

SECTION TWO: THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

Chapter Two talks about how to make a start in changing the way sanitation and hygiene promotion happen. It presents a generic approach to programming for change, and discusses how you can decide what approach to adopt, given the circumstances of the country or region where you work. It also provides some practical pointers for those wishing to launch a programming process, and provides examples of approaches taken in other countries and regions.

This chapter has been written for people who are willing and able to take a lead in the programming process.

Chapter 2 Getting Started

2.1 Changing the way services are delivered

The Challenge

In Chapter 1 we saw that new approaches to sanitation and hygiene promotion may require fundamental shifts in policies, financing, organisational arrangements and implementation approaches. We also saw that the benefits of making sanitation and hygiene promotion work at scale can be huge and will play a significant role in poverty alleviation. As sector professionals we need to find ways to effect this change.

Developing sanitation and hygiene promotion programmes may require changes at a number of levels. In any given country there may be a need for:

- an explicit decision at the highest level, to prioritise hygiene improvement;
- a process to manage fundamental institutional change;
- changes to the enabling environment including design and implementation of new policies, changes in resource allocation, design and use of new financial instruments, changes in roles and responsibilities, and new monitoring and evaluation systems; and
- specific efforts to improve implementation through either pilot projects or restructuring of large scale investment programmes.

While this task may seem daunting most countries or local jurisdictions will probably be able to identify quick-win opportunities to show progress while working on more systematic changes.

The Process

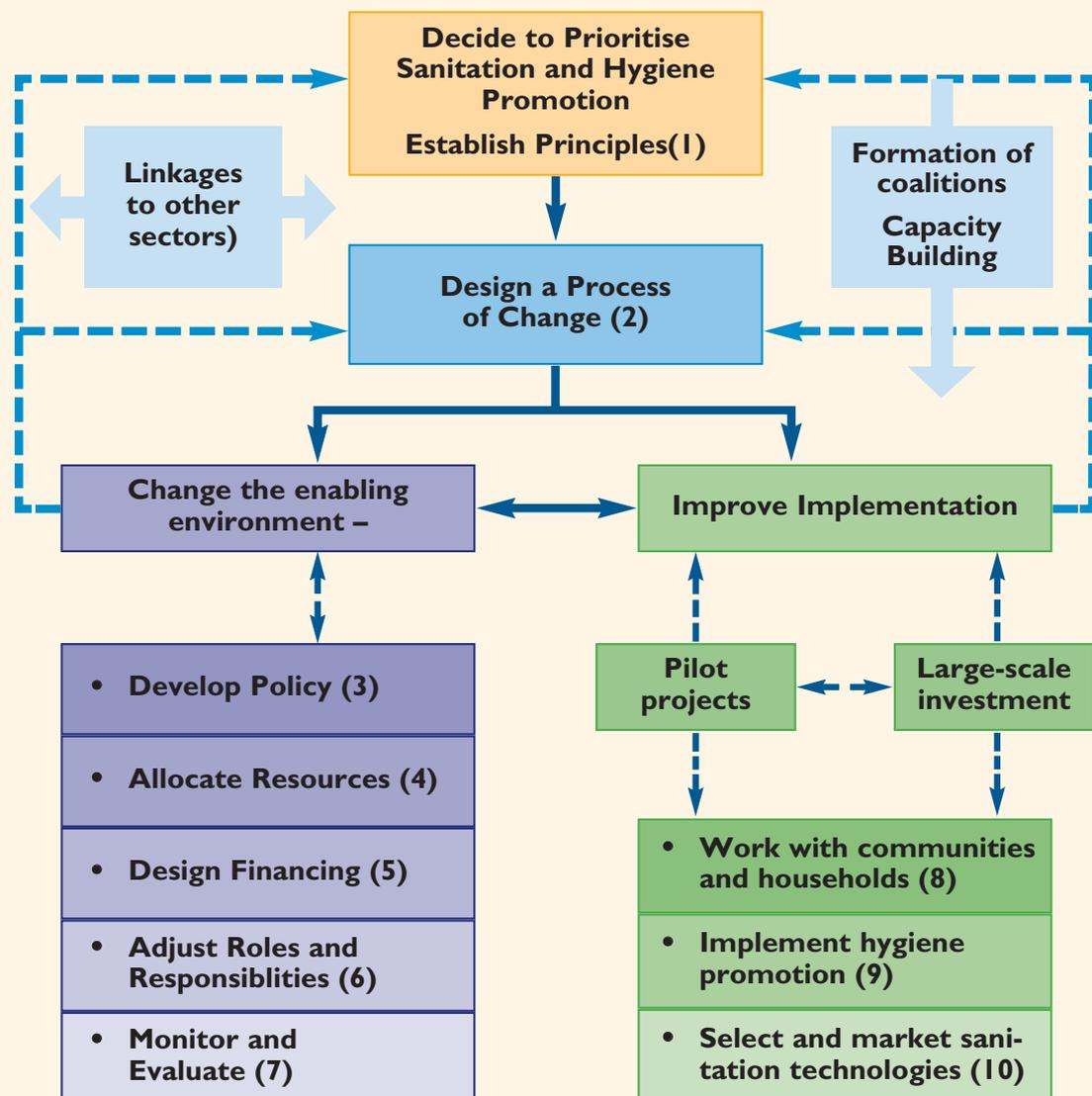
Figure 3 shows a schematic representation of the steps needed to effect such changes. While this diagram suggests a linear process, in reality the process may be cyclical, with changes in some areas feeding in to subsequent changes in other areas. It may be easier to consider **Figure 3** as representing all the elements of programming.

