Nanded Municipality

Nanded is the second largest urban center in the Marathwada region of Maharashtra. The Nanded Waghala Municipality has a population of about half a million and is divided into 6 planning zones and 4 prabhags, which are further subdivided into 79 electoral wards. The city of Nanded is the capital of Nanded district, one of the most backward districts in the otherwise wealthy state of Maharashtra. The National Rating Scheme on Sanitation (2009/10) ranks Nanded 199th among 423 cities surveyed. 41% of the city lives in slums. Conservative estimates say that 21% of the population practices open defection and inadequate sewerage and solid waste management systems create serious public health risks. In addition to the population that resides in the city, each year Nanded hosts about 3 million pilgrims who come to visit the Sachkand Gurdwara, one of the five holy sites of the Sikh religion.

Initiating Community-Led Total Sanitation in Nanded Municipality

In February 2011, newly appointed Municipal Commissioner, Nipun Vinayak along with his team decided to use the opportunity offered by a National Urban Sanitation Policy which requires all cities to prepare a City Sanitation Plan, to confront the sanitation challenge head-on. Whereas most city managers would have focused on improving infrastructure along with the delivery of waste management services, Vinayak’s prior experience in the rural Total Sanitation Campaign and exposure to Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) led him to believe that investments in community owned and community-led efforts to stop open defecation and littering, alongside investments in infrastructure and services would deliver better results for the city.

While the aim of mobilizing communities was to build community ownership of the sanitation problem and promote community leadership in building solutions, the investment in Community-Led Total Sanitation in Nanded seeks to go beyond improving sanitation. It seeks to transform the relationship between communities (particularly poor communities) and government; from one in which communities and government blame one another for development failures to one in which communities are active citizens who partner with government to solve development problems. Knowledge Links and Feedback Foundation were each appointed to facilitate community-led total sanitation in 2 of 4 prabhags of the city. While the CLTS approach has been successfully applied in rural areas, this is the first time CLTS is being implemented in an urban setting in India.

What is Community-Led Total Sanitation?

CLTS is a methodology that moves away from the traditional approach in which outsiders build community awareness, teach people about hygiene and provide subsidies for toilet construction. In CLTS, outsiders facilitate a process of critical reflection in communities that pushes them to confront the consequences of their sanitation practices – such as littering and open defecation – and then catalyzes communities to change their own behavior and living conditions.
What Action Communities are Taking

- Organizing sanitation committees
- Stopping open defecation
- Constructing or renovating toilets
- Composting at household and community level
- Creating kitchen gardens
- Monitoring the garbage collection truck
- Community monitoring and reporting to officials
- Transferring their experiences to other community

### CLTS Score Card for Nanded (Prabhags 2 & 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensitization workshops held</td>
<td>December 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation of City Sanitation Plan</td>
<td>February-March 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of Neighborhoods in Nanded</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of Neighborhoods where Knowledge Links is working</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of Neighborhoods in Prabhags 2 &amp; 4 in which communities are organized and taking action to improve sanitation</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of communities in which sanitation committees have been organized</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of communities regularly monitoring garbage collection by the waste management company</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of communities involved in cleaning drains</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of neighborhoods reporting regular garbage collection by vehicles deployed by the waste management company</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of markets of a total 29 markets in 2 Prabhags where action has been triggered</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of neighborhoods which are open defecation free</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of garbage free neighborhoods</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of schools triggered of a total of 95</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of colleges which have been activated of a total of 49 in the 2 prabhags</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why the Municipal Commissioner has Championed Community-Led Total Sanitation in Nanded

1. **Community-Led Approaches Need Institutional Champions**
   Having learned about the CLTS approach and having witnessed both the successes and failures of the Total Sanitation Campaign implemented in rural districts of Maharashtra, the Municipal Commissioner and his team recognize that community-led approaches need institutional champions to get institutional buy-in from political leaders, administrative staff and service providers and deliver responsive, accountable services.

