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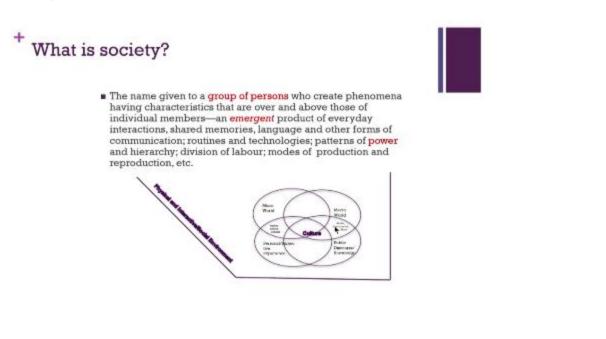
ECOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT

Society and Sanitation

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This lecture we are going to look at the relationship between sanitation and society, in other words, look at sanitation as a social concern.



But first of all we need to ask the question what do we mean by society, normally we think about society or the word social without actually worrying about a clear definition, but sociologists would define society as the name given to a group of persons who create phenomena having characteristics that are over and above those of individual members. In other words, you cannot simply aggregate the behaviour of individuals and expect to get social behaviour, society is a kind of an emergent product or process better understood as a set of interactions of everyday interactions, shared memories, language and other forms of communication. It consists of routines and technologies, patterns of power and hierarchy division of labour, modes of production, reproduction, etcetera, all of these are terms that people take very seriously within the word society.

Now a single individual might live in a micro world and a macro world, a micro world might relate to his or her family, school and cohorts, the macro world might be you know how he or she relates to media, government, law, and work. There is also a certain personal subjective experience, but there is also well, and the fourth component is public discourse and knowledge, so an individual is both caught in his or her own immediate environment but is also obviously connected to much larger institutions and so on, and the larger macro context is also complicated by the physical and interactive environment.

* Assembling our culture



- Different contexts of micro and macro worlds one finds oneself in characterise one's 'culture'.
- We are intentional 'body-subjects' who form relationships, make meaning in the world and marvel at the societies we co-create.
- . But we also experience collectively a feeling of 'our' society at times.
- Émile Durkheim (1895):
 - "[I]n a public gathering the great waves of enthusiasm, indignation and pity that are produced have their seat in no one individual consciousness. They come to each one of us from outside and can sweep us along in spite of ourselves."



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So, thinking about society becomes complicated unless one takes into account all these interactions, and so one way to think about society is also to think in terms of assembling a particular culture. So, different context in micro and macro worlds that one finds oneself in, characterize one's own culture, a culture is basically a set of meanings that are exchanged within a group, and that acquires some kind of signification, and it is important to point out that these are not abstract entities that are exchanging information or participating in culture, but body subjects, that is individuals who have some sense of intentionality who want to make meaning of their lives and their interactions and people who have a both an interiority and are able to sort of marvel at the societies that they help to create.

But we also experience what we call our society at times, and that has to do with the connectedness that we feel with people who share our values, who share our means of ways of being and doing things and so on. So the sociologists are the rather someone who perhaps may have rightly been credited with founding sociology as a discipline Émile Durkheim suggests that in a public gathering the great waves of enthusiasm, indignation and pity that are produced have their seat in no one individual consciousness, in other words if you find yourself in a stadium you know in a public place one finds one sharing with others a larger collective sense of joy or pain or you know in a football match, or cricket match and so on, they come to each one of us from outside and can sweep us along in spite of ourselves.

In other words, collective behavior is often unexplained in relation to the behavior of the individuals who constitute that collective.

What sorts of features do our societies have?



- In addition, we generate or jointly produce repeated social phenomena, or cultures of
 practice, that are usually routines endowed with some meaning, often forgotten in their
 original rationale. E.g., patterns of courtship and marriage, ways of schooling and
 classroom practice, forms of devotion, patterns of celebration, and so on.
- Durkheim again:
- "[A] Il education consists of a continual effort to impose upon the child ways of seeing, thinking and acting which he himself would not have arrived at spontaneously. From his earliest years we oblige him to eat, drink and sleep at regular hours, and to observe cleanliness, calm and obedience; later we force him to learn how to be mindful of others, to respect customs and conventions, and to work, etc. If this constraint in time ceases to be felt it is because it gradually gives rise to habits, to inner tendencies which render it superfluous; but they supplant the constraint only because they are derived from it."

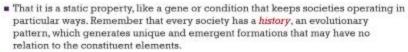
Source: Steven Lukes 2013 edn., p. 23

from it."

So, Durkheim uses that example to sort of suggest that one needs to think about societies separately from the way in which one would think about individuals, in other words, the sociology is a field that has its own existence and its own justification.

