What does it take to scale up and sustain rural sanitation beyond projects?

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Combining learning gained from Community-led Total Sanitation experiences in South Asia and sanitation marketing initiatives in parts of Asia and Africa, the global Scaling up Sanitation project is exploring in India, Indonesia and Tanzania what it takes to scale up and sustain rural sanitation project outcomes. New learning from the project being implemented by the Water and Sanitation Program (WSP), in partnership with the three country governments and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, is currently demonstrating that projects need to identify and nurture key components of an enabling policy, institutional and financial environment, for rural sanitation interventions to yield sustainable results at scale. This article explains what constitutes such an enabling environment, how it is being fostered and its progress monitored in the three countries, and the lessons learned thus far in the process.

Keywords: Rural sanitation outcomes, enabling environment, sustainability, scaling up sanitation access, sanitation marketing, CLTS.

JUST WHAT FACTORS influence the long-term sustainability of rural sanitation programme interventions? While decades of experience point to what does not work and demonstrate that there is no magic formula for success, the way forward now seems to be getting somewhat clearer. This paper presents recent learning emerging from an initiative currently pursuing these newer directions in Africa and Asia.

A global paradigmatic shift

Infrastructure-oriented approaches used in sanitation programmes the world over have consistently failed to deliver desired results in terms of both outcomes and impact. In their disappointing wake, promising new approaches have emerged in recent years for rural sanitation transformation. They belie many long-held myths about the difficulties of

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changing people's sanitation behaviour and hold promise that achieving the Millennium Development Goal for sanitation may not be an impossible dream after all.

Building on these experiences, many countries have begun to go to scale with a behaviour-changing approach to improving sanitation. The approach focuses on changing the behaviours of individuals, households and communities, rather than simply pushing for toilet construction with externally provided subsidies. Raising collective awareness about the need for better sanitation along with offering individuals a range of choices for sanitation solutions leads to increased consumer demand for, and the adoption of, improved sanitation facilities and behaviours. Increased demand in turn tends to trigger increased supply responses from local markets, making it more likely that changes will be sustained. However, demand and supply changes are open to many influences and do not automatically activate each other.

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Increasing demand through a community-led behaviour change focus is promising in terms of achieving open-defecation free (ODF) communities, which can then go on to achieve total sanitation , i.e. communitywide adoption of a set of key sanitation and hygiene practices. Sanitation programme goals are now increasingly defined in behavioural terms such as the numbers and percentages of communities achieving ODF and Total Sanitation status. In India, the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) launched in 1999 signalled the paradigm shift from coverage-tracking and counting toilets to a community-led approach to total sanitation. Indonesia launched its National Strategy for Community-based Total Sanitation in 2008, marking a radical departure from infrastructure-focused approaches towards the goal of collective behaviour-change for better sanitation. Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) movements have been initiated through national strategies and large-scale programmes in many countries to date including Bangladesh, Bolivia, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Pakistan and Uganda. In several countries, such as Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Tanzania, CLTS is being combined with the sanitation marketing approach. Sanitation marketing treats individuals as consumers, develops sanitation product options and promotional campaigns based on consumer and market research, and strengthens sanitation suppliers' abilities to offer consumers a range of technology and cost options with quality assurance.

> Sanitation marketing treats individuals as consumers

Scaling up and sustaining sanitation improvement

CLTS and sanitation marketing approaches are currently yielding promising results in many countries in terms of accelerating access

How do we avoid the trap of endlessly piloting good ideas that are unsustainable?

to sanitation without the use of subsidies. But answers are not yet known about how to ensure that successes brought about by projects are sustained beyond them, and scale up rapidly enough thereafter. How do we avoid the trap of endlessly piloting good ideas that are unsustainable or cannot be scaled up?

Debates continue among the global community of practitioners about the best methods for achieving sustainable sanitation behaviour change at scale. Due to the differences in focus, a somewhat unnecessary polarization is often observed between the proponents of CLTS and sanitation marketing, as was evident during recent global sanitation conferences like AFRICASAN II in Durban (February 2008) and SACOSAN III in Delhi (November, 2008). The global sanitation sector needs both approaches in order to scale up sustainably and impact poverty and health. The challenge is to learn rapidly how best to capitalize on the strengths of both.

CLTS practitioners and analysts focus exclusively on community-level changes, with the underlying assumption that changes in the marketplace will automatically follow once community-wide demand for improved sanitation has been awakened by CLTS.

