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URBAN SANITATION

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ASSESSMENT OF BEHAVIOUR CHANGE COMMUNICATION - TNUSSP PHASE I

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Abbreviations

AWASH	Awareness on Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
BCC	Behavioural Change Communication
BMGF	Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
FSM	Fecal Sludge Management
FSTP	Fecal Sludge Treatment Plant
GoTN	Government of Tamil Nadu
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
MAWS	Municipal Administration and Water Supply
NNP	Narasimhanaicken Palayam
PNP	Periyanaicken Palayam
SBM	Swachh Bharat Mission
SSHPP	School Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion
TCC	Tiruchirappalli City Corporation
TNUSSP	Tamil Nadu Urban Sanitation Support Programme
TSU	Technical Support Unit
UGD	Under Ground Drainage
ULB	Urban Local Body
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WTD	World Toilet Day



Executive Summary

Executive Summary

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) is supporting the Government of Tamil Nadu (GoTN) to achieve the sanitation mission of Tamil Nadu by helping to set up a Technical Support Unit (TSU) within the Municipal Administration and Water Supply (MAWS) Department. The TSU consists of a consortium of organisations and implements the Tamil Nadu Urban Sanitation Support Programme (TNUSSP). This document aims to assess the Behavioural Change Communication Strategy of the TNUSSP during Phase 1, which ran between Nov 2015 till Nov 2017.

Behaviour Change and Communication (BCC) aims to open up conversations around sanitation, develop customers' agency towards sanitation outcomes, and mainstream septage management as a new mantra. This was to be achieved through three umbrella campaigns, which aimed to create an overall supportive environment for sanitation along with 13 specific campaigns Information, Education and Communication (IEC) campaigns and district level programme activities.

The three umbrella campaigns were 'Advocacy of Septage Management', Valorising Sanitary Workers, and reposition 'Sanitation as a Topic' in everyday conversation. To advocate the cause of septage management, a video was developed which clearly highlighted the difficulties in expanding underground drainage (UGD) systems and the role of fecal sludge and septage management as a standalone solution as well as a complementary solution in cities and town panchayats. This video has been used extensively through various capacity building initiatives and forums, besides one-on-one interaction with stakeholders.

To reposition sanitation as an everyday conversation topic, a rather innovative campaign video by name 'Kakaman' along with a mascot by the same name was created. The campaign had limited release during World Toilet Day in 2017 and was well received by all stakeholders, including the government. However, operational constraints have hindered the state-wide launch for which it was intended.

The third umbrella campaign was meant to valorise desludging workers. The strategy aimed for a broad-based campaign to bring into public consciousness the invisible people who are involved in sanitation work. Since these stakeholders have been hard to reach, a reasonable start has been made by engaging with this rather hidden and informally organised group of workers. Over time and through engagements such as orientation programmes and felicitation at local events by authorities, a better relationship has been forged with this set of stakeholders, which can be leveraged to deliver components on occupational safety, personal protective gears and safe disposal of septage, when they are introduced.

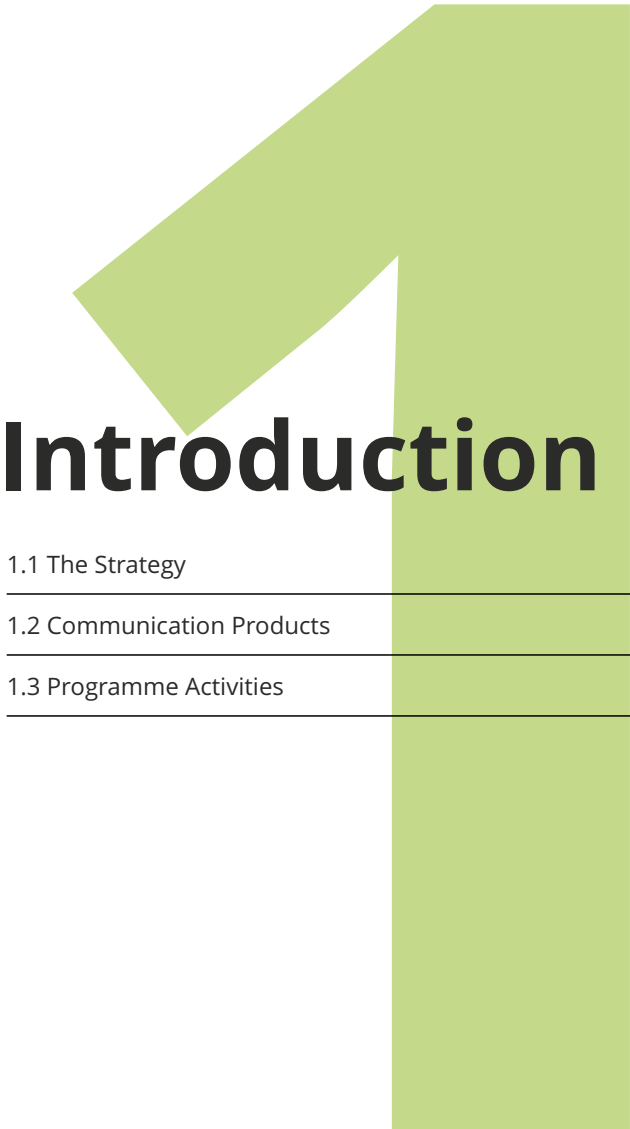
With regard to specific campaigns, videos have been developed for some topics such as the 'Dos and Don'ts for construction of septic tank' to spread the message and create awareness across various forums and training programmes. Another is a video promoting mechanical desludging which highlights the benefits of such processes and demonstrates its commercial aspects. This video was used during orientation for desludging workers and elsewhere. Although products for regular desludging have been prepared, it is yet to be rolled as the related requirement of operationalisation of the Fecal Sludge Treatment Plant (FSTP) is yet to be met.