What sorts of features do our societies have? We generate or jointly produce repeated social phenomenon, that is to say we create cultures of practice and these are usually routines endowed with some meaning, they are often forgotten in their original rational, for instance, we might be familiar with our patterns of courtship and marriage, ways of schooling, and classroom practice, forms of devotion in a church or temple or mosque, patterns of celebration and so on, but these are co-produced jointly with others, these are co-produced with others they are not just actions that we take on our own. So Durkheim says, to quote him, All education consists of a continual effort to impose upon the child ways of seeing, thinking and acting which he himself would not have arrived at spontaneously. From his earliest years, we oblige him to eat, drink and sleep at regular hours to observe cleanliness, calm and obedience; later we force him to learn how to be mindful of others, to respect customs and conventions, and to work, etc. If this constraint in time ceases to be felt it is because it gradually gives rise to habits, in other words, we get habituated to our ways of life to inner tendencies which render it superfluous, but they supplant and constraint only because they are derived from it. So the social is becomes invisible Durkheim says, so we get so used to these practices that we no longer notice that.

How not to think about one's culture



2H₂ +O₂ → 2H₂0.

That its practices and logics are always rational or well-though out. Even if one
assumes that to be the case, external circumstances are constantly changing and
will defeat universal rules of many kinds, e.g., parenting must follow uniform
guidelines or one's own cuisine culture is automatically designed to provide
optimal health.

Now, the many ways in which culture has been defined, but here are some ways in which we should not think about it, one that we should not think of it as a static property, it is not like a gene, it is not like a condition that keeps society is operating in particular ways every society has a history, and it has an evolutionary pattern which generates unique and emergent formations that may have no relation to the constituent elements. So a culture is always in the making as like just our societies are constantly in the making, and societies and cultures create emergent to have emergent properties, the formula hydrogen + oxygen producing water is well-known, but what one of the things that needs to be remembered is hydrogen and oxygen have independent properties from one another, and from water just looking at hydrogen and oxygen one would not be able to tell that it is going to produce something that has completely different properties from either hydrogen or oxygen, and that is a good analogy for how to think about culture and society that the emergent effects of a combination of factors may be completely different from the constituent factors.

The practices and logics are always rational or well thought out in a culture that is something that should not be assumed because culture is also related to what is known as affectivity or emotion. So, even if one assumes rationality external circumstances are constantly changing and will defeat universal rules of many kinds, that is for instance if one says that parenting must follow uniform guidelines or one's own culture is automatically designed to provide optimal health, clearly that is not borne out in practice, so as strongly as one might feel about certain cultural practices it does not necessarily mean that they are based on sound reasoning and so on.

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How to think about sanitation cultures



- An emergent product in each society of the types of environmental conditions (temperature, water, land, etc.), available resources (wood, stone, running water, etc.) and technologies developed (themselves emergent, but impacting sanitation cultures, including bidets, toilet paper, commode flush, etc.)
- A sanitation culture, like any culture, is a set of practices and habits that body-subjects collectively engage in, following social patterns of learning, rule-following and building bodily customs
- Sometimes, these produce beliefs, or ways of thinking about them, but usually, one simply forgets about them and simply carries out the daily action.
- Moreover, as some psychologists argue, some of these could be repressed deep in our unconscious, recognisable only in obscure signs and displaced forms of language.
- Sanitation rules and practices in any society also carry codes for power structures around gender, caste, religion and age around private bodily functions

So, coming to the topic of sanitation and sanitation cultures. Sanitation is clearly something that is required for every society, but the way in which a sanitation culture that is a practice, the way in which the practices of using the toilet and disposing of the waste are carried out in any given society are dependent on a whole series of existing conditions. So, sanitation culture one can think of as being an emergent product in each society, of the types of environmental conditions that is temperature, water, land etcetera, available resources wood, stone, running water etcetera, and technologies developed that so, for instance, do you have a flush system, do you have something else, and these could also be emergent technologies, right, so bidets, toilet paper, commode flush and so on.

So a sanitation culture, like any culture is rule of, is a set of practices and habits, that body subjects collectively engage in following social patterns of learning, rule following and building bodily customs. So we train ourselves, we toilet train ourselves from a very young age, and in doing so, we create a certain kind of sanitation culture. Sometimes or pretty often one might say, we have beliefs or some way of thinking about our sanitation culture, but typically one forgets about it and simply carries out the daily actions of going to a toilet.

