



Ghana National Learning Alliance Platform
23 February, 2012



Application of Social Norms for Social Change in the WASH Sector

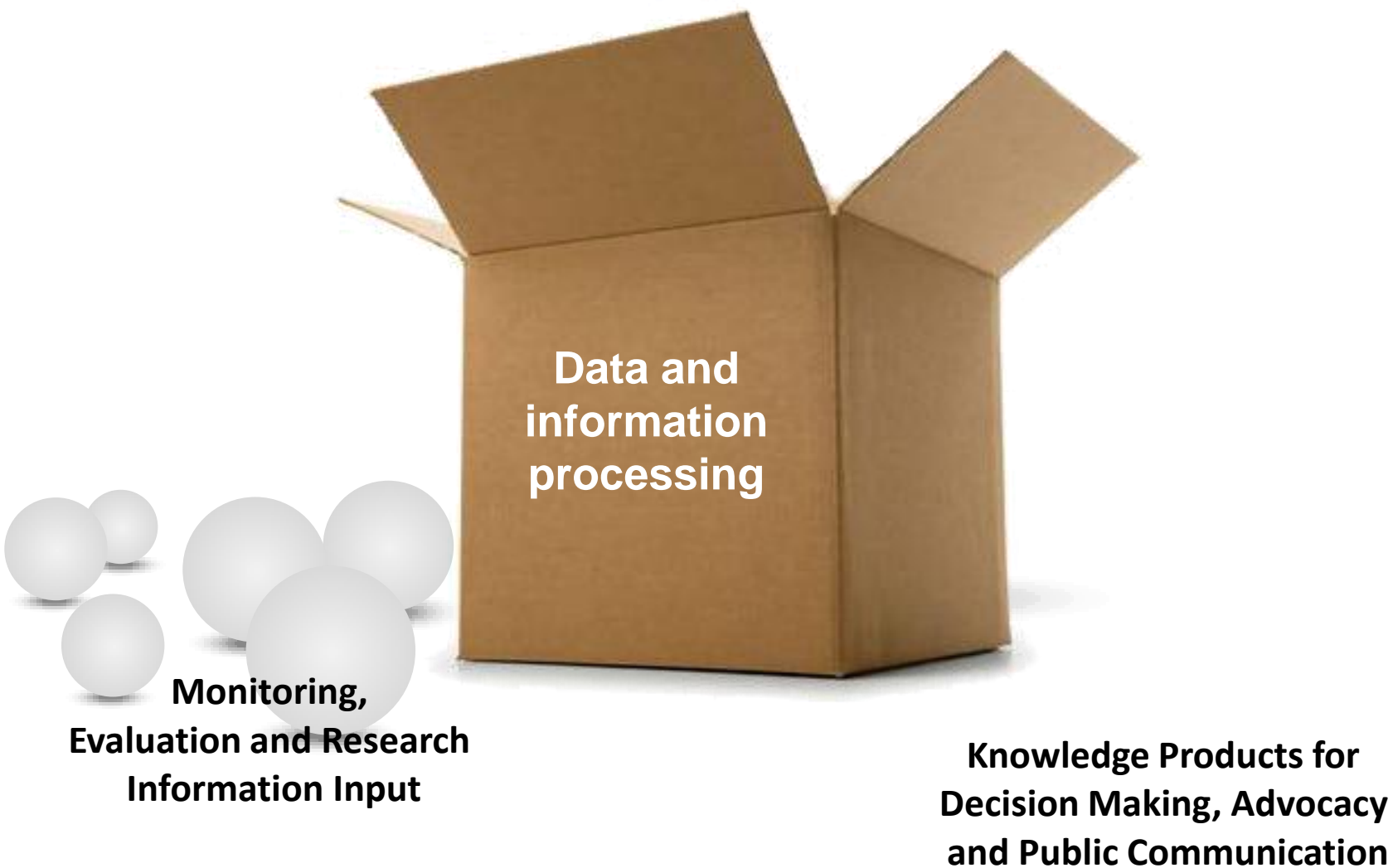


Othniel Habila
Chief of WASH
UNICEF, Ghana



National Learning Alliance Platform

A Key Component of Sector Management Information System



Outline of Presentation



1 | The Context



2 | Social Norms Concept



3 | CLTS as a SN Approach



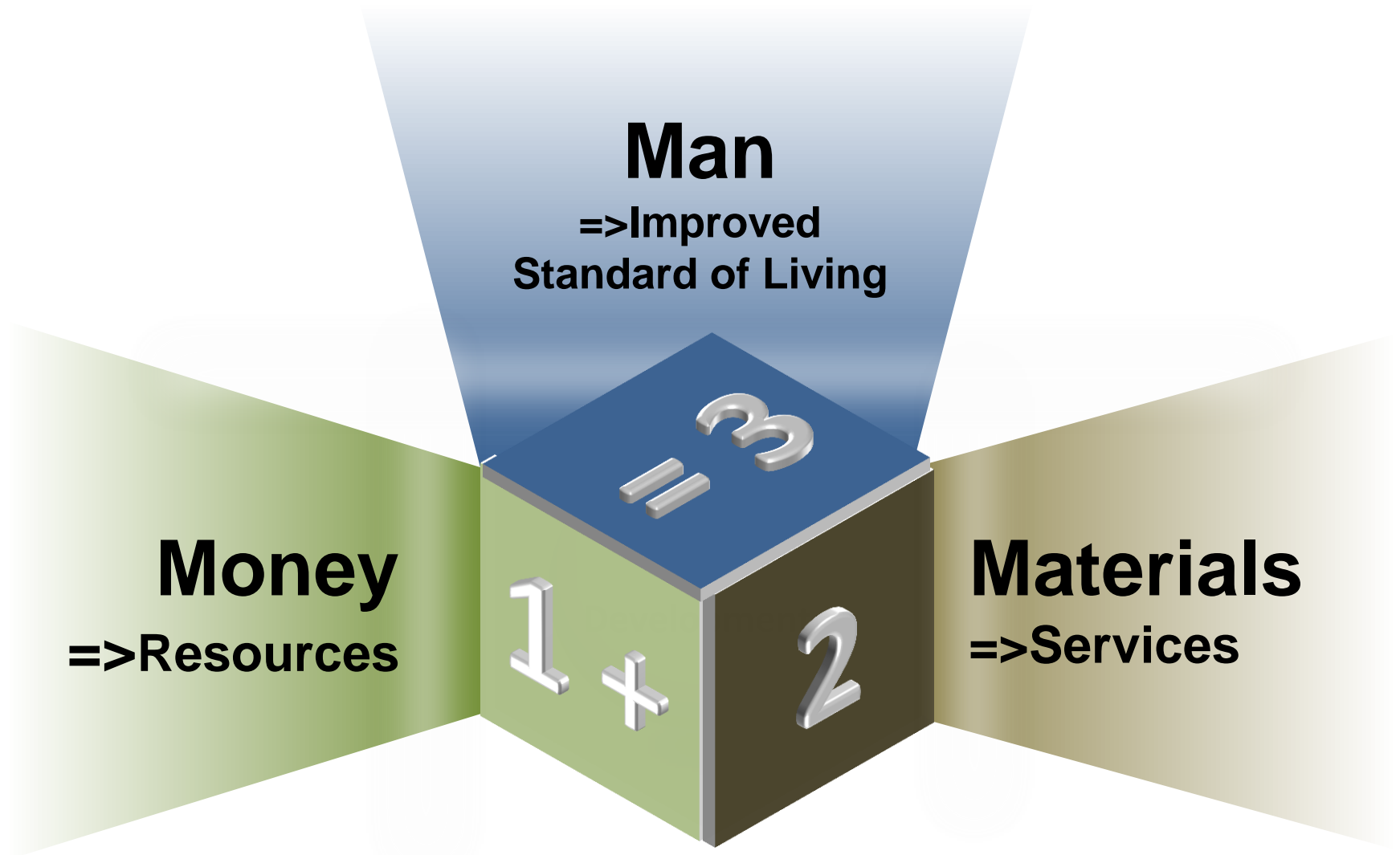
4 | CLTS in Ghana



5 | Taking Forward SNA

The Context

Basic Economics of Development Work - Focus on Changing Man



Key Elements of WASH Development Process



Increasing achievement of outcomes and impact

Key Areas of WASH Impact

Health Impact

Reduction in disease
burden => DALYs Averted

Social Impact

Personal, Domestic and
Environmental Hygiene
=> Social Acceptance

Educational Impact

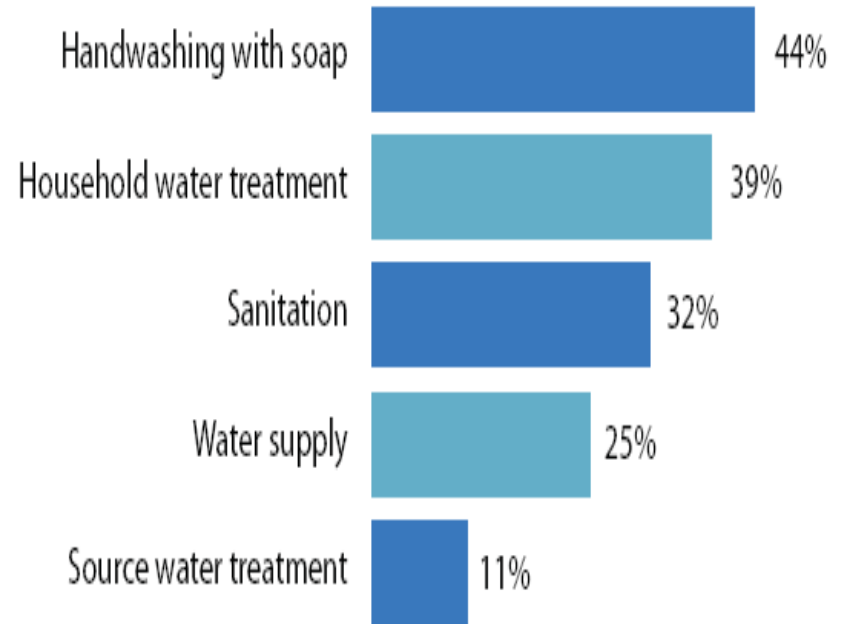
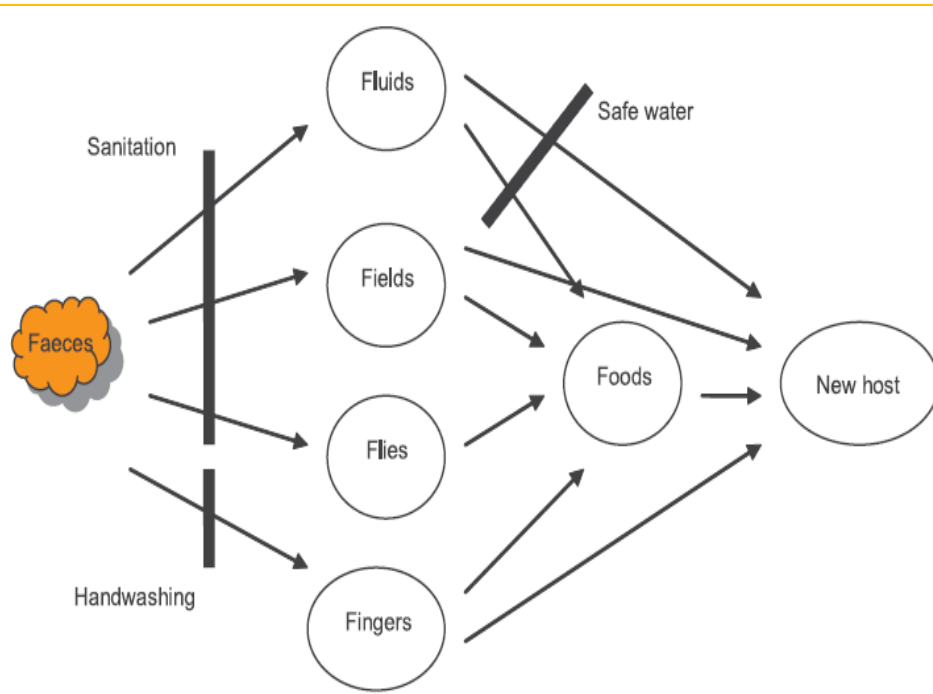
Child Friendly Schooling =>
Quality education

Economic Impact

Time and energy savings
=> Poverty Reduction

WASH

Breaking the Transmission Routes of WASH related diseases involves delivery of improved WASH services and promoting behaviour change using social norms

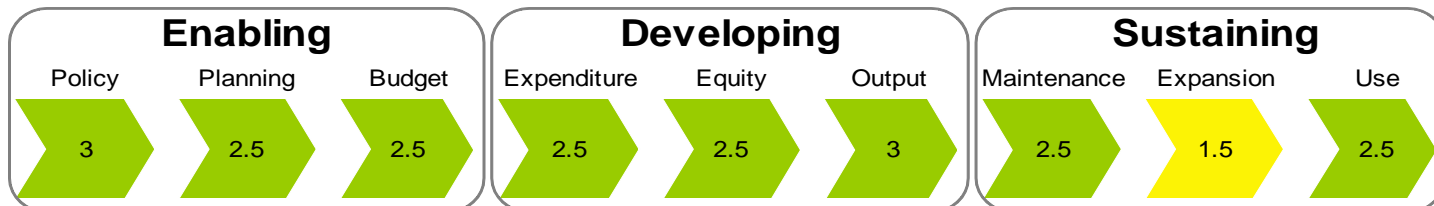


Open Defecation pollutes the environment around communities with pathogens (bacteria, viruses, eggs of intestinal worms). Routes of Transmission need breaking

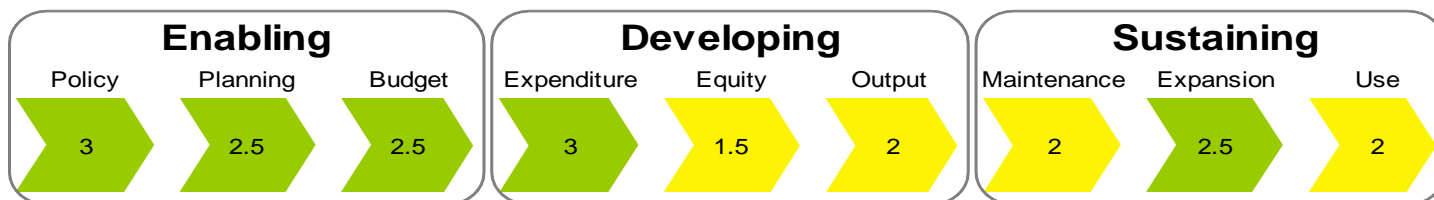
WASH Interventions exert the greatest impact on the reduction of diarrhoeal morbidity, worm infestation, viral diseases and other environmental diseases

The Challenge – Ghana's Score Card on the WASH Service Delivery Pathway

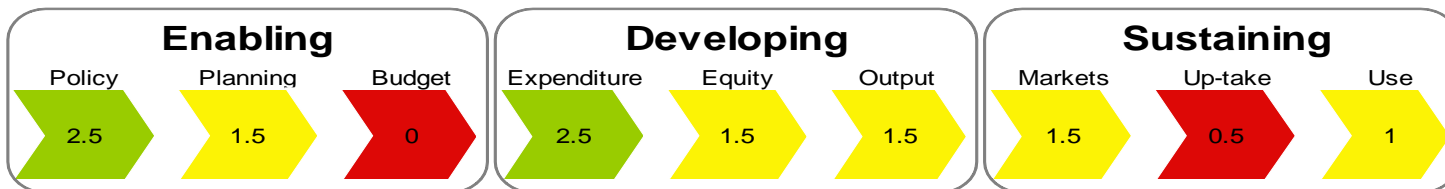
Rural Water Supply Sub-sector



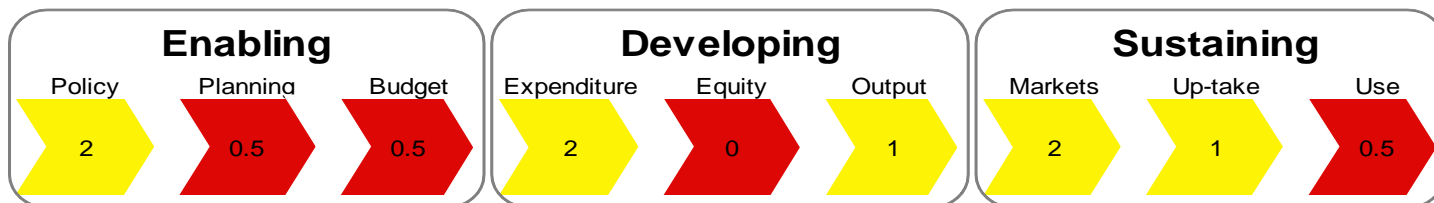
Urban Water Supply Sub-sector



Rural Sanitation and Hygiene Sub-sector



Urban Sanitation and Hygiene Sub-sector



Adapted from Country Status Overview 2 (2010)

Building blocks that are largely in place, acting as a driver on service delivery (score >2, green); Building blocks that are a drag on service delivery and require attention (score 1-2, yellow); and Building blocks that are inadequate, constituting a barrier to service delivery and a priority for reform (score <1, red).