Other specific campaigns are not yet rolled out on account of being closely linked to the progress in other components of the programme. For example, awareness campaigns related to FSTP, will take place once work on the FSTPs is completed and the town panchayats give the go-ahead. Campaigns that are already launched have had good impact. However, these campaigns have to be closely woven in with their respective programme components for BCC to gain more relevance and value.

The messaging on stopping open defecation and gaining access to water and sanitation infrastructure was done through Awareness on Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (AWASH) groups in Tiruchirappalli, thus leveraging core skills of the implementing partners. However, volunteer groups need to be nurtured for a certain period and capacitated to be fully effective.

In terms of programme activities in project sites, activities held were event-specific, such as the one on World Toilet Day. Such activities were useful platforms for felicitating the sanitary workers and spreading awareness on the full cycle of sanitation. However, awareness and behavioural change to the magnitude aspired for needs sustained campaigns through various mediums. A one-day event during World Toilet Day had limited impact, while the school sanitation programme could not be evaluated due to constraints of access to schools during the period the team visited. In the one school where assessment could be done, it was done in a sustainable way, where even after the programme was over schoolteachers have continued to share messages with children. The district level activities and deliverables should be clearly scoped for better programme implementation. Further, local resources, partners and knowledge need to be leveraged to design and deliver campaign outputs.

Sustained engagement with stakeholders has helped build partnerships at the state and local level, which should be leveraged for better reach of messages. More government officers in different Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) are now willing to take up Fecal Sludge Management (FSM) activities in their areas. This opportunity should be fully supported by the TSU in addition to the local partnerships that were built during Phase 1 with different types of stakeholders.



Introduction

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1. Introduction

The Government of Tamil Nadu (GoTN) has been a pioneer in not only recognising the importance of full sanitation coverage as core to improved standards of public health but has also prioritised the full sanitation chain. This includes the strengthening of septage management as an economical and sustainable complement to network-based sewerage systems. The GoTN issued Operative Guidelines on Septage Management in September 2014.

The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) is supporting the GoTN to achieve the Sanitation Mission of Tamil Nadu by helping to set up a Technical Support Unit (TSU) within the Municipal Administration and Water Supply (MAWS) Department. The TSU consists of a consortium of organisations and implements the Tamil Nadu Urban Sanitation Support Programme (TNUSSP).

The TSU supports the state in improving urban sanitation and demonstrating innovations along the entire sanitation chain in Tiruchirappalli City Corporation (TCC) and the two town panchayats of Periyanaicken Palayam (PNP) and Narasimhanaicken Palayam (NNP). The TSU works under the guidance of MAWS Department advisory committee. It is closely involved with the state, local governments, private enterprise and communities, to enable considerable experimentation on-ground to test innovations, and to capitalise on experiences of crafting solutions that can be scaled.

The Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) was one of the key components of Phase 1 of TNUSSP and sought to address behaviour change issues through a range of approaches including communication campaigns and activities targeted at appropriate segments such as Government officers, households, desludging operators and general public. The BCC strategy developed as part of TNUSSP is aligned with the overall umbrella of 'Muzhu Sugadharam' (total sanitation) pursued by the GoTN.

1.1 The Strategy

TNUSSP sought to address the issues of behaviour change by creating a supportive environment for it through three umbrella campaigns - 'Advocacy of Septage Management', 'Valorising Sanitary Workers', and repositioning 'Sanitation as a Topic'. Further, small yet specific topics will be rolled out in tandem with other objectives of the project with specific behavioural change objectives.

The BCC strategy for Muzhu Sugadharam addressed the following objectives for creating a supportive environment:

1. Sanitation has to be brought out of the closet: A series of campaigns were planned to get rid of the taboo and stigma associated with the idea of sanitation or the full cycle of human excreta management.
2. Consumers must have agency: There is a need to increase a sense of ownership among individual consumers and households and create a sense of responsibility towards the larger sanitation outcomes in their homes, neighbourhoods, cities, districts and the state.
3. It is essential that the Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and other urban sector agencies recognise and embrace the full cycle of sanitation and septage management as a new mantra. They should also regulate and enforce rules to make this possible.

1.1.1. Umbrella Campaigns

Among the three umbrella campaigns, 'Sanitation as a Topic' aimed to discuss upfront the full cycle of sanitation. It also aimed to tackle the widespread taboo and stigma surrounding sanitation, so that

human excreta management is brought out of the closet, and new lenses created through which sanitation can be viewed by both the end users and businesses.

The 'Valorising Sanitary Workers' campaign aimed to devise lenses to improve the perceptions and reputation of workers and stakeholders in the sanitation chain.

The third umbrella campaign, 'Advocacy of Septage Management' aimed at expanding the scope of the discourse to hitherto excluded systems and practices such as septage management. The campaign planned to cultivate spokespersons and champions to build its image as a value-for-money solution that can complement the existing underground systems.

