

Prize won	Village	Taluka	District
VI Nagpur			
First prize at the division level in the year 2000-01	Sirsoli	Aashti	Vardha
A village that has not won any prize	Kinhala-Dalpatpur	Aashti	Vardha
First prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Pimpalgaon-Vadala	Aarvi	Vardha
First prize at the block level in the year 2002-03	Sorata	Aarvi	Vardha
CHANDRPUR			
Second prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Kawithpeth	Rajura	Chandrapur
First at District level 2001-2002 First Prize at State level 2002-03	Rajgad	Mul	Chandrapur

Gadgebaba Gram Swachatta Abhiyaan is a widely acclaimed sanitation campaign of the Government of Maharashtra; initiated in 2000. In 2004 RSPMU, Government of Maharashtra, with support of UNICEF launched a study to seek new directions for the campaign. DROP was entrusted with the task of carrying out this study. Mrs. Ashwini Lele from DROP co-ordinated this study under the guidance of Dr. Mapuskar

Abstract

This is a study of 25 villages representing all regions of Maharashtra that participated in the campaign with varied results. The study was aimed at seeking future directions of the campaign. The study looks at the achievements of the campaign and also brings forth potentials and constraints in achieving sustainable sanitation using competition mode.

Following summary first explains context of the campaign and also describes evolution of sanitation policy. Findings and suggestions are listed in the end.

Prize won	Village	Taluka	District
V Amaravati			
First prize at the division level in the year 2000-01	Palashi (Bu)	Khamgaon	Buldhana
Second prize at the block level in the year 2001-02	Pala	Khamgaon	Buldhana
First prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Vakana	Sangrampur	Buldhana
Village that has not won any prize	Jastgaon	Sangrampur	Buldhana

Prize won	Village	Taluka	District
III North Maharashtra			
First prize at the division level in the year 2000-01	Rajwad	Parola	Jalgaon
village that has not won any prize	Ambapimpri	Parola	Jalgaon
First prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Lasure	Pachora	Jalgaon
First prize at the block level in the year 2002-03	Bhoje	Pachora	Jalgaon
IV Marathwada			
First prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Kajala	Osmanabad	Osmanabad
Village that has not won any prize	Wanewadi	Osmanabad	Osmanabad
First prize at the block level in the year 2002-03	Deosingh(Nal)	Tuljapur	Osmanabad
Prize won	Village	Taluka	District

Introduction and Background

In the year 2000, government of Maharashtra announced an innovative campaign called '*Sant Gadgebaba Gram-Swachhata Abhiyaan*' (a campaign for village sanitation named after saint Gadgebaba). This was an invitation to all Gram Panchayats in Maharashtra to compete for prizes¹. An elaborate guideline was developed for the campaign and for its assessment. Each Gram Panchayat was expected to follow a pre-defined programme for about two weeks aimed at village sanitation. Later a committee assessed each participating village and the villages were ranked according to the assessment. There were elaborate checks and balances for selection of committee and for assessment procedure. The assessment was very objective and three villages were selected from each administrative block.

The campaign followed an elaborate process and government functionaries as well as elected members at various tiers of government were actively involved in this process.

¹ Three cash prizes in each district with the sum of Rs.5 lakhs, Rs.3 lakhs and Rs.2 lakhs. The best village in the entire state gets Rs.25 lakhs [Rs.15 lakhs for the second and Rs.10 lakhs for the third] from the Chief Minister on Maharashtra Day, May 1. The villages can spend the prize money on projects they collectively decide on.

The response to the campaign was phenomenal. It is estimated² that 33,000 Gram Panchayats out of 42,000 in Maharashtra stepped forward to take part in the campaign. It is also estimated that in its first year itself public assets worth Rs. 200 crore were created during this campaign. The government incurred only the cost of prize money and the publicity costs.

The campaign was earlier considered as a one-time programme. However, considering the remarkable achievement the government has now converted it into an annual event that begins in the month of October and continues throughout the year.

The campaign has put forth many issues and has pointed towards many opportunities that can have implications for future policies. This is a study of this campaign, to seek insights that will help formulation of future policies. UNICEF is supporting this endeavour.

To understand the true importance of the Gadgebaba Campaign and to explain the context of this study, it will be appropriate to briefly review the process of evolution of sanitation policy in India and in Maharashtra.