Social Norms

Concepts

What is a Social Norm ?

- It is a behavioral rule that applies to a large class of situations, and
- Individuals know that the rule exists and when it applies
- Individuals prefer to conform to the rule when they
 - a. Expect a sufficiently large part of the population to conform to the rule (**empirical expectation**), and
 - b. Believe that a sufficiently large part of the population think they ought to conform and may sanction their behavior (**normative expectations**)

What is important in this definition

- Social norms are *social constructs*: they depend on the **mutual beliefs** and **conditional preferences** of members of the relevant population
- A social norm may not be followed at a given time:
 - if some potential followers come to believe very few obey SN, they will not follow it
 - norm avoidance/evasion (the Ik who go to great length to avoid having to reciprocate good done by a neighbour so they repair their leaking roofs in the night etc)
 - whether a SN is followed at a given time depends on the actual proportion of followers, on the expectations of conditional followers about such proportion, and on the combination of individual thresholds

Conditional Preferences

- **Conditional preferences** imply that I have a reason to be fair, marry out my child or perform FGM/C, which is different from my liking and endorsing fairness, early marriage or FGM/C
- A conditional preference for following a norm is different from a preference for what the norm stands for
- Conditional preferences imply that one may follow a social norm in the presence of the relevant expectations, but do not follow the norm in the absence of such expectations
- To abandon a social norm, it is necessary to change people's expectations within the relevant reference group
- To create a social norm, it is necessary to induce the right kind of expectations (empirical and normative)

Empirical Expectations

Empirical expectations are expectations about what other people will do, and they are mostly based on an observation of *what they have done* in the past. For instance, if a colleague has always gotten a coffee in the morning, we can form the empirical expectation that he will get coffee tomorrow morning.