2. **Closing the Gap Between Government and Citizen’s Development Priorities**
   There is often a mismatch between how development programs are shaped and delivered and what communities really need. This results in an adversarial relationship between government and citizens. By activating communities and creating mechanisms by which communities interface with municipal officials and service providers, Nanded’s CLTS program is attempting to close this citizen-government gap to build more collaborative relationships that will ultimately result in greater alignment between citizen’s demands and government’s delivery of development programs.

3. **Low- Risk, High- Return Investment**
   The Nanded Waghala City Municipal Corporation spends less than 1% of its total budget on CLTS. This is a small, low-risk investment that activates communities in ways that ultimately impact the effectiveness of larger investments in infrastructure and services that the city accesses through state and national government programs.
How Communities are taking the Lead

Children as Partners and Stakeholders

Children are, and should be seen as a key stakeholder group where sanitation is concerned. In many communities in Nanded, community facilitators find that while adults use their toilets, children are encouraged to defecate in the open. In Bhoi Galli, a settlement in Gawalipura Ward, the Gangaputra Sanitation Committee members report that they advocated with its wealthier neighbors in the adjacent buildings to ensure that their pipes discharge waste into drains, rather than the street. They also went to the police station and the neighboring student hostel, asking them to keep their soundings clean. The women who lead the committee maintain a register where they make note of who uses the toilets, whose turn it is to clean, dates when the garbage truck picks up the garbage and dates when the drains are cleaned. But with 90 houses and only 5 community toilets, it isn’t easy for children to get their turn in the toilet before school. So women have taken the lead in negotiating a system in the community that gives children priority in the toilet queues before 7 a.m. The Committee is also advocating with the Municipal Corporation for more toilets.

Children do their bit by cleaning their street and keeping a watchful eye on those who litter or defecate outdoors. They regularly report to the Sanitation Committee when they see people defecating outside, instead of using the toilets. The children also have an agreement among themselves that anyone caught defecating outdoors will have to buy chocolates for the rest of the group!

Women as Leaders

Parobai Gaekwad of Annabhau Sathe Sanitation Committee in Indiranagar, Sangvi, a poor settlement of about 50 houses, is one of the advanced community leaders identified by the community facilitators. Parobai has not only taken action in her own community, but is spreading the word in neighboring communities. This is what she has to say about the CLTS program: “There was dirt and shit all over this road and in our gully. We had to stop people from defecating outside. Sometimes, I would throw stones at people to prevent them from doing it here. Some children still defecate in the open but they make sure they cover it with mud. So now you see our road, how clean it is! The truck comes to pick up garbage every 2 or 3 days. The Commissioner has given us all the phone numbers… Just today, I have called the official who deals with water because we don’t have any water today.

You see, we have plenty of knowledge but no confidence. We know now that we should ask for what is ours but if we don’t get it we should take our things into our own hands and act. So I go to the municipality regularly to find out about things and to see why things are not happening. That’s why I have been able to get permission for a primary health center and a temple here. I have also constructed a toilet for about Rs. 2500. I didn’t use a contractor. We just did it ourselves…

I am the leader of 150 self help groups so traveling to different places is not new to me. …I have gone to talk to other communities like Maltekdi and Mahbubnagar (on sanitation). Sometimes they ask me, why do all this for no money? I explain to them that if our food is contaminated and rubbish lies around, won’t we fall ill, and have to pay a thousand rupees to take injections?”

