Lessons Learned: Hybrid CLTS Approach to Improving Sanitation
### LIST OF ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CLTS</td>
<td>Community-Led Total Sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHA</td>
<td>Environmental Health Assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>GOG</td>
<td>Government of Ghana</td>
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<tr>
<td>GWASH</td>
<td>Ghana Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>LNGO</td>
<td>Local Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLGRD</td>
<td>Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODF</td>
<td>Open Defecation-Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TDPSS</td>
<td>Target-Driven Partial Sanitation with Subsidy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WASH</td>
<td>Water, Sanitation and Hygiene</td>
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INTRODUCTION

USAID’s Ghana Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (GWASH) Project aimed to improve rural sanitation access through the provision of household latrines to households in targeted communities. In the beginning of the project, GWASH used a “high-subsidy” approach for household latrine provision, providing households with a 60 percent subsidy per latrine. It was in this vein that GWASH aimed to meet its project target of constructing 4,680 household latrines over the course of a four-year period. Using this approach, GWASH provided 1,397 high-subsidy latrines over the span of the first two years of project implementation.

During the second year of the project, the Government of Ghana (GOG) implemented a new sanitation policy that promoted a pure Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) approach. The strategy is a no-subsidy approach that emphasizes community-level demand creation for sanitation improvements aimed at stopping open defecation and supporting household and community efforts to independently construct improved household latrines. The GOG pure CLTS approach emphasizes no material support in the construction of household latrines.

At its heart, CLTS strategy concentrates on ending open defecation through meaningful behavior change. In a process of self-examination, community members analyze their open defecation practices and the effects. This process creates feelings of shame and disgust for the community and its members, prompting the desire to stop open defecation and clean up the community’s surroundings. The strategy encourages the community to take responsibility and take collective and individual actions, including for the construction and use of household latrines, with the ultimate aim of ending open defecation and taking up positive hygiene behavior.

GWASH adapted its strategy beginning in the third year of implementation toward a low-subsidy approach that integrated key strategies from CLTS and would allow the project to work toward its sanitation target (4,680 household latrines) in the project’s timeframe. This change in approach was an attempt to come in line with the GOG’s national policy. GWASH focused its hybrid strategy to achieve sanitation and hygiene promotion in five districts: Awutu Senya and Agona East districts in Central Region, East Akim Municipality in Eastern Region, Aowin and Suaman districts in Western Region and Ho Municipality in Volta Region. To ensure effective CLTS adoption and implementation, GWASH trained Local NGO (LNGO) partners in these project districts through a five-day CLTS training program, hired additional field staff as CLTS Agents, and presented and informed GOG representatives of its new strategy and approach.

The move toward a low-subsidy approach represented an attempt to harness the awareness raising and demand creation techniques of CLTS, while at the same time supporting beneficiaries with quality household latrine option choices that were tailored to accommodate the modest incomes of the rural communities in which GWASH worked. GWASH continued to work with trained artisans (many trained in the first years of the project) to assist in the building of the latrines so as to ensure a higher quality, consistent latrine models. In GWASH’s hybrid CLTS approach, the project lowered the subsidy to 40 percent support. GWASH has been implementing this “hybrid CLTS” (a low-subsidy approach) since October 2011. This strategy employed elements of both the CLTS and Target-Driven Partial Sanitation with subsidy (TDPSS).

Using this low-subsidy approach, GWASH provided 4,121 low-subsidy latrines. As of February 2014, this has brought GWASH’s overall household latrine total to 5,518 latrines. GWASH also targeted communities where it implemented a pure form of CLTS, with no materials or subsidy support provided.

The regional breakdown for the provision of both high-subsidy and low-subsidy household latrines is indicated by the following table and figure:
As mentioned earlier, the key of both CLTS and GWASH’s approach to sanitation improvements is supporting the creation of open defecation-free (ODF) communities. In 2013, the Environmental Health and Sanitation Directorate of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) developed the Revised Protocol for CLTS Verification and Certification in which communities would be independently assessed and certified ODF based on a specific set of guidelines. The certification process is an ongoing one that monitors communities’ move up the sanitation ladder, from an “ODF-Basic” status to “ODF” status to “Sanitized Community” status to the highest level of a “Sustainable Sanitized Community.”

