IMPROVING CONSUMER VOICES AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN SWACHH BHARAT MISSION – GRAMIN

A Citizen Report Card and Case study report on Odisha and Tamil Nadu

BY







Public Affairs Centre (PAC) is a not for profit organization, established in 1994 that is dedicated to improving the quality of governance in India. The focus of PAC is primarily in areas where citizens and civil society organizations can play a proactive role in improving governance. In this regard, PAC undertakes and supports research, disseminates research findings, facilitates collective citizen action through awareness raising and capacity building activities, and provides advisory services to state and non-state agencies.

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Background:

The project (August 2013 – December 2016) aims to address demand and supply issues through the use of social accountability tools (SATs) to identify barriers to effective implementation, increase the voice of consumers in the Swachh Bharat Mission – Gramin (SBM-G) implementation, and propose ways to demand greater accountability from service providers to improve the performance of SBM-G.

The SATs that are being used to achieve these objectives include:

- 1. <u>National Policy Review (NPR)</u> at the National and State (for Odisha and Tamil Nadu in particular) level to understand the implementation process of the SBM, funds allocated and spent, secondary data used therein.
- 2. <u>Citizen Report Cards (CRCs)¹</u> in selected districts in Odisha and Tamil Nadu to assess the current construction and usage patterns through feedback from users and implementers
- 3. <u>Case Study Research</u> in selected Gram Panchayats in each of the selected districts for an in-depth understanding of the demand-side issues and supply-side constraints.
- 4. <u>CRC+ exercises</u> in selected Gram Panchayats in each district to assess fund flow (SET or Selected Expenditure Tracking) and functional responsibilities (FMA or Function Marker Analysis) handled by implementers
- 5. <u>Community Score Cards (CSCs)</u> in selected Gram Panchayats in each district to try and improve forums for communities to place their voices and demand accountability.

As per the revised Results Framework submitted to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) after the two CRCs (exercises conducted in six districts each of two states, Tamil Nadu and Odisha, to gather stakeholder feedback on sanitation) report, five recommendations were required to be made. The first round of CRC survey carried out in Sep-Nov 2014 followed by

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¹ Refer <u>www.citizenreportcard.com</u>



case studies clearly outlined some critical findings/issues which require dissemination and advocacy for change. These findings² are –

- Beneficiaries who played a decisive role during the construction of their toilet, used the toilet more than those whose toilets were built by NGOs or contractors without their involvement.
- 2. There are no funds for those beneficiaries who were 'early adaptors' of previous rural sanitation programmes (Total Sanitation Campaign and Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan) and whose toilets are not in a usable condition
- 3. A good proportion of the incentives do not reach the beneficiaries, and the enhanced amounts to ensure water storage for the toilets are also not being used for that purpose.
- 4. In terms of benefits to vulnerable populations, beneficiaries belonging to lower castes and lower income groups reported fewer complete and usable toilets than the others.
- 5. Access to information (for application) and infrastructural facilities (hardware components) are issues that also need to be resolved.

A Citizen Report Card (CRC) exercise was conducted among citizens who had built an Individual Household Latrine (IHHL) in the last five years using the NBA incentive (or the earlier TSC) constituted the respondents pool for the CRC survey. Case studies were also carried out to obtain qualitative aspects of the services. The aim was to obtain a comprehensive picture of the service delivery including its positive and negative aspects. A multiple stakeholder approach was undertaken, wherein in-depth interactions and interviews were conducted with the service providers and the end beneficiaries.

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² See http://www.pacindia.org/reports/benchmarking-citizen-report-card-on-nba-sbm

TAMIL NADU

Introduction

Vision Tamil Nadu 2023 aims at providing the best infrastructure facilities in terms of universal access to water and sanitation. The goal of an open defecation free Tamil Nadu calls for a multi-pronged approach by organizing all stakeholders into a mass movement to root out the practice of open defecation.

Tamil Nadu has envisaged planning, implementing and monitoring the coverage of individual household toilets at micro level in every village. The guidelines of SBM (G) provide for engaging Community Based Organizations (CBOs) / Self Help Groups (SHGs) etc. as support organization for each village panchayat. Hence, it is considered that the CBOs functioning at village panchayat level such as Village Poverty Reduction Committees (VPRC) and panchayat level federations (PLF) have a strong influence on the village community due to their inherent nature of work and representative composition. Since construction of toilet and its usage by those households presently defecating in the open requires behavioural change through interpersonal communication, the members of these committees are in a better position to use their peer group influence in a big way to achieve the objective of open defecation free villages. The VPRCs and the PLFs are therefore made responsible for motivating, assisting the construction and ensuring sustained use of toilets by every person in each household by engaging one Community Resource Person for effective discharge of responsibilities.

In this context, the Tamil Nadu government conducted a baseline survey in 2012 to take stock of the households that do not have a toilet and motivate them to avail the toilet under SBM. According to the survey, 38.7% of the households have a toilet out of which only 79.4% of the households had a functional toilet. Here, preference is given to the BPL card holders. Though it is observed that a target based approach does not yield the desired results, it is seen that this is the practice in most districts. This approach hitherto has not been successful in creating and sustaining functional toilet. Hence, behavioural change from open defecation to usage of toilet



is the major challenge that needs to be addressed. Besides, demand generation among the rural households for construction and usage of toilets is a must.