● Prioritise Sanitation and Hygiene Promotion

The first step may be a decision that things need to change. This may happen at national level, or in decentralized situations, at local government level. This decision may be taken in response to lobbying from within the health sector or from water supply and sanitation specialists, or it may arise out of a process of assessing overall strategies to alleviate the effects of poverty and support growth. Once it is agreed that sanitation and hygiene promotion are important, it will be useful to agree on the ground rules and principles. Defining what is meant by

“sanitation” and “hygiene promotion” and being explicit about the links between sanitation hardware and hygiene behaviour change may be an important step. (See Section I for a discussion of why sanitation and hygiene promotion improvement should be prioritized and a discussion of what may make sanitation and hygiene promotion programmes work).

Figure 3: The Programming Process



Note: numbers in brackets indicate the chapter containing additional discussion of the topic

● Design a Process of Change

Good programming flows from a solid understanding of the current situation, a realistic assessment of what is possible, and through drawing in expertise from many actors. Information needs to be assembled and analysed, strategies must be developed, capacity will need to grow, and all this must happen in a linked and mutually reinforcing way. For this to happen some sort of structured approach to the process will certainly be helpful. (Section 2 – this section – contains some ideas for process and information management).

● Change the enabling environment

If new approaches are to become embedded and effective at scale, structural changes may be needed. Making such changes (to policy, financial instruments, organizational roles and responsibilities, and monitoring systems) may take a long time and will be politically and technically difficult. Importantly, it will almost certainly result from an iterative process, where new ideas are developed tested and evaluated as part of a process of long-term change. (Section 3 contains a more detailed discussion of the enabling environment).

● Improve Implementation

There is usually a pressing need to make rapid progress, even though getting the enabling environment right may be a long-run objective. At the same time, the programming instruments that are put in place at the institutional level (the elements of the enabling environment) need to be tested through ongoing investment projects. Where the new approaches are radically different from what has gone before, this may best be effected through well designed and carefully evaluated pilot interventions (although care is needed to ensure that these occur at sufficient scale and in a replicable context so that findings can reflect accurately back into systematic investments and institutional decisions). In other cases, new approaches can be rolled out at scale, always with the proviso, that the programming process may result in subsequent alterations and changes to the overall approach. The key issue here is to link programming of the enabling environment, with a realistic evaluation of the elements of investment projects (both pilot and at scale). Thus, as investments mature, a new round of information and analysis may be required to move the sector further forward, or a re-evaluation of the underlying programming principles which would then result in more long-term changes to the enabling environment. (Section 4 includes a discussion of the programming implications of short-run investment implementation).

Reference Box 6: The Process of Programmatic Change

For a comprehensive discussion of hygiene promotion, sanitation and water supply programmes

See: WELL (1998) *Guidance Manual on Water supply and Sanitation Programmes* Department for International Development, UK

UNICEF (1999) *Towards Better Programming: a Manual on Hygiene Promotion, Water, Environment and Sanitation* Technical Guidelines Series No. 6 , New York

Yacoob, M. and F. Rosensweig (1992) *Institutionalising Community Management: Processes for Scaling Up* WASH Technical Report No. 76, USAID, Washington DC

Get these references from www.lboro.ac.uk/wedc , www.unicef.org and www.ehp.org

2.2 Contextual Factors – selecting the right approach

Different countries / regions / municipalities will find different programming approaches more or less appropriate depending on the context. Those leading the process may need to assess the situation prior to launching a programming process.