- we believe that most people do...
- we have seen that most people do...
- we are told by a trusted source that most people do...

Empirical expectations *may not be sufficient* to motivate compliance with a social norm (we may be tempted to cheat..)

Normative Expectations

Normative expectations are expectations about what other people *think* of us. In our culture, if I do not greet an older person whom I meet on the way, I expect him to get angry with me and to challenge the behaviour.

To further motivate conformity to a social norm, we need *normative expectations*, too

- we believe that most people think we ought to do...
- we know that most people think the right thing to do is...
- we know that we will be ostracized if we do...
- we believe that we will be admired if we do not do...

Following a Norm

- Note that following the norm is my best choice, if I expect others to follow it. Why?
- Informal social sanctions (shame, ridicule, ostracism, admiration, praise...)
- I recognize the legitimacy of others' normative expectations (“My fellow villagers made an effort to build latrines, clean the environment and prevent disease. It is only right that I do not disregard their efforts and reciprocate...”)
- Note that conditional preferences imply that I may follow a norm even **if I disagree with it**

Summary on Social Norms

- Given the collective nature of social norms, all interventions have to reach the **entire group** in which the norm is practiced
- Making people aware of the negative impact of a given practice, or implementing top-down policies may not be sufficient to change practices that are perceived as normal and approved by the relevant community
- If norms are part of larger scripts, then we may often need to **re-categorize** the situation or the practice. Propose different scripts (new alternatives and/or new meanings), and pay attention to the network of values, beliefs, etc. that are part of the script.
- Changing expectations is a relatively long process, it involves **trust, public pressure, collective deliberation, common pledges** and attaining **common knowledge** of what the group is going to do and expects one to do.

Category 3

Legal, Social and Moral Norms

Legal Norm

From Law and Its Application

Positive Incentive =>
Compliance due to acceptance of legitimacy

Negative Incentive=> fear of legal sanctions

Often too far from Social Norm so ineffective

Social Norm

Norms we respect because of what other people think and do

Positive Incentive =>
social recognition

Negative Incentive =>
Social rejection, shame

Moral Norm

Internalised social norms

External incentives replaced by internal ones









Positive incentive =>
feeling happy, fulfilled

Negative incentive =>
feeling guilty

Best situation is for all 3 norms to be harmonised
Ease compliance with LNs by working on SNs

Social Norms and Game Theory

The Prisoner's Dilemma

Prisoners' dilemma		prisoner B			
		confess 		remain silent 	
prisoner A	confess 	 5 years 5 years	 0 year 20 years		
	remain silent 	 20 years 0 year	 1 year 1 year		

© 2006 Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Explanation of the Prisoner's Dilemma

Police induce confession by making offer independently to each criminal

1

2

3

4

**You Confess
He Remains Silent**

**You both
Remain Silent**

**You both
Confess**

**You remain Silent
He confesses**

**You defect on
him by
confessing
and go free
He cooperates
with you but is
Imprisoned
20 years**

**Best for you
Worst for him**

**You both
Cooperate with
each other and
You both
bag 1 year for
minor charges
for want of
evidence**

**Second best for
both of you**

**You both defect
on each other
You are both
found guilty
and receive a
reduced
sentence of 5
years each**

**Third best for
both of you**

**You cooperate
with him but he
defects on you**

**You are
imprisoned for
20 years
He goes free but**

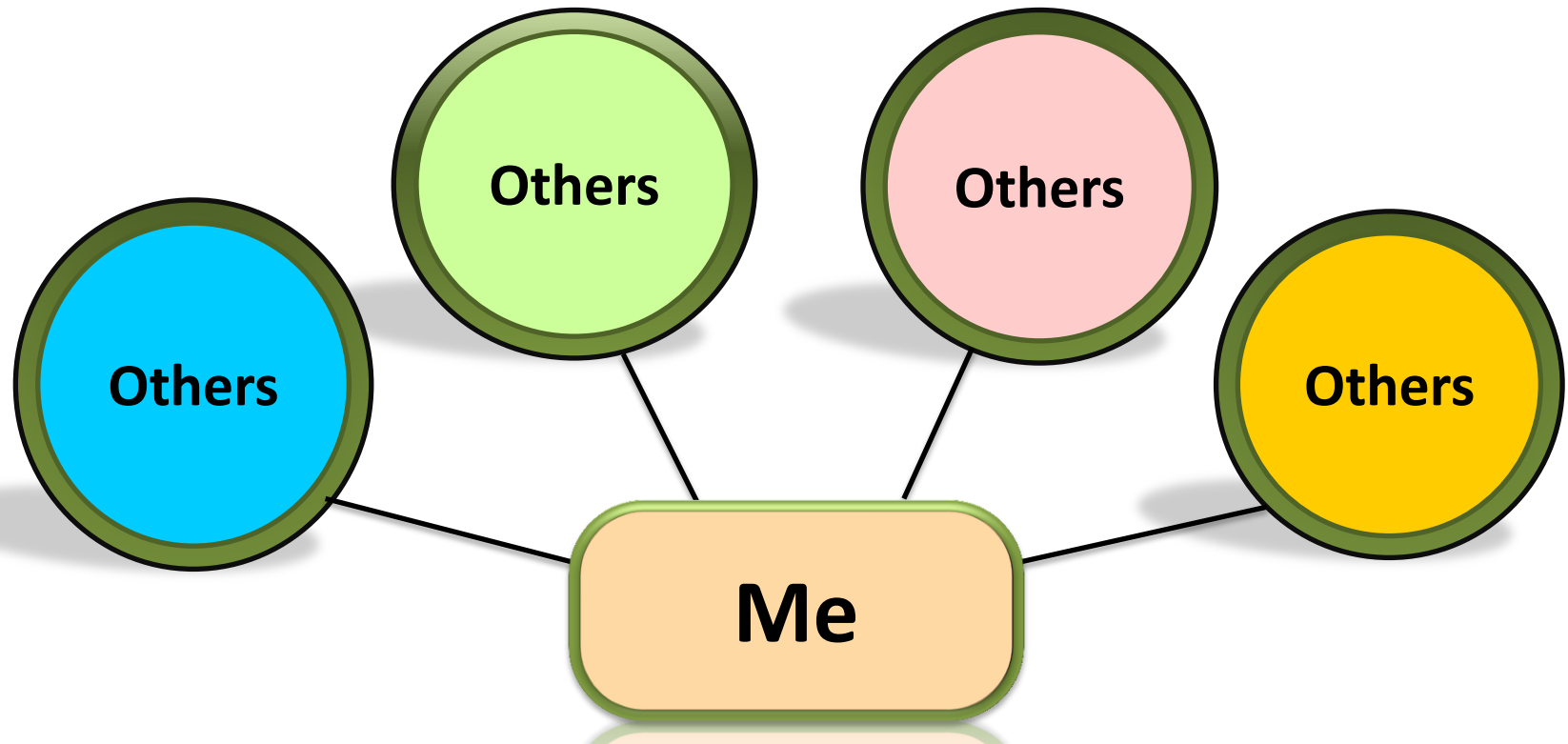
**Worst for you
Best for him**

Keeping Silent => Cooperating with each other
Confessing => defecting on the other

Prisoner 1 \ Prisoner 2	Cooperate	Defect
	Cooperate	Defect
Cooperate	Second, Second	Worst, Best
Defect	Best, Worst	Third, Third

Rational, selfish players will always defect
Defecting is their dominant strategy and gives best pay-off

A multi-person Prisoner's Dilemma is a Social Dilemma



**This is a game which happens
without coordination or communication.
Only rational self interest dictates behaviour**

Nash Equilibrium.....

...is a solution concept of a game involving two or more players, in which each player is assumed to know the equilibrium strategies of the other players, and no player has anything to gain by changing only his own strategy unilaterally. If each player has chosen a strategy and no player can benefit by changing his or her strategy while the other players keep theirs unchanged, then the current set of strategy choices and the corresponding payoffs constitute a Nash equilibrium.....

Two players are in a Nash equilibrium if each is making the best decision they can, taking into account the other's decision. However, Nash equilibrium does not necessarily mean the best payoff for all the players involved; in many cases, all the players might improve their payoffs if they could somehow agree on strategies different from the Nash equilibrium: e.g. competing businesses forming a cartel in order to increase their profits.