The entire process takes at least four years, with ongoing certification and verification that would allows communities to maintain or hopefully move progressively to the next stage:

### TABLE 1: HIGH-SUBSIDY AND LOW-SUBSIDY HOUSEHOLD LATRINES, BY REGION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>HIGH SUBSIDY</th>
<th>LOW SUBSIDY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>1270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>4121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FIGURE 1: HIGH-SUBSIDY AND LOW-SUBSIDY HOUSEHOLD LATRINES, BY REGION

As mentioned earlier, the key of both CLTS and GWASH’s approach to sanitation improvements is supporting the creation of open defecation-free (ODF) communities. In 2013, the Environmental Health and Sanitation Directorate of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MLGRD) developed the Revised Protocol for CLTS Verification and Certification in which communities would be independently assessed and certified ODF based on a specific set of guidelines. The certification process is an ongoing one that monitors communities’ move up the sanitation ladder, from an “ODF-Basic” status to “ODF” status to “Sanitized Community” status to the highest level of a “Sustainable Sanitized Community.”

The entire process takes at least four years, with ongoing certification and verification that would allows communities to maintain or hopefully move progressively to the next stage:
Table 2: ODF Assessment Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>ODF Status (And Time Frame For Attainment)</th>
<th>Minimum Achievement Indicators</th>
<th>Verification Performed By</th>
<th>No. Of Successful Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ODF Basic</td>
<td>No visible feces accessible to flies, domestic and wild animals in the entire community.</td>
<td>Community Self Assessment; District Verification</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ODF (6 months following triggering date)</td>
<td>No visible feces. 80% of households own and use improved latrines with hand washing facilities. All households have access</td>
<td>Community Self Assessment; District Verification; Regional Verification</td>
<td>None as yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sanitized Community (12 months following triggering date)</td>
<td>No visible feces. 100% of households have improved latrines with hand washing facilities. All structures (schools, market places, churches, mosques, health posts etc) have improved latrines. Proper refuse management. Proper waste water management.</td>
<td>Community Self Assessment; District Verification; Regional Verification</td>
<td>None as yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sustainable Sanitized Community (48 months following triggering date)</td>
<td>Community has maintained its Sanitized Community status for three successive years.</td>
<td>Community Self Assessment; District Verification; Regional Verification</td>
<td>None as yet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


This lessons learned document explores these questions in examining the hybrid CLTS initiative’s impact:

**Part 1: GWASH Hybrid CLTS Approach as Innovation**
- In what ways is the GWASH hybrid CLTS approach more “innovative” than the previous (high subsidy) approach?
- Does the innovative strategy address communities’ WASH needs?

**Part 2: Community Management**
- Is the receiving community enthusiastic, using and maintaining their facilities?

**Part 3: Supporting Sustainability**
- What are the challenges encountered and/or anticipated in terms of performance, usage and sustainability?
- Are communities well-equipped to address future challenges encountered, in terms of performance, usage and sustainability?
Methodology

In the data collection process, four communities were visited, including two communities in Agona East, Central Region and two communities in East Akim, Eastern Region. The team interviewed GWASH staff and interviewed visited natural leaders and community leaders in one community that had passed the ODF assessment (attaining ODF Basic status), and one community that had failed the ODF Basic level of assessment (and thus were yet to attain Basic ODF status) in the two districts. The breakdown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GWASH COMMUNITIES VISITED</th>
<th>GWASH CLTS APPROACH</th>
<th>ODF STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atwemamena, East Akim, Eastern Region</td>
<td>Hybrid CLTS (Low Subsidy)</td>
<td>Passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asafo Pechi, East Akim,, Eastern Region</td>
<td>Hybrid CLTS (Low Subsidy)</td>
<td>Failed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obonase , Agona East, Central Region</td>
<td>Pure CLTS (No Subsidy)</td>
<td>Passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojo Ayisi, Agona East, Central Region</td>
<td>Pure CLTS (No Subsidy)</td>
<td>Failed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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PART 1: GWASH HYBRID CLTS APPROACH AS INNOVATION

In what ways is the GWASH hybrid CLTS approach more “innovative” than the previous (high subsidy) approach?

