

**Gender Responsive Budget Analysis in Water and Sanitation:
*A Study of Two Resettlement Colonies (Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters) in Delhi***

*Authored by**

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Abstract:

Gender Responsive Budget Analysis in Water and Sanitation: A Study of Two Resettlement Colonies (*Jhuggi Jhopri* Clusters) in Delhi

Following the methodology of Budget Analysis and PETS, the paper studies the Gender Responsive Budgeting in the fields of urban water and sanitation in Delhi region, with a focus on two resettlement colonies as primary areas of inquiry, in order to ascertain the hypothesis that the budgeting and planning significantly and disproportionately impacts the lives of women and girls as compared to men and boys. The study finds that various policies and schemes pertaining to urban water and sanitation in India can be categorised as '*gender blind*' since these do not recognise the gender-based disadvantages in accessing safe water supply and also accessing sanitation, sewerage and drainage. The analysis of Budget of Delhi suggests that though the State Government has recognised water and sanitation services in the region as the most prioritised area of government interventions after transport in its Five Year Planning, however, its budgetary allocations in the real sense have gone down over the years. It is also observed that the overall budgetary allocation for water and sanitation in the resettlement colonies and for *Jhuggi Jhopri* (JJ) clusters is grossly inadequate and not in sync with the needs and effective level of service delivery in the urban settlements. Inadequacy of funds for these areas is surely a cause of concern. The problem is also compounded due to ownership and accountability issues pertaining to the development of water and sanitation facilities in the relocation colonies of *Bawana* and *Bhalaswa*. There is utter confusion and the lack of effective collaboration and consultation among various implementing agencies on the level of service delivery. Finally, the paper finds that the efforts of bringing out a 'Gender Responsive Budgeting' in India have been a cosmetic exercise so far.

Key terms: Public Expenditure, Gender Responsive Budgeting, Water and Sanitation in Slums of Delhi

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Contents

	Acronyms
	List of Tables
	List of Charts
	Executive Summary
Chapter I	Introduction Scope and Objectives of the study Methodology: Context Setting and uses of Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis Gender-based disadvantages in accessing to water supply Gender-based disadvantages in accessing sanitation, sewerage and drainage
Chapter II	Water and Sanitation Policies and Programmes for Urban Settings: What are the Entitlements for Women? Policies and Schemes at the Union Government level Policies and Schemes at the Delhi State and Local Government level
Chapter III	Budgets for Water and Sanitation in Delhi: How much outlay for Juggi Jhopri Colonies? Spending on Water and Sanitation at the level of the Union Budget Spending on Water and Sanitation in Delhi Spending on Water and Sanitation at the level of Urban Local Bodies Budgetary Processes in JJ Re-location Colonies and the Institutional Structures
Chapter IV	Constraints to Effective Service Delivery: Implications for Policy Makers Budget Adequacy Planning Human Resources Issue of Convergence Issues of Quality and Cost
Chapter IV	Concluding Remarks
	References

Acronyms

BSUP	Basic Services for Urban Poor
CDP	City Development Plan
CSS	Centrally Sponsored Scheme
CTC	Community Toilet Complex
DCB	Delhi Cantonment Board
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DEMS	Department of Environmental Management Services
DJB	Delhi Jal Board
DUSIB	Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board
11 FYP	Eleventh Five Year Plan
FY	Financial Year
GIA	Grants-in-Aid
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
IHSDP	Integrated Housing Slum Development Programme
JJ	Jhuggi Jhopri
JJRC	Jhuggi Jhopri Relocation Colony
JSC	Jan Suvidha Complex
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
MCD	Municipal Corporation of Delhi
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MLALAD	Member of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development
MoHUPA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
MoUD	Ministry of Urban Development
NCR	National Capital Region
NCT	National Capital Territory
NDMC	New Delhi Municipal Corporation
NE	North East
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NSDP	National Slum Development Programme
O&M	Operation and Maintenance
PETS	Public Expenditure Tracking Survey
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
RC	Resettlement Colony
UC	Utilisation Certificate
UD	Urban Development
UIDSSMT	Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small & Medium Towns
ULB	Urban Local Body
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation
WHO	World Health Organization

List of Tables:

Table 2.1	Fund allocation on select Union level schemes related to Urban Development
Table 2.2	Agency/Department wise Budget allocations, under Annual plans 2007-08 to 2010-11, Urban Development Department
Table 2.3	Analysis of 11th Five Year Plan (FYP) Water and Sanitation Budget in Delhi
Table 2.4	Budgeting for Water and Sanitation in Delhi
Table 2.5	Expenditure for water and sanitation in Jhuggi Jhopdi Colonies in Delhi
Table 2.6	How much is spent on one <i>JJ Colony</i> resident for Water and Sanitation in 2011-12?

List of Charts:

Chart 2.1	Share of Water and Sanitation in 11 th Five Year Plan Outlays for Delhi
Chart 2.2	Declining Trend of Budgeting for water and sanitation in Delhi
Chart 2.3	Declining Trend of Budgeting for water and sanitation in Delhi

Executive Summary

Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability (CBGA, India), in collaboration with JAGORI (India), conducted a research study on Gender Responsive Budget Analysis of public provisioning of water and sanitation services in two relocation colonies in Delhi, the capital city of India. The research study is a part of the larger Action Research Project on Women's Rights and Access to Water and Sanitation in Asian Cities (2009-11) supported by *Women in Cities International* (WICI) and *International Development Research Centre* (IDRC).

Following the methodology of budget analysis and related aspects of Public Expenditure Tracking Survey (PETS), the study attempts to capture the quantum of budgetary outlays for urban Water and Sanitation in Delhi region with a focus on *Bawana* and *Bhalaswa* as two resettlement colonies as areas of inquiry. Such an exercise is attempted from the gender lens in order to ascertain the hypotheses that water collection and management is seen largely as the responsibility of women in both rural and urban settings; and that the lack of water and sanitation facilities significantly and disproportionately impacts the lives of women and girls as compared to men and boys. Hence, it is argued that welfare schemes and programmes pertaining to water and sanitation, as implemented by the Government of India and Government of Delhi, include gender benefit components in their guidelines and budgetary allocations. Therefore, the broad objective in the study is to look at the responsiveness of budgets on Water and Sanitation from a gender perspective (Gender Responsive Budget Analysis), in order to identify gender components in water and sanitation related schemes, tracking the corresponding budget outlays and expenditures and finally assess the adequacy of the spending to respond to the specific gender needs.

Findings:

The study finds that various policies and schemes pertaining to urban water and sanitation can be categorised as '*gender blind*' since these do not recognise the gender-based disadvantages in accessing safe water supply and also accessing sanitation, sewerage and drainage. A partial and inadequate reference is made in the *Urban Sanitation Policy*, 2008 and the *National Urban Habitat and Housing Policy*, 2007, which mention in passing, "women and children as being worse sufferers than men and boys due to poor water and sanitation services."

The analysis of Delhi Budget suggests that though the state government has recognised water and sanitation services in the region as the second most prioritised area after transport, its budgetary allocations in the real sense have gone down over the years. In spite of an increase in overall budgetary allocation for water and sanitation from 2007–08 to 2010–11, in absolute terms it has gone down when compared to the total budget of Delhi. In the financial year (FY) 2007–08, the share of actual expenditure on water and sanitation to total budgetary expenditure of Delhi was 7.4 % and which this dropped to 6.1% in FY 2010-11.

The study observes that the overall budgetary allocation for water and sanitation in the resettlement colonies and for *Jhuggi Jhopri*(JJ) clusters² is grossly inadequate and not in sync with the needs and

² As per the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board, Government of Delhi, the JJ colonies located in Delhi are illegal encroachments on public land. All these clusters fall under the category of non-notified/listed/identified slums. A slum is a compact settlement with a collection of poorly built tenements, mostly of temporary nature,

effective level of service delivery in the urban settlements. In the FY 2011–12, Rs. 90 million (\$2 million)³ was spent on water supply and Rs.240 million (\$5.32 million) on sanitation facilities. On a percapita basis, the Delhi government is spending a meager Rs. 30 (\$0.66) on water supply and Rs. 80 (\$1.78) on sanitation per JJ colony resident in 2011–12. Hence, inadequacy of funds for these areas is surely a cause of concern.

The problems of ownership and accountability concerning various programmes and schemes for the development of water and sanitation facilities are clearly reflected in the study. Sewerage and drainage in the relocation colonies of Bawana and Bhalswa are the main issues of contention as pointed out by officials from the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) and Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB), but no one has taken responsibility of creating the problems. It is difficult to assess who is accountable for the prevailing water and sanitation situation in the study areas. There is confusion, lack of effective collaboration and consultation among various implementing agencies and many are busy in passing the buck. For this, the larger political picture needs to be kept in mind. Continued low allocations towards this sector reflect the lack of political will to improve urban water and sanitation services; more so, in JJ colonies, where a paternalistic attitude has been observed among the urban local bodies (ULBs) towards the residents.