² Source:
<http://www.goodnewsindia.com/Pages/content/transitions/gmAbhiyan.html>

Annex I - List of study villages

Prize won	Village	Taluka	District
I Konkan Division			
First prize at the division level in the year 2000-01	Jalgaon	Dapoli	Ratnagiri
First prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Sadave	Dapoli	Ratnagiri
First prize at the block level in the year 2002-03	Shirgaon	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
A village that has not won any prize	Nirool	Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri
II Western Maharashtra			
First prize at the division level in the year 2000-01	Tung	Miraj	Sangli
First prize at the district level in the year 2001-02	Malwadi	Miraj	Sangli
First prize at the block level in the year 2001-02	Y.P.wadi	Aattpadi	Sangli
A village that has not won any prize	Mudhewadi	Aattpadi	Sangli

lessons learnt with other aspirant villages. These identified agents of change should be supported and encouraged to travel to aspirant villages.

Evolution of sanitation policy

This section is mainly based on a paper presented by the Government of India, in South Asian Conference on sanitation, at Dhaka in 2003³.

Historically, sanitation was a part of town planning even as far back as 3000 BC. Well laid out drainage and sanitation system during Indus Valley Civilization became diluted over the ages and by the 20th century; disposal of human and animal excreta was left to nature in rural areas. In urban areas, sanitation was earlier limited to disposal of human excreta by cesspools, open ditches, pit latrines, bucket system etc., including the dehumanizing practice of removal of 'nightsoil' by human hands.

Sanitation was never perceived as a priority especially in rural areas where open space is readily available until today albeit the growth of population and urbanization. Water supply and sanitation were added to the national agenda

³ Source: Government of India, (October 2003), **Towards total sanitation and hygiene: A challenge for India**, South Asian conference on sanitation, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
<http://ddws.nic.in/Data/Speeches/SACOSAN.htm> (web site last visited in June 2004)

Government of India, (1999), **Guidelines on rural water supply and rural sanitation programmes**, Yashada, Pune.

during the country's first five-year plan (1951-56). In 1954, first national water supply programme was launched as a part of government's health plan and sanitation was mentioned in the part of the section on water supply. Till eighties sanitation was often relegated to lower levels in priority ladder. In 1986, the ministry of rural development launched India's first nationwide programme for sanitation, the 'Central Rural Sanitation Programme (CRSP)'.

Guidelines for CRSP were revised in 1991 and 1998 to provide access to more funds for the scheme. Despite these efforts the total sanitation coverage stood at around 16% to 20% of the total rural households. The major factors contributing to lower coverage were-

- High priority for construction of latrines and low priority for information, education and communication (IEC).
- Promotion of a single model i.e. standard twin pit pour flush latrine.
- Heavy reliance on subsidy
- Inadequate participation of the beneficiaries
- Inadequate NGO/ Private sector involvement

village should be announced in each of these meetings. Discussion on issues related to sanitation leading to evolution of a plan to deal with these issues should be encouraged.

5. A technical support system that would help villagers to take informed decisions about choice of technically and financially sustainable technology should be developed. In each district, the cell working under TSC can take up such a responsibility.
6. The TSC cell should undertake accreditation of private agencies and individuals supplying equipments, providing technical and other support. A list of such agencies and individuals should be effectively publicised by the cell.
7. Skills, expertise and experiences gained by successful villages should be shared for motivating other villages for sanitation. At the moment the competition bestows a 'NGO' status to these villages and encourages them to work as facilitators for other villages. Instead leaders and artists from these villages should be identified and encouraged to share their experiences and

Following is suggested for ensuring sustainability of the achievements of the competition. All other programmes related to sanitation such as the 'Total Sanitation Campaign', 'Jalswarajya' etc. should be oriented accordingly.

1. Efforts to disseminate information, elucidating link between health and sanitation should be encouraged.
2. Grass roots level workers of the health department namely, ANMs and MPWs along with aanganwadi workers should be encourage to identify and approach decision maker of every individual family for propagation of sanitary facilities. These agents should also be used effectively to explain linkages between health and sanitation. These agents should be equipped as well as trained for the same.
3. Leaders of the society should be identified and should be oriented to plan and take up actions for better sanitation in a village.
4. 'Sanitation' should be a mandatory subject on the agenda of all six Gram Sabhas and those for women held each year. Coverage of all sanitation facilities in the village (public and private) and grade achieved by the

- Non-involvement of community based institutions like youth clubs etc.
- The deficiencies of programme implementation resulted in
- Insufficient rate of progress to meet targets/ requirements
- Improper utilization of existing assets.
- Over emphasis on hardware and targets.
- Inadequate awareness levels, insufficient people's participation.

