

## Learning from rural CLTS: SEED Madagascar's experiences in south east Madagascar

### Introduction

British charity SEED Madagascar (previously known as Azafady UK) has been implementing Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) in partnership with a local NGO, ONG Azafady, in south east Madagascar since November 2010. Some of the communities SEED Madagascar has facilitated CLTS in have participated in sanitation programmes before – often involving the Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation (PHAST) methodology – whilst others have no history of sanitation work. SEED Madagascar initially piloted CLTS in two villages over the course of one year<sup>1</sup> before expanding the approach to a further 39 villages across 4 fokontany (village clusters) in 2011. Whilst these interventions were highly successful in the short-term, longer-term evaluations revealed significant areas for improvement. The approach was refined accordingly before being rolled out to a further 40 villages in a fifth (particularly large) neighbouring fokontany in May 2013. At this point SEED Madagascar also revisited one of the original target fokontany which had lost its open defecation free (ODF) status to investigate possible reasons for this and to trial an approach to re-trigger the community to eliminate open defecation once again.

This document outlines the evolution of SEED Madagascar's CLTS approach and details the organisation's learning from five years' experience implementing CLTS across Mahatalaky Rural Commune, Anosy Region, south east Madagascar. We hope that our experiences will be useful to the wider WASH community, enabling others to build on our successes and avoid the pitfalls that caught us out, and providing ideas and inspiration on adapting CLTS to different contexts.

### What has SEED Madagascar's CLTS programme looked like to date?

SEED Madagascar's CLTS work began with a small-scale pilot initiative in just two villages in 2010. This was expanded to a further 39 villages between 2011 and 2013 through Project Magnampy (Phase 1), and 40 villages between 2013 and 2015 through Project Magnampy (Phase 2). Between each phase, the approach was reviewed to build on successful elements and address any failures and challenges. Although CLTS as an approach has a central backbone of fundamental steps, these can be adapted, combined and implemented in a number of different ways. Many of the tools advocated by CLTS can be controversial in conservative cultures and SEED Madagascar initially chose not to use the stronger elements until local staff were confident that they would be acceptable to the remote rural communities they work in and have developed strong relations with. As staff confidence grew, so did the range of activities implemented. As such, SEED Madagascar's approach has grown and developed significantly since the first pilot activities in 2010.

To complement CLTS activities, SEED Madagascar also supports the construction and repair of wells in rural communities to promote clean drinking water provision alongside sanitation and hygiene improvements. Well management and maintenance committees are established and trained to encourage their longevity. A number of wells were built and repaired alongside the CLTS activities described here. This document does not cover SEED Madagascar's water provision work but further research into effective ways to promote long-term management and maintenance of community wells is currently being conducted by SEED Madagascar (2015/16) and learning from this and previous initiatives will be available shortly. For further information on SEED Madagascar's water provision work, please get in touch with us at [info@seedmadagascar.org](mailto:info@seedmadagascar.org).

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<sup>1</sup> Learning from SEED Madagascar's CLTS pilot is documented in the evaluation report, available on the [CLTS Knowledge Hub's website](#) or on request from us at [info@seedmadagascar.org](mailto:info@seedmadagascar.org).

This document describes the steps implemented during each phase of SEED Madagascar's CLTS work to date as well as the key successes, challenges and learnings. These are presented in chronological order so if you are interested in our most recent approach and recommendations please skip to page 8.

**Nov 2010 – July 2011: SEED Madagascar pilots CLTS in 2 villages in the 2 rural fokontany of Emagnevy and Farafara Vatambe.**

### Team training

Sanitation staff attend a **3-day training** from national NGO ASOS (themselves trained by UNICEF Madagascar) in October. This is followed by an **internal top-up training** run in November with a focus on communication skills following concerns raised by our partner's Community Liaison Officers (CLOs) regarding the discussion of shit with elders and community leaders.