1.1.2. Specific Campaigns

These campaigns were allied with the larger TNUSSP campaign and were rolled out in tandem with other initiatives of the project, with specific behavioural change objectives. It was envisaged that as a result of communications and related activities, households will have access to individual toilets in compliance with design specifications; they will stop defecating in the open and those households with toilets will upgrade to sanitary toilets, if necessary. It was expected that septic tanks would be cleaned regularly, and disposal of collected sludge would be done in a scientific and sanitary manner so that there would be reduced water contamination. It was also expected that ULBs and other urban sector agencies recognise and embrace the full cycle of sanitation and septage management as a new mantra.

Specific campaigns which were essentially IEC campaigns were envisaged by the project to achieve the following: creation of open defecation free spaces; building regulations for households, for contractors and for the ULBs; construction of septic tank /upgradation for households, masons and plumbers; regular desludging of septic tanks; certification of masons and plumbers; registration of sludge operators; ensuring safety gear and occupational safety for sanitation workers; occupational safety, an introduction for government officials and sanitary workers; promoting mechanical cleaning of septic tanks; safe disposal of septage; setting up Fecal Sludge Treatment Plants (FSTPs) to treat septage and selling septage management as a viable business.

1.2 Communication Products

The following communication products were designed as part of Phase 1 activities.

Muzhu Sugadhara Tamizhagam logo: A specific 'kolam' was developed as the logo for the Muzhu Sugadhara Tamizhagam campaign. This is an abstract visual that symbolises the full cycle of sanitation, with petals representing the different stages of the full cycle.

Film on Dos and Don'ts for construction of septic tanks: A six-minute animated film explaining the design standards and regulations, public health impacts and good practices to be followed in constructing safe septic tanks was made by TNUSSP. This film was targeted at masons, building contractors, households, decision makers and ULBs officers.

Films on septage management: These films were directed at senior level decision-makers, ULB leaders and the general public. They attempted at portraying septage management as a credible option for small and medium towns, and as value-for-money complements to achieve 100 per cent sanitation in the larger cities that have underground drainage (UGD) systems, but do not cover the entire city.

Film on motorised desludging: A short film was made to highlight the benefits of motorised desludging and to show the perspectives of the operators.

Figure 1.1: Muzhu Sugaddhara Tamizhagam Logo



Source: TNUSSP

Regular desludging: A film promoting regular desludging of septic tanks for households was made, although it is yet to be used by the municipalities and town panchayat.

In addition, two posters were made for two conferences. TNUSSP presented a poster at the Conference on Fecal Sludge Management in Cities held in Dakar, Senegal in 2016. Further, TNUSSP participated in the poster presentation on BCC- An Approach and presented a poster titled "Sugadhara Kural", at the fourth International Conference on Fecal Sludge Management which was held in Chennai in Tamil Nadu, India during 19-23 February 2017. This poster won the prize for the Best Poster presented at the conference.

Figure 1.2: Posters presented at Conferences



Source: TNUSSP, 2016

1.3 Programme Activities

Although BCC was a state strategy, in order to operationalise it, a range of activities were conducted in the two project sites of Tiruchirappalli and PNP and NNP in Coimbatore. Some of the BCC programmes conducted by TNUSSP in the last two years include School Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion (SSHP) programme, and events organised around World Toilet Day.

1.3.1. School Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion (SSHP)

Open defecation and uncontrolled discharge of untreated human excreta contaminates water bodies, open areas and farmlands. It is one of the main reasons for continued incidence of infectious diseases. School children, who are among the most impressionable members of the society, are seen as change agents when effecting any kind of behaviour change or socially relevant programmes. Towards this effect TNUSSP decided to work with children as part of the SSHP programme to inculcate healthy sanitation behaviours and practices; to help them understand the full cycle of sanitation; to build a strong and friendly image of sanitary workers; to develop a cadre of peer champions among children to monitor proper maintenance of toilets and to help the community at large to become aware of the importance of sanitation.

Sanitation resource persons carried out interactive sessions such as singing songs based on the theme of sanitation and solid waste management, conducting a quiz competition to take stock of the students' knowledge and understanding of sanitation, student skit performances about sanitation and remedial measures and interactive games as part of SSHP programme. Further, posters explaining the sanitation chain were released and displayed in school premises, while leaflets explain the fecal-oral transmission route and its barriers were distributed to students.

1.3.2. World Toilet Day

The World Toilet Day (WTD) was used as an opportunity to raise awareness about the criticality of sanitation to an improved quality of life in Tiruchirappalli, PNP and NNP. The objectives of WTD event in 2016 was to raise awareness about the linkages of sanitation with public health and the sanitation chain, to mobilise champions to develop a plan of action to address the sanitation crisis and appreciate the linkages between sanitation and livelihoods. Sugadhara Yathirai, an awareness rally, was organised with participation of specific groups such as ULB staff, students from high schools, self-help group

members, and other interested stakeholders. Communication was done through a vehicle displaying sanitation messages, with a mounted audio system that broadcast slogans and jingles and traversed through the city during events. A mass signature campaign, community interface through quiz contest and other participatory activities were also done. Sanitary workers in PNP and NNP were felicitated.

In 2017, WTD celebration was centred around the Kakaman mascot and was aimed to spread awareness among the community on the importance of the full cycle of sanitation i.e. safe containment, emptying, transport, treatment and disposal or re-use of fecal sludge and to create a supportive environment. A mobile information vehicle equipped with an LED display screen featuring the Kakaman video was present at key locations in Tiruchirappalli, NNP and PNP and spread awareness on the full cycle of sanitation. The film, which was screened at different locations in both places, drew a large number of curious citizens. Officials of the municipality in Tiruchirappalli and PNP town panchayats addressed the public on radio and clarified questions on sanitation. The event was widely covered in the press and on social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook.