Where possible, GWASH integrated key CLTS principles into its approach: A major difference with the hybrid CLTS approach (versus its previous, high-subsidy approach) is that there was a decrease in the subsidy, in a move toward the GOG’s national sanitation policy (a pure CLTS approach without any subsidy for household latrine construction). GWASH sought to balance these two extremes and create a strong middle ground through a hybrid CLTS approach. GWASH also provided no subsidy support in 24 communities, marking a strong attempt to experiment with the GOG approach.

- **Incorporating pure CLTS techniques:** The hybrid CLTS approach included pre-triggering, triggering communities, all pure CLTS techniques to create demand for rural sanitation household facilities. The approach also included post-triggering and follow-up activities to encourage communities to maintain their level of effort and achieve ODF status.

- **Demanding Greater Household Commitment:** In the hybrid CLTS approach, households were provided with a lower subsidy (reduced from 60 percent GWASH support to 40 percent GWASH support. This required household to increase their contribution, demanding more ownership of their facilities. Beneficiary families also had to commit themselves to the latrine building process by monitoring their pit digging and gathering of necessary building supplies. The project only supported households who dug their own pits, gathered and purchased their own materials and fed the artisans who undertook the construction of their household latrines. Beneficiary households dig their own pits, acquired sand, stone, bricks or blocks for the superstructure, wood for their door and roofing, labor to support trained artisans, fed the artisans and provided door hinges.

- **Training project stakeholders in hybrid CLTS process:** GWASH trained its staff and project partners in the CLTS process, including both NGOs and Assembly staff. Natural Leaders in each community were identified and trained. These partners supported hygiene promotion and community monitoring and follow-up on construction process, household latrine usage.

- **Collaborating more closely with GOG:** GWASH engaged directly with district Environmental and Health Assistants (EHAs) for triggering activities and correct siting of household latrines (to avoid contamination of groundwater and to avoid land tenure and legal disputes in villages). The project also conducted community self-assessments and verifications before the community invited the district/municipal assembly for its independent verification for the ODF Basic level.
• **Diversifying options of household latrine models available to households:** GWASH expanded its approach to include nine different models to promote higher affordability for households based on their ability and willingness to pay. In addition, the household latrines made available with GWASH support ensured more durable facilities than those constructed by communities on their own, supporting more longer-lasting improvements where provided. The household latrine models ranged from use of more local materials (e.g., bamboo, thatch, mud) to more durable materials (iron roofs and bricks). The diversification of model types also built support and local capacity for the production of sanitation facilities by training latrine artisans. The project contracted with local suppliers of raw building materials in bulk for latrine parts (concrete for rings/slab construction, building blocks for super structure, blocks or plastic pipes for ventilation pipes, fly mesh).

“You should not wait for government or anybody. We used our local materials. You need to start something. Don’t wait for the government. We have also vowed as a community to take some money to construct more durable latrines from the experiences we have had with the local material latrine.” - Natural Leader, Obonase

“I have also vowed to use cement and iron rods to construct a toilet for myself. This stems from the experience I have had with this structure made from the local materials.” - Chief, Obonase

**Stronger project collaboration with GOG partners:** GWASH worked in collaboration with District Environmental Health Assistants (EHAs) in conducting community triggering activities:

- “The community receives triggering from GWASH and the EHAs [Environmental Health Agents]. You have to make them aware that it is possible they are eating their own feces... We incorporate the hand washing with the triggering. We tell them they get in contact with the feces. We tell them that immediately from the toilet they are supposed to wash their hands. During the training we have pictures of local materials, we show them pictures of the materials, and the communities just pick it up from there. We also do experience sharing; it motivates them. Communities pick up lessons from other communities.” - EHA, Agona East

**Does the innovative strategy address communities’ WASH needs?**

**Through triggering and hygiene education, GWASH played a strong role in building communities’ awareness and demand for improved sanitation:** In all communities interviewed (both ODF and Non-ODF), community leaders agreed that GWASH support, especially the aspect of educating communities on better sanitation practices and the triggering process have addressed their WASH need. All the communities acknowledged the fact that they had no idea proper sanitation practices prior to GWASH started the triggering process. These communities defecated openly or had unimproved sanitation facilities, but with the education provided them through GWASH, they attest to lessons learned and new, more appropriate behaviors.

