RESEARCH REPORT

Message, Method, and Messenger

Literature Survey

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Water & Sanitation for the Urban Poor (WSUP) was established in 2005 and has quickly become recognized as a leading actor in the urban WASH sector, demonstrating how multi-sector partnerships can have significant impact. WSUP's mission is to improve the lives of the urban poor in developing countries by strengthening the capacity of service providers and others to provide sustainable water and sanitation services, promote good hygiene and raise the health and environmental standards of the community.

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Introduction

This literature survey aims to review how communication and advocacy have been used to change local policymaking, programming, and budgetary allocations in the developing country context. Insights gathered from this review will help structure the first phase of data collection for a two-year research grant with Water & Sanitation for the Urban Poor (WSUP) on influencing municipal public finance for sanitation. Literature review insights will influence a field guide for semistructured interviews with key policy and political decision makers, professionals in water and sanitation service companies, and community leaders in WSUP program areas.

We propose that a linear view of policymaking in which research recommendations and rational models are readily accepted and implemented by policymakers is unrealistic, and that effective advocacy is necessary to overcome implementation barriers such as information gaps or political or economic realities. Further, proper identification of implementation barriers results in more effective advocacy tools and targeting. For example, if the barrier is an information gap in understanding finance options, then knowledge-transfer tools would be the appropriate course of action. However, if policymakers are aware of existing options but choose not to exercise them, advocacy and lobbying strategies and tools would be more appropriate.

The following literature survey is divided into two sections. The first section provides a brief overview of communication goals and methods and how they have evolved in the field of development. The second focuses specifically on communication aimed at changing policy in developing countries and, to the extent possible, reflects on the experience of the water and sanitation sector. Surveying both ranges of literature provides valuable insights on effective communication with policymakers and funders responsible for sanitation budgets at the local level. An annex provides a look at the advocacy efforts of major actors in the water and sanitation space in Accra, Ghana; Maputo, Mozambique; and Nakuru, Kenya. The materials in the annex are largely drawn from websites and are hyperlinked to sources wherever possible.

Part I: Communication Goals and Methods

Communication for development takes many forms depending on the goal, audience, message, and medium used. Goals may vary from simple one-way dissemination of information to community participation and empowerment. Messages can be targeted to the wider public, to a target group, or to just a few key decision makers. Design, content, and audience also vary based on the medium used to relay or share information. We do not intend to cover the conceptual debates around goals or around the mechanisms through which communication works or who it benefits most (Waisbord 2005). Instead, our review focuses on how communication is perceived and used within the context of programs and projects to achieve specific development objectives such as higher budgets for safe water and sanitation. Such communication is referred to as strategic communication. In fact, many communication scholars use the term development communication to mean "the strategic application of communication technologies and processes to promote social change" (Wilkins 2000). By this definition, both advocacy and lobbying are strategic communication. WaterAid, the world's largest nongovernmental organization focused solely on water and sanitation, defines advocacy as "taking action to bring about the change you are seeking" (Freshwater Action Network and WaterAid Governance and Transparency 2011).

For the purpose of our review, we divide strategic communication into four categories. Each method of communication serves a primary purpose in the process of seeking larger social change dependent upon the theory of change assumption (table 1). In addition, most nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) carry out at least one of the following types of communication as part of their routine operations.

TABLE 1

Theory, Method, Audience, and Tools Matrix

Theory of change assumption	Method	Audience	Tools
Information gaps	Information and knowledge transfer	Policymakers, elected officials, community leaders	Communication campaign, media advertising, public address
Weak political will	Advocacy and lobbying	Technocrats, bureaucrats, politicians	Letter writing campaigns, citizen satisfaction surveys, site visits with policymakers
Absence of demand	Social marketing	Civil society, community-based organizations, and community members	Media mobilization, coalition of partners
Power imbalance	Social mobilization and participatory models	Target communities and social networks	Two-way media exchange (radio call-in, etc.), community meetings and forums

Method 1: Information and Knowledge Transfer

Everett Rogers's seminal work on the diffusion of innovation was key to the inclusion of communication and information components in many international development programs and policies (Rogers 1983). In his subsequent analyses of parallel changes in development theory and communications theory he defines development communication as the "exchange of information between two or more individuals in which one individual (a change agent) seeks to assist the other individual to achieve a higher socio-economic status by changing his/her behavior. A change agent is an individual who influences clients' decisions to adopt innovations. . . . An innovation is any idea perceived as new by the intended audience" (Rogers and Steinfatt 1999).