The Study

CRC was conducted in six districts of TN viz. Krishnagiri, Dharmapuri, Trichy, Perambalur, Thirunelveli and Kanyakumari to gather citizen feedback. The districts chosen were roughly based on the performance and progress in the NBA project. Therefore, two top performers (Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli), two middle (Trichy and Perambalur) and two low performers (Dharmapuri and Krishnagiri) in the state were selected. The objective was to study citizen voices in the Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) (now SBM (G)) and to examine whether and how much the consumers/beneficiaries of the scheme had avenues for engagement with the process of building a household toilet in their homes.

Summary of Sample Size - Tamil Nadu

Districts	Number of Blocks covered	Number of Gram Panchayats (GPs) covered	Number of Villages covered	Number of Households
Dharmapuri	3	24	41	456
Krishnagiri	3	21	55	445
Perambalur	3	20	23	452
Kanyakumari	4	24	146	423
Tiruchirappalli	3	20	53	449
Tirunelveli	3	22	33	444
Total	19	131	351	2669

CRC-1 Findings

Citizens who had built an Individual Household Latrine (IHHL) in the last five years using the NBA incentive (or the earlier TSC) constituted the respondents pool for the CRC survey. The findings are based on beneficiary responses to questions on key CRC themes such as access,



quality and reliability, problems faced and resolution, extra payments made, and satisfaction with the services. They present a window into the implementation of the NBA program in the two states and provide key pointers to the possible reasons for performance (or under performance) of the TSC/NBA in the two states.

Toilet Usage

In Tamil Nadu, 83% of the respondents used the toilet.

Usability of Toilets

89% of the toilets were completed and usable when they were built by the beneficiaries or when a mason was hired by the beneficiaries. The percentage of discontinued or half constructed toilets is higher at 18% and 21% respectively when they were built by a contractor.

Usage of water:

- Water usage among the overall sample (35 buckets) is lesser than water usage among those who cited lack of water as a reason for non-usage of toilets (39 buckets). So availability of water is clearly not an impediment to usage of toilets.
- ➤ Difference in water source whether piped-in or fetched seems to be a driver in deciding whether water is used for toilet flushing purposes. Those who cite lack of water are more likely to be fetching water from outside sources.
- Availability of water, distance and trips being near constant, it appears that those who fetch water try to prioritize use due to the extra effort required in fetching the water when compared to those who have water piped into their dwelling or yard. Water for toilet purposes could be low on the priority list.

Use of water for sanitation

Use of water among the overall sample for sanitation purpose is as follows:



	No. of buckets/pots per day	
Purpose	Tamil Nadu	
Bathing	7.42	
Toilet use	4.65	
Open defecation	2.00	

Rural Sanitary Marts

While RSMs were touted as a one stop shop for buying toilet accessories in the rural areas, the concept has not really taken off yet. In Tamil Nadu, less than 1% of the beneficiaries were aware of a store called RSM. When officials responsible for the implementation of NBA in Tamil Nadu (at the GP, Block or District level) were asked about the nearest RSM, only 3% reported the existence of an RSM near the GP or block. It appears from both the beneficiary and official responses that RSMs that not taken root in Tamil Nadu as a concept to deliver cost effective and quality sanitary ware to beneficiaries that they can avail under the NBA scheme. If the government wants to promote RSMs as such outlets, penetration in rural areas needs to be high and the RSMs need to be citizen friendly, accessible and economical.

Levels of Corruption in Service Delivery

- According to 94% of respondents they did not have to pay anything extra at any stage in the toilet construction process. Of the 7% respondents who stated that they had to pay extra it was observed that maximum people (57%) had to pay a bribe to be selected as a beneficiary. The other processes where people had to pay extra money was arranging masons, digging of the pit, and arranging materials.
- Indirect corruption involved incomplete or poor/shoddy work, such as lack of a roof or door on the newly built toilet. It is mostly underreported.
- Lack of awareness in the beneficiaries leads to confusion whether the 'extra payments' are beneficiary contributions or bribes. Patchy implementation of best practices like receipts for beneficiary contributions leads to such confusion.



- > Clear indications that, districts with contractor led toilet building processes, under the NBA are prone to both direct and indirect corruption.
- NREGA convergence processes led to wage loss for beneficiaries.

Vulnerability:

- > Toilets in completed and usable condition were significantly lower in SC households and those living in kutcha houses.
- Lower socio-economic groups also were more likely to have toilets built by contractors/NGOs compared to higher socio economic groups.
- Fewer SC and ST respondents reported complete and usable toilets compared to OBC and General categories who reported 87% and 88% complete and usable toilets respectively.
- Lower socio-economic groups had higher reports of paying extra money to avail of the NBA benefits. Three times the percent of respondents living kutcha houses (18%) reported paying extra compared to those living in Pucca houses.

Satisfaction amongst Beneficiaries

- At 87%, beneficiaries have indicated high satisfaction levels with the quality, design, spaciousness of the toilet, and their overall NBA experience, when they have a voice and ownership in planning for a toilet in their home, procuring materials and getting the toilet built.
- ➤ Conversely, contractor driven mass building of sub-standard toilets, with limited or no avenues for beneficiary engagement have elicited low satisfaction levels among the beneficiaries.
- ➤ Although overall satisfaction levels with NBA across differed socio-economic categories, most differences were not statistically significant.
- Surprisingly, all these factors did not show a difference in overall satisfaction.

District-level analysis

Krishnagiri district

The district of Krishnagiri is located in the northern part of the state. According to Census 2011, the total population of the district is 18, 83,731, of which the rural population is 4, 28,548 and urban population is 14, 55,182. The literacy rate in the district is 72.41%.

