

SANITATION AND HYGIENE BEHAVIOUR CHANGE AT SCALE: UNDERSTANDING SLIPPAGE

Primarily based on experiences from the Global Sanitation Fund-supported programme in Madagascar

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About WSSCC

The Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC) is at the heart of the global movement to improve sanitation and hygiene, so that all people can enjoy healthy and productive lives. Established in 1990, WSSCC is the only United Nations body devoted solely to the sanitation needs of the most vulnerable and marginalized people. In collaboration with our members in 150 countries, WSSCC advocates for the billions of people worldwide who lack access to good sanitation, shares solutions that empower communities, and operates the GSF, which since 2008 has committed over \$112 million to transform lives in developing countries.

About the GSF

The Global Sanitation Fund (GSF) invests in behaviour change programmes that enable large numbers of people in developing countries to improve their sanitation and adopt good hygiene practices. The GSF was established in 2008 by WSSCC to help address the global sanitation and hygiene crisis. It is the only global fund solely dedicated to sanitation and hygiene.

The GSF supports national programmes that are community-based and government-supported. Across GSF-supported countries, diverse networks of stakeholders form vibrant sanitation and hygiene movements. Together, they work to create the conditions for millions of people in their countries, and tens of millions across the globe, to live in open defecation free environments and access adequate toilets and handwashing facilities.

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We consider this the first of several reflection papers on aspects of sustainability. Moreover, The GSF looks forward to further discussions with our partners in order to better understand the dynamics of slippage and advance water, sanitation and hygiene sector dialogue in this regard.

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^a Read more about the FAA on WSSCC's website: <http://wsscc.org/global-sanitation-fund/madagascar/>

^b Country Programme Monitors conduct programmatic and financial verification of GSF-supported country programmes, and report directly to the GSF Secretariat.

^c Read more about the questions and learning that emerged from the GSF Learning Event in WSSCC. (2016). *Catalytic programming for scale and sustainability: Conversations, reflections and lessons from the 2016 Global Sanitation Fund Learning Event*. <http://wsscc.org/resources-feed/catalytic-programming-for-scale-and-sustainability-conversations-reflections-and-lessons-from-the-2016-gsf-learning-event/>

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UP MANDONA, A PROVEN APPROACH FOR
MITIGATING SLIPPAGE.
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

TRIGGERING: A KEY
STEP IN THE BEHAVIOUR
CHANGE JOURNEY.
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As sanitation and hygiene programmes mature, the challenge shifts from bringing communities to ODF status to sustaining this status. In this context, many programmes are confronted with the issue of slippage. This concept refers to a return to previous unhygienic behaviours, or the inability of some or all community members to continue to meet all ODF criteria.

Slippage is intricate because it is hinged on the philosophy and complexity of behaviour change. Moreover, the definition of slippage is linked to the definition of ODF in a given country. The more demanding the ODF criteria are, the more slippage one can potentially experience.

In most programmes, one can discern two levels of slippage: output-level slippage and impact-level slippage. The former relates to the strict application of all ODF criteria, such as the elimination of open

defecation and the availability of fly-proof latrines and handwashing facilities with evidence of use. The latter relates to negative impacts on overall health and wellbeing, such as a return to a high prevalence of diseases and epidemics related to poor sanitation and hygiene.

COMMUNITY TRAJECTORIES

When identifying slippage patterns and addressing their resulting behavioural variations one has to remember that the journey towards mature ODF status is a community-driven process. Throughout this process the community continuously tests and consolidates new behaviours.

Sanitation and hygiene behaviour change is a non-linear process where it seems that becoming ODF is just the first step in a community learning process to reach behaviour change maturity.

REACHING BEHAVIOUR CHANGE MATURITY

In Madagascar, it was found that the typical community learning process to reach this level of maturity might look like this:

- A community is triggered, endeavors to reach ODF, and is eventually declared ODF.
- The community slips back to non-ODF status repeatedly due to various regression factors (climatic events, challenging geology, life events and socioeconomic shifts).
- Interventions are carried out using so called 'advancement factors' to regain ODF status.

A common trend seems to be that the more often interventions are repeated and follow-up support is provided, the less dramatic the slippage will be, until eventually the community reaches behaviour change maturity.

With high-quality, dynamic CLTS facilitation, ODF becomes a state of mind as opposed to being attributed to physical, visual or infrastructural aspects only. There is a clear distinction in mentality between an 'ODF state of mind' community, a basic ODF community and a community that is still practicing open defecation. Communities that demonstrate the ODF state of mind are more prone to steadily advance towards maturity than a community that displays a superficial internalization of ODF.

IDENTIFYING SLIPPAGE PATTERNS

As slippage is related to behaviour change we must assume that it is dynamic, highly varied and context specific. Slippage depends on factors internal to the community as well as external factors over which communities have little or no influence.

DISCERNABLE SLIPPAGE PATTERNS

- Slippage due to non-compliance with ODF criteria
- Community-wide slippage
- Seasonal slippage
- Slippage of convenience
- Externally induced slippage
- Institutional slippage

As such, slippage is a highly context-specific phenomenon and can be caused by a multitude of factors,

either occurring separately or interacting with each other. Addressing slippage therefore calls for localized solutions, building on the creativity of the community but also the quality of facilitation throughout the CLTS process.

MONITORING SLIPPAGE

The time-bound measurement of slippage according to visual observations of technical and infrastructural criteria is an important management tool for programming and monitoring. The rigour and zero tolerance for failure to meet ODF criteria must not be compromised if we want to ensure the robustness of sanitation and hygiene programmes. However, it is crucial to find a way to combine this with an analysis of the level of collective behaviour change and health outcomes in a particular community. This will ensure programmes fully capture the intricacies and multi-faceted nature of slippage.

The growing experience of GSF-supported programmes in monitoring and evaluation shows that adherence to ODF status over time is not linear, but rather a 'two steps forward, one step back' type of process. In this regard, slippage should not be considered nor monitored as a 'yes' or 'no' matter, but rather as a sliding scale, and not at one-off events but periodically.



A LATRINE OWNER SHOWS HER FLY-PROOF LATRINE, WHICH HELPS TO PREVENT OUTPUT-LEVEL SLIPPAGE.
©WSSCC/MATILDA JERNECK

In a given WASH programme, differing verification processes undertaken by different actors can demonstrate significant discrepancies in reported results, therefore demonstrating the urgent need to harmonize verification methodologies among sector partners. Currently, survey and verification methodologies among actors differ in terms of definitions of households and communities, sampling strategies, enumerator skills and local context knowledge. This creates confusion and does not contribute to advancing sector learning. GSF-supported programmes have experienced this challenge. The GSF is therefore working to better harmonize verification approaches through ongoing efforts to strengthen its monitoring and evaluation system and results framework.

Furthermore, there needs to be some reflection on the purpose of verification exercises. And as slippage is an expected element of sanitation and hygiene behaviour change programming, providing quantitative figures is not helpful on its own.

Improving verification methodologies, often through learning by doing, is elemental to the GSF. In order for monitoring frameworks to fully capture the intricacies of slippage, they need to be flexible and appropriate for the dynamic and fast-paced nature of behaviour change.

ADDRESSING AND MITIGATING SLIPPAGE

As the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar matured, significant effort was put into finding strategies to address and pre-empt slippage, while building community resilience and capacity during the entire CLTS process.

STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS SLIPPAGE

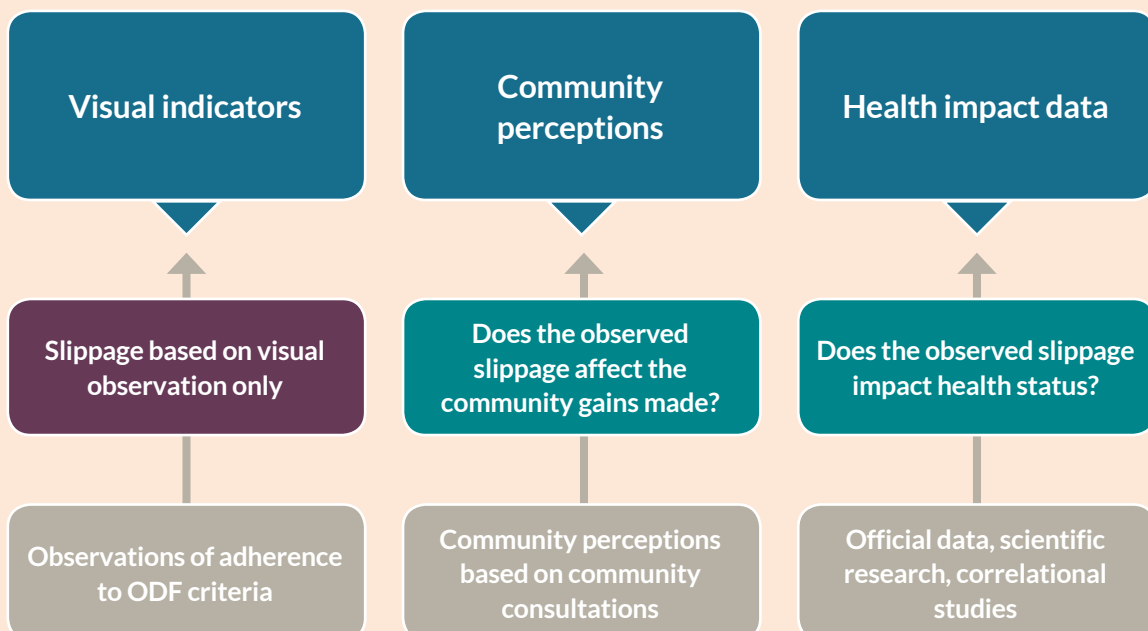
The following strategies have been used by the Madagascar programme, through high-quality CLTS facilitation:

- In-depth Pre-Triggering
- Follow-up MANDONA
- Local Community Governance
- Creating a sanitation movement
- Institutional Triggering
- the U Approach for scaling up
- Behaviour Change Communication
- Participatory technology development
- Sanitation Ladder Triggering
- Sustainability indicators in ODF monitoring and verification

Some of these strategies have also been incorporated and refined within other GSF-supported programmes.

ODF verification pillars

In assessing slippage, external verifiers far too often rely on visual indicators only, without incorporating qualitative community perceptions and quantitative health impacts. To ensure all of these aspects are incorporated, three ODF verification pillars can be used:



THE WAY FORWARD

Given the complexities of slippage across GSF-supported programmes, some areas for further exploration include:

- Measuring the impact of visual/observable slippage on behaviour change and health indicators.
- Assessing the impact of slippage on community health status: is there a critical tipping point when output-level slippage no longer has a bearing on impact-level slippage?
- Exploring slippage patterns, community dynamics and maturity trajectories, and behaviour reinforcement and sustainability factors, to better understand contextual factors.
- Understanding what strategies and tools there are/ can be further developed, to empower people to take further steps on the 'behaviour change ladder'. Moreover, how can programmes assess the depth of the behaviour change? Reaching ODF is perhaps the first rung on the behaviour change ladder. What are the subsequent rungs, and how can they be facilitated and monitored?
- Determining how to use slippage/ODF verification data to improve programmes and advance sector learning. What are the programming implications in terms of planning, implementation and evaluation?
- Establishing vigorous, harmonized and participatory monitoring/verification systems with reasonable financial and human resource implications. These should include agreed definitions that take into consideration aspects of slippage beyond one-time 'snap-shots' of visual slippage. Is there such a thing as an ideal standardized methodology, given that slippage is context-specific and variable?
- Determining how to effectively design systems for monitoring at scale, while acknowledging sustainability, quality and scale as inseparable elements that constantly reinforce each other.
- Exploring the correlations between the quality of Sub-grantees and/or the involvement of (local) governments and slippage rates.
- Considering the quality of Pre-Triggering, Triggering, follow-ups and most importantly, CLTS facilitation.

The GSF is committed to supporting sustainable sanitation and hygiene behaviour change. To this end, the Fund will continue to deepen its understanding of slippage and sustainability factors, patterns and measurement, and further develop, innovate and assess potential mitigation methodologies and approaches.



GOING FORWARD, ENSURING HIGH-QUALITY FOLLOW-UPS WILL BE KEY TO EFFECTIVELY ADDRESSING SLIPPAGE. IN THIS PICTURE, MEMBERS OF A COMMUNITY IN UGANDA ARE EFFECTIVELY TRIGGERED DURING A FOLLOW-UP MANDONA SESSION. ©WSSCC/PATRICK ENGLAND

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CLTS	Community-Led Total Sanitation
FAA	Fonds d'Appui pour l'Assainissement (GSF-supported programme in Madagascar)
GSF	Global Sanitation Fund
ODF	Open defecation free
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WSSCC	Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS)¹ is an integrated approach to achieving and sustaining ODF communities. CLTS entails the facilitation of a community's analysis of its sanitation profile, including practices of open defecation and its consequences, leading to collective action to become ODF. CLTS focuses on igniting change in sanitation and hygiene behaviour within whole communities, rather than constructing toilets through subsidies. Approaches in which outsiders 'teach' community members are not considered as CLTS.

Triggering, in the context of CLTS, refers to a facilitated journey of self-realization mobilizing communities to take action to end open defecation and improve their sanitation and hygiene. Within GSF-supported programmes, communities are triggered at the start of the CLTS process through a community meeting or event, using a range of tools and approaches. During the Triggering event, a community identifies faeces in the open environment, and through a facilitated

understanding that they are unknowingly ingesting faeces, community members take action to end open defecation and improve their sanitation and hygiene behaviour. Triggering can also be facilitated throughout the CLTS process, to achieve and sustain behaviour change. Central to the Triggering methodology is the provocation of disgust and shock. This is why the most graphic and provocative terms such as 'shit' are used during Triggering sessions and CLTS facilitation in general.

