



The making of "Swachh" India

**Lessons from the Swachh
Bharat Mission – driving
behaviour change at scale**

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Foreword

The Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM), which is perhaps the largest behaviour change campaign ever, aims to make India a clean nation. There is enough evidence to show that India is on a new trajectory of growth owing to the achievements under the mission.

SBM has witnessed a phenomenal increase in rural sanitation coverage from 39 per cent to 90 per cent in the last four years. It is heartening to see the people of our nation stepping beyond their roles as mere beneficiaries of the programme to becoming its leaders.

The large majority of citizens in rural India, especially the women, no longer have to suffer the indignity of having to go out into the open to defecate. In fact, women are becoming the primary force in driving the nation in becoming free from open defecation. It marks a sea change in their attitude which has a direct impact on their dignity and quality of life.

The World Health Organization (WHO) believes that SBM could prevent about 300,000 deaths due to water borne diseases assuming we achieve 100 per cent coverage by October 2019. The credit for this will go to every Indian who was part of this campaign.

I take this opportunity to congratulate the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation and every citizen in the country for catalysing the achievements achieved thus far.

We have committed ourselves to attain a nation free from open defecation by Mahatma Gandhi's 150th birth anniversary. The next 12 months are therefore crucial to achieving the goals of the mission and thereafter an accelerated achievement of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 6.



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Executive summary



Political support critical

Continuous support from the highest level drives change across levels. In the case of SBM the Prime Minister's call to action garnered participation from all sections of the society and from stakeholders at various levels turning the campaign into a Jan Andolan on the same year it was launched, something that has never been achieved by any government-led sanitation programme in the past. The Prime Minister backed the programme with adequate resources and a budget of over USD 20 billion.



Think scale, not drip drip

Programme initiatives must think scalability during design process with an objective to reach everyone, everywhere. Change must come fast, like a revolution, and not incrementally. SBM has created several sustainable and demonstrative models with a focus on quality of sanitation service delivery and Mission sustainability.



Engagement with implementers

The Centre very early on in the mission realised continuous and close engagement with states and districts was paramount in their journey to become Open Defecation Free (ODF)⁰¹. Regular meetings with political and bureaucratic leadership of states were held to push sanitation to the top of the state's development agenda. Numerous cross-learning platforms, trainings and national level conferences have played a pivotal role in establishing demonstrative learning, and served as ready reckoners for implementers in replicating the successes across districts. Large scale events were organized to engage with grassroots leadership like Sarpanchs and Swachhagrahis.

01. ODF is the termination of faecal-oral transmission, defined by a) no visible faeces found in the environment/village; and b) every household as well as public/community institution using safe technology options for disposal of faeces



Getting everyone involved

The key differentiator of SBM has been its citizen-centric approach of engaging all stakeholders and making sanitation everyone's business. This was done keeping in mind the objective that greater the recall, faster the behaviour change. The large scale attention drawn by the Mission can be correlated with the perpetual campaign mode it adopts.

Further the Ministry has engaged deeply with private philanthropies and corporates to drive various initiatives and has collaborated with other departments/ministries, which have not only helped uniform implementation of SBM outcomes, but has also helped smoothen out frictions due to jurisdictional issues.



Success breeds success

By targeting the low hanging fruits – converting high coverage districts to ODF, the mission was able to create a demonstration effect. This in turn inspired the neighbouring districts to develop efficient systems and strategies to support districts in becoming ODF. The learnings from these early successes were subsequently used to support the more challenging districts.

Further, the sunset clause of making India ODF by 2019 demands a focused strategy and has proved beneficial in aligning various stakeholders towards a common goal.



Competition and housekeeping

Healthy competition is key to achieving the mission's objectives. With the aim of fostering healthy competition between states and districts for improving cleanliness standards across rural India, the Swachh Survekshan survey was launched. Apart from evaluating progress, the survey encouraged large-scale citizen participation and accelerated Mission implementation by aiding the incorporation of sustainability in Mission implementation, through focus on outcomes and impact rather than inputs.

Background

Sanitation has remained a major challenge for India since Independence. According to Census 2011, only 31 per cent of rural households had access to toilets. The negative impact of this deficit was evident across India and reflected by the high rates of stunting, malnutrition, diarrhoea and death from water-borne diseases. India has seen a number of sanitation programmes beginning 1986 to 2018. These include Central Rural Sanitation Programme (CRSP) in 1986, Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) in 1999 and Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) in 2012. Neither of these programmes could meet the set objectives nor sustain the outcomes, leading to major slippages. On 2 October 2014, on the 145th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) with the objective of ensuring universal sanitation coverage by 2 October 2019, the Mahatma's 150th birth anniversary.

