



**3rd International Conference
on Public Policy (ICPP3)
June 28-30, 2017 – Singapore**

**T02P28 Session 1
Governance Challenges in Institutional Performance and Public Policy**

**INSTITUTION'S RESILIENCE TO GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES:
A STUDY OF THE SANITATION POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN RURAL ANDHRA PRADESH IN INDIA**

Author(s)

Saity Roy,

Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty, Ministry of Rural Development, India.
saityroy2592@gmail.com

Bharath Sandip Kumar Y

Tata Trusts & Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, India
kumarybs@gmail.com

Date of presentation

Wednesday, 28th June 2017



Institution's Resilience to Governance Challenges:

A Study of the Sanitation Policy Implementation in Rural Andhra Pradesh in India

- Saity Roy & Bharath Sandip Kumar Y

Panel: Governance Challenges in Institutional Performance and Public Policy

Abstract: Sanitation is one such goal which demands a strong convergence between multiple stakeholders/institutions. This intervention doesn't rely on the delivery of 'goods' by the governments alone rather emphasises the need for a behavioural change amongst the beneficiary households. Therefore, it is important that the institutional resilience to cope in interventions and the ability to fight the systemic institutional risks to enable better institutional performance are also to be analysed. Such interventions have also to be looked within the politico economic ecosystem of the state.

This paper attempts to look at the sanitation intervention in the State of Andhra Pradesh by looking at few best practices. Besides, it also takes a look into the way the State's apparatus is responsible for rolling in the intervention. This attempt is purely a qualitative study and draws largely on the ongoing strategy implementation within Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty, Ministry of Rural Development- Andhra Pradesh.

Acknowledgements: We sincerely convey our heartfelt gratitude for all the support that has been extended by Mr. Ravi Bhatnagar, Head- External Affairs and Partnerships, Reckitt Benckiser and Sahil Talwar, Program Manager, Jagran Pehel. Their insights have certainly added value to our work. Indeed, our work has been reviewed by them and further guided us to new outlook. Without their support this paper would not have taken the shape that it has reached.

Key Words: Sanitation, Institutional Governance, WASH strategies



Introduction:

Post millennial poverty alleviation measures have been characterised by incremental changes with 'sustainability' as an enduring feature of the proposed interventions. Sustainability, in turn has emerged as the hallmark of interventions, particularly evident in restructuring the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) as 'Sustainable Development Goals' (SDG's). As the world marks its transition from MDGs to SDGs, it has become increasingly important to ensure that the slip back of households into the vicious cycle of poverty does not turn into a cyclical process.

One such key intervention which has a significant imprint on the quality of life indicators and in turn on the levels of poverty is 'Sanitation'. With India being acclaimed as the open defecation capital of the world¹, the importance of sanitation in the Indian context gains further significance. As many studies revealed, ensuring better sanitation coverage shall not only impact directly on the nation's GDP growth², rather play a pivotal role in initiating subsequent transcendental changes. These changes shall cast an indirect effect on alleviating poverty from the face of the earth. India in this regard has a large responsibility to play.

While it is the governments which frame and legislate on the formulation of public policies in India, the implementing institutions have an equal and an important role in providing the necessary support services for the field level functionaries. Resilience of such institutions to tread through the politico economic environment of the state policies has largely determined the outcomes of the same. Further the importance of such institutions gains precedence, particularly in the case where behaviours of the people are to be nudged towards desired outcomes.

In a country like India, with its hugely diverse demography, no single institution can be devised to cater to the growing demands of such diversity. This in turn led to significant fragmentation of responsibility and services delivery areas across a gamut of institutions. These institutions may be in the form of bureaucratic structures (Civil Servants), Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), Self Help Groups to leverage the social capital, etc. While it is important to achieve convergence between various departments it is rather more important to ensure that there is no functional overlap between the agencies involved.

A critical insight into the sanitation policies of India presents that functional overlap has been a recurring feature of the policy measures. Before we can launch upon detailed analysis it is important that we understand some of the key institutions involved in the implementation of sanitation interventions in India. Administrative institutional structures are spread across different levels. Departments such as Rural Water Supply & Sanitation and NREGS, Panchayati Raj Institutions and Women SHGs, etc. flag bearers in the sanitation implementation are employed in all the States.

Each department has its own functional strength. Rural Water Supply and Sanitation has the ability to provide for technical support to the intervention being suggested. The model which gained near universal acceptance is the 'twin pit pour flush toilet'. The ability of the masons to construct the honey comb structures as opposed to the traditional septic tank structure needs different orientation. It

¹ India alone accounts for 59% of the total population in the world who defecate on the open. Open defecation here refers to the practice whereby people go out in fields or other open spaces rather than using a toilet to defecate. Indians excrete close to 65,000 tonnes of faeces into the environment each day (UNICEF India).

² Lack of adequate sanitation and hygiene has a serious economic impact on India and it is estimated to be INR 2.4 trillion (approx.) per year equal to 6% of Indian GDP. Source: Water & Sanitation Program, The World Bank 2006.



is in this context that the role of RWS&S becomes important. The technical specifications for such toilet structure are to be strictly adhered, so as to create sustainable disposal mechanisms.