Institutional Triggering involves implementing the methods used in community triggering to ignite change at the institutional level, for example within national and local government entities. This can be a powerful advocacy approach to foster commitments among influential actors and decision makers to improve sanitation and end open defecation.

Natural Leaders are activists and enthusiasts who emerge and take the lead during CLTS processes, driving their community to end open defecation and ensuring that everyone can access adequate sanitation

¹ Definitions for CLTS and ODF adapted from Kar, K. with Chambers, R. (2008). *Handbook on Community-Led Total Sanitation*. Retrieved from <http://www.communityledtotalsanitation.org/sites/communityledtotalsanitation.org/files/cltshandbook.pdf>

and hygiene. Men, women, youths and children can all be Natural Leaders.

Community Consultants are Natural Leaders who carry their passion for ending open defecation beyond their borders, and are involved in Triggering sessions and follow-up activities in neighbouring communities. This may be done either on their own or in coordination with local implementing agencies, who may pay community consultants small stipends for supporting communities to achieve ODF status.

Open defecation free (ODF) generally refers to a state in which no faeces are openly exposed to the air. In many countries, ODF criteria for communities goes significantly beyond the visible absence of faeces in the open environment. For example, such criteria can require the complete disruption of oral-faecal contamination, by ensuring latrines are fly-proof and that handwashing facilities with soap or ash are available. Within GSF-supported programmes, ODF criteria is defined according to national standards.

Scale: In the context of GSF-supported programmes, working ‘at scale’ refers to going beyond villages to facilitate sanitation and hygiene behaviour change at higher administrative levels. These levels range from local to regional administrative divisions, as defined by country governments. Determinants and definitions for working at scale vary according to the context. For GSF-supported programmes, planning to work at scale requires incorporating relevant approaches into the design of the programme.

Slippage refers to a return to previous unhygienic behaviours or the inability of some or all community members to continue to meet all ODF criteria. In most WASH programmes, one can discern two levels of slippage: output-level slippage – relating to the strict application of all ODF criteria, and impact-level slippage – relating to negative impacts on overall health and wellbeing. Specific types of slippage include: non-compliance with ODF criteria; community members returning to open defecation; seasonal slippage; members of ODF communities defecating in the open outside their own community; slippage caused by outside communities and communal conflict; and institutions contributing to a reversal in sanitation and hygiene gains.

Executing Agencies receive grant funds from the GSF and manage GSF-supported country programmes. The diverse range of Executing Agencies across the

13 GSF-supported programmes include NGOs, government entities, associations and private companies. Executing Agencies select, supervise, and support Sub-grantees, disbursing funds to these organizations.

Sub-grantees receive funds from Executing Agencies to implement country programme activities within communities, providing technical services in some cases. They are comprised of NGOs, government entities, associations and private companies. The GSF supports the work of hundreds of Sub-grantees across 13 country programmes.

Note on the terms ‘toilet’ and ‘latrine’: In the context of this paper, the term ‘toilet’ refers to both pit latrines and other sanitation fixtures. The term ‘latrine’ refers explicitly to pit latrines.

Note on the terms ‘community’ and ‘village’: This paper uses the term ‘community’ to refer to any village-related social group, settlement or administrative division engaged by GSF-supported programmes. ‘Village’ is sometimes used to refer explicitly to villages, as defined by the national and GSF-supported programme criteria. Across the GSF network, communities and villages vary considerably in size and structure. The GSF is working to harmonize the way the in which it reports on communities and villages across the countries it supports.



WHEN COMMUNITY MEMBERS - SUCH AS THIS MALAGASY WOMAN - TAKE PRIDE IN IMPROVING THEIR SANITATION, SLIPPAGE CAN BE PREVENTED. ©WSSCC

1

INTRODUCTION

Large-scale behaviour change oriented sanitation programmes often focus on supporting communities to achieve open defecation free (ODF) status. Criteria for ODF status are locally defined but generally include: the absence of faeces in the open environment; access to basic but fly-proof² latrines for all community members; and the presence of handwashing stations with water and soap or ash close to the latrines. As these programmes mature and the challenge shifts from *bringing* communities to ODF status to *sustaining* this status, many are confronted with the issue

² Though all fly-proof latrines are intended to prevent flies from entering the latrine, there are similarities and differences in specific fly-proof criteria across GSF-supported programmes. For example, the Madagascar programme uses strict criteria: the pit must have a tight-fitting drop-hole cover that prevents flies from entering; if it is a wooden slab, there must be no cracks or holes between planks to allow flies to enter; ash must be available for distribution in the pit after each use in order to eliminate odor and fly larvae; damp parts of the latrine and objects soiled by faeces must be covered in ash; materials used for cleansing after defecation must be safely discarded; and a handwashing station with soap or ash must be present.

of slippage. This concept refers to a return to previous unhygienic behaviours or an inability of some or all community members, to continue to meet all ODF criteria.

While the concept of slippage has been touched upon by many different studies and organizations,³ this is often as part of a broader focus on sustainability of sanitation programmes, not as a stand-alone topic. Furthermore, the variations in collective behaviour change approaches applied in the sanitation sector in recent years have impeded the formation of a universal definition of what slippage actually is. Lastly, the dynamic and context-specific nature of slippage means it is hard to manage and to measure, especially for programmes aiming for scale.

Since its establishment in 2008 the Global Sanitation Fund (GSF) has endeavored to deliver inclusive, sustainable and high quality sanitation and hygiene behaviour change programmes at scale. A mid-term evaluation of seven GSF-supported programmes highlighted that while the Fund has supported the delivery of good quality Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) at scale, country programmes do face issues of slippage.⁴ Furthermore, a number of recent results verification and monitoring and evaluation studies commissioned by the GSF pointed to differences in monitoring methodologies; differences in definitions and understanding of ODF, behaviour change, and slippage; and difficulties in reflecting and measuring the non-static nature of human behaviour.

These and other findings prompted the GSF to embark on a learning journey. Activities included: a workshop in Geneva with representatives from the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar and the CLTS Foundation; side events at World Water Week 2015; an ‘ODF and slippage’ e-discussion led by

WSSCC and the Sustainable Sanitation Alliance;⁵ a GSF Learning Event regrouping all GSF-supported country programmes to discuss a range of issues, including slippage; and this very reflection paper, to generate further thinking and discussion.

This paper explores how to discern slippage nuances and patterns, strategies to address, pre-empt and mitigate it, as well as alternative monitoring systems that capture the complexity of slippage more fully. The analysis and reflections are based on direct field experience, primarily from the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar. Moreover, the underpinning principle of the paper is that slippage is an expected aspect of behaviour change oriented sanitation and hygiene interventions, especially those at scale, and not a sign of failure thereof. The paper explores the following themes and concludes with a brief conclusion and questions for further research:

THEMES EXPLORED IN THIS PAPER

- I. Defining nuances of slippage and its impact
- II. Exploring community trajectories
- III. Identifying patterns of slippage
- IV. Monitoring of slippage
- V. Addressing and mitigating slippage

The thinking presented in this paper is primarily based on the experiences of the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar, but there are also a few experiences from other GSF-supported countries, notably Nigeria. The programme in Madagascar has since its establishment been the laboratory for many programmatic and technical aspects of CLTS-based sanitation behaviour change interventions at scale. As the first ever GSF-supported programme, analyzing and learning from successes as well as failures and challenges has been increasingly ingrained in its DNA. We believe that it has made the programme smarter, more intuitive and highly sensitive to the country context. In the same way, this paper is a first step to learn from the patterns of slippage in order to increase our understanding and strengthen our programming in Madagascar and beyond.

³ See, for example: Tyndale-Biscoe, P., Bond, M. and Kidd, R. (2013). *ODF Sustainability Study*. Retrieved from http://www.communityledtotalsanitation.org/sites/communityledtotalsanitation.org/files/Plan_International_ODF_Sustainability_Study.pdf; WEDC, HYDROCONSEIL & ECOPIS. (2014). *Evaluation of the WASH Sector Strategy "Community Approaches to Total Sanitation" (CATS)*. Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/evaluation/files/Evaluation_of_the_WASH_Sector_Strategy_FINAL_VERSION_March_2014.pdf;

O'Connell, K. (2014). *What Influences Open Defecation and Latrine Ownership in Rural Households?: Findings from a Global Review*. Retrieved from <http://www.wsp.org/sites/wsp.org/files/publications/WSP-What-Influences-Open-Defecation-Global-Sanitation-Review.pdf>

⁴ See: Keen, M. & O'Reilly, S. (2015). *Global Sanitation Fund Mid-Term Evaluation – Synthesis Note for Tranche 1: Madagascar, Nepal, Senegal, Malawi, India, Cambodia and Uganda*. Retrieved from <http://wsscc.org/resources-feed/global-sanitation-fund-mid-term-evaluation-synthesis-note/>

⁵ See: Keatman, T. (2015). *Thematic Discussion: Sanitation and hygiene behaviour change programming for scale and sustainability*. Retrieved from <http://wsscc.org/resources-feed/discussion-synthesis-sanitation-hygiene-behaviour-change-programming-scale-sustainability/>

2

DEFINING THE NUANCES OF SLIPPAGE AND ITS IMPACT

To define and nuance slippage we must first define ODF. Is ODF solely about eradicating faeces in the open? Or is it also a matter of completely cutting the oral-faecal chain through fly-proof latrines and handwashing facilities? Relatedly, does slippage suggest that people return to the practice of open defecation? Or is it more commonly about the failure to meet ODF criteria (absence of hand washing facilities and/or lack of their use, absence of a squat hole cover, etc.)?



Slippage is intricate because it is hinged on the philosophy and complexity of behaviour change. The global slippage debate sometimes seems to start from the idea that human behaviour is static and predictable. These conversations somehow suggest that humans act with self-awareness and self-interest and that behaviour operates in isolation from the social context, in which they are found. In this way the discussion on slippage is reduced to the quest for numbers and percentages. This is possibly a remnant from the era when what was monitored was the number of latrines constructed and not if and how they were actually used.

The definition of slippage is linked to the definition of ODF. Moreover, countries do not use equally stringent ODF criteria. In GSF-supported countries such as Benin, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria, Togo and Uganda, ODF status is a matter of completely cutting the oral-faecal chain. In these countries, this is achieved

through three key criteria: there must be no presence of faeces in the open, all latrines must be fly-proof with evidence of continued use, and handwashing facilities must be available with water and soap or ash. As these are the national ODF definitions, they are therefore also used by the GSF-supported programmes, as stipulated in their country programme proposals. However, in other countries such as Malawi and Tanzania, the national ODF definition and as such the definition used by the GSF refers solely to the elimination of faeces in the open environment. The existence of fly-proof latrines and handwashing facilities may be labeled as ODF+. See Table 1 for an overview of different indicators used in GSF-supported programmes. The more demanding the ODF criteria are, the more slippage one can potentially experience. At the same time, one can argue that when applying more demanding ODF criteria, the quality – and even the impact – of the intervention is stronger and perhaps more sustainable.

TABLE 1: IN-COUNTRY ODF CRITERIA

ALL COUNTRIES	No faeces in the open environment
	Every household has access to a latrine
	Evidence of continued latrine use
MOST COUNTRIES	Latrines are clean (no open defecation, and anal cleansing materials adequately disposed of)
	Latrines are completely fly-proof
	Squat hole is covered
	Existence of handwashing station with soap or ash
	Latrine superstructure provides privacy
SOME COUNTRIES	All households have a latrine
	All households have an improved latrine according to country standards
	Ash is used inside the pit
	Latrines available in public institutions

In most programmes, one can discern two levels of slippage: output-level slippage and impact-level slippage. The former relates to the strict application of all ODF criteria, such as the elimination of open defecation and the availability of fly-proof latrines and handwashing facilities with evidence of use. The latter relates to negative impacts on overall health and well-being, such as a return to a high prevalence of diseases and epidemics related to poor sanitation and hygiene.

In the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar, the most commonly discerned type of slippage is output-level slippage, where a community fails to be labeled ODF due to at least one latrine not meeting ODF criteria. If high-quality CLTS facilitation is present – one of the keys to veritable and sustainable behaviour change – very few communities actually revert to open defecation in bushes, streams and elsewhere in nature. Instead, many communities simply fail to meet all the criteria at once (see Chapter 3 on slippage patterns).

Most of the research related to ODF health impact or impact-level slippage is linked to interventions that may have led to some evidenced increase in sanitation coverage, but not to full coverage or adherence to specific ODF criteria.⁶ The sector needs more evidence that a complete cut of the oral-faecal chain through the three key criteria mentioned previously does indeed

lead to significant health impact. Furthermore, after what length of time upon achieving ODF status can these impacts be felt?

Once the link between output and impact is firmly established, only then can we start to establish at what level output-level slippage leads to impact-level slippage. If output-level slippage is high, it evidently affects impact-level slippage, as the faecal-oral route has not been fully ruptured. But is there a tipping point when the output-level slippage has reduced to minimal levels and therefore no longer has a bearing on impact-level slippage? This would be a scenario where even if some people in the community do not use fly-proof latrines anymore, the risk of propagation of disease is reduced. People are protected because enough people in the community practice safe sanitation and hygiene practices. If so, when does this occur? And is it imperative that this human behaviour follows on a certain period of full adherence to the three ODF criteria? Or can health impact already be demonstrated upon reaching a certain threshold of households adhering to all three, or possibly only some of the three criteria? We argue that all three questions urgently require more research.

⁶ See, for example: Clasen, T., et al. (2014). *Effectiveness of a rural sanitation programme on diarrhoea, soil-transmitted helminth infection, and child malnutrition in Odisha, India: a cluster-randomised trial*. Retrieved from [http://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/langlo/PIIS2214-109X\(14\)70307-9.pdf](http://www.thelancet.com/pdfs/journals/langlo/PIIS2214-109X(14)70307-9.pdf). The intervention increased mean village-level latrine coverage from 9 percent of households to 63 percent, but failed to demonstrate any health impact.