● Decentralisation / Government structures

The level of decentralization and the structure of national/ regional and municipal or local government will determine how programming should be organised. In countries where both responsibilities and resources are decentralized local government will play a central role in the process and local coalitions will be the most important vehicle for change. A few key policy decisions may still need to be taken at national level (for example setting of fiscal and trade policies that influence the ability of local manufacturers to produce appropriate goods and services, environmental legislation, legislation for private sector participation in hygiene improvement, safety standards, approaches to technical education, organizational change in national agencies etc). Where programming happens at the local level it may be advisable to design a process that enables local actors to influence regional or national policy.

Where government is centralized decision making may be easier, but turning programming decisions into effective local action may be more challenging. One approach might be to work in limited geographical area initially, to develop new ideas and build local capacity before scaling up to a national level programme.

Where multiple actors are involved (as they often will be), the challenge is to draw in the appropriate actors from a range of disciplines/ ministries without creating institutional stasis. Here a lead or champion agency may need to take responsibility to oversee the process. Where possible the choice of agency should not preclude radical new approaches (using the national utility to lead the process may limit the ability to debate breaking up that organisation into smaller units for example). The key idea is to keep the process as simple as possible while at the same time ensuring the real participation of the key actors at the lowest (most local) level possible.

● Institutional Confidence

The degree to which households and individuals have confidence in the institutions which support the delivery

of goods and services is important. This “confidence” often relates to the maturity of the institutions concerned. In some situations for example, water and sanitation utilities may have a good track record of delivering appropriate services at reasonable cost. In this situation, there may be strong confidence from households (even those awaiting connections to the sanitation system) that the utility can take responsible decisions on their behalf. Similarly the delivery of health and hygiene messages by that utility may be quite effective. The biggest risk in this situation is to pockets of the population are persistently unable to access services. Programmers may need to focus very explicitly on these excluded groups and draw in a range of non-conventional partners who may be better able to serve them than the traditional utilities.

In other situations the track record of public agencies may be very poor, with low coverage, poor sustainability, high costs and high perceived levels of corruption. The legal and regulatory regime may be very weak. In this situation, households may not have confidence in a programming process which does not provide them with a specific mechanism to make their voice heard. Recommendations coming from a process seen to be dominated by these organisations may be discounted by those not involved in the process. In such cases, in the interests both of justice and of finding workable solutions, programming needs to provide specific mechanisms for inclusion.

● Technical and cultural issues / consumer expectations

Related to the maturity and confidence of the institutions, is the technical situation. This has two dimensions; the physical conditions which determine what technologies might work; and the expectations of consumers.

Technology choice may be constrained by a number of factors including: availability of water and congestion – which determines the availability and location of space for treatment facilities. (A more detailed discussion of physical conditions and technology choice is in **Chapter 13**.)

Consumer expectations also affect technology choice. In countries which already have high levels of coverage with flush toilets and (for urban areas) sewers, households may aspire to advanced systems and be willing to

cover some at least of the costs. In other situations where there is limited experience with sanitation, incremental improvements starting with simple systems, may be more appropriate and a greater emphasis on hygiene promotion may be needed. Different regions of the same country may adopt different technologies (perhaps small bore sewers in congested slums, Ventilated Improved Pit Latrines in rural areas etc).

The probable technological choices to be made will influence decisions about how to organize the programming process, because it will determine what types of organisations need to be most heavily involved. In regions where there is high demand and the resources to pay for networked solutions the role of sanitation “utilities” may be central, whereas where on-site systems are likely to predominate, the small scale private sector, NGOs and health extensionists may play a more central role.

● Resources

The availability and structure of finances is important because it determines who should be involved in decision making. In countries/localities without adequate financial resources of their own, potential funding partners need to be involved as early as possible to ensure that they too have ownership of the ideas and approaches in the programme.

Where human resources are weak, and additional people or new skills are required, professional bodies, training and educational organisations and other sector agencies who may provide skilled staff will be central to the programming process.

● Environment and Vulnerability

In countries or regions prone to natural disasters such as hurricanes and earthquakes, the ability to respond quickly with appropriate hygiene and sanitation interventions may be one of the most significant contributions to health; this may determine some of the organisational decisions to be taken. Pulling in key players such as disaster response agencies, international NGOs and ESAs may be critical.

Vulnerability of this sort can also have a strong influence on the type of technical approaches used (large sewerage sanitation systems may be more vulnerable for example in earthquake prone areas, than smaller decentralized or on-plot systems). These in turn may also dictate the most appropriate organizational approaches to hygiene improvement.

Society’s attitude to the wider environment will also influence programming. In countries and regions where household coverage of sanitation is relatively high, focus may fall on the need to protect vulnerable ecosystems from poor quality sanitation interventions. Attention must then be paid to preventing:

- over-regulation leading to spiraling costs and stifled investment
- environmental regulation which is unrealistic or can easily be ignored.