Moreover some psychologists argue, some of these cultures because some of these beliefs could be repressed deep in our unconscious, the way we think about toilets and so on. Recognizable only in obscure science and displays forms of language, so when we use words that relate to the toilet in anger or frustration, and so on, this may have something to do with the way in which we have repressed those very practices. Sanitation rules and practices in any society also carry codes for power structures around gender, caste, religion, age, and private bodily functions.

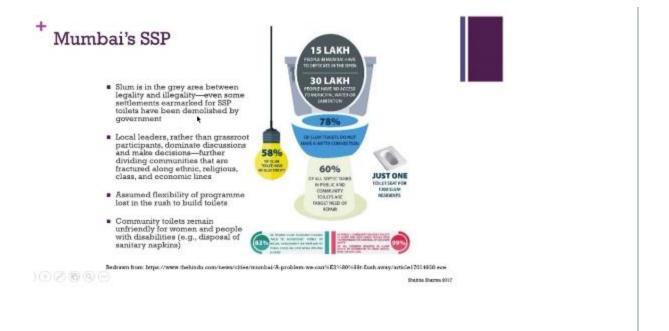
Mumbai's Sanitation Experiment



- The Context:
 - One of the world's most populated cities (18.4 million)
 - 25% of India's Industrial Output; 70% of trade
 - 60% live in informal settlements (slums), in a city where average price of real estate runs to USD 300-500/sft)
 - 1500 km of sewer lines, 2530MLD capacity, but most slum dwellers without access
 - Motivation to modernise the city with rising land prices
- Slum Sanitation Programme
 - 1 toilet per 50 people for 1 million slum dwellers by 2025
 - Participation, partnership, cost recovery
 - 2-3 storey toilet blocks administered by local community organisations charging monthly and single-user fees

Let us jump to a real-world example thinking about what happened in Mumbai. Mumbai's sanitation experiment, so Mumbai, of course, is one of the world's most populated cities it has close to 19 million people, it is responsible for about a quarter of India's industrial output and manages about 70% of its trade, 60% of people living in Mumbai live in informal settlements also known as slums, but this is in a context of a city where the average price of real estate is about 300 to 500 US dollars per square foot, so it is very expensive real estate, but more than half the population lives in slums. There is a 1500 kilometers of sewer lines lots of capacity, but most slum dwellers do not have access to proper toilets or to the sanitation system. So there is a really motivation to modernize the city even as land prices have been increasing.

So the slum sanitation program was a program that tried to provide one toilet per 50 people, for a million slum dwellers by 2025, it was based on a participatory exercise, partnerships with NGOs and community organizations and the private sector and an attempt was made for cost recovery. And the basic idea was to have 2 to 3-story toilet blocks administered by local community organizations that would charge monthly and single user fees.



A slum by definition is in a grey area between legality and illegality, and so that has complicated the SSP, so even some settlements that were year marked for this SSP were therefore demolished by the government. So local leaders rather than grass root participants dominate the discussions in these slum programs, in this particular project as well, an intervention like the SSP actually caused further divisions within the communities, and these are communities that were already fractured along ethnic, religious, class and economic lines. The fact that there was a lot of flexibility built into the system was good, but nevertheless, a lot of that flexibility was lost in the rush to try and complete the project and to build a lot of toilets. Community toilets even after they were built have remained unfriendly for women and people with disabilities, for instance, no there was no provision for disposal of sanitary napkins in these toilets.

Mumbai's SSP



- 45-year old slum with relatively well-off residents, CBO runs toilet blocks, 1:55 seats:people
- Strong support of NGO/Activist network

Rafi Nagar

- Much poorer, water and sanitation costs prohibitive
- Subject to frequent bouts of demolition
- Cost and long queues mean that people prefer open defecation





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So, looking at two specific case studies in the SSP one can see differences in the ways in which these, this program was implemented. So, the first case is Khotiwadi which is a 45 year old slum, very well established slum and has relatively well-off residents. Community-based organization runs the toilet blocks, and there is roughly one toilet for every 55 people. There is a strong support of an NGO and an activist network, and this top figure basically shows an example of a toilet block from Khotiwadi.

Rafi Nagar, on the other hand, is a much poorer. Water and sanitary sanitation costs were very high in this region, and subject to frequent bounce of demolition and also had meant that because of the costs and the long queues people ended up preferring to defecate out in the open, and this is an example of the Rafi Nagar block.