IN MALAGASY COMMUNITIES, PREVENTING OUTPUT-LEVEL SLIPPAGE
- THE MOST COMMON TYPE OF SLIPPAGE OBSERVED BY THE GSF-
SUPPORTED PROGRAMME - RESTS ON THE STRICT APPLICATION OF
ODF CRITERIA. THIS CRITERIA INCLUDES THE AVAILABILITY AND USE OF
FLY-PROOF LATRINES AND HANDWASHING FACILITIES, SUCH AS THOSE
PICTURED HERE. ©WSSCC/CAROLIEN VAN DER VOORDEN





3

COMMUNITY TRAJECTORIES

When identifying slippage patterns and addressing their resulting behavioural variations one has to remember that the journey towards mature ODF status is a community-driven process. Throughout this process the community continuously tests and consolidates the new behaviours. This then begs the question: is there a sanitation behaviour change ladder where ODF is just the first rung?

Sanitation and hygiene behaviour change is a non-linear process where it seems that becoming ODF is just the first step in a community learning process to reach behaviour change maturity.

REACHING BEHAVIOUR CHANGE MATURITY

In Madagascar, it was found that the typical community learning process to reach this level of maturity might look like this:

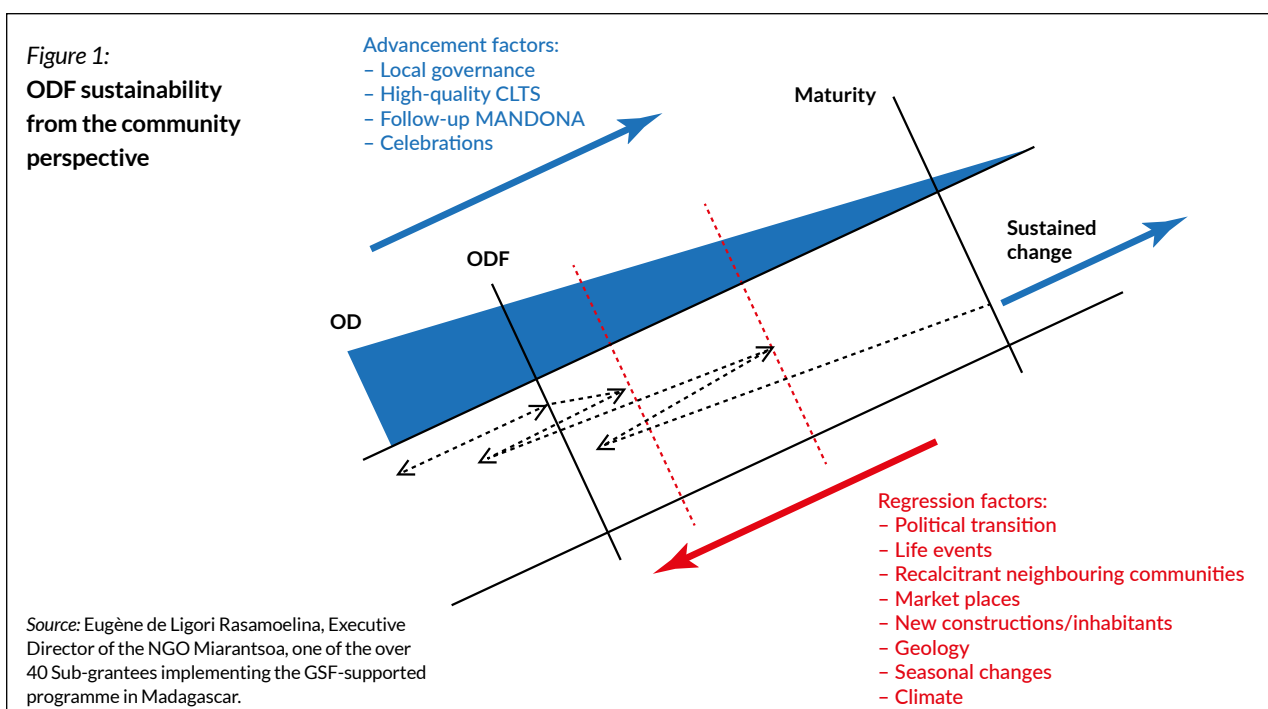
- A community is triggered, endeavors to reach ODF, and is eventually declared ODF
- The community slips back to non-ODF status repeatedly due to various regression factors (climatic events, challenging geology, life events and socioeconomic shifts)
- Interventions are carried out using so called 'advancement factors' to regain ODF status. These include high-quality facilitation, local governance and celebrations (see Chapter 6 on how to address and mitigate slippage).

A common trend seems to be that the more often interventions are repeated and follow-up support is provided, the less dramatic the slippage will be, until eventually the community reaches behaviour

change maturity. Furthermore, in the initial phases of a community trajectory from open defecation to ODF and eventually behaviour change maturity, the engagement of external actors, such as Sub-grantee facilitators, is intense.

As the community advances towards maturity, external actors gradually withdraw to transfer the leadership and responsibility for sanitation to internal actors, such as Natural Leaders, local politicians and other community representatives. In order to reach the stage where sanitation and hygiene behaviours are sustained and become habitual, even in the face of threats, it is important that this shift from the external facilitators to the community members themselves takes place. Furthermore, the facilitators (internal and external) need to be aware of the regression factors to which a given community is most prone in order to preempt how the community will react in the event that these factors occur. All of these factors are at play when discerning how lasting the sustainability of the behaviour change is. Figure 1 below describes this journey. A more in-depth discussion of the activities and tools that accompany this journey will follow in Chapter 6 on mitigation.

Alternatively, to demonstrate the gradual movement from open defecation to ODF status and eventually



behaviour change maturity, this process can be compared to that of a bouncing ball. Every bounce becomes shorter and the ball eventually straightens out and rolls on evenly, unless major obstacles present themselves and the ball stops moving (see Figure 2 below).

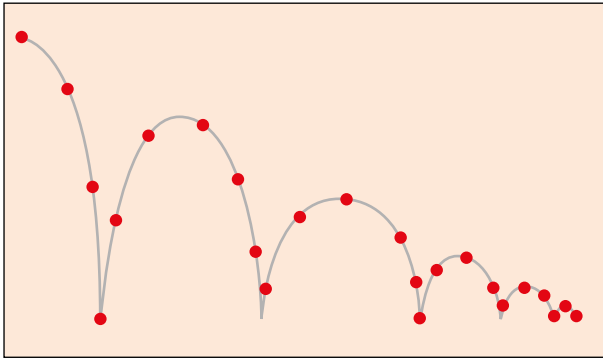


Figure 2: The 'bouncing ball' analogy for slippage

This community learning trajectory leads us to the concept of a sanitation behaviour change ladder. Behaviour change in sanitation and hygiene is evidently progressive. Similar to the sanitation ladder, primarily portrayed as an infrastructure and technology-focused ladder, we need a comparable way of articulating sanitation improvements in terms of behaviour change. In this scenario real, sustained behaviour change would be the proverbial 'top of the ladder'. The Hygiene Effectiveness Ladder proposed by Dubé et al⁷ goes some way towards this. But this could be further contextualized based on the community learning trajectory concept, and by incorporating other indicators better reflecting behaviour-related changes occurring within a community.

Changes in behaviour do not happen overnight, but are reinforced over time. What strategies and tools do we have to empower people to take further steps on the behaviour change ladder? How can we assess the depth of the behaviour change? Continuing the theoretical argument based on research in this field, an important element of behaviour is habit. It is estimated that 45 percent of our daily lives is 'habitual'. This includes sequences of activities linked to our bodily functions, such as the sequence of activities in the early morning after waking up, when people often do the same things in the same order, unconsciously. For example: we get up, stretch, go to the toilet, wash our hands, splash water on our face, brush our teeth, and so forth. Changing behaviours such as open defecation and handwashing involves changing or creating new

habits. Once new habits are created, there are many ways in which these new habits can be made to 'stick' more easily.

Another interesting perspective here is the work done by David Neal and colleagues⁸ on the science of habit and the eight habit-forging principles, which include eliminating choice, creating cues, and changing social norms. Some of these principles have been applied successfully to handwashing behaviour change interventions. For example, in a study on the use of nudging, brightly coloured footsteps leading from the school latrine to the handwashing station significantly increased the handwashing habits of students.⁹ Moreover, these principles are in important elements of successful CLTS. A deeper understanding of how CLTS changes habits and whether and how the 'habit-forging principles' could further inform CLTS could have positive implications on the sustainability of the sanitation behaviour change achieved through GSF-supported programmes.

Behaviour change maturity can be characterized by how a community uses the energy and collective sense of responsibility triggered through CLTS to improve other aspects of community life beyond sanitation. This description is based on the experience of the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar. The programme has seen the energy unleashed through CLTS transform into a willingness and conviction to find local solutions to a range of community issues, as opposed to waiting for handouts or subsidies. This has for example been observed in terms of improving agricultural productivity, enhancing income-generating activities, and improving education and health. With high-quality, dynamic CLTS facilitation, ODF becomes a state of mind as opposed to being attributed to physical, visual or infrastructural aspects only. There is a clear distinction in mentality between an 'ODF state of mind' community, a basic ODF community and a community that is still practicing open defecation.

Communities that demonstrate the ODF state of mind are more prone to steadily advance towards maturity than a community that displays a superficial

⁷ Dubé, A., Burr, P., Potter A., van de Reep, M. (2012). *Assessing hygiene cost-effectiveness: a methodology*. The Hague: IRC International Water and Sanitation Centre. Retrieved from http://www.ircwash.org/sites/default/files/working_paper_7_-_assessing_hygiene_cost-effectiveness_a_methodology.pdf

⁸ For example, see: Neal, D., Vujcic, J., Hernandez, O. & Wood, W. (2013). *Handwashing and the Science of Habit* [PowerPoint slides]. Retrieved from <http://whconference.unc.edu/files/2014/11/neal.pdf>; or see: Neal, D., Vujcic, J., Burns, R., Wood, W. & Devine, J. (2016). *Nudging and Habit Change for Open Defecation: New Tactics from Behavioral Science*. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/905011467990970572/Nudging-and-habit-change-for-open-defecation-new-tactics-from-behavioral-science>

⁹ Dreibelbis, R., Kroeger, A., Hossain, K., Venkatesh, M., Ram, P.K. (2016). Behavior Change without Behavior Change Communication: nudging handwashing among primary school students in Bangladesh. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 13 (1). Retrieved from <http://www.mdpi.com/1660-4601/13/1/129/htm>

internalization of ODF, limited to physical latrine attributes. Along with the visually observable cleanliness, in a community that displays a high degree of the ODF state of mind one can usually sense that there is a burgeoning rupture with external dependency. Moreover, there is an urge to take on new challenges to further develop the community. As a concrete example, when visiting a community where open defecation is still common practice, not only will there be faeces in the open but it is also more common for community members to ask for financial or various forms of in-kind support. Similarly, in a superficial ODF community there could still be tendencies of dependency thinking. On the contrary, in an ODF state of mind community, it is more common that community members will proudly demonstrate what they have accomplished of their own accord, without external financial support. It is therefore less likely that community members would overtly request money. Experience suggests that when a community uses the energy mobilized through CLTS to cater for needs other than sanitation, it is usually a sign that the change is more mature and sustainable. Such mobilization of community members will reinforce the positive behaviour change that has taken place, and it is also a way to strengthen internal community monitoring mechanisms.

Lastly, one can debate about when full maturity for sanitation behaviour change is met. Is it within this generation or the next? Has maturity been achieved once a new generation is ‘born ODF’, which could be a lengthy process? Conversely, could one of the strongest indications of true behaviour change be when elderly people suddenly break the ingrained behaviour of open defecation – a habit – and switch to safe sanitation? This is a significant achievement in that they have eliminated a practice that has been ingrained their entire lives; a typical practice in the time of their ancestors and generations before them. Through behaviour change interventions they have come to realize that ODF status entails many benefits. Targeting the next generation, we often say that children are vehicles of change. But elderly people can certainly be so too, especially given their often privileged or revered status. If we want to be more ambitious in our quest to curb the sanitation crisis, we must keep this in mind.

The GSF looks forward to conducting more qualitative research on these community trajectories. The Fund will explore the use of grounded theory as well as other inductive research approaches, testing the concepts emerging from the social realities in GSF-supported programmes.





4

IDENTIFYING SLIPPAGE PATTERNS

As slippage is related to behaviour change we must assume that it is dynamic, highly varied and context-specific. Slippage depends on factors internal to the community as well as external factors over which communities have little or no influence. With this in mind, what are the discernible patterns of slippage and can it be measured on a sliding scale that varies over time and seasons? If such patterns are identified, can slippage then be preempted and avoided?



Here, we can use the analogy of the bouncing ball once again. While reasons for the ball bouncing and behaviour varying over time are manifold, there are a number of discernable slippage patterns, linked to a mix of factors. The factors include: climatic forces (e.g. droughts, floods, cyclones, deforestation); geological characteristics (e.g. sandy or rocky soils, high water tables); socioeconomic factors (e.g. instability of income, security/conflict issues, fluctuating poverty levels, migration, social events, and complacency); and institutional/political forces (changes in government policies, conflicting approaches to WASH interventions, etc.).

DISCERNABLE SLIPPAGE PATTERNS¹⁰

- Slippage due to non-compliance with ODF criteria
- Community-wide slippage
- Seasonal slippage
- Slippage of convenience
- Externally induced slippage
- Institutional slippage

¹⁰ These slippage patterns have been determined from experiences in the GSF-supported programmes in Madagascar and Nigeria.