Findings from the CRC are listed as follows:

1. Usage of Toilet

- 82% of the people have constructed the toilets themselves or hired a mason and 87% of the households report toilet usage by all members. It can be inferred that beneficiaries are more likely to use the toilet, when they more involved in the process of construction.
- Of those who cited water as a reason for non use of toilet, 67% did not have piped water supply in their home, indicating an increase in piped water supply will increase the usage of toilets.

2. Source of Information

78% of the people cited the Gram Panchayat as the main source of information of the Abhiyan and 7% cited the Swacch Doot as a source of information. It can be inferred that the Swacch Doot, who is appointed agent of change, has not been effective in the district.

3. Cost of Construction

In Tamil Nadu, the total incentive provided for an Individual Household Latrine is Rs.11, 100 of which Rs.900 is beneficiary contribution. The total cost of a toilet in the district, on an average is Rs. 19,764. Other than the incentive, households on an average spent Rs. 13,694 on toilet construction. This clearly indicates that the incentive amount is not sufficient.

4. Awareness of RSM.

It has been observed that Rural Sanitary Marts not available in the village or in its vicinity. Since RSMs simply did not exist, construction material was procured from the nearby market.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

Only 2% reported payment of extra money.

6. Overall Satisfaction of the Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries had a choice in selection of materials. Although the block development officers gave the design of the toilet, the beneficiaries could make modifications. As are result of which, 95% of the beneficiaries were satisfied with the construction process.

Case Study Observations

Vijaya, an agriculture labourer and mother of three, belongs to Chaparthi village. She got her toilet built under the NBA scheme 8 months back and all the members of her family are using it now. "Under the scheme, I received Rs. 12,000 for constructing the toilet but, the cost went up to Rs. 20,000", Ms.Vijaya commented. She borrowed the extra amount from the Self Help Group. Materials for construction were purchased from the local market in Kaveripatnam as there are no rural sanitary marts in the area. The toilet was built by the family members themselves in a small area attached to the house. The toilet in her house does not have piped water. Water is fetched from a public tap outside which is around 200m away and stored in buckets inside the toilet. As she stays in a hilly area, she complained of the difficulty in fetching water from outside.





A toilet in Chaparthi Village built under the SBM

Overall satisfaction with the process can be attributed to the choice given to the beneficiaries while selecting materials for the toilet and allowing for modifications in the design of the toilet if the beneficiary wishes to do so. Lack of open space and lack of piped water inside the toilet were the hindrances observed in the usage of toilet. Also, focus on creating awareness about the scheme and behavioural aspects would also go a long way in creation of an Open Defecation Free District.

Dharmapuri district

Dharmapuri district is situated in the north western corner of Tamil Nadu. It is the first district created in Tamil Nadu after independence. The total population of the district is 15, 02,900 of which the rural population is 82.7% and urban population is 17.3%. The literacy rate in the district is 64.71%.

Findings of the CRC Report are listed as follows:

1. Usage of Toilet

- 49% of the respondents have built their own toilets or hired a mason and 74%
 responded that all the family members use the toilet. The results show that as the
 involvement of beneficiaries in the process of construction increases, their usage
 increases.
- Of those who cited water as a reason for non use of toilet, 78% did not have piped water supply in their home indicating that an increase in piped water supply will result in increased usage of toilet.

2. Source of Information

31% of the respondents cited the Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information and 37% cited the Swachchta Doot as the main source of information.

3. Cost of Construction

The average cost of constructing a toilet was Rs.10, 944. Respondents reported that apart from the incentive of Rs.11, 100, they incurred an extra cost of Rs.7,652 while constructing the toilet. It can be inferred that the incentive amount is not sufficient to cover the cost of construction.

4. Awareness of Rural Sanitary Marts

Only three households have bought materials from the RSM. Majority of them have relied on private suppliers and nearby markets. This indicates that RSMs have not penetrated the market enough and that the beneficiaries are unaware of this facility.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

25% of the respondents have experienced direct corruption. Of these, 47% reported to having paid extra money to be selected as a beneficiary and 41% paid to arrange masons. At 28%, the rate of incomplete or unusable toilets is also high.

6. Overall Satisfaction of the Beneficiaries

Beneficiaries did not have a say in the design of the toilet nor in the materials used. The quality of the toilets built was quite low in terms of water and drainage facilities. Beneficiaries experienced direct corruption in the form of payments to the contractors and labourers. Thus, only 66% of beneficiaries were satisfied with the construction process.

Case Study Observations

Ms.Rukku Chinnaswamy, hailing from Dharmapuri district, is an old woman who stays in her house with her children and grandchildren. The toilet in her house was built about four months back and is located outside the house. The toilet like others' does not have piped water and water for toilet is fetched by ladies of the house from a nearby public pipe. Rukku claims to have paid Rs. 1000 to the contractor and 200 rupees to the mason. This Rs. 1,200 extra is basically direct corruption that is taking place in the village. When asked about this, officials claim to be unaware of this practice.



A pit dug for a toilet lies unutilized and wasted

Majority of the toilets were constructed by contractors. Beneficiaries have no say either in the design, choice of materials or construction. Besides, there are a lot of quality issues including lack of water, absence of piped water supply and drainage. Direct corruption was observed as people contributed money to contractors and outside labour. Government should ensure that the beneficiaries have a say in the construction process and totally do away with the contractors and allow the beneficiaries to construct toilets on their own.

