts of former princely states of Bhopal, Gwalior and Indore which were integrated in independent India – Bhopal as a part C state with substantial Central Government powers in governance and Indore and Gwalior as a Part B state (these classifications have since been abolished) with full powers of a state under Indian Constitution. The claims to supremacy and for headquarter of the new state were made so strongly by the two cities that the state capital in this state shifted for parts of the year to each of these cities and a number of state level administrative offices were located in these two cities where they continue even today. Both the states merged in new MP in 1956 when a major reorganization of states on linguistic basis was taken up and MP became the biggest state in area and Bhopal became the new state capital. In 2000 another state was carved out with its eastern parts as Chhattisgarh, which made new MP the second largest state in the country. This political and administrative history and a legacy of four constituting states have continued to influence the political and administrative governance of the state as well as of the city management and citizens expectations from them. The position and status of women and the perspectives of gender issues also reflect this diversity.

Indore city is the largest of the cities in the state and an industrial, commercial city, while Bhopal city is the administrative capital since 1956. Gwalior and Jabalpur have their distinctive cultural and historical identity with the former associated with the Scindhia dynasty and rule whose members continue to be in the ruling groups as prominent members of national political parties and as elected representatives at the national and state levels. Jabalpur is associated in the public mind with Gond (ethnic tribal) leader Rani Durgawati, a well-known historical figure.

Indore too had a very well respected pious woman ruler in Ahilya Bai Holkar whose continued respect is still manifested in annual celebrations and a national award instituted in her name by the citizens' initiative. The state Universities in these three cities are named after them, Jivaji (Scindhia) University in Gwalior, Devi Ahilya (Holkar) University in Indore, and Rani Durgawati University in Jabalpur. Bhopal has the distinction of having been ruled by five Begums (Muslim women rulers) who ruled successfully even while following the practice of veiling.

It is a challenging task to see how these women rulers' legacy is restored in matters of crucial importance like women's access to water and sanitation services, their participation in planning and management of these services and women's social economic and political participation in general.



Ahilya Bai Holkar,
Ruler of Indore
(1767-1795)

Sultan Jahan Begum
12th Ruler of Bhopal
(1901-1926)

Sultan Jahan Begum (in veil) with
Vice Roy Lord Minto and Lady
Minto and Grand Children



Millennium Development Goals

This gender assessment is an analysis preparatory to formulation of Gender Mainstreaming Strategy in Water and Sanitation in these four cities, which has to be placed in the overall context of UN Millennium Development Goals and targets particularly:

- To stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources by developing water management strategies at regional, national and local levels which promote both equitable access and adequate supplies.
- To halve the number of people without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation by 2015 and for improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020.
- And empowerment of women which cuts across all sectors and initiatives.

The exercise is also to be seen with the programme of Water for Asian Cities and the thematic priorities, which include

- Pro-poor water governance and follow up investments
- Sanitation for the urban poor.
- Urban catchment management.
- Water demand management.
- Water education in school and communities.
- Advocacy, awareness raising and information exchange.

These six priorities themes have guided this gender assessment to facilitate integration of gender issues in the WAC programme and the overall UN Habitat's Water and Sanitation Programme. Hence the crucial importance of gender mainstreaming and a pro poor focus thus bringing out the central concern of women's needs, perspectives, roles and participation in planning, implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation of new initiatives in regards to water and sanitation to work towards achieving the MDGs.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Gender

Gender and gender relations are socially constructed and, therefore, embedded in the socio-cultural context not only in each country but also in each region or area besides in different times. Gender is not only the concern about women and their roles but also about gender relations and, therefore, one must see the problems and concerns of both men and women but specially so of women because of the persisting inequalities, inequities and unequal access of women to resources and opportunities. It is also important to remember that women are not a homogeneous group and gender is intersected with caste, class and ethnicity and this diversity is an important factor in any assessment of gender and gender concerns.

Gender Assessment

It is in this context that this assessment has tried to hear the poor and disadvantaged women and directly capture their voices which can present their needs and concerns much more strongly than any other data or statistics of their deprivation, concerns and challenge. This has been done in the slums to see the deprivations and inadequate access and participation in water and sanitation and to keep the needs of poor women in focus. Of course it is accepted that every one who lives in slums is not poor and all the poor do not live in slums. They also live outside the slums.





Poverty

Poverty does not only have an income dimension. There are other dimensions of poverty including, employment, human capabilities developed by access to entitlements in education, health care and nutrition, access to assets and economic resources such as land and housing. It also includes access to basic services such as water and sanitation and perceptions of poverty and powerlessness and voicelessness. We also need to address the relative invisibility of gender in poverty analysis and poverty reduction strategies which continue to take the household as the basic unit of analysis assuming the household to be gender neutral in intra household allocation of resources.

Gender Mainstreaming in all programmes, and projects is facilitated by the acceptance of a conceptual framework in which women's rights are recognized as human rights for the formulation of all programmes. This implies that safeguards are built in to ensure women's rights to assets such as land, resources such as knowledge and skills, services such as food, water and reproductive health, and to protect from gender based violence and discrimination and oppressive social practices in both public and private sector.

Gender Analysis aims to achieve gender equity and positive changes for women and therefore must aim to help to raise questions, analyse information and develop strategies to increase women and men's participation in and benefit from development programmes and policies. It must examine the differences in women and men's lives including those which lead to social and economic inequity for women. It would, therefore, ask basic questions, look at the context activities, and resources relevant for the water and sanitation services, women's access to and participation in their provision, maintenance, management and improvement and lead to strategies and programmes to improve women's access and control of the necessary resources.

Framework of Gender Analysis

Women's issues and concerns in development planning, policies and programmes have had a long history from the invisibility of women as women and economic actors instead of seeing them only as mothers to approaches of Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD). While the first approach tried to assist women to get a fair share of profit from development activities, the latter approach identified power relations, attitudes and social and cultural systems that put women in a disadvantaged position. Here we follow the GAD approaches which are not only concerned with better laws, education, etc but focus on women's empowerment and aim at structural reforms in gender relations within a broader context.

Since the beginnings of adoption of gender analysis as an important tool in the last two decades, different conceptual paradigms have underpinned these analyses and their adoption in policy formulation specially in training programmes in development projects. If we see a typology (Carol Miller and Shahra Razavi 1998, *Gender Analysis Alternative Paradigms*), these include the Gender Roles Framework (GRF); the University College London, Department of Planning Unit (DPU) framework (triple roles model); the Social Relations Frameworks (SRF) developed by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex; and the approaches of feminist economics. " These approaches

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



differ in terms of their conceptualisation of gender, scope of institutional analysis, implications for development, and issues of social and organizational change". (Miller et Razavi 1998).

In the gender analysis here we take note of the need to move from a mere 'integrationist' approach to 'transformational' approach to gender analysis and gender mainstreaming and so follow the paradigm of social relations frameworks and hence it is based on the belief that the identified gender issues not only need to be adequately incorporated in development planning and interventions but also take note of the class/caste/poverty dimensions and the web of relationships in which gender is embedded. It also underscores the need of transformation of the social and political institutions to move from a women's mere presence to ensure their effective participation. There are potential strategies of state-civil society partnership, gender budgeting, gender audit, coalitions and alliances of 'mandarins' implementing projects and programmes and 'missionaries' working with women which are important for further exploration.

For any assessment focused on any disadvantaged group, participatory approach and community participation is important but it must also involve special focus on women because even communities also, consisting as they are of persons having different access to power and resources, may edge out those who are at the extreme end of power continuum which consists of women and that too, women from weaker sections and poverty groups.

Women and children are the ones who suffer most from poor water supply and sanitary facilities. Water and sanitation are among the most crucial, people centered development issues. Development can be sustainable only if it is owned and driven by communities at the base. This is especially true of water where the lead role of women in particular needs recognition. This centrality of women in water and sanitation is underpinning this gender analysis.



Methodology

This assessment is a rapid assessment based on available secondary data in government documents, and other published literature. The second basis of this assessment is of participatory learning exercise including interviews of a sample of women living in the slums in each of the four cities. For this purpose five slums were selected in each of the cities based on a geographical dispersal of their location in the city and in each slum 20 women were interviewed on a semi-structured interview schedule. Focus Group Discussions were conducted, one for male community members and one for female community members, in each of the slums. Thus in each city 100 interviews and 10 focus group discussions were organized primarily to get their responses on various issues and to get their voices on their needs, problems, challenges and hopes and required support in future. Their voices have also been captured in photos and in a video film. Extensive preparations were made to make the methodology participatory. Along with semi-structured interviews, transect walk, social mapping and focus group discussions were organized to involve the community. As a preparatory step, the teams of field workers were carefully selected from those who have been associated earlier with interviewing women about their participation and leadership roles in local government and accessing resources for livelihoods and with participatory training of women for leadership and skill development. Each team for a city consisted of two female and two male workers. All of them were postgraduates in social sciences including some of them in social work. They participated in an intensive training about approach, issues, and methodology of this rapid assessment and did a field-testing of the questionnaire before going to the concerned city.

The fieldwork was carried out between 14th and 24th August 2005. With computer analysis and putting the report together, along with the fieldwork and secondary data collection and analysis, this rapid gender assessment was completed in a period of four weeks.

In carrying out this gender assessment Mahila Chetna Manch (Women's Awareness Forum) has used its own insights of working with gender issues and with women particularly those from the poverty households. We have reviewed available information (e.g. statistics, Government documents), the relevant legal, policy and institutional framework and their gender implications. Our household surveys and interviews of women in the slums have helped to draw up gender disaggregated socio economic profiles and to identify the WSS practices, constraints, and needs of this disadvantaged group.

The data collected has been done for drawing a socio economic profile of the cities and of a sample of women respondents in slums in the four cities and complemented by the secondary data available for the whole urban areas of these cities and in some cases for the urban areas of the concerned districts where data disaggregated for each urban centre in the district is not available. A Project Preparatory Technical Assistance (PPTA) in 2002 was conducted by GHK, (STUP and IPE study for ADB) for an Integrated Urban Development Project being supported by ADB in six cities of MP including these four cities. This included a household survey of 1600 households in each of these cities besides using available secondary data. Some of the household profile data based on this survey has been used here to supplement the secondary data and the newly conducted participatory exercise in the slums in these four cities. Data has also been collected on water use and knowledge, attitudes and practices – availability, quantity, quality of WSS Services, costs, water sources, water collection and storage, water transport, use of domestic water, dry season management, community

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

(domestic) water management responsibilities. Similarly, data has been collected on sanitation, knowledge, attitudes and practices, women's access, control, constraints regarding productive resources and service, participation and available organisations.

The report is presented in five sections. The first section includes the development context – India in MP and the four cities in this context, the Millennium Development Goals and targets for the attainment of which this assessment is the first step to formulate a strategy, the understandings of the concept of poverty, gender, gender assessment and gender mainstreaming followed in this rapid assessment and the framework of this analysis and the methodology adopted. The legal, policy and institutional framework has been discussed in the next section. In the third section we see the four cities, their socio economic profile as drawn from the secondary data as well as from the household survey, interviews, focused group discussions in the selected sample of slum areas in the four cities and highlights of this profile for each city separately for a picture of each of these cities.

The next section has a detailed look at water and sanitation in the four cities emerging in the data collected in the survey as well as in the secondary sources followed by the voices of women in the slums in which the situation, problems, challenges, hopes beginnings of self help initiatives are captured. Finally, in the fifth section we present the emerging issues and concerns for a strategy of gender mainstreaming concerns in water and sanitation to make better lives for these women, to have more efficient and gender friendly, pro poor water supply and sanitation programmes essential to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.



Team member doing household survey.






2. Legal, Policy and Institutional Framework

The Constitution of India guarantees equality and non discrimination on any ground including sex or gender. The Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of state policy include political, civil, social and economic freedoms, equality of opportunities and equality before law. The Indian state legislated to fulfil the mandates and intent of these guarantees. Legislation on workers' protection, equal and minimum wages, maternity benefit etc., on the one hand, and laws against child marriage, practice of dowry, sati, immoral traffic of women, laws on maintenance, divorce, marriage, succession, on the other, have benefited women. The implementation and protection of such laws, however, is to be seen in the context of social beliefs, practices which sometimes make even the women themselves reluctant to seek the enforcement of rights available to them particularly when it is against their family members.

Hence, the state continues to further reinforce the provisions of these laws. The recent initiatives of a new law on Domestic Violence, amendment of the Hindu Succession Act are steps in this direction. The Supreme Court in India has made major contribution to this process in its interpretation of the rights given under the directive principles of State Policy in the Constitution, which are described as non justiciable. The court decided that some of the entitlements even under directive principles like the state's duty to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14 years within a period of ten years (Article 45, one of the Directive Principles) as having the force of Fundamental Rights. It has then led to an amendment to the Constitution to add such a Fundamental Right.

The Right to Information Act enacted in 2005 is another positive legislative step which will also strengthen those seeking justice and protection of their rights. Women will find it useful. However, admittedly women and women's groups will have to continue to look at every legislation, policy and programme to seek reinforcement of protection of women's entitlements and support for empowerment.

It is against this background that we briefly look at some of the legislation and policies which are directly related to women's role, and participation in urban governance, water and sanitation and programmes and institutional structures for the poor and other citizens in the cities.



In 1984 Government of Madhya Pradesh enacted a law "The Madhya Pradesh, Nagariya Kshetro Ke Bhoomihin Vyakti (Pattadhariti Adhikaron Ka Pradan Kiya Jana) Adhiniyam giving lease hold rights to landless person in respect of sites for dwelling house in urban areas stipulating that if such a person was occupying such land, in April 1984 it will be deemed to have been settled with him up to 50 Sq m on a patta (lease deed). Such rights were not transferable. If such person was disposed of his land, the Competent Officer was to restore such position and a person wrongfully dispossessing such a person from this land was to be punished. This law was changed later. With the latest change made in 2003, the date of possession for acquiring such right was changed up to 31st May, of 2003. It was also provided that if it was found that such a land was in possession of someone other than a person who was given leasehold rights under this Act, he will be entitled to get such lease hold rights by paying 1/1⁴ or 2 times the market value of this land. By an earlier amendment it has already been enacted, that if a committee certified for removal of a slum for resettlement elsewhere or in case of such land occupied by a person being part of a public park or by the road side or between road and a basti, the person concerned could be removed and relocated elsewhere with a fresh patta.

In this law there is no provision for giving pattas in the name of women and that is reflected in the responses of our sample respondents in the slum areas. Most of them did not have the lease deed in their names.

In the State Municipal Corporations Act, provision had been made for making mohallah (Locality) committees with chairperson, vice-chairperson, treasurer and members. The elected corporator of the area is member and patron of these communities. All the members and chairperson etc are to be nominated by the minister in charge of the district on the proposal of the Collector of the district. He will give "as far as may be" due representation to women, SC, ST and OBC social groups. Thus these rules (Madhya Pradesh Nagar Palika Muhallah Samiti Gathan, Kritiya, Shaktiya, tatha Karya Sanchalan ki Prakriya Niyam 2001) do not adequately provide for a democratic election and effective representation and voice of women. This is despite the fact that, as these rules mention, the powers and functions of these committees related to monitoring grievances about sanitation, road, drain, water supply, street light and waste disposal, co-operation with national programmes of health, Women and Child Development, alleviation of urban poverty, etc.

Recently the State Government has been selectively following the policy of relocation and rehabilitation of slums and using the Central Scheme of Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VMBAY). Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojana (VMBAY) is a central government scheme to provide housing to the poor. It was launched in the state of MP in the year 2001. Under VMBAY scheme, an amount of Rs. 50, 000 is extended to a beneficiary in a city with more than 10 lakh population while in cities having population less than 10 lakh, each beneficiary gets Rs. 40,000. Fifty percent of the amount is central government grant while the rest could be taken as loan from HUDCO/other nationalized banks, state government/Urban local bodies.

The primary objective of the state government's initiative is said to be to provide better living conditions to slum dwellers and enhance their quality of life. The slum dwellers are paid an amount for immediate relocation expenses such as food, material for temporary shelter, etc. Government either provides constructed houses or land plots at the alternative locations. The new locations are

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

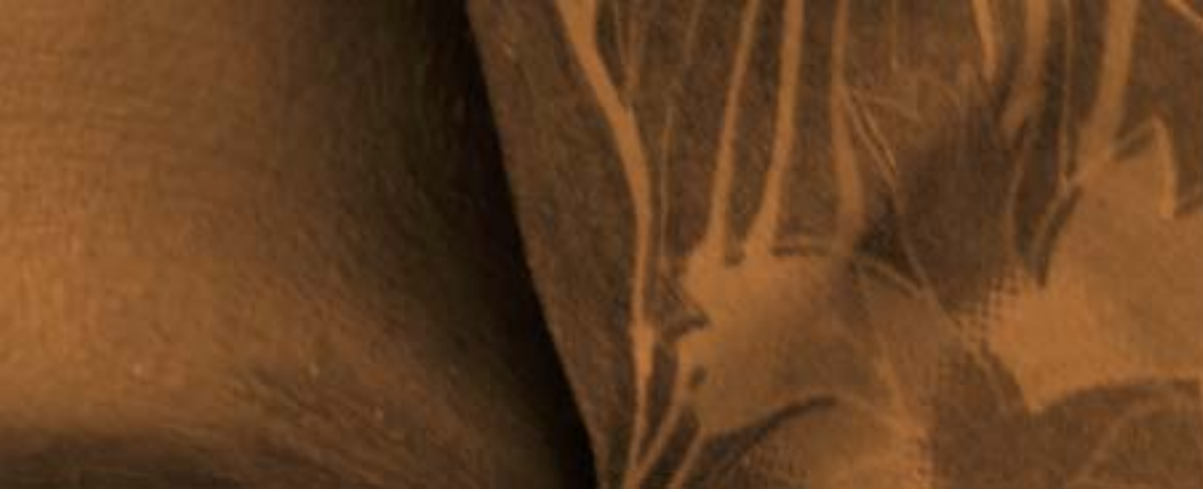
equipped with all the basic services such as water, surfaced roads and electricity. The houses as well as land plots allotted measure 450 Sq ft. Such a programme is stated to have an effect of giving a better life to relocated slum dwellers. Consequences of being away from their earlier livelihood opportunities, children's schools and other social costs have not figured in this decision.

India adopted a National Policy for Empowerment of women in the year 2001. The state of Madhya Pradesh had a women's policy in 1995-2000 for women's empowerment, participation and benefits in all programmes and all sectors. Some of the strategies included in it were

- **Women headed households will be recognized and supported for all purposes.**
- **Government will ensure Women's visibility in the data collection and statistical record keeping of the State. This will involve the reorientation of data generation and updation.**
- **The sensitization of elected members of the PRIs rural local bodies of panchayats and Urban local self government bodies on gender issues, particularly on the issue of violence against women.**
- **To ensure the equitable flow of credit and institutional finance to women in all sectors including the home based and the informal.**
- **A reservation of 30% for women in all allotments of commercial and residential plots made by local bodies, Housing Boards, Development authorities etc. in urban areas.**



Young girls cleaning the lane.



Madhya Pradesh now has a new state policy for women 2002-2007 which has the vision to achieve:

- **A just and equitable society free of structures of domination and subordination.**
- **Removal of all barriers to women's access to resources and to institutional structures of governance.**
- **Ensuring women and girl's survival with autonomy, dignity and justice.**
- **Not to see women as a sector or a sub-sector of marginalised groups but as equal citizens of the state.**
- **Active participation of women in governance for taking leadership to translate this vision into reality, to turn women's rights and capabilities into entitlements and to facilitate their empowerment.**

The five goals of this policy are: *Survival* of women and girls, *Women's Autonomy*, *Equity*, *Women's Dignity*, *Empowerment* and *Participation* in governance.