- “We will maintain the facility. The lessons have allowed us to keep our environment clean. We will continue teaching the community. We will keep reminding them. We also have monthly meetings to remind them of the lessons we have learnt through GWASH. Malaria was bothering us. But now we do not fall sick again, because of what we have learnt and the mosquito nets.” - Natural Leader, Atwewamena

- “We have learnt to keep our surroundings clean. We have learnt that, to defecate openly is bad. We also learnt to have a hand washing facility with soap so we washed our hands after visiting the latrines. When we followed the steps provided to us through GWASH, we have realized we do not fall sick like we used to, especially our children.” - Natural Leader, Asafo Pechi

The communities confirmed their environments are cleaner and diseases have drastically reduced;

- “In the beginning we fell sick easily but now, we do not fall sick like before.” - Natural Leader,
Kojo Ayisi
- “The area was dirty. There was refuse everywhere. Some people did not collect the anal cleansing materials; some threw the rubbish behind their buildings. We did not know that the papers or the anal cleansing materials were supposed to be dropped in the hole. But when GWASH came, we were taught about all that.” - Natural Leader, Atwamamena
- “GWASH came to show us the means that feces end up in our food. So we now know the importance of keeping our surroundings clean and not doing open defecation.” - Natural Leader, Abutia Teti
- “They triggered us. Now we save our money. We do not go to the hospital like we used to in the beginning.” - Natural leader, Obonase

**GWASH communities targeted with both the hybrid CLTS and pure CLTS approaches were able to achieve ODF Basic Status:** In the long term, the key goal for GWASH and these communities is sustainable, improved sanitation, with the idea of supporting communities in achieving sustained ODF status. With GWASH support, 51 communities attained the “ODF-Basic” status according to the GOG protocol. The attainment of ODF Basic status in 51 communities demonstrates that GWASH has been able to support communities to build ownership of their sanitation situation in their immediate environment. That said, of 117 communities where GWASH implemented its hybrid CLTS approach, 24 communities (20.5 percent) achieved ODF Basic status. GWASH implemented a pure CLTS approach in 38 communities; 13 of these (34 percent) achieved ODF status.

**TABLE 4: GWASH CONTRIBUTION TO ODF ATTAINMENT, BY INTERVENTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GWASH CLTS APPROACH</th>
<th>NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES TARGETED, IN TOTAL</th>
<th>NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES THAT ACHIEVED ODF-BASIC STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid CLTS (Low Subsidy) Approach</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pure CLTS (No Subsidy) Approach</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5: GWASH CONTRIBUTION TO ODF ATTAINMENT, BY ASSEMBLY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GWASH DISTRICT/MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY</th>
<th>NO. OF ODF COMMUNITIES (HYBRID CLTS SUPPORT)</th>
<th>NO. OF ODF COMMUNITIES (PURE CLTS, NO SUBSIDY SUPPORT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agona East, Central Region</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awutu Senya, Central Region</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Akim, Eastern Region</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aowin &amp; Suaman, Western Region</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho Municipality and Ho Central, Volta Region</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>38</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
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FIGURE 2: GWASH CONTRIBUTION TO ODF ATTAINMENT, BY REGION

Despite the emphasis on hygiene education in communities, it was observed that in only a few hybrid CLTS communities did community members add on handwashing stations to their facilities. In the two pure CLTS communities visited, however, almost all household latrines were accompanied by makeshift handwashing stations.

The hybrid CLTS initiative highlighted key community factors that support sustainable improved sanitation interventions: According to community members, GWASH staff and GOG partners, working in smaller communities, unified communities and those that demonstrate their commitment in advance are key to the success of interventions, not just within the project timeframe, but also in the long term:

- “I can say those who have passed are smaller communities... they actively come together. They are actively engaged... Poverty and cooperation are some of the reasons certain communities are not able to attain ODF. In those communities, some are engaged, others are not.” – EHA, Agona East

PART 2: COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT

Is the receiving community enthusiastic, using and maintaining their facilities?
The communities visited were enthusiastic about the education provided as well as the facilities. In all of the communities, households were maintaining and using the household latrines and preventing other community members from defecating openly.