Kanyakumari

The district of Kanyakumari is located at the southernmost tip of peninsular India. It is the confluence of the <u>Western Coastal Plains</u> and <u>Eastern Coastal Plains</u>. According to Census of 2011, the total population of the district is 18, 70,374. The rate of literacy in the district is 82.8%.

Findings of the CRC Report are as follows:

- 1. Usage of Toilet
- 49% of the respondents built their own toilets and 74% of the respondents reported that all members of the household use toilets.
- Of those who have cited water as a reason for non use of toilet, 75% did not have piped
 water in their home indicating that an increase in piped water supply will result in
 increased usage of toilet.

2. Source of Information

31% of the respondents reported that their main source of information was the Gram Panchayat and 37% reported that the Swachchta Doot was their main source of information.

3. Cost of Construction

Respondents incurred an extra cost of Rs.7652 in toilet construction other than the incentive of Rs.11,100 given by the government. On an average, the total cost of construction was reported to be Rs. 19,775. The incentive amount is not sufficient to cover the cost of construction.

4. Rural Sanitary Marts

Only 3 households were aware about Rural Sanitary Marts. This indicates that RSMs have not penetrated the rural areas and that the beneficiaries are unaware of this facility.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

Rate of corruption is 0% in this district. Kanyakumari is the only district to have reported no instances of corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction of Beneficiaries

Since the beneficiaries had a say in the construction process and they did not experience corruption, 100% of them were satisfied with the construction process.

Case Study Observations

The PAC team engaged the President and the Village Secretary of Vilavancode town panchayat, in an in depth discussion over the state of toilet construction in the village. The President was happy to comment that all the households in the village used toilets. This process was completed few years ago, while few which were left behind was completed by sourcing the work to contractors. This Panchayat paid Rs. 5000-6000 apart from the scheme grant for the extremely poor to build toilets. Besides the Panchayat, the SHGs' were also found to be very active in this process. "Of late the SHG's have started discussions on extending loans also", commented the panchayat representatives.





On Field Inspection

Kanyakumari district can be considered as a model for other districts. The Gram Panchayat officials, Swachchata Doots, VPRCs assumed an active role which helped in creating awareness regarding the utility and benefits of using a toilet, the beneficiaries had a say in the design of the toilet, preference was given to households below poverty line.

Trichy

Tiruchirapalli, also known as Trichy, is located at the geographic centre of the state. As per the Census of 2011, population of the district is 27, 22,290 of which 49.15% lives in urban area. Average literacy rate of Tiruchirappalli in 2011 were 83.23%.

Findings of the CRC report are:

1. Usage of Toilet

96% of the respondents built the toilet themselves or hired a mason and 81% respondents stated that family members use the toilet all the time. It can be concluded that since the households have a say in the construction process, their sense of ownership over the toilets is greater and thus their usage was greater.

Of those who cited water as a reason for non-use of toilet, 54% did not have access to piped water supply in their home indicating that an increase in piped water supply will result in increased usage of toilet.

2. Source of Information

36% of the respondents stated the Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information. 22% of the respondents stated the Swachchata Doot as the main source of information.

3. Cost of Construction

The respondents borrowed Rs.15, 208 on an average. The total cost of the toilet on an average was Rs.21, 319. Apart from the incentive, respondents paid Rs.14, 360 extra to build the toilet, indicating that the incentive amount given by the government was grossly insufficient.

4. Rural Sanitary Mart

It was reported that the rural sanitary marts once existed but were closed down for want of quality and choice of materials. Construction materials were there after purchased from the nearby market.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

Only 2% respondents experienced direct corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction of the Beneficiaries

92% of the respondents are satisfied with the overall construction process. The high satisfaction levels can be attributed to low levels of corruption and involvement of beneficiaries in the construction process.

Case Study Observations

Jayalaxmi, hailing from Mutharasanallur, is a mother of two relies on manual labour for survival. She has got her toilet constructed a year ago under the SBM scheme. The application procedure was routed through the Panchayat officials. While she was informed about the standard design for the toilet and the procedure for application, her views were also taken into consideration for construction and design. She estimated the cost of construction being Rs.30,000. Only Rs. 5000 in the form of subsidy was received from the Panchayat till now.





A fully finished toilet constructed within the house

It appeared that there is some sort of mismanagement in the process of release of the subsidy amount. Government needs to look into this and take corrective measures to rationalize the system and help the beneficiaries to get what they deserve within the proposed time frame to prevent the discouragement of prospective beneficiaries.

Perambalur

Perambalur District came in to existence after trifurcation of Tiruchirappalli district. The total population of the district is 5, 65,223 of which 17.19% lives in urban regions of district. The average literacy in the district is 74.32%.

Findings of the CRC are:

- 1. Usage of Toilets
- 56% of the respondents built the toilet themselves or with the help of a mason and 78% reported complete usage by all members. High involvement of beneficiaries in the construction process has resulted in higher usage.
- Of those who cited water as a reason for non-use of toilet, 61% did not have piped water supply thus indicating that increased piped water supply will result in increased usage.

2. Source of Information

36% of the respondents stated the Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information. 21% of the respondents stated the Swachchata Doot as the main source of information. The Swachchata Doot, who is an agent of change appointed by the government, to raise awareness about the importance of sanitation has not been effective in this district.

3. Cost of Construction

The respondents borrowed Rs.18, 213 on an average. The total cost of the toilet on an average was Rs.13, 631. Apart from the incentive, respondents paid Rs.14, 825 extra.