Figure 1.3: Programme activities conducted as a part of BCC Phase 1



Figure 1.3: Programme activities conducted as a part of BCC Phase 1



Source: TNUSSP, 2016



Assessment Objectives and Methods

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2. Assessment Objectives and Methods

As per the strategy, various umbrella campaigns and specific campaigns such as capacity building trainings and workshops were designed and used during programme activities. The BCC activities carried out in Phase 1 of the programme fall into two broad categories based on the audiences they targeted: SSHP programmes and observation of World Toilet Day.

2.1 Assessment Objectives

The specific objectives of the evaluation were to:

- assess the BCC activities using standard evaluation criteria of relevance or appropriateness, efficiency, impact and sustainability;
- document good practices and success;
- generate evidence-based lessons and recommendations; and
- guide the way forward toward strengthening ongoing efforts, new initiatives (including possible programme replication) and expansion of BCC.

2.2 Assessment Methods

2.2.1. Desk Review

The purpose of the desk review was to obtain a thorough understanding of the communication strategy and the various communication materials designed during phase 1 of the programme.

2.2.2. Interview with IHS team and Government Officers

The main purpose of these in-depth interviews was to understand the overall scope and relevance of the BCC component in Phase 1 of the programme. Further, information was elicited on the BCC strategy and framework—from conception to implementation, from persons who have been closely involved in the design and implementation. The objective was to assess the extent to which the BCC strategy followed the intended pathway and to capture the success and learnings in its course. Given that government officers were the primary stakeholders, few state level officers were also contacted for their feedback of the BCC products.

2.2.3. In-Depth Discussion with Target Audience

Informal qualitative discussions were carried out with the target audience exposed to the BCC programmes. The intention was to capture recall and retention of messages, likes and dislikes and the extent to which the target audience were able to cover the messages into desirable action.

SSHP Programme – Discussion with children who attended the programme was planned in two schools in Tiruchirappalli and one each in PNP and NNP. In each school three in-depth interviews were planned. However, only children from one school who were students of grades 4 and 5 at Kasichetty Primary School could be contacted in Tiruchirappalli. The other school did not give permission to interview children. In PNP and NNP, since children were undergoing school exams, interviews were not possible.

World Toilet Day Programme – Intercept interviews (where participants are recruited on the spot and interviewed) were carried out with the general public in designated spots or slums. A total of 12 interviews were carried out in four locations – two in Tiruchirappalli and one each in PNP and NNP.

In-depth interviews were also conducted with government officers who were exposed to the FSM and Dos and Don'ts video.

2.3 Assessment Period

Key informant interviews were conducted in late October and early November 2018, some in person and some over telephone. The field visits in Tiruchirappalli were done between November 22 and 23, 2018 and PNP, and NNP visits were done on December 12, 2018.

2.4 Limitations

There key limitations to this assessment are listed below:

Time Lapse: The school programme was conducted in 2016, hence there may be severe limitations with the recall of incidents, which in turn would impact the findings. Moreover, the responses received in 2018 may also be influenced by other programmes/ activities which may have happened in the last two years. Thus, the responses cannot be attributed to entirely to the programme activities of TNUSSP and could be because of a range of other factors.

Absence of a Baseline: In the absence of a baseline it was not possible to compare the results with the situation before the programme. Hence no change could be measured that could be attributed to the programme. In order to measure change, a comparison group is meant to be very similar to the intervention group. In case the comparison group is obtained from schools outside the town panchayats where the programme was implemented, the influencing factors of other town panchayats would come into play which would make the comparison weak.



Key Findings

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3. Key Findings

This section presents the details of all discussion with key informants, their perspectives on the strategy, how it was implemented, its impact and success and how things can be done differently going forward. Presented alongside are also the responses from interviews with target audiences. The chapter has been organised by broad themes: the umbrella and specific campaigns and the BCC programme activities. The names of key informants have been kept anonymous on purpose.

3.1 Umbrella Campaigns

The inputs for the BCC strategy were based on Vision 2023 of the GoTN, their Muzhu Sugadharam campaign, and Operative Guidelines on Septage Management through which the state demonstrated foresight to develop a broad policy context. Based on previous experience and preliminary research the team identified that removing the disgust factor surrounding sanitation, developing agency of the public towards sanitation issues and mainstreaming FSM along with the full cycle of sanitation were three key issues. The strategy aimed to target a range of stakeholders to change their behaviour: households, masons, desludging operators and government officers among others.

3.1.1. Advocacy Film on Septage Management

Towards this campaign a film on 'Advocacy on Septage Management' was developed and directed at senior level decision-makers, ULB leaders and the general public. It attempted at portraying septage management as a credible option for small and medium towns, and as value-for-money complement to achieve 100 per cent sanitation in the larger cities that have UGD systems, but do not cover the entire city.

Respondents indicated that the advocacy film was a useful communication tool, during trainings and orientation, in making government stakeholders understand the full cycle of sanitation and mainstream FSM. Sequential improvements and key opinion makers featuring in the video led to its impact.

'We have used the FSM video during our internal review and planning meetings to help set the context for FSM and explain how underground network-based sewerage system is not relevant in every context. Links to the TNUSSP website also shared, although the videos were not circulated through WhatsApp' – Government officer, Commissionerate of Municipal Administration

While the advocacy film played its role in introducing the concept of FSM and getting government officers enrolled, it had limited impact in Tiruchirappalli and Coimbatore. Engagement with the corporation and town panchayat started much before the advocacy video. Hence the video was not relevant in these locations.