Source: Wikipedia: URL - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nash_equilibrium#Informal_definition

Social Dilemma and Tragedy of the Commons

Social Dilemma

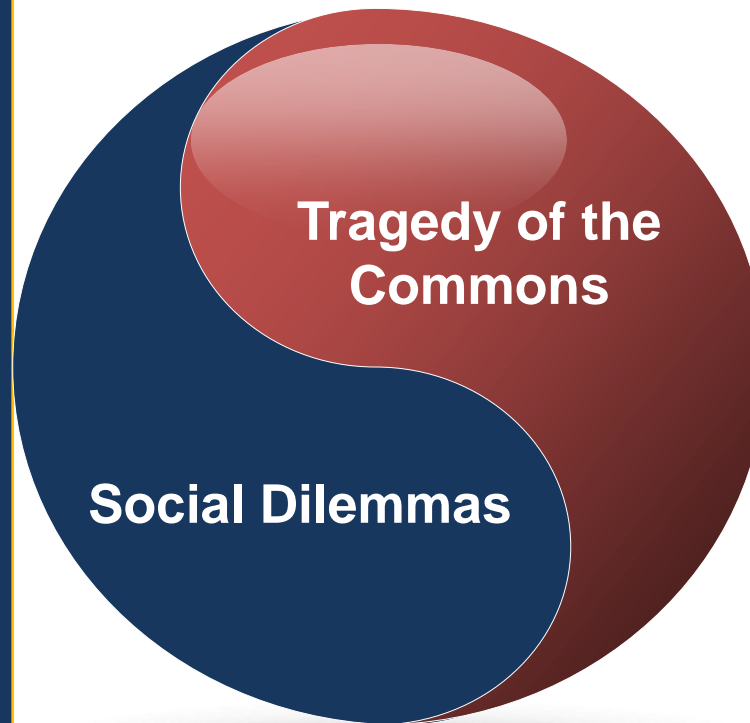
...Is a situation in which what is in the best interest of each individual makes everyone worse off. Thus, using the bush to shit is good for one – it saves one building and maintaining a toilet – but bad for the community – diseases spread more rapidly

Tragedy of the Commons

...Is a dilemma arising from the situation in which multiple individuals, acting independently and rationally consulting their own self-interest, ultimately deplete (*pollute*) a shared limited resource (*environment*), even when it is clear that it is not in anyone's long-term interest for this to happen

Social Dilemmas and Tragedy of the Commons in WASH

- **HWWS:** My not washing hands affect others => disease is transmitted
- **Open Defecation:** My OD affects others => diseases spread; environs polluted
- **Guinea worm:** Wading in pond water with guinea worm infection => Others gets Guinea worm



- **Tooth-brushing:** Allowing tap run as I brush => depletes water supply
- **Unregulated groundwater abstraction:** If everyone continue to use groundwater unchecked groundwater mining takes place => depletion of groundwater

These can be resolved with establishment of social norms

Social Dilemma and Coordination Games

A social norm transforms a mixed-motive game into a coordination

		C	OTHER	D
me	C	S	B	
	D	W	T	
		Social Dilemma	Coordination game	

CLTS as a Social Norms Approach

There is a difference between...



Old Approach of Subsidy

and



...New Approach of CLTS

Old and New Approaches


Old Approach

- Building toilets
- Individual/family
- Health message focused
- Top-down, externally driven
- Didactic
- Technologies pre-determined
- Subsidised
- Don't mention the "S" word

New Approach

- Changing social norms
- Social/Community
- Economic, social, health, disgust
- Community-led, internal demand driven
- Participatory – natural and traditional leaders
- Local technologies, community capacity
- Rewards – Fulfillment – Celebrations
- Talk SHIT – faeces, Poo, Ebin, Emi, Bindi, Seeboo, Kashi, toilets, latrines

Open Defecation – a Prisoner's Dilemma

		UL	Others	OD
Open Defecator	UL	S 2 → 3		
	OD	B 3 ↓ 2	T 0 → 1 1 ↓ 0	

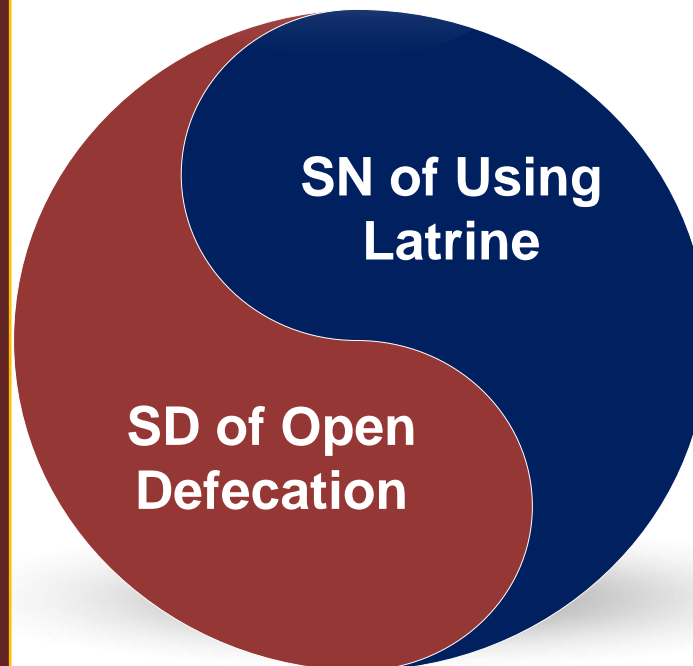
Definitions: UL = Use Latrine; OD = Open defecate;  = Nash equilibrium

Payoffs: Best (B)= 3; Second Best (S)= 2; Third Best (T)= 1; Worst (W)= 0

CLTS Helps Solve the Social Dilemma of OD by Turning it into a Coordination Game with Different Incentives

Incentives for OD

- **Cheap short-term** No cost of building and maintaining latrines with HWWS facilities
- **Seems convenient** Open field, pleasurable, air blowing
- **Obligation free** No obligation to follow norm with possibility of sanctions
- **No additional burden** Freedom from intensive community dialogue more time for personal business

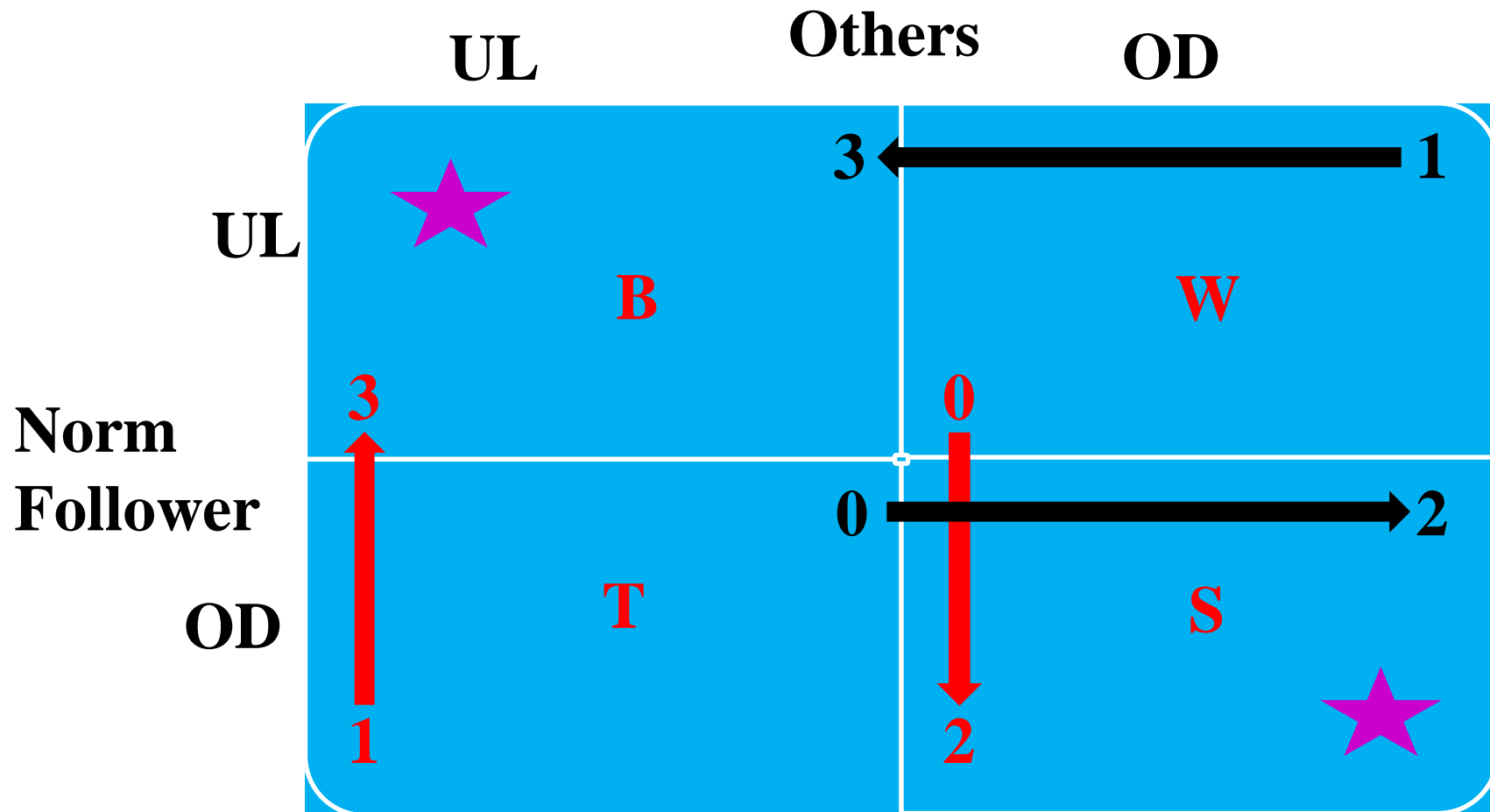


Incentives for UL

- **Cheap long-term** Savings from medical expenses on diseases
- **Convenient at night** Ease of access, avoid snakebites and harrassments
- **Benefit for keeping SN**
 - Social acceptance, honour, dignity respect
 - Inward fulfillment of being responsible member of society
 - Social sanctions promote moral norm liberating from costly legal sanctions
- **Value to community** Part of a network and social safety net with long term benefits