4. Rural Sanitary Mart

Since the district did not have an RSM, construction material as outsourced from a local market.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

8% respondents experienced indirect corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction of the Beneficiaries

73% of the respondents are satisfied with the overall construction process. This relatively lower level of satisfaction can be attributed to two factors; the beneficiaries were completely unaware of the amount spent on construction of toilet and neither did they have a say in the process of construction.

Case Study Observations

Angamma, a lone lady in the household got her toilet built some three months ago. She moved into Nakkasalem village a few years ago. Government has built the toilet for her. She reported the same procedural policies that the other beneficiaries had explained. Panchayat officials are the ones who helped her fill up the application form. Water is sourced from the public taps as in other cases. She expressed full satisfaction in the toilet construction process and said the toilet is very useful to her.



A Toilet in Kurur Village

Construction of toilets was undertaken completely by panchayats and beneficiaries did not have a say in the process neither were the informed of the expenses incurred. Construction of toilets by the panchayat without involving the beneficiaries at any level is rather depriving their rights to have a say in the process of construction. It is high time that this practice is stopped forthwith and let the beneficiaries have their voice in the entire process of construction.

Tirunelveli

The district of Tirunelveli is located in the southern part of Tamil Nadu. According to Census 2011, the population of Tirunelveli 30, 77,233, of which 49.40 percent lives in urban regions of district. The average literacy in the district is 82.5% which is greater than the national average of 74.04%.

Findings of the CRC are as follows:

1. Source of Information

26% of the respondents stated the Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information. 19% of the respondents stated the Swachchata Doot as the main source of information. The Swachchata Doot, who is an agent of change appointed by the government to raise awareness about the importance of sanitation, has not been effective in this district.

2. Usage of the Toilet

- 100% of the toilets were built by the beneficiaries themselves or with the help of a mason and 91% of the toilets are being used completely by all.
- Of those who cited water as a reason for non use of toilet, 73% did not have piped water supply in their home indicating that an increase in piped water supply will result in increased usage of toilets.

3. Cost of Construction

The respondents borrowed Rs.31, 069 on an average. It is the highest among all the six districts. The total cost of the toilet on an average was Rs.21, 319. Apart from the incentive, respondents paid Rs.14, 360 extra.

4. Prevalence of Corruption

Only 1% of the respondents experienced direct corruption.

5. Overall Satisfaction of the Beneficiaries
99% of the respondents are satisfied with the overall construction process. It is district
with the second highest level of satisfaction. This can be attributed to majority of the
beneficiaries being involved in the construction and the low level of corruption.

Case Study Observations

Mrs. Parameshwari(Village Poverty Reduction Committee Member) is from Keelapavore block. She is primarily in charge of motivating the households and persuading them to build the toilets under the SBM scheme. Her role is however beyond this basic description. She surveys the whole village and submits a list of probable beneficiaries to the officials for toilet construction. She works on contract basis and she earns around Rs. 16,000 for each contract. Apart from this, she earns Rs.300 per toilet which she motivates and builds for the households. Also, if she ensures consistency in usage of the toilets, she is entitled to get something above all this.

The village Presidents engaged the students to join hands with the panchayat to spread the message of swachch bharat and to change the mind-set of the people about the usage of household toilet.



A Western style toilet built in Keelapavore Block

ODISHA

Introduction

The governing body of Odisha State Water & Sanitation Mission (OSWM) in its 13th meeting has in principle adopted Total Sanitation Approach for implementation of SBM through use of a participatory tool called Community Led Total Sanitation tool. According to Census 2011, only 11% of the rural households have access to improved sanitation facilities. Thus, making Odisha Open Defecation Free is a mammoth challenge. With this mission and challenge in mind, the Odisha State Water and Sanitation Mission have developed a roadmap to achieve ODF Panchayats in the State on the basis of learning from past experience. It will provide guidance and support in monitoring the effective implementation of the programme. The Swachh Odisha Mission (Gramin) is based on a joint relationship among three entities, namely village communities and Gram Panchayats, District Water and Sanitation Mission (DWSM) and support organizations and other service providers.

The existing institutional structure of DWSM with the assistance of Support Organizations AND CLTS Motivators will be harnessed. The institutional arrangement for SOM at the district, block, GP level is built around Panchayat Raj Institutions, since SOM requires large scale social mobilization and effective monitoring, PRIs are envisaged as playing a crucial role along with other concerned officers. The institutional arrangement emphasizes on use of participatory tools and behavior change communication for demand generated support by a strong supply change management.

The study

A Citizen Report Card (CRC) exercise was conducted in six districts of Odishaviz. Sambalpur, Angul, Dhenkanal, Cuttack, Balasore and Ganjam to gather citizen feedback. The survey component was carried out at a very critical junction when NBA was announced as SBM and then formalized through the adoption of a national guideline, thus toilets were mainly those built during the NBA period. The districts chosen were roughly based on the performance and progress in the NBA project, feasibility and geographical context.

The objective of the study was to study citizen voices in the Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) (now SBM (G)) and to examine whether and how much the consumers/beneficiaries of the scheme had avenues for engagement with the process of building a household toilet in their homes.

Themes

The report is based on the following themes:

- ➤ Life span of a TSC/NBA toilet
- > Is lack of water an impediment to improving toilet usage
- Existence of rural sanitary marts and their utility by the beneficiaries
- Corruption and
- Vulnerability.