In countries and regions where the protection of the wider environment is a priority, environmental agencies need to be drawn into the programming process, to build their capacity to regulate in an effective and constructive manner. In regions where coverage is very low, it may be more appropriate to focus initially in solving access problems first, and only draw in wider environmental agencies later.

● Rural areas, small towns and urban communities

The degree of urbanisation, and the nature of communities (in terms of their physical economic and social characteristics, geographical distribution and linkages) will influence both the focus and the outcome of the programming process.

Approaches to sanitation vary widely according to the density and size of communities, while approaches to hygiene promotion will vary according to how cohesive communities are and whether a “traditional” or a more “urban” culture dominates. The structure of local government will play a key role in determining how programming can best be organized for each type of community. The approach to programming must be informed by the range of circumstances under which people live and the reach of the proposed programme.

● Status of the Sector

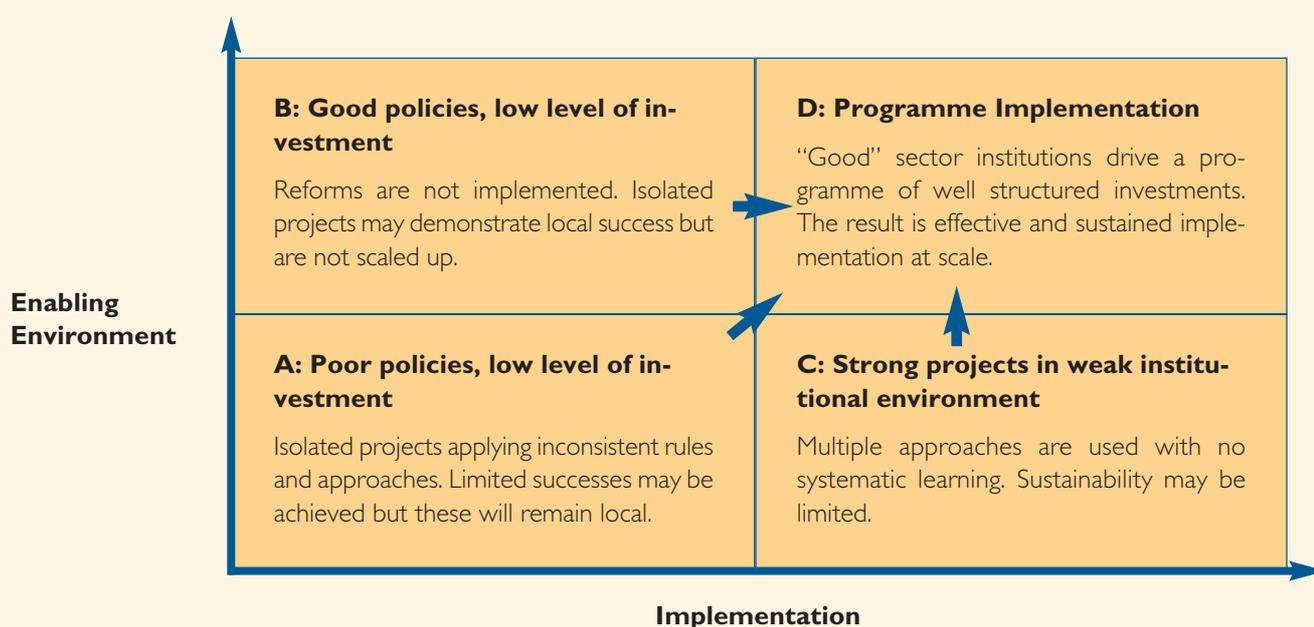
Some countries already have excellent policies but lack the right institutional context to turn them into reality. Others have excellent projects but fail to scale them up because of the existence of inappropriate policies and the wrong institutional context.

For countries with poor policies and low levels of investment (“A” in **Figure 4**) change may start with the development of some critical pilots to demonstrate new approaches, and an advocacy effort for the sector to attract additional investment from domestic or external

sources. In countries where policy development is quite well advanced, (B) pilots may not be needed but the focus would fall on designing financial instruments, identifying new sources of needed investment and building the capacity to roll out implementation at scale. Where there is a programme of investment but the enabling en-

vironment is weak (“C”) the focus would naturally fall on long term institutional change. In each case the objective would be to move towards a situation where an appropriate enabling environment supports a programme of well-structured investments, delivered at scale.