> CLTS is an integrated approach to achieving and sustaining open defecation free (ODF) status. CLTS entails the facilitation of the community's analysis of their sanitation profile, their practices of defecation and the consequences, leading to collective action to become ODF. (Kar and Chambers, 2008)

Counts are sometimes incredibly high when achievement of ODF status is linked to national reward schemes

Since CLTS is still less than five years old in most countries where it has been introduced, empirical evidence of the sustainability of behaviour changes catalysed by the movement is hard to come by. Qualitative studies in Bangladesh, Indonesia and India have found significant levels of open defecation continuing in many communities that were declared ODF. Lack of consistency and reliability are widespread in ODF verification methods, and counts are sometimes incredibly high when achievement of ODF status is linked to national reward schemes (Mehta, 2008; Knowledge Links, 2008). The Bangladesh case studies also indicated that fall-back to open defecation resulted from situation-specific factors as diverse as breakdowns of latrine-sharing arrangements, repeated flooding of villages, faulty designs of toilets due to lack of sources of information for consumers, children being afraid of dark, enclosed latrines, and so on (Hows, 2008).

The proponents of social marketing focus their behaviour-changing efforts not on whole communities but on individual households and on influencing its willingness to change behaviour. Since the early 1980s social marketing has been applied successfully in many countries to promote behaviour changes in the areas of family planning, community nutrition and health. However, not enough evidence is

available regarding the long-term sustainability of behaviour changes achieved through time-bound social marketing campaigns, which were mostly externally funded by donor agencies.

In the recent past, sanitation marketing approaches have begun to add further to this scenario with market research and sanitation product development and delivery based on consumer research (Frias and Mukherjee, 2005: WSP_EAP, 2008) . The response from rural consumers to sanitation marketing interventions has been enthusiastic so far, in Vietnam, Indonesia and Cambodia, in terms of demand and investment of household resources to improve sanitation. It is important to mention here that the positive responses to sanitation marketing in Indonesia and Cambodia have happened in areas where demand had already been sparked off by CLTS. Thus there seems to be reason to believe that the CLTS and marketing approaches are not only mutually compatible, but mutually complementary.

> **The CLTS and marketing approaches seem to be mutually complementary**

In the perspective of these relatively new and promising approaches, two major learning agendas or challenges can be identified at the community and household level:

- Scaling Up: How do we replicate the ODF achievements of a few communities to hundreds and thousands of communities across a district, state/province or country *without compromising on quality?* Although projects provide the initial momentum, similar initiatives have often failed to scale up subsequently.
- Sustaining the outcomes: Behaviour change, especially at the community level, is challenging to sustain over a long period of time. After the initial euphoria of improving sanitation outputs and outcomes, what will prevent some households slipping back to previous behaviour patterns?

By implication there is an underlying challenge at institutional and policy levels:

- What kinds of national and local level sanitation programming must be sustained so that it keeps facilitating and supporting behavioural changes for better sanitation by whole communities as well as by individuals and households?

The Total Sanitation and Sanitation Marketing (TSSM) project is a global learning initiative seeking ways to address these challenges which is being implemented in rural communities of three countries in 2007–10. TSSM is supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and executed by the Water and Sanitation Program in partnership with the Governments of India, Indonesia, and Tanzania.
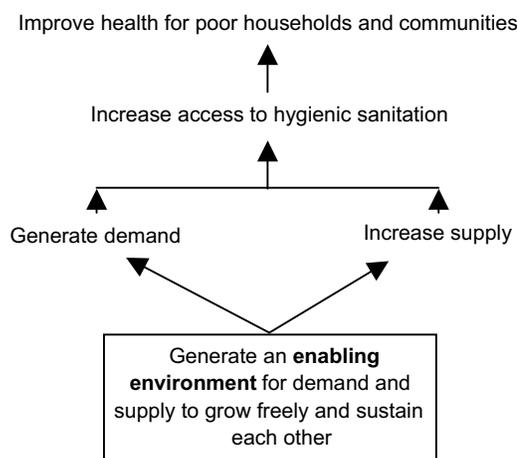
Improve health for poor households and communities

Increase access to hygienic sanitation

Generate demand   Increase supply

Generate an **enabling environment** for demand and supply to grow freely and sustain each other

Figure 1. TSSM project causal logic

The Total Sanitation and Sanitation Marketing (TSSM) Project

The Total Sanitation and Sanitation Marketing (TSSM) project is demonstrating a new combination of approaches in India, Indonesia and Tanzania, to generate sanitation demand at scale and increase the supply of sanitation products and services at scale. The increased demand and supply are expected to increase access to hygienic sanitation, and improve health and well-being for poor households in rural villages and informal urban settlements (Figure 1).