Incentives for Open Defecation versus Incentives for Using Latrines

The Coordination Game of the Social Norm of Using Latrines



Definitions: UL = Use Latrine; OD = Open defecate; ★ = Nash equilibrium

Payoffs: Best (B)= 3; Second Best (S)= 2; Third Best (T)= 1; Worst (W)= 0

Creating Social Norm of Using Latrine

1 Observing Consequence of OD

Transect work => evokes collective and individual reaction of shame and disgust

2 Community dialogue & analysis

Shit mapping/calculations=> understand the extend of OD & cost to community/individual

3 Develop community action plan

Decision for change => how to implement and monitor action to change the practice

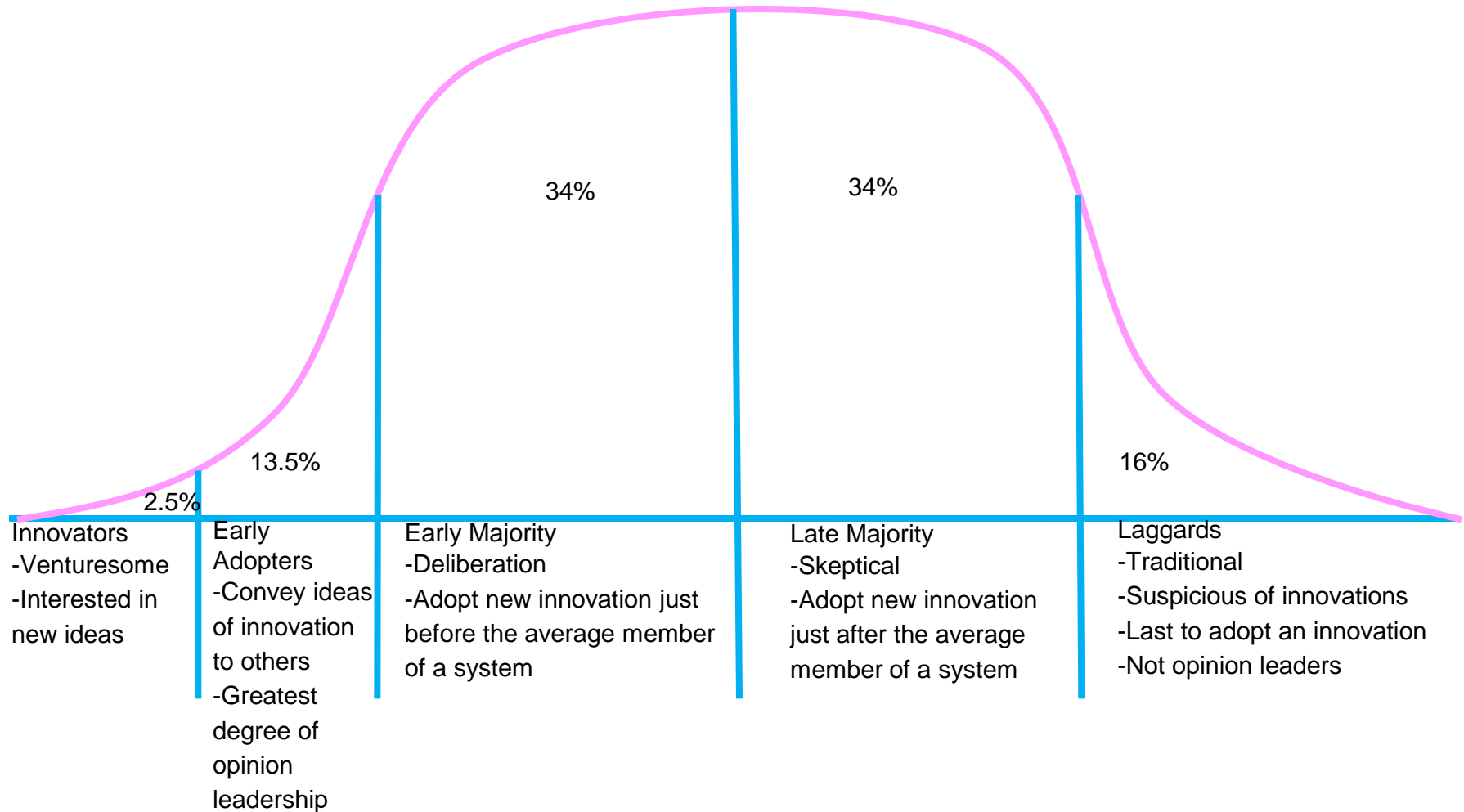
4 Building and using latrines

Individual households build and use latrines => social norm of UL is formed

5 Scaling up SN as national culture

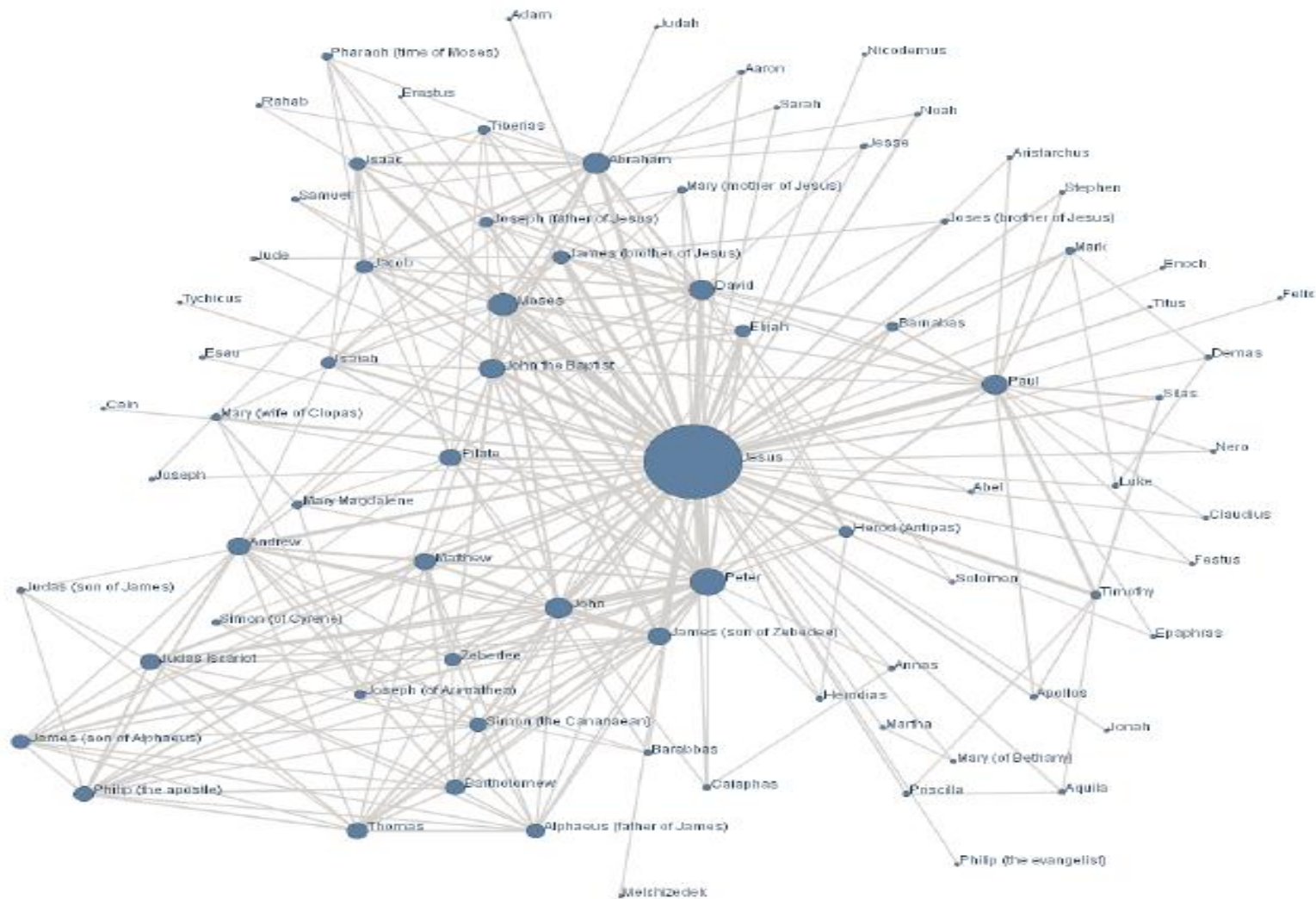
Diffusion of SN=>spontaneous or organised through social networks of NLs, CLTS champions, media campaigns, school children

Once Established the Social Norm of Using Latrine Diffuses in a similar pattern to adopter categories of Rogers



Adopted from: E. M. Rogers, "Diffusion of Innovations"

Social Network Analysis is Needed to Establish Diffusion Pathways



Communication Network of Jesus: From Ryan Muldon, University of Pennsylvania

The Process of Diffusion of Social Norm of Latrine Usage

Within Each Community

Natural Leaders;
Facilitated Community
Education, Networks of Trust,
Religion, Neighbourhood, PTA,
Family, Friendship, Public
Declarations to achieve ODF;
Market Networks

Between districts in a region

Various networks
of Natural Leaders
Network, Trust, Religious,
Neighbourhood, PTA, Family,
Friendship, Market Networks, CLTS
Champions; Public Campaigns; Public
Celebrations of ODF attainment; Media