4.1 SLIPPAGE DUE TO NON-COMPLIANCE WITH ODF CRITERIA (OUTPUT-LEVEL) SLIPPAGE

This type of slippage is the most common type of slippage in Madagascar, perhaps partly because the programme applies a zero tolerance policy for failure to comply with one or more ODF criteria. This means that even if one single latrine in a community fails to live up to the fly-proof latrine standards, the entire community is deemed non-ODF (even if they were previously declared ODF). Such deficiencies could for instance be related to misplaced squat hole covers, a lack of ash in latrines, the absence of soap, ash or water at handwashing facilities, and the presence of uncovered and used cleansing materials. The cause of this kind of slippage can be a lack of understanding of the oral-faecal transmission route and the absence of real behaviour change. But more commonly, and especially if one single household is the culprit, this kind of slippage is simply due to human error, forgetfulness and indolence. It is of utmost importance to link this kind of slippage to tipping points discussed in the previous chapter. This element is yet to be explored and constitutes a vital part of the research to be conducted.



A FLY-PROOF LATRINE IN MADAGASCAR.
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4.2 COMMUNITY-WIDE SLIPPAGE

This kind of slippage refers to when an entire community or a large majority of community members either fail to comply with ODF criteria or return to practicing open defecation after attaining ODF status. Community-wide slippage is a sign of weak or non-existent collective behaviour change and its cause can usually be traced back to poor facilitation during CLTS triggering and follow-up processes.

4.3 SEASONAL SLIPPAGE

The most common type of seasonal slippage is related to the wet and dry seasons. Households may be using latrines during the dry season but during the wet season rains may cause latrines to collapse or fill up with water. These latrines cannot be rebuilt/repared until the wet season is over (wet soils make digging sturdy pits difficult), which might be after several months and in the meantime community members might retreat to open defecation or the 'dig and bury method' (if the behaviour has been somewhat internalized). Additionally, this kind of slippage is exacerbated by the fact that Sub-grantee facilitators may be unable to conduct follow-up visits to these communities for several months due to inaccessible terrain. This on and off slippage is often not experienced by the whole community but only by a few individual households whose latrines are affected. This type of seasonal slippage has been observed in the GSF-supported programmes in Madagascar and Nigeria.

In addition, droughts may cause households to temporarily stop washing their hands, as they try to preserve water. For instance, in some parts of southwestern Madagascar, an extremely drought-prone region, communities struggle to maintain ODF status throughout the year. In some instances, the nearest water point is 20 kilometres away by foot. During the dry season and periods of serious drought, communities cast aside the need for water for handwashing. When water is extremely scarce, this is simply not the priority. And when there is no water in the handwashing facility, a latrine is not deemed fly-proof. Another example of this is when ash – which can be used for handwashing and thrown in the pit to reduce odors – is in short supply during certain times of the year due to vegetation patterns. Hence, some criteria for fly-proof latrines might not be met. In some communities ODF status is closely linked with harvest periods and food security. During this time, communities

consider themselves to have more time and money, due to higher household income from the harvest, to build and use latrines. Contrary, during the planting season, when household incomes are scarce and savings low, this might be considered a luxury that can be put off for the future.

4.4 SLIPPAGE OF CONVENIENCE

This relates to when members of ODF communities practice open defecation as they are in the fields or anywhere outside their own community where no sanitation facilities exist, such as motor parks and marketplaces. Similar to community-wide slippage, this is primarily caused by poor CLTS facilitation leading to poor sanitation behaviour change, as community members fail to internalize why open defecation must stop. This also points to the importance of Institutional Triggering¹¹ and involving local government bodies and other actors to facilitate the construction of public facilities at strategic places.

4.5 EXTERNALLY INDUCED SLIPPAGE

This kind of slippage can be found where there is inter- and intra-communal conflict, which results in displaced households and communities. Communities hosting displaced people from conflict areas will have to deal with overstretched facilities and newcomers unwilling to use latrines, as they may not have been triggered in their community of origin. Conversely, families might have stopped practicing open defecation, but when they are displaced due to conflict they revive old habits. This can be exacerbated by the fact that the only available land for them to inhabit might be in difficult terrain or waterlogged areas.

Another example is related to festive seasons or social events such as weddings and funerals, as well as events such as market days. During these times there is a high influx of visitors who might originate from non-ODF areas and as a result practice open defecation in ODF villages. This is also usually linked to poor institutional and political commitment for improved sanitation.

4.6 INSTITUTIONAL SLIPPAGE

Whereas the above patterns have described community-level slippage, a different way of looking at slippage is to regard it as an institutional phenomenon. In this sense, ‘institutional open defecation’¹² describes a situation where the (in)actions, policies or processes of external institutions indirectly contribute to the continuation of open defecation at the community level. Institutional slippage refers to the (in)actions, policies or processes of external institutions actively contributing to the reversal of gains made. The external institutions referred to in these scenarios can be governments, Executing Agencies, Sub-grantees and Programme Coordinating Mechanisms,¹³ among others.

SOME REASONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL SLIPPAGE

- A lack of coordination between different institutions leading to overlapping interventions
- The use of conflicting policies (subsidy vs CLTS)
- A lack of agreement on verification protocols and other institutional disagreements

This suggests that all interventions aiming to come to terms with slippage must address the issue at the community and institutional levels.

As described in the previous examples, slippage is a highly context-specific phenomenon and can be caused by a multitude of factors, either occurring separately or interacting with each other. Therefore, addressing slippage calls for localized solutions, building on the creativity of the community but also the quality of facilitation throughout the CLTS process. This is also of particular importance when it comes to monitoring and verification of slippage by external evaluators, as described in Chapter 5.

¹² Institutional open defecation is a figure of speech alluding to the inability or disinterest of institutions to address open defecation, thereby letting it persist.

¹³ Programme Coordinating Mechanisms are nationally-recognized, typically government-led coordinating bodies for sanitation and hygiene within GSF-supported countries. They set the vision and strategy of GSF-supported programmes. PCMs include representatives from government, civil society and international organizations from across the WASH sector and related sectors. Where possible, PCMs are sub-sections of existing national WASH sector coordination mechanisms. The existence, or creation, of a PCM is a requirement for GSF funding.

¹¹ See ‘Key terms and concepts’ on page 6 and Chapter 6 on mitigation strategies.

The time-bound measurement of slippage according to visual observations of technical and infrastructural criteria is an important management tool for programming and monitoring. The rigour and zero tolerance for failure to meet ODF criteria must not be compromised if we want to ensure the robustness of sanitation and hygiene programmes. However, it is crucial to find a way to combine this with an analysis of the level of collective behaviour change and health outcomes in a particular community. Slippage is often reduced to percentage rates – is this a correct way to depict reality? Lastly, this brings us to the questions of alternative monitoring strategies to capture slippage in a more nuanced way. Would it be possible to introduce other elements in monitoring and verification alongside the visual observations on infrastructure and ODF criteria? Can the increased frequency of verification provide a more realistic depiction of slippage rates?



COMMUNITY
SANITATION
MONITORING IN
MADAGASCAR.
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JERNECK

5

MONITORING
SLIPPAGE

In terms of monitoring and verification, if one goes beyond the figures and percentage rates and instead tries to understand the underlying human behaviour, slippage can be a useful tool for learning and hence programme improvement. All sanitation and hygiene programmes operating at scale experience slippage, in the sense that communities once declared ODF may at some point no longer be ODF. This is especially true for programmes that apply a zero tolerance to deficits in meeting ODF criteria – for example, if one single latrine lacks a cover, the entire community loses its ODF status. What we can learn from these experiences to date is that slippage is thus not a disaster, and that its occurrence does not mean that all behaviour change efforts have been in vain. Instead, slippage analysis can be a tool to fathom community dynamics around sanitation behaviour change – a tool to improve the quality of programmes.

5.1 WHO MONITORS WHAT?

External verifiers,¹⁴ usually unaware of the full community context when conducting verifications, overlook the community trajectory from open defecation to ODF. They simply classify slippage as any deviation from the strict ODF criteria. By applying such a static measurement in often one-off external verifications of adherence to ODF criteria, the dynamic nature of behaviour change is neglected. This is problematic in two ways: 1) the point of departure, i.e. the community sanitation situation prior to the Triggering is not considered and community efforts are diminished; and 2) the nuances between ODF communities of differing quality is ignored (e.g. ‘ODF state of mind’ vs. superficial ODF). For example, there will be no distinction between the following two communities:

i) Community A was incredibly filthy. After undergoing a highly powerful Triggering process, it completely abolished the habit of open defecation in a short period of time and gradually took on new development challenges to improve community life. However, slippage was determined during a verification exercise as a result of a misplaced drop-hole cover due to playing children.

ii) Prior to the Triggering process, Community B had many badly used and maintained latrines and thus

high rates of fixed-place open defecation.¹⁵ It struggled to become ODF over a drawn-out period of time and finally achieved ODF status by applying strict sanctions imposed by the Chief. However, few community members have yet to internalize the fact that ingesting faeces is bad for you.

Community B might be ODF at verification but it is unlikely that the behaviour change will last over time. Community A on the other hand has a far better chance of maintaining the positive change. A lack of localized understanding skews ODF verification results. Moreover, external verifications with little localized understanding run the risk of undermining community achievements by simply undervaluing them. In this respect, the Follow-up MANDONA approach is a powerful tool (see Chapter 5 on addressing and mitigating slippage). It celebrates community success while at the same time encouraging communities to take immediate action to improve where progress has been slow. As a result, verification is a positive community experience as opposed to an external, ‘static’ process where communities are (even if inadvertently) discouraged by the feeling of having failed.

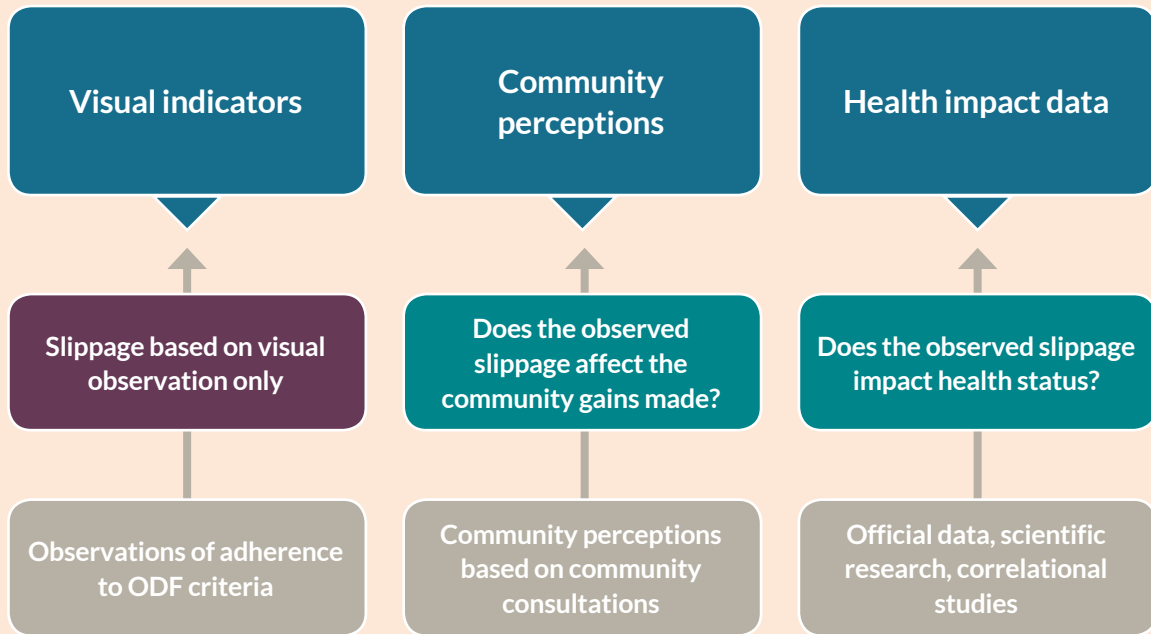
So far, we have underlined the fact that verifiers far too often rely on visual indicators only, without incorporating qualitative community perceptions and quantitative health impacts. Figure 3 depicts how in an ideal scenario verifiers can rely on these three pillars and adequate baselines.

- 1. Visual observations:** This is the most commonly used approach to assess slippage, based on visual observations and focusing on whether a community meets ODF criteria as defined by the programme or policy. These visual observations are most commonly carried out by external verifiers. Most large scale verification exercises to date focus exclusively on this pillar.
- 2. Community perceptions:** Consultations with a given community result in a better understanding of the community’s own experience of how and why collective behaviours have changed along its ODF journey. This process also uncovers the related changes and outcomes the community has

¹⁴ External verifiers consist of stakeholders outside of the community, who do not work as staff within GSF-supported programmes. Examples include third-party verification bodies (consisting of sector partners), GSF-funded Country Programme Monitors, and the line ministry in charge of sanitation.

¹⁵ Fixed-place open defecation refers to a situation where people use unimproved latrines that do not hygienically separate faeces from the environment. Such latrines include pit latrines without slabs, hanging latrines, or bucket toilets. More importantly, it refers to situations where improved toilets are not well maintained or cleaned, resulting in highly unhygienic situations with faecal matter smeared on walls, anal cleansing materials lying about, a high presence of flies, etc. Hence, fixed-place open defecation does not cut the oral-faecal transmission chain. This confirms that a focus on infrastructure without the required behaviour change can be detrimental to improvements in community sanitation.

Figure 3: The three pillars of ODF verification, inspired by Kamal Kar



experienced or perceived over time in terms of health impact, household expenditure on health-related matters, changes in power relations within the community, levels of productivity, perceptions of safety, etc.

- 3. Health impact data:** This determines overall health impacts and outcomes (as they relate to diarrhoea, dysentery, worm infections and other health conditions). As it is difficult, and costly, to draw causal links between health and improved sanitation, these need to be correlational studies. However, these studies may not be possible at the same scale or frequency as the first two pillars.