The policy includes some action points, which are of relevance in the assessment in water and Sanitation services. These are:

Compulsory association of women in management committees for sanitation activities in urban areas, compulsory consultation of women in water conservation programmes and hand pump management, sanitation projects with women's active involvement in their decision making and all institutions where women/girls are housed, work or study to have toilets by 2007.

A minimum of one-third committees have to be headed by women in the municipal bodies. There has to be disaggregation of information system by gender analysis. Women's visibility in data collection – orientation, updation and presentation system is emphasised to incorporate gender disaggregated data, continuous gender analysis and gender budgeting. Support to the capacity of civil society groups and developing capacity of government staff on gender equity issues, has been stipulated besides setting up of a State Resource Center for women.

The government of MP took a lead in pushing decentralization of responsibilities to urban and rural local bodies in expansion of literacy and school education, institutionalizing public contribution e.g. in educational institutions and paying user fees e.g. in state run hospitals. These funds are, however, then controlled by nominated committees of legislators or other non-officials and officials and the priorities for their use get distorted. Placing only persons of ruling groups through nominations then lead to different public perceptions about their objectives.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



The setting up of District Urban Development Agencies (DUDAs) in each of the four city districts, like the other districts, provides a useful institution for taking up implementation of programmes for urban poverty alleviation. These institutions are, however, generally limiting their present activities to training for self-employment in business and services and assisting in accessing loans and subsidies in structured programmes. These bodies have good potential to link with groups of local women's organizations and facilitating community based organizations to participate in water and sanitation project activities.

The Municipal Corporation and water supply and sanitation offices of government in each of the cities need strong women cells to enable incorporation of gender concerns in these services.

Political Participation

Madhya Pradesh has 29 members in the Lower House of Parliament and 11 in the Upper House. Among the 29, two are women and one of them represents the urban constituency of Indore. She has been involved with matters concerning women and can be positively associated with gendering the process in WSS particularly in Indore. Among the 11 Upper House members there is only one-woman member. She has strong links with developments in Gwalior. In the State Legislature there are 19 women members. Only one of them is representing an urban constituency of Indore. None of the others are representing any constituency in these cities.

The 74th Amendments to the Constitution of India in 1992 mandated at least one third of the members in urban local bodies and one third of their mayors to be women only. This has been incorporated in the State Law on Municipal Corporations to comply with this Constitutional provision. Hence every five yearly election to these positions has to bring not less than one-third women. The procedural operationalisation is by declaring a particular Corporation position by rotation as reserved for election of a woman and then only women candidates can contest election for that position. At present the positions of mayor are reserved for women in Indore and Jabalpur and the present women mayors were elected for five years in 2005 elections. In 2010 any of the other Municipal Corporations may have a woman mayor. Bhopal had a woman mayor from 1995 to 2005. Among the corporators, Bhopal has 21 women out of 65, Gwalior 16 out of 60 members. Law has mandated this one-third presence of women and this is observed. However, this does not necessarily mean that women's concerns, perspectives and needs have been given the focus and centrality required for a pro poor gendered governance.

Some of the NGOs are working in the slums for providing different services to women but their outreach is not very large. Even when they are operating in a slum, very few women other than those who are directly associated as participants or beneficiaries know much about them.





3. Introducing The Four Cities

The total population of the four cities is 4.9 million. The cities of Indore and Bhopal represent more than half of the population of the four cities with over 1 million people in each of them. Jabalpur comes close to this category with a population approaching 1 million. Urban population growth for MP and India has been at an annual rate of around 3.1% over the decade of 1991-2001. The rate of growth for these cities is slightly higher at 3.2%. However, this masks considerable variations between them. Indore has shown a growth of over 3.7% in the last decade. Bhopal has grown at just above the state's growth rate, Jabalpur is just below, whereas Gwalior is growing at well below the state level of growth.

These cities except Indore have shown declining rates of growth in the last 20 years. Bhopal grew very quickly after it became the state capital in 1956 and more than doubled its population in the decade 1951-61, but it has shown a gradually declining rate of growth since then, slowing more markedly in the last decade from an annual rate of 5.8% in 1991 to a 3.7% growth rate now. However growth rates for Jabalpur, Bhopal and especially Indore remain very high.

Bhopal is the second largest city in the State. When Bhopal emerged as the capital of new Madhya Pradesh formed with reorganization of states in 1956 it became the starting point of the phenomenal change in its demographic trend. During 1951-61 the population growth of the city was nearly 120%. Thereafter the population continued to grow rapidly before declining to 37% during 1991-01 (Table 1). Bhopal also continues to have the after effects of the trauma of the industrial disaster of Union Carbide MIC gas leakage in 1984. Despite the gap of 20 years, the scars and consequences of this tragedy are being faced by a large section of the local population medically, psychologically and economically. It has become a part of the local psyche particularly in the old 'Walled' city where the effects of the disaster were centred. Women have faced the trauma and after effects even more than their male family members as they had to bear the burden for the whole family, of health consequences and of efforts to access the compensation given to victims, which was distributed through judicial processes.

Table 1: Urban Population and Decadal Change in Bhopal.

Year	Population ('000 person)	Decade	% Change
1941	75.23		
1951	102.33	1941-1951	36.02
1961	222.95	1951-1961	117.87
1971	384.86	1961-1971	72.62
1981	671.01	1971-1981	74.35
1991	1062.77	1981-1991	58.38
2001	1458.42	1991-2001	37.23

Table 2: Urban Population and Decadal Change in Gwalior.

Year	Population ('000 person)	Decade	% Change
1941	173.10		
1951	241.58	1941-1951	39.56
1961	300.59	1951-1961	24.43
1971	406.14	1961-1971	35.11
1981	555.86	1971-1981	33.86
1991	717.78	1981-1991	29.13
2001	865.54	1991-2001	20.59

Table 3: Urban Population and Decadal Change in Indore.

Year	Population ('000 person)	Decade	% Change
1941	203.7		
1951	310.86	1941-1951	52.61
1961	394.94	1951-1961	27.05
1971	560.94	1961-1971	42.03
1981	829.33	1971-1981	47.85
1991	1109.06	1981-1991	33.73
2001	1516.92	1991-2001	36.78

Table 4: Urban Population and Decadal Change in Jabalpur.

Year	Population ('000 person)	Decade	% Change
1941	178.33		
1951	257.00	1941-1951	44.11
1961	367.01	1951-1961	42.81
1971	534.85	1961-1971	45.73
1981	759.30	1971-1981	41.59
1991	888.92	1981-1991	17.38
2001	1098.00	1991-2001	23.52

Source: Census of India

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Gwalior is the fourth largest city in the state. The city's decadal change in its population in 1991-01 was less than the national average in the decade of 1991-2001. It was only 20.59% which is lower than even the change in the earlier decades (Table 2). Gwalior's economy has been suffering since late 80's due to closure of large industrial units with no new investments forthcoming. It is expected that the establishment of the industrial growth centres like Malanpur in an adjacent district may lead to further employment opportunities.

Indore is the largest city in the state. Its rate of growth, except in one decade (1981-91) has been higher than the national average and was higher than the state average in 1991-2001 (Table 3). The city is growing fast. The fast development and growth of industries within the city and neighbouring areas is expected to continue to attract migration for better employment opportunities.

Jabalpur is the third largest city in the state. Population growth rate of this city was fast in the earlier decades but in 1981-91 decadal growth declined to less than half of what it was in the previous decades and then only increased slightly in 1991-2001 decade (Table 4). This phenomenon, inter alia, reflects the fast rate of decline in the growth of Jabalpur's economy.



Children pulling water on cycle.

Migration

Data on migration available in the Census gives us rural-urban migration to these cities and the reasons for this migration (Table 5). The data presented here from 1991 Census this is not yet available for the 2001. Census shows highest migration in Bhopal and the lowest in Gwalior. Indore has the second highest rate. The migration of women is higher than men. But if we see the reasons for migration, the major reason for men is employment while for women it is marriage (48.4% in Bhopal to 63% in Gwalior).

Our interviews of women in the slums indicate that a large majority of them had been living here for more than 10 years and at least one fourth of them for more than twenty years. Only 15% of them were here for five years or less. (Table 6) which shows that there is no trend of a large scale immigration to Bhopal.

Table 5. Migrants to cities by reason for migration, Census 1991 (Percentage).

Migration	Bhopal		Gwalior		Indore		Jabalpur	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total population	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total migrants	38.5	41.8	19.6	32.6	28.5	36.5	25.9	33.9
Reasons for migration								
Employment	50.9	5.6	36.0	2.3	43.6	3.8	44.4	3.6
Business	5.7	0.1	7.1	0.1	8.6	0.7	7.0	1.0
Education	6.0	2.1	9.1	1.6	5.2	1.2	4.9	1.9
Family moved	24.8	34.1	25.0	20.6	23.1	21.5	25.9	27.8
Marriage	1.0	48.4	1.8	62.9	0.7	60.6	1.4	54.5
Natural calamities	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
Others	11.4	9.5	19.6	11.5	18.4	12.0	16.2	11.0

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Table 6. Slum households with stay in the present location.

Years since living here	Bhopal	Gwalior	Indore	Jabalpur	Total
0-5	11	18	5	7	51
5-10	16	14	14	10	54
10-15	26	10	25	16	77
15-20	25	27	23	26	101
20-25	10	11	20	10	51
25+	12	20	13	21	66
Total	100	100	100	100	400

Source: Household survey

Socio Economic Profile

The castes at the lower end of the social groups are identified and classified in India as Scheduled Castes (SC) and the ethnic tribal groups are similarly classified as Scheduled Tribes (ST) in the Indian Constitution for special policy support. The population of these weaker sections (SC + ST) is 15.4% in Bhopal, 18.4% in Gwalior, 16.7% in Indore and 18% in Jabalpur (Table 7). The state and the city managements have to ensure special attention to their needs.

Table 7. Total Population, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Population (in Million) in four cities.

City	Total population	SC Population	%	ST Population	%
Bhopal	1.5	0.2	12.4	0.04	3.0
Gwalior	0.9	0.1	16.8	0.01	1.6
Indore	1.5	0.2	14.0	0.04	2.7
Jabalpur	1.1	0.1	13.1	0.05	4.9

Source: Census of India 2001

Sex Ratio

India and a number of its states have witnessed an adverse sex ratio for women (number of women per one thousand men) and also a declining trend in this ratio. An associated feature is an adverse sex ratio in the age group 0-6 years. These are matters of concern in any discussion of gender issues as these reflect the neglect and discrimination and effect of practices and attitudes adverse to women and girls. Madhya Pradesh and the four cities also share this feature. In 2001 MP has a sex ratio of 920 in the total population and a sex ratio of 899 in the urban population. In the four cities, the sex ratio is 898 in Bhopal, 861 in Gwalior, 904 in Indore and 893 in Jabalpur. So only Indore has the sex ratio better than the sex ratio in urban MP. Gwalior has the lowest sex ratio among the four cities as it shares this feature with the region in which it is located. The districts bordering Gwalior and included in its administrative division have the lowest sex ratio in the whole state. The child (0-6 years) sex ratio is also low here (Table 8).

Household Size

The household size in the two cities of Bhopal and Jabalpur is of 5.2 and in Indore it is 5.3. Only Gwalior has a larger size of 5.7 (Table 9).

Table 8. Population, Sex ratio of total population and of 0-6 years population in four cities.

City	Male (In Million)	Female (In Million)	Sex Ratio	
			(Total Population)	(0-6 Population)
Bhopal	0.8	0.7	898	929
Gwalior	0.5	0.4	861	837
Indore	0.8	0.7	904	896
Jabalpur	0.6	0.5	893	911

Source: Census of India 2001 paper 2.

Table 9. Households, Population and Household size in four cities.

City	Households No. (In Million)	Population (In Million)	Household size
Bhopal	0.3	1.5	5.2
Gwalior	0.2	0.9	5.7
Indore	0.3	1.5	5.3
Jabalpur	0.2	1.1	5.2

Source: Census of India 2001

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Table 10. Work participation rate.

City	Work participation rate	
	Male	Female
Bhopal	47.0	10.3
Gwalior	45.6	8.2
Indore	51.2	11.1
Jabalpur	48.0	11.5

Source: Census of India 2001

Work Participation

Work participation rates, of men and women and the difference between male and female main and marginal workers, show the persisting inequalities in economic and local attainments (Table 10).

Women have a smaller share of main workers than men and even in the marginal workers they are small percentage (Table 11).

Table 11. Male, Female main workers and marginal workers

City	Main Workers (%)		Marginal Workers (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bhopal	43.0	8.5	4.0	1.9
Gwalior	42.4	6.7	3.3	1.4
Indore	48.0	9.3	3.2	1.8
Jabalpur	43.9	9.4	4.1	2.1

Source: Census of India 2001



Women waiting to draw water.

Table 12. Households with type of building material of house walls.

District (Urban)	No. of households	Grass, Thatch, Bamboo etc, Plastic Polythene, Mud, Unburnt brick, Wood			G.I. Metal Asbestos sheets, Burnt brick, Stone Concrete
Bhopal	272728	57, 113	20.9%	2, 15, 528	79.0%
Gwalior	159810	14, 705	9.2%	1, 45, 074	90.8%
Indore	296973	60, 541	20.4%	2, 36, 195	79.5%
Jabalpur	220829	63, 366	28.7%	1, 57, 435	71.3%

Source: Census of India 2001

Table 13. Households by flooring material in houses.

District (Urban)	No. of households	Mud, Wood and Bamboo		Brick, Stone, Cement, Mosaic	
Bhopal	2,72,728	54,581	20.0%	2,77,666	79.8%
Gwalior	1,59,810	23,440	14.7%	1,36,053	85.1%
Indore	2,96,973	6,270	21%	2,38,593	80.3%
Jabalpur	2,20,829	72,926	33.0%	1,47,530	66.8%

Source: Census of India 2001

Households with type of building material of house walls and flooring material show the other aspects of socio-economic profile in these cities. While urban areas of Gwalior district have only 9.2% houses with materials of less permanent nature and value, the other three district urban areas have 20% to 28% such houses (Table 12) thus indicating a relatively higher percentage of persons with lower incomes.

The flooring material of households also show Gwalior (Urban) district with lower mud, bamboo flooring than the other three districts (Table 13).

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Literacy

The Gender gap in literacy in the state is higher than in the country in both urban and rural areas. These four cities fare better than the state in this respect. The literacy gap in Gwalior is at the same level as the all India average and in the other three cities it is even lower (Table 14)

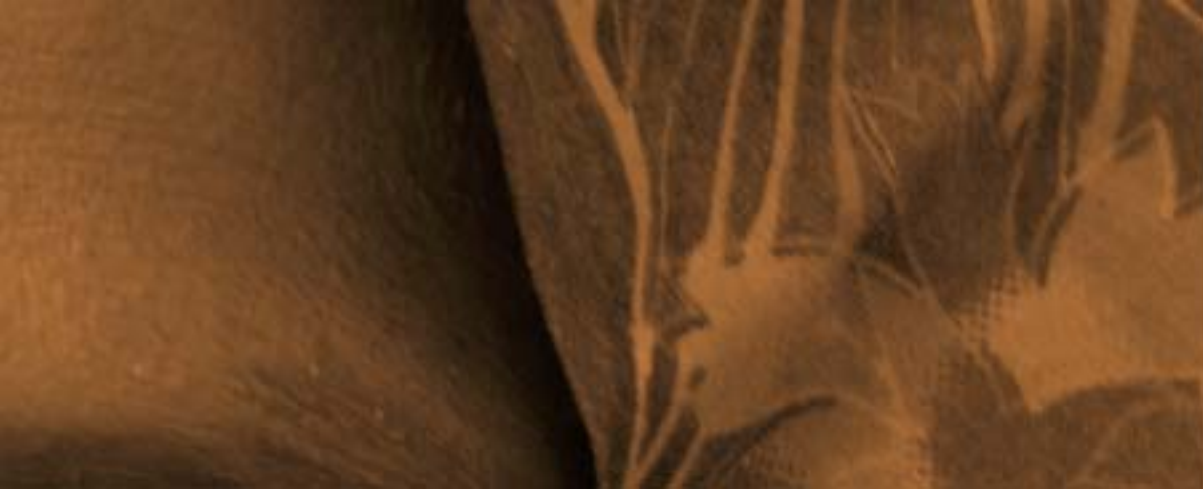
Table 14. Gender Gap in Literacy.

City	Literacy rate (%)		
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Gender gap in literacy
Bhopal	85.5	73.3	12.2
Gwalior	87.8	71.2	16.6
Indore	89.0	76.4	12.6
Jabalpur	90.4	78.7	11.7

Source: Census of India 2001

Employment

The PPTA socio-economic survey attempted to provide some key employment data, including employment in the formal and informal sectors and type of employment by skill type. Their results show that the average proportion of main income earners in formal employment across the cities is 62% with the remaining 38% in informal employment. The proportion of formal employment is much lower in Indore at 36%; it is much higher in Gwalior and Bhopal at 79% and 77% respectively (Table 15).



A high proportion of households have to rely on informal employment. In Indore in particular this sector makes a significant contribution to the economy.

This survey also indicated that around 6% of main income earners had more than one job. This was higher in Jabalpur at 7%. In terms of occupations, 75% of the main income earners in the population were in clerical, sales or service sector, and 8% were in professional or managerial occupations. Only 3% of the population described the household's main income earner to be in agriculture or production. 14% of income earners did not fit into any of these categories – including 22% of main income earners in Gwalior.

Table 15: Informal Employment

City	% Household with Main Income Earner in Informal/Formal Employment	
	Informal	Formal
Bhopal	23.3	76.7
Gwalior	21.5	78.5
Indore	63.7	36.3
Jabalpur	30.7	69.3

Source: PPTA Household survey



We go beyond hills, have to stand of and on, we fear teasing by man – Radha Bai.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Health

The four cities we are assessing have a higher visibility of health and medical institutions. All the four cities have medical colleges with attached hospitals. Bhopal, in addition, also has a super specialty hospital created as a part of settlement of the case of liability of the Union Carbide for the industrial tragedy in 1984 and its after effects. It is run by a high-powered trust created under the direction of the Supreme Court of India. There is also a network of medical institutions including two hospitals and dispensaries which are focused on the health needs of people affected by the Union Carbide disaster. All the four cities and among them Indore and Bhopal in particular has attractive private investment in medical institutions. However, all these institutions also serve as referral institutions of the rural areas and for other smaller urban areas of the concerned districts.

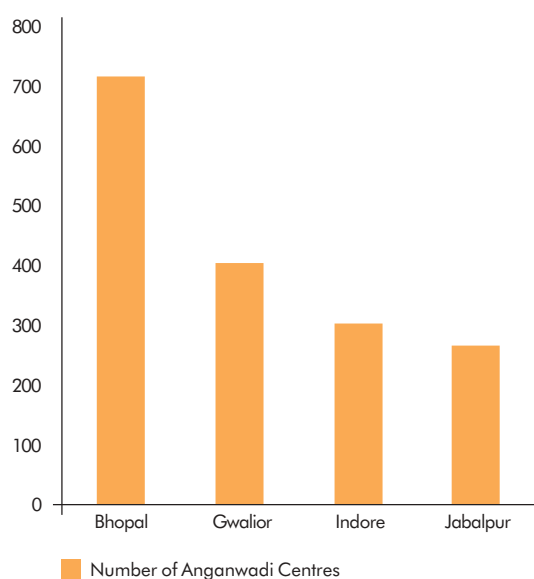
In the household survey we try to see the access of slum dwellers to these services. Two trends were significant. More number of the respondents reported using the services of private hospitals, private doctors and nursing home than the government hospitals. The former, of course, also includes the practitioners Indian Systems of Medicine who are more cost effective. Secondly, most of the respondents reported being able to access services located within less than 1 km. distance, more than 30% of the respondents reported that they have to go for longer distance.