Similarly, the NREGS while providing the man days of work under the 100days work mandated by the government, it also has funds at its disposal for kick start of the intervention on a larger scale. The Panchayati Raj Institutions provide the grassroots leadership and ensure accountability of the government officials towards the interventions. Self Help Groups, in the state of Andhra Pradesh have been housed under Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty (SERP). SERP has the capacity to mobilise people as most of the beneficiaries of the intervention belong to the member families. With each institution having its own strengths and weaknesses, ability of the government lies in converging all these institutions towards the common objective, sanitation in this case.

However the real challenge lies in the ability of these administrative institutions to transgress the social institutions pre-existing within the societal establishment. Deterring the caste hierarchies, customs and traditions, gender biases, etc. which determine the individual's lifestyle and thereby his/her belief systems are a tough nut to crack. Sanitation behaviours which are associated with the patterns of lifestyles are not easy to mend. It demands sustained and systematic efforts to shape them towards desired outcomes.

Therefore any strategy attempted should factor in importance of both the administrative and social institutions in place and thereby determine the implementation strategy. Taking cognisance of both the verticals is of immense importance. Least accreditation given to any of the institutions may result in untoward outcomes. One such strategy has been implemented by SERP, bridging the collective efforts of both the institutions has been employed.

The strategy we followed...

The Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty has over the years built a social capital of 80lakh women federated across different levels. These women have played an active part in the various initiatives undertaken to break the vicious cycle of poverty. Today, the relative status enjoyed by the state of Andhra Pradesh can largely be attributed to the efforts taken to nurture these women groups. Therefore, it is only natural that these groups become a natural ally in the State's effort to fight against insanitary conditions of life, particularly in the countryside.

In the third phased World Bank support to the state, the Andhra Pradesh Rural Inclusive Growth Project (APRIGP) has been conceived. While the previous two phases of the intervention primarily focussed on mobilizing people into groups and creating institutional structures, this phase is characterised by focussing on the groups which are untouched by the previous two phases.

This phase primarily delves on three major aspects. They include multiplying the sources of livelihoods and thereby standard of living, enriching the quality of life indicators and lastly to enable digital platforms to cater citizen centric governance. Greater emphasis has been laid on working on the human development and quality of life parameters as they directly contribute to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals. Under this component Human Development, there are further 7 sub components of which sanitation is one. Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) dominates the intervention being planned under this component.

Selective criteria of highest women illiteracy, unirrigated land and highest SC/ST population have been employed to arrive at shortlisting the 150 most backward mandals (sub-divisions) in the State of Andhra Pradesh. These mandals are spread across all the 13 districts in the state of AP. This phase is also critical in comparison to the first two as it creates a platform for bridging the gap between the supply and demand of services. The first two phases have been able to create a demand for services by



the households through their mobilization. However, the third phase aims to achieve convergence between the services providers (government line departments) and the households, who are demand generators.

With the objectives of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (SBM) strongly aligning with the objectives enshrined under the APRIGP Human Development component, significant thrust has been given to sanitation initiatives in these 150 backward mandals. Since convergence is the hallmark of this phase, need for primarily associating with the line departments like Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (RWS&S) and Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), etc. has become important. Besides non-governmental organisations (NGOs) like Tata Trusts, etc. has also been roped in to accentuate the program implementation.

It is in this context, that the need to appreciate the strength of the institutions employed is to be reckoned such that steady synthesis between departments and thereby defining program outcomes can be achieved. While the strength of RWS&S lies in providing the technical support and the Information, Education and Communication (IEC) content, and NREGS possessing financial flexibility to channelize funds towards the need, SERP has the ability to mobilise people and create awareness targeted towards behavioural change (Behavioural Change Communication activities). Hence, success of the program lies in leveraging the institutional strengths towards desired outcomes.

Institutional risks fraught...

With the interventions being laid out at the policy level, several limitations inherent within the institutions get appropriated to the strength or the weaknesses in the programmatic implementation. These limitations do not confine to a particular level in the implementation cycle rather spread across different levels. Such institutional risks start right from the stage of formulation to the stage of achieving desired outcomes in the given intervention period. Synthesis of a common understanding on the concept, methodology and implementation strategy of an intervention across different stakeholders do not remain the same.

At the stage of formulation, definitional aspects of the interventions are not commonly understood amongst all the stakeholders. In the case of 'sanitation', past decades have proved that there has been misunderstanding on what constitutes an 'Open Defecation Free' village. Such lapses lead to distortions in quantifying the outcomes. Such limited understanding carried from the stage of formulation gets cascaded at the implementation stage. Different stakeholders involved in the project, look through their own departmental lens as compared to arriving at a macroscopic understanding of the intervention.

Such less understood ideas further gets multiplied at the stage of strategy formulation to achieve the outcomes. As it is evident from the history of policy implementation, it is known that every intervention has a definitive yield time. Yield times become more defining in the context of interventions associated with behavioural change. Any such institutional impatience exhibited during any stage gets magnified and thereby lead to undesired outcomes. Institutional impatience gains more criticality if the intervention is being implemented for the first time.