- “Formally, something like open defecation was very common, when we saw that we questioned the house owners before the GWASH staff came. So we gathered the community members and we advised them to get latrines, which stopped us from defecating openly.” - Natural Leader, Atwewamena
- “We, the natural leaders help the community members to understand everything that we have been taught. We teach them that when they openly defecate, flies and fowls spread the feces by standing on the feces and later standing on our food and water. Those are the causes of diseases in the community. We also have a stream in the community; we make sure that nobody defecates in it.” - Natural Leader, Asafo Pechi
**PART 3: SUPPORTING SUSTAINABILITY**

**What are the challenges encountered and/or anticipated in terms of performance, usage and sustainability?**

The pacing of interventions, from triggering to the introduction of the household latrine support in hybrid CLTS communities, had notable impacts on communities' drive to achieve ODF status: Under the hybrid CLTS, GWASH staff and EHAs agreed that there should have been a better strategy which could have allowed the communities to be triggered well in advance before the facilities provided for them:

- “We have been able to facilitate the attainment of ODF in over 40 communities in less than one year of conscious efforts and at the same time provide subsidy for the construction of improved latrines...[but] in communities where latrines were introduced two to three months after triggering, the latrine subsidy facilitated the attainment of ODF basic. In such communities, the people already started some efforts towards stopping open defecation on their own, hence, they saw the importance of latrines. It even led to speedy completion of the latrines and usage is very high. Examples are Adjeikwa and Adasimasi [in Agona East] and Atwemamena [in East Akim]. However, where subsidy was introduced during or immediately after triggering, not only was attainment of ODF is difficult, but completion and usage of the latrines is a challenge.” – GWASH CLTS Coordinator

- “The hybrid CLTS is helping communities to attain ODF, but the problem is that we should have allowed communities to initiate something, then when we realise they are struggling on the way, then we chip in. But we did it in such a way that after the triggering, we told them that we were bringing materials, so they should write their names. Like the way we started it; there was so much pressure on the field staff to submit a list of the names of beneficiaries who wanted to construct latrines. So it was like we were pushing it, this resulted in the beneficiaries wanting everything for free.” - CLTS Agent, East Akim

- “If we had gone for behavior change first before the [household latrine] subsidy, we would have done better than this.” - EHA, East Akim

GWASH’s initial focus on household latrine construction impacted communities’ objectives both in the short term and long term: In order to meet targets, field staff had to put pressure on beneficiaries to provide their materials for the household latrines, which they say brought a focus on the physical facilities before behavior change was fully secured:

- “So when it happens that way, we were no more concentrating on changing behavior. We were concentrating on the construction of the household latrines. That slows down the behavior change process and the ODF attainment. If a community is really triggered, it takes about two or three months for it to attain ODF, but because of the way we approached it, it had an effect on the behavior change process. If we succeed in changing behavior, we are going to have a sustainable ODF because they have proper household latrines. Because of the monitoring, people are changing their behaviors gradually. The hybrid approach is fine. But we did not sit down to plan it. Everything was jammed up.” - CLTS Agent, East Akim

- “Because of the hybrid approach, when you tell communities to use their own traditional materials, they are reluctant and it is delaying the process. You tell them they do not need high-cost materials, but they do not listen. Some people try to get the support instead of relying on old materials to have their structures improved. Some of them want what GWASH is building. They do not take advice. I even heard that the UNICEF [pure CLTS] process is delaying because of
Introduction of GWASH subsidy created disincentives in neighboring communities, and for households who did not receive subsidy support: Beneficiaries sought support in household latrine construction, instead of relying on the education provided through GWASH to use local materials:

- "You tell them they do not need high cost materials, but they do not listen. Some people try to get the support instead of relying on old materials to have their structures improved." - EHA, East Akim
- "I saw some samples made of bamboo, but we know it won't last. We can use bricks, but our problem is, if [GWASH] can support us with the bricks for the superstructure, we will like it. We need the little support from GWASH. Termites can destroy the local materials, termites can destroy them easily." - Natural Leader, Obonase
- "We wished we had some iron rods and cement. Because we used local materials, the insects have been destroying the materials, making the toilet not last longer." - Natural Leader, Obonase

Communities require sustained assembly support to maintain and continue improving their ODF status: At present, EHAs said there is a lack of funding to support regular community monitoring visits, which are critical to keeping community moral and enthusiasm for ODF at a high level. Regular follow up is a key ingredient in the CLTS process to keep communities focused on improving their ODF status:

- "Communities that are going up the ODF ladder need frequent visits… In such communities, if you do not go and visit them about for two or three months, they relax. The assembly should be up and doing, so we give the communities the necessary support… We need funding to help such communities, but that support which the communities need is not forthcoming. We have asked the assembly several times to provide us with fuel and the necessary logistics, but to no avail. They will maintain ODF status, if we monitor them constantly." - EHA, Agona East

The lack of strong community coordination and unity also presents challenges to communities maintaining their ODF status in the future:

- "Some of the opinion leaders do not fully support the natural leaders. Some of the communities are also not prepared to change their attitudes. We have told the health inspectors to take action against communities who misbehave." - EHA, East Akim
- "Stubbornness; the people may act stubborn. They will say GWASH has left, so we should leave them alone. Some people will keep on being stubborn and when you leave them, others will follow." - Natural Leaders, Atwewamena
- "Already, those of us who have the improved latrines, when we ask those who still use the pit latrines to stop using them, they threaten us that they will come and use our latrine; so I just have to keep quiet." - Natural Leaders, Asafo Pechi

Are communities well-equipped to address future challenges encountered, in terms of performance, usage and sustainability?

According to the EHA from Agona East, the district is most interested in conducting ODF assessments in communities where pure CLTS has been promoted. "We don’t go to the communities that received support... Some of the members of the community ask us why we provided support for one community and didn’t for other communities."

Community leadership, community togetherness and enforcement of sanctions were cited as critical factors in improving communities' sanitation status: In Atwewamena, the community created and enforced a number of mechanisms to support not just improving sanitation but also achieving ODF. The community is small (150 people) and its leaders are committed to maintaining its improved sanitation status, and involving all community members in the effort. When asked what community characteristics contributed to
their ODF attainment, community and natural leaders in Atwewamena cited the following: “Unity and togetherness.” In Obonase and Atwewamena, members of the community especially the natural leaders were enthusiastic. They had the support of their opinion leaders. They took initiative and did not entirely depend on GWASH’s latrines to attain the ODF status. In addition, successful communities instituted and enforced community bylaws prohibiting open defecation and penalizing those who open defecated with fines. Stakeholders also highlighted the following factors:

**Community leadership:**
- “Changing human behavior is very difficult. Natural leaders play a role. They go round every two weeks and tell people what is right and what is wrong. Opinion leaders ensured that everything that they go and learn, we gather the people in the community and teach them what they have gone to learn.” - *Natural Leader, Atwewamena*
- “We have people who act as watch dogs to prevent people from open defecation and urinating. They ensure drivers of vehicles and all their passengers do not ease themselves by the road side. But it’s left with the littering. Most of them litter indiscriminately. But the people in the town have stopped littering and open defecating.” - *Natural Leader, Atwewamena*

**Community actions, sanctions for ODF and unhygienic behaviors:**
- “We also had by laws for example if you allow your animals to roam the street, you will be made to pay 10 cedis. The person who catches the animal will get a share of the money. People know when they open defecate they will be fined, so they do not openly defecate. They know when you are caught they will be taken to the leaders or the assembly. The people in the town know it. This strategy is really helping.” - *Natural Leader, Atwewamena*
- “At Atwewamena, the community sanctioned one woman who prevented them from getting ODF. She left feces in her diaper during the OD assessment. She paid 10 cedis. Since that time, we have not gotten any other person or culprit.” – *CLTS Agent, East Akim*
- “We have a fine of 5 cedis which we take from people who disobey the rules of the town, for example, if people did not take part in communal labor and practice open defecation. Here, 5 cedis is so much. It can cook a whole meal for you. Even if I give my wife 5 cedis, I even demand change from her. I believe the fine has really helped and people are now obeying the rules in the town” - *Natural Leader, Obonase*
- “We take a fine. We also ensure the children do not openly defecate. We have told the children that if they defecate openly, we shall take them to the town council.” - *Natural leader, Kojo Ayisi*

**Sustaining interventions with future planning:**
- “We have also told ourselves that if anyone is about building a new house, we will walk there and tell them of the arrangement we have for the construction of latrines. So we will introduce the person to the area artisan. We also have people who went for the training workshops, and they will go and educate the person on how it is done, so the resident provides materials for the building of the latrines.” - *Natural Leader, Atwewamena*
- “We want to go higher on the ODF-already we have 80%. We will help the others construct their latrines.” - *Natural Leader, Obonase*