### Triggering

In November-December, CLOs facilitate **triggering** in 2 specific villages at 4pm (after work but before the evening meal). Triggerings are introduced as meetings to find out more about the communities' sanitation situations. Triggerings comprise **transect walks** through open defecation (OD) sites followed by **community mapping** on the ground, with maps then transferred to paper. One CLO remains at the triggering site during the transect walks to engage those who do not want to or cannot participate in the walk in discussions about their defecation practices. Transect walk participants summarise their activity upon their return for those who do not go. Leading questions are asked throughout, although particularly strong CLTS tools such as the glass of water demonstration are not used for fear of offending traditional sensibilities. Households are then asked what they want to do about the situation and some **make commitments** to clear OD sites and/or build a latrine. These commitments are written down and a copy is given to the Commune Mayor in Mahatalaky. In Emagnevy, the document is left open in the community for further people to sign up to over the following weeks.



### Pre-ODF follow-up support

In February, community maps depicting households, OD sites and latrines built are painted on **public boards** by CLOs. CLOs visit the triggered villages periodically to conduct monitoring. "**Natural leaders**" who are proving particularly motivated are identified during these visits and accompany CLOs on their household visits. School activities are also run, with children making brightly coloured flags to post where people defecate in the open.

In April, senior SEED Madagascar and partner staff conduct "**walks of praise**" to visit households with completed latrines.

In May-June, **re-triggering** is conducted in the 2 triggered villages incorporating lessons learned from the initial triggering, including longer transect walks. Additional community commitments are made and documented.

#### Summary of successes

- Positive responses to triggering
- First latrines built
- Profile of sanitation raised
- Community initiative shown
- Motivational visits popular
- Effective action by children

#### Summary of challenges

- Illiteracy a barrier to some activities
- Delayed commitment making
- Unfulfilled commitments
- Timing of activities not ideal
- Many latrines built are smelly
- Expectation of subsidy
- Lack of support for some children's activities

## Key lessons learned

- Many people initially blamed each other for open defecation before eventually taking responsibility for their part in the situation and committing to taking action. It is therefore important that triggering activities are continued long enough for people to reach this point.
- Work patterns in many rural communities are highly seasonal. Triggering should be conducted at the start of the slack labour period in the dry season to give people as much free time and favourable construction conditions as possible.
- Illiteracy can be a barrier to participating in seemingly simple activities. Household action plans and commitments should be recorded in a way that does not exclude illiterate people and all other activities should be trialled to check that they are understood and effective in the target community.
- Community action plans should be followed up after triggering and households which aren't meeting their self-determined targets should be asked why not.
- More thought needs to be put into effectively engaging children in a sustainable way and, if activities are run through schools, in a way that enables students not living in triggered communities to participate.

## Further details of successes

- **Positive responses to triggering:** 37 households (22 in Emagnevy and 7 in Farafara Vatambe) made commitments to building a latrine during the original triggering sessions and decisions were made to clear OD sites and plant cassava on them<sup>2</sup>. An additional 90 households (56 in Emagnevy and 34 in Farafara Vatambe) committed to building a latrine during the later re-triggering.
- **First latrines built:** 12 latrines were built, used by 125 people from 37 households. 67% of these were completed within 3 weeks of triggering. 55 additional latrines were under construction but uncompleted at the end of the pilot. Just 3 households reported having to spend money on building their latrine (in each case to buy nails).
- **Profile of sanitation raised:** People began to think about sanitation when they had not done before, despite participating in previous sanitation initiatives. Previous participation in PHAST processes did not appear to affect CLTS processes adversely and in both villages knowledge of the health implications of poor sanitation may have bolstered people's motivation to change. Many reported feeling disgusted or ashamed by the dirtiness of their community following the transect walks and identified these as particularly influential feelings. Positives of ending open defecation that were reported include cleanliness, better smell in the village and improved health.
- **Community initiative shown:** 8 natural leaders emerged across the 2 fokontany and approached SEED Madagascar and our partners to form formal sanitation committees in June 2011. Households from neighbouring villages also requested support facilitating CLTS in their communities and one household in a neighbouring village in Emagnevy built a latrine after just hearing about the process.
- **Motivational visits popular:** People reported that visits by senior SEED Madagascar and partner staff boosted motivation, perhaps because being selected for such visits was a rare and therefore special occasion.

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<sup>2</sup> The choice of cassava is significant as it grows underground and is traditionally grown in cleaner ground than that used to cultivate crops which grow above ground, such as rice, coffee or fruit.

- **Effective action by children:** The OD flags placed by children prompted some adults to stop openly defecating: adults reported feeling afraid, shamed, embarrassed and disgusted – in many cases more so because it was children highlighting their practices<sup>3</sup>.