Currently, most external evaluations of slippage exclusively rely on visual observation of adherence to ODF criteria. However, in order to go beyond the numbers and truly analyze slippage rates and understand the community trajectory one must include all three of the aforementioned pillars, and look for relations between them. In-depth monitoring of all three pillars is costly and complicated to conduct at a large scale. One way to address this could be to have a few sentinel sites¹⁶ for regular monitoring over time, against

all three pillars. These villages would provide qualitative evidence to better understand patterns and trends of slippage. Related questions could include: what are the advancement patterns of villages, i.e. the bouncing ball concept? What are the most common factors (internal and external) leading to slippage? How are slippage rates linked to community leadership and leadership buy-in for sanitation? The Madagascar FAA programme is currently developing research protocols to start tracking such sentinel sites over time.

The growing experience of GSF-supported programmes in monitoring and evaluation shows that adherence to ODF status over time is not linear, but rather a ‘two steps forward, one step back’ type of process. In this regard, slippage should not be considered nor monitored as a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ matter, but rather as a sliding scale, and not at one-off events but periodically. This does however pose additional challenges in terms of the complication and expense of recurrent monitoring. Furthermore, this begs the question of for whose benefit such monitoring is conducted.

¹⁶ A sentinel sites system deliberately involves only a limited network of carefully selected reporting sites from which data is collected on a continuous/periodic basis as to understand how something evolves over time. Data collected in a well-designed sentinel system, or through so called ‘purposive sampling’, can be used to signal trends, and gather an in-depth understanding about the data in question.

5.2 VERIFICATION METHODOLOGY

In a given WASH programme, differing verification processes undertaken by different actors can demonstrate significant discrepancies in reported results, therefore demonstrating the urgent need to harmonize verification methodologies among sector partners.¹⁷ Currently, survey and verification methodologies among actors differ in terms of definitions of households and communities, sampling strategies, enumerator skills and local context knowledge. This creates confusion and does not contribute to advancing sector learning. GSF-supported programmes have experienced this challenge. The GSF is therefore working to better harmonize verification approaches through ongoing efforts to strengthen its monitoring and evaluation system and results framework.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE VERIFICATION EXERCISE?

- Is the primary objective to quantify progress and assess the reliability of results, to enhance learning and hence refine programming, or a combination of these?
- Who is the audience of the verification exercise?
- Is it aimed at benchmarking a programme against other programmes in the sector?
- Is it aimed at reporting to donors on programme progress and the use of funds?
- Is it aimed at enhancing learning for programme staff?

Ideally, verification exercises should combine all of these elements.

As slippage is an expected element of sanitation and hygiene behaviour change programming, providing quantitative figures is not helpful on its own. As highlighted in previous chapters, ODF is merely the first rung on a sanitation behaviour change ladder. Therefore, another aspect that has emerged through verification exercises is the need to combine quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data is required for large-scale programmes to reflect on the overall situation and progress. But quantitative data alone with exclusive focus on numbers will not help programmes

enhance understanding of slippage or strategies to address it. Qualitative data is required to explain the numbers and explore the underlying questions.

EXPLORING THE UNDERLYING QUESTIONS

- Why are certain communities experiencing slippage?
- What is the profile of these communities and households?
- Are slippage rates higher among certain groups of a population, for instance marginalized groups?
- What are the most dominant regression factors and the most effective advancement factors?
- What is the most commonly neglected ODF criteria?
- Are external interventions to rectify slippage more, less or as equally effective as internally community-driven processes?

All of these questions and many more need to answered if we want to fully understand the community maturity trajectories. This is especially true in the era of the Sustainable Development Goals, as we aim for universal and sustainable access and use of safe sanitation facilities.

Periodic verification exercises, if carried out in a sound way, present an invaluable opportunity to reorient programmes as needed. As such, improving verification methodologies, often through learning by doing, is elemental to the GSF.

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED THROUGH PERIODIC VERIFICATION

- Is the programme is working in the right geographical areas?
- Is there a balance between scale, equality and sustainability?
- Are the most appropriate approaches being used?
- Are the actors involved the most suitable ones?

¹⁷ Differing results from verification exercises could simply be due to the dynamic nature of behaviour change. One day a community fully adheres to all ODF criteria, and the next slip back, and the third day rectify the situation, with or without external intervention. These nuances are seldom captured.

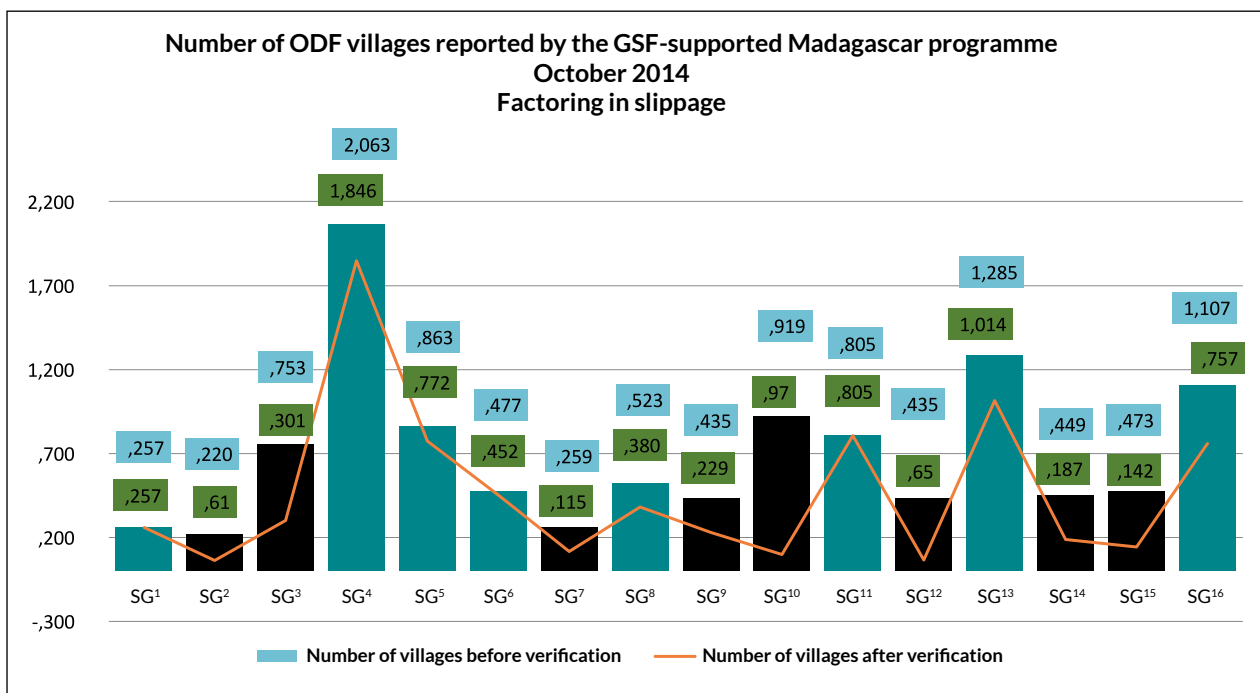
5.3 SLIPPAGE AND REPORTING

An aspect closely linked to monitoring and verification is reporting. Figure 4 shows how the Executing Agency managing the FAA, the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar, is ‘capping’ Sub-grantee results to compensate for slippage in their reporting to the GSF Secretariat. This process is based on an extrapolation of findings from Executing Agency spot checks of Sub-grantee results. In a hypothetical situation for example, when checking a sample of ODF communities from Sub-grantee X, it is found that there is a 10 percent slippage rate. This 10 percent rate is then applied to all communities reported as ODF by Sub-grantee X. The Executing Agency thus reports to the GSF Secretariat that 90 percent of these communities are ODF. This can be a seemingly limited approach, especially if the sample is not representative of the Sub-grantee’s intervention area as a whole. However,

it does show a trend in how Sub-grantees are faring in respect to slippage. Albeit an imperfect measurement, this is currently the most accurate way of measuring results on such a large scale. The GSF is considering what lessons to draw from this approach in order to improve monitoring of slippage.

In Figure 4, the difference between results reported to the Executing Agency from Sub-grantees and the results reported to the GSF Secretariat from the Executing Agency is apparent. The blue boxes represent Sub-grantee reporting to the Executing Agency, and the green, Executing Agency reporting to the GSF Secretariat. In addition to serving as a tool to measure slippage, it is also a way for the Executing Agency to monitor and evaluate the performance of Sub-grantees.

Figure 4



5.4 FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter has shown that, in order for monitoring frameworks to fully capture the intricacies of slippage, they need to be flexible and appropriate for the dynamic and fast-paced nature of behaviour change.

CAPTURING THE INTRICACIES OF SLIPPAGE

Monitoring frameworks would benefit from:

- Being serial and continuous as opposed to one-off events
- Focusing on the three pillars of verification (visual, community perceptions and health impacts)
- Combining quantitative and qualitative data and using sentinel sites to understand trends and patterns
- Harmonizing verification methodologies among all actors involved
- Capping results reported by Sub-grantees, to compensate for slippage

Monitoring is primordial in development programmes, for accountability and performance evaluation alike. However, as monitoring and evaluation is both costly and complicated, when does one consider having a monitoring system that is good enough? And who is the principal audience for more intensive monitoring and verification? Are we investing in verifications for the benefit of communities, donors or GSF entities?

By solely focusing on accountability towards donors and tax payers, heavily relying on external verification solely based on the visual pillar, we risk losing the people-centred focus central to the GSF. On the other hand, if we invest in monitoring and verification that is integrated within the wider CLTS facilitation process, we are more likely to safeguard this people-centred approach. Such monitoring and verification should be incorporated into Pre-Triggering, Triggering, follow-up and post-ODF follow-up activities, to truly understand community dynamics and contribute to sustainable sanitation and hygiene improvement. As such, we can be accountable towards the population we set out to target, the population that truly suffers from the ills of open defecation. But this comes at a cost in terms of radically changing how and why we conduct monitoring and verification. Perhaps the aspects mentioned in this section could guide us.



COLLECTING THE NAMES AND PHONE NUMBERS OF NATURAL LEADERS DURING A COMMUNITY DEBRIEFING IN UGANDA. NATURAL LEADERS PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE IN MITIGATING SLIPPAGE. ©FAA/JOELINA RATEFINJANAHARY

ADDRESSING AND MITIGATING SLIPPAGE

6

As programmes understand the patterns, the root causes and the external/internal influencing factors of slippage better, can they also come up with innovations and tools to pre-empt and mitigate slippage? If so, what are these specific strategies and what can we learn from them? How important is high-quality CLTS facilitation for achieving lasting behaviour change?



As the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar matured, significant effort was put into finding strategies to address and pre-empt slippage, while building community resilience and capacity during the entire CLTS process. The starting point for such strategies is the focus on high quality CLTS facilitation, as the GSF believes that this is the key to achieving and sustaining results.

At the core of CLTS is fostering and relying on a collective community decision to end open defecation. This process helps ensure that all community members build latrines or render them fly-proof if they already exist, use them, wash their hands afterwards, and maintain this behaviour over time. The aim of Pre-Triggering and Triggering is to facilitate and lay the foundation of this collective behaviour change, which is then cemented during active follow-up. Consequently, the quality of CLTS facilitation needs to be maximized. If this is not the case, one ends up with many triggered communities that never become ODF and/or low-quality ODF communities where the behaviour change is superficial. In the latter scenario, behaviour change is not internalized by community members, which makes the community more susceptible to slippage.

PRINCIPLES FOR HIGH-QUALITY CLTS FACILITATION (GSF-SUPPORTED PROGRAMME IN MADAGASCAR)

- Local problems require local solutions. Externally imposed ideas risk undermining local community dynamics to effectively find internal solutions, which are often more acceptable.
- CLTS must not be mechanical but rather as dynamic as possible. Facilitators must listen to and learn from communities instead of prescribing preconceived ideas and following set protocols.
- Active learning must continuously refine programme strategies for CLTS roll-out.
- CLTS is organic but this does not mean that it can be carried out at random. Instead, all phases of CLTS require strategic planning to maximize results and quality.
- Interventions must apply a 'let's do it all together' mentality, suggesting that sanitation should be seen as a movement that involves actors far beyond the rural communities that lack sanitation. Interventions should not be seen as an isolated project. Programmes must focus on results (ODF communities) rather than process (triggered communities).

CLTS is at times reduced to a collection of triggering tools rather than being considered as a powerful philosophy and approach for community mobilization, and ultimately, transformative social change. This was the case in the early years of the programme in Madagascar. However, as the programme advanced and overcame challenges, it was recognized that there is much more to CLTS than community Triggering. Instead, CLTS comprises many interlinked phases and elements, such as strategic site selection, Pre-Triggering, Triggering and follow-up – and this applies to both communities and institutions. High quality CLTS facilitation must permeate all of these phases. Drawing heavily on experience from Madagascar, this chapter endeavors to show how the aforementioned programme principles have been translated into concrete tools and approaches for high-quality facilitation. As will be described, such facilitation has been used to address slippage in an innovative and highly effective way, focusing on people, communities and behaviour change.

6.1 IN-DEPTH PRE-TRIGGERING

One of the most effective ways to ensure an inclusive CLTS implementation strategy and thereby safeguard against slippage, is Pre-Triggering, an essential phase of CLTS that serves as the entry point into a community. During Pre-Triggering, the facilitator gathers knowledge that will maximize the actual Triggering event and build rapport with the community. This concretely means that facilitators will get an idea about the size, characteristics and subtleties of the community that one can use to make Triggering more effective and dynamic. Some questions to address during this phase could include: Are there any specific interest groups or marginalized people that facilitators should give particular attention to during the Triggering and follow-up? Is there an ongoing feud between households that will impede collective action? Are there any other obstacles or opportunities that might hinder or facilitate the Triggering process? Essentially, Pre-Triggering indicates if the community is ripe for Triggering or not. All too often Pre-Triggering is neglected or misunderstood and merely seen as an activity when an appointment for Triggering is made with the community. It should be seen as a strategic approach to maximize the success of the forthcoming Triggering.