Since its launch in 2014, SBM has been effective in bringing sanitation to the centre of India's development discourse. It is the world's largest behaviour change programme initiated by any government, involving and benefiting the health and livelihood of approximately 18 per cent of the global population.

At the start of the SBM in 2014, about 600 million people in India defecated in the open, of which 550 million were in rural areas. The SBM was broadly made up of two parts: the Swachh Bharat Mission-Gramin (SBM-G), the rural component of the Mission, driven by the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation (MDWS), and the Swachh Bharat Mission-Urban (SBM-U). The MDWS also works towards mainstreaming sanitation across other sectors and Ministries like railways, schools, hospitals, highways, tourist places etc.

As of September 2018, the sanitation coverage of India is upwards of 93 per cent and over 465,000 villages have been declared ODF. Towards the end of 2017, an independent verification agency (IVA) conducted the National Annual Rural Sanitation Survey (NARSS)⁰², and found that 93.4 per cent people who had toilets, used them regularly. NARSS also re-confirmed the ODF status of 95.6 per cent of the villages that had been verified ODF by the state governments.

An assessment of the programme brings forth some key lessons for such missions, and this case study attempts to document them with an aim to serve as an important starting point for other similar programmes globally.



02. NARSS is a part of the World Bank support project to Swachh Bharat Mission - Gramin

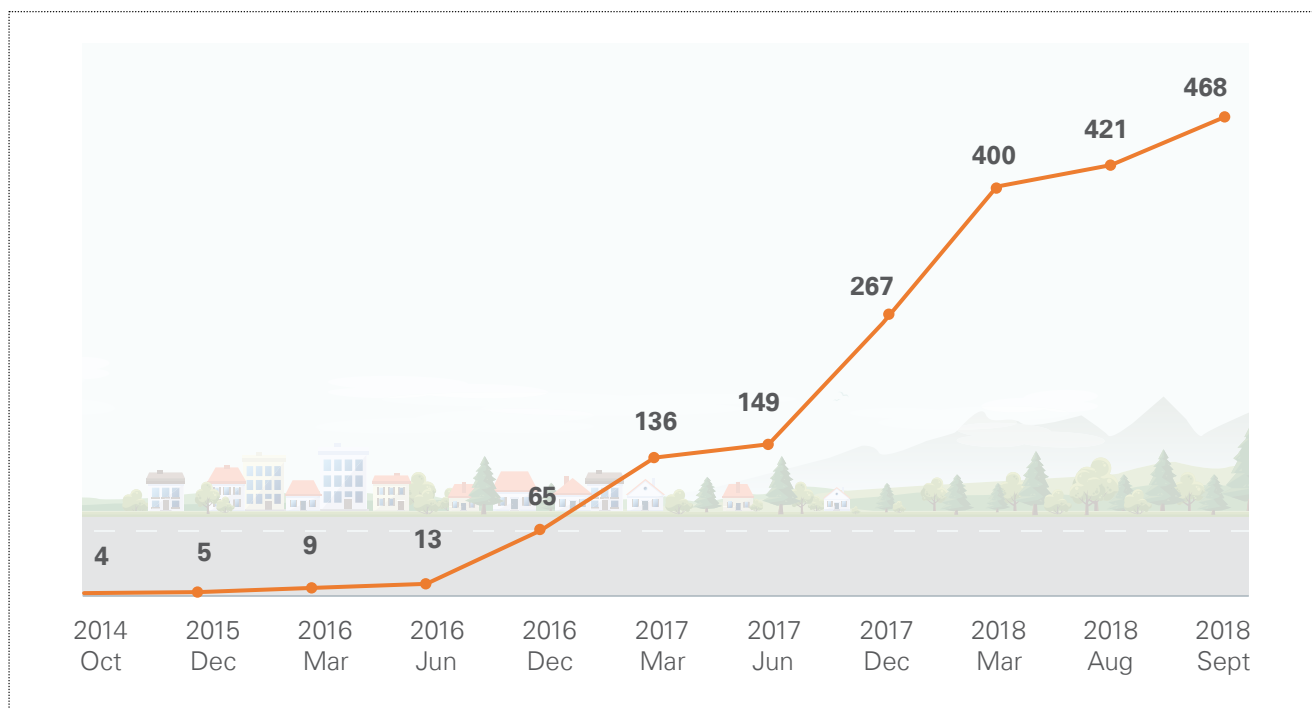


Exhibit 1: Number of Open Defecation Free Districts in India (Source: SBM-G MIS)
Accelerated achievement in past 28 months