#### Further details of challenges

- **Illiteracy a barrier to some activities:** At the end of triggering, households were invited to write up their own action plans and commitments. This may have excluded illiterate, or moderately literate, participants who could not – or may have been embarrassed to – do this publically. Writing down illiterate participants' commitments for them may have proved equally excluding as it highlights their illiteracy and they cannot be sure what has been written and therefore what they are committing to.
- **Delayed commitment making:** Giving households in Emagnevy several weeks to consider making a commitment delayed decision making. Indeed, it should have been a warning sign that people weren't sufficiently "triggered": if people were truly triggered, decisions to end open defecation should have been more immediate.
- **Unfulfilled commitments:** The number of latrines built was significantly lower than the number that people committed to building.
- **Timing of activities not ideal:** Triggering was held just before the rainy season so latrine construction took place at the wettest time of year. This was difficult as pits filled with water and water levels restricted access to several areas with natural resources needed for construction.
- **Many latrines built are smelly:** Smell in latrines was reported as being a negative factor associated with their use, particularly when no smell was also reported as a positive factor associated with OD.
- **Expectation of subsidy:** 6 households still requested material support to build their latrines following the CLTS process despite its focus on being a no-subsidy approach and only 3 households reporting needing to spend any money on the construction of their latrine.
- **Lack of support for some children's activities:** Many of the children who participated in the school activities were from outside the triggered villages and so did not follow through flag activities in their home communities where CLTS was not being run. Amongst children who did carry out activities, the OD flags they posted eventually fell down but nobody wanted to collect or reuse them given that they had originally been placed close to shit. This caused littering and was not seen as sustainable.

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<sup>3</sup> Note that causing these negative feelings should also be a cause for concern and should be monitored closely to make sure nobody is hurt by them, however motivating they may be.

**Sept 2011 – Sept 2013: SEED Madagascar rolls out CLTS to 39 villages in the 4 rural fokontany of Emagnevy, Farafara Vatambe, Beandry and Mahialambo.**

### Pre-triggering

**Community surveys** are conducted to ascertain the layout of and number of villages within the target fokontany, the number of households and population in each village, and the number and location of traditional and protected water sources, existing latrines and defecation sites. **Meetings with the heads of fokontany** and heads of villages are also conducted to secure their support for sanitation work in the communities.



### Triggering

CLOs facilitate **triggering** in each village within the target fokontany in quick succession. (Not all are held at 4pm). Triggerings are introduced as meetings to find out more about the communities' sanitation situations. Triggerings comprise **transect walks** through OD sites followed by **community mapping** on the ground, which is then transferred to paper. One CLO remains at the triggering site during the transect walks to engage those who do not want to or cannot participate in the walk in discussions about their defecation practices. Transect walk participants summarise their activity upon their return for those who do not go. **Leading questions** are asked throughout, although particularly strong CLTS tools such as the glass of water demonstration are still not included for fear of offending traditional sensibilities. Households are then asked what they want to do about the situation and some **make commitments** to clear OD sites and/or build a latrine. These commitments are drawn on public map boards and written on paper during triggering, with copies given to the Commune Mayor in Mahatalaky.



### Pre-ODF follow-up support

Following triggering, 2 CLOs spend several days each week **living in the triggered fokontany**. During this time, they **identify and train 156 natural leaders** from across the 4 fokontany to conduct monitoring of OD sites and latrine construction and use, and to update public map boards accordingly. **Cross-visits** between motivated and unmotivated villages within a fokontany are organised and **school activities, competitions and games** are run, although flag planting is not due to the sustainability issues identified during the pilot.

Short **radio slots** featuring sketches, Madagascar's 3 key WASH messages (latrine use, hand washing and safe water storage) and interviews with natural leaders are broadcast across the target fokontany and their neighbouring area to promote awareness. **Films** documenting fokontany progress also begin to be made.

SEED Madagascar and partners begin work to **strengthen local WASH structures** at the fokontany and commune level, using positions on the regional WASH platform to increase local leadership and involvement in the project.

In June 2013 it becomes apparent that many latrines being built are poor quality so CLOs begin **offering advice on key latrine features** (e.g. lids, tippy taps).