The respondents reported monthly expenditure on medical expenses ranging from less than Rs. 50 to more than Rs. 500/-. Here, majority of the respondents 65% in Gwalior and 75% in Bhopal reported expenses from Rs. 50 to 250 per month those in Indore and Jabalpur to spent within this limit were about 40% but a larger number – 15 to 20% spent within Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 per month. This percentage was less in Bhopal and Gwalior.

Nutrition

The urban slums have anganwadi centres under a National Integrated Child Development Services Programme in which a package of services are available for children below 6 years, including supplementary nutrition, immunization, pre school education. The data shows that in each of the four cities these centres are available (Graph 1). Bhopal has a substantially larger number of these centres partly due to the state's response to the needs of children in the slums in the aftermath of the 1984 Bhopal Gas Tragedy. It is, therefore, surprising that less than one fifth of the respondents in our survey reported that their children were going to these centres. Even if we leave the almost one third of respondents who do not have children of less than 5 years age who go to these centres this is a low coverage of needy children.

Graph 1. Anganwadi Centres (AWC) in slum areas of four cities.



Source: Household survey

Table 16. Children attending Anganwadi centres in slum areas

City	Attending Anganwadi Centre					Total
	Yes	No	No children of the age	No anganwadi Centre	Not reported	
Bhopal	25	42	21	-	12	100
Gwalior	11	38	47	3	1	100
Indore	17	53	13	3	14	100
Jabalpur	17	21	46	2	14	100
Total	70	154	127	8	41	400

Source: Household survey

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



The State Government has been conducting a special campaign of 'bal sanjivani' to identify children with malnutrition for giving them special attention. The results of the sixth and the latest campaign (Table 17). Show that in some of the ICDS project areas in these cities, female children are more in the malnutrition grade e.g. in Gwalior in grade 1 and in project area of Banganga in Bhopal in the same grade. Overall, of course the gender difference is not very significant

Table 17 Malnutrition among children age 0-5 years in slum areas

Anganwadi Project in (Slums)	Normal%		Grade 1%		Grade 2%		Grade 3		Grade 4	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Bhopal										
Chandbad	59.9	57.8	24.9	25.3	14.0	15.5	1.0	1.2	0.2	0.1
J.P. Nagar	47.8	46.9	33.9	33.2	17.4	18.9	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.3
Barkhedi	40.6	39.8	35.5	34.8	23.0	24.3	0.8	0.9	0.1	0.2
Motia Park	42.2	43.1	37.3	37.0	20.0	20.4	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.0
Banganga	48.7	48.2	31.2	38.7	17.7	16.6	1.3	1.3	0.2	0.1
Gwalior City-1	53.2		35.1		15.6		0.4		0.7	
Gwalior City-2	50.3	45.9	35.8	37.0	12.4	14.4	0.9	1.5	0.6	0.2
Indore Urban 2	41.8	42.8	32.9	35.6	19.6	19.9	0.6	1.3	0.1	0.2
Indore City	50.7	46.5	35.6	37.4	12.7	14.4	0.9	1.5	0.1	0.2
Jabalpur 1	59.3	58.5	31.7	31.5	8.8	9.7	0.2	0.3	-	-
Jabalpur 2	48.2	43.9	38.1	38.8	12.9	16.2	0.7	0	0.1	0.1

Source: Directorate of Women and Child Development, GoM.P.

Crimes against women

Crimes against women in the country increased in incidence from 5.92% in 1995 to 35.16% in 2002. These include rape, molestation, torture, kidnapping and abduction, sexual harassment, dowry deaths, violation of Dowry Prohibition Act, offences under Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act and under Sati Prevention Act. Women are also victims of other crimes like murder, robbery, cheating etc. like men are but only these offences which are directed specifically against women are analysed as crimes against women. As we see, these are under the Indian Penal Code, which is the major criminal law in India and under special and local laws enacted to address social practices like dowry, child marriages, sati which are adverse to women and commercial onslaughts in indecent representation of women.

In 2002 the crimes against women in India included torture (33.3%), molestation (23%), rape (11.1%), kidnapping and abduction (9.8%), immoral traffic (7.6%), sexual harassment (6.9%), dowry deaths (4.6%). Others accounted for the rest. In the state of M.P. there were torture 20.4%, molestation 46.6%, rape 18.9%, kidnapping 4.2%, immoral trafficking 0.1%, sexual harassment 5.1% and dowry death 4.4%. (Crime in India 2002 – National Crime Records Bureau, MHA, GOI). State government has a special cell to look at crimes against women and against weaker sections of SC and ST. There are also special women's police stations in all the four cities.

In the urban areas, the crimes against women have shown an increasing trend. In M.P. in 2003 the two cities of Bhopal and Indore together show 1947 crimes against women as against 692 in 2002. In 2005, in the first 7 months the number of these crimes (Table 18) present an area of serious concern.

Table 18: Crimes against women in four cities (January-July, 2005)

	Bhopal	Gwalior	Indore	Jabalpur
Murder	10	7	8	3
Attempt to murder	2	4	9	4
Hurt	166	60	93	157
Grievous hurt	42	13	8	19
Molestation	126	108	196	180
Kidnapping	19	23	29	13
Rape	52	37	58	59
Suicide due to torture	10	7	17	19
Dowry death	9	9	16	15
Torture	76	59	183	90
Criminal intimidation	221	54	563	101
Robbery	23	7	6	16
Dowry Act	0	0	1	8
Arson	0	2	4	10
Total	756	390	1191	694

Source: Director General of Police, MP

Domestic Violence

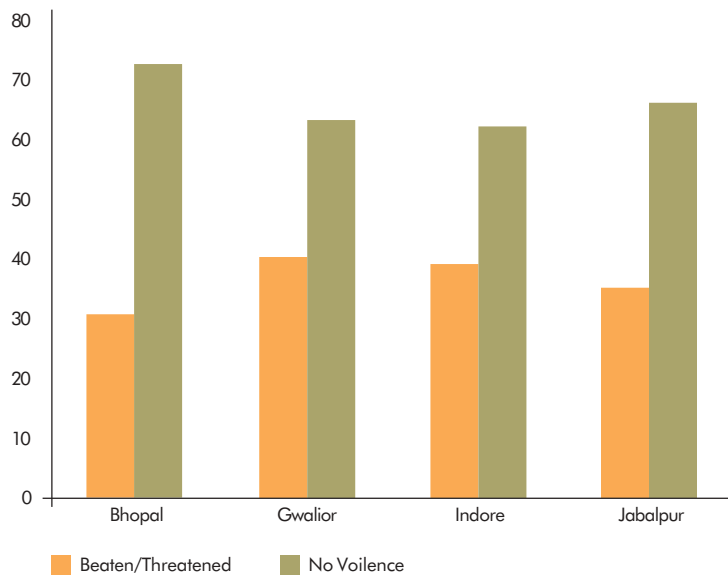
Domestic violence is not a phenomenon limited to any section – urban, rural, rich or poor, educated or otherwise. It is however, known to be substantially under a wrap with women’s silence fearing family reputation being adversely affected or for a fear of further battering. They do not easily speak about it. Recent efforts by women’s groups have brought the issue in the public domain and made it easier for women to get social support and help. One third of our respondents reported having faced domestic violence (Graph 2) and mainly from their husbands. The main reasons for this violence are stated as alcoholism and poverty, which lead to tension and conflict (Graph 3). The resort to violence, of course, becomes a manifestation of an assertion of masculinity and power. Efforts to mobilize women’s groups can be effective in such cases.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

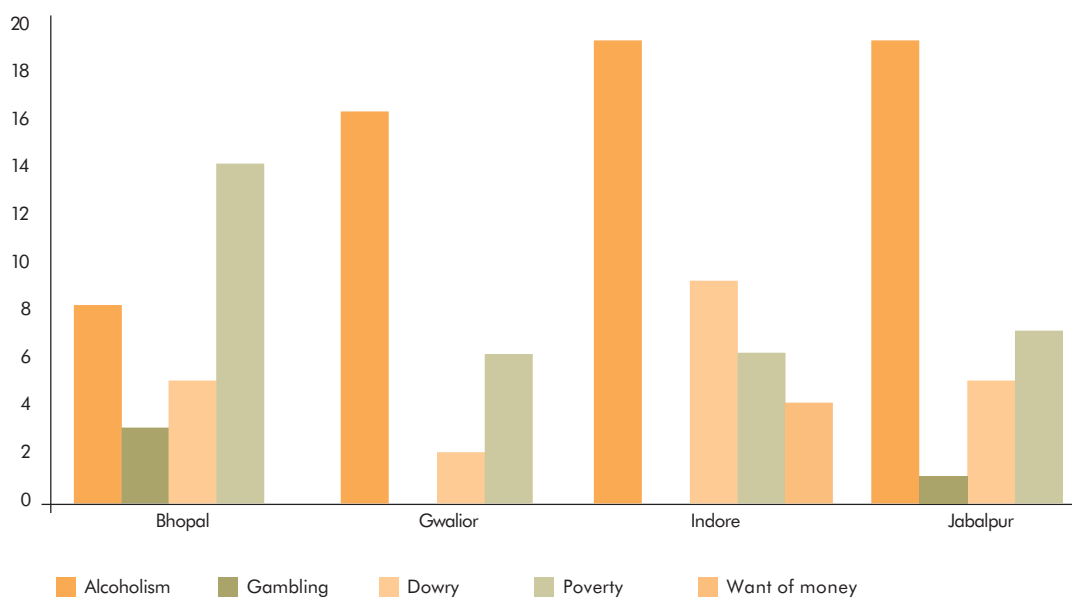


Graph 2. Women in slums reporting being subjected to domestic violence.



Source: Household survey

Graph 3. Women in slums reporting reasons for domestic violence.

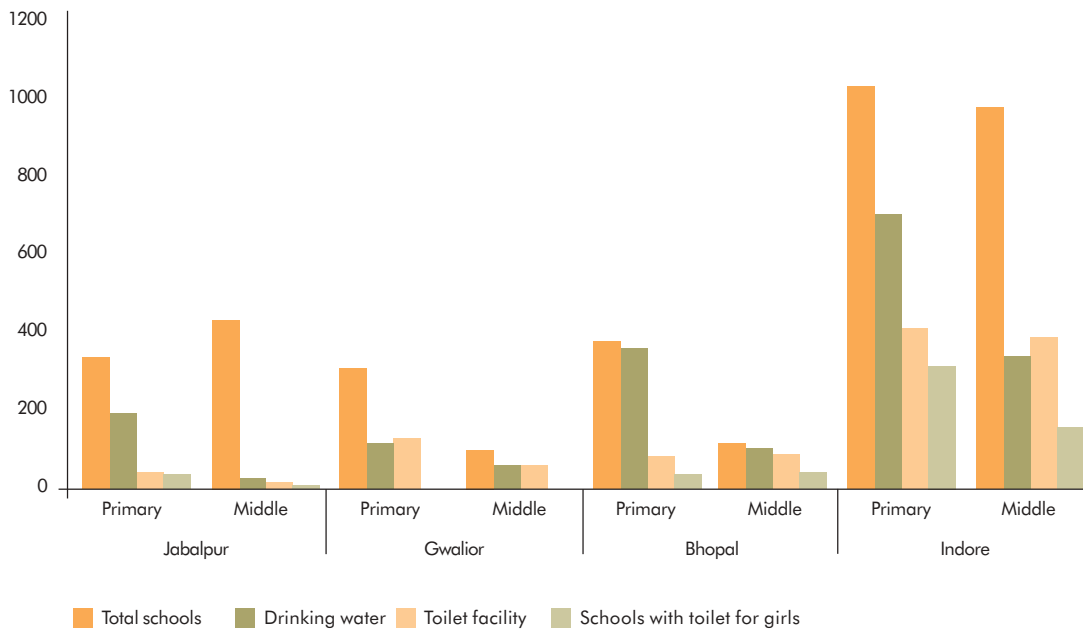


Source: Household survey

Education

The school infrastructure with drinking water and toilets is important for looking at gender issues. The primary and middle schools for education up to 14 years of age are important centres for basic education. Here the information for the four cities (Graph 4) shows that the state has to make efforts to have these facilities in all schools. The recent initiatives under 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' campaign for universal elementary education has a focus on looking at these services too and will improve the situation. Another important issue is of still continuing gender gap in school enrollment (Graph 5) and drop out rates. Our household survey indicated (Table 19) that Bhopal and Jabalpur have a larger percentage of girls than boys who were not in school. In Gwalior there was no difference among boys and girls. In Indore the percentage of such girls was substantially less than boys.

Graph 4. Primary/Middle schools with drinking water, toilets, separate toilets for girls.

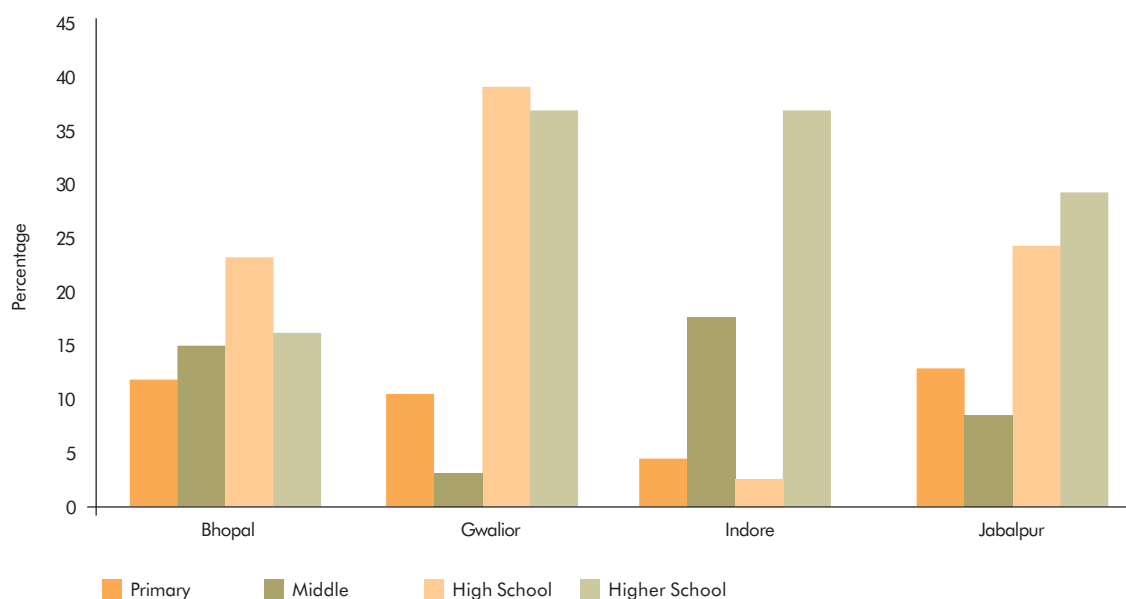


Source: School education offices in four cities

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Graph 5. Gender gap in enrollment of children in schools.



Source: School education offices in four cities

Table 19. Number of children of school going age and “not in school” children in slums of four cities.

City	M/F	Bhopal	Gwalior	Indore	Jabalpur
Children of school going age	M	92	92	79	83
	F	84	88	83	85
Children going to school	M	77	76	61	79
	F	70	72	67	74
Children not in school	M	15	16	28	4
	F	14	16	16	11
Out of school Children%	M	16.3	17.4	35.4	4.8
	F	16.7	16.3	19.3	12.9

Source: Household survey

Time disposition

Our household survey sought to capture the time disposition of women and men in the slums. As we see, a majority of women and men spend 5-8 hrs. or more in earning livelihood. (Tables 20 and 21). In addition women have to spend time in cooking (table 22). Any strategy of gender mainstreaming will have to see how the income earning opportunities can be used by these women by having to spend less time and money on getting water and by providing a reasonably secure, safe and enabling environment.

Table 20. Number of women in slums spending time daily in earning livelihood.

City	<5 hours	5-8 hours	9-10 hours	10 hours and more	Not applicable not reported	Total	
						Working	Not Working
Bhopal	4	31	7	9	-	51	49
Gwalior	8	22	7	2	2	41	59
Indore	20	16	9	2	5	52	48
Jabalpur	17	26	7	11	3	64	36
Total	49	95	30	24	10	208	192

Table 21. Number of men in slums spending daily time in earning livelihood.

City	<5 hours	5-8 hours	9-10 hours	10 hours and more	Not applicable not reported	Total	
						Working	Not Working
Bhopal	6	26	15	31	2	88	12
Gwalior	2	62	10	6	1	90	10
Indore	14	14	29	11	-	89	11
Jabalpur	10	16	10	12	2	82	18
Total	32	118	64	60	5	349	51

Table 22. Number of women in slums spending time daily in cooking.

City	<1 hours	1-2 hours	2-3 hours	3 hours and more	Not applicable not reported	Total
Bhopal	8	46	22	2	22	100
Gwalior	13	44	19	1	23	100
Indore	7	51	25	-	17	100
Jabalpur	8	41	9	4	38	100
Total	36	182	75	7	100	400

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Participation in Government Schemes

There is virtually no participation reported in Government schemes and programmes whether related to water and sanitation or other government schemes. Only 22 women among the 400 respondents reported participation in WSS, that too mainly in Indore and Jabalpur. Only 19 reported participation in other government schemes, that too in these two cities. This is despite the ongoing programmes of Ayodhya Basti and Slum networking in selected slums in these cities for improvement of infrastructure and basic services. There is a whole process involved in involving the communities and women in particular which in the case of poor women in particular, also means to structure the effort according to their convenience due to livelihood pre occupation. It requires strong effort for state civil society partnership in each city.

Intra family decision making

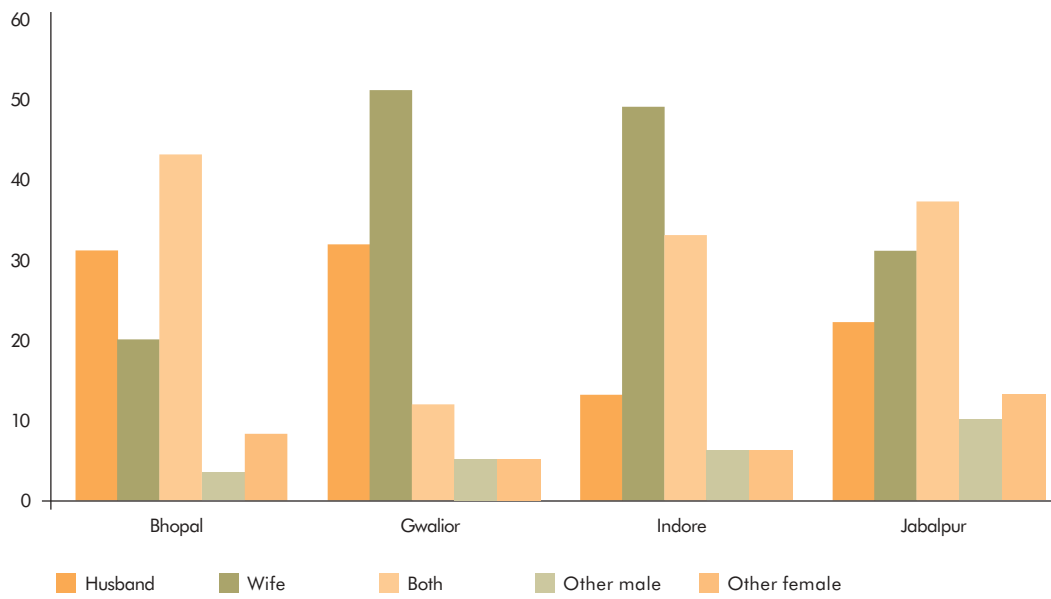
The six graphs here (6 to 11) based on household survey show the role of women in the slums in intra family decision making in different matters ranging from purchase of food, clothes, ornaments to children's education, immunization and performing of social functions. In all kinds of purchases about one third or more reported joint decision making by wife and husband. In education too, one third of the respondents reported joint decision-making but in immunization more women reported decision by themselves. In all matters about one fourth of them reported decision by the husband only and one fifth to more than one third of respondents reported decision being taken by themselves. So about 60% or more of the respondents were either participating in the decision making with their husbands were taking decisions themselves.