Pre-Triggering is one of the best tools to ensure interventions abide by principles of equality and non-discrimination. However, this does not happen automatically – facilitators must be aware of and attentive to these concepts. Given the different factors influencing slippage, it is evident that some groups



NATURAL LEADERS HELPING TO FLY-PROOF A LATRINE FLOOR DURING A FOLLOW-UP MANDONA SESSION.
©FAA/GRÉGOIRE RABENJA

of people will be harder hit than others. These could be individuals within a household or a community, or even entire communities. In the Madagascar programme, Pre-Triggering actively identifies vulnerable households and individuals as well as internal solidarity mechanisms to support these groups. This informs the Triggering and post-Triggering process in terms of the choice of tools and approaches. Essentially, it is recognized that vulnerable groups can constitute a regression factor if they are not given particular attention in the CLTS process from the outset. Pre-Triggering highly increases the effectiveness of the CLTS process and is the key to robust behaviour change. As such, the GSF strives to make this a systematic practice across the board, with a view to prompt programmes to strengthen their equality and non-discrimination focus.

6.2 FOLLOW-UP MANDONA

Follow-up MANDONA is a powerful CLTS follow-up approach inspired by triggering tools. This action-oriented, community-driven approach aims to encourage communities to take immediate action to rectify anomalies and rapidly advance towards ODF status. ‘Mandona’ is both a Malagasy word meaning ‘to push’ and an acronym summarizing the core principles of the approach in which the community always takes the lead. The principles are: motivate households; analyze the sanitation situation; norms and standards for ODF; decide to act now; organize actions; no one left behind; and advance to ODF status. Follow-up MANDONA can be used as a tool for post-Triggering follow-up, but it is also a powerful tool to be

applied in villages where slippage related to non-compliance with ODF criteria is encountered. For example, during the verification process facilitators can help communities instantly render a sub-standard latrine fly-proof, bringing the community back to ODF status. Follow-up MANDONA was pioneered by the NGO and Sub-grantee Miarintsoa as a way to bring the entire community together during post-Triggering follow-up. The actual Follow-up MANDONA session involves four stages, although the steps can be easily amendable to fit different contexts:

1. **Opening community meeting:** The first stage is to review the community action plan set during the facilitators' previous visit and to analyze, in a participatory manner, the steps taken towards ODF status. Moreover, these community efforts (no matter how small) and the role of Natural Leaders are recognized and appreciated. At the end of the community meeting, the facilitators ask if one or more volunteers would like to show the rest of the community what they have done so far to end open defecation.
2. **Creating a community model:** With the community gathered at the volunteer's household, everyone identifies together if there is still open defecation that is causing everyone to continue to ingest faeces. The household is then triggered to carry out Small, Immediate, Doable Actions (SIDAs) in a participatory manner until a replicable 'community model' is created on the spot and in front of everyone. Examples of community models include a clean area that was formerly used for open defecation, a latrine that completely cuts the oral-faecal transmission chain, and a handwashing facility with soap or ash near the latrine.
3. **Replicating the model together:** With the community triggered and observing that the SIDAs are simple and take minimal time, the facilitator asks if they are willing to replicate what they have learned in their own homes immediately. The facilitator also asks how long it would take to complete these tasks (the response is usually around 15-30 minutes). While community members return to complete the SIDAs in their own homes, emerging Natural Leaders take the lead in supporting households in need, especially those that are most vulnerable.
4. **Community debriefing:** Once everyone has replicated the community model, emerging Natural Leaders update the entire community on their new



BENIN: BUILDING HANDWASHING FACILITIES IS A KEY FOLLOW-UP MANDONA ACTIVITY. ©WSSCC/ASU DURMUS

sanitation status and the remaining challenges to be addressed. Finally, the community agrees on a new action plan for ending open defecation and establishes local governance mechanisms to sustain their sanitation and hygiene status.

For more information on the Follow-up MANDONA approach, readers can explore the handbook developed by the Madagascar programme and GSF Secretariat.¹⁸

¹⁸ See: WSSCC. (2016). *Follow-up MANDONA: A field guide for accelerating and sustaining open defecation free communities through a Community-Led Total Sanitation approach*. Retrieved from <http://wsscc.org/resources-feed/follow-mandona-field-guide-accelerating-sustaining-open-defecation-free-communities-community-led-total-sanitation-approach/>

6.3 LOCAL COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE

In a large-scale programme targeting thousands of communities, like that of Madagascar, intense Sub-grantee efforts and presence on the ground are difficult to sustain in the long term. It is therefore possible that communities will slip back unnoticed into the practice of open defecation and other unsound hygienic practices. Therefore, the concept of Local Community Governance emerged as a solution to the challenge of maintaining behaviour change at scale and without having to rely on Sub-grantees or external entities. The principle of Local Community Governance is to effectively transfer the leadership for maintaining and sustaining sanitation improvements from the Sub-grantee to the community and local governance structures. This includes both the technical and organizational capacities necessary to ensure the maintenance of the sanitation facilities and the sustainability of behaviour change.

The transfer of technical capacity is achieved through the Follow-up MANDONA process previously described. During the last phase of the Follow-up MANDONA session, the community is encouraged to establish a mechanism for the continuous maintenance and improvement of their latrines, in the form of collective community work. This type of regular community work is a tradition deeply rooted in Malagasy culture and is known as ‘asam-pokonolona’ in Malagasy. In Madagascar, Sub-grantees therefore build on existing structures and habits, which lead to increased community ownership. This sort of work takes place on a regular basis as determined by the community, often once or twice a month. The objective of this work is for each household to self-evaluate their sanitation situation and to receive and provide intra-community support to maintain ODF status. This is achieved by dedicating time to clean and make small improvements to latrines. Examples of such improvements include ensuring that there is a tight fitting drop hole cover, using ash in the latrine, and ensuring that water is available for handwashing. The objective of the community work is twofold: to solidify behaviour change and mobilize the community to gradually climb the sanitation ladder.

In addition, a monitoring system is established through the management of a logbook to record household participation in community work and a sanitation register to record all sanitation actions undertaken

in the community work. The Sub-grantee continues to conduct regular follow-up visits until the collective community, particularly as it relates to sanitation and hygiene, becomes regular and systematic. Once this is achieved, the Sub-grantee gradually steps back and limits follow-up to monitoring the logbook, in order to ensure that the community work is taking place. The Sub-grantee never participates in the actual community work. Instead, facilitators focus on advocacy to the commune and district leadership to ensure that there is commitment to support community efforts and that the frequency of the community work is monitored. In this way, the Sub-grantee gradually hands over all governance responsibilities to the community and local administrative leadership. The local governance approach is believed to be one of the core advancement factors at play during the community maturity trajectory, as described in Chapter 2.

6.4 BUILDING A SANITATION MOVEMENT

Valuing local actors and generating a broad-based sanitation movement is vital for ending open defecation and sustaining ODF status. The aim is to strengthen, mobilize, and empower emerging local champions to actively participate and effectively fight against open defecation within and beyond their own area of residence or intervention. Valuing local actors involves harnessing the energy and passion of emerging leaders to drive the elimination of open defecation. These allies could come from the community or from institutional organizations that emerge throughout the CLTS process. For these triggered actors, eating or drinking faeces is inconceivable, and they become invaluable allies for Sub-grantees in implementing programme activities at scale. As an increasing number of actors become triggered, engaged, and organized, the movement to end the ingestion of faeces evolves into a self-driving movement.

The movement is a powerful instrument to prevent and address slippage, as by maximizing the number of actors involved, the sense of shared responsibility to sustain results is enhanced. Achieving only a handful of ODF communities is fundamentally unsustainable. In order to sustain collective behaviour change, one needs to institutionalize the momentum to end open defecation beyond individual communities and towards a national sanitation and hygiene culture. Furthermore, the health benefits of improved sanitation and hygiene can only be realized if improved behaviours are widely adopted. Lastly, the more

people that are involved, the more likely it is for the new behaviour to become the norm. Essentially, there will be more supporters to spread and continuously reinforce the message to end open defecation. The more people that practice a behaviour, the more likely it is that this behaviour will be sustained over time. The vision of the movement in Madagascar is to render the entire country ODF. By the end of 2015, a movement of more than 100,000 institutional and community actors working alongside the GSF Executing Agency, 27 Sub-grantees and the Programme Coordinating Mechanism were fighting to achieve this vision.

To build this type of movement it is important to maximize the use and potential of local actors – such as Natural Leaders,¹⁹ Community Consultants,²⁰ Community Engineers,²¹ traditional rulers and champions. Moreover, programmes should also mobilize local leaders within non-WASH community groups, such as women’s church groups or youth groups. The GSF considers all of these actors as the foot soldiers of the movement. As we have seen in previous sections of this paper, true Natural Leaders often build micro-movements within their community. They encourage and build on the momentum and energy unleashed through CLTS to take on other development challenges and improve living conditions beyond sanitation. Natural Leaders who graduate into Community Consultants are also instrumental in spreading the momentum beyond their own community, and are directly involved in triggering neighbouring communities. They thereby foster additional elements of pride and peer pressure to become ODF and sustain that status.

In the GSF-supported programme in Nigeria, Natural Leaders are instrumental in holding ‘WASH clinics’ – peer-to-peer follow up sessions designed to help more resistant communities achieve and sustain ODF status. In the Madagascar programme, several so-called ‘CLTS Universities’ have evolved. These are ODF communities with strong Natural Leaders who welcome people from other communities to learn more about how the change came about and how it is sustained.

¹⁹ *Natural Leaders* are activists and enthusiasts who emerge and take the lead during CLTS processes, driving their community to end open defecation and ensuring that everyone can access adequate sanitation and hygiene. Men, women, youths and children can all be Natural Leaders.

²⁰ *Community Consultants* are Natural Leaders who carry their passion for ending open defecation beyond their borders, and are involved in triggering sessions and follow-up activities in neighbouring communities. This may be done either on their own or in coordination with local implementing agencies, who may pay community consultants small stipends for supporting communities to achieve ODF status.

²¹ *Community Engineers* are innovative community members that use available and affordable materials to invent local sanitation and hygiene technologies – ranging from latrine designs to handwashing facilities. Community Engineers are usually skilled in construction and using tools, often helping out their neighbours and those that are less able.

Championing the true spirit of CLTS, sanitation movements are expected to generate a cadre of Natural Leaders and Community Consultants. Together with other actors, they can help accelerate the momentum towards achieving and sustaining ODF nations, leaving no one behind. With this in mind, and as the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar enters its transition phase,²² there are efforts to organize and institutionalize the invaluable support from these Natural Leaders and Community Consultants. This is being achieved by establishing Natural Leader and Community Consultant federations. If successful, these federations can help foster long-term behaviour change sustainability beyond the life of the programme. They can thus be an effective tool to strengthen internal community mechanisms to address slippage in the future, even when all external support is withdrawn.

6.5 INSTITUTIONAL TRIGGERING

Institutional Triggering is an essential tool for building a broad-based sanitation movement involving leaders, decision makers and influential leaders within and beyond the WASH sector. The Madagascar programme, together with Kamal Kar, pioneered the approach as a powerful advocacy tool to generate commitment to ending open defecation from leaders at all levels. This is an inherent component of achieving scale, sustaining results, and addressing slippage risks.

Institutional Triggering is inspired by the same principles as community-level Triggering. It similarly provokes feelings of disgust, shock and shame, but targets influential organizations, agencies, and leaders at all levels. The objective is to show that poor sanitation affects everyone – regardless of social status and individual access to safe sanitation. The approach facilitates self-understanding that as long as open defecation is prevalent, *everyone* will continue to unknowingly ingest faeces – their own or that of others. The approach also aims to affect the pride and dignity of participants, leading to a realization that leaders have a moral responsibility to join the movement to end open defecation. Once triggered, decision makers publically sign a commitment, with concrete actions and timelines. They commit to end open defecation using their own means and/or create an enabling environment to ensure the sustainability of ODF status. Just

²² Read more about the phases of GSF-supported programmes in WSSCC. (2016). *Global Sanitation Fund Progress Report 2015: A catalyst for large-scale results*. Retrieved from <http://wsscc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/GSF-Progress-Report-2015.pdf>

A LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEADER FROM MORARANO COMMUNE, MADAGASCAR, PLOTS OPEN DEFECATION AREAS DURING AN INSTITUTIONAL TRIGGERING SESSION. INSTITUTIONAL TRIGGERING HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED AS A KEY APPROACH FOR ADDRESSING AND MITIGATING SLIPPAGE. ©WSSCC/CAROLIEN VAN DER VOORDEN



like the emergence of Natural Leaders from community-level Triggering, Institutional Triggering facilitates the rise of champions who take the lead in ensuring that commitments and action plans are implemented.

The setting and tools used in Institutional Triggering are always contextual. The approach maximizes the use of different visual and verbal tools appropriate to the sociocultural environment in which it takes place. At the local level, Institutional Triggering usually takes the form of a community meeting of local leaders. Facilitators make use of 'classic' CLTS tools such as the map and transect walk, but also testimonies from other triggered actors to encourage others to join the movement. At higher levels, Institutional Triggering is carried out through a facilitated meeting and graphic presentation provoking shame, disgust, and affecting the dignity of participants. In Madagascar, the GSF-supported programme strategically uses the approach at different moments during the journey towards attaining and sustaining ODF status. For example, different Institutional Triggering strategies and tools are used for selecting strategic intervention sites, geographic scale-up, climbing the sanitation ladder, and sustaining ODF status and preventing slippage.

Through this approach, decision makers and leaders must understand that sustainable collective behaviour change has to come from within the community itself, and cannot be imposed by targets set from above. However, support from institutions is critical for ensuring that communities have access to long-term support as well as the motivation to sustain behaviour change. Actions from institutions can include providing adequate sanitation facilities in public spaces, or fostering greater coordination among organizations within and beyond the sanitation sector.