The global project supports innovations within existing government programmes operating at scale, working jointly with government and NGO partner agencies. It focuses on generating and sharing knowledge about scaling up these approaches cost-effectively, in order to influence programmes in other parts of the country and neighbouring countries. A rigorously designed impact evaluation study is part of the project and is underway to assess the health, social and economic impacts from sanitation improvements effected in the three TSSM countries. A generously funded global learning effort is capturing lessons emerging from the initiative.

> The global project focuses on generating and sharing knowledge about scaling up these approaches cost-effectively

Increased demand for sanitation improvements would generate little sustainable change if the supply of sanitation products and services did not also grow simultaneously. Consumers' access to a range of affordable product options at convenient locations at the right time – when demand is generated – is essential to the process of achieving a totally sanitized community. By implication, supporting the growth

Table 1. Scale and scope of the global project

Project sites and population	People expected to gain access to sanitation during TSSM project, 2007–10	Additional people envisaged to gain access by 2015
Tanzania (rural,2006) 26.7 million	750,000	6.5 million
Indonesia, East Java (rural, 2006) 36.5 million	1.4 million	10 million
India – Himachal Pradesh (rural, 2006) 5.5 million	800,000	1.2 million
India – Madhya Pradesh (rural, 2006) 45 million	1.5 million	20 million
TOTAL	4.45 million	37.7 million

of local markets to supply product and service options through private entrepreneurship is a key requirement for sustainability.

The project is being implemented in India (states of Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh), Indonesia (East Java province), and 10 districts in Tanzania. The goals of TSSM are:

- to help 4.45 million additional people gain access to improved sanitation by 2010 in the three countries, while learning how best to scale up sanitation improvements sustainably, cost-effectively and with health and socio-economic impact, and
- to influence 5–15 more countries to apply the learning gained to reach 250 million more people by 2015 (Table 1).

TSSM is activating both demand-generating and supply-enhancing forces in local sanitation markets, using a mutually complementary combination of the CLTS approach evolved by NGOs in Bangladesh, and the sanitation marketing approach demonstrated in countries such as Vietnam, Tanzania, and Burkina Faso. Additionally, it is engaging sector institutions and local stakeholders in understanding and generating an 'enabling environment' for both the demand and the supply to grow freely and sustain each other, while catering to all classes of consumers including the poorest.

By seeking to build an enabling environment for rural sanitation programmes, the TSSM initiative entered into territory not hitherto charted by sanitation-related projects. The issues comprising an enabling environment were familiar. The ways to address them were not so. Mainly because project-based interventions tend to steer clear of programmatic and systemic conditions that are not amenable to change within the usual 3–5 year project periods. What was amply clear, though, was that without acknowledging and addressing the enabling environment issues, neither sustainability nor scale-up could

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> Without addressing the enabling environment, neither sustainability nor scale-up could be achieved

even be contemplated. Thus, although it was clear that enabling environments (EEs) may not be fully developed in each country by the end of the project, TSSM interventions during 2007–10 were planned to generate clear directions and sufficient momentum for change in all three countries.

The enabling environment development effort in each country is working as a joint action learning exercise with country stakeholders, which is yielding outcomes that are verifiable. This paper reports how this is being done and what is being learned in the process.

An enabling environment – the key to scaling up and sustainability

An EE is defined in the TSSM project as the policy, institutional and financial environment that promotes self-sustaining growth of demand for, and supply of, improved sanitation. TSSM envisages an enabling environment for rural sanitation programmes to comprise the following eight different dimensions:

1. policy, strategy and direction;
2. institutional arrangements;
3. programme methodology;
4. implementation capacity;
5. availability of products and tools;
6. financing;
7. cost-effective implementation; and
8. monitoring and evaluation.

The enabling environment supports demand generation and supply creation

Recognizing and addressing the issues within these eight dimensions is essential to facilitate the development of the enabling environment, which supports demand generation and supply creation, leading to total sanitation. An enabling environment does not happen automatically, but has to be consciously developed and nurtured. In addition, an enabling environment has to be measurable, so that progress towards it can be monitored, widely understood and facilitated.