### ODF verification

Once villages are thought to be ODF, **monthly ODF inspection visits** are conducted by natural leaders, SEED Madagascar and partner staff, government representatives and local WASH stakeholders. If no evidence of OD is found for **six consecutive months**, these villages are awarded ODF status and celebrations are held. In Beandry and Farafara Vatambe, inspections are done on a fokontany-wide scale and **ODF celebrations** are held for the fokontany as a whole. ODF celebrations include speeches from local authorities, songs, poems and drama sketches written and performed by the local community, food, drinks and music. Following speeches, **prominent signs** advertising communities' ODF status are put up at the entrance to ODF villages.

In Mahialambo, which is triggered later, the approach is altered to **verify individual villages**. Checks are more thorough and smaller celebrations are held in motivated villages so they are not delayed by unmotivated ones.

### Summary of successes

- Widespread elimination of OD
- Increased community leadership
- Films popular
- Latrines kept clean
- Improved livelihoods

### Summary of challenges

- No action in Emagnevy
- Identifying true natural leaders difficult
- Compensation problematic
- Maps unclear
- Results short-term
- Many latrines built are still smelly
- Children's defecation practices

### Key lessons learned

- Triggering should be held in small enough groups that everyone can actively participate meaningfully.
- Maps are not well understood by many people in rural Anosy and public map boards therefore have little impact, even if they are drawn by community members themselves.
- CLOs should provide regular support to communities between triggering and ODF but not so much that the community associates their presence with latrine use or just does things to please them. Follow-on support after ODF celebrations is also vital to sustain progress.
- Natural leaders should not be paid as this can cause problems at the end of the project funding when their income stops.
- ODF celebrations should not be too big as this can encourage quick and sometimes temporary ODF efforts rather than long-term change.

### Further details of successes

- **Widespread elimination of OD:** During the project lifetime, 169/220 (77%) OD sites across the 4 target fokontany were cleared, 479 latrines were built and 3,999/5,329 (75%) people stopped defecating in the open. 2/4 of the triggered fokontany (Beandry and Farafara Vatambe) were certified ODF and 6/8 villages from Mahialambo were certified ODF.
- **Increased community leadership:** Formal involvement of natural leaders led to greater community leadership and each fokontany introduced *dina* (local laws) prohibiting OD and imposing fines for those caught practising it. In Farafara Vatambe where a large weekly market is held, the community built public latrines for use by people visiting the market.
- **Films popular:** Films documenting progress towards becoming ODF began to be made and proved popular with community members. This may be because they told the story of the communities' progress in a way that is more familiar to the target communities than maps, facts and figures.
- **Latrines kept clean:** Six months after ODF certification, almost 90% of the latrines still in use were rated as "quite clean", "clean" or "very clean" by SEED Madagascar and partner evaluators (although latrine maintenance was generally poor – see below). 80% of people interviewed at this point reported improved health or cleanliness following the implementation of ODF and 48% specifically mentioned a reduction in diarrhoea.
- **Improved livelihoods:** An unexpected positive impact was improved livelihoods. 55% of households in target areas reported bigger harvests of cash crops as OD sites beneath coffee and mandarin trees surrounding villages were cleared enabling people to access greater areas and to collect fruit that had fallen on the now-clean ground that they previously would have left when it was dirty. People also reclaimed former OD sites and planted the staple crop cassava on them.