Figure 4: Reform and Investment: Country Typology



2.3 Before You Start – Building political will

Programme development can continue for some time in the absence of high level political support but sooner or later it will probably come up against an impossible policy barrier unless there are high level allies to support it. It may be useful to anticipate this early in the process and try to overcome it by:

- **Identifying High-Level Allies:** People in official positions can often cut through red tape, overcome constraints, and provide a strong impetus to sanitation programmes. It is important to build relationships at the highest level and promote critical thinking and awareness of the issues so that when assistance is needed, it can be quickly provided;
- **Holding Effective National-Level Meetings to Legitimize Programming Work and develop policy:** Special meetings on key topics can attract higher level staff and give greater priority to sanitation. Sometimes the presence of a high profile national commentator, or “international experts” may be useful at such a meeting to increase its profile;
- **Linking Sanitation Programming to International Movements:** Politicians may feel more comfortable supporting radical change in sanitation and hygiene promotion if they feel that it is part of an internationally mandated movement. The Millennium Development Goals for example provide a useful “peg” to

show that efforts in sanitation are highly valued by the international community. Linking national programmes to regional bodies may also provide needed profile for national champions; and

- **Linking Sanitation to Existing Public Health Priorities and Cultural Norms:** Identifying health problems that are already recognized as national crises, and showing

their relationship to sanitation can generate a lot of public and policy level support. Similarly, emphasizing the strong links between hygienic behaviours and cultural traditions or religious beliefs can increase the level of support from traditional and religious leaders, and will probably result in better solutions which are more acceptable at the local level.

2.4 When You Start – Generating a Vision

Vision is important, it provides a pointer for what the sector is collectively trying to achieve. At the very least it provides a “reality check” for programmers working on the details of policy, programmes or projects. If what is proposed does not contribute to the agreed vision it is probably not right.

Visioning is all about taking a bold stand and aiming for an ambitious target. To define a broad vision it may be useful to start by describing where the sector should be in the coming period:

- *Where does the sector want to be in the next five, ten and fifteen years.*

Then consider the current situation broadly to help identify the constraints to achieving this vision:

- *Why is this vision not achievable today? What are the constraints to people accessing sanitation and hygiene promotion services? Who is excluded and who benefits from current financial, institutional and social arrangements?*

This should then point to some key areas where additional information is needed:

- *What are the main features of sanitation and hygiene promotion currently? Broadly who is responsible for what, who is entitled to what? how is service being delivered? Who is being excluded? How is the sector financed? Is more money needed? How are people coping? Is there political will to improve the situation?*

2.5 Ideas for Process

Facilitation

A skilled facilitator can assist the policy development process by building rapport and trust, listening to people’s priorities and concerns and identifying the motivations of each actor. The facilitator can then assist in bringing institutions together and assisting in the organisation of dialogue. In some cases the facilitator may also help individuals and organisations to express their positions more effectively, and may also be able to bolster capacity. A facilitator (individual or organisation) should be widely respected and considered as far as possible a “neutral player” in the process. It may be best to avoid using the existing lead agency or a major donor to play this role as this may limit the effectiveness of the process when it comes to discussing significant institutional changes.

Creating fora for information exchange and decision making

For partners to participate effectively in decision making, information exchange and capacity building need to be part of the programming process. Probably the most effective way of achieving this is to design a series of events that allow participants to share information and debate possible developments in an interactive environment. Creating this environment may be challenging at first, and it may be necessary to start with smaller groups working together to build confidence before bringing larger groups together. (For example it may be advantageous for community group leaders to work together to develop a common position before they have to interact with government staff).

Forming national-level working groups

The recommendations of an informal coalition may be insufficient to effect major institutional change and it is therefore worth considering establishing a formal working group which can act as the vehicle through which sector recommendations are translated into policy change. These groups need to be inclusive and find ways to draw in experience from the local level while interacting at the policy level.

Building special interest groups

Building coalitions of specific groups, such as NGOs, community-based organisations (CBOs), private sector agencies, or individuals with specific technical skills, is an important option as part of this programming process. Apex or umbrella groups can emerge from such coalitions to strengthen the work of member agencies and build capacity over time. As such, small working coalitions can start up during the programming process itself, dedicated to specific tasks such as studies, field tests, information sharing, participatory investigations, etc. This then helps both to set the stage for these groups' broader involvement in implementation stages and to build partner commitment along the way.

Conducting Consultations among NGOs, Government, and the Private Sector

Where NGOs or small scale entrepreneurs are interacting with government for the first time in a planning arena,

it will be important to develop mutual trust and overcome resistance at high levels. The experience of Government, NGOs and the private sector must be shared so that each comes to be seen as a national resource and part of the solution rather than part of the problem. It may be necessary to facilitate a large number of smaller meetings between groups so that discussions can be held in a non-threatening environment and leaders can develop better understanding before being asked to respond and comment in large public fora.