Summary of Sample Size-Odisha

Districts	Number of Blocks covered	Number of Gram Panchayats (GPs) covered	Number of Villages covered	Number of Households
Angul	2	19	32	452
Baleshwar	3	32	62	445
Cuttack	2	26	73	441
Dhenkanal	3	30	53	444
Ganjam	4	38	55	441
Sambalpur	3	36	61	457
Total	17	181	336	2680

CRC-1 Findings

Citizens who had built an Individual Household Latrine (IHHL) in the last five years using the NBA incentive (or the earlier TSC) constituted the respondents pool for the CRC survey. The findings are based on beneficiary responses to questions on key CRC themes such as access, quality and reliability, problems faced and resolution, extra payments made, and satisfaction with the services. They present a window into the implementation of the NBA program in the

two states and provide key pointers to the possible reasons for performance (or under performance) of the TSC/NBA in the two states.

- Despite decades of government efforts and large financial outlays, rural sanitation coverage has moved up by only a few percentage points.
- The situation is dismal when we assess the numbers of toilets in usable condition (functional toilets).
- Toilets are un-usable for various environmental (flooding, cyclones) as well as manmade reasons (low quality, contractor-built, lack of superstructure (walls, roof, and door), lack of money, contractor negligence.
- The SBM-Gramin does not make any provisions for repair and rebuilding of the early adapters' toilets.
- Although numbers may be reported by the states for each year, with targets as the benchmark for measuring success, it is evident that the toilets built are not surviving beyond short periods.

Toilet Usage

Only 48% of the users reported toilet usage by all members of the household all the time. Of the 47% that do not use the toilet, 23% (of the total sample) mentioned lack of water as a reason for not using the toilet.

Usage of water:

- Water usage among the overall sample (25 buckets) is lesser than water usage among those who cited lack of water as a reason for non-usage of toilets (22 buckets). So availability of water is clearly not an impediment to usage of toilets.
- ➤ Difference in water source whether piped-in or fetched seems to be a driver in deciding whether water is used for toilet flushing purposes. Those who cite lack of water are more likely to be fetching water from outside sources.



Availability of water, distance and trips being near constant, it appears that those who fetch water try to prioritize use due to the extra effort required in fetching the water when compared to those who have water piped into their dwelling or yard. Water for toilet purposes could be low on the priority list.

Use of Water for Sanitation

Use of water among the overall sample for sanitation purpose is as follows:

	No. of	
	Buckets/Pots	
	Each Day	
Purpose	Odisha	
Bathing	3.55	
Toilet Use	2.61	
Open Defecation	0.93	

Rural Sanitary Marts

While RSMs were touted as a one stop shop for buying toilet accessories in the rural areas, the concept has not really taken off yet. 88% of the respondents had not heard of a Rural Sanitary Mart (RSM). 12% of people who heard about the RSM said that the nearest RSM was 10 km from their house and only 25% of respondents had bought some item from there. Among the officials in Odisha, 35% reported that there was an RSM in the vicinity of their GP/Block/District. During field visits, some officials also shared that contractors and NGOs sometimes ran an RSM, and supplied materials from the Mart for the toilets they built. If the government wants to promote RSMs as such outlets, penetration in rural areas needs to be high and the RSMs need to be citizen friendly, accessible and economical.

Levels of Corruption in Service Delivery

➤ According to 87% of respondents, they did not have to pay anything extra at any stage in the toilet construction process. Of the 13% of the respondents who stated that they had to pay extra, 54% had to do so to be selected as a beneficiary.

- ➤ However, at 48%, the percentage of respondents being unable to use toilets due to discontinued construction and unusable condition is quite high. Thus, indirect corruption (lack of roof, shoddy construction) is rampant.
- Clear indications that, districts with contractor led toilet building processes, under the NBA are prone to both direct and indirect corruption.

Vulnerability:

This theme examines the CRC data to explore if there are any differences in the way different social and economic groups availed of the NBA incentive while building a toilet in their homes.

- ➤ Lower socio-economic groups had higher reports of having paid extra to avail of the NBA scheme benefits.
- Toilets in completed and usable condition were significantly lower in SC households and those living in kutcha houses.
- Lower socio-economic groups also were more likely to have toilets built by contractors/NGOs compared to higher socio economic groups.
- Those living in kucha house respondents reported fewer complete and usable toilets (38%) compared to respondents living in pucca houses (67%).
- ➤ Along the same lines, lower socio-economic groups had higher reports of paying extra money to avail of the NBA benefits.
- > Surprisingly, all these factors did not show a difference in overall satisfaction.

Satisfaction amongst Beneficiaries

- At 39%, beneficiaries have indicated low satisfaction levels with the overall construction process. The main reasons cited by the respondents for not being satisfied with the toilet construction process were absence of roof, walls and lack of money.
- > Contractor driven mass building of sub-standard toilets, with limited or no avenues for beneficiary engagement have elicited low satisfaction levels among the beneficiaries.

➤ It is observed that beneficiaries have indicated high satisfaction levels when they have a voice and ownership in planning for a toilet in their home, procuring materials and getting the toilet built.

Dhenkanal

Dhenkanal district is one of the centrally located districts in Odisha. According to the Census of 2011, the total population of the district is 11, 92,811 of which 89.99% of the population is rural. The average rate of literacy in the district is 79.41%.

Findings of the CRC are as follows:

1. Usage of Toilets

88% of the beneficiaries reported that toilets were built by NGO/Contractor. Correspondingly, usage of the toilets was low at 30%.

2. Source of Information

37% of the respondents cited the Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information.

3. Total Cost of Construction

Households incurred an extra cost of Rs.3296, apart from the incentive of Rs.10,000 given by the government. On an average, the total cost of construction was Rs.2189.