A woman leader of the Sanitation Committee in Bhimghat who learned about sanitation from the adjacent neighborhood says, “We learned that dirt doesn’t just look bad and smell, it causes sickness. That’s when we got it into our heads that we have to change our surroundings… earlier we said the Municipal Corporation should be doing all the work. Now we feel we have to act—it’s our lives… We have cleaned our surroundings, planted about 25-30 trees, created a compost pit, we want to make a garden and want to have a proper drain here. Health problems have halved. Small children would suffer from diarrhea, dysentery, vomiting and malaria. We have toilets here but they haven’t functioned for the last 10-15 years. But In the past year, we have got new drainage systems in our community so gradually people are beginning to build new toilets. But there’s also a land dispute here. This land originally belonged to the Gurdwara but now the Gurdwara wants its land back.”
How Community facilitators Catalyze Community Action on Sanitation

1. Multi-Stakeholder Workshops to Get Consent and Cooperation
The first thing Knowledge Links does is to hold workshops for all the stakeholders who will be involved in improving sanitation in the city to explain the goals and the process of the CLTS initiative and get the support of local community leaders, elected officials, municipal officials, private sector and prominent citizens.

2. Pre-Triggering Visits to Communities
Next, Knowledge Links facilitators visit local communities to gauge their interest in sanitation issues and in coming together to talk about it. Facilitators also try to find out if there are active community based organizations such as women’s self-help groups, youth groups, etc. These groups and other leaders from the community are asked to call a meeting of the entire settlement. This meeting will be used as the opportunity for triggering. Invariably communities assume that outsiders will teach them something. Knowledge Links facilitators try to contradict this by explaining that they will merely ask questions to learn more about the sanitation situation in the community.

3. Triggering Community Action
Community Facilitators use a number of different tools to get communities to confront the consequences of leaving garbage in their streets or defecating in the open. Through trial and error they have refined and adapted their triggering strategies to target different segments of the urban dwellers - working class communities living in the mill areas, slum communities, middle class neighborhoods, schools, markets, etc. While for some communities the issues related to privacy and dignity matter more, others are catalyzed to take action when they understand health risks related to food and water contamination and how illnesses drain their incomes and savings.

**Signs that Facilitators have succeeded in Triggering Community Action**
Facilitators know that communities have been ‘triggered’ when they start expressing their disgust at the germs, dirt and fecal matter they are consuming everyday as a result of open defecation and leaving garbage out. The next stage is usually one in which communities are incensed by their situation and begin to blame the government, the absence of municipal services and one another. Then, finally they resolve to take action immediately. Once the community resolves to act, facilitators provide them with some ideas on how they might want to organize themselves through sanitation committees and help to identify volunteers who will take the lead.

4. Follow up Visits to Communities
At follow up meetings to communities, community facilitators check what progress has been made. In conversations with community members they might provide information on where to go and whom to talk to in order to understand more about municipal services or land tenure issues or provide technical advice on things like garbage separation and composting.
While skeptical about the CLTS at first, municipal councilors are accepting that CLTS has had an impact on sanitation and believe that it has transformed people’s attitudes and behavior. Where sanitation conditions are not improving, it is in their view this is because municipal services are not functioning adequately. While there are those who acknowledge the importance of multi-stakeholder partnerships in sustaining the success of CLTS, elected representatives seem to want to evolve clear roles for themselves in representing the interest of their constituents to the city.

Corporator Kishore Swamy from Ward 1 says that it is the presence of outsiders that makes a difference to communities. He thinks that if outsiders say something is a problem, people are more likely to take it seriously. Swamy goes on to say, “People are inspired. They believe it (sanitation) is our work and we shouldn’t wait for someone else to do it. Where things are not working it is because services are not going to the wards” He seems to suggest that the new tender for contracting a waste management company is at least in part due to people’s reports of irregular garbage collection in their neighborhoods.

Corporator Ganpat Dhabale from Degaon Chaal, was among those who were quite skeptical when the CLTS was first introduced in Nanded. However, he admits that while more needs to be done, a lot has changed. He pinpoints the need for multi-stakeholder collaboration and greater recognition and publicity to sustain the process. “Knowledge Links has changed the attitude of the public and of some corporators. When they (Knowledge Links) first had their workshop corporators laughed and mocked them. They didn’t really believe in this process. But now things are different. But, often, the Municipal Corporation makes promises but doesn’t keep them. For example, the drains are supposed to be cleaned regularly but aren’t. Garbage should be picked up at least every two days here, but it isn’t. The system doesn’t have enough workers to manage the services like picking up garbage or cleaning drains. If all the parties come together and cooperate then this will work. To keep this process going, the public and Knowledge Links and the Municipality have to work together. It’s essentially women who are doing the most... As ‘nagar sevaks” we should support this initiative. To sustain this work we need more media and publicity to encourage people who have taken action. We also need to form ward level committees who will take up sanitation issues at the ward level.”