1

2

3

4

Between communities in a District

Various networks
of Natural Leaders
Network, Trust, Religious,
Neighbourhood, PTA, Family,
Friendship, Market Networks; CLTS
Champions; Public Campaigns;
Public Celebrations of ODF
attainment; Media

Between regions in the country

Various networks of
CLTS champions, Public
Campaigns, public celebrations,
national campaigns through print
and electronic media, market
networks,

Social Network Analysis is Needed to Establish Diffusion Pathways

Community Approaches to Total Sanitation

1 Triggering in Communities

- Core of CATS process
- Requires skilled facilitators
- Transect walk, faeces mapping, shit calculation
- Communities mobilised to point of self realisation, disgust and shame on OD practice
- Quick, community-led solutions => action plan
- Identifying and training natural leaders
- Challenge of maintaining quality at scale

2 Behaviour Change through Social Norms

- Triggering leads new behaviour being established against OD
- Each community member stops OD with new incentives for doing so
- Sustenance of ODF behaviour against slippage through diffusion process
- National campaigns => sustained BC

- Exploring human-centred design processes
- Understanding the local sanitation market
- Working with and building capacity of local vendors and artisans
- Supporting partnerships that leverage the appropriate skills to work at scale
- Developing financing schemes for SMSEs

4 Developing Supply Side Sanitation (Sanitation Marketing + Microfinance)

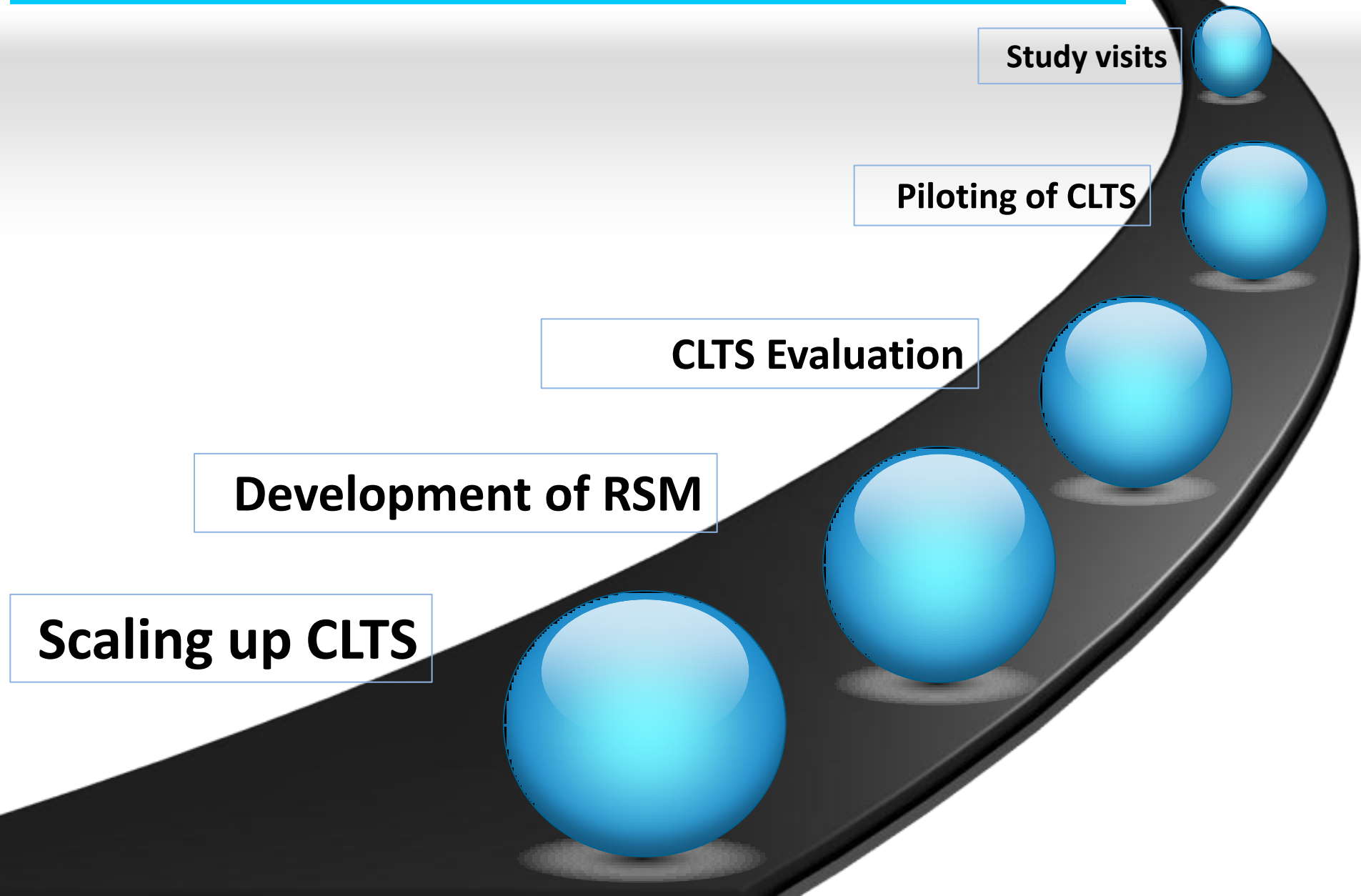
Understanding and using elements that create a national culture of sanitation

- Sustaining demand side efforts through mass media, mainstreamed messaging in schools, health centres and communities
- Improving policy environment to support a growing demand

3 Promoting Sanitation at Scale

CLTS in Ghana

The CLTS Process in Ghana



Rural Sanitation Model => Sanitation Service Delivery in Ghana

Achieving ODF and 100% Improved Latrine Coverage in each intervention community

Creating Demand

CLTS as a Social Norms Approach
=> communal behaviour change

Achieving ODF as a first step =>
building and using household
latrines with simple designs

Opportunity for environmental
sanitation and hygiene promotion

Monitoring and Evaluation

League Table

Spot Checks

Quarterly, Mid-Year, Annual
Reviews

Mid and end-term Evaluation

Facilitating Supply

Sanitation Marketing

Support for improving household
latrine quality

Micro-finance for household
latrine construction

Facilitating an Enabling Environment

National Policy and Plans

NESP
NESSAP
SESIP
MAF

Evidence-based Advocacy

Consensus Building
Buy-in by Stakeholders

Building Capacity

Establish CLTS
Facilitation Teams
Secure Training materials
Train CLTS Facilitation
Teams

Sourcing Financing

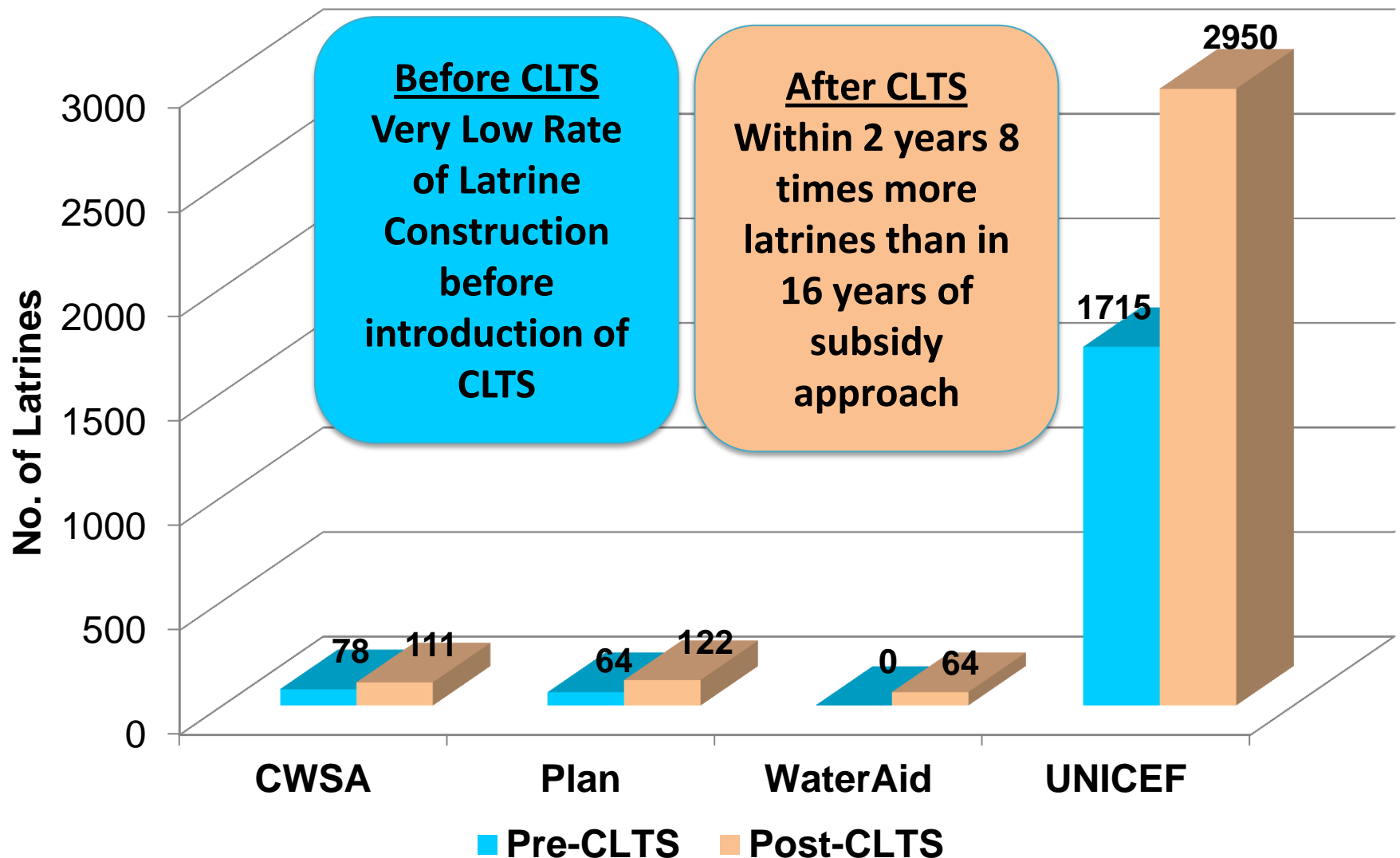
District Assembly
Common Fund
Households Fund
Latrines
MLGRD/CWSA Funding
DPs Funding