### Further details of challenges

- **No action in Emagnevy:** Despite promising results in the pilot, CLTS activities in the fokontany of Emagnevy failed to inspire a passionate response from the community. After eight months with no significant activity SEED Madagascar withdrew support from Emagnevy to focus on the other target fokontany.
- **Identifying true natural leaders difficult:** Selecting true natural leaders proved difficult as those who appeared motivated initially often turned out not to be as time went by, whilst others emerged later in the process after training had been delivered.
- **Compensation problematic:** The issue of compensating community members for their time supporting project activities was extremely contentious and perhaps motivated people for the wrong reasons. One of the most motivated natural leaders who was exceptional throughout the duration of the project (whilst receiving financial compensation for these efforts) became angry when compensation stopped at the end of the funded project's lifetime and even began to encourage people to destroy their latrines!
- **Maps unclear:** Maps were found to play little part in people's motivation as this new way of displaying information in largely illiterate communities of rural Madagascar was not understood by the majority.
- **Results short-term:** Approximately six months after ODF celebrations it became clear that there had been a significant drop in latrine use and a return to OD by some community members. This called into question both the longevity of the approach and the thoroughness of the initial ODF verification process. In particular:
  - The village in Farafara Vatambe where a large weekly market is held struggled to maintain their ODF status as people visiting the market practiced OD and the community were not able to enforce their dina or use of their public latrines strongly enough. This village is also home to several bars and restaurants and residents reported additional problems enforcing the dina with drunk people.
  - Some people reported that when our partner's CLO moved out of their community and they knew the project was over, they reverted to old habits and resumed OD.
  - A more thorough evaluation was conducted in the fokontany of Beandry (the first to be declared ODF) six months after ODF celebrations were held. This showed that 50% of the community were no longer using their latrine. 90% of those not using a latrine anymore said it was because their latrine had broken and almost 40% of latrines observed were rated as in "bad" or "very bad" condition by SEED Madagascar and partner evaluators.
- **Many latrines built are still smelly:** Smell remained an issue with over 50% of latrine users in Beandry complaining that their latrine smelt bad.
- **Children's defecation practices:** 75% of households in Beandry with children under 5 said that their children in this age group do not use latrines and that parents put their poo in the latrine for them when they defecate. This claim is doubted by CLOs who previously lived in the community, raising the question of where children defecate and how to ensure their practices are safe.

**May 2013 – April 2015: SEED Madagascar runs a refined CLTS approach in 40 villages in the rural fokontany of Mananara II.**

### Pre-triggering

**Community surveys** are conducted to ascertain the layout of and number of villages within the target fokontany, the number of households and population in each village, and the number and location of traditional and protected water sources, existing latrines and defecation sites. **Meetings with the heads of fokontany** and heads of villages are also conducted to secure their support for sanitation work in the communities.



### Institutional triggering

A meeting is held with 22 **influential community members** including the head of the fokontany, chiefs of the villages, elders, teachers and government health volunteers to discuss sanitation in their fokontany. The meeting is facilitated by senior staff and includes **triggering exercises** such as community mapping and use of F diagrams. Participants are also asked what they would do if a government official or foreigner visited their community and needed the toilet. Once their support for the elimination of open defecation is gained, facilitators discuss the CLTS approach and ask for **leaders' support implementing** it with their community.



### Triggering

One week after institutional triggering, CLOs from SEED Madagascar's implementing partner return to Mananara II to facilitate 39 **community triggerings** in quick succession (morning and afternoon) across the fokontany. Smaller triggering sessions are held to ensure participants live in close proximity to each other and are fully engaged. Triggerings are introduced as meetings to find out more about the communities' sanitation situations. Triggerings comprise **transect walks** through OD sites followed by **community mapping** on the ground. One CLO remains at the triggering site during the transect walks to engage those who did not want to or could not participate in the walk in discussions about their defecation practices. Transect walk participants summarise their activity for those who do not participate upon their return. **Leading questions** are asked throughout and the full range of CLTS tools including the glass of water demonstration and shit calculations are used. Households are then asked what they wanted to do about the situation and some **make commitments** to clear OD sites and/or build a latrine. Facilitators write each household's action plans down for them during triggering, with copies then given to the Commune Mayor in Mahatalaky. **Appropriate latrine designs** are discussed briefly following triggering, including the importance of key features such as a lid and fly-proof floor.



### Pre-ODF follow-up support

Following triggering, a CLO **visits the triggered fokontany** approximately once per month. During their initial visits, they **identify, train and provide ongoing support to 76 natural leaders** from across Mananara II. Two 2-day trainings are run, each with 38 natural leaders, to enable natural leaders take primary responsibility in their villages for monitoring of OD sites and latrine construction, motivating their peers and providing them with advice on quality latrine design. In addition to natural leaders' household support, a CLO visits households on a quarterly basis to verify progress and boost motivation. **Cross-visits** between motivated and unmotivated villages within the fokontany are organised as needed and **activities, competitions and games** are run with children in and out of school.

Short **radio slots** featuring sketches, key WASH messages and interviews with natural leaders are broadcast across the target fokontany and their neighbouring area to promote awareness. **Films** showing other fokontany's progress are shown to boost motivation.

SEED Madagascar continues work to **strengthen local WASH structures** at the fokontany and commune level, with commune and regional officials becoming increasingly active in large community meetings and monitoring tasks.