The issue of privatisation of urban water and sanitation services in the JJ colonies is a matter of some concern. In the study areas, although the MCD does not impose any charges on the residents for the use of Community Toilet Complexes (CTCs), the ones that are contracted out to private agencies to run those CTCs charge a fee. Consequently, there is a financial burden on the residents and more so on women who have to pay for the children as well. Under the wider canvass of promoting Public-Private Partnership of essential services in the country, the privatisation of such service delivery would translate into high out-of-pocket expenditures for the urban poor, and particularly heavy on those living in urban slums

Finally, the study finds that the effort of bringing out a ‘Gender Responsive Budgeting’ in India has been a cosmetic exercise so far. Although the government comes out with a Gender Budget Statement (GBS) every year, many important essential services including water and sanitation are not reflected in it. At the Union level, neither the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation (DDWS) nor the Department of Urban Development (DoUD) – two nodal administrative agencies for the purpose of water and sanitation services in the country– report in the GBS about their separate allocation for gender welfare. This makes it difficult to assess women’s share in water and sanitation services in rural and urban areas. Similar is the case at the level of the Delhi government. Both the governments and their respective departments should be strongly urged to report in the GBS so that the true picture of gender-disaggregated allocations for water and sanitation can be revealed and further examined.

crowded together in unhygienic conditions and usually with inadequate sanitary and drinking water facilities. The compact area is commonly known as a “Jhuggi Jhopri” cluster. Source: Urban Slums in Delhi (2010), Data based on 65th National Sample Survey Round (July 2008-June 2009), Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, pp 4-5

³Figures in millions are in Indian Rupees which has been converted to USD (\$) at the rate of Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27th June 2011. Source: <http://www.x-rates.com>

Chapter I: Introduction

This research study, on establishing linkages between gender and water and sanitation budgets for Jhuggi Jhopri colonies in Delhi, is an outcome of the Action Research Project on Women's Rights and Access to Water and Sanitation in Asian Cities (2009-2011) –the Parent Project of the research study. The action research project's objectives were to engage with women in the two JJ relocation colonies of Delhi to assess their safety and security in terms of access to and quality of WATSAN (Water and Sanitation) services – water, sanitation, drainage, solid waste and electricity. Specifically, the core objective of the parent project was to test and adapt the Women's Safety Audit (WSA) methodology to generate a model for engaging low-income women and other marginalised communities with their local governments and other partners to address the gender gaps in water and sanitation services. The study, "Gender Responsive Budget Analysis in Water and Sanitation: A Study of Two Resettlement Colonies (Jhuggi Jhopri clusters) in Delhi" fulfils one of the objectives of the parent project in that it highlights the gender gap in the governance of allocation and expenditures of budgets both at state, sub-state and municipal levels while providing required water and sanitation infrastructure and services to the urban poor.

Scope and Objectives of the study:

The first and foremost objective of the study is to analyse specific urban water and sanitation programmatic interventions and scrutinise their guidelines, both at the Union and state government (Delhi) levels, from the gender perspective in terms of women's accessibility to safe drinking water and hygiene sanitation in the urban set-up. In this context, the study intends to capture the quantum of budgetary outlays for urban water and sanitation in Delhi region with a focus on the North-West district of Delhi, i.e., Narela and Model Town as sub-divisions of the north-west district and *Bawana* and *Bhalaswa* as resettlement colonies. There are other research questions the study intends to look into such as: What are the institutional and budgetary processes specific to water and sanitation programmes and schemes? How effective are these processes? Are the funds that are being allocated utilised effectively? If not, what are the key constraints in the implementation of these specific programmes and schemes for water and sanitation? What are the key gender-specific concerns emerging based on the analysis of the budgets for water and sanitation in the study area?

Methodology:

The methodology for the study is based on the analysis of public budget and its related aspect of PETS. At the outset, the study tries to analyse the guidelines for many of the water and sanitation schemes highlight both overall and component level physical and financial norms for implementing specific projects. Understanding such norms constitutes a critical area of budget analysis of the Water and Sanitation sector since the hardware and software components are inbuilt in the schemes. An in-depth study of various Centrally Sponsored Schemes such as *Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme* (AUWSP) and *Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission* (JNNURM) implemented by the Ministry of Urban Development and *Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Programme* (ILCSP) by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation is therefore necessary. Various government policy guidelines such as the National Urban Sanitation Policy become extremely crucial in setting the context of the study.

An attempt to outline the fund-flow mechanism from the level of the Union Government to the state (Delhi) and subsequently down to the line departments and to the local implementing agencies is also

made to trace whether the process of budget-making for water and sanitation services has followed up top-down or bottom-up planning and budgeting. In this regard, the study also followed the interview method to examine functions and roles of various administrative agencies in the process of fund allocations and fund management for water and sanitation in the study areas. The interviews of implementing officials concerned at district and sub-district levels intended to gather perceptions and seek quantitative information on funds approved and released and funds utilised on water and sanitation services. This methodology helped in gauging their perceptions of various constraints on effective implementation of water and sanitation services in the study area and generated some qualitative perspectives in the study.

The study has also relied upon an exhaustive review of available literature on public expenditure analysis of the urban Water and Sanitation sector, more specifically Delhi. Analysis of various budget documents, particularly the Detailed Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Urban Development and Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation at the Union and State (i.e. Delhi) levels pertaining to water and sanitation for the last four years (2007-08, 2008-09, 2009-10, and 2010-11) have been taken up. Such an analysis generated data for total quantum of funds for urban water supply and sanitation for Delhi region. Besides, the analysis of the state government's fund outlays through the budgets of MCD, Delhi Jal Board (DJB) and DUSIB for creating essential infrastructure, maintenance and sustenance of water supply and sanitation services were significantly helpful to gauge the quantum of budgetary outlays for the JJ colonies and its adequacy to translate plans and programmes into effective service delivery.

The selection of the two JJ clusters, Bawana and Bhalswa, as study regions is based on field assessment by JAGORI and CBGA on the implementation of water and sanitation services in the areas. Bawana, in North-West Delhi near the Haryana state border, was identified as the site for relocation for a large number of people evicted in 2004. Residents living in JJ colonies/slums from Yamuna Pushta, Dhapa Colony, Banuwal Nagar, Saraswati Vihar, Deepali Chowk, Vikaspuri, Nagla Machi and Jahangirpuri among others were evicted to this site about 35 km away from their homes. The plots in Bawana were assigned only to those who could prove their identity and proof of residence. People who lived in Delhi before 1990 were given 18 sq m plots. Families that lived in Delhi prior to 1998 were allocated plots of 12.5 sq m. Bhalswa is also located in North-West Delhi next to a landfill site. Most people residing here were evicted from areas in North and East Delhi from communities previously located in Yamuna Pushta, Gautampuri, Barapulla, Nizamuddin, I.T.O. and Rohini, about 10 to 20 km from their homes. They were moved here in 2000 and were allotted plots of either 12.5 sq m or 18 sq m based on their years of residence in Delhi. Today, Bhalswa has roughly 2,600 plots with an approximate population size of 25,000.

Context Setting and uses of Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis:

Understanding the water and sanitation situation in the JJ clusters of Delhi – in this case the study areas of Bawana and Bhalswa – is relevant in the context of the deteriorating Water and Sanitation services in urban India. Water and Sanitation services have never been given adequate priority by the government, more so in urban areas. With increasing urbanisation, there is a tremendous pressure on civic infrastructure systems like water supply, sewerage and drainage, and solid waste management. As per recent data, (Vaidya, 2009, p.11) water supply is available only for 2.9 hours per day across cities and towns. The non-revenue water that includes physical and revenue losses account for 40-60 percent of total water supply. About 30-50 percent households do not have sewerage connections and less than 20 percent of the total waste water is treated. Solid waste systems are severely stressed. The state of services reflects the deterioration in the quality of city environments. As per the 54th Round of the National Sample Survey (NSS), 70 percent of urban households accessed water through taps and 21 percent through tubewells or hand pumps. Sixty-six percent of urban households were reported as having their principal source of water within the premises while 32 percent had it within 0.2 km. Forty-one percent had sole access to their principal source of drinking water and 59 percent shared a public source.

The NSS statistics show that 26 percent of households had no latrines, 35 percent were using septic tanks and 22 percent were using the sewerage system. Sewerage connections varied from 48 percent to 70 percent in the country. It is estimated that about 15,000 tonnes of Municipal Solid Waste is generated daily in the country. Per capita waste generation in cities varies between 0.2-0.6 kg per day and it is increasing by 1.3 percent per annum.⁴

Similar is the situation in Delhi even though Water and Sanitation is a very important component of planning in the national capital. As per the 65th Round of the National Sample Survey (NSS, 2008-09), there is a considerable shortfall of these amenities for people living in slums and relocation colonies. The Delhi state sample suggests that 88 percent of slums largely depend on piped water supply followed by around 9 percent that are dependent on hand pumps and tubewells as a major source of water while the remaining 3.5 percent are served by other sources. Sixty-three percent of slum dwellers use tanks/flush type latrine facilities for sanitation. Underground sewerage is found to exist only in around 23 percent of slums while 2.8 percent of slums have underground drainage systems, 3.4 percent covered (*pucca*) drainage systems and 11.1 percent open (*katcha*) drainage systems. Around 16 percent of the slums have no drainage system. Local bodies collect garbage from 66 percent of the slums. Of the slums where garbage is collected by local bodies, the frequency of collection was 43 percent on a daily basis. In 13 percent of the slums, the garbage was collected at least once in two days; in 24 percent slums, the garbage collection was once in 3 to 7 days, while it was once in 8 days and above in 20 percent of the slums. That apart, 24 percent of the slums do not have any regular mechanism for garbage disposal (Government of NCT Delhi, 2010). Intermittent and inequitable distribution of water supply is a regular feature of urban metropolises. For instance, the per capita supply ranges from 20 to 400 lpcd (litres per capita per day) in different parts of Delhi (Ministry of Urban Development, 2011).

The infrastructure shortages pertaining to water and sanitation in the urban slums of Delhi are linked to the have led to the other disadvantages in urban poverty such as the poor residing in JJ relocation colonies having lack of tenure, poor living conditions, unemployment and few livelihood options. Availability and access to essential services like health clinics, clean drinking water, safe sanitation and electricity affect both men and women. However, due to women's secondary role and position in society and the prevalent patriarchal system, the lack of certain services impact women more than men. While on one hand, water collection and management is seen largely as the responsibility of women in both rural and urban settings; on the other, the lack of water and sanitation facilities significantly and disproportionately impacts the lives of women and girls as compared to that of men and boys.

The lack of proper sanitation facilities and water supply is something residents of the two study areas have learnt to live with. While conducting field visits, the study team observed gender-based disadvantages due to lack of access to safe drinking water, clean and affordable sanitation, sewerage and drainage, which are consistent with the critical inputs provided by NGOs such as JAGORI and Action India's work in the relocation colonies of Bawana and Bhalswa.

Gender-based Disadvantages in Accessing to Water Supply⁵:

- ◇ Time and opportunity cost for work lost due to time spent in water collection.
- ◇ Conflicts and fights regarding space to wash clothes and cook.
- ◇ Physical and sexual harassment in public transport while collecting water from distant places.
- ◇ Exposure to physical and sexual violence while collecting water from tankers.

⁴ The data is referred in Vaidya C. 2009. Urban Issues, Reforms and Way-forward in India, Working Paper no.4/2009-DEA, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India.