Making a start even if progress seems difficult

Creating a coherent national/ regional or municipal program for sanitation and hygiene promotion may seem to be a daunting task. However, where it seems that real progress cannot be made it is important to remember that even small changes can have a big influence in the long run. If major change is not possible today, it may be possible to pull together small successes and create some momentum and pressure for change. Where institutions are so heavily entrenched that it seems they will never change, success at the local level can help maintain optimism and will also continue to make a very real difference in the lives of those households which are directly affected.

Reference Box 7 contains pointers towards more ideas for process.

2.6 Applying the Principles

Those leading the process retain responsibility to ensure that it delivers on public policy priorities, including ensuring that wider societal interests are protected and that

the poor and disadvantaged are adequately represented in the process. **Table 3** sums up how governments and their partners can do this.

2.7 Identifying and implementing solutions

The rest of this document discusses in more detail what a Sanitation and Hygiene promotion Program might actually contain. It is important to note that there are no blue-print solutions to be offered, and the development of new ideas and solutions will continue to be an itera-

tive process, with new ideas being continually tested and reviewed. The identification and implementation of solutions in effect becomes the starting point for a renewed programming process.

Table 3: Applying the Principles to the Change Process

Maximising public and private benefits	Achieving Equity	Building on what exists and is in demand	Making use of practical partnerships	Building capacity as part of the process
Consult widely and be inclusive but recognize that government may retain responsibility for delivering public policy outcomes (such as safeguarding health and safety). Those representing communities and households must show discipline in representing their views.	Ensure the voice of the "unserved" is heard in the process- Include individuals and organisations not currently part of the "formal" system of service delivery	Participants must be aware of the existing situation and represent it accurately in the programming process	Be patient when developing the programming partnership - recognize it will be hard to forge and maintain	Create mechanisms for transferring ideas from the field to the programming process and vice versa. If programming changes are too difficult start with smaller scale interventions

Reference Box 7: The Programming Process

For ideas about programming for sanitation at city level

See: GHK Research and Training (2000) *Strategic Planning for Municipal Sanitation: A Guide* GHK Research and Training, WEDC, WSP South Asia

Rosensweig, F., and Eduardo Perez with Jeanine Corvetto and Scott Tobias (2002) *Improving Sanitation in Small Towns in Latin America and the Caribbean – Practical Methodology for Designing a Sustainable Sanitation Plan* Environmental Health Project Contract HRN-I-00-99-001 I-00, Washington D.C.

Cotton, A. and K. Tayler (2000) *Services for the Urban Poor: Guidance for Policy Makers, Planners and Engineers* WEDC, Loughborough, UK.

Get these references from www.lboro.ac.uk/wede and www.ehp.org

For examples of what can go wrong

See: WSP-South Asia (2002) *Strategic Sanitation Planning: Lessons from Bharatpur, Rajasthan, India* WSP South Asia Field Note

Get this reference from: www.wsp.org

For ideas about how national or regional programming can be organised

See: Derbyshire, H. J. Francis, R. A. Villaluna, P. Moriarty, C. van Wijk-Sijbesma (2003) *Policy Development Manual for Gender and Water Alliance Members and Partners* Gender and Water Alliance, Delft

Get this reference: on the web at www.genderandwateralliance.org/english/training.asp

See also: Edwards, D.B. (1988) **Managing Institutional Development Projects: Water and Sanitation Sector** WASH Technical Report No.37 USAID, Washington DC

DFID (2003) **Promoting Institutional and Organisational Development** Department for International Development, London, UK

2.8 Practical Examples from the Field: How did they organize the programming process?

In 1994 the government of the Republic of South Africa was very clear that it did indeed need a programme to rapidly improve delivery of water supply and sanitation. The precise circumstances of South Africa at that time were undoubtedly unique, but this does not take away from the achievement of the new administration, in delivering a coherent programme which included policy development, new financial arrangements, organisational transformation, decentralization to local government bodies and implementation of an intensive capital works programme. The programming process was led by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, which itself stands to be completely reorganized in the long-run. In tandem with the long-term programming process, DWAF has also been able to deliver on a significant and intensive capital works programme through a variety of organizational partners and a range of institutional arrangements. To give some idea of the scale of this programme the allocation in 2002 was over US\$ 230 million, although a majority of these funds were spent on water supply.