With this understanding the government of India in April 1999 launched 'Total Sanitation Campaign' (TSC) advocating shift from a high subsidy to a low subsidy regime, a greater household involvement, demand responsiveness, and providing for the promotion of a range of options to promote increased affordability. It also includes strong emphasis on IEC and social marketing, providing for stronger back up systems such as trained masons and building materials through rural sanitary marts and production centres and including a thrust on school sanitation as an entry point for encouraging wider acceptance of sanitation by rural masses as key strategy. Thus the new policy is focused on dissemination of

information, stimulating demand and solicited 'orders' from households for sanitary toilets.

Government of Maharashtra has duly agreed to implement this policy and has decided to implement TSC in all its districts⁴. The institutional structure for the implementation of total sanitation campaign consists of-

1. The state mission for water supply and sanitation is entrusted with the responsibility of implementation of TSC in the state. The mission provides guidance necessary for implementation.
2. At the district level there are following committees-
 - a. A water supply and water conservation committee headed by the president, ZP is responsible for overall monitoring of the implementation.
 - b. An executive committee presided by the CEO of the district is responsible for actual implementation of the campaign.

⁴ In the 1st phase, TSC was implemented in Raigad, Dhule, Nanded and Amravati. In 2nd phase it will be implemented in Ratnagiri, Sangli, Aurangabad, Yavatmal and Chandrapur. In the 3rd phase it will be implemented in Nandurbar, Jalgaon, Ahamadnagar and Jalana.

should assess aspects directly linked to his/her individual expertise. This is unlike the current expectation that each team member of the assessment squad should assess all aspects of the competition.

5. There is need to evolve a methodology for assessment of a village and tools for the same. The assessment team should be trained for using these tools.
6. Every Gram Panchayat of the state should be assessed each year based on criteria defined for this competition. Based on the performance of a Gram Panchayat, each gram Panchayat should be classified into four to five pre defined grades (Grade A, B, C, D, E and F). There is a need to carefully evolve objective criteria for such gradation. Such a gradation will put forth a series of 'achievable targets' for each village. Periodic assessment will encourage as well as maintain performance of each village.
7. Award for 'clean block' and 'clean Zilla Parishad' should be based on spread of villages within its jurisdiction in grades mentioned above.

1. The Gadgebaba Abhiyaan in its current competition form should continue. The changes introduced in the new GR like condition for 50% coverage of toilets, water management approach in assessment and distribution of prizes in two instalments should continue. However, weightage for aspects directly linked to sanitation should be increased. The competition should increasingly focus at sanitation sector.
2. Objective criteria for assessment of the working of a Gram Panchayat in general and VWSC in particular should be included in assessment for the competition. Indicators for assessment of the working of VEC for school sanitation should also be included in this.
3. Working of the assessment team should be more rational and transparent. The assessment team should spend at least two to three hours in each village. In other words, a team should assess three to four villages each day. The assessment plan should take this into consideration.
4. The composition of the team should include experts from relevant field and each expert

c. A core committee headed by CEO looks after day to day activities of the campaign.

3. At the village level, the village water supply and sanitation committee (VWSC), presided by the Sarpanch will be responsible for monitoring as well as implementation of the campaign.

In conclusion, policy for sanitation has changed from disposal of human excreta to a comprehensive approach encompassing personal hygiene, home sanitation, safe water, garbage disposal, excreta disposal and wastewater disposal. The implementation of the policy will be community led and will have people centred initiatives.

To supplement these efforts, in 2000-2001, Government of Maharashtra launched an innovative programme popularly known as '*Sant Gadgebaba clean village sanitation campaign, rashtra sant Tukadoji Maharaj clean village competition and Rashtrapita mahatma Gandhi competition for cleanest ZPs and PSc*'. The campaign turned out to be the biggest IEC campaign propagating environmental sanitation, personal hygiene and health measures, ever

undertaken among the rural masses. This campaign led to mobilisation of rural population to clean their houses, neighbourhoods and the entire village without any financial support from the government⁵.