Another significant contributor to the success of the intervention is the institutional capacity in handling the intervention. Human resources play a vital role in defining the institutional capacity. In the case of sanitation intervention being implemented in the State, human resources and their capability sets defines the time period to achieve congruency in the program implementation. In the process of achieving outcomes, getting to conclusions before the designed yield time and impatience to provide guidance may also lead to distorted outcomes and thereby unsustainable policy outcomes.



Similarly, natural tendencies of the departments involved in the program implementation get carried forward to the accounting of program outcomes. In interventions to bring about changes in the behavioural architecture, quantification of outcomes through the regular approaches does not reflect the true change. Sanitation, and in particular construction of toilets, the total individual sanitary latrines should not be the criteria for the assessment, rather the behavioural change brought through the triggering activities and other such related activities becomes the major concern. Tuned to the traditional target based approach does not help building the behavioural architecture.

An insight in to the convergence aspects at the district level is revealed through careful examination of the District Development Plans. Traditionally, each department has a mandate of its own. Attempts to bring about convergence in light of the recent advance made in technology have also not been able to break these departmental barriers. Breaking down the silos and blending the departmental strengths to achieve outcomes has not yielded scalable results. However, wherever these attempts succeeded in bringing about convergence has led to better programmatic outcomes.

In totality, institutional capacities, resilience of the institutions and the ability to mend its ways to the changing environment, etc. are some of the institutional risks that the institutions are fraught with. Adding on to these risks, the political economy of the State is also an important factor in defining the outcomes.

Approaches to the political economy of institutional development:

Taking cue from the works of Reilly & Louis, and their definition of political economy, it states '*the relation- ships between politics and economic processes that impact how individuals and communities use their environment to make a living*'. As discussed earlier, it is the structures and their interplay with economic variables is what defines the decision making of the households. The power dynamics existing within the village systems also defines the pace at which the desired outcomes would be achieved. Therefore it is important that we locate individuals in the socio political context and accordingly design strategies.

Besides, the decision making system of an individual household is not contingent upon his own rational choice, rather subjected upon the social pressures and dynamics of the village. Such decision making mechanisms are best evident in village divided on class/caste. 'Shaming' as a strategy to trigger the households within a village towards abolishing open defecation might work differently. While in the upper castes, it is a feeling of social privilege that they are entitled to and in the lower castes it is further entrenchment of the casteist feelings. In short, people from the lower castes are further subject to shaming in which the ideal of the intervention is to create a society equal in terms of each household having an individual toilet.

Attached to the above is the political will of the leadership. They exist nuanced variations in the out play of such tendencies. Sarpanch, a democratically elected representative is a key figure in the village politics. However, if the person elected is from a lower caste, the power wielded by him/her varies by a huge margin as opposed to a person occupying the same seat belonging to a higher caste. Even within the same caste lines, the power of influence exhibited by women and men occupying the position are not equal.

Political ecology across various levels is another dynamic aspect to be further explored. With multi-party system of politics in place, any development being undertaken within a village is often attributed to the power of the representative to make the initiatives happen. This further is appropriated to the party in power. Political party is in power at both the State and at the GP, then there are instances where preferential treatment is meted to their representatives through fund diversion. However, if there are two different parties at different level, a sense of antagonistic attitude



exists. Since economics play an important role in the determining the pace at which the intervention proceeds, preferential treatment for fund allocations would be the order of the day.

Apart from such deviations, economics as such determine the implementation. Economics do not limit itself to the fund mobilization rather extend to the mental mindset in establishing a price for constructing a toilet. In fact this finding has been statistically established in the Sanitation, Quality, Use, Access and Trends (SQUAT) Survey. The price for constructing a decent toilet has also determined households not tuning towards the intervention. Besides, the incentive provided by the governments has never been able to meet the expectation of the household. This insight has lot to do with the expectation management of the household. Once again referring to the work of Reilly, the 'toilet tripod' comprising of political will, social pressure and political ecology have determined the politico economic status of the intervention and its implementation.

Contemplating an appropriate mix of all the institutional factors and the politico economic scenario shall define the success of the program intervention. Spatial dynamics also needs to be factored in, in defining the strategy to be employed. Many such contemplated strategies have been employed in the State of Andhra Pradesh, which stood as shining examples to be emulated to newer jurisdictions with customisation to the local ecosystem.

Best practices in institutional development and their adaptations to other jurisdictions:

With the given politico-economic system existing within the State and the nature of implementing institutions in place there are certain practices which have resulted in achieving outstanding performances. These practices when juxtaposed with the existing institutional risks as discussed earlier have resulted in the emergence of best practices for them to be emulated at a larger canvas. Some of the best practices which stand as counter examples testifying the achievements made are discussed below. These best practices are located within the State of Andhra Pradesh and have the same ecosystem of implementation limitations. Similarly, these best practices do not limit themselves at one particular level of policy implementation, rather are spread between stakeholders.