Mumbai stories



- "Farida and her family cannot use the latrine in the house because the water shortage means that she cannot clean it. Instead, Farida uses the "Rs. 1 toilet" on the main road, a private block."
- "In an effort to preserve water and save money, Farida scolds her children if they wet the bed—which results in additional washing—and wakes up her youngest at 1 a.m. to go the toilet: 'Otherwise she will wet the bed and it will stink... the bedding became a bit dirty but because of the water problems I don't wash it."
- "'So many of these [women] garment workers, it is beyond imagination. They don't give money for water [to caretakers at toilet blocks], they just urinate and leave. So it is very dirty and we have to pour water and then use it... because urine smells.' Razia, who was born in Khotwadi, said that 'these [migrant workers] have come up in the last five to six years. And because of that the toilets get really dirty.""

McTetane et al. 1914

Now, these two cases one Khotiwadi had a better implementation, but Rafi Nagar had worse, but in both cases, once one starts digging deeper into the stories of individuals, one starts to see that simply building toilets is not enough, one really needs to think about how these toilets are used. What kinds of challenges and problems people might face, and how these together might lead to emergent products that are yet to be uncovered, so I am just going to read out some of these stories. Farida and her family cannot use the latrine in the house because the water shortage means that she cannot clean it, instead Farida uses the 1 rupee toilet on the main road, a private block, right, in an effort to preserve water and save money, Farida scolds her children if they wet the bed, which results in additional washing, and wakes up her youngest at 1:00 AM to go to the toilet, otherwise she will wet the bed, and it will stink, the bedding may become a bit dirty, but because of the water problems I do not wash it.

Third story, so many of these women garment workers it is beyond imagination. They do not give money for water to caretakers at the toilet blocks, they just urinate and leave. So, it is very dirty, and we have to pour water and then use it because the urine smells.

This is Razia was born in Khotiwadi, and she said that these migrant workers have come up in the last 5 to 6 years and because of that the toilets get really dirty. So, you start to see that in these crowded conditions, in these difficult circumstances, people who already face ethnic divisions and strife do not change their life world's and their stories just because you have got new toilets, in fact, things might get slightly more complicated.

Some key observations from social scientists

- Sanitation matters not just for health but also for defining and improving private-public relations, dignity, education, livelihood, gender, and social hierarchies such as class and caste. But raising awareness is a challenge
- Everyday experiences are far more significant than the numbers of toilets in place, Where are they located, how do they function, is running water available, are they reliable?
- What are cultural norms about shif? Is it objectionable to keep it in the home, even if it is hidden and under the ground?



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How do everyday experiences of social stratification affect access to sanitation?
 Conditions of patriarchy shape the way women have the freedom to use toilets or defecate in the open. In some societies, menstruating women are barred from using toilets in the household. Caste and race-based barriers to toilet use.

What are some of the key observations from social scientists around these experiments in the SSP experiment but also other types of work that has been carried out around sanitation especially in poor areas. So, sanitation first of all matters not just for health but also for improving and defining public/private relations, it is important for dignity, it is important for education, it is a form of education, livelihood, gender and social hierarchies such as class and caste. But raising awareness is a challenge, these are difficult questions but not, and not fully understood as yet. Everyday experiences are far more significant than the numbers of toilet in place, so as we saw in the stories in the last slide, people might face difficulties or feel certain prejudices about the use of these toilets and so the question is how are they best equipped to use them, what is the kind of training for reducing conflict and so on. Where toilets are located becomes very important, how they function, whether or not running water is available, are they reliable, these are also operational questions about the toilets that become very critical. The cultural norms about about shit? Are themselves not very well understood they may vary within the same community and some groups might object to have having toilets especially with septic tanks inside the house, because they do not want to keep it hidden and under the ground.

How do every day experiences of social stratification affect access to sanitation not very well understood as yet, conditions of patriarchy might shape the way women have the freedom to use toilets or defecate in the open, and in some societies menstruating women are barred from using toilets in the household, these are complicating questions, and so similarly caste and race-based barriers may exist around toilet use.

Key observations (contd)

- Sewers create 'safe distance' between users and excrement. Infrastructure makes faeces anonymous, making it a public problem
- Flushing a toilet provides the symbolic satisfaction of eliminating bad odours and waste, but also gives one the implicit distinction from other classes that do not have this privilege
- One acquires a form of citizenship (belonging, status) by having a toilet connected to a public sewerage system. One lacks this by not having it.
- '[I]t is problematic to expect that the poor should have to participate in ... sanitation solutions ... while others (particularly the rich) are not expected to do so' Margaret del Morales et al (2014)

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Having sewers in many ways as opposed to you know toilets with septic tanks or other technologies where there is no connection to a larger network might create this sense of us having a safe distance between users and their excrement, so the infrastructure makes feces anonymous making it a public problem, flushing a toilet provides also the symbolic satisfaction of eliminating bad odors and waste, but it gives one the implicit distinction from other classes that do not have the privilege. So having a flush toilet also helps to sort of maintain status, one acquires a sort of a form of citizenship was sort of a kind of a belonging and status by having a toilet connected to a public sewerage system, one lacks this by not having it.