3.1.2. Sanitation as a Topic

One of the key strategies of the BCC campaign was to mainstream sanitation as a topic of discussion and introduce the concept of full cycle of sanitation. Towards this, a film and mascot by the name Kakaman were made. Kakaman has the potential to connect to the full range of stakeholders across the sanitation chain and reposition sanitation as an aspirational topic. It is a well-conceived product that can connect with audiences in a very entertaining way. Despite the rather successful launch of Kakaman during WTD in Tiruchirappalli, PNP and NNP, in 2017 the project was unable to leverage the full potential of the film by having a state launch on account of operational issues.

Specifically, in Tiruchirappalli, PNP and NNP where Kakaman was launched in 2017 during the WTD, the recall was limited because the whole video was played just once on that day. The kind of awareness and behavioural change aspired for requires continuous exposure through various mediums. Few

participants reported recall of Kakaman and details of the content were vague and tentative. This is discussed in further detail under World Toilet Day.

3.1.3. Valorising Sanitary Workers

This strategy aimed to recognise people involved in the 'dirty work' of sanitation—desludging operators and their workers through a broad-based campaign and bring them into public consciousness. This was aimed through TV, films, radio, print and other such mediums. Although the strategy aimed to foreground them, in reality it was initially difficult to even reach this set of stakeholders. Over time with the registration of desludging operators, and continuous interactions with them through orientation programmes, the trust deficit was bridged and a steady relationship has been established. Their contributions were recognised during the WTD programmes by the government and private sector. One of the desludging workers received an award during the India Sanitation Coalition Awards. It was their own request to organise health camps for the desludging workers and their families.. For this funds were available and were leveraged through other sources.

3.2 Specific Campaigns

Specific campaigns were allied with larger TNUSSP programme components and rolled out in tandem with other initiatives of the project. These were specific IEC campaigns as opposed to the umbrella BCC campaigns. Of the 13 specific campaigns that were planned as per the strategy, the progress has been varied as they are linked to ongoing activities in other components. Table 3.1 presents the details of various programme components.

Table 3.1: Specific Campaigns and their Progress During Phase 1		
Campaign	Stakeholder	Actions taken / Status
Open defecation free	Community	In Tiruchirappalli, creating demand for toilets was done through AWASH groups. Handbook for construction of toilets within Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) funds developed in Coimbatore.
Building regulations for households, contractors and for the ULBs	ULB Officers Building contractors Households,	Regulation yet to be approved. Current procedure for getting building approval included in Do's and don'ts film.
Septic tank construction/upgradation for households, masons and plumbers.	Masons, plumbers and households	Dos and Don'ts video on septic tank construction developed and widely used.
FSTP	Desludging operators, ULB officers, Households.	FSTP construction work under progress, products will be designed closer to completion.
Regular desludging of septic tanks	Households	Video promoting regular desludging developed. Yet to be used extensively.

Table 3.1: Specific Campaigns and their Progress During Phase 1

Campaign	Stakeholder	Actions taken / Status
Certification of masons and plumbers	Masons and Plumbers	Certificate of participation was issued as a part of capacity building programmes for stakeholders (masons) who participated in the programme.
Registration of sludge operators	Desludging Operators	Carried out in Tiruchirappalli, PNP and NNP.
Safety gear for sanitation workers	Desludging operators	Study assessing needs of desludging operators is complete. Products will be developed based on recommendations.
Occupational safety, an introduction for government officials and sanitary workers	Government Officers and Sanitation Workers	Study assessing needs of desludging operators is completed based on which products can be designed.
Mechanical cleaning	Desludging Operators	Video promoting mechanical desludging developed and used extensively in desludging operators training.
Safe disposal of septage	Desludging Operators	Kakaman campaign was developed.
Setting up FSTPs to treat septage	GoTN Officers and ULBs	FSTP construction work under progress, products will be designed closer to completion.
Selling septage management as a viable business	Private Sector Operators	Background work is underway.

With regard to open defecation, the project largely offered support function to town panchayat officials in PNP, by creating a handbook detailing how to build toilets under SBM within the funds provided. In Tiruchirappalli demand for toilets was created through 'Awareness on Water, Sanitation and Hygiene' (AWASH) groups. AWASH teams have been working with communities to help them gain access to the individual household toilets through SBM by connecting communities with the state and helping households gain access to funds by completing all documentation.

Three videos were made to promote specific campaigns within the strategy. The first was an animated film on 'Do's and Don'ts for construction of septic tanks targeted at masons, building contractors, households, decision makers and ULBs officers. It highlighted the importance and consequences of following proper design and applying quality workmanship while building containment structures as also the current procedure for getting building approval. This was used extensively during capacity building programmes for masons, orientation programmes for officers, engineers training and Muzhu Sugadharam training. Government officers also reported sharing printouts of this video and expressed potential for sharing this video with Residents Welfare Associations. Secondly, a short film was made

to highlight the benefits of motorised desludging and to show the perspectives of the operators. This was used extensively in desludging operators' training and in other training forums. Thirdly, a film promoting regular desludging of septic tanks for household was made, although it is yet to be used as the FSTP is not ready.

For campaigns such as 'Building regulations for households, contractors and for the ULBs', the regulation has not been approved for the team to design the campaign. For campaigns such as FSTP and 'Setting up FSTPs to treat septage', the FSTP is under construction and the respective corporation and town panchayats specifically wanted to keep this low key till the completion of the plant.