While the practices discussed herein not only have the roles defined by the governments with respects to certain stakeholders, but also comprise of voluntary roles of several stakeholders, who championed the cause of sanitation. Each of the study here discusses the practices which ultimately led to the organic growth of the concerned institution implementing it and also helped in taking the practice forward. In fact, in certain cases the good practices have emerged as practices to be emulated at a larger canvas creating a ripple effect on the performance of other stakeholders involved in the implementation.

Agenda setting for the stakeholders involved has been a critical point in the policy implementation. Sanitation interventions in Indian context has spanned over decades, with little success. However, it was only in the historic speech of the incumbent Prime Minister, Shri. Narendra Modi, who raised the issue as a pressing national concern on the ramparts of the Red Fort, on the eve of Independence Day (15th August 2014). This also paved way for the definitional aspects of what constitutes the intervention.

Such speeches trickled down to the level of States. Acting on the same, honourable Chief Minister, Shri N. Chandrababu Naidu has built on the digital technology dwelling in the State. Clarity on issues of convergence and the role setting of each department has been dealt through teleconferences, where the entire rank and file of the district administration are present. Regular reviews on the progress being made and the bottlenecks involved have not only ensured that the initiatives are not top-down, rather followed a bottom-up approach.



Similarly, most of the interventions are reviewed at fixed intervals of project period. However, establishment of 'Concurrent Evaluation Cell' at SERP has not only lessened the time period for mid-course corrections, rather provided a regular feedback to change the systemic inputs being fed into the system. Sample surveys aimed at identifying the gaps between policy design and policy implementation has enabled better oversight and an informed decision making system to be evolved.

As discussed earlier, one of the institutional risks observed in interventions aimed at altering the behavioural tendencies is 'quantification'. Quantitative surveys have fallen short of capturing the behavioural changes at the societal level. While sanitation campaigns of the yester years focussed on the individual sanitary latrines constructed, the present campaign on achieving open defecation free environment focussed upon qualitative behavioural aspects captured through randomised trials and surveys. PRIA is one such organisation which has been consistent in its efforts towards capturing the grassroots realities pertaining to sanitation intervention.

While changes at the highest echelons of the policy making apparatus are pertinent and apparent, it is equally important that these changes make a dent at the last mile of the service delivery. Institutional capacities which determined the program outcomes have been given a further fillip through the strengthening of the Village Health Nutrition and Sanitation Committees (VHSNC). This committee comprises of all the active members of the society such as the Sarpanch, Secretary, ward members, school teachers, youth members, SHG members, etc. VHSNC, thus become the grassroots democratic organisation, strengthening of which shall make the institutions resilient.

Process however defined and implemented, success have been scarce and have been localized. Conceptual understanding being converted into real life experiences can be achieved only when the spirit of the intervention is exemplified through actions. One such remarkable feat has been exhibited by the incumbent Secretary, Shri Parmeswaran Iyer, a career bureaucrat, when he himself emptied the pit with his hands. This example has not only remained exhibitionist in nature, rather stood as an example of strength in the concept being preached.

Four comprehensive village case studies have been presented herewith, which capture the transcendental nature of the intervention being suggested and which stood as shining examples of sanitation interventions in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

1. Chodavaram Village in Pennamaluru Mandal of Krishna District.

Chodavaram village belongs to Pennamaluru Mandal of Krishna, with a population of 3,384 (Census, 2011) had been declared Open Defecation Free in 2015. The major challenge faced by the implementation agencies was that the households were living on the encroached lands, along the banks of a canal; these households did not have Individual Household Latrines (IHHLs) of their own. This has been a problem for the State agencies as encroached landholders do not have the legal sanctity to get entitled under the SBM, and thereby no support for funds. The households, themselves, don't have the capacity to build latrines on their own. While on one hand the agencies do not want to get entangled in the legal turmoil, nor can they encourage the practice of open defecation.

It is in this context that the Vice-Sarpanch (Sarpanch is Panchayat head) has taken onto himself and made sure that the village turned ODF irrespective of the legal issues associated with the dwelling lands. He himself decided to invest for the IHHLs for these households and thus, donated minimum material required for the construction of a toilet to all of the households. The Vice-Sarpanch encouraged them to provide their physical labour and utilize the minimum material requirement that is available. This helped in ensuring that each of the household has a toilet.

Further these initiatives created momentum and Information Education Communication (IEC) campaigns were taken up by the team at the Gram Panchayat (GP) level. Members consisting of the



Sarpanch, Vice Sarpanch, Field Assistants, Auxiliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs), Anganwadis and Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) workers in the form of door-to-door campaigns also encouraged the households to take up the construction of IHHLs.

When there was some delay in the payments of the incentive offered under SBM, for some households which were taken up in the later stage, the Panchayat Secretary took the lead in addressing this issue, so that, this delay does not demotivate those households, who are yet to take up. The Panchayat Secretary made innumerable visits to the Mandal office and pursued for the release of payments, every day, until the payments were received by the concerned households.