An understanding of current enabling environment (EE) helps sanitation programme planners and managers to prioritize and address critical gaps. To enable this, a set of scales and a system of consolidating scale measurements into a radar map or diagram (more popularly called spider diagrams in TSSM areas), has been developed by WSP, from a baseline assessment of the EE done at the start of the project in 2007 in each country. (Radar diagrams show specified variables along axes. Researchers may plot the variable on each axis, and produce 'a composite profile by connecting points on each axis to create a polygon' (Shultz, 2002). This has been applied by Langabeer (2007)

Box 1. Measuring the enabling environment: the spider diagram

The measurement method includes ordinal scales for each of the 8 dimension of EE. These are 7 point scales starting at zero. Each scale has common descriptions of score points, for applicability across countries. For example, to assess the dimension 'Institutional arrangement', one should check whether:

- Nodal Ministry/lead national institution is identified   score 1
- Roles and responsibilities for sanitation are clear   score 1
- Coordination mechanisms are established   score 1
- Dedicated budget line is in place   score 1
- Clear links are established with other sectors   score 1
- Clear operational structure exists   score 1

Depending on how many of the above conditions are satisfied at a given point of time, the score for Institutional arrangements would range between 0 and 6, when a score of 6 represents the ideal situation which would ensure sustainability of sanitation programmes and their impacts. Scores for all eight dimensions can be thus summed and consolidated into a spider diagram.

The above scale was initially designed for a national level assessment. In Indonesia and Tanzania scale descriptions have been adapted to reflect district level institutions. In India, they were adjusted to reflect state/province level institutional contexts.

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in health care operations management; it is also used by Tague (2005) who calls it the Star diagram.)

The scoring system for the EE scales is currently being tested with stakeholders in the three countries. An understanding of the baseline assessment has helped country stakeholders formulate action plans with short-, medium- and long-term goals and also helped build consensus about what constitutes progress in terms of each dimension. Progress reviews are being carried out with stakeholders each year, at levels where changes in EE make the most difference.

In Indonesia, where the 2001 decentralization has devolved all executive power to the district level, EE progress reviews are being done at all district levels, and a consolidated one at the province level. In India EE progress reviews happen at the state level, reflecting the governance structure. In Tanzania, assessments are undertaken for the country level with national stakeholders, while district-specific plans have been drawn up by district water and sanitation teams (DWST) to achieve the enabling environment needed at district level by the end of the project period. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate respectively, a national level assessment for Tanzania, and province or state level assessment diagrams for Indonesia. The 2007 assessment is the baseline situation in each case. Subsequent annual assessments represent scores from progress reviews with national and sub-national stakeholders.

> The baseline assessment has helped country stakeholders formulate action plans

How the scoring is done

A baseline enabling environment assessment was carried out by TSSM consultants in all three countries in 2007. This effort outlined the key dimensions of the enabling environment that were common to all the countries. Once these dimensions had been listed the country TSSM teams reviewed (with national and state governments) the current position and assigned a score to each dimension. Next, for each dimension, country teams identified conditions which would have to be in place by the end of the project for each dimension of the enabling environment to be optimal. This was then correlated with the time required to achieve these goals in the current context and then mapped on to the EE diagram.

To illustrate, under the 'Policy, strategy and direction' dimension, at the start of the project in Tanzania, there was no national policy, a weak strategy and no shared vision of how to improve the sanitation situation. It was clear that this was fundamental to address in order for the project to succeed and to get the necessary commitment from all stakeholders. The project has acted as a catalyst to move the policy process forward. WSP assisted through its policy advocacy work in drawing up a Memorandum of Understanding among key ministries. Hosting World Toilet Day celebrations and district and national stake-
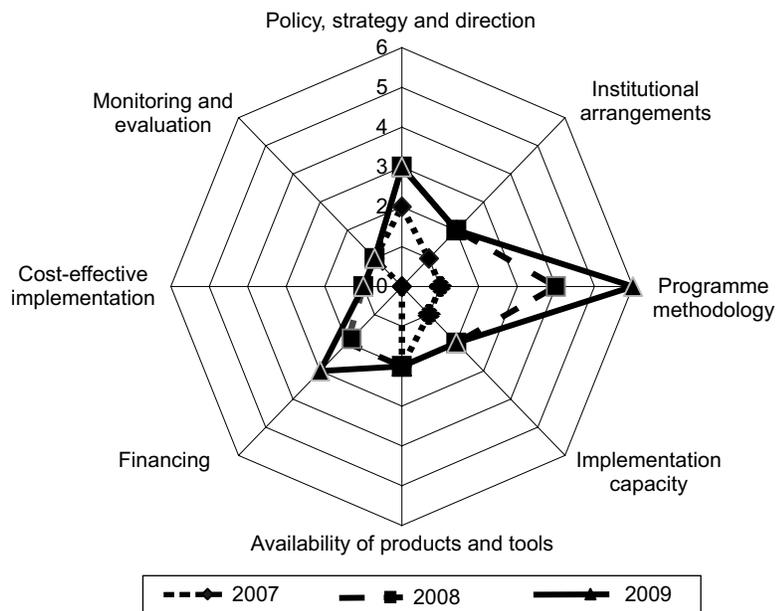
> Country teams identified conditions which would have to be in place for each dimension