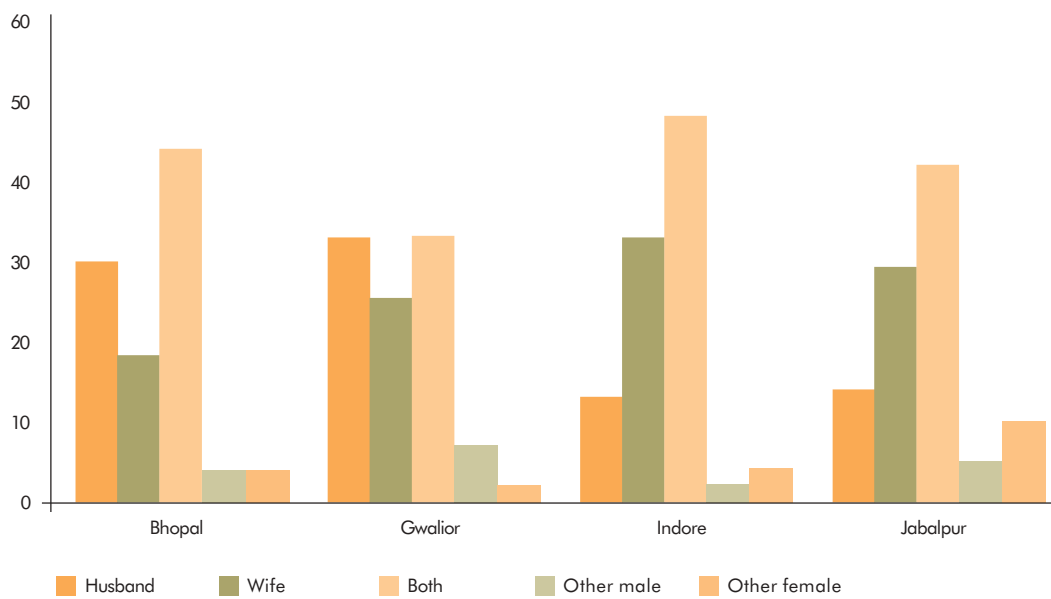
Team member recording responses of women.



Graph 6. Decision makers in the slum households about purchase of food



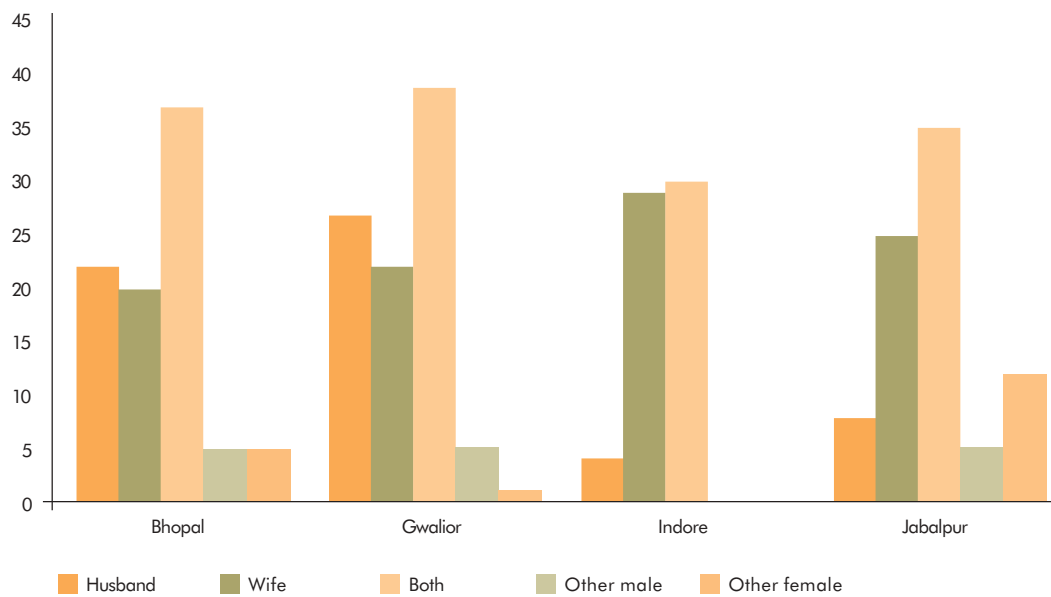
Graph 7. Decision makers in the slum households about purchase of clothes



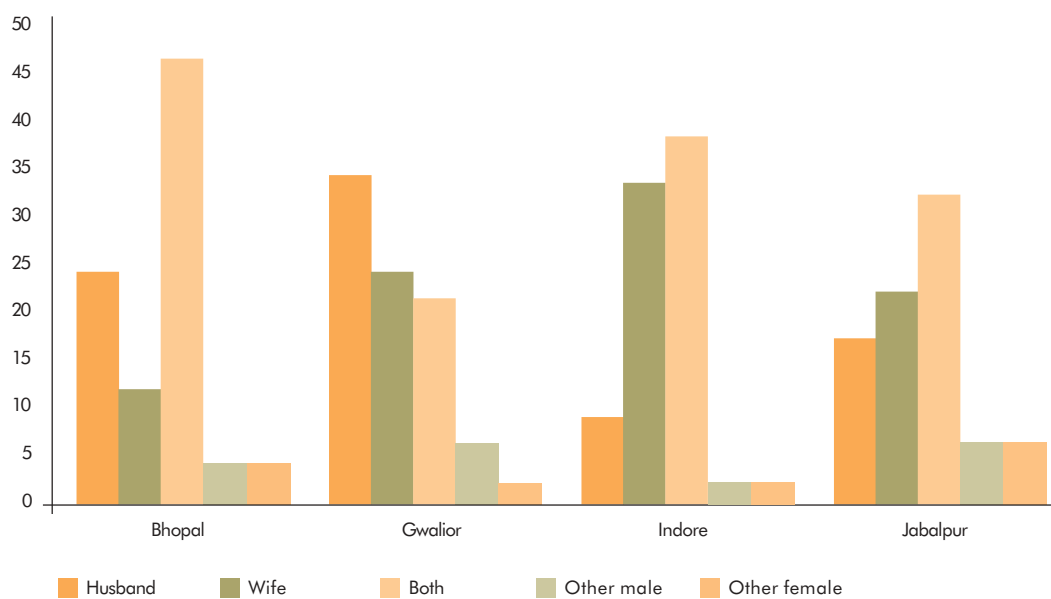
Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Graph 8. Decision makers in the slum households about purchase of ornaments

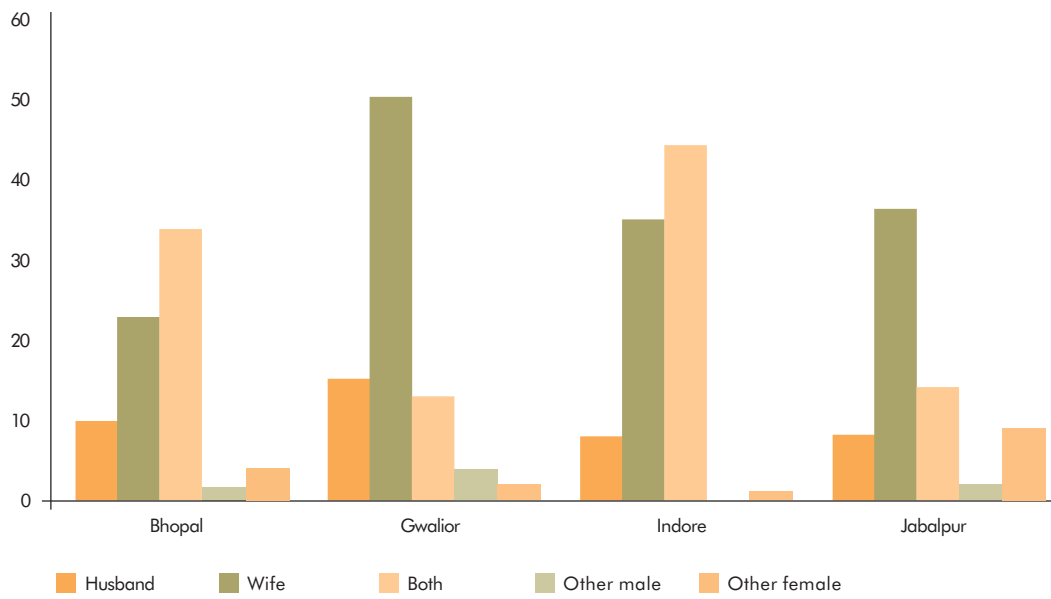


Graph 9. Decision makers in the slum households about education of children

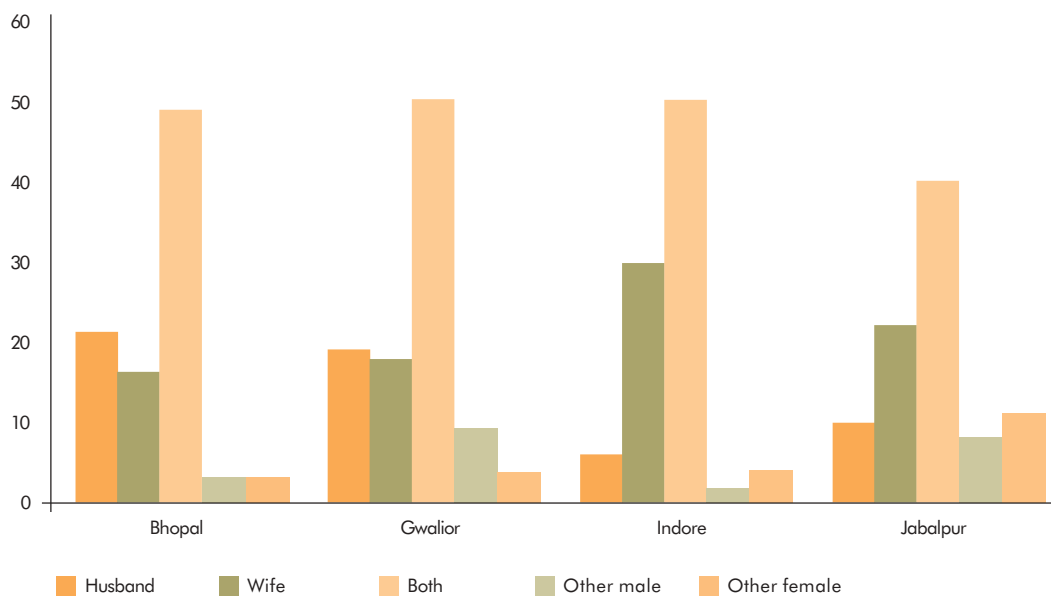




Graph 10. Decision makers in the slum households about immunisation of children



Graph 11. Decision makers in the slum households about performing social ceremony



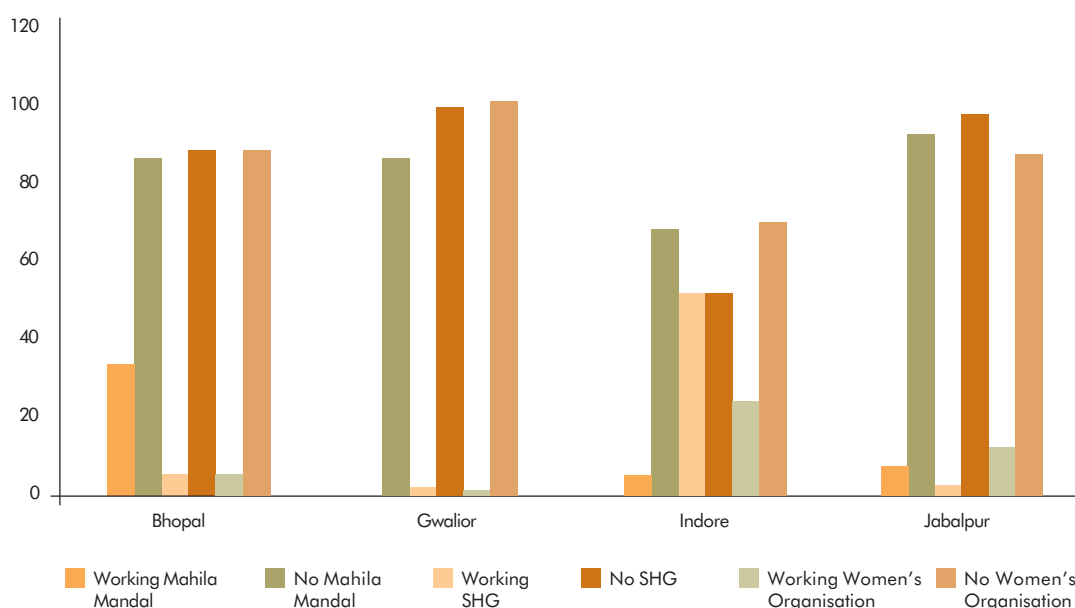
Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



These trends in decision-making are interesting and encouraging but we also note that these all are matters in the private domain. When the issue is in the public domain e.g. when discussions were organized in the slums man made it very clear that they knew the answers and they would give suggestions even if it was to say that women should be organized. It is on the same lines as when we visited a village to ask why the women panchayat leader had not come to the programme organized that day, the husband told us “I have already sent her to attend your programme. I always tell her to do so”.

Graph 12. Working Mahila Mandal/SHGs/Women's Organisations in Slum areas



Organisation Working in the slums

Very few organizations were reported to be working in sample slums. Only 20 respondents reported Mahila Mandals, 6 reported Self Help Groups and 49 reported Women's Organisations working in the four cities. Among the cities, Bhopal had 8 Mahila Mandals, 5 Self Help Groups and 2 Women's Organisations. Gwalior had no Mahila Mandals, 2 Self Help Groups and 1 Women's Organisations. Jabalpur also had 7 Mahila Mandals, 2 Self help groups and 12 Women's organisations respectively. Only Indore had 5 Mahila Mandals, 51 Self Help Groups and 24 Women's Organisations. (Graph 12)

Slums in the four cities

The generic definition of slums suggests that a slum is: "Characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services" (UN Habitat. "The challenge of slums": Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003). In India "A slum refers to an area or a situation and does not constitute building. Secondly, it can be identified by a combination of physical attributes and not with reference to any single attribute. Thirdly, there is a considerable range of variation in regard to the manifestations of each of the physical attributes. The main physical attributes of a slum are substandard houses, high density and congestion, over-crowding, insanitary conditions, absence of basic amenities like water supply, drainage, sewerage and clearance of garbage (The 1991 Census of India.)

Since the pro-poor focus of this exercise would mean that we have more focus on the profile of the slum population in these four cities we see here the sex ratio, literacy gap, child sex ratio in the slums and then move to see data on poverty and vulnerability.

Table 23: Slums in MP; Sex ratio and Gender gap in literacy 2001

	Madhya Pradesh	India
Slum Population as percentage of Urban Population of Madhya Pradesh.	24.31	14.1
Sex Ratio in Slum Areas.	904	875
Juvenile Sex Ratio in Slum Areas.	903	918
Literacy Rate in Slum Areas.		
Persons	75.7	73.7
Male	84.7	81.4
Female	65.7	65.0
Gender gap in literacy	9%	6.4%

Source: MP Human Development Report 2002

Table 24: Urban Population and Sex Ratio In Slums In Four Cities

Cities	Urban Population	Slum Area		
		Population	Slum Population as percentage of Urban Population	Sex Ratio
Bhopal (N.N)	14, 33, 875	1, 26, 346	8.81	906
Gwalior (N.N)	8, 26, 919	1, 93, 635	23.42	867
Indore (N.N)	15, 97, 441	2, 59, 577	16.25	902
Jabalpur (N.N)	9, 51, 469	2, 75, 454	28.95	907
Jabalpur Cantt.	66, 482	6, 680	10.05	928

Note: NN-Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation) Cantt.-Cantonment Board

Source: MP Human Development Report, 2002

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Table 25: Child Sex Ratio, Literacy Rate in Slums in Four Cities

Towns	Slum Area		Literacy Rate in Slum Area %			
	Population in age group 0-6	Juvenile Sex Ratio	Urban Literacy %	Persons	Male	Female
Bhopal (N.N)	22, 305	944	80.12	66.23	75.83	55.55
Gwalior (N.N)	28, 329	837	80.62	72.91	83.04	61.3
Indore (N.N)	36, 490	903	82.14	79.82	88.04	70.71
Jabalpur (N.N)	35, 409	927	84.76	81.15	87.58	74.03
Jabalpur Cantt.	785	1071	92.49	86.01	93.91	77.33

Source: MP Human Development Report 2002.

Poverty and vulnerability

The PPTA (GHK, STUP and IPE study for ADB) tried to provide a more detailed profile of the poor. It sought to identify differences amongst poor households, particularly to identify what typifies vulnerability and the poorest of the poor, and considers their relative access to urban services.

Within the four cities, Jabalpur, has higher than national average slum populations at over 28%. Indore and Bhopal have relatively low proportions. This may reflect different definitions of slum populations. The other widely used measure of poverty is the Below Poverty Line (BPL) population. The PPTA analysis estimated the BPL proportion of households in each city population based on the income figures given by the households themselves in their household survey.

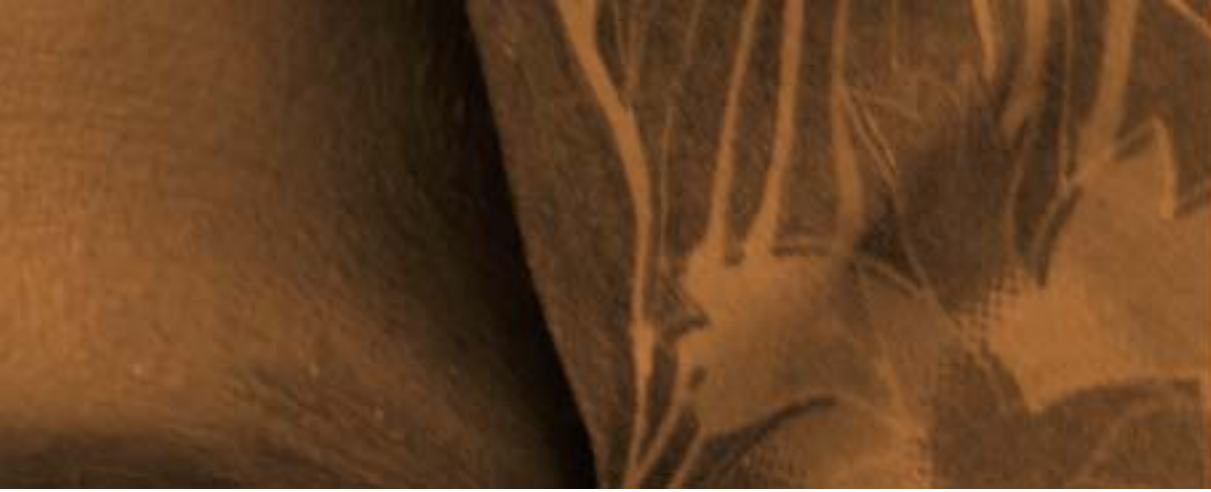
Based on the Madhya Pradesh Poverty Line of Rs. 365 per capita per month, the survey indicated average % of BPL households in the population of the cities in its survey estimated at 15.7%.