Therefore, under the capable guidance and lead of the Sarpanch & the Panchayat Secretary, and well-coordinated, voluntary and motivated effort of the Sarpanch and Vice-Sarpanch, this GP moved successfully towards ODF. This model reflects the strength of the grassroots institutions and if leveraged, can create exponential outcomes. Not limited by the legal issues, this village stood as a standing example of what motivated and responsible stakeholders can achieve and thereby benefit the entire community at large. These efforts also stand as testimony to the emphasis laid on IEC campaigns and BCC activities.

2. Burugupudi Gram Panchayat, East Godavari District:

Burugupudi Gram Panchayat is located in Kirlampudi Mandal of East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh. With a population of around 6500, it has almost 1600 households, spread across 14 wards. The Sarpanch and the team whose efforts have led to the GP becoming ODF, had the strategy of dividing every developmental work into the wards and making the ward members responsible for implementing them. What makes this initiative as unique is its unique approach of including the community in the process of implementation of programmes, which makes them into a collective responsibility and not an individual's initiative.

By the time the Sarpanch took the lead in the initiative, there were nearly 750 households who were defecating in the open. To kick start the process, collective procurement of the raw sanitary materials was undertaken. The Sarpanch and his team members have delivered the sanitary ware material at the doorsteps of each household. However, this initiative did not turn many heads. It is this lethargy amongst the households that made the Sarpanch take up IEC activities. Door to door campaigns were undertaken to make the people aware of the ill effects of open defecation. The Sarpanch formed the 'Nigrani Committee' (Vigilance Committees) and ensured that the people defecating in the open are strongly dealt. It was the sheer dedication and motivation of the Sarpanch that made the village to be declared as ODF.

Some of the unique steps taken by this Sarpanch and the team are as follows:

1. Bulk procurement of basins has resulted in a total savings of Rs75, 000/- as each pan came at a reduced price than the prevailing market price.
2. The community was roped in, in the preparation of cement rings, slabs etc. used in pit construction. This was done to avoid delay in supply of the materials and also saved costs.
3. These collective efforts of the households and the savings made on bulk procurement have led to saving of Rs500/- per IHHL. This money was further spent in white washing the IHHL for better aesthetics and ambience. Painting the walls with different colours and quotations displayed at important junctions in the village has created greater behavioural effect.
4. While construction seemed easy, making the community use the toilets seemed difficult. Besides, motivating the families, the Sarpanch levied penalties to make sure the households finally take up the habit of not defecating into the open. Fines to the tune of Rs.100 were levied upon the households who negated the Panchayat resolutions.



As a recognition of the systematic and effective efforts undertaken by the Sarpanch, the Government of Andhra Pradesh, awarded the panchayat Rs.5, 00,000/-. The villagers effectively made use of the reward by using it to establish a Solid Waste Management Unit.

Solid Waste Management (SWM):

The Sarpanch has recognised the importance of employing Solid Waste Management (SWM) practices. His idea has not only limited to the establishment of SWM Unit rather established a Kitchen Garden Unit adjacent to the SWM unit and thereby using the generated organic waste. While the establishment of Unit has not only yielded economic returns through the sale of organic manure, but also helped cultivating vegetables in the kitchen garden organically. The intervention, therefore, had a twin benefit.

The villagers were given awareness on the importance of segregating wastes and on the importance of managing it effectively for better returns. The Sarpanch has leveraged all the possible avenues to support this intervention so that the establishment of the SWM Unit turns sustainable and economical. The personnel employed under the scheme were given wages from NREGS dovetailing the funds available under Panchayati Raj department. Allocation made to the Gram Panchayats was also utilized towards the purchase of tricycle and other infrastructural needs of the intervention.

The establishment of SWM Unit has not only limited to creating revenues through the sale of vermi compost/ organic manure, rather it is casting a profound impact on the agricultural practices of the village as a whole. With large majority of the households dependent on agriculture, shift from fertilizer use to organic manure has shown better productivity and yield. Besides, this intervention has also inculcated a sense of responsibility in the households of the village. In short, it is the collective effort of the Sarpanch, his team and the community members, which showed way to create “Wealth from Wastes”.

Soak Pits:

Another major intervention implemented in the village is the effective Liquid Waste Management practices through the construction of soak pits. Because of open drainage, the community was subjected to several diseases. Therefore, soak pits were planned in convergence with Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS). 550 soak pits have been constructed. The pit is covered with net so as to ensure that the solid waste does not accumulate at the top of the pit and become a breeding ground for mosquitoes and flies.

The good practices discussed here indicate the sheer creativity and uniqueness with which the programme was attempted by the Sarpanch. While good practices are to be followed, this programme also stands a chance to be implemented in many developing countries with limited physical or financial resources, but significant amount of human capital. Sustainable techniques and genuine dedication has helped the villages to pull through. In fact, replicating this model can act as a panacea to the otherwise lingering poor sanitation issues in many less developed countries.