⁵ These arguments are compiled on the basis of inputs (Interview with the community workers of NGOs: JAGORI and 'Action India')

- ◇ Absenteeism and dropout rate of girl children from schools.
- ◇ Unsafe drinking water raises the risk of women, men and children being susceptible to water-borne diseases such as cholera and diarrhoea, affecting their health and subsequently livelihood.

Gender-based Disadvantages in Accessing Sanitation, Sewerage and Drainage⁶:

- ◇ Incidents of sexual harassment while availing sanitation facilities at Community Toilet Complexes (CTCs).
- ◇ Poor and faulty design of CTCs which put women at the risk of being harassed.
- ◇ CTCs are not open for the entire day which causes inconvenience to women to meet their sanitary needs.
- ◇ Inadequate and unsafe sanitary public infrastructure causes loss of dignity and privacy to women who are forced to resort to open defecation.
- ◇ Inadequate infrastructure raises vital safety concerns for women as they are sexually assaulted or attacked when they resort to open defecation.
- ◇ Women have to wait until dark to defecate and urinate in the open, so tend to drink less water during the day, resulting in all kinds of health problems such as urinary tract infections (UTIs).
- ◇ Poor maintenance and design of drains leading to conflicts that put women at risk physically.
- ◇ Loss of dignity and privacy while disposing menstrual waste.
- ◇ Hygienic conditions are often poor in public defecation areas, leading to worm infestation and water-borne diseases.
- ◇ Girls, particularly after puberty, miss school due to lack of proper sanitary facilities for dealing with menstrual hygiene.

Women in Bawana and Bhalswa localities have reported these problems while accessing toilets and sanitation facilities. Their complaints relate mainly to incidents of sexual harassment at the CTCs and in open areas whenever CTCs cannot be accessed. Initiatives undertaken by the community have been the only way to counter these problems. This raises the question of government action, considering that a woman's dignity and safety is severely undermined especially among the vulnerable urban poor.

In this regard, Gender Responsive Budget Analysis in water and sanitation is critical to identifying the gender component in water and sanitation related schemes, tracking the corresponding budget outlays and expenditures and assessing the adequacy of the spending to respond to the specific gender needs.

Budgets are critical policy documents of the government that reflect its commitments and priorities. Analysis of the budgets helps assess the "gaps" in implementing these commitments and suggest corrective actions. In recent years, Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) has emerged as a powerful strategy to ensure inclusion of the interests of the socially disadvantaged groups in the planning and budgeting processes. GRB is not an accounting exercise but an ongoing process of engagement with policies across sectors to ensure that gender gaps are addressed. In other words, it translates gender commitments into budgetary commitments. Gender Responsive Budget Initiatives (GRBI) help assess the gender responsiveness of programmes and ensure that the "goal" of gender equity is achieved through the instruments of budgets. It is a process that entails maintaining a gender perspective at all stages of planning and execution. GRB is not an accounting exercise but an ongoing process of engagement with policies across sectors to ensure that gender gaps are addressed. In other words, it translates gender commitments into budgetary commitments.

⁶These arguments are compiled on the basis of inputs (Interview with the community workers of NGOs: JAGORI and 'Action India')

GRBIs are tools that analyse budgets to see how government policies and programmes have different impacts on women and men, and girls and boys (Khosla, 2003, p5). The various tools that can be used for a gender sensitive budget analysis (UNIFEM, 2005) are:

- 1) Gender-aware policy appraisal
- 2) Gender-disaggregated beneficiary assessments
- 3) Gender-disaggregated public expenditure incidence analysis
- 4) Gender-disaggregated tax incidence analysis
- 5) Gender-disaggregated analysis of the impact of the budget on time use
- 6) Gender-aware medium term economic policy framework
- 7) Gender-aware budget statement

Against this backdrop, the paper attempts to demystify the planning and budgetary processes related to governments' initiatives on water and sanitation. "Gender-aware policy appraisal" (GRB Tool 1) has been used to closely examine and analyse policies and budgets specific to water and sanitation in Bawana and Bhalswa. In the absence of the availability of sex-disaggregated data as well as budget data at the level of Bawana and Bhalswa, "gender-disaggregated public expenditure incidence analysis" (GRB Tool 3) could not be used. However, as the Government of India has adopted GBS as a "Gender-aware budget statement" (GRB Tool 7), the study makes a stronger case for bringing in various programmes and schemes pertaining to water and sanitation within its ambit.

The study constitutes three chapters. The first chapter deals with the policies, acts and schemes/programmes dealing with water and sanitation in urban areas at the Union, state and local government levels. This section also looks closely at how and where women feature in these policies, acts and schemes. The next chapter focuses on budget analysis at the level of the Union and Delhi state from the perspectives of water and sanitation, and extends to allocations for the resettlement colonies. This section also highlights the prevailing fund-flow mechanism in some water and sanitation schemes in Delhi. The final chapter discusses various issues with policy implication such as identifying various constraints in the effective delivery of water and sanitation services in the resettlement colonies and how it impacts low-income women and girls in the region. Issues regarding implementation and suggestions to counter them have also been highlighted.

Chapter II:

Water and Sanitation Policies and Programmes for Urban Settings: What are the Entitlements for Women?

What are the entitlements for women in various policies and programmes pertaining to Water and Sanitation in urban settings? The question relating to entitlements is also linked to needs assessment of women, which has not been given due priority while making plans and programmes for the development and modernisation of cities. A look at some of the schemes and policies involving slum and resettled populations at the Union, state and local body levels will shed light on the extent to which women and girls have been included as also the budgetary provisions made for them. The analysis of the schemes and policies also attempts to cull out entitlements for women, if any.

Policies and Schemes at the Union Government level for Urban Water Supply and Sanitation:

At the Union Government level, there are some schemes and policies that focus specifically on water and sanitation in the urban setting. A major government programme that provides facilities for water supply and sanitation in urban areas is Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), which aims at improving and augmenting economic and social infrastructure facilities of the cities, extending basic services to the urban poor including security of tenure at affordable prices and strengthening municipal governments and their functioning in accordance with the provisions of the 74th Constitutional Amendment.⁷ Services to the urban poor include access to water supply and sanitation which largely hinges on an effective local government. The cities under JNNURM are supposed to develop City Development Plans (CDPs) demonstrating their plans and commitments to JNNURM's objectives. Plans have been developed for all the cities in the Mission but these have not been done in a consultative manner involving all sections of society. This non-consultation has mainly been attributed to the inadequate capacity of urban local bodies which form the pivot in the Mission. This is adjunct to the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act which calls for devolution of funds, functions and functionaries to ULBs. The following section analyses various inputs to JNNURM and other related policies in which women's concerns, particularly water and sanitation, are discussed.

- ◇ Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission: (a) Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), (b) Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), and (c) Integrated Housing Slum Development Programme (IHSDP)
- ◇ Service-level Benchmarking

⁷ The 74th Constitutional Amendment is a path-breaking development in strengthening the urban local bodies in the country. It was passed by the Parliament of India in December, 1992 and received presidential assent on April 20, 1993. The main characteristic of 74th Constitution Amendment Act, 1992 is that it provides Constitutional recognition to the powers and functions of the urban local bodies. The Act adds Part IX-A to the Constitution covering Articles from 243P to 243 ZG. It also introduces the Twelfth Schedule in the Constitution, which lists 18 subjects coming under the jurisdiction of municipalities. Under the allocated subjects falling under the jurisdiction of municipalities, subjects such as slum improvement and upgradation, water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes, public health, sanitation conservancy and solid waste management are prominently covered.

- ◇ Urban Sanitation Policy, 2008
- ◇ National Urban Habitat and Housing Policy, 2007
- ◇ Mid-Term Appraisal of the 11th Five Year Plan

Other than the Urban Sanitation Policy, none of these policies and schemes deals with sanitation and water supply directly. Water and sanitation is either linked with housing for the poor or with employment generation, and has not been treated as a standalone issue. Moreover, gender has not been overtly mentioned, but just implied. This shows that the policymakers have not directed enough attention to the needs of women and girls relating to water supply and sanitation, especially in the urban slums. The National Slum Development Programme was one of the few schemes which had a provision for adequate water supply, sanitation, housing, solid waste management, primary and non-formal education in urban slums. It provided additional Central assistance to states to supplement the resources of the state government for provision of basic infrastructure and services in slum areas. Unfortunately, it was discontinued in 2009-10.

Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP) scheme under JNNURM has stressed on the development of basic services for the urban poor which includes water and sanitation. To maintain these basic services, one of the objectives of the scheme is to secure effective linkages between asset creation and asset management so that they become self-sustaining over time. However, there is no mention of a separate fund for water and sanitation.

Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) has a vision of a “slum free state”. It seeks to bring existing slums within the formal system while redressing the deeper issues of slum creation. The scheme talks of earmarking for basic services to the urban poor within the local body budgets. As one of its reformative measures, it also mentions provision of basic services to the urban poor which includes water supply and sanitation. The intention of the scheme belies the fact that no separate funds have been earmarked to achieve its vision.

Integrated Housing Slum Development Programme (IHSDP), In addition to providing shelter through up gradating and construction of new houses, *IHSDP* also aims to provide community toilets, water supply, storm water drains, community baths, widening and paving of existing lanes, sewers and street lights. Slum improvement and rehabilitation are part of the scheme, which focus on inclusive urban planning. Yet there has been no specific mention of women directly in the scheme despite the funding mechanism being explicitly laid out.

Service-level Benchmarking is another initiative of the Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) as part of the urban reform agenda for enhancing accountability for service delivery through various Centrally Sponsored Schemes⁸ (CSS) like JNNURM. It is to be tried out on a pilot basis and envisages a shift in focus from infrastructure creation to delivery of service outcomes in order to introduce accountability in service delivery. Service-level benchmarking is surely a positive step but it remains to be seen to what extent the basic issues of access and availability of safe water and sanitation services are addressed.