The derived BPL rates for each city, using the 1999/2000 Poverty Line, shows that all cities except Bhopal, Gwalior and Jabalpur have BPL populations above 25%. Using the Government of Madhya Pradesh Poverty Line, Gwalior and Jabalpur have the lowest at around 10% BPL households.

Poverty is experienced through a variety of dimensions of which low income is only one. Within the poor, there are important differences in depths of poverty, the ability of poor households to graduate from poverty and the relative vulnerability of different groups to witness risks to livelihood such as unemployment, sickness and eviction. Effective poverty reduction programmes need to be able to differentiate these groups and design appropriate and targeted responses. A typology of three groups defined by a recent Asian Development Bank (ADB) TA has categories of.

Transitional Poor – households with monthly per capita income between the Poverty Line and 1.5 times the Poverty Line, likely to own productive assets and have access to basic services. They move in and out of poverty depending on particular and periodic circumstance.

Intermediate Poor – households with income between half the Poverty Line and the PL itself, have limited access to basic services.



Core Poor – households with income less than half of the Poverty Line and who live in extreme poverty and vulnerability.

The PPTA household survey showed that these groups total between 30 and 55% of the total city households, averaging for the four cities at around 36%. In Bhopal and Jabalpur, the proportion of core and intermediate poor was high in comparison with the transitional poor.

Dependency ratios reflect this trend showing much higher levels of dependency in intermediate poor and especially core poor households. Jabalpur and Indore have between 1.5 and 2 dependents per 18-65 year old adult.

There are high proportion of poor households, engaged in informal employment. Highest levels are in Jabalpur where there is relatively low average informal employment level across non-poor income groups. Overall, informal employment is most prevalent in Core and Intermediate households in each city. Over 80% of Core Poor households in Indore, Jabalpur are engaged in informal employment.

Our survey household in four cities gives a qualitative profile of the slum population with a focus on articulation of the needs, challenges and suggestions of the women who were the respondents in this survey. They were also the participants in at least one focus group discussion (FGD) in each slum. We give the numbers in % coming up on various responses, which must be viewed in the light of the size of sample.

Surveyed households had a total population of 2371 (Table 40). In all the cities except Gwalior, sex ratio in these populations was better than in the total population of these cities.

15% of these households were female headed with 10% in Bhopal, 14% in Gwalior, 16% in Indore and 21% in Jabalpur. Almost all respondents were married women with 4 to 10 widowed and 1 to 3 separated women in each city.

Table 26: Surveyed population in slums in four cities

City	Male	Female	Total
Bhopal	322	303	625
Gwalior	324	261	585
Indore	290	316	606
Jabalpur	276	279	555
Total	1212	1159	2371

Navigating GENDER

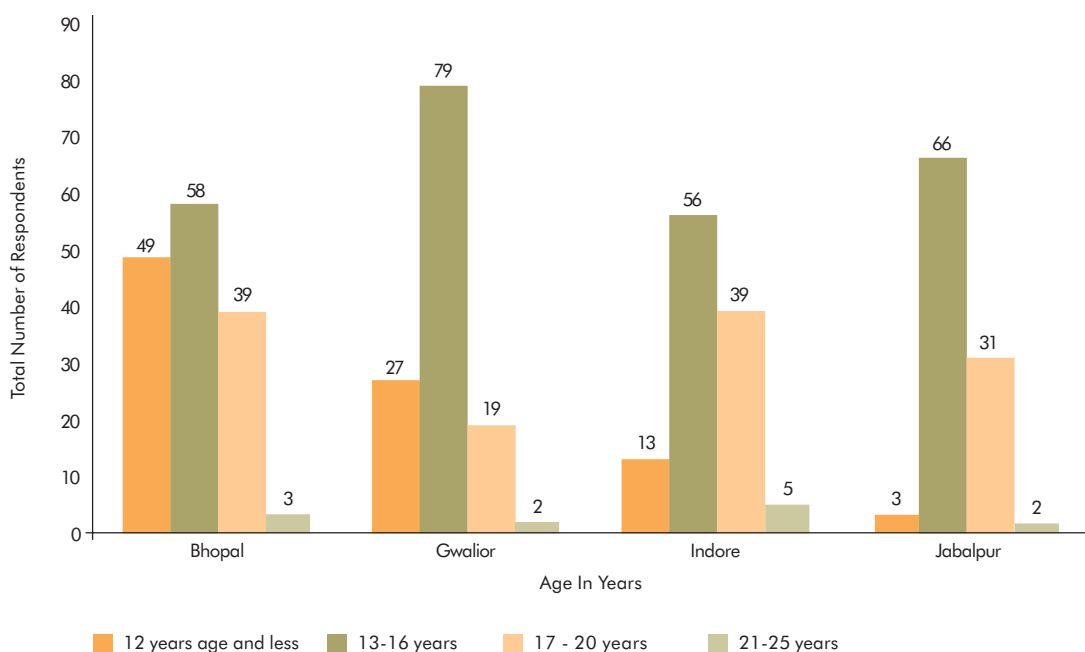
IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



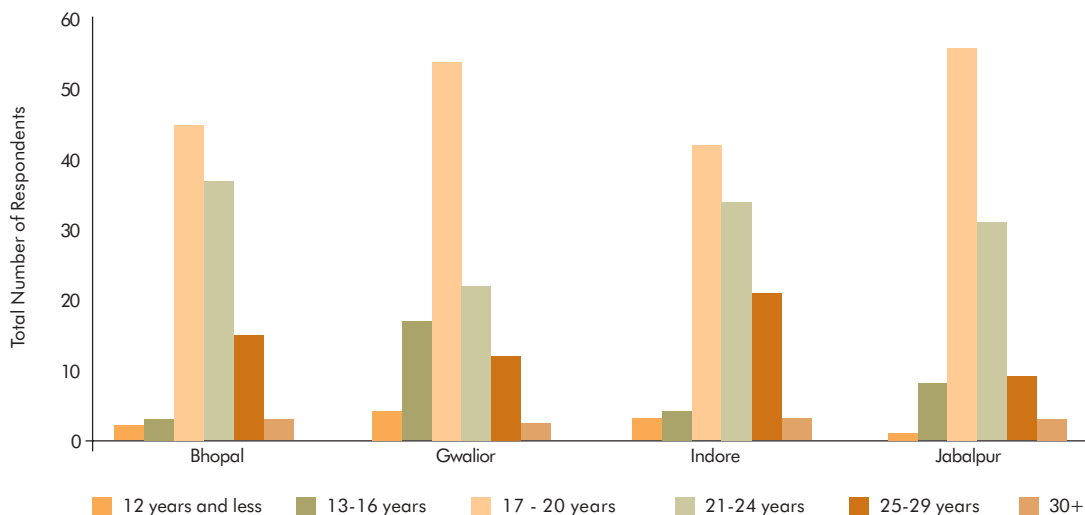
Age at Marriage

More than half of the respondents in each of the cities were married before the legal age of 18 years for marriage with 3 to 27% married by the age of 21 years. Among their husbands too, 42 to 56 % in each city were married before the legal age of marriage (21 years). This trend of child marriages is higher in Gwalior and Jabalpur than in the other two cities.

Graph 13. Age at Marriage of Respondents in surveyed slums.



Graph 14. Age at Marriage of spouse of respondents in surveyed slums

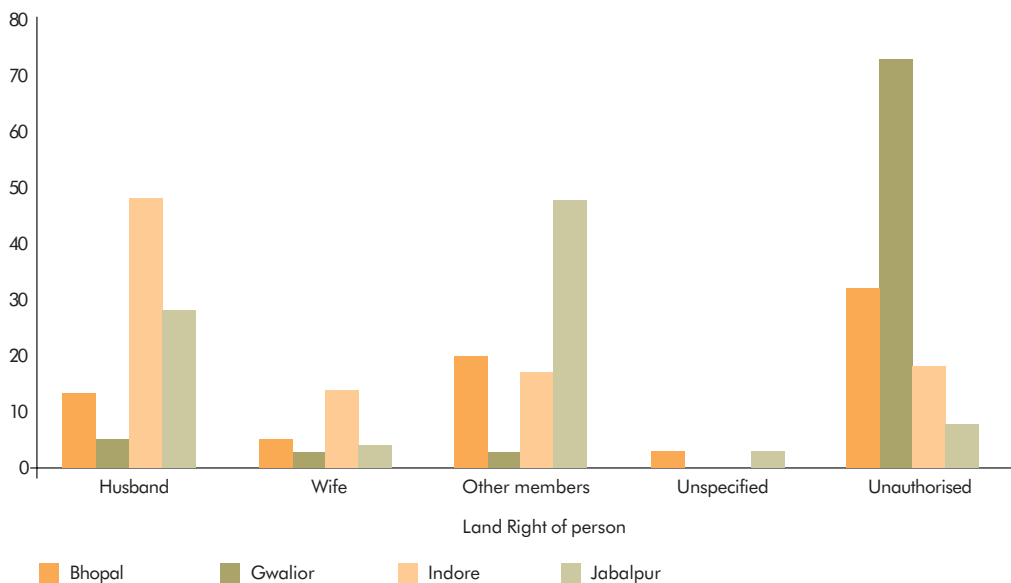




Land Rights

In 1984 state law on granting of lease rights of houseless in occupation of land in urban areas stipulated giving patta up to 50 sq. meters of occupied land to those in occupation on 10th April 1984. later this law was amended to give such household rights on plots to those in occupation up to May 31, 1998. However 131 of the 400 households, almost one third of the respondents in our survey, reported living with unauthorized occupation of land. Besides, despite a state government policy of giving lease deeds, of any government. land distributed or settled in favour of any family, to the woman in the family, only 26 women i.e. less than seven percent of the women had been given the 'patta' lease deeds in their names (Graph 20).

Graph 15. Land Rights of house site land in surveyed slums



Occupation and Income

A little less than 50% (187 or 47%) of the respondents from 38% in Bhopal to 54% in Jabalpur reported being economically active. Others reported that they were housewives. Of those who are reporting working, almost all of them in the four cities are engaged in the informal sector jobs or occupations. Only 2% reported being in formal sector jobs. The same is the position of other female members of the household. Their activities include domestic service, rag picking, wage labour, tailoring, bamboo workers etc.

Another significant feature is seen in the income levels of male and female members of the households. The male members in the household also are over-whelmingly in informal sector with activities ranging from rag picking, wage labour to tailoring. Some women are not able to engage in economic activities due to the time they have to devote not only to other household work but also

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



to work relating to water. They are able to earn less than their male household members as more of them have lower income levels than men. It also reflects on how women's work and its remuneration is perceived. When they are working in other households or producing certain goods and services they are paid less than the work done by male members.

Among the 210 households where the respondents have reported having children age 6 to 18 years 50 have reported their children working and getting their income. These are more in Gwalior and Jabalpur than in Bhopal and Indore cities.

Profile of Four Cities: Highlights

Socio-economic Profile

	Bhopal	Gwalior	Indore	Jabalpur
Population (in million)	1.4	0.8	1.5	1.1
S.C population %	12.4	16.8	14.0	13.1
S.T population %	3.0	1.6	2.7	4.5
Slum Population %	8.8	23.4	16.2	29.0
Number Of Slums	184	133	218	320
Sex Ratio	898	861	904	893
Child sex ratio	929	837	896	911
Sex ratio in slums	906	867	902	907
Child sex ratio in slums	944	837	903	927
Migration %				
Male	38.5	19.6	28.5	25.9
Female	41.8	32.6	36.5	33.9
Main reasons for migration %				
Male (employment)	50.9	36.0	43.6	44.4
Female (Marriage)	48.4	62.9	60.6	54.5
Household Size	5.2	5.7	5.3	5.2
Schools				
Primary	132	309	375	1121
Middle	63	98	112	958
Primary schools				
With drinking water facility	107	112	360	803
With toilets	40	123	80	780
With girls toilets	34	0	35	312
Middle schools				
With drinking water facility	20	56	104	200
With toilets	19	59	84	385
With girls toilets	7	0	42	154
Out of school Children in slums %				
Boys	16.3	17.4	35.4	4.8
Girls	16.7	16.3	19.3	12.9
Gender gap in Literacy	12.2	16.6	12.6	11.7
Gender gap in school enrollment				
Primary	12.0	10.6	4.7	13.2
Middle	15.3	3.1	17.7	8.5
High School	23.5	39.5	2.5	24.4
Higher Secondary	16.4	37.2	19.5	29.7
Number of Anganwadi Centres	699	394	301	264
Children attending Anganwadi Centres%	25	11	17	17
Work participation rate				
Male	47	45.6	51.2	48.0
Female	10.3	8.2	11.1	11.5

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



	Bhopal	Gwalior	Indore	Jabalpur
Main Workers %				
Male	43	42.4	48.0	43.9
Female	8.5	6.7	9.3	9.4
Marginal Workers %				
Male	4.0	3.3	3.2	4.1
Female	1.9	1.4	1.8	2.1
Land Rights in slum Household surveyed				
In Husband's name	13	5	48	28
In Wife's name	5	3	14	4
Unauthorized	32	73	18	8
Intra family Decision making by				
(1) About purchase of land				
Husband	31	32	13	22
Wife	20	51	49	31
Both	43	12	33	37
(2) About education of children				
Husband	24	34	9	17
Wife	12	24	33	22
Both	46	21	38	32
(3) About immunization of children				
Husband	10	15	8	8
Wife	23	50	35	36
Both	34	13	44	14
(4) About purchase of ornaments				
Husband	22	27	4	8
Wife	20	22	29	25
Both	37	39	30	35
(5) About purchase of clothes				
Husband	30	33	13	14
Wife	18	25	33	29
Both	44	33	48	42
(6) About social ceremony				
Husband	21	19	6	10
Wife	16	18	30	22
Both	49	50	50	40
Crime against women (January to July 2005)	756	390	1141	694
Domestic violence % women reporting	30	34	38	34
Main reasons for domestic violence				
Alcoholism	8	16	19	12
Poverty	14	6	6	7





4. Water and Sanitation

The latest census in 2001 gives information on the households with drinking water source and its location in the urban areas of each district. It also give information on availability of bathrooms, toilets, drainage etc. In each of the four district in which these four cities are located these cities account for a major share of the urban population for instance 98.4% of urban population of Bhopal district is in Bhopal city. In Gwalior district 88% of urban population is in Gwalior city. In Indore and Jabalpur districts the percentage in the main city is 85% and 89.6% respectively. Hence we take this data as a good approximation for the situation in these four cities and present the data here.

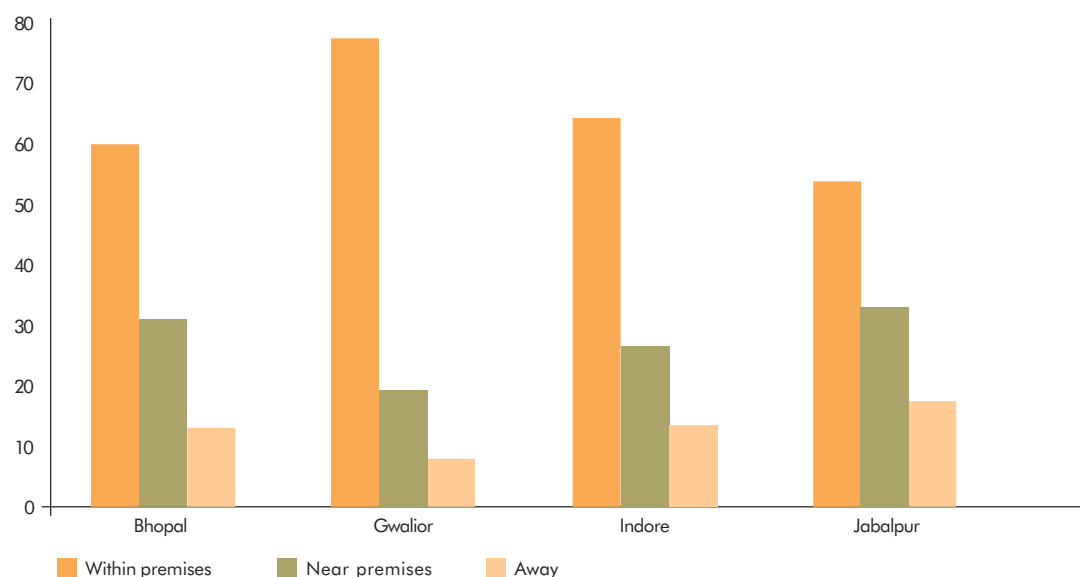
Availability of drinking water

Water

Graph 16 shows the location and access of drinking water sources in the urban areas of the concerned four districts. If we see it in the context of all urban areas in the state, 55.2% of the households had the water source located within the premises 29.5% near the premises and 15.3% away from the premises.

In the concerned four districts, Bhopal had 57.5%, Gwalior 74.4%, Indore 61.7% and Jabalpur 51.7% households with location of the water source within the premises. In Bhopal 30%, Gwalior 18%, Indore 25.5% and Jabalpur 31.5% households had the source near the premises. 12.5% in Bhopal, 7.5% in Gwalior, 12.8% in Indore and 16.8% in Jabalpur had the water source away from the houses.

Graph 16. Household by location of source of drinking water (Percentage)



It is also interesting to see the type of water source as reported in the household survey. While in Bhopal 82% of the total water sources were taps of piped water supply, in the other three cities these ranged between 73% and 76%. Similarly, while Bhopal and Indore had 8% and 6.5% hand pumps, the other two cities Gwalior had 11.4% and Jabalpur had 15%. The third significant source of tubewell was 5 to 7% but in Indore 18% of the households had tube wells and half of them were within the premises.

Our household survey sought information about the agency supplying water, the facility available in house for water supply and the source of water supply accessed by slum dwellers outside the slums. (Tables 27, 28 and 29). As we see, it is mainly the Municipal Corporation which is supplying water. An overwhelming majority does not have this facility in the house (Table 28). The water source accessed outside the slum is mainly taps (Table 29)

In the household survey an effort was made to identify the persons, institutions and authorities who were responsible for maintaining water tanks and public taps and also to see if the community particularly women were given any role. The responses showed that the responsibility and authority was almost completely with the Municipal Corporations and Water supply department. Only 14 respondents and this too mainly in Indore reported some role for local persons and NGOs (Table 27).

Table 27. Agency of water supply to households in slums in four cities

City	Municipal Corporation	Private Agency	PHE	Others	Total
Bhopal	86	2	1	11	100
Gwalior	78	-	2	20	100
Indore	84	8	8	-	100
Jabalpur	96	-	-	4	100
Total	344	10	11	35	400

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Table 28. Respondents reporting availability of water facility in house in slums in four cities

City	Well	Tap	Hand Pump	None	Total
Bhopal	-	8	-	92	100
Gwalior	4	27	2	67	100
Indore	8	18	-	74	100
Jabalpur	1	2	2	95	100
Total	13	55	4	328	400

Table 29. Respondents in four cities reporting access of water source outside the slums (those who get water from outside)

City	Tap	Well	Hand Pump	Government tanker	Private tanker	No response	Total
Bhopal	79	1	-	16	-	4	100
Gwalior	35	2	45	-	-	18	100
Indore	50	16	9	2	6	17	100
Jabalpur	69	23	6	-	-	2	100
Total	233	42	60	18	6	41	400

We have also collected their views and information about the duration of tap water supply (Table 30), distance of piped water supply source, (Table 31), quality of water supplied (Table 32) and whether they were receiving sufficient quantity of water (Table 33). The responses show that they do not have very high expectations and consider the quality of water clean and quantity satisfactory.