3. Open Defecation Free Yerripalli Gram Panchayat, Pulivendula (M), Kadapa District

Yerripalli Gram Panchayat is located 80kms away from the YSR Kadapa District Head Quarters. This district is located in the semi-arid climatic region, and forms part of the Rayalseema region. Agriculture is the major livelihood within the village, and the village is equally represented by Hindus, Muslims and Christian communities. The efforts for eliminating open defecation started in the year 2012. With the launch of the SBM (G) program, community has formed the Gram Panchayat Water Sanitation Committee (GPWSC) and the role of the committees is to motivate the people towards the construction of sanitary latrines.



Prior to the motivational activity, a baseline survey was conducted where the behavior of the community as a whole was investigated. This survey was not limited to the facts as to whether a household had “a proper toilet”, “a dry latrine” or “the householder goes to fields for defecation”, rather the mindset of the people towards health and hygiene was examined. The main facts which were found to be as results of the survey were:

- Almost 70% of the population was found to be engaged in open defecation.
- About 40% of Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) households were having dry latrines (reflective of the water crisis in the region)
- The condition of the school toilets was poor. In many cases, teachers only used them and students were not allowed to.
- The hygiene situation was below average in the toilets.

Now as part of the strategy under SBM (G), subsidy was decided to be provided to each Below Poverty Line (BPL) family, who have not been earlier taken up under any other program. School toilets were also taken up under the program.

Strategies included selection of an efficient and active person as a motivator, formation of GPWSC at the Gram Panchayat level, all key departments of education, health, social welfare and ICDS were linked with the campaign. The role of IEC was emphasized more as compared to ensuring toilet constructions.

Role of Information, Education and Communication (IEC)

The IEC strategy focused on both mass as well as individual campaigns. Motivators were appointed and it was found that women were the main influencers. Themes like women's dignity, comfort, status, cost-effectiveness, technological options etc. were used. The ambience for the campaign mode to be taken up by the people was created through wall paintings, hoardings, open discussions. Messages were voluntarily passed on by the Sarpanch, motivators, and Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) workers. Folk media called “Kalajatha” a form of street play was performed to create awareness on sanitation.

In the preliminary stage, though the Sarpanch didn't focus as much as it was necessary, it was the ICDS workers who formed groups of women to get things done. Door to door campaigns and routine meetings at the village level boosted the process. Regular health check-ups, competitions in schools, and similar activities changed the mindset of the people.

The other steps which were taken up as part of the strategy were:

- Preparation of effective network of the Panchayat representatives and other social workers at different levels.
- Monitoring system was strengthened at each level.
- Discussion of the importance of toilets with respect to health, hygiene and women's dignity were discussed.
- Most importantly, schools which were co-educational, were also made part of the campaign. Adolescent girls were made to understand the sensitivity of the program. Under SBM (G), each Primary, Junior and Higher Secondary Schools within the Gram Panchayat areas, were made to construct a separate toilet for boys and girls. Hand washing facilities were encouraged in the school toilets. Gram Panchayat derived various attractive models of school toilets and got them constructed with great zeal.



Similarly, toilets were constructed for Anganwadis and it was clarified that both students and teachers should use them.

This Gram Panchayat's success showed the unique mechanisms of dealing with the usage issues, which forms the otherwise silent challenge in this entire program. While supply side interventions in the form of toilet constructions, form the major goal, that the usage part of the intervention needs equal attention, need to be in the strategy arena of the governments. This district from a dry region of Andhra Pradesh, and being comparatively less developed when compared with the coastal districts, have managed to reach the target of Open Defecation Free and its interventions for spreading awareness with respect to specific areas needing attention can be considered as an example which can be followed. The role that IEC can play in this sanitation program, altogether, can be learnt from villages similar to Yerripalli.

4. West Godavari - Story of the Success of the District

This district lies in the coastal region of Andhra Pradesh. With a population of 3,934,782 (Census, 2011), this district's efforts towards eliminating open defecation, began as early as in 2003.

As part of the Community Led Total Sanitation Campaign (CLTSC), West Godavari district received support from the Water and Sanitation Programme, which brought in further conviction to the district team, consisting of the District Water and Sanitation Mission and several NGOs working as partners with it. Support was received in training and capacity building activities. 32 resource persons were trained. Of these 32, 8 were placed as district resource persons at the Mandal level, designated as Nodal Coordinators and Mandal Coordinators. These Coordinators in turn identified village sanitation motivators from each village and trained them in the processes and goals of CLTSC. These district resource persons consist of ASHA workers, Panchayat Secretaries, village youth, Anganwadi teachers etc. who all work on a voluntary basis and the Mission does not remunerate them.

A strategy of creating "a model village" following the "Juvvulapalem model" was decided in each of the 15 Assembly constituencies. The Juvvulapalem model is of the GP which became the first Nirmal Gram Puraskar (NGP) receiver in the district, back in 2006. The NGP is awarded to the villages which become completely open defecation free as part of the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) programme of the Government of India, initiated back in 1999.