6.6 U APPROACH FOR SCALING UP

Madagascar has more than 120,000 villages scattered across the vast island. Achieving an ODF Madagascar would be impossible if one had to conduct Triggering and follow-up activities by moving from one village to the next. The U Approach offers a solution by organizing and strengthening local actors to progressively scale up from ODF villages towards progressively larger administrative units. In Madagascar, the approach starts by ensuring that aims are first achieved within the smallest administrative unit – the fokontany²³ – before

scaling up to the commune and district levels. The approach has three phases:

Phase 1: Preparation:

This phase focuses on identifying strategic administrative units and communities where ODF status can be most effectively achieved, engaging institutional actors to plan for this outcome. Starting at the highest administrative level (usually the strategic district) the objectives are to:

- Engage actors from within and beyond the sanitation sector through Institutional Triggering
- Develop an action plan or roadmap to achieve ODF status for the entire administrative unit being targeted (e.g. a roadmap for an ODF district)
- Identify strategic administrative units and communities below the administrative unit (e.g. strategic communes, fokontany and villages)
- Build the capacity of the actors involved

This process is then repeated for each relevant administrative level, descending to the lowest level, until the most strategic intervention sites are identified.

Phase 2: Establishing a strong base:

In this phase, CLTS activities are implemented in strategic villages. The objectives are to:

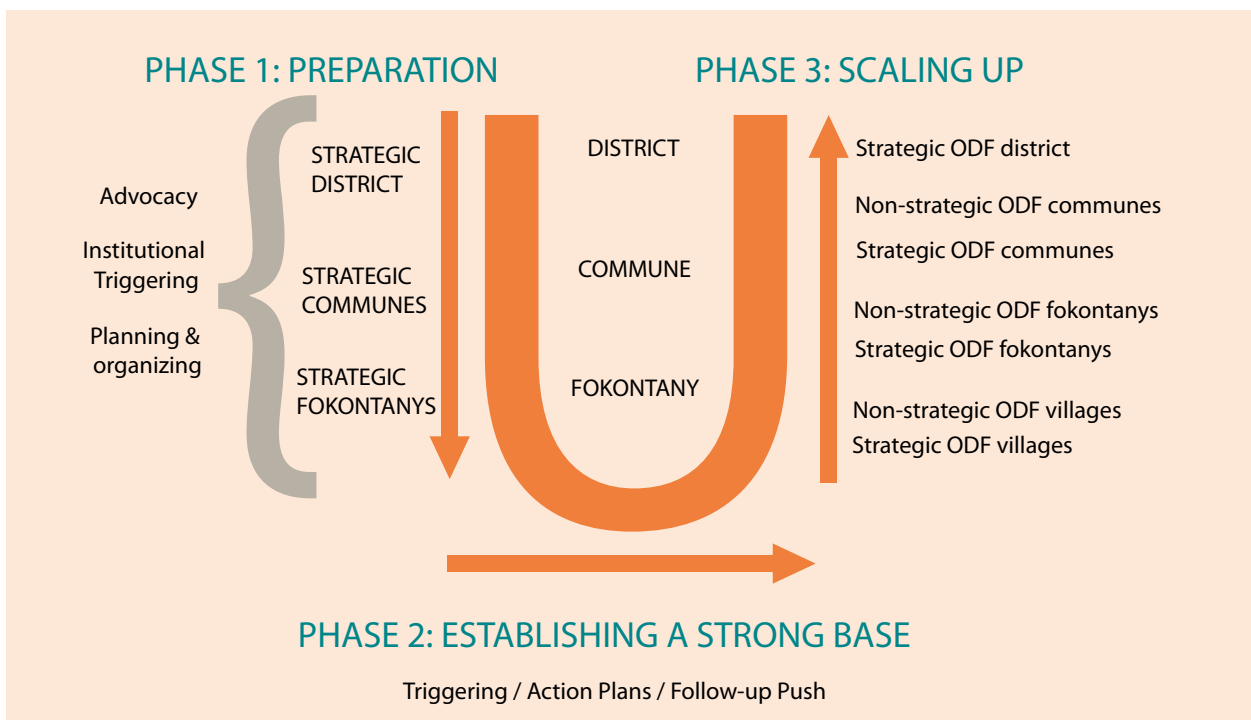
- Facilitate the achievement of ODF status in the strategic villages, so that they can serve as an example for other villages
- Identify and strengthen a cadre of emerging actors (Natural Leaders, Community Consultants, Community Engineers and champions) to help other villages achieve ODF status
- Identify appropriate local technologies

Phase 3: Scaling up:

Once a strong base of strategic ODF communities and dynamic local actors has been established, the objective is to scale up activities from the village level to consecutively larger territorial units, until the highest level of geographical scale is reached. For example, ODF status is planned for a strategic district. Taking the strong base of strategic villages as a platform, the phase begins with the triggering of non-strategic villages within strategic fokontany. This is carried out through local actors, with the goal of achieving

²³ A fokontany is the smallest administrative unit in Madagascar. It comprises groups of villages, comparable to a local county or parish.

Figure 5: The U Approach for scaling up within a strategic district



full ODF coverage in these strategic fokontanys, as envisioned during Phase 1. This process is accelerated through Institutional Triggering sessions targeting influential local actors, with the aim of generating a broad-based movement and developing roadmaps to achieve full ODF coverage.

Once these strategic fokontanys reach ODF status, they then become strong bases for accelerating ODF status in non-strategic fokontanys, within strategic communes. These fokontanys subsequently work together to realize the ODF roadmap for their strategic communes. Once ODF status is achieved within the strategic communes, they then become strong bases for reaching non-strategic communes, and these communes work together to achieve an ODF district. Figure 6 provides a snapshot of the relationship between strategic and non-strategic territorial units within a strategic district, in Phase 3.

The U Approach creates a favourable environment for sustainability and the prevention of slippage through:

- i) The ownership and commitment of stakeholders and communities at all levels (institutional and social sustainability)

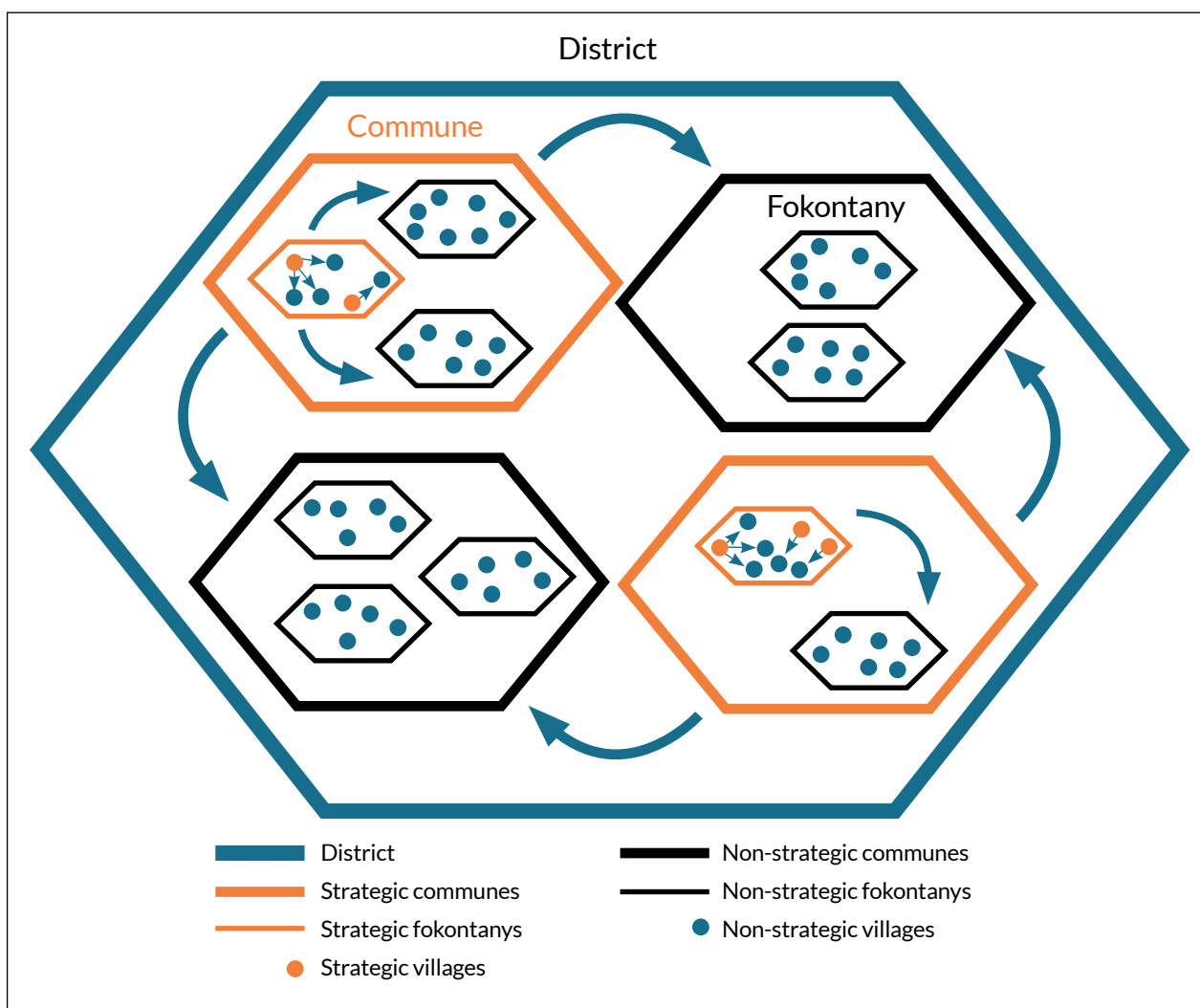
- ii) The emergence of local and sustainable technologies (technological and financial sustainability)

- iii) The emergence of local actors such as Natural Leaders, Community Consultants, Community Engineers, champions and traditional leaders (institutional and financial sustainability)

6.7 BEHAVIOUR CHANGE COMMUNICATION

Few communities have become or remained ODF by inhabitants simply looking at posters, listening to radio advertisements or wearing flashy t-shirts with general WASH messages. However, if Behaviour Change Communication (BCC) is used as an extension of CLTS, it can be a very powerful tool for sustaining behaviour change and staving off slippage. BCC relates to the strategic use of communication to promote and sustain positive behaviours. The approach is based on proven theories and models, as well as context-specific formative research and behaviour analysis. Moreover, both mass media and interpersonal channels are used to interact with communities and achieve defined behavioural objectives.

Figure 6: The U Approach: Scaling up from strategic to non-strategic territorial units in Phase 3



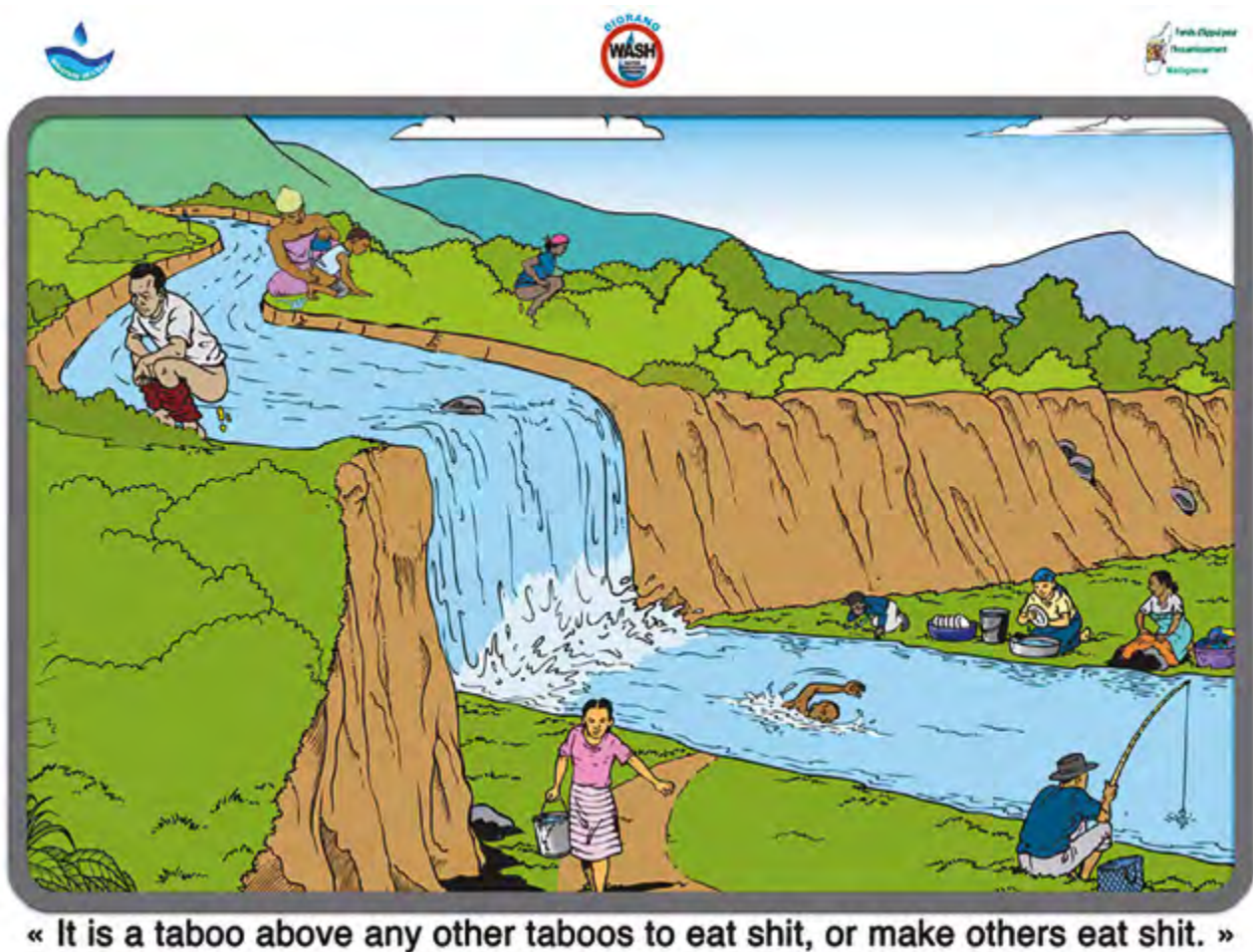
In the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar, BCC materials and campaigns have been revolutionized to incorporate the same messages and emotional triggers utilized in CLTS. They often feature testimonies from actors such as Natural Leaders and community members from ODF villages. Examples include radio jingles or live testimonies from community member with explicit messages about the harm of open defecation broadcasted at lunchtime or other strategic times. Such messages provoke emotions such as shame, disgust and fear among audiences. The Madagascar team found that conventional BCC campaigns could undermine progress achieved through CLTS, as they could dilute the core objective of CLTS or send conflicting messages. This is why BCC activities are carefully planned and sequenced not to compromise the intended surprise effect of Triggering, and are therefore only introduced once communities have been triggered.