Political advisor to Sangvi’s corporator D. D. Kokate says, “People are doing their best but aren’t getting enough support from the government. To sustain this work, there should be ward level committees which are led by elected representatives. It is important for people’s representatives to play a role in monitoring services and reporting out when services don’t reach communities. We can’t ask people to take action without doing our part to provide them with effective services. The poor people in communities should get contracts for some of the work that is done to improve services and infrastructure in these communities. And service providers should be paid according to their performance.”

How Communities are Experiencing Empowerment

- Services are working better because service providers know that communities have access to officials and can report them.
- Earlier no one sat down together or worked collectively
- People’s confidence and courage has increased.
- People are prepared to listen to community leaders because they are demonstrating change themselves and showing everyone the benefits of taking action.
- When women work collectively others are compelled to hear them
How CLTS is Transforming Nanded

- **Poor and low income communities are learning that they have a role to play in solving development problems**
  In Prabhags 2 and 4, 238 communities have agreed to take action. More than 500 leaders who are committed to taking action have surfaced through this process. 157 Sanitation Committees have been activated. Many of them have stopped open defecation, introduced garbage separation and composting at both household and community level and regularly report to the waste management company or the municipal commissioner if waste is not being collected regularly. In addition many community leaders are advocating in communities other than their own to improve sanitation practices. Only a year ago, most communities believed that it was the government’s job to solve its problems.

- **Women are being empowered**
  Through the CLTS women have an opportunity to take on leadership roles which are in the public domain. Not only are women, particularly those in poor neighborhoods, recognizing that their confidence has grown, but other community members as well as administrative and elected officials are recognizing the contribution that women are making in improving their communities.

- **Garbage collection is more regular**
  On the service delivery side, community monitoring and reporting has led to more regular garbage collection by the waste management company contracted by the municipality. 176 communities in Prabhags 2 and 4 are reporting that garbage trucks are picking up garbage in their neighborhoods regularly.

- **New mechanisms for citizens to engage municipal officials**
  The CLTS has resulted in regular Zonal Review Meetings attended by the Municipal Commissioner. These meetings are a win-win for communities and the Municipality. Communities are given opportunities to report progress, voice grievances and seek redressal, while the Municipality gets direct, accurate information of how communities are experiencing the sanitation program. This is information that would normally have been filtered through various layers of people before it came to the Municipality.

- **New Incentives are reconfiguring power equations**
  Dysfunctional systems often persist because there are no incentives to change them. In Nanded, the Municipal Corporation’s formal involvement and commitment to CLTS is critical to introducing new incentives for improving both community involvement and government’s effectiveness in sanitation. The Municipal Commissioner’s visits and recognition of active communities and their demands, immediately signals to administrators, elected officials and communities alike that sanitation is a priority and that communities who have organized themselves to solve problems must be heard and responded to. Regular visits to communities and Zonal Review Meetings coupled with regular garbage collection demonstrate to communities that they are being taken seriously. Similarly, informal recognition rewards municipal staff who take initiative to make the system function more effectively. This contradicts the dominant belief that no one is really paying attention to how they do their jobs. In a sense, through changing the incentive structures, the CLTS program is reconfiguring relationships of accountability and collaboration, and thus power, among communities, municipal officials, private service providers and municipal councilors.
Some Challenges for CLTS

- **Expectations of new housing and infrastructure from the government.**
  Several poor communities have been identified as those who will receive housing and infrastructure, including toilets through the Basic Services for the Urban Poor (BSUP) under the Government of India’s Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission. This can sometimes prevent communities from organizing their own initiatives because they assume that their communities will change once they have toilets. But in some communities the BSUP is complementing community efforts to improve sanitation practices.