For campaigns such as 'Registration of sludge operators'—corporations and town panchayats have undertaken registration of desludging operators in Tiruchirappalli, PNP and-NNP respectively. For others such as 'Safety gear for sanitation workers' and 'Occupational safety, an introduction for government officials and sanitary workers', the study assessing needs of desludging operators has been completed. Based on the recommendations of the report, suitable messaging will be developed. For campaign on 'Selling septage management as a viable business', background work is underway.

3.3 BCC Programme Activities

Activities were planned around the World Toilet Day for school children and general public in both the project locations in 2016 and 2017. The impact of these activities were assessed in the project locations to understand the impact at the field level.

3.3.1. Tiruchirappalli

SSHP Programme

As a part of the assessment of the SSHP activities done in Tiruchirappalli, two schools were meant to be assessed. One school did not give permission to conduct the assessment and in the other school (Kasichetty Primary School) access was granted. However, this was a primary school and the children who were earlier involved during the campaign had left. Although the TNUSSP SSHP was a one-time affair, the teachers who had been capacitated prior to the programme by Gramalaya, were continuing to pass on the sanitation messages to subsequent batches of students. Therefore, the teachers nominated six other girls in the primary school to participate in the interview.

SSHP had aimed to inculcate healthy sanitation behaviours and practices amongst school children, help them understand the full cycle of sanitation, develop a cadre of peer champions among children to monitor proper maintenance of toilets, help the community at large to become aware of the importance of sanitation and have a friendly image of sanitation workers.

Six girls were interviewed as a group in an informal setting and their responses on various aspects were recorded. When asked about their understanding of cleanliness, they reported that it includes wearing clean dresses and keeping their nails clean. For them, cleanliness also meant 'wearing footwear while using toilets, pouring water after toilet use and washing their hands with soap after toilet use'. In the event that soaps were not available in the school premises, children reported asking the teacher, who would then organise soaps for them. At home however, they sometimes did not have soap. Only one child did not have access to a toilet at home while all others did. Children also reported washing hands after toilet use by parents.

Figure 3.1: Interaction with School Children in Tiruchirappalli



Source: TNUSSP Survey, 2018

Children also reported awareness of the consequences of open defecation and how feces come back if not properly disposed. They understood that *'flies that sit on the feces travel to the food and cause illnesses such as dengue, fever and stomach ache'*. They reported knowing that *'food can be protected by closing the lid, and not eating stale food'*. They also reported understanding the need to drink safe water by boiling it. The principal reported that children did report about unclean toilets in school premises and asked for soaps, when they were not available.

World Toilet Day

Tiruchirappalli World Toilet Day 2017 was a big event with the launch of the Kakaman video through a roving vehicle which stopped at select high traffic bus stops in the morning. The film was screened and fliers were also distributed. Later the vehicle cut through more community spaces (scheduled spots) and mobilised smaller crowds for focussed viewing and had discussions around that. The responses were reported to be reasonable and caught people's attention as the message was communicated in an entertaining way. There was extensive press coverage of the event.

The main objectives of observing WTD in 2017 was to spread awareness among the community on the importance of the full cycle of sanitation and to create a supportive environment for those who tend to embrace change and newness (innovators and early adopters). It also aimed to evoke the benefits of safe sanitation and its impact on public health.

In Tiruchirappalli, awareness of Kakaman was tested in two communities: Kajapettai and Pandamangalam. In Kajapettai, four different households were contacted to test awareness of the Kakaman event which had happened in their community. Two of them remembered the event and a certain recall of the messages although the mascot was not recalled.

'They mentioned that septic tank waste should be treated.' – Community member, Kajapettai

'They said if we do open defecation, it will cause disease. We don't have space for individual toilet and hence use the community toilet. They also mentioned that water should not stagnate.' – Community member, Kajapettai.

However, due to the efforts of the AWASH groups, awareness on personal hygiene was reported by all four respondents. All four were aware of the need for foot wear before using toilets, washing hands with soap before cooking and after using toilets. The main reported benefit of using toilets was to avoid ill health and to give protection to women and girls. They were aware of feco-oral transmission through flies and would protect their food by closing it with a lid. Washing vegetables and using clean ladles were other protection mechanisms reported. They also reported drinking boiled and filtered water.

Figure 3.2: Interaction with Community Members in Tiruchirappalli



Source: TNUSSP Survey, 2018

'We are aware that we need to wash hands with 7 rotations. Our children insist on hand wash with soap. They also learn from the school and tell us to segregate waste. Potty training for small children is a problem but we are trying to do it but some of them still use the drains.' –Community member, Kajapettai.

'While we have toilets now, community toilets are still in use. Through AWASH, we got a reduction in the deposit for underground connection from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 2,000. Gramalaya has provided us with cloth pads.' – Community member, Kajapettai.

In Pandamangalam, two households and two adolescent respondents were contacted in sites very close to where the Kakaman moving vehicle was stationed. None of the respondents recalled the Kakaman event itself. One respondent, however, was aware of maintaining personal hygiene by washing hands with soap, the need to use toilets and to keep food and water safe through basic precaution.

'We have a community toilet but there are water issues. Blockages have not been cleared, for which caretakers have to spend for cleaning. We need children's seat in toilets as children still use drain.' – Community member, Pandamangalam.

3.3.2. PNP and NNP

SSHP

Two schools where SSHP was conducted in 2016 in NNP and PNP did not allow for students to be interviewed as they had their exams.