Objectives for the study

Several reports and news articles indicate that the Gadgebaba Gram Swachhata campaign has demonstrated unprecedented changes at the village level. This campaign also indicates that the effect of change of role of the government in sanitation sector from 'provider' to 'facilitator' and 'motivator' can have significant impact. There is a need to carefully document this change in role of the government. There is a need to find out contribution of this campaign in achieving the goal of total sanitation in rural Maharashtra.

There is also a need to critically study this campaign to bring forth any changes necessary to increase the efficacy of this campaign.

Moreover, following the success of this campaign and especially of the competition, many other

⁵ Source: Ranjit C. S. (June 2003), "Jalwaraiya" Maharashtra Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Project, Project Implementation Plan, Water Supply and Sanitation Department, Government of Maharashtra. Pg. 10-11, 157-9.

social pressure and better functioning of systems related to sanitation.

- Sustainability of sanitation at the community as well as at the individual level depends on selection of technically and financially sustainable technology for sanitation. Assured access to information and technical support is crucial for taking such an informed decision. Such support is required at two level, first for selection of technology and secondly for troubleshooting problems arriving after installation of such technology.
- Ability of the of community level organisations especially, that of VWSC and VEC, to reach consensus oriented decisions in a participatory and transparent way is crucial for sustainability of sanitary conditions within a village.

Suggestions

Based on the findings listed above, following suggestions emerge out of this study. Following first set of suggestions is aimed at improving assessment quality of the competition.

On the other hand, this demands more innovative approach to retain enthusiasm amongst all villages. Putting forth 'achievable targets' and encouraging 'incremental assessment' can achieve this.

- Long-term sustainability of sanitary habits can be achieved only if every individual perceives sanitation as his/ her need. This behaviour change at an individual level can be achieved by clearly deciphering link between 'sanitation' and 'health'.

In other words intervention for better sanitation should have two-pronged approach. On one hand it should encourage enlightened decision at an individual level imbibing sanitary habits. On the other it should encourage community action demanding better functioning of systems related to sanitation and creating social pressure for better sanitation.

Intervention for sanitation thus should have an appropriate balance between reaching an individual for spreading of information and creating awareness about sanitation, and engineering community appeals for creating

departments and states also are considering 'competition' as a mode of motivation for change. Competition of this kind also helps identify villages that are organised and are willing to work towards development. Hence, many departments are also considering it as a tool to identify villages to allocate scarce resources for development. In this light there is a need to look more carefully into the competition mode of the campaign and role of competition as a motivating factor.

Thus, following were the objectives of the study-

- To bring forth effect of this campaign in other development processes especially at the village level.
- To elucidate the role of this campaign in achieving the goal of total sanitation and suggest changes to increase efficacy of this campaign. In other words to study issues related to sustainability of achievements of the campaign and suggest changes if necessary to achieve sustainable sanitary conditions.
- Comment on the competition mode of village selection for allocation of resources and suggest changes in existing method of assessment if necessary.

The study kicked off with a thorough review of literature including successive GRs regarding assessment process of the campaign. In addition literature regarding use of competition as a mode of motivation and its limitation were also reviewed.

This was followed by primary data collection for 25 villages spread over Maharashtra. Villages for the study were carefully selected representing all regions of Maharashtra. Further the selected villages represented a good mix of prize winning as well as non-participating villages. Annex I gives the list of villages studied.

The methodology for primary data collection included village level data collection to understand decision making process of the community and overall status of sanitation infrastructure and services. This was coupled with household level surveys to understand actual use and current practices for sanitation, along with getting insights into needs and demands for sanitation.

Findings

The study revealed that-

- Competitive nature of the Abhiyaan received enthusiastic response from majority of the villages. The Abhiyaan at its minimum,

achieved in spreading the message of sanitation to villagers, whereas, at its maximum, achieved in inducing participatory action towards cleaner village.

The competition encouraged performance-based incentive acknowledging competency of its winners. It thus succeeded in building confidence and sense of pride amongst award-winning villages.

Over the years the award has retained its prestige and people by and large value its credential as a 'Gadgebaba award winning village'.

- The goal of clean and prosperous Maharashtra can be achieved only if all villages in the state strive towards it. This competition has certainly induced enthusiasm amongst many villages, however low odds of winning are de-motivating villages.

On one hand, low odds of winning and high prestige associated with the award, demands more rational and transparent assessment methodology.