National Urban Sanitation Policy 2008 aims to transform urban India into community-led healthy and livable cities and towns that have universal sanitation coverage. It has an ambitious plan focusing on the urban poor and women whereby the vision for Urban Sanitation in India is that “all Indian cities and towns become totally sanitised, healthy and livable and ensure and sustain good public health and

⁸ In the case of a Centrally Sponsored Scheme, the Central Government provides a part of the funds and the state government provides a matching grant for the scheme. The ratio of contributions by the Centre and a state is pre-decided through negotiations between the two.

environmental outcomes for all their citizens with a special focus on hygienic and affordable sanitation facilities for the urban poor and women” (Ministry of Urban Development, 2008). The main goals of the policy are awareness generation and behavioural change; open defecation-free cities, integrated city-wide sanitation, sanitary and safe disposal, and proper operation and maintenance of all sanitary installations. Here too, the policy rests on the assumption that the states would draw up State Urban Sanitation Strategies and City Sanitation Plans. The urban poor are confronted with the issue of land tenure which creates uncertainty and insecurity regarding their place of residence. There is the constant threat of eviction and the areas lack basic services such as safe water and sanitation facilities where the burden of collecting water and maintaining household hygiene falls on women who suffer the most from inadequate and inappropriate services in slums. The sanitation policy dwells on these issues but does not suggest ways to deal with the multiplicity of agencies and stakeholders involved in the implementation of water and sanitation services.

National Urban Habitat and Housing Policy (2007) “intends to promote sustainable development of habitat in the country with a view to ensuring equitable supply of land, shelter and services at affordable prices to all sections of society”. It also plans to involve women at all levels of decision making to ensure participation in the formulation and implementation of housing policies and programmes. Further, it aims to address the special needs of women-headed households, single women, working women and women in difficult circumstances in relation to housing serviced by basic services, which would include water and sanitation. This is the only policy which tries to include women in its guidelines.

Mid-Term Appraisal of the 11th Plan stresses ULB level reforms such as 100% cost recovery on Operation and Maintenance (O&M) for Water Supply, 100 percent cost recovery on Solid Waste Management and, internal earmarking of funds for services to the urban poor. The Appraisal brings to light the finding that nearly 80 percent of the funds under UIG and more than 90 percent of funds under Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small & Medium Towns (UIDSSMT) have been committed to projects in water supply, sewerage, drainage and solid waste management which shows that most cities still have a significant backlog in the provision of basic urban services to their residents. Further, in some states, less than 30 percent of the funds allocated have been claimed. In Delhi itself, less than 6 percent has been claimed showing the extent of underutilisation of funds.

Policies and Schemes at the Delhi State and Local Government Levels: Following are certain policies and schemes, pursued by the Delhi Government for the development of the city and have significant implications on the issue of gender in the delivery of services of water and sanitation.

- ◇ City Development Plan (CDP) under JNNURM
- ◇ Master Plan of Delhi Development Authority (DDA)
- ◇ The Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB) Act, 2010
- ◇ Member of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development Scheme (MLALADS)
- ◇ State level Schemes for JJ Colonies

City Development Plan (CDP) that comes under JNNURM, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) Master Plan and MLALADS, has a vision to develop Delhi into a highly livable city with reliable infrastructure. The CDP is ambitious in its vision where it outlines strategies for economic development, civic infrastructure development, slums and urban poor development as well as recommendations on urban governance. It recognises the fact that “women find it unsafe and embarrassing to defecate in the open and in community toilets” (Department of Urban Development, 2006) but does not chart out solutions to address the issue. A review of the CDP for Delhi undertaken by Centre for Civil Society (2007) concludes that the proposals for the urban poor and housing make up just 16 percent of the total planned investments in the city, an amount that does not match demand in terms of numbers or level of services needed.

Master Plan of Delhi Development Authority has no clear policy on slum relocation despite the fact that it is a growing problem. This is even more pertinent when seen in the light of the fact that the DDA was engaged in toilet construction in the project area of Bawana as well as the sole authority involved in land/plot allotment to the slum dwellers.⁹

Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB) Act, 2010, was passed by the Legislative Assembly of Delhi on 1st April, 2010 since there was a felt need for a supportive body with statutory powers. This was followed by DUSIB coming into existence. As per the Act, the Board has the authority to implement the provisions of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956. It states that the Board may prepare a scheme for the improvement of any *Jhuggi-Jhopri Basti* which may include provisions of toilets and bathing facilities, improvement of drainage, provision of water supply, street paving, and provision of dustbins or sites for garbage collection and street lighting. The scheme may include provisions for payment or for contribution of labour by the residents of the Jhuggi-Jhopri settlement, individually or collectively, and may also include provision for recovery of charges for the use of toilets and bathing facilities which in essence means that user charges may be levied on the slum dwellers.

One can clearly note that there is no specific mandate on water and sanitation service provision and that nothing is specifically earmarked for women. It only lays out duties and directions on what the Board “may” do on basic services provision and not what it “should” do. Although there is a provision for an Urban Shelter Consultative Committee to be constituted as part of the Board, the onus on basic services provision is at the Board’s discretion. A State Audit Report of Delhi on MCD (CAG, 2003, p 91) showed that the Slum and JJ Department has failed to provide the intended minimum basic amenities like Jan Suvidha¹⁰ Complexes, potable water, Basti Vikas Samiti Kendras¹¹, Community Toilet/Bathrooms to beneficiaries due to its lax attitude and achievement of targets ranged between 29 percent and 42 percent only. This goes to show that the Slum and JJ wing was unable to achieve its targets in 2001-02 as well as suffered from careless implementation.

Member of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development Scheme (Government of NCT of Delhi, 2009) enables each MLA to undertake small developmental works in his or her constituency through the allocated funds of Rs 20 million (\$ 0.44 million) per year, which has been increased to Rs. 40 million(\$0.88million) in 2011.¹² The MCD Councillor Fund has also been raised to Rs. 10.5 million (\$0.23million).¹³ The works related to water and sanitation that can be taken up under this scheme are public toilets at different locations, construction of tube wells and water tanks for drinking water provision, construction of roads and drains including roads, approach roads, link roads, approved by layouts, sanitation, street lighting, provision of common services including maintenance of community toilets, courtyard, common path and similar other services (Centre for Civil Society, 2009) The scheme has a lot of scope for provision of water and sanitation services for the urban poor, but only if they come under the radar of the politicians. One is well aware that the urban poor, especially evicted populations, are the last priority for politicians except as valuable vote banks.

⁹Discussions with JAGORI staff s reveal that DDA had initially constructed the CTCs in Bawana which were later handed over to the MCD.

¹⁰ Community toilet complex

¹¹ Community development centres

¹²See URL http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-06-15/delhi/29660991_1_delhi-govt-hikes-sheila-dikshit-fund

¹³See URL <http://www.delhielections.com/2011/01/21/786867/mcd-councillor-fund-hiked-to-rs-2-crore/index.html>

*Delhi State level schemes*¹⁴ which are specifically dealing with water and sanitation in JJ and relocation colonies are:

- In-situ upgradation of JJ Clusters and Informal Shelter (DUSIB)
- Environmental Improvement in Urban Slums (DUSIB)
- Construction of Pay and Use *Jan Suvidha* Complexes (DUSIB)
- Additional Facilities in *Jhuggi Jhopri* Relocation Colonies (JJRCs) (MCD)
- Sanitation in JJ Cluster (MCD)
- Augmentation of water supply in JJ Clusters (DJB)

Schemes at the level of the state government pertaining to JJ colonies are not as many to improve water and sanitation situation in the slums. There is no direct intervention benefiting women and girls in the schemes. However, the schemes do have objectives that aim to improve the living conditions of slum dwellers.

At the state government and local body level, certain state level and ULB reforms have been initiated under JNNURM. It is envisaged that the states would ensure meaningful engagement with ULBs in managing parastatals as well as delivery of services. This is also to focus on effective decentralization as envisaged in the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act. Reforms at the ULB level include among other things earmarking within local body budgets for basic services to the urban poor and provision of basic services such as security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, and water supply and sanitation. These reforms, if effectively implemented, could go a long way in addressing many of the issues and minimising the hurdles among different agencies. The measures would benefit the overall population and not specifically poor urban women.

The above analysis of the policies and schemes throw light on the extent to which the urban poor and, more specifically, poor urban women are prioritised in the context of provision of water and sanitation services. Other than the National Urban Sanitation Policy (2008) and National Urban Habitat and Housing Policy (2007), which recognise women and their disadvantaged position in water and sanitation services, none of the schemes and policies mentions women. Clearly, their absence at the level of policies and schemes shows how invisible they are in the planning process. The next section highlights the budgetary aspects of water and sanitation services and how these influence and impact women's and girls' lives in the two relocation colonies studied.

¹⁴Annual Plan 2009-10, Department of Urban Development, Government of NCT, Delhi.

Chapter III:

Budgets for Water and Sanitation in Delhi: How much outlay for Juggi Jhopri Colonies?

The Water and Sanitation sector has always been a part of the country's five year plans with necessary outlays accorded to it by the Planning Commission since 1951 (the first Five Year Plan), though not on the basis of priority. With the enactment of the 73rd¹⁵ and 74th Constitutional Amendments, relevant legislations were amended in order to decentralise certain responsibilities, including water supply and sanitation to municipalities. Since the assignment of responsibilities to municipalities is the state's obligation, different states followed different approaches and began to finance water supply and sanitation through a number state programmes, and more recently through a number of National level programmes. In urban areas, ULBs are mostly in charge of operation and maintenance and the priorities are attached to legalised colonies with specific reference to some flagship schemes as a result of which, many unauthorised resettlements and JJ colonies (slums) are left alone to certain ad-hoc interventions with insignificant public provisioning. This section analyses the budgets for urban water supply and sanitation at the Union government level and the public spending on water and sanitation by the Delhi government in terms of allocations for JJ colonies while trying to highlight the fact that inadequacy of budgets affects the level of service delivery for the disadvantaged groups of society. The analysis also argues that there is no space for "gender" in the budgets of the Water and Sanitation in India, and the inadequacy of allocations in such an indivisible sector has led to poor quality of service delivery and inadequate infrastructure, which in turn affect the safety and dignity of women in the society.