### ODF verification

Natural leaders are responsible for **inviting SEED Madagascar and partner staff and natural leaders** from neighbouring villages to inspect their village when they think it is ODF. If villages pass this inspection visit, they are awarded a **blue self-declared ODF flag**. If they are not deemed ODF, they receive a **yellow non-ODF flag**. For blue flag villages, **monthly ODF visits** are started by natural leaders, SEED Madagascar and partner staff, government representatives and local WASH stakeholders. These are increasingly led by the regional Ministry of WASH as the project progresses. If no evidence of OD is found for **six consecutive months**, blue flag villages are awarded official ODF status. At the end of the project, a **small celebration** is held with regional and commune authorities to award certificates to all officially ODF villages and urge neighbouring villages to follow their lead.



### Post-ODF support

Once villages are officially ODF, **CLOs continue to meet** with natural leaders to encourage them, provide advice overcoming specific challenges and check that progress is maintained. These visits are initially held monthly but become less regular the longer the villages sustain their ODF status.

To support the improvement of household latrines, staff also facilitate **workshops with local artisans** from across Mananara II once the first villages are declared officially ODF. Participants brainstorm latrine designs that can be made with local materials and incorporate key features such as a solid floor, lid and adequate privacy. They then construct a series of prototypes which are displayed prominently within the community so that households can see the different designs to get ideas for their own **latrine improvements**.

#### Summary of successes

- Higher rates of ODF
- Stronger triggering
- Team development
- Positive institutional support
- Active natural leaders
- Appropriate monitoring tools
- Better quality latrines
- Locally-led latrine improvements
- Inspiring community events

#### Summary of challenges

- Non-ODF villages remain
- Lack of influence from traditional leaders
- Bad weather restricts follow-up
- Other unforeseen priorities
- Immunity to emotional drivers

#### Key lessons learned

- It is helpful to find out who community members respect and engage them in activities from the start. This may include popular figures from both inside and outside the community.
- As many triggerings as needed should be run to engage everyone in a session with only their immediate neighbours. In scattered fokontany like Mananara II, this might mean running many triggering sessions. Working with too many people or people who do not live close to each other in the same session reduces the impact.
- Providing limited advice on latrine design before or as households are constructing can improve the quality and reduce smells and other characteristics that may make the latrine unpleasant or even unsafe to use in the future. The nicer latrines are to use, the more likely people are to continue using them. Advice and ideas should be provided rather than instruction, however, to ensure latrines remain community designed and owned.

### Further details of successes

- **Higher rates of ODF:** One year into the project, 251/264 (95%) latrines had been built, 31/40 (78%) villages were self-declared ODF and 106/119 (89%) open defecation sites had been cleaned. By the end of the project, 19/40 (48%) villages had been officially declared ODF (and had remained so for at least seven months) and 6/40 (15%) villages were about to be officially declared ODF.
- **Stronger triggering:** Smaller triggering groups ensured everyone was actively engaged. In larger villages, this sometimes meant that multiple triggerings were needed. These were held concurrently to ensure the contents remained a surprise and everyone attended out of curiosity. Smaller triggering groups also ensured that participants at a single triggering lived in close proximity to each other and could clearly see how their neighbours' behaviours affected them and vice versa, promoting community-wide efforts.
- **Team development:** Team debriefs at the end of each triggering enabled context-based improvements and adjustments to be made before the next session, supporting both team development and the quality of the triggerings.
- **Positive institutional support:** Institutional triggering ensured strong leadership within the community. The first latrine in Mananara II was completed by an elder just 3 days after the institutional triggering. Visits by the head and deputy head of the fokontany to non-ODF villages half way through the project also resulted in 3 villages quickly becoming ODF, showing their influence in some areas.
- **Active natural leaders:** Training and delegating significant responsibility to natural leaders enabled SEED Madagascar to work effectively with a large community and also helped sustain interest and motivation amongst the natural leaders. This will be important for scaling up the approach across a wider area. All 76 of the original natural leaders remained motivated and one additional natural leader was added a year into the project for his outstanding efforts. Assigning each natural leader a specific area of responsibility focussed their efforts and established a healthy sense of competition between them.
- **Appropriate monitoring tools:** Instead of using public map boards to track and display progress, village maps were transferred to paper which natural leaders from each village kept in their homes. They updated these maps with their monitoring results and the maps were used as a starting point for monthly progress meetings between the natural leaders and the project's CLOs. Although the community as a whole struggled to read the unfamiliar maps, with training and regular use they proved a useful visual aid and discussion starter for the natural leaders.
- **Better quality latrines:** Following the provision of limited latrine design advice by CLOs immediately after triggering which was then reinforced by natural leaders, the quality of latrines initially built in Mananara II was much higher than seen in previous phases of the project. This meant that they lasted longer and were more pleasant to use, contributing to their sustained use in the longer-term.
- **Locally-led latrine improvements:** Local artisans reported being approached for advice by community members wanting to improve their latrines, particularly natural leaders. SEED Madagascar and partner staff, however, received few requests for material support, suggesting that the improvement process is being locally led. Discussing the positive and negative factors associated with subsidies with natural leaders during their training also ensured that they advocated a no-subsidy approach with their peers and fewer requests for material support were received.
- **Inspiring community events:** Residents of non-ODF communities reported feeling inspired to achieve ODF status after attending ODF celebrations organised to recognise neighbouring villages' progress.