World Toilet Day

In 2016 for WTD, an interactive community programme in NNP and PNP was organised. Rallies were organised with all sanitary workers and school kids from both the town panchayats, which stopped at various places for community interactions. During these interactions, questions were asked and prizes were won, especially sanitation related gifts. Traditional cultural programmes were used to present the nexus between sanitation, hygiene and health. Around 100 sanitary workers from both town panchayats were involved, valorised and felicitated. Besides project resources, funds and resources from the town panchayat were leveraged.

In 2017, a tableau and two Keystone members joined in, dressed as Kakaman. The tableau was flagged off by the executive officer and was stationed in strategic locations for audiences to view the film, with the Kakaman mascot dancing, and community members responding to various quiz questions and winning prizes. A big Kakaman balloon was also released. The events in NNP and PNP were on separate days.

In NNP, four interviews were conducted to assess the recall of Kakaman campaign, of which two persons remembered the message and the rest were aware that an event around sanitation was conducted.

'I do recall that an event was conducted in our stand but do not remember the topic. Sanitation to me means cleanliness and being healthy. Not sweeping and doing open defecation affect our health. it is better to have toilet at home as fecal matter in the open will pollute water and food.' – Community member, NNP.

'The event highlighted the need for building toilets as open defecation causes infection by affecting food and water sources, which in turn affects our health. Toilets also help us keep our house clean and nation clean. Now there is a lot of talk on SBM. We can protect ourselves by drinking boiled water and having clean foods.' – Community member, NNP.

'The event organisers gave us a cap but I did not listen as I was attending to customers. For me sanitation means no smoking, chewing or spitting all over the place. We urgently need public toilets here in NNP, especially ladies toilet as we don't have one here. Open defecation affects us through smell and also affects our food and water sources. You can tell people you know, but the floating population's behaviour on sanitation cannot be influenced.' – Community member, NNP.

'Yes I remember the event, they talked about avoiding open defecation and using toilets as it affects our food sources through flies. Government is giving money to build toilets but that is not possible within Rs. 15,000. I suggest we have boiled water and eat only fresh food to protect ourselves.' – Community member, NNP.

In PNP, one household interview was conducted on the railway feeder road and the respondent was able to recall the Kakaman messaging. Of the three other persons approached, two did not participate in the interview and one gave a brief response.

'They mentioned about the need to build toilets, have proper two partition septic tanks, and the importance of cleaning septic tanks regularly. Sanitation is important as it gives us both health and wealth. Open defecation can contaminate food through flies and also water. We wear footwear while

using toilet, wash hands after toilet use and before cooking and use boiled water. We have the cap that was gifted to us and have happy memories of the event.’ – Community member, PNP.

Figure 3.3: Interaction with Community Members in NNP



Source: TNUSSP

‘Yes the event people talked about fecal sludge treatment and that it will help prevent disease. I was working and did not listen further.’ – Community member, NNP.

3.4 Reflections from TNUSSP Team Members

TNUSSP team members were asked to reflect on their perception of how the strategy was operationalised and share key learnings and perceptions.

Good working relationship with the government at both state and district levels was mentioned as one of the strengths of the programme. GoTN was enrolled at each stage of the project implementation, and their resources were leveraged. The celebration of World Toilet Day events was an illustrative example of this partnership. During the course of programme implementation, while the partnership with the government strengthened, a range of partners were enrolled in each stage of the sanitation chain. For instance, desludging operators, masons, sanitation workers, schools, civil society were enrolled into the full cycle of sanitation and not necessarily only into the BCC activities.

Further, designing campaigns such as Kakaman took a lot of brainstorming and strategic thinking to identify the right approach. Towards this they reported enjoying the creative freedom required to think out of the box, and not being constrained by resources. The team had to identify the right content developers who would give up their IEC mindset to design a refreshing product which gets people to talk sanitation in a more pleasant way. This was possible through sustained team effort and interactions along with persistence in communicating the product idea.

However, certain aspects of the strategy design limited the BCC team from completing its full goals. One such limitation was the lack of integration with other programme components. Activities identified for specific campaigns essentially supported the specific project components and have not taken off for various operational reasons not connected with the BCC. These should be integrated within the programme component. For instance, the programme had to face delays on account of community perceptions of FSTP and its impacts which delayed the implementation of the project. With the local authorities also taking a cautious approach, the BCC team had not been able to fully implement the strategy. Any change in position at the local level could also affect implementation going forward. However, outputs generated for specific campaigns such as the film about 'mechanised desludging' and 'Do's and Don'ts of septic tank construction', were used extensively during training and orientation programmes and in interactions with government officials at various levels.

One of the key umbrella campaigns in the strategy is to build a cadre of sanitation workers and valorising them. In reality, gaining access to this hidden and stigmatised group and building a relationship through various programme activities took a lot of time. This highlighted the need to include key opinion makers and informants from relevant target groups to inform programme design and implementation from the beginning and avoid top down approaches to strategy design. This will not only ensure greater ownership and uptake of various programme activities but will also promote sustainability.

The district team highlighted the lack of an operational plan and understanding of local needs as key limitations. They pointed to the absence of clearly defined deliverables, as they were responsible for implementing on the project site. Further, given that it was clearly a partnership led by government, a certain degree of disconnect from the needs of the local authority was reported. Thus, while a good strategy is important, it has to have a viable operational plan.