4. Awareness of Rural Sanitary Marts

Only 3% of the respondents were aware of a RSM.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

14% of the respondents experienced corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction with the Process

64% of the respondents were satisfied with the construction process.

Case Study Observations

It was observed that in Mangalpur Gram Panchayat, Dhenkanal the Swachh Bharat Mission has not taken off. Toilets have been approved, but construction is yet to begin. Even the Sarpanch of the village is waiting for the process to get expedited. The existing toilets, built under NBA and TSC have gone defunct. Also, IEC activities have not been undertaken in the village. Not a picture or hoarding about SBM could be seen. In the same village of Mangalpur, only BPL households were selected for the programme. When inquired about any instances of exclusion, the villagers were too afraid to speak up in front of the Sarpanch.



A Toilet without a Door and Roof

Cuttack

It is the second most populous district of Odisha, after Ganjam. According to the Census of 2011, the total population of the district is Rs. 26, 24,470 of which the rural population is 71.95%. The average rate of literacy in the district is 76.66%.

Findings of the CRC are as follows:

Usage of Toilets

90% of the beneficiaries built the toilet themselves or with the help of a mason. Consequently, at 77%, a large percentage of beneficiaries reported of the toilet being used by all members at all times.

Awareness of Rural Sanitary Marts
 3% of the respondents were aware of the rural sanitary marts.

2. Source of Information

88% of the respondents cited a Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information.

3. Total Cost of Construction

Households incurred an extra cost of Rs.8580, apart from the incentive of Rs.10,000 given by the government. On an average, the total cost of construction was Rs.12,885.

4. Prevalence of Corruption

Cuttack has the lowest level of corruption. Only 1% of the respondents experienced corruption.

5. Overall Satisfaction with the Process

79% of the respondents were satisfied with the construction process.

It was observed that the toilets in Athgarh block of Purushotampur village were built during the TSC period(2011-12). Majority of them were in a state of defunct; having no walls, door, floor or roof. And to add further, these toilets along with other properties are subjected to destruction by elephants encroaching on the villages.



A defunct toilet with low walls

Sambalpur

Sambalpur is located in the western part of the state. According to the Census of 2011, the total population of the district is 10, 41,099 of which 70.41% of the population is rural. The literacy rate in the district is 76.91%.

Findings of the CRC are:

1. Usage of Toilets

As high as 92 % of the respondents got toilet constructed by NGOs, and just 5 % of the households stated that all family members used the NBA toilets all the time.

2. Source of Information

11% of the respondents cited a Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information.

3. Cost of Toilet Construction

On an average, the total cost of construction was Rs.4090. Households incurred an extra cost of Rs.2468, apart from the incentive of Rs.10,000 given by the government.

4. Awareness regarding Rural Sanitary Marts25% of the respondents were aware of Rural Sanitary Marts.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

7% of the respondents experienced corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction with the Process

76% of the respondents were satisfied with the construction process.

Participation of beneficiaries in the process of toilet construction shows a grim picture. Households have never been a part of the selection process except for the fact that one fine morning they see that a mason with a couple of laborers have reached their door to construct a toilet inside the house yard. Thus, although the constructed toilets looked well built, the usage was dismal.

Balasore

Balasore is one of the coastal Districts of Odisha. It lies on the northernmost part of the state. According to the Census of 2011, the total population of the district is 23,17,419 of which the rural population is 89.08%. The average rate of literacy in the district is 80.66%.

Findings of the CRC are as follows:

1. Usage of Toilets

93% of the respondents stated that their toilets were built by NGO/Contractor. Only 50% of the respondents used the toilet all the time. It can be inferred that lower is the involvement of the beneficiaries in the construction process, lower is their sense of ownership and consequently lower usage.

2. Source of Information

35% of the respondents cited a Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information.

3. Total Cost of Construction

Households incurred an extra cost of Rs.2306, apart from the incentive of Rs.10,000 given by the government. On an average, the total cost of construction was Rs.4150.

4. Awareness of Rural Sanitary Marts

15% of the respondents were aware of rural sanitary marts.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

This district has the highest incidence of corruption. 38% of the respondents experienced corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction with the Process

62% of the respondents were satisfied with the construction process.



Case Study Observations

In Saharda village of Olonda Gram Panchayat, the toilets were relatively smaller in size, as compared to other districts in Orissa. The roofs did not have parapet and water tanks were placed on a concrete platform. The valves of the toilet were broken due to improper concrete/mud covering. While most people reported that all family members use these toilets, a few were locked up by wires. When the toilets were opened, it was found that they were used for storing or dumping dry wastes. Inadequate IEC activities resulted in lower awareness about the usage of toilets. The users did not have clear knowledge about the utility of Y-shaped 2 valve system provided under SBM.

Based on the data (list of households with constructed toilets) provided by the District Project Coordinator (DPC), the survey team could not find any households with toilets. There was a complete mismatch between the official data and actual toilets on the ground. Similarly, in Dehurda villag, enumerators stated that they were unable to locate a single toilet from the list provided by the concerned DPC. Surprisingly, the NGO that was supposed to have "built" the toilets had collected all their dues towards construction. The NGO did not want any survey to be conducted by our enumerators. Moreover, even though there was not even a single toilet, Dehruda village had been awarded the Nirmal Gram Puruskar by the Chief Minister in (2008-2009) for having achieved open defecation free (ODF) status.