Coordination

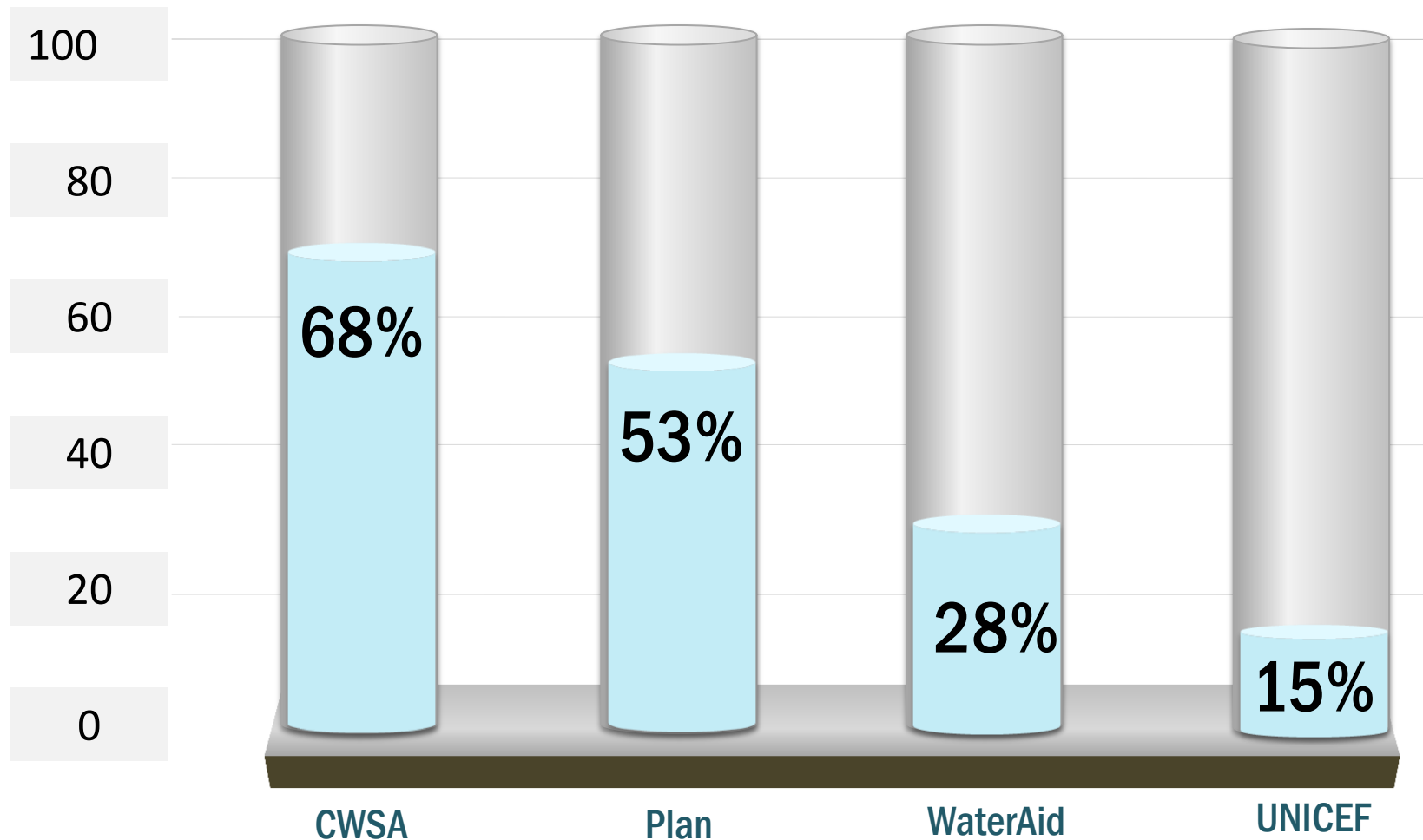
Effective Ownership and
Leadership
NTWGS, RICCS, DICCS
DPs, NGOs, Private
Sector
WATSANs/WSDBs



Impact of CLTS on Latrine Construction



% of Communities Becoming ODF



CLTS Enables

Households Climb

The Sanitation Ladder -

**Encourages incremental progress
towards use of improved latrines
thus helps achieve MDG target**

3

**Improved Pit
Latrine**



2

**Simple Pit
Latrine**



1

**Dig and
bury**



0

**Open
Defecation**



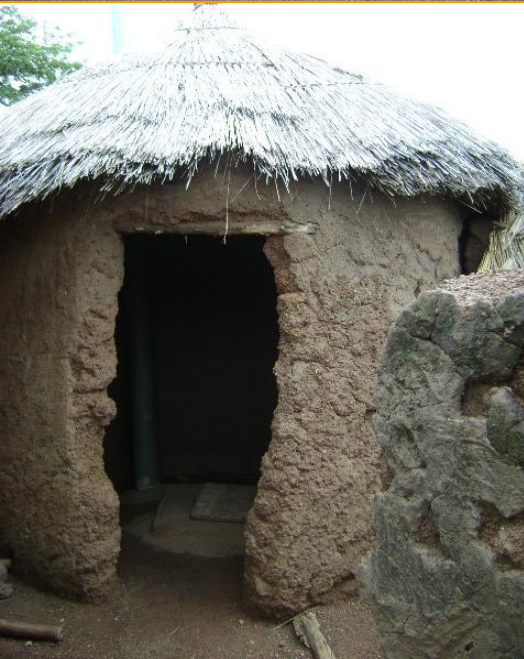
4

**Pour
Flush**



Increasing Improvement and Cost ==>

CLTS Supports Innovation of locally appropriate and affordable latrines



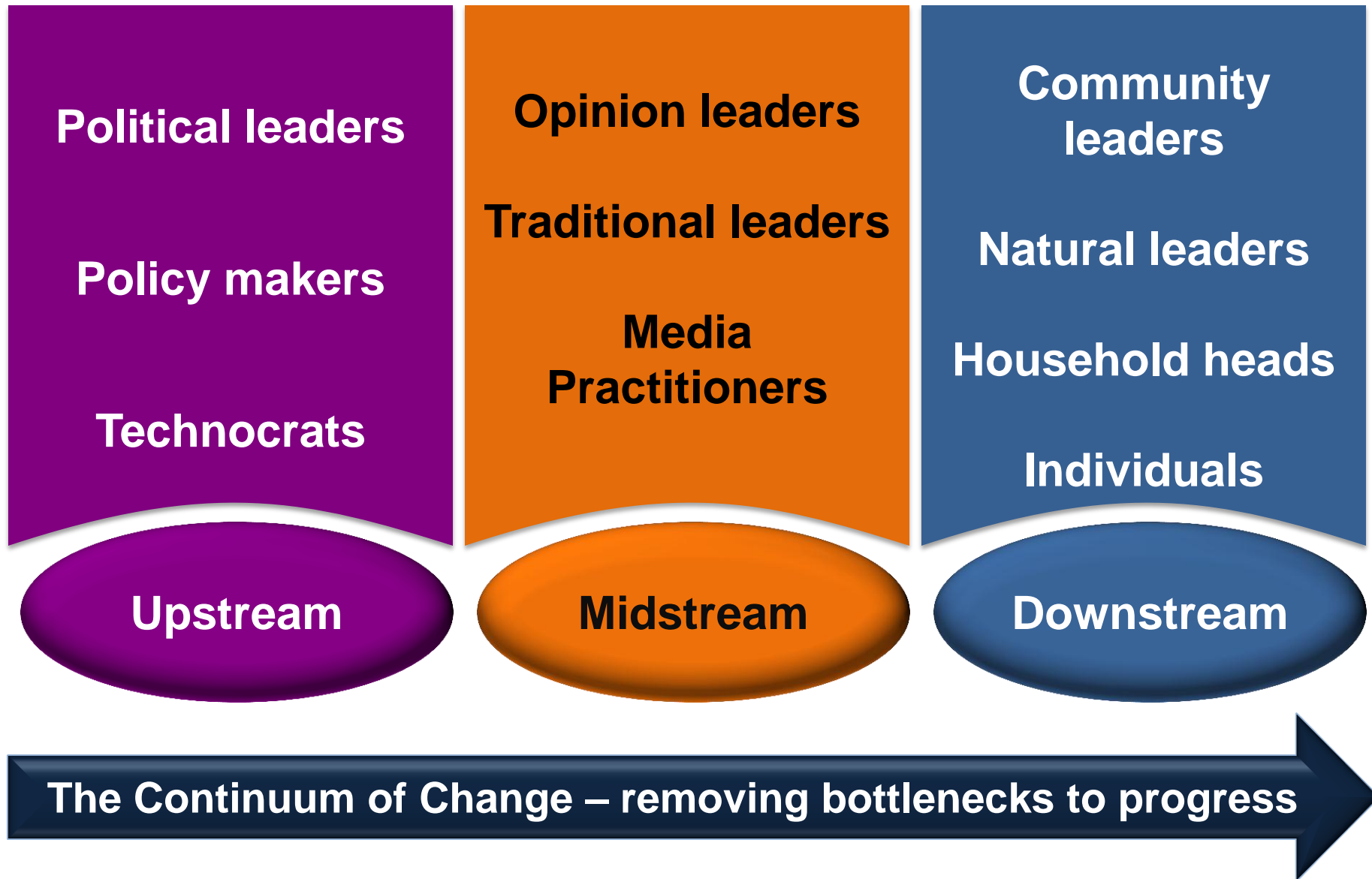
- It demystifies latrine technology. Latrines are being used for their purpose *not as stores and kitchens*
- It encourages ownership and use of latrines
- It encourages use of local materials for latrines which are in sync with existing housing and environment
- It instills a “can do” spirit in communities:

community members say
– *“they helped us with the knowledge; we thought latrine construction was expensive but now we*

