- GW seepage —> septic tanks fill quickly so have to be pumped regularly (expensive) or overflow
- Average septic tank pumping costs 260 Argentine pesos (US$65)
- Some empty septic tanks directly —> ditches to avoid costs. Means ditches are contaminated —> risk of contamination of drinking water
- Construction costs of a centralised sewage system = very high

UDDT Project
- Designed specifically for poor urban, peri-urban and rural settings

Reactions to UDDT
- Central to USI = citizen should be dissociated from excreta
  - **Urban citizens do not engage with their shit**
    - Describing flooding of septic tanks as geographically separate from them, even if that location was only 2 blocks away
      - Separation maintains personal cleanliness and shifts problem to ‘other’ e.g. new migrants
    - Emphasising lack of knowledge on the system; not things they associated with
      - Citizens have the ‘right to ignorance’ as it should be domain of the state
    - Interviews - if this solution is not used in the western/more developed world, why should it be implemented here?
      - Required physical proximity and interaction with it = uncomfortable + unhygienic
    - Distinction between current sanitation system where interaction with faeces was due to state negligence and a PLANNED system which would require such proximity

  - **An appropriate system requires flushing**
    - Flushing = sense of hygiene and distance and ease in what was required of them
    - Gender distinctions; women noting that without flushing, keeping toilet clean = more difficult
    - Others in BA and world have flush systems - a dry technology sees as reinforcement of this community’s exclusion from citizenship and participation in the city

- **Systems that require user engagement with their shit = rural, underdeveloped lives**
  - Opposition to reasons people move to urban areas; for a better life
  - LT changes in Villa Lamadrid; progression from informal settlement —> legitimacy and recognition through attainment of services in 60s and 70s. Past = lack of services e.g. water
  - UDDT emphasis on reducing water use has connotations to this illegitimate/rural past; importance of the context of where the sanitation systems are implemented
  - Connection to centralised sewage system = important step —> legitimate neighbourhood

- **Urban sanitation = state responsibility not local**
  - Responsibility of the community was only to pressure govt. into centralised infrastructure
  - Smaller plans were TEMPORARY
  - Linked lack of sanitation to neighbourhood history as a marginalised settlement
  - Ongoing sanitation problems emphasises their feelings of being not counted as citizens

Discussion
- Core sanitation imaginary; citizen has a right to disassociate themselves from their excreta and its management, to the point of invisibility.
  - I.e. involvement with ones shit should end with the flush of the toilet
- UDDT not the right solution in line with these urban imaginaries - too much direct involvement
- BA = symbol of modernity in Argentina due to European roots therefore migration there is symbolic as well as economic decision (Keeling, 1996)
- Giving up on flush toilets synon. with giving up possibility of full citizenship

Conclusion
- Emphasis links between sanitation and systems of citizenship
  - Especially important in light of growing ‘localised’ solutions - here met with suspicion
  - Helps to better understand what is needed to make a sanitation project ‘stick’
  - Exposes deep problems in how we plan for sanitation in underserved urban areas; lack of understanding about sanitation and citizenship links again?