Another country which has been able to put together a comprehensive national programme for water supply and sanitation is Uganda. In 1998 the government of Uganda began to reform the water supply and sanitation sector in response to its own Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP). Policies enshrined in the PEAP are based on three key approaches; decentralization, privatization and poverty alleviation. The interesting thing about Uganda's programming process is that it is so firmly rooted in an overall poverty-alleviation strategy. This enables planners and sector specialists alike to find innovative ways of working across sectors which have traditionally been separated. The proposed reforms are based on a suite of studies which looked at rural, urban water supply and sanitation, water for production and water resources management. These studies were important tools both for analysis and for building consensus. The other key element is the move towards a sector-wide approach (SWAp) which replaces existing project-based approaches with a sector-wide programme involving coordinated funding of water and sanitation provision through government budgets.

The Ugandan model of participatory programming for poverty alleviation is now being replicated in a number of countries currently participating in the Debt Relief

process (as part of the initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)). In most cases this results in the development of a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which lays out the policy, institutional, financial and implementation details of poverty alleviation programmes at the national and local level. This type of national level programming is attractive but can be challenging. Recent research by the Water and Sanitation Programme in countries in Africa who have participated in the HIPC process, found that very few had succeeded in linking people's strong identification of water supply and sanitation as priority needs at the local level, with corresponding institutional and financial commitments in the PRSP. This suggests that sector specialists have failed to step in to help national government (usually led by Planning and Finance ministries) articulate pragmatic approaches to improving water supply and sanitation coverage.

While South Africa and Uganda took a systematic stand to develop new programmes for (in these cases) water supply and sanitation service delivery, other countries and regions have experienced programming 'from the bottom up' as it were. In 1997 the state of Kerala in India saw five of the fourteen district panchayats (local government administrations) launch panchayat-managed programmes for total sanitation. In 1998 this translated into a state-wide program called "clean Kerala". In the same year the People's Planning Campaign saw 1793 sanitation projects, with a total value of INR 303 million (US\$ 459,000), identified by 990 local panchayats in local meetings. The impetus for this massive shift in emphasis on the part of the state government, came, in part, from the experience of an externally-funded community-managed sanitation programme. The Indo-Dutch project had tried out a range of strategies and identified an effective local management model which built on the strengths of the local panchayats. Visible successes of the program (which helped 85,000 households construct latrines between 1991 and 1996) resulted in the uptake of the approach across the state. Importantly latrine construction was only one (small) part of the approach which also built capacity and provided intense support for hygiene behaviour change.

Success at the level of the project does not, however, guarantee that projects can be scaled up to program-

matic levels. In Jamaica, USAID supported a local NGO, the Construction Resource and Development Centre to implement a sanitation program in two peri-urban communities in Montego Bay. Despite implementing an effective, comprehensive community-based project and successfully supporting more than 600 households in the construction and use of sanitary solutions for excreta disposal, so far, the approach has not been replicated or brought to scale in Montego Bay. The positive experience of the project, which was able to offer land title to those households willing to invest in sanitation, has not led to a change in housing policy in Montego Bay. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that the project took place outside the ordinary remit of the local administration which “never became a stakeholder in this process”.

Organisational approaches which build capacity to lobby for and effect programming change have also been used. In 1982, as part of the International Decade for Water Supply and Sanitation, UNDP sponsored a series of national consultations of NGOs in the South Asian region. In Bangladesh, the national consultation was one of the first vehicles for NGO-government dialogue on water and sanitation. As a result, the NGO community decided to launch the NGO Forum on Water and Sanitation, which over several years developed as a service agency and apex body. It now has over 600 partners, mostly NGOs and community-based organisations, with some private organisations. Collectively the NGO Forum members have more than 38,000 people engaged in hygiene improvement work. Initially the forum provided training, materials, and technical assistance and helped link NGOs to donors, including UNICEF and the government. The NGO Forum continues to play an important role in strengthening the quality and quantity of effort in community water and sanitation.

Another spin-off from the International Decade for Water Supply and Sanitation was the formation of the International Training Network which brought together national training centres, each of which had received both financial and technical support from a variety of agencies. The ITN centres did not grow into a network as extensive as the one originally envisaged by their supporters, but a number of the ITNs have become major resource centres and key participants in the global effort to promote hygiene improvements. They remain important and active advocates for appropriate approaches to sanitation and water supply, and are active in linking developing country decision makers with new ideas and capacity.

Programmes which grow from the development of appropriate technical approaches have also had success in a number of cases. The National Sanitation Programme in Mozambique took off when detailed analysis of constraints led to a realization that peri-urban households were willing to build and use latrines but needed assistance to be able to afford, and safely construct, the slab. In Zimbabwe, the development of a locally-appropriate latrine model (the so-called “Blair” latrine, or Ventilated Improved Pit Latrine) enabled the government of Zimbabwe to roll out a national programme which has had impressive results. This type of technology-led programming can be risky however; a 2002 evaluation in India found that a similar approach which led to the government of India standardizing the Twin-Pit Pour Flush latrine constrained the sanitation programme in India for many years, because the model was too expensive and too complex for many poor households to make effective use of it.