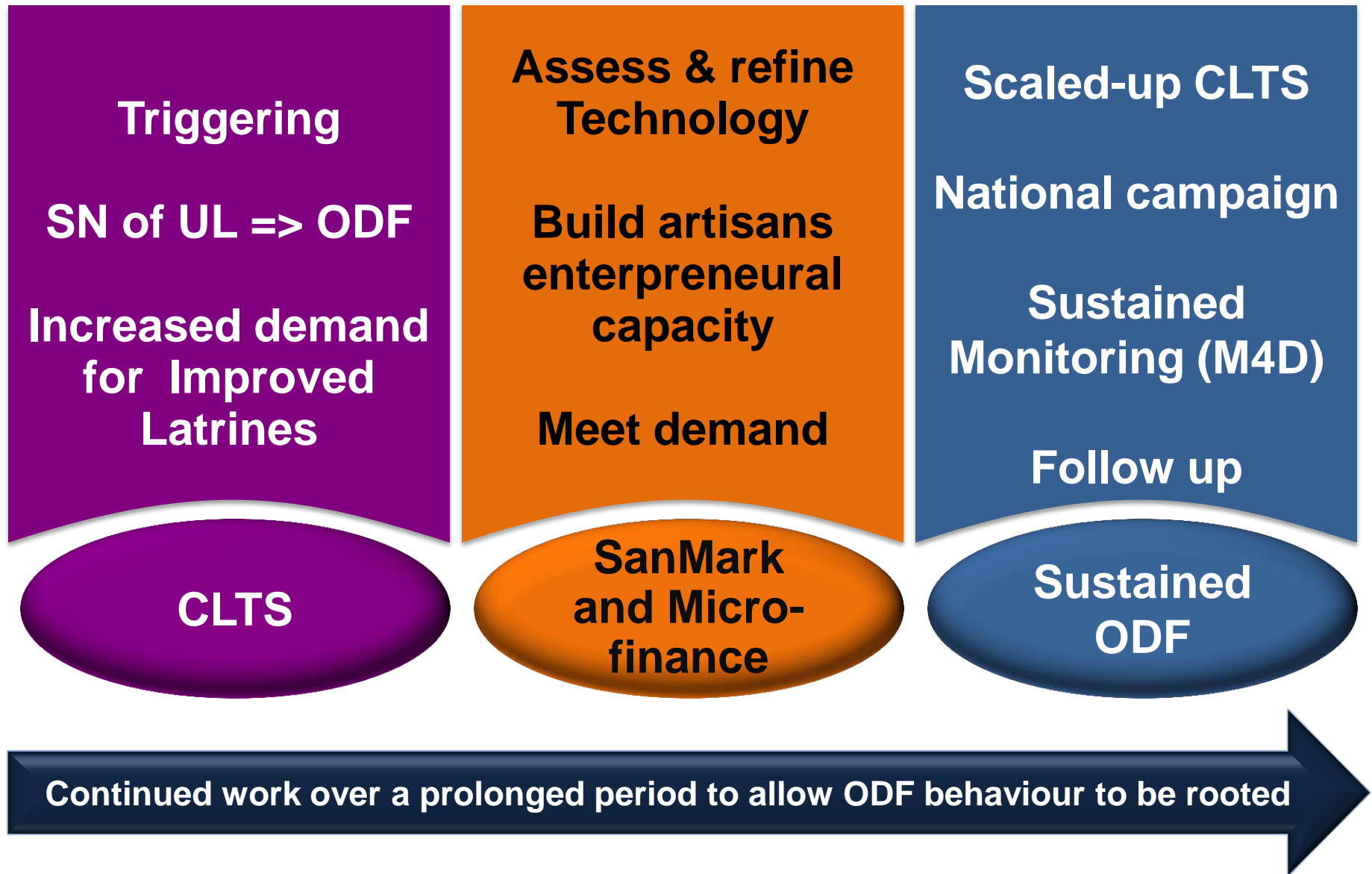


Integrating Social Norms in WASH in Ghana

Key Areas for Integrating Social Norms



Sanitation Improvement Process at Community Level



Implementing the SNA in Sanitation

Incorporating SNA in CLTS Training

Training of Facilitators on SNA

Developing partnerships on SNA implementation

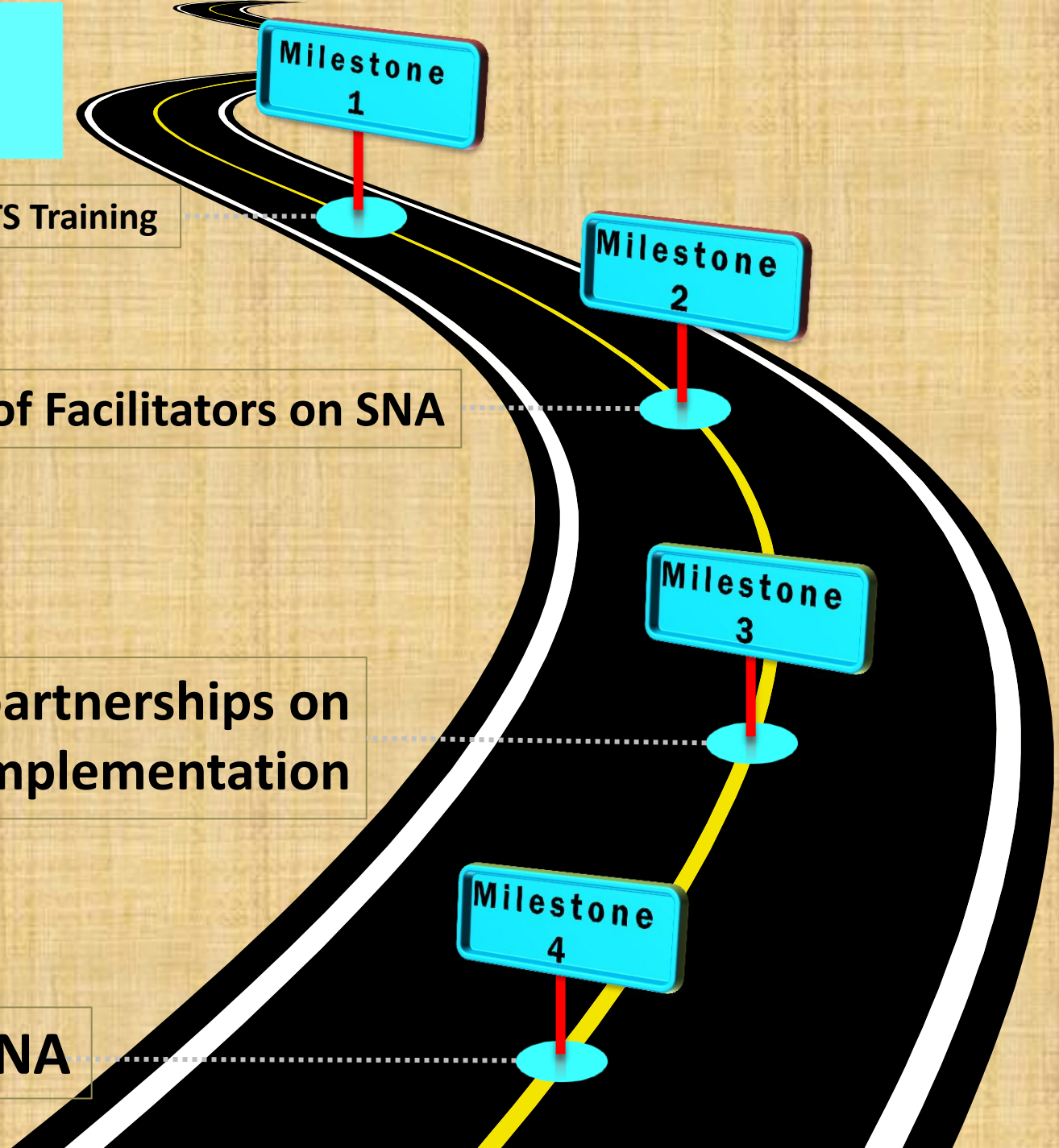
Implementing SNA

Milestone 1

Milestone 2

Milestone 3

Milestone 4





Q & A time