The scale of the problem



The inability to gather public support has been a shortcoming of sanitation programs prior to SBM, resulting in their failure to create substantial improvement to the sanitation status of the country. The lack of focus on behaviour change, demand creation and leadership had resulted in slow progress, and these programs were not owned by the people for whom they were designed. The key socio-cultural and administrative challenges that the SBM needed to overcome are:

Scale and geographic spread, together with non-homogeneity

India, home to 1.35 billion people⁰³ has 29 states, 7 union territories, each having their own distinguishable language, customs, traditions and cultural beliefs, which further complicates the already daunting task of providing safe sanitation. Various government programmes have tried to promote sanitation solutions in remote, poorly connected, rocky/hilly and flood-prone areas, demanding solutions that are both geographically and climatically resilient. All of these issues call for a strategy to address varied needs and requirements.

Ingrained behaviour – centuries-old practices

Provisioning of safe sanitation cannot be done by providing infrastructural provisions alone. It needs an understanding of deeper issues defining social and

cultural beliefs. For example, usage of toilets cannot be entirely attributed to issues of maintenance and accessibility. These behaviours are also shaped by social norms, mindsets, and cultural preferences. Evidence suggests that in many areas open defecation is an accepted norm and constructing a toilet within the premises is considered unacceptable. Normalising safe sanitation practices demands bundling a strong, socially accepted, innovative package of solutions. Bringing about a change to these behaviours and beliefs is both challenging and complex.

Multi-layered implementation structures

In India, sanitation is a state subject thereby making the state the prime entity responsible for implementing sanitation programmes. However, given the competing priorities in each state, bringing sanitation to the forefront is posing as a major challenge. The federal structure also demands corresponding systems at the state level, for effective implementation of the policies formulated at the central level. Further, the capacities at the state level need to be reconsidered and strengthened for effective implementation.

In light of the above, it is prudent to document the key success factors which have enabled the mission to achieve the milestones it has.



03. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2018). World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision, Online Edition.



Success factors

Success factor 1: Political support critical

An essential element attributing to the success of the programme has been the ownership and interest of the Prime Minister. This highlights the role of the top leadership in bringing about the perceptible positive changes evident in the masses. In the case of SBM, the Prime Minister's personal involvement has proved to be a game changer. The Prime Minister has been the driving force behind the mantra that, 'swachhata is everyone's business'. Periodic monitoring and interaction with the masses, through large campaigns such as, Mann Ki Baat, felicitating Swachhata champions have proven to be positive reinforcements shaping behaviour. For instance, on 27 August 2017, in his Mann Ki Baat address, the Prime Minister made a call for citizen participation in the Swachhata movement in the run-up to the 3rd anniversary of SBM under a nation-wide sanitation campaign, "Swachhata Hi Seva" (SHS), the second

edition of which is being organized in run up to the 4th anniversary.

Additionally, the mission has seen a high level of commitment and initiative from the bureaucratic leadership, with the Secretary, MDWS personally visiting states and villages to drive implementation and to motivate implementing agencies. The same has been the case for other senior officials as well.

At the state and district levels, the mission has seen unprecedented levels of ownership and championing not only by the political and bureaucratic leadership, but also by the civil society. Driven by the call from the very top of the political leadership, ground level mobilization has been at a scale seldom seen in other social programmes, especially in one related to sanitation.



Prime Minister Narendra Modi constructing Toilet Pit (Source: MDWS)

Success factors

Success Factor 2: Think scale, not drip drip

Supply follows demand creation

Scaling-up the quality and efficacy of the programme gets established by the demand-driven nature of the programme induced by behaviour change. The correct sequencing of the programme focuses on triggering the communities to create demand for toilets, followed by toilet constructions and constant monitoring by Nigrani Samitis (Vigilance Committees). This structured approach has helped minimise slippage and shape behaviour aligned with safe sanitation practices.