As part of this model, the following steps were followed:

1. Providing for latrines: The Panchayat from subsidies and direct contributions from households, constructed individual latrines. However, for households without individual ones, Community Sanitation Complexes (CSCs) were constructed, with 24/7 water facility and proper maintenance facilities.
2. Ensuring significant water supply: The district has banned the use of underground water; hence surface water is the only supply. Water is collected through reservoirs, desilted and pumped into overhead tanks of houses. For drinking water purposes, the community RO and UV water treatment plants are used. Drinking water is available from these at Rs.4 for 20 litres.
3. Providing for the maintenance of CSCs: Each GP has been made responsible for the upkeep of their CSC. Responsibilities for maintenance include cleaning by designated sweepers, repair works wherever necessary, cleaning of septic tanks/pits as and when required.
4. Providing for the collection of the solid waste: This has been provided for by either through door-to-door collections or placing community bins. Collection is made either by cycle carts or bullock carts. The bio-degradable and non-biodegradable wastes are segregated at a certain



distance from each waste dump, which are the village outskirts. The non-biodegradable ones are burnt on a fortnightly basis.

5. Connecting drains/soak pits from houses to village main drain: The domestic drains are connected to the village main drain to collect the liquid run offs and wastes. Where drawing up of the drain is not possible, there soak pits are constructed. These liquid wastes are free of solid ones. Each household is responsible for cleaning the drains in front of their houses daily, to clean the clogs.
6. Monitoring and Penalty Systems: A monitoring committee includes members from different village institution, such as Panchayats, Self Help Groups (SHGs), Schools, Anganwadis, ASHA workers, Tehsildars/Lawyers.
A penalty of Rs.50 is imposed on them who are found defecating in the open or dumping wastes in the open. Also, the Panchayat often has directed the ration shop to delay distribution of rations or disconnect the electricity supply to households found committing open defecation or not following the rules laid down for sanitation practices.
7. Developing a fund raising system: This is done by trying to engage in economical techniques at different instances, to ensure that the money saved can be used for betterment of the existing systems.

With its efficient and committed mechanisms in place, this district is the first in the State of Andhra Pradesh to be formally declared as an Open Defecation Free one. Achievements made in this district, not only get limited to this ecosystem rather stand as a beacon of hope for other districts to emulate. Besides, these initiatives also present insights into how collective functioning can yield comprehensive outcomes and not sectorally differentiated outcomes. Stakeholders of different order if placed on a common ground shall generate synergies of collective order and ensure participation from every quarter.

This point to the fundamental question of whether the machinery of the government being solely responsible for creating an enabling environment for institutions to prosper. Though government is a major stakeholder in this process, is it the only institution responsible for creating an ecosystem for various institutions to coexist.

So, should the machinery of government itself be targeted for changes?

Governments have always been the flag bearers of driving the interventions. Directional clarity and periodic reviews by the government officials have defined the ability to achieve outcomes. In short, the governments are made accountable in democratically elected systems. Ensuring transparency and establishing good governance systems has not only resulted in governments garnering peoples mandate but also making the systems becoming sustainable in their own way. However, it is equally true that the governments alone cannot be held responsible for the dysfunctionalities in the system. The end users have an equal and an important role in organic evolution of systems. Through their demand, they also create enabling conditions for rolling out changes. Similar observation can be made when looked at the advances being made in the Public Administration. Recent changes indicate that significant proportion of research deals with arenas such as New Public Management techniques and Good Governance systems.

Similarly, practices of governments gain more criticality in interventions related to Sanitation extending to the behavioural aspects. Therefore, the implementation of the sanitation policy demands for more concerted action plan from the government machinery, which would ensure that each step capture the vast diversity existing in the system. Such efforts shall ensure preciseness and coherence



in the interventions planned. These efforts shall also ensure that inherent weaknesses existing within the system can be better addressed.

Precision and coherence of the policy measures are achieved in two major ways. While the career bureaucrats frame the policy in India, taking cognisance of the field level realities is paramount. Given the diversity India has, taking a bird's eye view of the problem, yet keeping in view of the micro reality would definitively yield better macro reality being captured under the policy ambit. Such measures shall also respect the functional discretion of different administrative structures and help divulging power and authority to the structures at the bottom of the ladder.

On the other hand, bottom up approach of planning shall also provide immediate requirements of the society. Policy environment should facilitate the process of making the structures at the bottom become resilient and strengthened. Such measures shall also make better agenda setting and proper articulation of needs from the perspective of end users. People form the central part in determining their needs and how the policy response to such needs is to be designed.

Therefore, in the context of Sanitation policy design and implementation, if we are to discredit the activities undertaken by any of the stakeholder, it would only be unfair. Having observed the sanitation policy through decades, it is evident that governments play a greater role in creating enabling conditions. This is truer in the case of developing countries where huge information asymmetries exist. Policy paralysis at any level would automatically translate to incremental proportions at the next lowest level. Since the governments sets the priorities that are to be achieved by the functionaries across different levels, onus of clearing policy stagnation also lies with the government.