Table 30. Duration of Tap Water Supply (those getting tap water supply)

City	< 30 Minutes	30 Minute to 1 hour	1 hour to 1½ hour	1½ hour to 3 hours	3 hour to 5 hour	5 hour	Total
Bhopal	3	28	4	48	5	1	89
Gwalior	11	35	-	10	4	4	64
Indore	24	23	4	23	9	10	93
Jabalpur	5	19	4	21	13	11	73
Total	44	105	12	102	31	26	319

Table 31. Distance of piped water supply source (those who fetch water from pipe water source outside)

City	Less than 50 metre	50-250 Metre	250-500 Metre	500 Metre to 1 Km	1-2 Km	2-5 Km	5 Km	Total
Bhopal	10	5	14	11	4	-	-	44
Gwalior	20	18	23	7	1	-	-	69
Indore	15	-	9	7	9	2	-	52
Jabalpur	1	5	1	20	-	-	-	27
Total	46	28	47	45	14	2	-	192

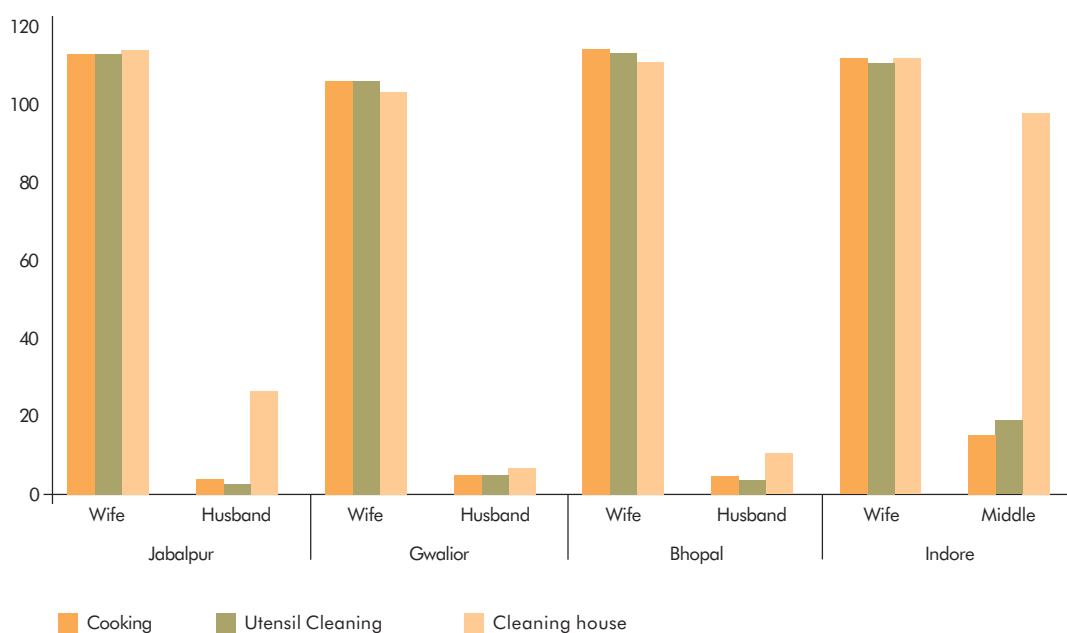
Table 32. Quality of water supplied/received

City	Clean	Turbid	Polluted	Total
Bhopal	88	10	2	100
Gwalior	91	8	1	100
Indore	66	31	3	100
Jabalpur	97	2	1	100
Total	342	51	7	400

Table 33. Households getting sufficient/insufficient water

City	Sufficient	Insufficient	Total
Bhopal	53	47	100
Gwalior	61	39	100
Indore	52	48	100
Jabalpur	76	24	100
Total	240	158	400

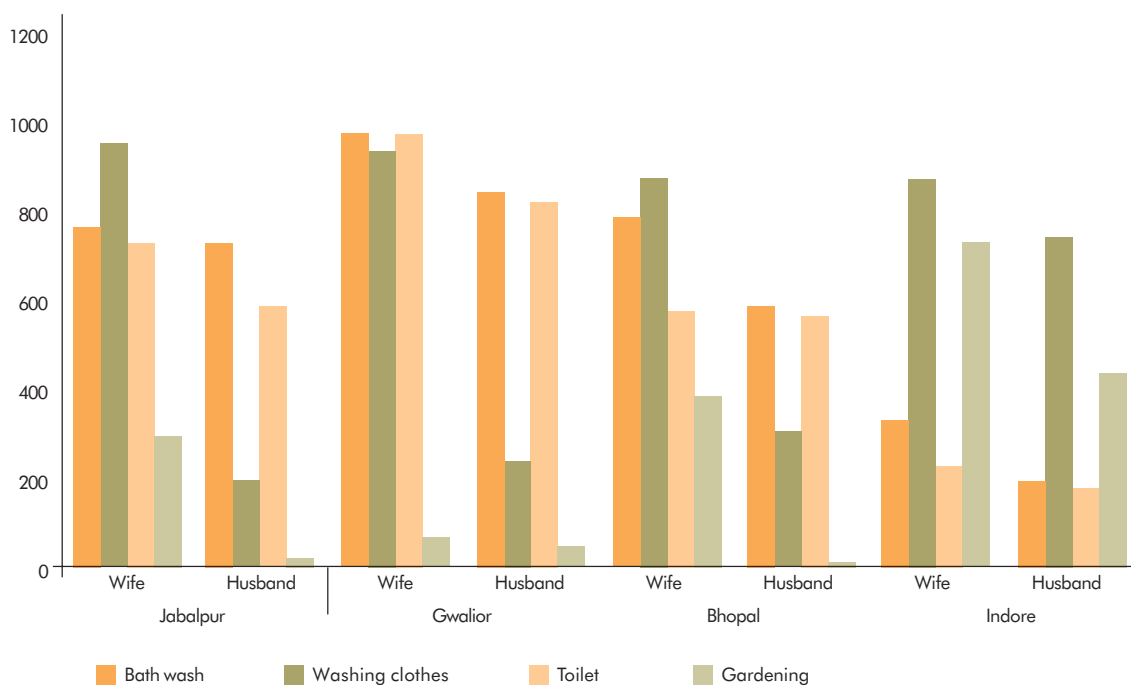
Graph 17 (a). Water use for Cooking, Cleaning by men & women



Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Graph 17 (b). Water use for Bath, wash toilet



Information from the household survey in the four cities showed (Graph 17 (a) and 17 (b)) the differential in use of water by men and women. While in the case of cooking and cleaning, women were the major users, in bathing and washing both were the users. In the house women played a major role in controlling the use of water (Table 34). In our survey while 16 respondents reported this role for other female members including daughters, only 12 reported a role of husbands.

Table 34. Persons controlling use of water in slum households

City	Controlled by							Total
	Wife	Husband	Aged male	Aged female	Other male including son	Other female including daughter	Not reported	
Bhopal	72	2	-	-	2	5	19	100
Gwalior	74	1	-	-	2	4	19	100
Indore	85	2	-	6	-	3	4	100
Jabalpur	72	7	2	3	-	4	12	100
Total	303	12	2	9	4	16	54	400

An attempt was made to capture the time taken by the households and their members in fetching water every day (Table 35). Two trends are significant in the responses. Firstly most women have reported that they themselves have spent the maximum time secondly, most of the members have spent more than one and two hours every day in fetching water.

Table 35. Respondents reporting time spent by different family members in fetching water.

City	Family members	Time spent						Total
		< 30 minutes	30-60 minutes	1-2 hour	2-3 hour	3-4 hour	4 hour & more	
Bhopal	Self	2	25	14	4	1	0	46
	Husband	5	14	6	2	0	0	27
	Other male members	2	15	10	3	0	0	30
	Other Female members	1	4	0	0	0	0	5
	All members	10	58	30	9	1	0	108
Gwalior	Self	16	29	14	1	0	0	60
	Husband	7	13	3	0	0	0	23
	Other male members	2	17	8	0	0	0	27
	Other Female members	5	4	5	1	0	0	13
	All members	30	63	30	2	0	0	123
Indore	Self	4	37	17	4	1	0	63
	Husband	7	14	6	1	0	0	28
	Other male members	2	7	4	1	0	0	14
	Other Female members	2	9	6	0	0	0	17
	All members	15	67	33	6	1	0	122
Jabalpur	Self	0	12	4	3	0	0	19
	Husband	0	11	16	1	0	0	28
	Other male members	0	28	24	8	1	1	62
	Other Female members	1	14	21	5	2	0	43
	All members	1	65	65	17	3	1	152

Note: Multiple responses

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Sanitation

The toilet facilities are available in 27% houses in four cities. These are more in Bhopal and Jabalpur and much less in the other cities. In Gwalior these are in only 10% of the houses. (Table 36)

Table 36. Availability of toilets in house in slum areas in four cities

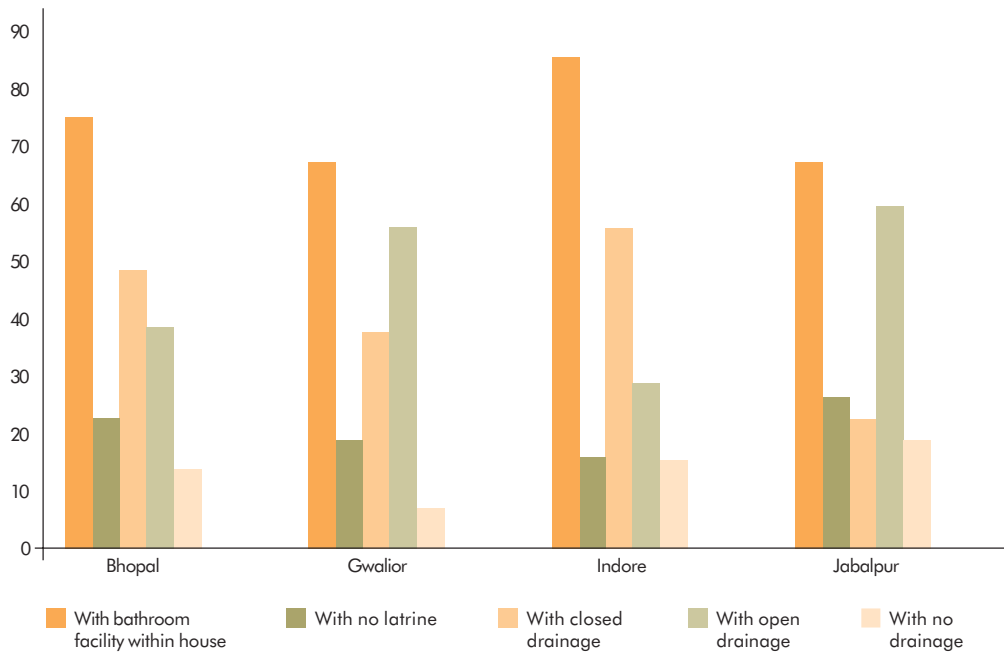
City	Toilet available		Total 100
	Yes	No	
Bhopal	41	59	100
Gwalior	10	90	100
Indore	26	74	100
Jabalpur	33	67	100
Total	110	290	400

Table 37. Availability of bathroom in house in slum areas in four cities

City	Bathroom available		Total 100
	Yes	No	
Bhopal	61	39	100
Gwalior	28	72	100
Indore	45	55	100
Jabalpur	43	67	100
Total	177	233	400

The bathrooms are available more in Bhopal (61%). Indore and Jabalpur had between 43 and 45% respondents reporting the availability of bathrooms in their houses. But Gwalior had only 28% households with bathrooms. The type and quality of such a facility is also doubtful. Most of them are make shift arrangements. In all 44.25% of the respondents have reported availability of bathroom in the house (Table 37). The total availability of bathrooms, toilets and drainage in the slum households can be seen in Graph 18.

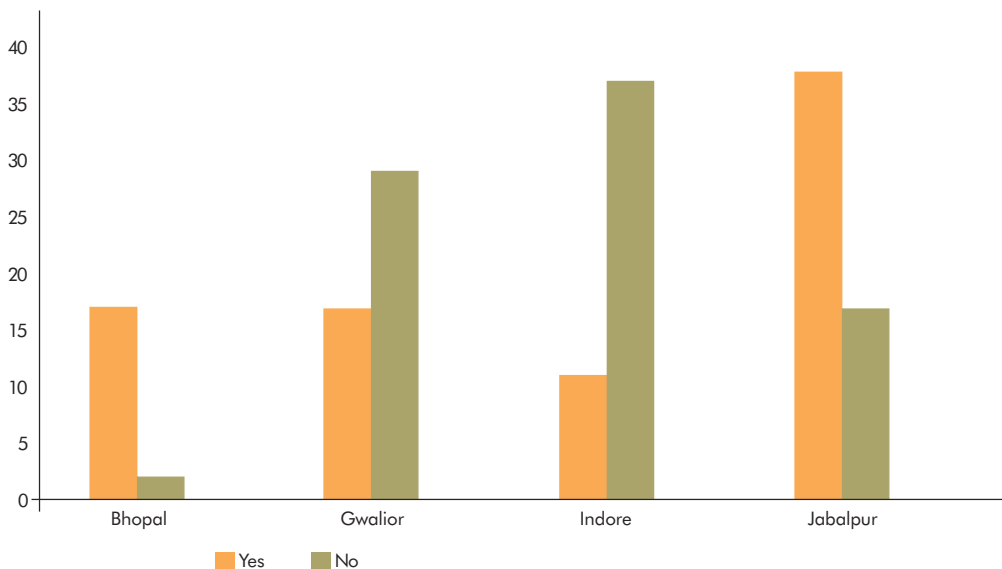
Graph 18. Households by availability of Bathroom, Toilets, Drainage



Community toilet/Sulabh sauchalaya (toilet) available in slum clusters

Only 2 to 4 number of community toilets were available in the five slums in each city in our sample. Their upkeep is poor and the payment terms are not suitable as reported by women. The whole arrangement need to be revisited with making them user focused and user groups managed. Women would like to manage and use them if they are given the opportunity, voice and control. They are fully aware of what hygiene and sanitation means and would like to improve it.

Graph 19. Households reporting payment for using public toilet



Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Overall 38% of those using public toilets are reporting making a payment. These are more in Bhopal and Jabalpur. The lowest number is in Indore. The interviews showed willingness of the respondents and their family members to pay but in ways and limits negotiated by them and management in their control. (Graph 19)

The household survey also collected information about the type of toilets in the houses of respondents (Table 38), availability of separate toilets for male and female in the community toilets (Table 39) and about maintenance of public toilets (Table 40). The substantial percentage of flush latrines in houses, which have toilets, shows the adoption of new facilities wherever it is affordable. The maintenance of public toilets is mainly by the Municipal Corporations. There are only a small number of sulabh toilets. The coping methods used by women when they have to go to the open areas for defecation e.g. using the bushes for cover, going in darkness or before dawn or with other women for safety in numbers (Graph 20) show the extent of helplessness and deprivation and these are devices of those who have no choices.

Table 38. Type of toilet available in house in slum areas.

City	Flush	Dry	Others	Total
Bhopal	26	9	6	41
Gwalior	5	4	1	10
Indore	7	19	-	26
Jabalpur	28	2	3	33
Total	66	34	10	110

Table 39. Respondents reporting availability of separate toilet for male and female in community toilets

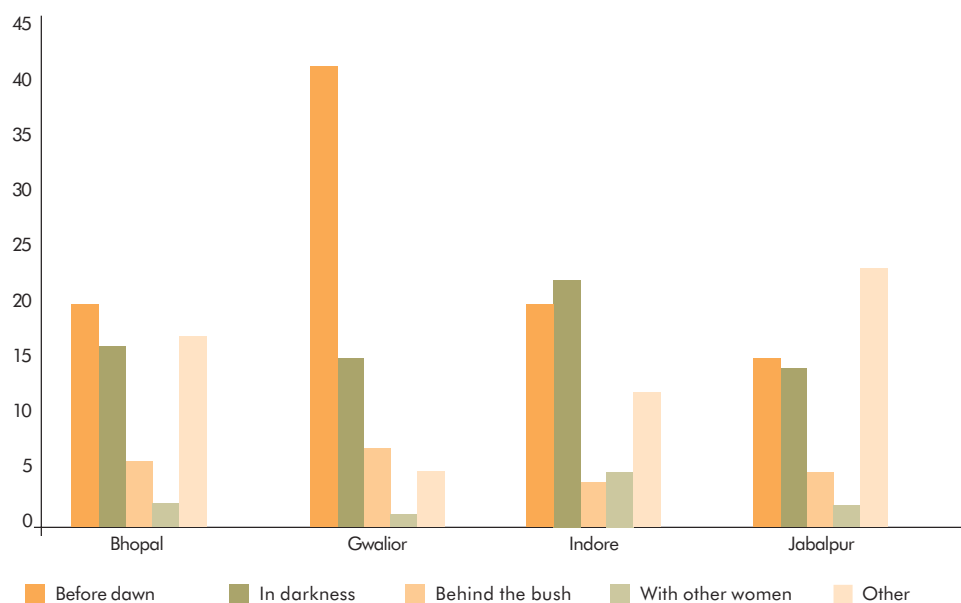
City	Yes	No	Not specified	Total
Bhopal	17	2	6	25
Gwalior	17	29	6	52
Indore	11	37	15	63
Jabalpur	38	17	22	77
Total	83	85	49	217

Table 40. Maintenance of public toilet by different agencies as reported by slum dwellers (users only)

City	Municipal Corporation	Sulabh International	Others	Not aware	Total
Bhopal	10	2	2	11	25
Gwalior	11	5	23	13	52
Indore	17	-	1	45	63
Jabalpur	53	-	7	17	77
Total	91	7	33	86	217



Graph 20. Women reporting coping methods when having to use open areas for defecation



Community Perspective

The sample household survey in PPTA had asked respondents how they rated the Government of Madhya Pradesh/Corporation service provision. It indicated that for all cities, over 30% of households rated performance as bad (the average was over 40%). Only 8-15% of households rated performance as good.

The respondents in our survey in the slums in the four cities as well as the discussions in the FGDs had spoken about the neglect and lack of responsiveness from the local bodies and public officials. They narrated how garbage was not picked up, drains even where these existed, were not cleaned even after they repeatedly reported. The respondents in Rajiv Sethi Sanmat Nagar slum in Indore narrated their recent experience of heavy flooding and risks faced and lack of responsiveness from the officials.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Profile of Four Cities: Highlights Water Supply and Sanitation

	Bhopal	Gwalior	Indore	Jabalpur
No water supply facility in Slum house	92	67	74	95
Slum Households with drinking water source % (in all urban areas of district)				
Within premises	57.5	74.4	61.7	51.7
Near premises	30	18.1	25.5	31.5
Away	12.5	7.5	12.8	16.8
Slum Households with type of water facility				
Well	1	2	16	23
Tap	79	35	50	69
Hand pump	-	45	9	6
Tanker	16	-	2	-
Private Tanker	-	-	6	-
Quality of water supplied				
Clean	88	90	66	97
Turbid	10	8	31	2
Slum Household getting				
Sufficient water	53	61	52	76
Insufficient water	47	39	48	24
Households with Person controlling use of water in house				
Wife	72	74	85	72
Husband	2	1	2	7
Households (in urban areas in whole districts)				
with Bathrooms in house	74.3	66.6	84.8	66.5
No Latrine	22.5	18.8	15.5	26.3
No Drainage	13.6	7.2	15.4	18.5
Separate Toilets for male/female in community toilets	17	17	11	38
Reporting paying for use of public toilets (out of 217 users)	17	17	11	38
Toilet in house	41	10	26	33
Bathroom in house (Note: they are just makeshift covers)	61	28	45	43



Voices of women

The slums selected for interview and focus group discussions were Arif Nagar, Indira Nagar, Hariijan Mohalla, Banganga and Gandhi Nagar in Bhopal, Guda Upar, Ramaji Ka pura, Sanjay Nagar, Rasulpura and Sahu Ji ka pura in Gwalior. In the other two cities Sethi Sambandh Nagar, Arjun Singh Pura, Vidya Nagar, Panchsheel Nagar and Indira Ekta Nagar in Indore and Tekri Mohalla, Chowdhary Mohalla, Chandmari, Sarvodaya Nagar and Prem Sagar in Jabalpur were selected. In all the cities these were purposive selection from different parts of each city so that the sample included different caste/community/religious groups in slum dwellers. The respondent women were randomly selected in each cluster. Participants in FGDs were other than those individually interviewed.