Large scale mobilisation for sustained behaviour change, making it a Jan Andolan

SBM has been able to transform a government-led programme into a Jan Andolan. Shaping the behaviour of the masses demanded designing an IEC approach, which was unconventional in nature and could trigger behaviour change in the communities. Strategic interventions for strengthening the capacities of the Swachhagrahis (sanitation foot soldiers) in addition to adopting a comprehensive 360-degree strategy which engaged various eminent personalities and the communities to target the

prevailing issues proved beneficial. These eminent personalities included political leaders, government officials, sports persons, actors, faith leaders, etc. Community-led initiatives were facilitated through the involvement of school children, youth from Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan (NYKS), National Cadet Corps (NCC), National Service Scheme (NSS), etc.

Large public financing and incentive for weaker and marginalised sections of society

Approximately USD 30 billion has been allocated by the government under sanitation activities for rural and urban India. This includes an incentive of USD 180 per household for over 80 million households through central and state Government and investments for sanitation by Ministries in their sectors. Convergence with developmental schemes of the Government of India such as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) and additional village level funding available through the Finance Commission. Several schemes such as MGNREGA, 14th Finance Commission are being implemented by Gram Panchayats (GPs) to implement various community related sanitation works.





Success Factor 3: Engagement with implementers

Unique PM-CM-DM-SM (Prime Minister-Chief Minister-District Magistrate-Swachhagrahi Motivator) Model

The Mission, in order to streamline and accelerate implementation, embarked on a continuous and close engagement with states and districts from very early in their ODF journey. The success of the programme can be attributed to the unique way of engaging leadership, at all levels. The seamless trickle-down effect of objectives and interest has been a result of the transformative vision of the national leadership, political willingness and the inclusion of multiple stakeholders at the grassroots level.

Evidence indicates that SBM has succeeded in those states and districts where the CMs and DMs have prioritised it. Political willingness has been a key driver in accelerating implementation, particularly the role of political leaders in connecting with the masses for driving behaviour change. In states like UP, Rajasthan, Uttarakhand and Andhra Pradesh, the programme gained momentum due to the interest of the CM. Moreover, the role of DMs and District collectors (DCs) has also played a crucial role in promoting innovation in implementation of the programme. MDWS, led by a specialist Secretary, has been constantly supporting the states in implementing the programme. Structured and strategic engagements with Chief Secretaries and Mission Directors has played a pivotal role in prioritising SBM at state and district levels and grassroots level by connecting Swachhagrahi motivators in the SBM governance model.

The Zila Swachh Bharat Prerak programme

In partnership with one of the leading philanthropic organization of India, MDWS launched the Zila Swachh Bharat Prerak (ZSBP) initiative. The initiative would place around 600 young professionals in each district of the country to give a boost to the Swachh Bharat Mission.

The initiative, aimed at nurturing Zila Swachh Bharat Preraks for every district in India, is a first of its kind partnership between a philanthropic organization and Government of India to effect change at this scale.



SBM-G Governance Model

Continuous capacity building

In order to promote learning and capacity building, which in turn would enable rapid replication of the successes achieved under the mission, MDWS has continuously held conferences, cross learning workshops, exposure visits and facilitated other knowledge management tools such as Swachh Sangraha.



Zila Swachh Bharat Prerak Programme

Success factors

Success Factor 4: Getting everyone involved

Army of sanitation soldiers (Swachhagrahis)

Swachhagrahis, a community of foot soldiers and motivators, are the key drivers for making villages ODF and have been actively engaged with Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), Self Help Groups (SHGs), ASHA, and Anganwadis. Currently there are more than 450,000 Swachhagrahis supporting the implementation of SBM. These foot soldiers have been instrumental in spreading awareness about the importance of practising safe sanitation. Putting in relentless efforts, the Swachhagrahis have been continuously working in the field to change community perceptions and build 'ownership' of sanitation facilities amongst the masses. They are involved from the beginning to the end of the village's ODF journey - mobilising the communities, triggering demand for toilets, assisting in toilet construction, ensuring toilet usage, conducting field visits and assisting the morning Nigrani Samitis.