A completed toilet in Balasore District

Angul

Angul district is located in the centre of the state. According to the Census of 2011, the total population of the district is 12, 73,821 of which 83.79% of the population is rural. The rate of literacy in the district is 77.53%.

Findings of the CRC are as follows:

Usage of Toilets

Here, 55% of the respondents had toilets built by an NGO/Contractor. Inspite of majority of the toilets being built by NGO/Contractor, usage was quite high at 89%.

2. Source of Information

21% of the respondents cited a Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information.

3. Total Cost of Construction

Households incurred an extra cost of Rs.9965, apart from the incentive of Rs.10,000 given by the government. On an average, the total cost of construction was Rs.13,860.

4. Awareness of Rural Sanitary Marts

The district demonstrated least awareness about RSMs amongst all the other districts. Only 1% of the respondents were aware of RSMs.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

6% of the respondents experienced corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction with the Process

58% of the respondents were satisfied with the construction process.

Although the construction coverage was high, participation of beneficiaries in the construction process was negligent. Toilets were constructed by NGOs and Contractors when households' had shown no demand. Secondly, although the quality of the constructed toilets was satisfactory, the small size of the water tanks and lack of water waterbodies in the vicinity were an impediment to toilet usage.

Ganjam

Ganjam is located in the southern part of the state, bordering Andhra Pradesh. According to the Census of 2011, the total population of the district is 35, 29,031 of which 78.24% of the population lives in rural areas. As of 2011, it is the most populous district of Odisha. The average rate of literacy in the district is 71.88%.

Findings of the CRC are as follows:

1. Usage of Toilets

Toilets of 41% of the respondents were built by NGO/Contractor. 55% of the respondents used the toilet all the time.

2. Source of Information

7% of the respondents cited a Gram Panchayat Official as the main source of information.

3. Total Cost of Construction

Households incurred an extra cost of Rs.11506, apart from the incentive of Rs.10,000 given by the government. On an average, the total cost of construction was Rs.13,590.

4. Awareness of Rural Sanitary Marts

25% of the respondents were aware of rural sanitary marts.

5. Prevalence of Corruption

The district has the second highest level of corruption. 12% of the respondents experienced corruption.

6. Overall Satisfaction with the Process

59% of the respondents were satisfied with the construction process.



Case Study Observations

It was observed that, in Fulta Gram Panchayat, proactiveness and economic resources of beneficiaries played a role in the design and construction of the toilet. There were three kinds of SBM toilets; one where beneficiaries contributed towards design, cost, materials to get a bigger toilet-bath complex, one where beneficiaries contributed just 1-2 materials of their choice in addition to the SBM components and one which was constructed as per the guidelines of the SBM officers. Beneficiaries who made no or minor contributions expressed relatively lower level of satisfaction.

It has been observed that in Gopalpur village, NGOs had built two different kinds of toilet within a span of 2-3 months. Villagers were upset with the NGO authority for having constructed small and poorly organised (water tanks not attached to toilet wall, no elevated platform for the pan, and smaller pan than others) toilets without taking their suggestions into consideration. At the same time, toilets in other side of the same village looked better organised in terms of highest, parapet, ventilation, attached water tank etc. On discussion, the official from the NGO said he received different instructions from the SBM office and hence the differences. The toilets were used infrequently because the villagers believed that pits would fill fast, indicating that beneficiaries were unaware and that IEC activities were not carried out efficiently.

In Kesampur Gram Panchayat of Kalikhote block, IEC activities were extremely inadequate. There were no hoardings, wall paintings, print form of advertisement on any aspect of SBM. None of the respondents received a verbal message. As a result of low awareness about the usage of toilet, adult members in households preferred to use the toilets infrequently due to fears like pit getting filled early.





A Completed Toilet in Ganjam District

Next Steps

Following the CRC and case studies, three more activities have been undertaken by the PAC Study team to advocate for improving consumer voices and accountability viz. CRC+ (Citizen Report Card+), CSC (Community Score Cards) and CRC2 (second round of Citizen Report Cards). CRC+ is a social accountability tool that assesses the quality, adequacy and effectiveness of different public services and tracks efficiencies in programmes or services provided to the citizens. It enables an in-depth analysis into the factors underlying the problems identified. It comprises of two tracks of analysis – Selected Expenditure Tracking (SET) and Function Marker Analysis (FMA), using information that is with the government. The SET measures and compares delays in the flow of funds and quantum of flows. The endeavor is to see whether resource availability is causal factor behind the differential performance in case of regional variations. Whereas, Function Marker Analysis entails identification and investigation of levels in the government involved in policy and implementation, specific functions to be performed at these levels, policy makers responsible for each function, timelines prescribed for completing each function and other norms to be complied with by the officials. CRC+ exercises were carried out for each of the selected districts in Tamil Nadu and Odisha and has been presented in the third version of the National Policy Review report.

Community Score Card is a social accountability tool that helps communities to assess the quality of service delivery and the performance of the service provider. Here, two score cards are prepared. The community generated performance score card is a report on the quality of service delivery by the service provider. It also reflects the general performance of the service provider. The self-evaluation score card involves evaluations carried out by the service providers on their own performance. After the scoring exercise for each side is complete, a meeting is held where the service providers and users gather to present their respective score cards and discuss ways to improve service delivery jointly by developing joint action plans. Community Score Card exercises are currently being carried out by PAC with their NGO partners in each of the 12 study districts with the aim to achieve improvement in consumer voices and accountability in Swachh Bharat Mission (Gramin).