Spending on Water and Sanitation at the Level of the Union Budget:

At the Union Budget level, the government's flagship JNNURM is one of the key programmes for coverage of water supply, sanitation and sewerage in urban areas. A look at the budgetary allocations of some schemes at the Central level shows the funds that the Centre has allocated in the past four years (Table 2.1). The Sub Mission on Urban Infrastructure and Governance was allocated Rs.30.67billion (\$680 million)¹⁶ in 2010-11 which has been reduced. The Sub Mission on Basic Services to Urban Poor witnessed a slight increase in allocation from 2009-10 although from 2007-08 to 2010-11, the outlays have been almost stagnant. The outlays for Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP), which has a component of slum improvement and rehabilitation projects and provision of community toilets and water supply, has been drastically cut down. From Rs.7.7 billion (\$177 million) in

¹⁵ The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act was passed by the Parliament of India in 1992 and came into force in April 1993 to provide constitutional sanctity to grass-root democracy in the country. It provides recognition to the constitution, powers and functions of the rural local bodies for the first time in the history of India. It introduced Schedule Eleven (IX) in the Constitution, which lists 24 subjects coming under the jurisdiction of Rural Local Bodies (RLBs). Under the allocated subjects falling under the jurisdiction of RLBs, Drinking Water is a one of the subjects. Rural sanitation does not fall within the ambit of the RLB's jurisdiction.

¹⁶ Note: 1 billion is 1,000 million (Rs. 100 crore).

2009-10, it has come down to Rs. 5.8 billion (\$ 5.8million) in 2010-11 Revised Estimate (RE)¹⁷. Since 2007-08, the allocation has decreased, barring in 2008-09 when it rose to Rs. 12.9 billion (\$287million). An encouraging feature has been the massive jump in allocation for the Rajiv Awas Yojana from Rs. 600 million (\$13million) to Rs.10 billion (\$222million) in successive years. While this is undoubtedly a major increase in budgetary allocations, the fear is that the implementing agency may not have the required capacity to handle such huge amounts of money for one programme.

Table 2.1 Expenditures on selected Union Level Schemes relating to Urban Development

(Figures in millions)^d

S.N	Name of the Scheme ^a	2007-08AE ^b	2008-09AE	2009-10 AE	2010-11RE ^c
1.	Sub Mission on Urban Infrastructure and Governance	24740.00 (\$548.71)	44004.00 (\$975.96)	37765.00 (\$837.59)	30679.00 (\$680.43)
2.	Sub Mission on Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP)	10220.00 (\$ 226.67)	14727.00 (\$ 326.63)	12345.00 (\$ 273.80)	14140.00 (\$ 313.61)
3.	Integrated Housing and Slum Development (IHSDP)	7880.00 (\$ 174.77)	12952.00 (\$ 287.26)	7771.00 (\$ 172.35)	5781.00 (\$ 128.21)
4.	Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)	-	-	600.00 (\$ 13.30)	10000.00 (\$ 221.79)

Note: ^a The five schemes in the table are covered under JNNURM, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India

^b Actual Expenditures

^c Revised Expenditure

^d Figures in millions are in Indian Rupees which has been converted to USD (\$) at the rate of Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27th June 2011. Source: <http://www.x-rates.com>

Source: Compiled from various Union Budgets Document of various years; it can be accessed from www.indiabudget.nic.in

Spending on Water and Sanitation in Delhi:

In the allocation of business between Union and States as per the federal structure of India, the subjects relating to Water and Sanitation are considered as state subjects¹⁸, in which the states play a very important role in the planning, budgeting and implementation of programmes. In Delhi, implementation of water and sanitation services for urban areas is managed by implementing agencies such as the MCD, Slum and JJ Department (which is now DUSIB), DJB and New Delhi Municipal Council (NDMC). DJB has the sole responsibility for specifically dealing with Water and Sewerage. On the other hand, MCD, JJ and Slum Wing of MCD, and NDMC are implementing specific programmes dealing with the problems

¹⁷ Revised Estimates is the first nine months actual expenditures and next four months projected expenditures based on first nine months actual expenditures. Henceforth, the figures considered as Revised Estimates would be referred to as RE

¹⁸ India is a federal country in which there is distribution of power between the Union and the 28 States and 7 Union Territories. As per the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India, there are three lists of jurisdiction: (1) Union List with 97 items in which Union Government has exclusive jurisdiction; (2) State List with 66 items in which States have exclusive jurisdiction; and (3) Concurrent List with 47 items in which both Union and States have shared responsibilities. The subject of water and sanitation falls within the State List of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution.

of sanitation and solid waste management in Delhi. As Table 2.2 highlights, MCD and DJB have been allocated higher plan outlays in the Annual Plans and are consistently being prioritised in the annual plan exercises. On the other hand, the annual plan outlays for the Slum and JJ Wing of MCD have been inadequate to meet the requirements of the slum dwellers in JJ clusters, relocation and unauthorised colonies.

Table 2.2: Budgetary Expenditures of Implementing Agencies of the Department of Urban Development, Government of Delhi

(Figures in million)^a

S.N.	Implementing Agency	Expenditures under Annual Plans ^b			
		2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
1.	MCD	14119.00 (\$ 313)	11913.00 (\$ 264)	14379.00 (\$ 319)	13754.00 (\$ 305)
2.	Slum and JJ	904.00 (\$ 20)	194.00 (\$ 4.3)	136.00 (\$ 3)	667.00 (\$ 15)
3.	DJB	13423.00 (\$ 298)	14503.00 (\$ 322)	16489.00 (\$ 366)	16081.00 (\$ 357)
4.	NDMC	405.00 (\$ 9)	114.00 (\$ 3)	1549.00 (\$ 34)	965.00 (\$ 21)

Note: ^a Figures in millions are in Indian Rupees which has been converted into USD (\$) with a conversion rate of Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27 June 2011. Source: <http://www.x-rates.com>

^b Each Five Year Plan is classified again as five Annual Plans. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (Periods between 2007 and 2012) consists of five annual plans. The expenditure figures reflected here are from first four Annual Plans of the Eleventh Five Year Plan for Government of Delhi.

Source: Compiled from various Annual Plans (2007-08 to 2010-11), Planning Department, Government of Delhi. http://delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/doiit_planning/Planning/Home/Plan+Outlay+and+Expenditure

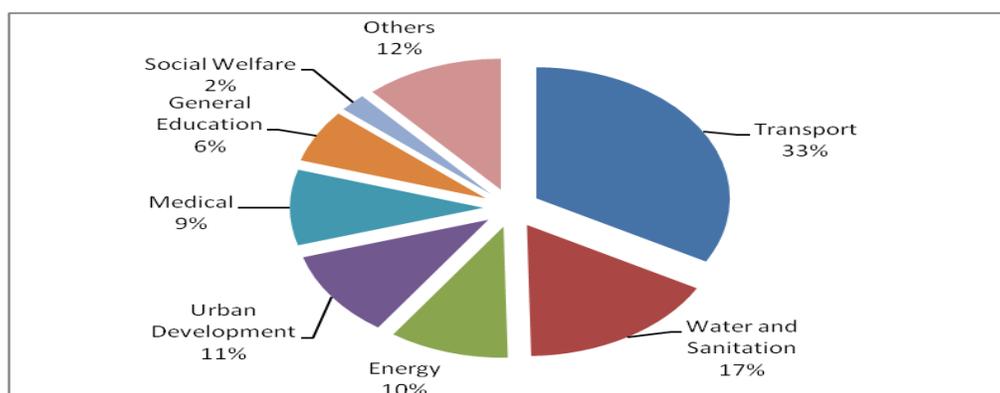
The Water and Sanitation sector has assumed considerable priority in the five year planning cycle of Delhi. An analysis of 11th Five-Year¹⁹ Plan budget²⁰ of Delhi (Chart 2.1) shows that it is the second most important area of intervention. In absolute numbers, the budget for water and sanitation in the plan period is approximately Rs. 91 billion (\$2 billion) (Table 2.3) which is 17 percent of the total plan outlays. The total approved plan outlay for 11th Five Year Plan (FYP) is approximately Rs. 548 billion (\$12 billion). Actual expenditure of the plan budgets for water and sanitation in absolute numbers is around Rs. 77.52 billion (\$1.7 billion). This constitutes 85 percent of the total plan outlays for water and sanitation sector. It further indicates that even if the sector has been given priority at the state planning level, the expenditure levels are not encouraging. It can be observed from Table 2.3 that the level of spending also varies in the annual plans. While almost 49 percent of the total approved five year plan

¹⁹The socio-economic development of India is based on the five year developmental planning that is developed, executed and monitored by the Planning Commission, which is an autonomous, non-Constitutional body that carries out planning in the country. The Chairman of the Planning Commission is the Prime Minister of India. Plans are formulated and executed for a five year period. Every state also prepares a Five Year Plan. The First Five Year Plan was made for the duration 1951-1956.

²⁰Plan Expenditure is meant for financing the development schemes formulated under the given Five Year Plan or the unfinished tasks of the previous Plans. Once a programme or scheme pursued under a specific Plan completes its duration, the maintenance cost and future running expenditures on the assets created or staffs recruited are not regarded as Plan Expenditure. Any expenditure of the government that does not fall under the category of Plan Expenditure is referred to as Non-Plan Expenditure.

budgets have been spent in the first three years of the annual budgets, the remaining two annual plans of the 11th FYP have managed to spend only 36 percent of the total approved budgets. The allocations in the last three annual budgets have also stagnated and Rs. 13.72billion has remained unspent in the water and sanitation plan outlays.

Chart 2.1 Share of Water and Sanitation in 11th Five Year Plan Outlays for Delhi



Source: Compiled from 11th Five Year Plan Document for Delhi, Govt. of Delhi and Annual Financial Statement (AFS), Union Budget document, Govt. of India, various years

Table 2.3 Analysis of 11th Five Year Plan (FYP) Water and Sanitation Budget in Delhi

(Figures in million)^a

	Total 11th FYP Approved Outlays for Water and Sanitation	91250.00 (\$ 2024)
Budgets for Water and Sanitation in the Annual Plans	2007-08 AE	13460.00 (\$ 299)
	2008-09 AE	14569.00 (\$ 323)
	2009-10 AE	16489.00 (\$ 366)
	2010-11 RE	16508.00 (\$ 366)
	2011-12 BE	16501.00 (\$ 366)
	Total Expenditure in the 11thFYP Period	
	As % of Total Plan Outlays	85 %

Note: ^a Figures in million are in Indian Rupees which has been converted into USD (\$) with a conversion rate of Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27June 2011. Source: <http://www.x-rates.com>

Source: Compiled from 11th Five Year Plan Document for Delhi, Govt. of Delhi and Annual Financial Statement (AFS), Union Budget document, Govt. of India, various years.