6.8 PARTICIPATORY TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT

While the experience in Madagascar has shown that ingraining behaviour change is most important, improving WASH facilities can play a significant role in reducing the risk of slippage. For example, through better infrastructure, communities can ensure latrines do not collapse or take longer to fill up.

According to the World Bank, Madagascar is one of the world's poorest countries, with 81 percent of the population living under \$1.90 per day.²⁴ This situation can be linked to the prolonged 2009-2014 political

²⁴ The World Bank. (2016). *Poverty headcount ratio at \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP) (% of population)*. Retrieved from <http://data.worldbank.org>



A BEHAVIOUR CHANGE COMMUNICATION CAMPAIGN POSTER FROM MADAGASCAR THAT TRIGGERS COMMUNITIES WITH EXPLICIT MESSAGES AND VISUALS.

crisis that crippled the economy, resulting in soaring unemployment rates and deepened marginalization of already vulnerable groups. Furthermore, the country is frequently exposed to a number of natural hazards such as cyclones, floods and droughts, leading to famine in some areas. It is within this context that the GSF-supported FAA programme has approached supply-side activities, which applies social and commercial marketing approaches to increase supply and demand for improved sanitation facilities.

The FAA encourages communities to climb the sanitation ladder by valuing local technologies, materials and skills emerging from the communities themselves, as opposed to imposing externally developed technologies. Such context-appropriate technologies are of particular importance in areas where climatic and geological factors threaten the sustainability of behaviour change. The FAA does not promote one-size-fits-all solutions but rather encourages a range

of context-specific solutions developed within local communities. Sub-grantees continuously facilitate the refinement of these technologies, working across the country with engineers who emerge from within the communities during the programme activities. This process encourages people to improve their latrines through the use of affordable materials and skills, while ensuring that their facilities are hygienic and durable.

Diverse sanitation marketing approaches supported by the FAA cover everything from supporting small-scale entrepreneurs to low-cost solutions implemented directly by latrine owners. For example, households are triggered to collectively buy cement to smear the slabs of their latrines made of mud and manure, thereby making the latrines easier to clean and more durable. These relatively cheap facilities are also easier to maintain and repair, as the costs are within people's true purchasing power. This kind of participatory

technology development is therefore perhaps a more sustainable option than if people would go straight to a ventilated improved pit or pour-flush latrine. As the repair and maintenance of the latter latrines would be possibly more expensive, this would increase the risk of people abandoning their latrines. In Madagascar it has been observed that one of the main drivers for households to upgrade their latrines is the realization that urine corrodes latrine slabs made of mud, dung or wood. This is especially the case on the edges of the drop hole, causing the cover to no longer fit tightly and thus rendering the latrine ‘non-fly-proof’. FAA supply-side activities also focus on supporting the development of handwashing technologies and other tools, such as an ash scoop that makes it easier to effectively distribute ash in the pit.

In addition, FAA Sub-grantees have developed sanitation marketing approaches using alternative financing mechanisms instead of being limited to the conventional cash-based model. The approach, which is inherent in Malagasy culture, is based on in-kind payments such as a bag of sweet potatoes, beans or tomatoes in exchange for products and services to improve latrines. Sub-grantees also work closely with small-scale masons and entrepreneurs to test the market and together with community members and village engineers, they find creative and affordable technological solutions. A non-negotiable principle, applied across all FAA activities, is that sanitation marketing or supply-side activities must never compromise the focus on collective behaviour change. The FAA’s support to the marketing of local and appropriate technologies is therefore initiated only after a village has achieved mature ODF status.

6.9 SANITATION LADDER

TRIGGERING

After communities have achieved ODF status and oral-faecal transmission routes have been completely ruptured, the next step is to improve sanitation and hygiene facilities to ensure sustainable access and behaviours. This collective desire to ‘climb the sanitation ladder’ must be created in ODF villages through a process that is fully aligned with the spirit of CLTS. This process should not prescribe external models and instead give priority to local solutions.

It is in this vein that the FAA programme recently pioneered an approach to trigger communities to climb the sanitation ladder. Sanitation Ladder Triggering uses the same principles as classic CLTS Triggering

(see ‘key terms and concepts’ on page 6). The approach aims to evoke a collective desire to upgrade facilities in order prevent community members from ingesting faeces in the future as latrines degrade, fill-up, or collapse. In contrast to sanitation marketing approaches, which use external knowledge, designs, and advertising, Sanitation Ladder Triggering builds on existing local technologies, expertise, and leadership fostered during the journey to ODF status.

During Sanitation Ladder Triggering the facilitator invites community members to reflect on what would cause them to slip back into ingesting faeces. This is achieved by taking the villagers on a transect walk to a latrine with an obvious slippage risk, such as one with an eroding mud slab and drop hole. During this activity the community realizes that they may potentially ingest faeces in the future if their latrines are not upgraded. Once triggered, the community collectively decides on an action plan for upgrading their facilities, which can involve a range of actions. For example, communities can create a list of committed community members and identify local champions, immediately purchase materials through community-driven cost and payment arrangements, and identify appropriate local technologies. Frequently, community members ask for examples of products. The facilitator can then choose to showcase an example from within that particular community or draw on technologies from other communities. However, the facilitator should avoid presenting potential models or products if the community does not explicitly express a wish for him/her to do so. The aim is not to sell or promote products. Rather, facilitators must listen to needs expressed by the community relating to the desire to no longer ingest faeces or reduce the workload related to maintaining ODF status.

This approach is still being pioneered, and promising results are emerging. One of the principal findings has been that the demand to climb the sanitation ladder is created once the community sees that the fly-proof latrine is not sustainable. With the development of Sanitation Ladder Triggering in mature ODF communities, the uptake of upgraded latrines in Madagascar is spreading significantly.

6.10 SUSTAINABILITY INDICATORS IN ODF MONITORING AND VERIFICATION

In order to effectively monitor progress and assess the risk of slippage one Sub-grantee in Madagascar²⁵ established indicators for ODF sustainability. Some of the key indicators are presented below.

SUSTAINABILITY INDICATORS

- How many latrines in a given community use local innovations (e.g. new designs for tippy-taps, superstructure, squat hole covers, ash utensils, slabs, etc.)?
- How many people can demonstrate how to wash hands?
- How many latrines have defects or are not durable (lacking covers, ash and handwashing facilities) or are about to fill up or collapse?
- How many Natural Leaders are there in a village? Is there a sufficient number to accompany community members to ODF status or to sustain it?

This is a tool to support the community as well as the facilitator to better discern the level of behaviour change achieved, and preempt the sustainability of ODF status. The community actors and the Sub-grantee facilitator will know what needs to be addressed to maintain ODF status.

Some instances have shown that even verification itself is an opportunity to bring 'slipped' communities back to ODF status. Evaluators are facilitators too, as their presence serves as a cue for people to (re)adopt certain behaviours. It is important that verification reports capture this nuance without skewing the reported results. One suggestion is to note the status of a community at the beginning of such a visit as well as at the end of it. This can be combined with a mechanism to account for communities that regain ODF status or improve their situation thanks to the verification process.

²⁵ Eugène de Ligori Rasamoelina, Executive Director of the NGO Miarintsoa, presented this tool at the 'GSF Slippage Workshop' in August 2015.



6.11 REFLECTIONS

This chapter highlighted a range of tools and strategies honed in Madagascar to enhance the quality of CLTS interventions while mitigating slippage. These strategies target communities, institutions and even Sub-grantees, and in this way allow the GSF-supported programme in Madagascar to address slippage through a multi-pronged approach. We believe that this will strengthen the sustainability of intervention results both in terms of community behaviour and institutional frameworks and capacity. The GSF is committed to harvesting, systematizing and evaluating these and other strategies more broadly, using them for cross-country inspiration and learning. Some



LOCAL SANITATION INNOVATION ON
DISPLAY IN MADAGASCAR.
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of the strategies in the Madagascar programme have proven to be tremendously effective and are being adapted and contextualized in other GSF-supported countries, through peer-to-peer and cross-country learning initiatives.

CLTS is not a fixed, step-by-step recipe. CLTS programming and approaches need to be reactive, adaptive, learn and modify along the way in order to ensure quality and effectiveness. Slippage is accelerated by a stiff, non-flexible attitude to work planning, where Sub-grantees are locked into specific numbers of visits to communities and strict budget allocations. As a result, there is an inability to respond to realities on the ground. To be able to deliver high-quality CLTS and address slippage effectively, programmes

need a reasonable amount of flexibility to develop appropriate, relevant and innovative approaches and methodologies like those discussed in this section.

7

CONCLUSION
AND WAY
FORWARD

Mechanisms, programmes and funds such as the GSF need to carefully balance the focus on scale and expansion with the sustained quality of results. This also includes making smart decisions on how resources are used and how long programmes remain engaged with communities. The GSF is not a quick fix, rendering thousands of communities ODF for a limited period of time. We are not content with communities simply becoming ODF. Rather, we aim to support communities to sustain their changed behaviour over time – and thereby we can be truly accountable to the people we aim to serve. We therefore envision reorientations of budgets as programmes reach a certain stage of maturity, where greater focus would be placed on post-ODF interventions, leading to sustained results. Moreover, expansions of our current programmes should balance sustaining past achievements alongside producing new results. Ongoing work to better understand slippage and approaches to address it forms an important part of this.

In this reflection paper we set out to analyze the nuances and definitions of slippage, slippage patterns and impacts as well as ways to more intelligently monitor and mitigate slippage. Through this analysis we have pinpointed some of the GSF's ongoing efforts to deal with and frame slippage. However, we realize that this process elicits more questions.



TRIGGERING A COMMUNITY IN MADAGASCAR. GOING FORWARD THE GSF WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT CLOSE ENGAGEMENT WITH COMMUNITIES IN ORDER TO EXPLORE SLIPPAGE PATTERNS, DETERMINE COMMUNITY DYNAMICS AND SUSTAIN GOOD SANITATION AND HYGIENE BEHAVIOURS. ©WSSCC



AREAS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

Given the complexities of slippage across GSF-supported programmes, some areas for further exploration include:

- Measuring the impact of visual/observable slippage on behaviour change and health indicators.
- Assessing the impact of slippage on community health status: is there a critical tipping point when output-level slippage no longer has a bearing on impact-level slippage?
- Exploring slippage patterns, community dynamics and maturity trajectories, and behaviour reinforcement and sustainability factors, to better understand contextual factors.
- Understanding what strategies and tools there are/can be further developed to empower people to take further steps on the 'behaviour change ladder'. Moreover, how can programmes assess the depth of the behaviour change? Reaching ODF is perhaps the first rung on the behaviour change ladder. What are the subsequent rungs, and how can they be facilitated and monitored?
- Determining how to use slippage/ODF verification data to improve programmes and advance sector learning. What are the programming implications in terms of planning, implementation and evaluation?
- Establishing vigorous, harmonized and participatory monitoring/verification systems with reasonable financial and human resource implications. These should include agreed definitions that take into consideration aspects of slippage beyond one-time 'snap-shots' of visual slippage. Is there such a thing as an ideal standardized methodology, given that slippage is context-specific and variable?
- Determining how to effectively design systems for monitoring at scale, while acknowledging sustainability, quality and scale as inseparable elements that constantly reinforce each other.
- Exploring the correlation between the quality of Sub-grantees and/or the involvement of (local) governments and slippage rates.
- Considering the quality of pre-Triggering, Triggering, follow-ups and most importantly, CLTS facilitation.

The GSF is committed to supporting sustainable sanitation and hygiene behaviour change. To this end, the Fund will continue to deepen its understanding of slippage and sustainability factors, patterns and measurement, and further develop, innovate and assess potential mitigation methodologies and approaches. In this regard, a number of research projects are ongoing or foreseen for the coming years. These include: a number of individual country studies on the sustainability of behaviour change; the development and testing of indicators and monitoring methodologies as part of a revision of the GSF Results Framework; the piloting of sentinel sites as a means to track communities over time; and a number of outcome surveys in different countries. In addition, continued peer-to-peer learning and cross-country exchanges serve as incubators for strategically addressing slippage.

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BACK COVER PHOTO:
MEMBERS OF A LOCAL SANITATION AND HYGIENE ADVOCACY GROUP IN THE FOKONTANY OF ANJALAZALA CELEBRATE ACHIEVING ODF STATUS. THESE AND OTHER CHAMPIONS PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE IN SUSTAINING ODF STATUS AND MITIGATING SLIPPAGE. ©FAA/NIRINA ROMÉO ANDRIAMPARANY

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