### Further details of challenges

- **Non-ODF villages remain:** 10/40 (25%) villages did not achieve self-declared ODF status during the project lifetime, 8/40 (20%) villages were self-declared ODF but did not pass the full six month verification process during the project lifetime, and 3/40 (8%) villages were officially declared ODF but lost this status seven months after verification. Evaluations suggested that the majority of households in these villages were highly motivated and a minority were delaying progress, but this minority proved particularly difficult to engage.
- **Lack of influence from traditional leaders:** It became evident that in some villages the elders were no longer the most respected figures, with some young people proving to be more influential. It is important that any such non-traditional leaders are identified and engaged from the start.
- **Bad weather restricts follow-up:** Heavy rainfall cut off many of the villages in the remote northern end of the fokontany for several months. These villages made the slowest progress and 7/10 villages which never achieved self-declared ODF status were located in this area. This may be the result of receiving less support, difficulty accessing materials during the rainy months, and/or feeling less connected to the rest of the fokontany and therefore less bound by community-wide activities.
- **Other unforeseen priorities:** An outbreak of malaria in Mananara II temporarily halted CLTS efforts in many villages as families spent time and money on treatment and, sadly, funerals. Following this pause, it proved difficult to regain momentum whilst remaining sensitive to the community's recent difficulties.
- **Immunity to emotional drivers:** The longer the project progressed, the less successful motivational visits became as people appeared to become "immune" to the feelings of pride and shame that such visits aimed to evoke.

**May 2013 – April 2015: SEED Madagascar trials an approach to re-trigger 8 villages in the rural fokontany of Beandry.**

**Re-training natural leaders**

Once SEED Madagascar and partner staff realise the extent to which people in Beandry, the first fokontany to be declared ODF, have reverted to open defecation, they revisit the community to discuss how to **remotivate** people. This begins with meeting the original natural leaders. The ten most motivated natural leaders from Phase 1 are selected and given 2 days' intensive training on the CLTS process, triggering and follow-up. These ten natural leaders are called "**community consultants**" and become central to efforts to remotivate their peers. In order to reinforce their understanding of the CLTS process, community consultants take a leading role in triggerings run in the neighbouring fokontany of Mananara II (see above) as well as triggering a new village which has developed on the edge of Beandry since the previous phase of CLTS. Community consultants use the full range of triggering tools not previously implemented in Beandry and see the extent of Mananara II's enthusiasm following the triggering sessions.



**Institutional triggering**

A meeting is held with **influential community members** including the head of the fokontany, chiefs of the villages, elders, teachers and government health volunteers to discuss sanitation in their fokontany. The meeting is facilitated by senior staff with support from community consultants and includes **triggering exercises** such as community mapping and F diagrams. Traditional leaders are asked what they think the best ways to remotivate their community in terms of sanitation are. They commit to urging their neighbours to readdress the problem. Following this, the **community consultants hold monthly meetings with opinion leaders** from Beandry in which together they decide how to proceed.