In Bhopal five slums selected included Indira Nagar/Meera Nagar in the southern part of the city. Here mostly people displaced from other slums of the city have been relocated and given pattas. The genesis of the slum here is in the stone crushers located earlier when considerable construction activity was in progress in the new colonies and the workers employed on them. Earlier three stone crushers were installed in the area and the original slum dwellers here were working in those crushers part of Indira Nagar/Meera Nagar were included in the survey.



Women & girls tapping underground water pipe.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

Water

The main water pipe line has been tapped at various places to directly draw water from it. Number of water tanks are placed in the locality which can be filled by water tankers by the Nagar nigam. People living on the lower side open taps on pipe line so person living in Jhuggies located at a higher gradient, are not able to get any water. At Present the time of water supply is 7 a.m to 8 am. and 9 a.m to 10 am through taps and any time of the day but only once a day by tankers. In summers water is supplied on alternate days and filled in the tanks kept in the area.

Women expressed that the convenient time for water supply will be 7 am to 10 am or 6 am to 8 am but should be a fixed time daily for tanker supplying water.

The story of the availability and supply of water is the same in every slum with only some variations. It is supplied by the Municipal Corporation at fixed hours which is one hour and only once per day. In summer it is supplied on alternate days. In Indira Nagar Bhopal the Corporation tanker comes and fills the tank constructed which has no taps. At one place the Jhuggi dwellers are taking water directly from the main line by putting taps on it at a number of places.

Women narrated that they have to bring water from approx. 1 km. everyday. In summer we have to wait in queue for more than two hours. There are lots of clashes, In summer tankers come on alternate days, In summers we have to bring water from adjoining bungalows. Water supplied is not good so "Water from tap outside is used for other work, as water is not clean. For drinking purposes we have to bring water from 1 km away."

Banganga slum in Bhopal is located in eastern part of Bhopal city and is situated on a steep and rocky hill with a big nallah flowing across it. Hasant Nagar is another part of this slum with mostly muslims staying here. Some houses here have tap connections.

As the slum is on a slope and has steps of stone slabs, Women have fear of falling down. A girl who was bringing water fell down the slope and died of head injury; women reported carrying water through narrow lanes is difficult and unsafe. Supply is inadequate. "There is always tension for water so we do not go to the water taps. We fill water from a far off source;" I fill water from the well because I have quarrels every day. In fact the well is built on nallah but they say it is good water from a good source. It is women who have to bear the brunt. In summers a woman cannot bathe with little water, she needs a bucket of water. Whatever little water is procured the man of the house washes himself and goes out to work. As the women in Banganga narrated

"In summers have to go long distance, it is time consuming, we get late for work we do not wash ourselves and also the clothes."

"One tube well is there but the owner allows only Muslims to take water not others."

In another location of Gandhi Nagar in Bhopal water is supplied for two hours daily – one hour each in the morning and evening. There is also a tanker supply which fills two or three tanks which are not sufficient for the whole locality. In summer one enterprising person buys a tanker of water and sells it to those who want.



Women spoke to us "Have to pay Rs. 20 for five buckets of water we have to go to 2 km to fetch water from roadside dhabas". "Sometimes water tanker does not come so we have to pay Rs. 2 for 10 litres of can", "we have to buy water for drinking" "We spend lot of time to fill water. Three to four hours are spent on filling water if we are a bit late we do not get water." Women economise in use of scarce water even at the cost of health and hygiene. "We do not wash daily in summers, we use little water to wash children," the water is not clean sometimes small insects are seen in water supplied by tanker," "there is a dairy near water tap so the tap water smells of cowdung."

In one of the slums Prem Sagar Radhakrishnan ward located on a hillock in Jabalpur, most of the Jhuggi dwellers are working in the Municipal Corporation. They get tap water supply for two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening. It is an 'Ayodhya Basti' selected for slum improvement work in the Ayodhya Scheme. It has a cemented road, a police post, a sulabh complex, and a private school. Challenges were voiced by women here who said that "You have to place utensils hour before there is supply." "Fear of falling is high as pots of 15 to 25-litre capacity are to be carried by us up on slopes, every now and then there is conflict on water and women and men thrash each other with their pots," "we have to stand in long queue and have to face quarrels."

Water pipe passes through a drain and water is drawn through plastic pipes directly from the main pipe line. The complaint of damage of water supply line is not attended by Nagar Nigam (the Municipal Corporation) for months altogether. In summers sometimes we do not wash ourselves.

In another slum of Tikari Tola, also known as Chuni Khadan/Supatal which is situated on a slope, water is supplied through the public taps for one hour in the morning. There is also a hand pump and a well. Most of the women have to do work of 'Lizzat papad making for Mahila Grah Udyog. The water supply is not adequate and women described the daily challenge, the fights, and the problems in summer.

"We get water by breaking pipe of graveyard."

"Locality is big and only one tanker of water is supplied in summer. We fill water by putting our own pipe and there is frequent fighting."

"Get four bucket of water for drinking from tap and for other purposes from the well and hand pump."

"In summers due to scarcity of water wells dry up and we fetch water for drinking from far off and go to a pond to wash clothes."

"There are long queues at the tap so we fill water from other sources."

"In summer do not take bath regularly and washes clothes in 3-4 days. We queue up at nights."

"Have to go long distances in summers even up to 5 kms. There are lot of conflicts over water."

In summers we drink water kept for two days.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

“Water of well is salty so only used for washing and cleaning. It too dries up in summers. People of low caste have to wait at the well for long. When high caste people finish filling their water, then they are allowed.

“I have a hand pump in my house so I face no problem “– Parvati Bagadi.

Sarvodaya Nagar slum in Jabalpur has been declared Ayodhya Basti. So there are lot of improvements going on. This locality is 100 metres off from garbage disposal ground. In the rainy season people have to walk in knee deep slush.

Water supply is at 5 am and also at 4 pm to 6 pm in the evening. Most of the tap/connections are without taps as people take them out. Sulabh complex is on the outskirts of the settlement and is not clean so it is not much used. Mostly people belonging to SC category stay in this slum. Most of men and women are employed in Nagar Nigam as ‘Safai Karmchari’ (Sanitation workers). They also rear pigs. There is a liquor shop in the locality and women are very much distressed by its location and existence.

Women have described their problems, tensions, fights and the inability to even bathe everyday in summer as there is scarcity of water.

“Water tap is installed in the drain, we fill water from it. There is always fear of falling ill.”



Walking long distances to fill water.



"In summers we get less water in more time."

"We do not bathe for three four days in summers."

"We wash less utensils in summers."

"There are lots of fights over water. So for fear of fights we fill very less and use less water."

"We have to stand in long queues and fill water by turn."

"In summers we fetch water in rickshaws or cycles from far off places."

"There is no equal distribution of water as one family does not leave the tap until they are through with it."

In another slum in Arvind Nagar, Chowdhary Mohalla (SC dominated) Bhantalaiya Jabalpur. which is 40-45 years old locality, water supply is through taps and hand pumps. People have themselves installed pipes on the main pipeline. Taps connection have been taken by contribution of funds.

Here women described how people in one colony assert their exclusive right to take water from the public taps located there. "We have to face conflicts." " There are lot of problems, we have to go long distances to wash ourselves and clothes." There are lots of fights on this issue other colony



Filling water through pipes passing through messy drains.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

people do not allow us to use their taps." There are similar problems, fights, additional problems in summer. "Cannot go to work some time as we get late in collecting water, there is always a long queue at the taps." We get little water; we have to fill water during night, have to spend three hours collecting water, but then we see the initiatives for self help. We contribute money for repairs of pipe. In summer "We wash less clothes and utensils because we have to fetch water either from wells or tanks."

In Chandmari Colony - Chandrashekar Muhalla Jabalpur Water supply is through Municipal Corporation taps. There are 2 Hand pumps.

Women said

"If we do not get water then we purchase water from other houses by paying Rs100 per month."

"We have to fetch water from far off tap which remains crowded. In summers we use less water by not washing clothes and ourselves daily."

"We have to drink poor quality of water in summers."

"I bring 40 buckets of water from 1 Km."

"We have to stand in long queues. If we do not then we don't get water."

"In summers we have to go long distances, there are frequent fights. People beat up each other, they bully others over water so we keep quiet."

In Gwalior , the slum of Sahu Ji Ka Pura is in the area managed by the Gwalior Cantonment in Morar. The slum dwellers have to pay yearly house tax of Rs. 150 to Rs.420 and the cantonment board maintains the area. Water supply here is through 2 hand pumps only. People have also diverted the piped water supply, which supplies water to cantonment quarters. But the problems women face to get adequate water, the hours they have to devote to collect water, the fights, the inability to regularly bathe and wash clothes are similar to other locations.

"If hand pump gets out of order or the ground level of water goes down then we have to get water from far off, we wash less clothes, clean utensils with dry ash."


"Fights over water at hand pumps are common."

"It takes two hours to fill water."

"In summers when there is less water we bathe on alternate days."

"In rainy seasons we get muddy water from hand pumps."

"When there is problem in hand pump we wash ourselves and clothes on alternate days."



"At peak time between 6 am to 8 am these hand pumps get crowded, pipes lines are broken so as a result fights take place."

Women in Rasulpura slum in Gwalior located on Gwalior-Bhind road have similar challenges in meeting the water needs of the household. As they spoke

"If there is long queue at the hand pumps we have to wait for quite long."

"In summers we use less water, bathe irregularly and clean utensils with dry ash."

"When hand pump goes out of order we have to fetch water from 1 km. So we get late for work."

"When water table goes down we use less water for all activities."

"We have to fetch water from a distance of 1 km from taps of air force."

"We get adequate water from hand pumps but it takes long and is strenuous."

"Fights at hand pumps are common."

"In summers we ask for water from adjoining houses."

"I suffered injury in chest while bringing water" – Rajani Yadav.

In Sanjay Nagar in Gwalior water supply is by the Municipal Corporation taps from 9.30 am to 10.30 am. Women find that it is too late and a convenient time will be 7 am to 8 am. Most houses have water connection and sewage connection but continue to have problems. There is no public toilet in the locality but is far off and charges are high and more over not safe for women. The women state their hardships as

"I purchase water from my sister-in-law" – Rani Jatav.

"We fill water from some ones house. Because of our caste we are not allowed at the hand pump" – Parvati Valmik.

"When there is no electricity we do not get water from tube well."

"Water comes very late so we lose our wages."

"In summers have to go long distances. I get tired" – Shanu Jatav

"In summers when there is shortage of water we use less water for bathing and washing clothes."

"We do not take bath or wash clothes regularly."

"There are fights for water all the time."

In Ramaji Ka Pura in Gwalior water supply is mainly by taps from 12 midnight to 4 am. which is the

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



most inappropriate time. Women stated that the convenient time is 6 am to 8 am. There are two hand pumps also in this locality and two public taps. Here the location of the slum on a hill slope creates serious problems for women who have to fetch water from down the hill. As we see in their own voices.

"It is difficult to climb the hill with water bucket in hand or over head."

"Once I fell in the drain while filling water. When there is no water supply in summers have to fetch water from well."

"Water supply is less at the top so we have to go to lower areas to fill water."

"Over crowding at hand pump creates tension."

"We have to cross highway road to get water so fear of accident always lurks in mind."

"If we do not get water from tap we have to fill from hand pump."

The inappropriate time of water supply at midnight is expressed by a number of respondents.

"Water supply timing is not convenient at all."

"We have to get up at night to fill water."

The problems in summer have the same story of fetching water from a distance and doing without bathing, and trying to have economy in washing clothes.

"When there is no water supply in summers have to fetch water from well."

"In summers we use less water for bathing and washing clothes."

Here too there are initiatives to contribute for repairs of water pipes and hand pump. Others have resorted to sale of water from their taps

"In summers have to get water from far so do not take bath for 15 days."

"We contribute among ourselves for repair of water pipes or hand pumps."

"Those who have water taps in their house allow others to fill water on payment of Rs. 40-50 per month."

Panchsheel Nagar slum in Indore gets water supply through water tankers at 7 p.m. women stated that the convenient time is 7 am and 5 pm. Others state that there is no fixed time of water supply, it is sometimes in the evening, sometimes during day and also no fixed quantity of water supply so they often get late for work. Water quality is also not good as they stated, they cannot drink muddy water have to fetch water from a kilo meter and spend 3 hours in collecting water, have to store water for emergency.



In fact they say that they have to bring water from another colony and

“have to run here and there with pitchers during summers.”

“In summers due to acute water shortage water is available once in eight days. We have to purchase water @ Rs.8 per drum” – Sheela Shikarwar.

“Have to save water from every activity.

“Have to adjust in small quantity of water.” and

“Fights are common over water.”

In Vidhya Nagar slum in Indore women narrated the stories of their frustrations, deprivations.

“In summers I have to bathe three school going children in one bucket of water, wash clothes in two days and mop the floor in two days.”

“Have to fetch water from far off places.”

“Have to bring water on head from a distance. A lot of time is wasted.”

“I slipped and hurt myself.”

“Have to leave work to fetch water. Fights with neighbours over water are common.”

“Have to plead for water from nearby bungalows.”

“Have to stand in long queue in summers.”

“In summer sometimes water is not available for 3-4 days.”

“We skip taking baths.”

“Wash clothes on alternate days.”

With the tension generated over time wasted in standing in long queues, there are frequent fights over water with neighbours. Women described their efforts at making contributions for repairing damaged pipes. “Damaged pipelines are repaired through contributions. We conserve water in summers.”

Women also conserve water by recycling the used water at the household level. “After washing clothes the same water is used by us for mopping floor and cleaning gas stove.”

In Sethi Sanmat Nagar in Indore women reported that water is supplied from 9 to 11 in the morning on alternate days though they can do their work better if it is supplied daily from 7 am. Here the water tank is damaged for last one year but nothing has been done. Women stand in long queues

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

for collecting water and have to bring it on their heads. They complain "There is lot of chaos when every one wants to fill water at the same time "

"Some people get water, some do not. Water is not clean and it smells."

"Tanker comes but we do not get water."

"Water is wasted because boys take away the taps from pipes and water tanks"

In summer women said that they just wash their faces, they do not wash clothes and mop floors. In summers they have to walk for 15 minutes to get water. Sometimes they come empty handed. In summers they have to skip taking bath most of the time. Fights over water are common. Sometimes the dispute is taken to courts. Many a times there are insects in water coming in the public taps. Sewage line passes along the water line. Most of the time water supplied is black. They have to boil water and treat it before use.

In Arjun Singhpura slum in Indore women reported that water is supplied from 8.30 to 11 in the mornings. There are only two tap connections. People from far off places come to fill water. Here a Sulabh complex is built outside the slum, which has only 5 seats for women. Three are in working order but dirty. The doors cannot be bolted. They open easily with blowing of wind.



Young girls have to skip schools to collect water.



Here women give illustration of the settlements asserting exclusive rights over use of water connections in their locality. "They do not permit persons from other settlement, colony to take water from here." There is fight between two colonies, if any one comes to fill water. An appropriate water supply system is necessary and they state that hand pumps should also be dug in the area which will reduce the problem.

The uncertain supply and time taken in collecting water affects their wage work;

"The day water is supplied we get late for work."

"Sometimes have to take leave from work. We loose a day's wages."

"Family members go to different taps to fill water."

"We have to plead for water from adjoining bungalows."

"In summer season it becomes really difficult for them to get water."

"During summers have to fight for water, then you get a little quantity."

"In summers have to stand in sun for long hours. Once you shift from the queue then you do not get chance to fill water."

"In summers have to fetch water from 2 kms and have to stand in queue."

"Water quality is also poor." "Many suffer from jaundice and cholera."

Women who were shifted to newly built multiplex from Jhuggi said that they had to carry head roads of waters to the third floor as no water connection was provided for them.

Indira Ekta Nagar in Indore has inadequate water supply. Most of the houses are in bad condition due to floods. Their belonging, stored grains and material were all under water recently.

"There is problem of water. Some times we get sufficient, sometimes it is insufficient in summers."

"Have to stand in long queues."

"If we go to other locality, they ask money for taking water."

"In summers have to fetch water from far."

"If we all stand in queue and fill water by turns, then there will be no fights."

"In summer women have to go across the road to fill water. There is always fear of accidents."

"In summers we do not take bath daily to conserve water."

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



“We wash clothes in three four days. We do not get water without fighting.”

Women narrated how lack of basic services and infrastructure (water, sewage, waste disposal) affects the quality of life of women and children who are constantly exposed to health problems brought about by in sanitary and toxic environments.

“There is a big pipe outside the house through which water of nallah passes, this breeds mosquitoes, we cannot sleep because of it at night we do not have fan.”

Sanitation

The problems of sanitation and the special burden of women due to irregular, erratic almost non-existent sanitation arrangements are linked with the insufficient, non-dependable water supply. Toilets are not available in most of the houses. The public toilets are either not there and where these are available, are not cleaned regularly or are unsafe, wrongly located or the charges fixed for use have not kept in view the affordability. No attempt has been made to discuss with the users and to associate them with their upkeep, management or improvements. There are however cases of local initiatives which shows that given the assistance in the form of mobilization, deliberations, confidence building and training, women are more than willing to manage the complexes. They are also willing to contribute money. There is almost universal awareness of the ill effects of lack of sanitation and use of water of poor quality but they are not in a position to translate into action without an external facilitation in self help and group work. They are using open area for defecation, some have toilets constructed in their houses. Bathrooms are almost everywhere only make shift arrangements.

In women’s voices we see the problems they face whether they go to defecate in open ground or use public toilet complex. They described how they face problems of

- **Snake bite, insect bites, fear of men, problem of sanitation.**
- **Cannot go in late hours and during rainy season.**
- **When we have upset stomach have to go during day time, dogs and pigs come nearby.**
- **Boys stop on the way, sing songs and follow us so we cannot go alone.**
- **Embarrassment.**

“I was alone, a man came and sat near me” – Sharda Shinde.

“We go in the afternoon. We have to stand in between as people come and go. It is very difficult” – Geeta Bai Patel.

When using the public toilets.

“Even in the toilet complex where monthly passes are made for payment and use, we have to wait for a long time and it is not very clean.”

“We have to queue up for toilet at public toilet which is not clean.”



There are Fights over water

Zaheena Bi a widow is a rag picker. She recalls about a fight she had for water. I had a fight in summers. So now I have an iron rod in my right arm. Even my son was murdered on this issue. She claims that she was a ward member. She further says – Earlier I used to organise rallies in front of Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation) for cleanliness. They used to come and collect garbage. But after my son died I left all this work and since last four years the situation has worsened.

Zaheena Bi, Indira Nagar

Manju Bai Malviya resident of Indira Nagar Slum in Bhopal is a young widow. She and her husband had come from Burhanpur looking for work. She cleans utensils in nearby bungalows. She lost her husband two years ago who had committed suicide by setting himself ablaze. She says he died because of tension on water. Here people who have taps in front of their house think that it is theirs, they do not allow anyone to fill water until they have completed filling, or if they are sleeping then you can fill water. She narrated an incident “once my husband had a fight with a woman on water who was filling water, my husband asked her to let him fill his bucket of water and placed his bucket replacing hers. That woman beat my husband with her Chappal, my husband also flung a plastic bucket over her. She started complaining that her hand was fractured as a result. We gave her Rs 100 and massaged her hand. Thus the conflict was resolved. But later she filed a report. The case went on for four years till my husband died.”