The provisioning for the water and sanitation sector in Delhi mainly comes from the Plan Budget. An analysis of the Delhi state budget suggests that the overall budgetary allocation for water and sanitation has increased over the years. In 2007-08, the total budget for water and sanitation was Rs. 13.46 billion (\$299million) which went up to Rs. 16.51 billion (\$366million) in 2011-12 (BE) with an average growth rate of approximately 5 percent. If the increased budget of the sector in 2011-12 (BE) is compared with Budget 2010-11, it shows no change. It contrasts with the increased budgets for water and sanitation in 2009-10 and 2008-09 over the previous years, wherein the increased budget was Rs. 1.92 billion(\$43million) and Rs. 1.11 billion(\$23million) respectively. This indicates that the budget for water and sanitation has shrunk in the successive budgets of the 11th Plan period. In this regard, the total budget

expenditure also has shown a sharp decline. In 2007-08, the share of actual expenditure on the sector compared to the total budgetary expenditure was 7.4 percent which dipped to 6.1 percent in 2011-12 BE (Table 2.4). Taking inflation into account, when the sector is compared with the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) of Delhi, it is found to be only 0.9percent in 2007-08 and even lower at 0.6 percent in 2010-11 (Chart 2.2). The declining trend of budgets for the water and sanitation sector is to be understood in the perspective of the diminishing share of the Delhi State Budget to Delhi's GSDP since 2007-08. It was approximately 13percent in 2007-08 which, over the years, has dropped to 10 percent of GSDP²¹ in 2010-11 RE.

Table 2.4: Budgeting for Water and Sanitation in Delhi

(Figures in millions)^d

Items	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11 RE	2011 -12 BE
Total Budgetary Expenditure (TBE) ^a in Delhi	181600.00 (\$ 4028)	203620 (\$ 4516)	249260 (\$ 5528)	270280 (\$ 5995)	270670 (\$ 6003)
Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) ^b of Delhi	1443030 (\$ 32005)	1659480 (\$ 36805)	2178510 (\$ 48317)	2588080 (\$ 57401)	NA
Budgeting for Water and Sanitation	13460 (\$ 299)	14570 (\$ 323)	16490 (\$ 366)	16510 (\$ 366)	16500 (\$ 366)
Water and Sanitation as % of TBE	7.41	7.16	6.62	6.11	6.10
Water and Sanitation as % of GSDP	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.6	NA

Notes: ^a TBE is calculated from the Annual Financial Statements (AFS) of Delhi Budget (various years).

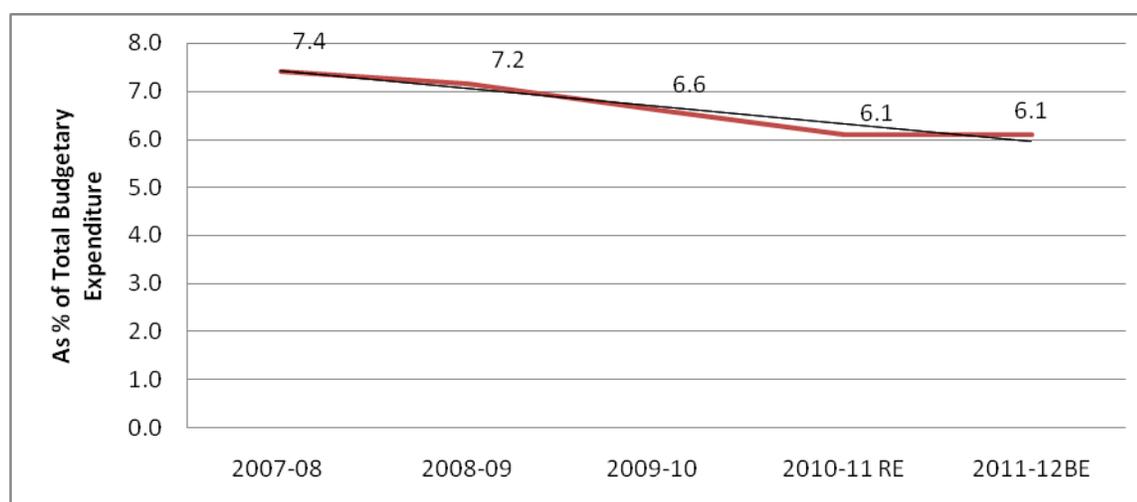
^b GSDP of Delhi has been sourced from the Budget Speech of Delhi Budget (various years)

^c Budgets for water and sanitation have been calculated from the AFS of Delhi Budget (various years)

^d Figures in millions are in Indian Rupees which has been converted to USD (\$) at the rate of Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27th June 2011. Source: <http://www.x-rates.com>

Source: Calculated from Annual Financial Statement of Delhi Budgets of various years

Chart 2.2: Share of Water and Sanitation to Total Delhi Budget from 2007-08 to 2011-12



²¹ The government, private firms, and households are important contributors to GSDP. When the government's share to the GSDP decreases, it implies that the government has withdrawn from provision of certain welfare responsibilities and sought private players to fulfil these. Privatisation of water and sanitation should be looked at from this perspective.

Source: Calculated from Annual Financial Statement of Delhi Budgets of various years

Furthermore, the inadequacy of provisioning for water and sanitation is reflected in the per capita expenditure of the Government of Delhi. Based on the latest population projections for Delhi, the government has spent only Rs. 880 (\$20) per person in 2011-12 (RE) for provision of water and sanitation facilities.²² The indication is that even though the five year plans for Delhi have underscored water and sanitation to be a significant issue, the public provisioning remains insignificant.

Spending on Water and Sanitation at the level of Urban Local Bodies:

The responsibility of urban water and sanitation is given to municipalities by the states. States generally plan, design and execute water supply schemes, operating them through their State Departments and State Water Boards (in the case of Delhi, it is the MCD and DJB).

DJB, which is nodal implementing agency for water supply in Delhi, supplies treated water in bulk to the NDMC, the civic body responsible for the New Delhi (also called Lutyens' Delhi) municipal area, and to the Delhi Cantonment Board (DCB), which is in charge of civic matters in the Military Cantonment area. Both these bodies are responsible for distribution of water within their own territories. The water supply infrastructure in these territories is owned by them and, consequently, it is not the responsibility of the DJB; the MCD area is the responsibility of DJB.

The Slum and JJ Department under the MCD was responsible for implementation of various schemes and programmes to provide minimum basic civic amenities for the relocation of squatter families. Effective from 2010-11, the department has become the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board. Prior to 2010-11, the Slum and JJ Department was under the overall charge of the Commissioner of the MCD. The Additional Commissioner, who was appointed by the state government, was responsible for implementation of various schemes. S/he was assisted by deputy commissioners, directors, joint directors and other officers of the engineering wing. Primarily, the schemes were targeted at relocation of squatters and *in situ* upgradation (Delhi Citizen Handbook 2009). However, the DUSIB is under the Delhi State government.

Funds to ULBs are usually grants-in aids that are given by the state. Grants-in-aid are given by the Union to state governments and by the state governments to the local bodies discharging functions of local government under the Constitution. They are released for the specified purpose of supporting an institution, including construction of assets. Grants-in-aid released by the Union to state governments are paid out of the Consolidated Fund of India.²³ The grants-in aids received by the local bodies from the state governments are used for meeting their operating as well as capital expenditure requirements. The ownership of capital assets created by local bodies out of grants-in-aid received from the state government lies with the local bodies themselves.²⁴

²²Per capita spending on a person for availing water and sanitation facilities has been obtained by dividing Total Budgetary Spending on Water and Sanitation by the Total Projected Population in Delhi in a given year.

²³ This is supreme account of Government of India duly recognised by the Constitution of India. All revenues received by Government by way of taxation like income-tax, central excise, custom, land revenue (tax revenues) and other receipts flowing to Government in connection with the conduct of Government business like receipts from Railways, Posts, Transport (non-tax revenues) are credited into the Consolidated Fund. All expenditure incurred by the Government for the conduct of its business and providing services is debited against this Fund. It is equivalent to Budgets of the Government.

²⁴ See the URL:<http://www.cgaindia.nic.in>

Coming to the analysis of budgetary allocation for water and sanitation service provision in JJ colonies, one finds a similar situation at the state level. There are at least 1,080 JJ colonies²⁵ in Delhi with an approximate population of 3.5 million. An analysis of the Detailed Demands for Grants of the Department of Urban Development suggests that a negligible Rs. 90 million (\$2million) is being spent in 2011-12 out of the Delhi Budget for providing water to these colonies. There is only one plan scheme for JJ areas, i.e., Grants-in-Aid for Augmentation of Water Supply in JJ Clusters, implemented by DJB with an allocation of Rs. 90 million (\$2million). The Non-Plan budget of the DJB does not have any reference or allocations for providing water facilities in JJ colonies of Delhi. It is seen in Table 2.5 that the grants-in-aid to DJB in the past four years has remained stagnant. The grants-in-aid to MCD for sanitation in JJ colonies has also neither increased nor decreased. The budget for construction of CTCs has, in fact, gone down in the past four years, which is a very telling observation on the status of CTCs in JJ and relocation colonies. Funds for provisions of additional facilities in JJ colonies have registered no increase in the last four years.