The Kakaman campaign on the full cycle of sanitation, which had the potential to reach a range of stakeholders was never launched on a state-wide basis, for which it was designed. A well-designed product which had the potential to change the discourse on sanitation and get people talking could not be fully leveraged because of operational issues. In the absence of a full-fledged campaign, ad-hoc project activities did not influence the behavioural environment.

One of the key learnings reported was the understanding that the dynamics of government engagement takes times and that decision making is a gradual and iterative process. Respondents reported the need to factor in change of guards and to be prepared to work with new sets of officials, which could result in a change in the dynamics of engagement.

Further, they reported the need to strengthen ground level implementation and have more partnerships in place so that it would be easier to deliver campaigns. This could be achieved through better connections with local groups which are involved in similar themes. Besides the advantage of complementarity, budgets could be leveraged. They highlighted the need for local people to operationalise the strategy and align it with the needs of the ULB.

The BCC strategy evolved over time through partnerships with the GoTN and had their approval at all stages. Ground realities of building partnerships, getting appropriate approvals and permissions was time consuming. In retrospect, given the aspirational strategy at hand, the fact that sanitation is a topic which needs to be brought out of the closet and that FSM is an unfamiliar topic, they felt that it was more of a five-year strategy than a two-year one.

Conclusion and Way Forward

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4. Conclusion and Way Forward

4.1 Strategy

The task of mainstreaming FSM in the sanitation space and presenting it as a viable option to UGD is a huge challenge for any campaign in India. The challenges are not only on account of the topic at hand i.e. sanitation, which carries a certain 'disgust factor', but also because of the range of stakeholders who are involved for behaviour change to be effected. Given the nature of the problem at hand, the strategy is well crafted to have an umbrella campaign to build a supportive environment while using specific campaigns to effect specific behavioural change. The umbrella campaign sought to address overarching issues like propagating septage management as a viable alternative to UGD systems, bringing sanitation out of the closet, and bringing to public consciousness the role of the everyday sanitary worker. The strategy has been disseminated and has served for other programmes to learn and adapt from.

4.2 Material Preparation

Towards operationalising this, specific BCC products were designed. The advocacy video which promotes FSM was widely used in various capacity building initiatives and played its part alongside various other sustained project activities in furthering the cause of FSM.

The Kakaman film campaign meant for bringing sanitation out of the closet is an excellent product going by the initial rushes and based on the government feedback and response to the film when released at the project locations of Tiruchirappalli, PNP and NNP. The mascot, also named Kakaman, was well leveraged to develop effective posters around it. Kakaman videos which were shown on WTD had a limited recall in the field on account of single exposure. Behaviour change takes time and requires a sustained campaign and continuous exposure through various mediums for recall. Operational issues in its state-wide launch of Kakaman needs to be addressed to fully unlock the potential of this product. Addressing this should be a key project priority going forward. It also highlights the importance of not depending on just one product.

The third umbrella campaign to valorise desludging workers and to build a cadre was ambitious by design for Phase 1 given the ground reality. However, with the project team gaining trust of this group this relationship should be leveraged for the next phase where, substantive components of occupational safety, personal protective equipment and safe disposal of sludge will be operationalised. Further, desludging workers and other stakeholders should be enrolled in structures such as TSU for their perspectives to be factored in the project implementation process.

Theme specific campaigns to effect behavioural change is a mixed bag, with some campaigns more successful and others not starting off altogether. Some such as the 'Dos and Don'ts on septic tank construction', 'mechanical desludging' were used extensively and were effective too. However, there are others which have not started because the associated activity is still underway as in the case of FSTP construction. The associated BCC products are planned but are yet to be operationalised because of the lack of clarity from ULBs. Others have not taken off altogether because the programme component they are supporting is not yet approved; for example, the Municipal Building Rules. Thus one key learning is that the strategy could be better-knit and have each BCC product tied more closely to the associated programme component, rather than a standalone BCC campaign.

4.3 Activities

The assessment of the one-day school sanitation programme could not be completed as permissions were not acquired from school authorities to conduct interviews. However, in the one school where the assessment was done (after the first batch of students passed out), the teachers continued to train the next cohort of students on sanitation messages. This batch of students had a very good recall of sanitation messages. This highlights the need to enrol a core group of teachers as master trainers to make the programmes sustainable.

While messages that were delivered have been relevant, it requires a sustained campaign for the recall to translate into behaviour change. Key messages recalled during the assessment of activities in Tiruchirappalli, PNP and NNP are around the ills of open defecation and low recall of Kakaman or the full cycle of sanitation. To that extent the BCC has failed to cope with the emerging needs of the programme.

In terms of sustainability, for some specific stakeholders such as masons and desludging operators, while messaging was conveyed and a full round of training was completed, field realities will dictate whether they are able to implement the learning and sustain them.

Importantly, the strategy lacked an operational framework at the district level for them to deliver tangible outcomes. Also, local people, local realities and intelligence need to be leveraged to design and deliver products. More local approaches need to be accommodated in the BCC activities.

4.4 Learnings

Having a good strategy in place is necessary but it is also important to develop an operational plan to effect the strategy. Given that many BCC products have been used during trainings and capacity building, other components of the programme have been more effective in delivering BCC messages. This highlights the need for a stronger link between the BCC and other programme components and the need for BCC programmes to be more responsive to their needs.

Further, the operational plan needs to take into account the needs of all stakeholders and how material will be utilised. The BCC components should meet the needs of the primary stakeholders i.e. the ULBs and keep up with their demands. This is particularly important as the project site is located in different typologies of ULBs: corporation and town panchayats. Further, networks with local groups with shared agendas need to be built.

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