Figure 2. The enabling environment: assessment for TSSM Tanzania

holder workshops has also contributed to the increase in political will to scale up sanitation nationally in 2008 and 2009 (Figure 2).

In Indonesia both the 'Policy, strategy, directions' and the 'Financing' dimensions were scored very low in 2007, because: (a) there was no national policy or strategy for sanitation, (b) sanitation funding was negligible in district budgets and was allocated only for a handful of poorly targeted construction subsidies to households, (c) there was no incentive to improve district sanitation programming, (d) household investment in improving sanitation was low in all districts and not growing perceptibly for decades, and (e) due to poor performance of past projects, proportion of loan funding earmarked for sanitation investment projects was kept low by a cautious Ministry of Finance. Along with promoting consumer demand-driven, behaviour-change-focused approaches through TSSM in Indonesia, WSP assisted the Health Ministry to draft a supportive national rural sanitation strategy and facilitate a national stakeholder dialogue on it. The result is the National Community-Based Total Sanitation (STBM) strategy, launched in September 2008 by the Health Minister. The strategy endorses TSSM's core principles and components, which is now making it very easy to get local government buy-in and funding for adoption and replication of the new approaches. Most importantly, the 2008 strategy unequivocally forbids the use of subsidies for household sanitation facilities, thus bringing about essential consistency in funding for rural sanitation from all sources and all donors.

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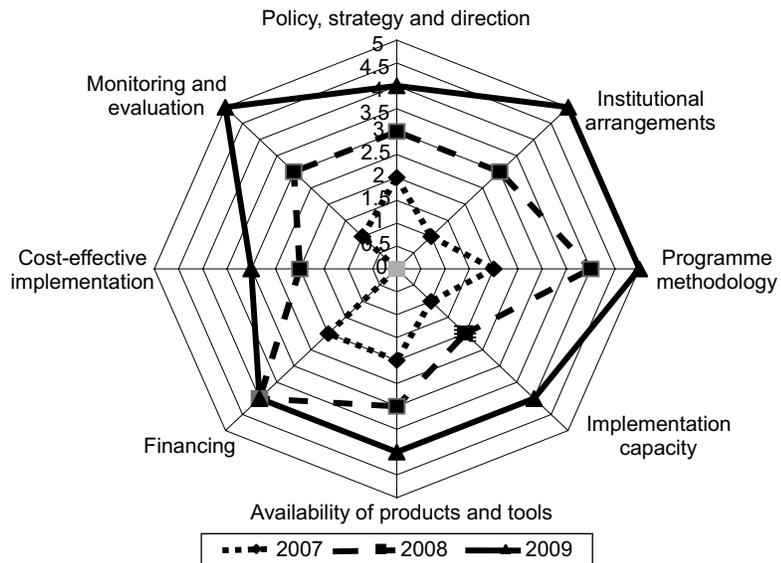

Figure 3. The enabling environment assessment by TSSM – Indonesia

As a result, local government funds are now used exclusively for demand creation and supply improvement, leveraging hitherto unprecedented levels of household investments in improving access to improved sanitation (see Mukherjee and Shatifan, 2008). Local government programme budgets are also increasing significantly. During 2009, the 21 districts participating in TSSM have allocated increases ranging from 20 to 500 per cent over pre-TSSM period (2006) sanitation budgets. The changes are reflected in 2008 and 2009 scores in the diagram for East Java (Figure 3).

How expected progress compares with actual progress

The spider diagram allows plotting of actual progress against projected progress, and comparisons of the pace of change across districts. The following examples illustrate how.