Table 2.5: Expenditure for water and sanitation in Jhuggi Jhopri Colonies in Delhi

(Figures in millions)^a

Sectors	Budgetary Heads	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11 RE	2011-12 BE
For Water Supply in JJ Colonies	Major Head 2215 (Water Supply and Sanitation): Grants-in-aid to DJB for water supply in JJ clusters	80.00 (\$ 1.8)	80.00 (\$ 1.8)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)
A. Total Budgets for Water in JJ Colonies		80.00 (\$ 1.8)	80.00 (\$ 1.8)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)
For Sanitation Facilities in JJ Colonies	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to MCD for sanitation in JJ Clusters	1025.00 (\$ 23)	164.00 (\$ 4)	164.00 (\$ 4)	164.00 (\$ 4)	164.00 (\$ 4)
	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to MCD (slum) for the construction of Pay & Use <i>Jan Suvidha</i> complexes	40.00 (\$ 0.88)	40.00 (\$ 0.88)	27.00 (\$ 0.60)	25.00 (\$ 0.55)	30.00 (\$ 0.67)
	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to MCD for sanitation in JJ Clusters and Unauthorised Colonies (Yamuna Action Plan Phase II)	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.00 (\$ 0.22)	10.00 (\$ 0.22)
	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to MCD for sanitation in JJ Clusters (Scheduled Caste Sub Plan)	225.00 (\$ 5)	36.00 (\$ 0.80)	36.00 (\$ 0.80)	36.00 (\$ 0.80)	36.00 (\$ 0.80)
B. Total Budgets for Sanitation in JJ Colonies		1290.00 (\$ 29)	240.00 (\$ 5.32)	227.00 (\$ 5)	235.00 (\$ 5.21)	240.00 (\$ 5.32)
For Up-gradation, Environmental	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to DJB for water supply in JJ clusters	80.00 (\$ 1.8)	80.00 (\$ 1.8)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)	90.00 (\$ 2.00)

²⁵Socio-economic profile of Delhi, Planning Dept., Govt. of National Capital Territory of Delhi, September 2008

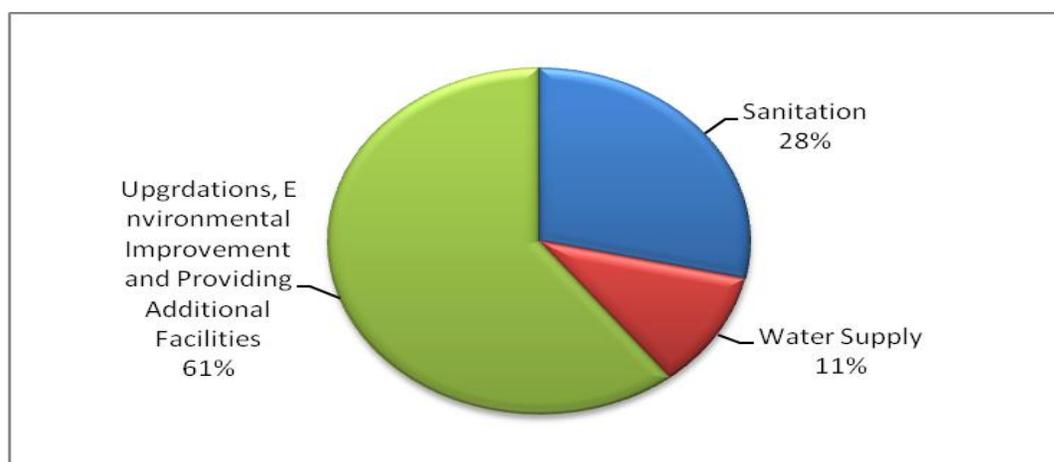
Improvement and Providing Additional Facilities in JJ Colonies	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grant for Provisions of additional facilities in JJR colonies	410.00 (\$ 9)	445.00 (\$ 10)	410.00 (\$ 9)	410.00 (\$ 9)	410.00 (\$ 9)
	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grant to NDMC for Environmental Improvement in JJ clusters	7.5 (\$ 0.16)	0	0	0	0
	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to MCD for additional facilities in JJR colonies (SCSP)	90.00 (\$ 2)	90.00 (\$ 2)	90.00 (\$ 2)	90.00 (\$ 2)	90.00 (\$ 2)
	Major Head 2217 (Urban Development): Grants-in-aid to MCD (Slum) for in-situ up-gradation of JJ Clusters	0	0	0	0	20.00 (\$ 0.44)
C. Total Budgets for Up-gradation, Improvement and Providing Additional Facilities in JJ Colonies	588.00 (\$ 13)	615.00 (\$ 14)	590.00 (\$ 13)	590.00 (\$ 13)	610.00 (\$ 14)	
Total Budgets for JJ Colonies (A+B+C)	1958.00 (\$ 43)	935.00 (\$ 21)	907.00 (\$ 20)	915.00 (\$ 20)	940.00 (\$ 21)	

Notes: ^a Figures in millions are in Indian Rupees which has been converted to USD (\$) at the rate of Rs.45.0875 for \$1 as on 27th June 2011. Source: <http://www.x-rates.com>

Source: Compiled from Detailed Demands for Grants, Demand No-11- Urban Development & Public Works and Budgets of Delhi Jal Board, various years

The Delhi government has allocated a negligible Rs. 240 million (\$ 5.3million) for providing sanitation facilities in the JJ clusters. The two important agencies that are involved in providing sanitation facilities to JJ Relocation Colonies are MCD and DUSIB. The MCD implements a scheme called “Grants-in-Aid to MCD for Sanitation in JJ Clusters” under its plan budget whereby resources are allocated for sanitation facilities in JJ colonies. Similarly, DUSIB also implements a plan scheme called “Grants-in-Aid to MCD (slum) for the Construction of Pay & Use *Jan Suvidha* Complexes” for the construction of CTCs in the JJ colonies. In both the cases, the amount allocated is woefully little when compared to what is required for water and sanitation in the colonies. If one compares the overall budgets for JJRCs, the water supply component constitutes 11 percent of the total budget, followed by 28 percent for sanitation (Chart 2.3). Nonetheless, upgrading, environmental improvement and provision of additional facilities in JJ colonies constitute a significant 66 percent of the total allocation.

Chart 2.3: Budgeting for JJ Clusters in Delhi in 2010-11



Source: Compiled from Detailed Demands for Grants, Demand No-11- Urban Development & Public Works and Budgets of DJB, Govt. of Delhi, various years

Table 2.6: How Much is Spent on one JJ Colony Resident for Water and Sanitation in 2011-12?

Head	Per capita Expenditure on Water and Sanitation*
Water	Rs. 30 (\$ 0.66)
Sanitation	Rs. 80 (\$ 1.78)
Slum Development	Rs. 173 (\$ 3.83)

Note:* *Per capita* Expenditure on Water and Sanitation for a JJ Colony has been obtained by dividing the sectoral budgets on Water, Sanitation and Slum Development as cited in Table 2.5 with the projected slum populations (JJ Clusters) in Delhi. As per data cited in *Socio-Economic Profile of Delhi (2007-08)* published by Planning Department, Government of Delhi, the approximate slum population (JJ Clusters) is 3.5 million.

Such low levels of allocations and spending for the JJ colonies has also affected the level of per capita expenditure of the JJ colony residents. Table 2.6 shows the per capita expenditure of one JJ colony resident in the Delhi Budget 2011-12 to be a mere Rs. 30 (\$0.66) for provision of water and Rs. 80 (\$ 1.78) for sanitation respectively, which are niggardly amounts that need to be enhanced. Another critical gap is the absence of planning to improve the level of water and sanitation facilities in these colonies.

Budgetary processes in JJ Re-location Colonies and the Institutional Structures:

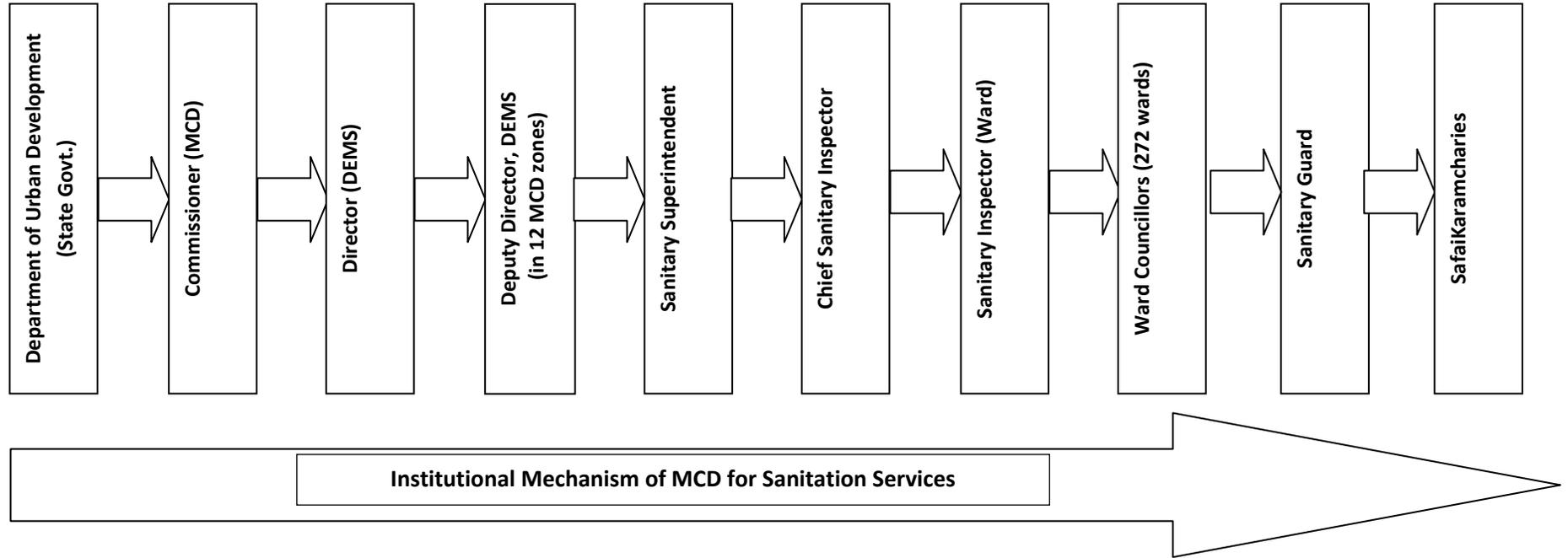
The budget for water and sanitation in JJRCs is routed from the Centre to the state government, which in turn are transferred to ULBs (MCD, DUSIB and DJB). Utilisation certificates are submitted by the MCD to the Delhi State Urban Development Department. A similar process is adopted for DUSIB and the DJB. Funds come in three installments on a quarterly basis in one financial year; 50 percent of the funds are provided in the first installment, 25 percent in the second and the remaining 25 percent is released through the third installment. There are instances where the money is released even on the last day of the financial year. Hence, it gets carried forward to the next financial year, in which case adjustments are

made in the following year's budget based on the allocations made in the previous year. For the Non-Plan budget, the Ward Committee prepares its Non-Plan budget and sends it to the Standing Committee of the MCD to be compiled and finalised. The grants-in-aid and loans are components of the Plan budget. As reported by officials, funds from MCD are electronically transferred to the zonal offices without any delay.