Continuous campaign mode

A number of large scale events were organised under the Mission that helped build the momentum amongst its key stakeholders. These include the following

- a. Swachhata hi Seva 2017 witnessed a massive number of people coming together and undertaking Shramdan. More than 9 crore community members participated in the campaign. A second edition of this campaign is being held in the run up to the 4th anniversary of the mission.
- b. Satyagraha se Swachhagraha proved to be a pertinent platform for facilitating mass triggering by 20,000 Swachhagrahis from across India
- c. Swachh Shakti ascertained the crucial role of women's' participation in Swachh Bharat Mission and was attended by more than 6000 women sarpanchs in Gujarat
- d. Swachh Sankalp se Swachh Siddhi, a mass cleanliness movement was marked by a countrywide film, essay and painting competition for primary school students, held between 17 August and 8 September, 2017
- e. Swachhathon 1.0, a crowdsourcing solution for addressing various sanitation woes brought together innovators from all parts of the country who showcased technologies/solutions for solving specific sanitation challenges
- f. India Sanitation Conference (INDOSAN) provided a crucial platform for initiating a discourse on sanitation and behaviour change.



Various campaigns under Swachh Bharat Mission

Inter-ministerial collaboration

One of the things that has set apart the Swachh Bharat Mission, is the level of involvement of all ministries and other government as well as private agencies. The MDWS has successfully driven various programmes/ campaigns with collaboration of other departments and ministries, which goes a long way in eliminating any frictions in robust implementation



of the mission objectives. Some examples of such special initiatives are:

- **Namami Gange:** Ganga Gram is a project under Namami Gange Programme. The project is focused on better cleanliness and infrastructure facilities such as solid and liquid waste management, rejuvenation of ponds and water sources, water conservation projects, organic farming, tourism and convergence with other government departments and projects. In September 2018, 25 Ganga villages have been identified to be taken up as pilot project to transform them into Ganga Grams.
- **Swachhata Action Plan (SAP):** Under SAP each Ministry/Department takes up accountable and budgeted action plan for Sanitation. In the financial year 2017-18, 76 Ministries/Departments have earmarked funds worth INR 5248 crore for their Swachhta Plans.
- **Swachhata Pakhwada (SP):** Thematic fortnightly initiatives owned by various line ministries where 4-5 Ministries are given 15 days' time in a month as per a pre-decided calendar to take up countrywide initiatives to enhance sanitation parameters. 75 Ministries and Departments will be observing Swachhata Pakhwada during FY 2018-19. 92 Pakhwadas have been held till date.
- **Swachh Swasth Sarvatra (SSS):** Is a joint initiative with Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, converging initiatives under SBM, National Health Mission and Kayakalp. The objective of this initiative is to strengthen community health centres in all ODF blocks across the country to enable them to achieve higher levels of sanitation and hygiene by focussing on prevention of diseases.
- **School sanitation, Anganwadi sanitation, Railway sanitation, Swachhata at petrol pumps:** Mainstreaming swachhata elements at various public places in conjunction with respective line ministries, enabling inculcation of a broader culture of swachhata, beyond household toilets.
- **Rashtriya Swachhata Kendra:** The Rashtriya Swachhata Kendra to be set up by the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation at the Gandhi Smriti and Darshan Samiti, Rajghat, aims to monitor the progress of the Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM).
- **Swachh Iconic Places (SIP):** Initiative by MDWS to improve sanitation standards at 100 iconic places to enhance sanitary facilities and infrastructure, increase private sector participation, promote awareness, inter-ministerial collaboration and regularly monitor the progress at 30 Iconic sites in 3 Phases.



Launch of Swachh Swasth Sarvatra

Success factors

Success factor 5: Success breeds success

Establishing credibility

The leadership of the mission realised early on that it was critical to demonstrate success in order to convince the most sceptical of people. The approach adopted for the same was to establish quick wins, and therefore states and districts which were on the verge of achieving ODF status were targeted first. These successes (such as achievement of ODF status by states such as Sikkim and Himachal Pradesh) established the credibility of the approach being taken, and further motivated implementers with regards to the mission. Thereafter, a focus on going for the high hanging fruits was adopted, and the most challenging and difficult objectives were targeted. A prominent example of this has been the initiative to target all Ganga villages (villages on banks of river Ganga) becoming ODF ahead of time. With a focused approach, so far 94 per cent of 1,662 Ganga Gram Panchayat's have been declared and verified as ODF and have already started working on Solid and Liquid Waste Management (SLWM) initiatives.