A notable success in Tanzania has been in the 'Programme methodology' dimension. In 2007 it was envisaged that the programme methodology would only be adopted by the national and then district governments once it had been proven, i.e., after the end line impact evaluation in 2010 could demonstrate the success It was envisaged that the TSSM methodology would be adapted to fit the Tanzanian context by 2009 and this has been the case. It is currently being implemented. The national and district government are fully supportive of the approach and have already adopted the TSSM approach as part of their sanitation policy (Figure 2).

As Figure 3 shows, in East Java (Indonesia) the 'Monitoring and evaluation' dimension component has developed well, linking data from regular community level participatory monitoring to local government monitoring data bases. Independent ODF verification systems have been designed and fielded by TSSM and verification exercises are now funded by district health offices and sub-district level *Puskesmas* (primary health centres). The challenge now is to ensure continuation of the monitoring mechanisms that have been set up, after TSSM concludes. Discussions have been initiated with TSSM districts to plan and budget for semi-annual ODF verification drives, and local governments directly contracting the technical assistance and liaison services of the resource agency personnel who are currently contracted by WSP.

Actual progress has not always been correlated with expected progress. For instance, in Indonesia methods for cost-effectiveness analysis were introduced in early 2008 and data collection and use is happening in the districts, but it has not yet made an impact at province and national levels. Availability of products and tools has improved with the recent introduction of sanitation marketing interventions, but is

> In Indonesia the 'Monitoring and evaluation' dimension has developed well

unlikely to reach optimal levels by 2010 because experience and skills in the subject are severely lacking within local government structures (Figure 3).

In India (Himachal Pradesh) the score given for 'Implementation capacity' was only 1 out of 6 in 2007, since a plan for capacity building was developed but needed to be translated into results on the ground. By 2008, the score on this count improved from 1 to 3 out of 6 as there was sustained advocacy and efforts invested in trainings of different stakeholders in implementing a CLTS approach at scale. This included organizing Training of Trainers programmes at district level and study tours for participants from state and district levels to best practice rural sanitation programmes. By 2009, it is expected that this will further improve to 4 out of 6 and reach the optimal level of 6 out of 6 in 2010. The latter will depend on the uptake of the approach in different districts and at state level with the help of the trained facilitators.

The aim of the EE assessment process was to create a shared vision among stakeholders of what needs to be in place by the end of project so that the outcomes and capacities created would be sustainable and continue to move to national scale. Towards this objective, in Tanzania district level enabling environment plans have been drawn up by district government water and sanitation teams (DWST), which could be rolled up into the national plan. The district plans followed the same process as the national – the DWST's set out a vision for what needs to be in place for each dimension of the EE. They then worked backward from this vision by setting specific goals and tasks to be accomplished.

WSP has hired district coordinators in Tanzania and Indonesia who work closely with the local governments' intersectoral coordinating teams to ensure that they are on track to meet their EE goals. In India dedicated field coordinators are posted in the state. Regular stakeholder learning reviews including EE assessment updates are facilitated in all three countries at different levels (district, sub-district/division and state/province).

Lessons being learned in developing enabling environments

> The eight dimensions helped explain what the enabling environment was

When the TSSM project was launched, it was easy to explain to stakeholders in different countries what was meant by 'increasing demand' and 'improving supply'. Explaining what was meant by an 'enabling environment' however was a different story, further complicated by translations from English into national and local languages. Thus, unpacking the EE into eight dimensions and developing scales for each dimension greatly helped start meaningful dialogues on the subject with stakeholders.

It was realized early in the process that the concept needed to be understood, accepted and internalized by local stakeholders for real change to happen. Thus, in all three countries, WSP began to engage national and sub-national stakeholders in participatory assessments of their enabling environments. In the process, the original ordinal scales designed for the national level had to be adapted to fit district and state level environments.

The resulting district level EE scales are not uniform across India, Indonesia and Tanzania. While they all still measure the same eight dimensions, they reflect the different institutional, political and socio-economic realities of each country. Moreover, they reflect the different levels of local EE improvement that can be realistically expected within the TSSM project life. An example from Tanzania is described in the following section on country-specific learning. District level meetings in Tanzania and India and Stakeholder Learning Reviews in Indonesia now regularly include participatory radar diagramming exercises with local governments and their NGO partners.