Chart 3.1 presents the institutional framework of the MCD through which planning and implementation of the various schemes take place. However, discussions with officials reveal that all schemes for JJRCs are ad-hoc interventions and are not included in the planning agenda for the city. Even though the institutional framework exists in some cases, the funds allocated are insufficient; a case in point being the DUSIB, which has been formed but the financial allocations for some of the interventions are inadequate. With regard to the reporting related to planning of the interventions, these are sent annually and sometimes bi-annually to the Department of Environmental Management Services (DEMS) under MCD.

Chart 3.1

Institutional Framework of Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD)



Chapter IV:

Constraints to Effective Service Delivery: Implications for Policy Makers

Policies and schemes for water and sanitation backed by adequate budgets is not the only pre-requisite for effective service delivery. At the implementation level, various constraints impede smooth delivery of services. This sections analyses various constraints to effective service delivery of water supply and sanitation services, which could provide inputs for policymakers at the national, state and local levels of government.

Budget Adequacy:

It is evident from the analysis that the overall budget for water and sanitation at the Central and state level remains inadequate. This is further exemplified by the fact that the budget for water and sanitation in JJRCs is the lowest among all the other budget heads. Meetings with DUSIB officials revealed that there is no separate Non-Plan budget for JJ Relocation Colonies and no special budget for “slum improvement”. All transfers are through grants-in aids which indicate one-time Plan expenditure. The Non-Plan budgets are own source revenue (tax) that are regulated by the Delhi Municipal Corporation (DMC) Act. There is also no separate budget line for sanitation in the departmental budget of DUSIB. Most of the JJ relocation previously being handled by the JJ and Slum Wing is now done by the DUSIB. They have a separate budget and are managed autonomously since they are not categorised as regular colonies and are mostly owned by DDA. The MCD has no specific allocation for JJ relocation from its Non-Plan budget. The Ward Committee of MCD has the authority to approve works amounting to Rs. 10 million (\$ 0.22million) while the MCD can approve more than Rs. 10 million from the Non-Plan budget.

Planning:

Planning for water and sanitation in JJRCs is more a matter of procedure than a consultative process whereby opinions of women and men from the relocation colonies ought to be taken into account prior to planning. Annual plans are prepared by the MCD and then submitted to the Delhi State Urban Development Department, which checks it, modifies it and finally approves it. These are usually submitted in the months of December and January, the last quarter of the financial year.

In this regard, problems of institutional structures have also arisen in the study area where, for instance, the MCD is in charge of implementation of water and sanitation programmes in the core Narela zone while DDA and DUSIB handle the peri-urban area. As stated by an MCD official, “since DDA does not have the necessary wherewithal to construct sanitation infrastructure, the MCD has to oversee the construction and the Operation & Maintenance (O&M). Wherever DDA has constructed sanitation facilities, it has been outsourced to private companies”. With regard to provision of water supply, the plans are made at the DJB with inputs from Zonal offices. The Delhi State Urban Development (UD) Department plays a significant role in the overall planning and expenditure of funds in authorised colonies but this is not the case in the unauthorised colonies.

Human Resource:

Field reports show that staff constraint is a nagging issue in provision of water and sanitation services. Owing to this, the sanitation services provided through CTCs are not adequately staffed, with the result that women of Bawana and Bhalswa have to bear the brunt of unsafe and

unhygienic toilets. Discussions with officials reveal that no separate staff are allocated for JJRCs; it is the MCD staff who are maintaining the CTCs. As reported by MCD officials, problems have been observed at the zonal level in terms of slackness in work and, in many instances, cases of corruption have also come up. Within the MCD itself, the tasks are divided where construction and O&M of CTCs is taken care of by the Engineering Department and other tasks such as sweeping are handled by the Sanitation Department of MCD. Officials revealed that while they do not face a staff crunch, they do have a concern regarding the *safaikaramcharis*' attitude towards their work. There has also been no training imparted to DUSIB/ JJ and Slum Wing staff for the past 5 years. Twenty-eight workers are engaged in Bhalswa JJ Relocation Colony, 13 workers for the garbage dump and 15 workers for sweeping. As per the figures given by DUSIB officials, there are 10 CTCs out of which only 6 are in working condition in Bhalswa. Field reports state that there are only 3 CTCs in working condition. With over 20,000 people in Bhalswa, it is surely a matter of concern as to how safe sanitation is maintained.

Issue of Convergence:

Several agencies are involved in water and sanitation service delivery. The DDA, DUSIB, MCD and the DJB are all engaged at some level in providing water supply and sanitation in JJRCs. In many instances, construction of CTCs have been done by DDA which are then run by MCD and in turn contracted out to private companies. The DUSIB is only involved in *in situ* and environmental development of JJ colonies; it does not oversee the CTCs (For more details, please refer Annex 2). The O&M is done by MCD and private companies. The DUSIB are unable to implement any kind of work in Bhalswa JJ colony, owing to a lot of private land. Hence, the multiplicity of agencies handling different components of water and sanitation leads to lack of accountability and ownership of service provision. Convergence of agencies and departments is also important to ensure smooth functioning of water and sanitation service provision. For instance, DUSIB in Bhalswa owes DJB financial dues of around Rs.40 to 50 million. Similarly, in Bawana and Bhalswa, tubewells in CTCs are installed by DJB while it is the MCD that pays for it. The DJB has no responsibility to maintain the water connection that it has provided to the JJRCs, leaving the MCD with the onus of maintenance. Neither Bawana nor Bhalswa have been provided with a sewerage system by the DJB which has led to complaints of sewage backflow, damaged septic tanks and water logging.

Issues of Quality and Cost:

Officials in both the study areas have raised concerns about poor quality cleaning equipment, which is of crucial importance for proper maintenance of CTCs. Equipment is centrally procured by MCD according to demands made by the zonal offices. Although no user fees are charged by the MCD, the CTCs run by the private agencies in both the JJRCs charge some user fees. Women, in addition to paying for themselves, every time they use a CTC, also have to pay for their children.²⁶ This raises a question as to how can one expect the urban poor to pay for sanitation services when they manage to live on less than a dollar a day. In Narela zone, previously CTCs were maintained by NGOs but since maintenance was faulty, it was transferred to the Engineering Department of the MCD. Poor quality construction and faulty design of CTCs has been one of the findings from the field (the roof of the CTCs is open which puts women in a vulnerable position) and is an example of gross neglect of standards, points to lack of proper supervision and guidance at the implementation level. The larger issue of privatisation of CTCs comes up whereby one questions the role of the government in providing basic services and involvement of private players in service provision.

²⁶ Children under six years of age are not allowed to use the CTCs and those above six years have to pay.

Concluding Remarks

Gender-based disadvantages that women face while accessing water and sanitation facilities are greatly intensified in a situation which has a failing infrastructure in terms of poor health facilities, lack of education and income earning opportunities. JJRCs are typically characterised by this. Analysis of the various reasons for the dismal condition of essential services is merely not enough; rather solutions to counter them need to be looked into.

First, policies and schemes for urban water and sanitation as analysed in the first section do not have much to offer to women, especially for those residing in JJ Relocation Colonies. At the outset, these schemes do not have any scope for consultation with women and men users regarding the design of CTCs as well as on the setting of facilities, nor do they recognise the fact that poor water and sanitation services affect women more than men. Although women find recognition in some policies, albeit cursorily (Urban Sanitation Policy 2008, National Urban Habitat and Housing Policy, 2007), this is hardly in the context of water and sanitation. There is surely a need to build in gender-sensitive components in the schemes pertaining to urban water and sanitation. Also, the design and construction of hardware for water and sanitation should be done keeping in mind specific gender concerns.

Second, budgets for water and sanitation in JJRCs are woefully inadequate (as assessed in Section 2). Allocations for schemes at the Union level down to the local body level have either remained stagnant or dwindled. Although the water and sanitation sector is the second most prioritised area in the Delhi budget (almost 17percent of total Plan outlays) after transport, however, only Rs. 240 million (\$5.3million) has been spent for sanitation and Rs. 90 million (\$2million) for water in 2011-12. Gender Responsive Budgeting for water and sanitation would certainly aid the process of improving water and sanitation services in JJRCs for women and men. However, one can assess it only when the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation starts reporting in the Gender Budget Statement. Not only are higher allocations for overall water and sanitation required, but is also the need for increased outlays in JJ Relocation Colonies. In addition, providing allocations for water and sanitation in JJRCs under Non-Plan head (to meet recurring / day-to-day expenses) would greatly improve the outcomes. Clearly, the problem of inadequate resources for water and sanitation needs to be addressed; this is exemplified by the fact that the Delhi government spends a mere Rs. 30 (\$0.66) on water supply and Rs. 80 (\$ 1.78) on sanitation per JJ colony resident in 2011-12 (Table 2.6).

Finally, in addition to the paucity of funds, issues of implementation of the government programmes also make water and sanitation services out of reach of the urban poor. Issues of lack of planning, shortage of human resources and poor convergence among the implementing agencies need to be effectively surmounted for smooth implementation of the programmes and schemes. The mismatch in terms of inadequate planning and budgeting for the sector vis-à-vis the needs of the people with regard to water supply and sanitation makes for poor outcomes. In this regard, women's active participation at the planning stage might be able to ensure that their needs are addressed. Successful convergence and collaboration of the various ULBs and parastatals in charge of water and sanitation may solve a large number of implementation bottlenecks. One also needs to look at other macro issues such as land tenure rights in JJ Relocation Colonies, which make schemes and interventions in water and sanitation little more than ad-hoc interventions.

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