Similarly, from the very beginning of the mission, laggard or challenging states have been targeted and a focused, hand holding approach has been adopted towards the same. This has helped several challenging districts and states to achieve ODF status.

Further, the presence of a sunset clause of making India ODF by 2 October 2019 has proven beneficial

in the top leadership of the country and over 9 crore individuals joining hands to help achieve the objectives for a Swachh Bharat.

Learning from success

When SBM was initiated, there were several naysayers, who were convinced that it is an impossible task. This necessitated achieving early successes and then using those as demonstrable models to the rest of the country. Some of the tools used for the same (not comprehensive) are:

- Swachhta Samachar – A periodic newsletter, which highlighted various stories from across the country, as well as good practices, served as a ready reckoner for implementers.
- Various case studies from across the country have been documented in a standard form and disseminated.
- Swachh Sangraha – A knowledge management portal has been created for hosting case studies, user guides, as well as a directory of resource persons who can be referred to by implementers
- Several cross learning workshops, seminars and conferences have also been organised from time-to-time.



Swachh Sangraha Knowledge Management Portal



Swachhta Samachar Periodical Newsletter



Success factor 6: Competition and housekeeping

Competition among state and other government agencies

With the aim of fostering healthy competition between states and districts for improving cleanliness standards across rural India, MDWS launched the Swachh Survekshan survey. The underlying objectives of Swachh Survekshan include encouraging large-scale citizen participation, evaluating progress and accelerating Mission implementation. Swachh Survekshan has also aided the incorporation of sustainability in Mission implementation, through focus on outcomes and impact rather than inputs.

A self-assessment tool “Village Swachhata Index” has also been used wherein citizens can view the rating/ranking of their villages/districts on four broad parameters.

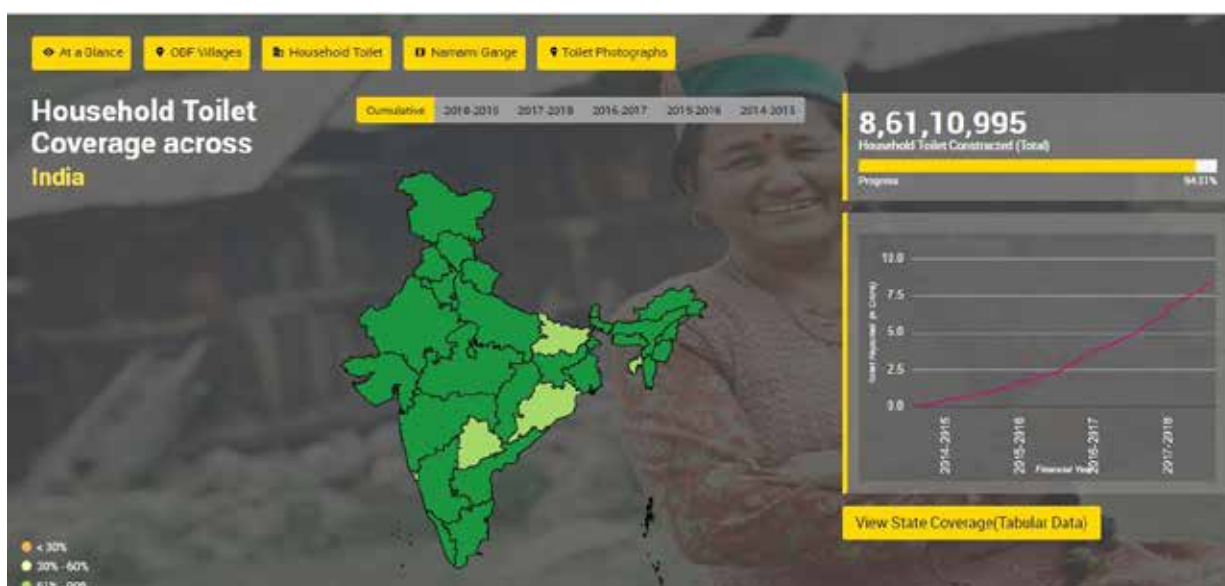
A comprehensive, real time Management Information System (MIS) has also been continuously used to drive competition among implementation agencies.

All these initiatives have accelerated implementation, by focusing on outcomes and impact rather than output, thereby ensuring sustainability and fostering a healthy competitive spirit, while maintaining a high level of housekeeping.