**Where sanitation improvements were attached to receiving household latrines, communities continue to struggle to attain ODF:** Some communities, particularly those who have not attained ODF, did not have many measures in place to address future challenges as compared to those who have attained the ODF status. These communities placed emphasis on the latrines being provided by GWASH to attain their ODF status. A key example of this is the community of Asafo Pechi, which failed the ODF assessment. In this community, it is now unclear in how members will move forward on their own to achieve ODF status:
“We can't pass [the ODF assessment] because they [other community members] have not improved their latrines. They are waiting for us to finish the latrines. They have not covered the latrines. They also not trying to do anything for the mean time...We also planned that when we get money, we will build the latrines. We also vowed to build improved ones [household latrines] when we get money.” – Natural leader, Asafo Pechi

“They are not trying to improve their latrine in the mean time. Some do not even care. I feel the ODF is not important to them. The community is not eager. ODF should not be attached to the facility. It should be more of a change in attitude. These people have attached it to the facility. There is a community where we did not provide support but they have achieved ODF.” - CLTS Agent, East Akim (referring to Asafo Pechi)

Despite the natural leaders’ insistence (“We will construct the latrines and we shall achieve ODF,” they said often during the community interview), the community not only failed the ODF assessment, but also many members continue to use open pit latrines, despite knowing it is not an improved situation. The natural leaders, who received improved facilities, cannot successfully convince community members who did not receive improved latrines of the importance of moving up the sanitation ladder: “Already, those of us who have the improved latrines, when we ask them not to use the pit latrines anymore, they threaten us that they will come and use my latrine. So I just have to keep quiet,” one natural leader said. “They have a pit latrine which is being used by some boys in the area,” said the CLTS Agent for East Akim. “They have a death trap. You cannot even go near it. There are papers all over.”

MOVING FORWARD: LESSONS LEARNED WITH HYBRID CLTS STRATEGY

- **The triggering stages are critical for setting a strong foundation in community behavior change.** This initial step helps engender the community to develop its own household latrines, or take best advantage of project support. Where poor triggering is done, behavior change became a missing element that limits community initiative.

- **Proper pacing of interventions, with months of triggering and follow up would force community members to devise their own solutions, then add project support to the community’s own initiative.** Allowing community members to begin to develop their own household latrines and then adding project support would force community members to work hard to improve their sanitation situation on their own.

- **Despite the lowered subsidy from 60 to 40 percent, the project intervention still provided high-quality facilities to only those who could afford it, pricing out those who could not.** The expectation that the GWASH initiative would prompt and encourage other household to build their own latrines was not realized. Once the project is over, the stage had high expectations for what they considered to be “appropriate” improved facilities; community members may be unwilling to invest in latrines made of local materials when their neighbors have higher quality and more durable ones. An alternative would be to provide an even lower subsidy for households, and time it to reward their efforts (in starting their own household latrines). The amount of subsidy could be established in collaboration with the community, at a level of support that would benefit the widest number of willing community members. So, rather than having a set amount of subsidy, the subsidy could be shared communally, therefore reinforcing the communal nature of CLTS and ODF attainment. Such an intervention would also serve and benefit as many as possible.

- **Low consideration was given to the requirements of a successful CLTS approach and achieving ODF targets when the communities were being selected.** Evidence from CLTS and project experience demonstrates the strength of CLTS in smaller, unified and homogenous communities. The factors and characteristics in some communities are not favorable for ODF achievement, for example, the selection of larger, heterogenous peri-urban communities in Ho
Municipality, Volta Region.

- The project strategy focused on achieving deliverables (household latrine construction targets) rather than assisting communities in achieving ODF. Attention was given to the ODF target on the project at a very late hour, and these objectives also impacted communities’ own objectives – many also focused on getting household latrine without fully appreciating the role of ODF in improving the sanitation situation in their environment.

In Asafo Pechi, residents continue to use the traditional pit latrine shown here. The community failed its ODF assessment in 2013.

Household latrine beneficiary who received a partial subsidy stands in front of his family’s completed latrine.

A household latrine beneficiary stands in front of his newly dug pit, a part of each beneficiary’s contribution to GWASH support in the hybrid CLTS approach.

The community of Obonase was supported by GWASH’s pure CLTS approach and achieved ODF Basic Status in 2013.