Learning across three countries

- Strong local policy and regulatory support is needed to scale up district-wide total sanitation programmes. National level policies provide a platform, but this needs to be tangibly reflected in local policies, strategies and funding priorities.
- Adequate understanding and commitment of local political decision makers is critical to the adoption of total sanitation and sanitation marketing as the district strategy for rural sanitation, and the allocation of adequate funds for software activities. Unless political leaders understand both the underlying principles as well as the usefulness of TSSM approaches, they have the power to destroy their potential. This could happen either due to a lack of their endorsement or too much of it, when they demand large-scale changes very fast and set unreasonable targets for implementing agencies. As Chambers (2009) cautions about CLTS (which is a part of TSSM):

> The problem and opportunity are to find ways to combine scale, speed and quality. The classic view is that there are trade-offs. Optimal scale and speed are difficult, even impossible, to judge with any confidence. A purist may argue for small, slow and beautiful. A policymaker may demand big and fast, unaware that it may be fatally flawed. The best for human wellbeing may lie in between, with trade-offs between scale and speed on the one hand, and quality on the other.

**Local political
commitment
is as important
as institutional
capacity building**

- To achieve an enabling environment local political commitment building is equally or perhaps even more important than institutional capacity building. Ideally it should precede capacity building, but both may have to be pursued simultaneously as initial implementation results on the ground provide necessary evidence that finally convinces political leaders.
- Institutional capacity at all levels has to be strengthened regarding the principles and innovative approaches of TSSM, to widely transfer knowledge and institutionalize management skills for demand creation and sanitation marketing interventions. This is all the more important when responsibilities for rural sanitation are split among several departments or sections within departments, who may otherwise continue to work at cross purposes.

Examples from Indonesia

- Participatory EE assessments serve as an effective sensitization tool for local government policymakers and administrators regarding the quality of their sanitation programmes and programme management. Assessment results build shared realization of what matters for sustainability, and how multi-dimensional progress needs to be to achieve sustainability and impact. The process invariably yields rich dialogues and sharply focused debates about institutional, financial and regulatory changes needed in the district or at higher levels.

**The spider diagram
is a helpful
communication
aid when reporting
progress to local
leaders**

- The spider diagram serves as a helpful communication aid for programme managers and implementers to use as explanations for district sanitation programme achievement levels, when reporting progress to local legislators and political leaders – who allocate annual district budgets.
- Discussions of EE dimensions help build a sustainability-conscious institutional culture. District governments, NGO partners and politicians have begun to use a new common language for sanitation programme management and common yardsticks to evaluate their programming, budgeting and outcomes. District TSSM Intersectoral Coordination Teams that have been set up in 21 TSSM districts have agreed to use a joint annual EE self-assessment as a programme review and goal-setting instrument.
- The scales for measuring EE dimensions and the assessment process promote programme discussions and institutional behaviour changes centred consistently on sustainability and effectiveness. Some examples are as follows:

  - All TSSM districts have issued regulations to set up clear implementation arrangements and financing rules consistent with

the 2008 National Community-based Total Sanitation (STBM) strategy and TSSM project design.

- All TSSM districts are now using the same performance monitoring indicators for programme outcomes and outputs, shifting institutional accountability towards sanitation behaviour change achieved, instead of toilets constructed with government funds.
- Implementation capacity is being added in each district to scale up the programme methodology introduced by TSSM for demand generation and supply improvement, which is a departure from pre-TSSM programme methods focused on construction.
- TSSM districts have begun to use the same cost-effectiveness monitoring indicators and assessment methods, raising institutional awareness of the far higher programme achievements from investing in demand generation and market supply growth. This helps get larger budget allocations for the new approaches from district legislatures.
- Local government funding is being increasingly allocated in TSSM districts for new programme components like sanitation marketing and supply improvement.

Examples from India

- Using the enabling environment framework as an analytical and monitoring tool has had promising results and the 8 dimensions now regularly feature in participatory workshops on scaling up and sustaining total sanitation at state, division and district levels.
- Across districts and at state level, there is a common understanding on programmatic approach to scaling up and sustaining sanitation outcomes. Repeated use of the framework over time and with different audiences has ensured that messages are recalled and incorporated into sector language and implementation.
- Districts are implementing rural sanitation as a behaviour change programme rather than a toilet construction drive. The focus has shifted from infrastructure creation to building the capacity for facilitating a participatory approach at scale.
- Consistent with the state-level rural sanitation strategy, districts release the subsidy amount as an incentive, following the achievement of outcomes.
- Inter-district comparison on costs incurred for achieving similar outcomes, have been incentives for improving performance and driven home the need to focus on how money is spent rather than how much.
- At state level, all districts are monitored and benchmarked on their total sanitation performance using a holistic framework incorporating inputs, outputs and outcomes.