**Re-evaluating community consultants**

Six months into the re-triggering process it becomes clear that not all of the community consultants are motivated. A new group of motivated community members is convened to discuss how to engage the wider community. This group suggests **integrating sanitation activities** with more popular activities being run in the village by SEED Madagascar such as the promotion of fuel-efficient stoves and moringa trees. Staff working on moringa and stove activities begin promoting sanitation and hygiene messages alongside their existing work to promote the idea that a healthy life needs to consider all of these factors together. Apart from this though, SEED Madagascar reaches the conclusion that Beandry is not motivated enough at this time to make it worth pursuing CLTS activities and withdraws support.

**Summary of successes**

- Increased community leadership
- Involvement of traditional leaders
- Progress consolidated

**Summary of challenges**

- Community re-triggering failed
- Unmotivated natural leaders
- Short-term progress

**Key lessons learned**

- Re-triggering communities may take a lot of time and resources for little or no positive result. Those who were not truly triggered in the first phase of a CLTS initiative are unlikely to be motivated at a later date by similar activities once they know what the process aims to achieve. It is likely better to focus support on neighbouring communities whose progress may inspire unmotivated ones.
- More research is needed into how to select and retain motivated natural leaders and community consultants, and how to identify truly influential traditional leaders.
- Although they may form a small portion of the community, any households which transition to latrine use and maintain improved sanitation behaviours over a long period should be viewed as success stories

and supported and congratulated. These households may be the key to spreading improved behaviours more slowly through unmotivated communities.

### Further details of successes

- **Increased community leadership:** Community consultants successfully took a leading role in triggering activities and facilitation of meetings with traditional leaders. After approximately three community consultant/traditional leader meetings led by SEED Madagascar and partner staff, community consultants began to organise and chair these meetings independently.
- **Involvement of traditional leaders:** Institutional triggering motivated traditional leaders to encourage action from community leaders following their triggering. After the first community consultant/traditional leader triggering, four latrines were repaired and one new one was built.
- **Consolidated progress:** After one year working to re-trigger Beandry, 2/8 (25%) villages had regained their ODF status. Although this is a small proportion, the long-term commitment shown by the few dedicated people in these areas suggests they may have achieved permanent behaviour change.

### Further details of challenges

- **Community re-triggering failed:** Efforts to re-trigger villages using the fuller range of more shocking CLTS tools that were not used previously did not result in renewed community commitments to improve their sanitation. This may have been because the element of surprise had been lost and community members had become desensitised to the issue.
- **Unmotivated natural leaders:** As in previous phases, identifying truly motivated natural leaders and community consultants proved difficult. Even after working in the community for two years, many of the community consultants selected proved unmotivated in the long-term.
- **Short-term progress:** Although gains were made following the first community consultant/natural leader meetings, subsequent meetings did not result in any concrete progress amongst community members. This could be because the community consultants and traditional leaders lost motivation, or because community members who were willing to re-engage in CLTS topics did so early on and the rest of the community were harder to work with.

### Conclusions

CLTS has produced more promising gains in sanitation than any other approach implemented in the Anosy Region to date. It is not a silver bullet, however, and some significant challenges to its long-term success remain. SEED Madagascar's experiences suggest that strong triggering as advocated in the CLTS Handbook has the greatest impact but requires high levels of facilitation skill and confidence to implement successfully. Careful selection and training of frontline staff is therefore vital in order to achieve the all-important "trigger". Retriggering previously ODF communities has proved challenging and SEED Madagascar recommends giving careful consideration to the reasons for doing this before investing resources in this area.

Regular and ongoing community follow-up is required after triggering and beyond ODF certification to ensure initial commitments are translated into action and that these actions are sustained in the long-term. Providing limited design advice to households following triggering can improve latrine quality and usability without detracting from the sense of community ownership and is recommended. This can be provided by programme staff or, perhaps better, by trained natural leaders within communities. Natural leaders play an

important part in the implementation and monitoring of CLTS initiatives and will be vital if the approach is to be successfully scaled up. Selecting and maintaining the motivation of these individuals is challenging, however, and further work is needed to identify appropriate candidates. Facilitators should remain open to the possibility of changing natural leaders during the course of an intervention if new leaders emerge or existing ones prove ineffective.

Existing opinion leaders should also be involved from the start to gain both their support and insights into the particular characteristics of each target community. SEED Madagascar has found that institutional triggering sessions prior to the onset of community activities is a good way to initiate this. Facilitators should also consider involving any influential figures from outside the community in positive messaging or activity implementation.