“There should be a toilet in every house and should have water for it. Public toilet is very far off and has to pay Rs. 2 per day per person every time you use. We are poor people how can we afford this money. ”

“Here there is lot of bad blood when people queue up for toilet. Women hurl abuses at each other. Even after paying money there is so much filth over there so it is better to go out in the open.”

Sexual Harassment and lack of safety

Once my daughter and some other women had gone to ease themselves in open ground. My daughter saw a man sitting behind a woman and alerted her. When that lady shouted people gathered, beat him up and took him to police station. This man had a bad reputation. He used to enter in the houses seeing lonely young girls or woman.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

In Banganga slum in Bhopal women described the embarrassment and lack of safety in using the open ground and also some efforts made for constructing toilets.

“We are quite afraid to go in open. We have to go early in the morning to ease at nallah.”

“Have to go in open, feel embarrassed.”

“It is not very safe for girls.”

“One person has built toilet for public use, he does not charge.”

Here group of 4-5 families together have built a dry toilet over nallah. There is a series of such toilets opening directly on nallah.

In Gandhi Nagar in Bhopal women feel insecure for girls in night. There is lot of embarrassment most of the time due to the presence of males. Women have fear of reptiles, snake and scorpion. Women avoid going after 8 pm. It is not safe because of men loitering in the area. Women have to stand in between because men come near. As there are no shrubs on the open ground they have to stand often while defecating. Children do not go in the ground. They defecate in front of their jhuggis. Thus there is a lot of filth and stench. “We have to go in the dark as during day men go in that area”.



A Child using open drain to defecate.



- **“I do not allow my young daughter to drink water past 7 pm otherwise she will have to use open ground at night which is very unsafe.”**

In Prem Sagar slum in Jabalpur, women voiced their fear, lack of safety, nuisance of pigs and problems from men.

- **Have to go on the hillock to ease.**
- **Boys fly kite in that area and do not move even on request.**
- **Have fear of falling from top.**
- **Have fear of men and it is difficult with children in the night.**
- **Men stand nearby intentionally.**
- **Girls face lot of problem as men stand nearby.**
- **We go in dark, men deliberately pass from near,**
- **We face menace of pigs while defecating.**
- **Men pose problems we have to shift often.**
- **We have to accompany young girls.**

It is the same story in Tikari Tola, Jabalpur. Women spoke how they go out in open behind the hillock, have to stand often as people pass by;

- **Go out near pond;**
- **Have fear of pigs and insects;**
- **Have fear of men coming near them;**
- **Electricity department is building a power house there so they stop us from using the ground.**

In Sarvodaya Nagar Jabalpur, again women voice similar hurt, harassment and fears. They spoke of how men come again and again.

They have fear of ghosts at night but have to go in the dark. There is lot of inconvenience at night and in rainy season almost impossible to go out in open so sometimes they go in day time. Another slum has come up on the ground used earlier for defecation so area near water tank is used for defecations. One women reported how her parental home is close by so her family goes to use the toilet there. Public toilet is used by some only as it is far off. So people do not go.

In the Arvind Nagar slum in Jabalpur slum, women have to go beyond the hillock. “Pigs are a nuisance, men stand on the site so we have to stand up often. We go in nallah, men shout at us that don’t shit here it smells so we go during night.”

“We go out in dark. We have to accompany young girls either we go early morning at 5 am or wait till afternoon, boys create nuisance.”

“It is scary every time men come nearby we have to stand, girls find it in convenient too.”

“Drunkards and kite flyers pose big problems.”

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



"Men stand there deliberately so we have to stand in between, pigs are another nuisance."

"There is lot of problem for old woman and young menstruating girls."

"Public toilet is far off so we do not go."

Women in Rasalpura slum in Gwalior have similar stories of having to use open areas for defecating, suffering mosquito bite, fearing snakes and scorpions, facing embarrassments and men loitering around.

"We fear insect bites in rainy season."

"There is always fear of being seen by somebody or attacked by snake, scorpion."

"If somebody is not well then we have to take her to road side."

"To go in open is very unhygienic."

"There is lot of muck in rainy season."

"We have to stand in between if any vehicle passes by."

"Have fear of eve teasing."

"Farmers stop us from defecating in their fields."

"During rains there is difficulty in reaching the fields."

"We fear indignity and feel embarrassed, owner of the field has many times abused. Want to build toilet in house but if the government shifts us from here our money will go waste" – Laxmi

"Adjoining fields belong to gujjars, they shout and hit us so we have to go when it is dark we sit on roads but have to stand when lights of passing vehicle fall on us. We feel ashamed, but what can be done?" – Radha Bai.


"We go before dawn and after dusk. We avoid going during day even if we feel like going. This has bad effect on our health. We suffer from stomach ache and constipation" – Laxmi Bai Jatav.

In Sanjay Nagar in Gwalior women voiced how they are embarrassed and afraid.

"We are afraid of accident."

"We are embarrassed that any accident can occur."

"We have fear of antisocial elements."



"Have to sit over filth and muck in open grounds."

"Cannot ease ourselves because of men sitting in that area. We feel embarrassed so go it night."

"Have to go in open near nallah because Rs. 2 charge is taken at sulabh complex. We fear for girls. If there are guests in house then we take them to sulabh complex."

In Ramjipura, Gwalior they describe that they, "feel ashamed as men deliberately watch."

"Have fear of snake bite in the open ground. A woman died of snake bite a month ago."

"Public toilet is in a dilapidated state with broken doors and choked drains. Otherwise they would have wanted to use them."

"We go out in open at night. Men create a lot of nuisance. Some one spills the water, some one would dash with cycle or someone would pass vulgar comment" – Radha Palia.

"Women and men use the same ground so we feel ashamed. Every time some one passes from near we have to stand" – Femida Rangrez.

"We are afraid of slipping from the hill."

"There is lot of filth, we are afraid of passers by.

Women in Vidhyanagar slum in Indore narrated similar experiences and stated how they have to go out in open filthy places. Boys stand in groups and sing songs. Men hurl stones.

"The men and boys tease us."

"Watchmen turn us out of the college ground."

"Men deliberately bend down and peep."

"Men come and sit just behind."

"Sometimes men stand just in front and pass vulgar comments. So we feel afraid and ashamed."

"Even boys hurl stones and abuses and also stand in front."

Women had gone to the ground to defecate. A boy followed them so all the women took him to police station. He was kept in police lock up then released.

Savitri Khande, has migrated from Nimad for employment. Her husband is a taxi driver. Two years ago her eight-month-old daughter died of vomiting and loose motions. She complains that her neighbour fights with her about cleaning the front of the house. Savitri's house is on a nallah and the lane leading to her house is very congested, hardly a foot apart from another hut, which is filled with muck. Her house is always filled with stench and mosquitoes.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Other women in Sethi Sanmat Nagar in Indore described how they

“Cannot go during day even if one wants to because of traffic.”

“We have to stand in between because of men passing frequently.”

“We have made the chamber by contribution, spent Rs. 1500 but the chamber is of small capacity and overflows on road.”

“There is muck everywhere during rainy season.”

“Many a times are bitten by pigs.”

So they suggested that

A toilet may be constructed in every house or sulabh complex may be built. Willing to pay for it, can contribute Rs. 100 per month. They also said that any NGO should help us.

In Arjun Singhpura and Indira Ekta Nagar slums in Indore also women had the same stories of shame, fear, eve teasing, having to sit on the roadside “boys whistle, sing songs and stand nearby in groups then they crowd the Sulabh complex”

“We have to go out in open.”

“Every one watches, does not feel good.”

“It is problematic but can’t help.”

“Have to go early in the morning.”


“Men create nuisance, they watch continuously.”

“We have lot of problem but what can be done we have to go in open” – Shobha Yadav.

Slum dwellers in Arjun Singhpura were bitter about being shifted

- **They are forced to shift to multiplex, in small flats leaving their lease plots. There is a Pattadhari Hit Chintak Samiti. (Lease holders welfare association) which is agitating against shifting. The fear of shifting had made the women quite tense. A group of women shouted at our team saying that sooner or later we are being shifted to multiplexes, what will you do, can you request government not to shift us, if you can not then go away.**

There are practices and approaches of self help, willingness to pay and instances of having come together with contribution and improving the facility.



Smt. Uma Pawar, resident of Indore rolls incense sticks says whenever we had problem we complained. But people of this area pressurize us in front of the Corporator why did you complain now vacate the house. Once Uma and I paid 320/- for cleaning of chamber but when officials of Municipal Corporation came asking then a woman started rebuking us.

For Bathrooms

“We bathe in open wearing all clothes.”

“Have to wash in open courtyard.”

“Use make shifts toilets with dry sticks and old cloths.”

“We put curtain of a saree and then take bath.”

“We go to our relative’s house, and wash ourselves in their bathroom.”

“We take bath in make shift bathrooms before children are awake”

In times of scarcity we avoid daily bath. It affects health – Archana Khanderao.

Now we have toilets at home but earlier we used to go in groups because of men passing comments. We contribute to get the choked chambers cleaned.

We too want quality life and want some body to come and educate us. We are ready to put in our efforts. We need your support.






5. *Emerging Issues for a Strategy and Action*

Gendered nature of poverty, gender roles and relations have improved to some extent with women's access to education, skills and right to property but patriarchal values and norms persist. Gender roles stereotypes continues to be embedded in the perceptions of decision makers and also internalized by women themselves. One can see them underpinning many policies and programmes and their implementation, for instance, when the pension to a widow ceases if she remarries or when there is no consideration of the needs or problems of women on the presumption that the man is the breadwinner. These reinforce persisting inequalities for women in all areas and sectors including in water and sanitation services.

Domestic violence continues to be accepted by many women within the privacy of the family. The tension generated by problems relating to water, the disputes, the delays have also become cause of domestic violence. Women's organizations have contributed to the issue being brought out in the public domain and the recent enactment of the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 at the national level will be of help to potential victims in seeking support of women's groups and legal services. A Directory of Support Services to counter Violence against Women (2004) in each city and district of Madhya Pradesh (prepared by Mahila Chetna Manch Bhopal with the assistance of UNIFEM, New Delhi in 2004 and widely distributed) gives information about the agencies and services which can be accessed in any location. It shows that these four cities have more of these resources than other places but are still inadequate particularly about temporary shelter for women victims, help in accessing legal counselling, etc.

Special Family Courts to deal with matrimonial disputes and family counselling centres to help, counsel and advise both parties are located in all the four cities. Other development initiatives for poverty alleviation, employment generation generally focused on rural areas. With 72% of the population still in rural India, the disparities and deprivations in large pockets of the poor settlements in urban areas and the gendered violence and discriminations continue to be hidden behind macro estimates.



Sexual harassment continues to be trivialized. Indian Supreme Court has given guidelines on sexual harassment at workplaces (in a court case, namely, Vishakha Vs State of Rajasthan and others). These have very little relevance for women in the informal sector where there are no regulations which can enforce such guidelines.

Low-income women's position in the labour market continues to reinforce their poverty though the estimates and surveys of poverty being based on household as a unit do not bring out the extent of feminisation of poverty.

A policy initiative of the state government imposing a concessional stamp duty at 2% less than the applicable rate of 10% of the value of property for registration if the transaction is of sale, transfer to a woman has been seen to increase the number of sales/acquisitions of land and houses in the name of women. This may have some effect in women's claim in the property. However, it is to be seen if these are only changes on paper or the women will be really able and willing to make their claims. The Hindu Law on succession applicable to the majority of the population in the country, passed in 1956 gave equal rights to girls in their parental property but most of the girls have preferred to waive their claims presumably to keep better relations with their brothers as a social safety if there is any problem in their marital home. A recent amendment to this law in 2005 has reinforced this equal right by making them 'coparceners' (who acquire a right in the ancestral property at birth) like their male siblings but its use by the women to make any claim will have to be similarly observed.

Urban policies and programmes including water and sanitation have been substantially conceived as engineering solutions and efficient land use and planning. In our gender assessment exercise engineers contemptuously told the field worker "what have water tanks to do with gender" we can't make tanks separately for men and women'. What has water demand to do with social aspect? This is a matter of engineering solutions and not of social agenda. Clearly considerable work is needed to place gender anywhere it must be in WSS projects in these cities. Issues of gender equity and participation of women have not been adequately addressed. To some extent this is due to continuing invisibility of gender as well as underpinning of patriarchal values and norms. The focus of gender concerns and effective participation in the decision making forums as well as creation of special forums to enable them to articulate their needs will not only address the equity and justice issues and also lead to more efficient planning and use of resources in WSS.

The one third reservation in the local bodies was a step in this direction but patriarchal pressures have sought to undermine their effectiveness by continuously referring to the elected women openly or obliquely as 'proxies' of their male family members particularly their spouses though studies and observations have shown cases of excellent leadership and concern for women's needs. Sometimes, of course, the elected women themselves try to follow the male role models of political behaviour and approach. There is a reluctance to be seen as women and hence distinct from their male colleagues and there is a desire to be seen only as 'efficient' as men. In programmes of gender sensitisation and in developing gender sensitive norms and standards, this will need to be factored.

Navigating GENDER


IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS

The result of this lack of understanding gender is that as we documented in our household survey, some 'Sulabbh' complexes are being located on the sides of main roads which is convenient for those constructing or visiting but not suitable for use by women. Here women complained that they cannot use them as men continue to sit and watch. In other places the public toilets are located at the end of a 'Jhuggi' settlement thus making it difficult for most of the women to use them as these are far away from their huts. In another location the local community decided that the public toilet complex be used by women only. But then none of the toilet doors can be closed or bolted. So they are not used. A redeeming feature was that as the community members told the field workers that they wanted to improve this situation and even contribute money or labour. What they wanted was guidance from someone who understands them and is prepared to sit with them.

Persistent poverty among segments of population and gendered norms have contributed to uneven development that affects the quality of life of women. Hence the need to look at the socio-economic profile of the city with focus on the slums where the poor provision and access to basic services and extent of deprivation are masked by city, state and country averages. Our household survey and participatory exercise in each city slum point to the need of flagging their requirements in any project for water and sanitation infrastructures and capacity buildings so that these can have real returns in a better served urban population. A 'gated' approach in enclaves of well served communities flanked by large communities of concentrated deprivation and neglect cannot be effective and these have more effect on women's burden, women's health and reduced ability to take up income generation activities at an appropriate level of skills and returns.



Women managing water distribution.



Water and sanitation is not only a basic need but a provision of these services with consultation and participation of women will enable them to earn better livelihood and to take further initiatives for improvement. In almost all slums there are examples of self help and, more importantly, voices of urging action, willingness to contribute money and time. Women have voiced how the WSS deficiencies have created problems of girls education and girls safety and their own problems of delay in going to work, loss of wages due to this delay because of time taken to collect and fetch water and, most importantly, the erosion of dignity and embarrassment to them and to the girls with having to go to defecate in open grounds. Even more critical is the new factor of even these open grounds shrinking due to shifting of other slum dwellers there or the areas been taken for other development/ construction work.

The voices of women clearly indicate a lack of responsiveness and understanding of their needs by service providers. Whether you look at the timings of water supply and the maintenance of pipelines and water taps, the uncertainties inherent in irregular water supply or unannounced disruption in supplies or in almost complete neglect of planning, sanitation arrangements in the slums. The location of public toilets complexes on main roadsides and/ or at one end of a slum without understanding of women and girls' safety and security concerns (darkness at night, men roaming about or hanging around) indicates an insensitivity reminiscent of the 'invisibility' of women in development planning earlier. The 21st century has to see sensitivity to women's concern and needs even in the interest of success of any WSS project.

There is an increasing in formalisation of employment not only among the residents of the slums but also in other sections and this is particularly so among women. This has important implications for how development and infrastructure projects e.g. in WSS must focus on women's need and participation not only for equity considerations but even for the success of the projects themselves.

A better planned water supply with timings of supply more appropriate for the wage labour, adequate notice of an unavoidable disruption can make it easier for women to go for their wage work. Otherwise in these situations the men leave the problem to women to sort out or are themselves also unable to go for work.

Women have repeatedly expressed desire and willingness to spend money for piped water connections and for construction of toilet in their houses but as they expressed again and again, how and why they can do so if they are not certain that they will not be shifted. At present the state can shift them under the law even if they have been given long-term leases ('non transferable', of course) under the same law, if the land is required for 'public purpose', and a 'public purpose' is a very wide and flexible concept. All these lands in the cities are becoming valuable due to expansion of the cities and for other genuine purposes. So the state must decide how to give security of tenure, have 'in situ' improvement of slums and, in the short term, include immediate improvement of water supply and sanitation there on an adequate level as a priority charge on all projects for water supply and sanitation sector.

Navigating GENDER

IN DEVELOPMENT OF WATER AND SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS



Women also spoke of the lack of information, support and training. They were almost invariably aware of illnesses caused by poor quality of water and lack of sanitation arrangements. Picture of women straining poor quality muddy water collected from a nallah even for washing their clothes displayed their helplessness in having to use such a water but at the same time making the best improvisation in their situation. Their pathetic arrangements of bath rooms by putting a few clothes or sacks show the need of construction of joint wash rooms for women which the women's groups can construct, maintain and use as the houses do not have space for separate bath rooms. These are possibilities with dialogue and participation of women with an external catalyst and facilitator whom the women can trust.

Hence organisations working in these areas can mobilize women's groups for self help, to get information, to articulate their needs and to take up construction suitable for their local situation must be supported in a project of water supply and sanitation so that they can be a bridge between the engineers and technicians and the women and their households.

The male community members participating in the FGDs were clear that it is the women who bear the maximum responsibilities for water and sanitation needs of the household and they must be given the authority and institutional support to manage the community assets created for internal water supply in the slum settlement and for sanitation arrangements. They also offered to help in the formation of women's groups and committees. This is an important indicator for future action which should move away from non functioning mohalla committees. The initiative to form committees and to have their meetings should be with the community and not with an absentee official but the state must give them essential support to create the infrastructure. Women's repeated references to men roaming about or the boys causing embarrassment can also be addressed by involving them as youth volunteers in useful community work with some payments and by giving them a sense of participation and leadership.

The phenomenon of sections in each locality claiming exclusiveness of possession and use of water taps and public toilets located in their area and not permitting persons from any other locality to take water or to use a facility will require that communities are organized and are 'informed' and have understanding of sharing, mutual help and cooperation.

A major challenge will be to build in the WSS programme, skills and understanding for development of gender sensitive indicators and gender audit to facilitate mainstreaming gender and more importantly making gender issues visible. Beginning has to be made to generate gender disaggregated data in the services of water supply and sanitation where the service providers have not yet understood the need of such data. At present even in the programme of nutrition this emphasis is not adequately reflected and whether we look at morbidity data of hospitals or data of children who are normal or are classified as suffering from malnutrition, the data are not gender disaggregated.

Glossary

Anganwadi – Meaning a centre in a courtyard (*angan*)

A term given to a multipurpose centre in ICDS Project giving a package of services of health checkup, immunization, and supplementary nutrition to mothers and children below age 6.

Basti – A Settlement

Dhabha – Roadside traditional eating-place.

Jhuggi – Hutment.

Mohallah – A Locality

Nullah – A Drain

OBC – Other Backward Castes

Panchayat – Meaning a committee of five members, name of the local bodies rural India.

Patta – Lease deed of land.

PRI – Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Rs. – Rupees.

Sati – A practice of self immolation by a widow on her husband's funeral pyre banned by law

SC – Scheduled Castes.

ST – Scheduled Tribes.

Sulabh Complex – a model of public toilet complex which includes payment by users as an essential component.