Mobile App for Village Swachhata Index



Swachh Survekshan



Swachh Bharat Mission - Gramin MIS Dashboard

Success factors



Underscoring all factors - Communication

360 degree intensive communication

The primary focus of the Mission has been on changing peoples' behaviour to achieve the desired targets. The communications strategy has been pivotal in enhancing credibility of this programme. The Mission's inclusive approach resulted in the adoption of a 360-degree strategy, which has been targeted at shaping behaviour and perceptions of the masses towards safe sanitation and hygiene. Innovative behavior change campaigns such as Darwaza Band, Swachh Shakti, Satyagraha se Swachhagraha have been deployed as mediums for reaching out to a diverse set of beneficiaries, particularly through the involvement of prominent personalities to positively influence the target population and a dialogue-led communication strategy to debunk myths associated with toilet usage and open defecation. Adopting Community Approaches towards Sanitation (CAS) has intensified community engagement, triggering a demand for toilets and established 'ownership' among beneficiaries resulting in sustained usage of the sanitation facilities.

Adopting innovative mediums like Bollywood to reach out to the masses has been one of the successful strategies adopted under the Mission. Movies like Toilet Ek Prem Katha and Pad Man have been instrumental in large-scale awareness creation, breaking taboos and myths associated with sanitation and menstrual hygiene. Further, campaigns like Darwaza Band have challenged existing gender roles and has included men into the safe sanitation dialogue.

Busting myths and breaking cultural taboos

Twin-pit toilet technology is a highly cost-effective, eco-friendly and scalable technology which comprises twin pits for treating faecal matter. The pit can be emptied safely and its contents used or sold. Even though recommended by the government, it was found that people with twin pits were paying masons to build septic tanks for them in a bid to avoid handling the compost generated through this system.

In an attempt to bust the myths around twin pit-emptying/ digging and to reinforce the fact that the activities including handling the compost are safe, MDWS undertook a major campaign around pit-emptying/ digging to address stigmas associated with the same.



Various communication campaigns under SBM-G

Way forward



Ensure verification and sustainability of all ODF declared villages

In order to sustain the achievements under SBM, the ministry and other functionaries need to focus on stringent verifications and take steps to ensure sustainability of ODF status, such as water availability, Operations and maintenance (O&M) of toilets, conversion of single pit latrines to twin pit, faecal sludge systems for septic tanks etc.



Enhance IEC and behavior change campaigns

Efforts now need to go into designing campaigns targeted towards increasing the awareness of communities on maintaining the infrastructure and sustaining the behaviour change brought about by the Mission. Behaviour change and triggering activities should now focus on minimising slippages and encouraging the usage of the constructed toilets.



Moving towards ODF+

ODF+ activities include Solid and Liquid Waste Management (SLWM), Faecal Sludge & Septage Management (FSSM), Menstrual Hygiene Management (MHM), focus on handwashing and personal hygiene, and water supply for sanitation. Creation of a robust framework which can be replicated across the country is very necessary to ensure focused outcomes. As more of the rural population shifts to peri urban areas and census towns, where septic tanks are the preferred solution, Faecal Sludge and Septage Management (FSSM) mechanisms need to be strengthened in order to ensure safe sanitation.



Need to build upon existing capacity building platforms to address changing needs

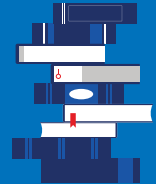
The shifting needs of the programme has put immense pressure in coping up with dynamic sanitation needs and the mission has stepped up to address these needs through various capacity building platforms which have been set up/scaled up for the Mission. As the programme advances to seeking next level sanitation solutions, it needs to build upon the existing platforms to address the changing needs.



Inclusivity with focus on Gender, underprivileged and minorities

SBM-G has made conscious efforts to recognise needs of the third gender, elderly, differently abled, pregnant women and children in the guidelines to states on the inclusive design of toilets and provisioning of services such as sanitary pads. Going forward, efforts need to be continued to ensure that sanitation infrastructure and services address needs related to MHM, universal access, eradicating manual scavenging and mainstreaming of waste workers.

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07. ODF is the termination of faecal-oral transmission, defined by a) no visible faeces found in the environment/village; and b) every household as well as public/community institution using safe technology options for disposal of faeces. (Definition as per MDWS)
08. ODF Plus (ODF+) refers to total sanitation in terms of solid waste and liquid waste management (both grey and black water management), in addition to ODF status. (Definition as per MDWS)





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