Nonetheless India has seen a number of ambitious national efforts to roll out programmes for water supply and sanitation in rural areas. The most recent national push grew from a major pilot project in the state of Uttar Pradesh. The Uttar Pradesh Rural Water and Environmental Sanitation Project (known as “Swajal”) used innovative institutional arrangements, developed from experience with an earlier pilot project in Nepal known as “Jakpas” to reach more than 1000 villages. While Swajal had many unique features, was housed in a specialized project management unit, and benefited from financial and technical support from the World Bank, the government of India was nonetheless able to convert lessons from Swajal, for use in the national programme. This happened because government was able to develop an understanding of the elements of the project which had been effective, and it resulted in a shift in national policies, financing approaches and institutional arrangements. Supporting this effort were a number of semi-formal capacity-building and networking initiatives including a rural water supply and sanitation forum, known as “Jal Manthan” and a sector-wide newsletter entitled “Jalvaani” both of which created space for information sharing and debate.

No country would wish to have to replicate the political upheaval of the new South Africa, simply to put in place bold development programmes, but South Africa and Uganda both provide a powerful reminder that solid and visionary political leadership can overcome what may seem like an insurmountable challenge. Where this lead-

ership is lacking it may also sometimes be possible to work “from the bottom up” and use local success to drive programmatic change as happened in Kerala. However, whichever path is taken, it is essential to understand the intensely political nature of all development, and en-

sure that the process is led by, or at the very least has the tacit support of, legitimate local stakeholders who can realistically play a part in driving forward programmes and their implementation.

Case Study Box I: Do We Need a Programme?

The section on South Africa’s Reforms was based on:

Muller, M. (2002) *The National Water and Sanitation Programme in South Africa: Turning the ‘Right to Water’ into Reality* Field Note 7 in the Blue-Gold Series, Water and Sanitation Program – Africa Region, Nairobi

Elledge, M.F., Rosensweig, F. and Warner, D.B. with J. Austin and E.A. Perez (2002) *Guidelines for the Assessment of National Sanitation Policies* Environmental Health Project, Arlington VA p.4

Information on Uganda’s Reform Programme came from:

Robinson, A. (2002) *Water and Sanitation Sector Reform in Uganda: Government Led Transformation* Field Note 3 in the Blue-Gold Series, Water and Sanitation Program – Africa Region, Nairobi

Elledge, M.F., Rosensweig, F. and Warner, D.B. with J. Austin and E.A. Perez (2002) *Guidelines for the Assessment of National Sanitation Policies* Environmental Health Project, Arlington VA p.5

The description of the origins of the Clean Kerala Campaign is in:

Van Wijk-Sijbesma, C. (2003) *Scaling Up Community-managed water supply and sanitation projects in India* presentation to the IDPAD Water Seminar, IHE, Delft, The Netherlands, May 12-13, 2003.

An assessment of the Montego Bay Project is described in:

Environmental Health Project (2003) *the Hygiene Improvement Framework: a Comprehensive Approach to Preventing Childhood Diarrhoea* USAID Washington DC

Information about the International Training Network is on the web at:

www.ihe.nl/vmp/articles/projects/PRO-ICB-ITN-PH.html

www.wsp.org/english/partnerships/itn.html

The National Sanitation Programme in Mozambique is described in:

Colin, J. (2002) *The National Sanitation Programme in Mozambique: Pioneering Peri-Urban Sanitation* Field Note 9 in the Blue-Gold Series, Water and Sanitation Program – Africa Region, Nairobi

and in Saywell, D. (1999) *Sanitation Programmes Revisited* WELL Study Task No: 161 WELL – Water and Environmental Sanitation – London and Loughborough, London.

Information about the use of VIP latrines in Zimbabwe is taken from:

Robinson, A. (2002) *VIP Latrines in Zimbabwe: From Local Innovation to Global Sanitation Solution* Field Note 4 in the Blue-Gold Series, Water and Sanitation Program – Africa Region, Nairobi

The Swajal Pilot Project is described in various publications:

A useful starting point is WSP-SA (2001) *Community Contracting in Rural Water Supply and Sanitation: The Swajal Project, India Water and Sanitation Program.*

Further information on the government of India’s rural water supply and sanitation programme is available with the Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission on the web at www.rural.nic.in/rgndw.htm. Back numbers of Jal Manthan and Jalvaani can be found on the web at www.wsp.org