So Margaret Del Morales and her colleagues say it is problematic to expect that the poor should have to participate in sanitation solutions while others particularly the rich are not expected to do so. So while the rest of us and do not seem to think about our toilets, why should the poor have to worry about them and even they have provided toilets why do they have to make certain compromises, so these are the key questions to be taken into consideration.

Bourdieu and Taste

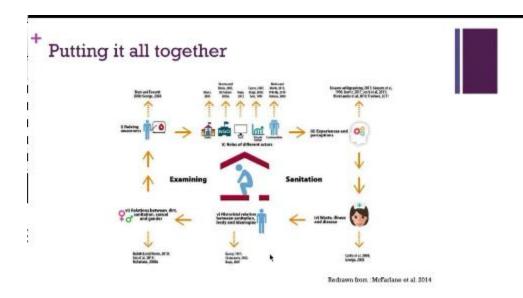
- The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu argued that social distinction is acquired on the basis of one's education, family backcrownd and other social attributes.
- "Taste is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intail what is likely (or unlikely) to befall and therefore to befit an individual occupying a given position in social space. If functions as a seri of social orientation, a "sense of one's place", quiding the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position. Sourclose, 1964-496.
- Who you are is defined largely by how you perceive yourself in a network of relationships.
- If you have your own tollet, piped water and modern sewage systems, you are not a 'beneficiary' but an 'agent' in a social classificatory system
- "In short, what individuals and groups invest in the particular meaning they give to common classificatory systems by the use they make of them is infinitely more than their "interest" in the usual sense of the term; it is their whole social being, everything which defines their own idea of themselves, the primordial, tacit contract whereby they define 'us' as opposed to 'them', 'other people', and which is the basis of the exclusions ('not for the likes of us') and inclusions they perform among the characteristics produced by the common classificatory system." ibid.



Now the sociologists Bourdieu has written an extensive treatise on the concept of taste, and taste or social distinction are ways of actually creating differences within and among communities. So Bourdieu has argued that social distinction is acquired on the basis of one's education, family background, and other social attributes, taste is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intuit what is likely or unlikely to befall, and therefore to befit an individual occupying a given position in social space. So taste is a kind of a social orientation, a sense of one's place, it guides the occupants of a given place and social space towards social positions adjusted to their properties towards the practices of goods which befits the occupants of that position.

Who you are in other words is largely defined by how you perceive yourself in a network of relationships. So, if you have your own toilet, pipe, water, and modern sewage systems, you are not a beneficiary but an agent in the social classificatory system. So what Bourdieu is also saying is what individuals and group invest in the particular meaning that they give to a common classificatory system by the use they make of them is infinitely more than their interest in the usual sense of the term, it is the whole social being everything which defines their own idea of themselves, the primordial tacit contract whereby they define us as opposed to them other people and which is the basis of the exclusions, not for the likes of us for instance and inclusions they perform among the characteristics produced by the common classificatory system.

So what kind of toilet one uses? What kind of sanitation system one is part of all of that are extremely important for defining one's place in a larger society.



So, all of these research elements seem to suggest that there is a lot going on in the relationship between society and sanitation. So in terms of first of all one needs to examine the whole issue of toilets and access you know whether one is engaging in open defecation or using regular toilets and raising awareness is one of the type of issues, you know, how does awareness raising actually work, does it actually lead to better use of toilets and so on. Then there is a whole set of studies around the question of roles of different actors, what are the roles of the state, NGOs, the technology, the private sector, communities in terms of how these toilet expansion systems in the introduction of sustainable toilets, how does that work, right.

What are the experiences and perceptions of individuals using the toilets. So, there is a lot of study, a lot of research that is been ongoing but more obviously needed in this very large area. And then, of course, questions relating to waste, illness, and disease. While there are toilets or while there are well open defecation is widespread what are the kinds of relationship to public health, how does that change one's perceptions of toilets for instance and so this is something there is also a rich area of research. And then the question of the historical relationship between sanitation bodies and ideologies, so this is where the Bourdieu's concepts of distinction become important, the ideas around culture and so on also important. And tied to that are the way in which ways in which men and women think about dirt, sanitation, and sexuality. So, all of these are tied to a whole series of other cultural questions, so and then that could feed into the research on building awareness, and so you see a rich cycle of research that has multiple elements, the connection between sanitation and society, not a straightforward one, but something that needs a much greater depth and exploration.