Policy clearances to evolve better governance gain more importance in the case of developing nations. Whatever may be the policy intervention being suggested, the policy needs to transcend across geographic boundaries and the information asymmetries. While administrative decentralisation has been written in the constitutional laws, implementations of it need to happen in the real sense. In the Indian context much need to be done to strengthen the third tier of governance. While there is significant jumps being registered in the budgetary allocations, devolution of power also needs to be done on the same frequency.

Devolution of power shall not only lead to strengthening of the institutions, but also ensure timely response to the prevailing problems in the community. For example, establishing the centrality of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in the Sanitation interventions has enabled the grassroots organisation to leverage its potential and articulate well designed measures. These will also further the bureaucrats to achieve outcomes at free will, without being succumbed to the pressure of audit. The other stakeholders who have resources at their disposal may create significant impact. NGOs, active and spirited citizens, voluntary organisations, etc. may work closely with the masses. But efficient functioning of these agencies depends on the environment in which they operate. Enabling environment to achieve the designed outcomes through the contribution of multiple stakeholders shall result in greater sustainability.

Therefore, the success of any programme lies in the ability to learn from the best practices which have yielded success, previously. Although, there is no one way to success, practices can always be customised according to the needs of a region and put into implementation. While developmental objective remains same, what can be done are small changes at the government's instructions level, to



fit the needs of the hour and conform to the objectives. Governments shall work to this end and create enabling structures for greater convergence and comprehensiveness.

We conclude by saying:

At the outset, sanitation as an intervention to be achieved may appear simplistic in nature. But what comprises achievement varies significantly when looked from varied lenses. Attitudinal change and realisation amongst the households for effective containment of solid and liquid waste and thereby develop effective quality of life is what comprises effective change management. It is to this direction that the incumbent governments channelize their energies. In this context the institutions involved in strategy implementation should gear their energies and contribute to the betterment of quality life.

While the governments have a larger role to play, that does not take away the role played by other stakeholders in reining the intervention. Institutional patience to achieve convergence and achieve the desired behavioural revolution is the need of the hour. Best practices and their achievements emulated at a grand scale by customising them to the politico economic system is what constitutes as an organic evolution of the strategy. Finally, it should not be missed that the individual's commitment and responsibility would never stand second to any intervention being taken up.

References

- Gatti, M. (2007). *BEST PRACTICES IN WATER SUPPLY AND SANITATION: A case study of Annual Evaluation Study*. Asian Development Bank.
- Government of Jharkhand. (2015). *Open Defecation Free Villages: Creating and sustaining Nirmal Grams through community participation in Jharkhand*. Government of Jharkhand.
- Jagaran Pehel. (2016). *Changing Behaviour and Creating Sanitation change leaders*. New Delhi.
- Kathleen O'Reilly n, E. L. (2014). The toilettripod: UnderstandingsuccessfulsanitationinruralIndia. *Elsevier*, 43-51.
- Kaul, K. (n.d.). *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan: Prospects and Challenges*. New Delhi: CBGA.
- Kumar Shreshtha, R. S. (2015). . *"Improving Sanitation and Hygiene Practices of the Rural Poor through Community Institutions in Uttar Pradesh, India"*. New Delhi: ICRW.
- Meine Pieter van Dijk (2012). *Sanitation in Developing Countries: Innovative Solutions in a Value Chain Framework, Management of Technological Innovation in Developing and Developed Countries*, Dr. HongYi Sun (Ed.), ISBN: 978-953-51-0365-3, InTech
- Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of India. (2016-17). *Economic Survey*. New Delhi: Government of India.
- Sandra Bird, M. a. (2009). *Best Practices and Lessons Learned from Sanitation Programming at USAID: An Annotated Bibliography*. Washington USA: USAID.
- Sanitation, M. o. (2016). *Technological Options for On-site Sanitation in Rural Areas*. New Delhi: Government of India.
- Tarraf, A. (2016). *Social & Behaviour Change Communication: Insights and Strategy Case Study*. WPP.
- UNICEF. (n.d.). *Technology options for household sanitation*. UNICEF.



- Water and Sanitation Program. (2010). *From Dreams to Reality: A compendium of best practices in Rural Sanitation in India*. New Delhi: Thomson Press.
- Decentralization Thematic Team (2017, May 16). *The Online Sourcebook on Decentralization and Local Development*. Retrieved from http://www.ciesin.org/decentralization/English/General/Different_forms.html
- Water and Sanitation Program. (2013). *West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh Moving Towards ODF Plus. Pathway to Success Compendium of Best Practices in Rural Sanitation in India*, 2, 69-76
- Wijk, C. V., Murre, T., & UNICEF. (1993). Motivating better hygiene behaviour: importance for public health mechanisms of change. In *Motivating Better Hygiene Behaviour: Importance for Public Health Mechanisms of Change*. International Reference Centre for Community Water Supply and Sanitation.
- Manual, C. F. S. *Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) in Schools*.
- Sriram, A., & Maheswari, U. (2013). Integrated Communication strategy for creating awareness on sanitation and hygiene Behaviour Change. *The International Journal of Communication and Health*, (1), 54, 59.