- **Insecure land tenure and threats of eviction can make sanitation a low priority.**
  In communities such as Ramnagar in Zone 2, in which poor communities have insecure tenure, the threat of eviction is so large and so urgent that communities are pre-occupied with it and any outsider entering the community is perceived as someone who may have more information or power to help provide secure tenure. Often communities such as this one, are targets of misinformation from private developers or municipal staff. In this context, it can be difficult to focus communities on sanitation unless they can link their organizing to securing tenure.

- **People’s representatives are rethinking their positions in the context of emerging realities.**
  Municipal councilors have traditionally been the ones who bring citizen’s concerns to the administration. With the CLTS program now enabling more direct contact between citizens and the municipality, councilors must quickly adapt to a changing reality. Implicit in their discussions is the knowledge that something has shifted in terms of the relationships between their constituents and the municipal corporation. The challenge is now for political leaders to strategically position themselves inside of the new configuration that is emerging.

Emerging Insights from CLTS in Nanded

1. **Institutional champions are critical for CLTS.**
   Municipal Commissioner and his team’s support through incentivizing community action and effective functioning of services and setting up formal and informal mechanisms for community interface with officials are key to the success of CLTS so far. The Municipal Commissioner sees one of his key roles as gaining the confidence of municipal staff and the political leadership.

2. **Investments in building community leadership and demand are complemented by investments in improving sanitation infrastructure and services.**
   CLTS has to go hand in hand with investment in hardware and more effective, efficient service delivery on the government’s side to complement a community-led process. In Nanded this support is provided through resources from the Basic Services for the Urban Poor Program which is part of the National Government’s Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission.

3. **Incentive structures have to change in order to sustain transformation.**
   The initiatives taken by communities and the responsiveness demonstrated by service providers are in large part due to new incentive structures that have been introduced through the CLTS program. Incentive structures include informal recognition for service providers, officials and communities who are contributing to improving sanitation as well as things like directing development program resources to those communities which demonstrate capacities to show good results.

4. **Women’s leadership is key to the success of CLTS in Nanded.**
   At the community level, it is women who have taken the lead in cleaning up their surroundings by forming sanitation committees, ending open defecation, initiating waste recycling and composting and monitoring the delivery of sanitation services. Several advanced women leaders are also reaching out to other communities to transfer the lessons and practices they have learned through the CLTS process. As women feel more empowered their capacity to lead sanitation improvements grows.
What is the Future of CLTS in Nanded? Some Questions for Reflection

In the brief span of a year, the CLTS in Nanded has accomplished a lot and is still gaining momentum. How can the city maintain this momentum and consolidate the changes taking place? How can our understanding of the factors that contribute to the success of CLTS be applied to create strategies for sustaining CLTS efforts in Nanded? What kinds of institutional arrangements and incentive structures should be put in place in the next stages of the CLTS? How can new incentives and engagement mechanisms such as the Zonal Review Meetings be formalized? How will the City Sanitation Plan and other Government programs sustain or build upon the achievements of the CLTS? Will the CLTS survive in the absence of a highly committed institutional champion? What will it take to evolve effective ward level committees, led by elected ward officials, as effective decentralized mechanisms that aggregate community priorities and advocate for them at city level?

How can communities keep learning from one another and innovating on their strategies to improve sanitation, and ultimately to address other development issues? How will the City Sanitation Plan and other Government programs build upon the achievements of the CLTS? Will poor communities get a seat at the table where citywide plans are made? Is it a good idea to federate and link all the communities active in the CLTS to a city-wide federation through which communities can exchange practices, aggregate their priorities and advocate for them at city level? Recognizing that women’s leadership is critical to the CLTS process, how can the CLTS nurture an empowerment process that affirms women’s knowledge and leadership and mobilizes these to close the gap between people’s priorities and government-led development programs?