> Districts are implementing a behaviour change programme rather than a toilet construction drive

Examples from Tanzania

In Tanzania, a number of actions are being undertaken by the government and stakeholders to improve the enabling environment, including:

- The development of a national Hygiene and Sanitation Policy by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.
- The institutionalization of hygiene and sanitation promotion through the National Water Sector Development Programme.
- Dedicated lines in the Ministry of Water and Irrigation's budget for, and the emergence of, district sanitation and sewerage.
- Protected district funding of sanitation and hygiene budgets.
- The development of a Memorandum of Understanding among national agencies such as the Ministry of Water and Irrigation, Health and Social Welfare, and Education to clarify sanitation roles and responsibilities.
- The emergence of a common understanding of sanitation needs in rural areas. For example most households have a basic latrine, and consensus is emerging on the need to improve these, rather than focusing on new construction. As a result, the CLTS methodology and sanitation marketing approaches are being adapted to promote widespread latrine upgrading.
- At the district level, agreeing the components of each dimension enabled districts to articulate their vision for 2010 through the process of deciding what would have to be in place to have achieved an enabling environment at district level. Working back from that vision the districts have made local action plans for achievement.

> Sanitation marketing approaches are being adapted to promote widespread latrine upgrading

Challenges ahead

Engaging country stakeholders with the EE dimensions has opened up opportunities for institutional change not hitherto available within conventional sanitation project contexts. However, in the remaining months of the project, TSSM-introduced innovations will have to face the test of time, as well as scalability. Mainstreaming and institutionalizing its innovations, ensuring sustained financing of its approaches, and influencing other provinces of the countries to adopt the demonstrated newer ways of addressing rural sanitation are the principal challenges. It is envisaged that the EE spider diagramming will help stakeholders in India, Indonesia and Tanzania track progress on the following critical paths.

Institutionalization for sustainability. The TSSM implementation experience has spawned many champions, some at national and

Frequent transfers of government personnel are an institutional reality

provincial level, and many more at district and sub-district levels. Successful TSSM interventions are still driven largely by these committed individuals within the local government system. Committed champions are considered essential for the spread of movements like CLTS and practitioners are advised to identify and encourage potential champions (Joshi, 2008; Kar and Chanbers, 2008). However, frequent transfers of government personnel are an institutional reality that makes it risky to depend on institutional champions for sustainability. To sustain the momentum beyond counting open defecation free communities and move on to viable total sanitation programmes to achieve all the total sanitation goals in each district, TSSM approaches and tools need to secure sustainable institutional status and political support (regular budget allocations), before the project concludes at the end of 2010.

Vehicles for scaling up to multiple provinces. Indonesia and Tanzania do not yet have a national sanitation programme like the Total Sanitation Campaign in India that can serve as a primary vehicle to take TSSM lessons to scale. Existing large scale projects may serve the purpose partially, but time-and target-bound project-based environments provide a poor fit for the programmatic TSSM approaches required for scaling up sustainably. During the remaining project period, TSSM will need to divert attention and resources towards firming up strategic links with existing national programmes, develop a national capacity building strategy with country stakeholders and reach agreements with additional partners for the purpose of post-TSSM scaling up.

Funding innovations through government budgets, post-TSSM. New interventions such as sanitation marketing are proving promisingly effective, but have also proved both skilled manpower-heavy and resource-intensive. Replicating them as they are being demonstrated in the TSSM project may not be feasible through existing government budgets structures. Support strategies will have to be identified in consultation with the national government, to enable new provinces to embark on sanitation marketing interventions, which are essential for progress along several EE dimensions.

To conclude

Working with the EE component has been an experience of reversing approaches hitherto used in projects. WSP has not used TSSM project funds to set up specific implementation structures or mechanisms at any level. Numerical targets have not been set with implementation partner agencies for numbers of communities to be covered or toilets to be built. TSSM project funds provide neither supplies of project materials nor contingents of community facilitators who would disappear with the end of the project. Local

Government budgets are used for everything except for time-bound capacity building inputs

government structures and mechanisms provide all the managerial and outreach staff. Government budgets are used for everything except for TSSM-provided, time-bound capacity building inputs and the harvesting of learning.

All of this is a deliberate attempt to help government partners make the transition from the project mode to a programmatic approach to rural sanitation. It is hoped that at the end of the TSSM period in November 2010, each participating government agency will have been enabled to not only continue on to the goal of total sanitation for its constituent population without having to depend on external aid, but also to spread the know-how to neighboring districts, provinces and countries.

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