a. Knowledge Transfer to Community Members

Information and knowledge sharing is a dominant method used by programs that aim to create behavior change among individuals or within households. Our literature search revealed that the majority of rigorously evaluated communication programs focused on behavior change, specifically health-related behavior change such as the adoption of hand washing and treating drinking water by boiling or chlorinating. While timely information sharing can have a critical influence on certain behaviors, sustained and long-term behavior change can be very difficult to achieve. In addition, behavior change can be difficult and expensive to measure, and information or knowledge-sharing

programs may use inaccurate indicators to measure behavior change, greatly overstating the results of their intervention. Comparing indicators for hand washing in India, Biran and colleagues find that there is little agreement between proxy indicators for hand washing and results from actual observation, which is difficult and expensive to carry out. (Biran et al. 2008).

The evidence of behavior changing purely as a result of information sharing or knowledge transfer (used here interchangeably) in the water and sanitation sector is inconsistent. Randomized trials of large scale hand-washing interventions, for example, point to success in increasing knowledge about the need for hand washing and its effect on health, but no significant improvements in the actual practice of hand washing (Chase and Do 2012). On the other hand, information about a potential health risk of using arsenic-contaminated water wells has been shown to cause a significant and rapid change in behavior even when that behavior is associated with a significant cost (Madajewicz et al. 2007). Public health studies of tobacco control have also pointed to the fact that information which succeeds in conveying a credible risk to human health is more likely to lead to behavior change (Economos, Brownson, et al. 2001).

Sophisticated behavior-change models take into account the importance of cultural context and value systems, technology being used, and the institutions that may prevent people from changing behavior based on new knowledge (Dreibelbis et al. 2013). Providing people with the facts that they need to make informed choices, some of which are different from the choices they currently make, is only part of the solution (Economos, Brownson, et al. 2001). Development theory and practice now acknowledge that simple sender-receiver models of information (Shannon and Weaver 1949), no matter how sophisticated, do not lead to the widespread adoption of new technologies, do not change deeply rooted belief systems, and do not change culturally accepted practices, even when such changes in behavior can clearly improve health or economic outcomes (WHO/Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council 1998).

b. Knowledge Transfer to Policymakers

Knowledge transfer to specific policymakers, especially in government bureaucracies, often takes place in the context of capacity building. Workshops, trainings, and study tours are all commonly used methods to share knowledge. The goals of such knowledge transfer may range from providing decision makers with new evidence for agenda setting to providing the tools necessary to carry out the programs to which they have already committed resources. To the extent that capacity building is the primary goal of many donor-funded efforts, knowledge-transfer efforts are either overtly stated as program objectives or carried out in support of other wider objectives. Based on a systematic review of

research literature and primary data collected from research organizations, Lavis and colleagues (2003) provide a useful framework to guide and evaluate research knowledge transfer by asking the following basic questions:

- What should be transferred to decision makers (message)?

- To whom should research knowledge be transferred (the target audience)?

- By whom should research knowledge be transferred (the messenger)?

- How should research knowledge be transferred (the knowledge-transfer process and supporting communications infrastructure)?

- With what effect should research knowledge be transferred (evaluation)?

While knowledge transfer is a process by which research messages are pushed by the producers of research to the users of research, recent evidence on the active role that research users play has led to a reframing of the process as one of sharing and not merely transferring (Mitton et al. 2007). Knowledge transfer and exchange takes place between producers and users of research with the primary goal of "increasing the likelihood that research evidence will be used in policy and practice decisions and to enable researchers to identify practice and policy-relevant research questions" (Mitton et al. 2007). According to the most current literature, in the best case scenario, the process of knowledge production specifically for changing policy is done interactively with policymakers, and the success of knowledge sharing is also determined jointly by researchers and policymakers. Because communication is seen as a demanding process, researchers argue that it is best to take an interactive and continuous approach (Pollard and Court 2005).

Method 2: Advocacy and Lobbying

While information and knowledge sharing fall into the domain of education or broadening of options, advocacy falls into the domain of persuasion, which is about narrowing options and motivating decision makers to choose one among many. (Food and Agriculture Organization 2011). Advocacy requires that communication be persuasive enough to sway decisions to be made for or against an issue. Methods, messages, and messengers for advocacy are different from those used in knowledge sharing for behavior change. Decision makers who have a say in resource allocation and expenditure are the main audience for advocacy messages (Cadiz 2005). In most cases, such decision makers have positions of authority in the legislative or executive branches of government or in bureaucracies. Successful
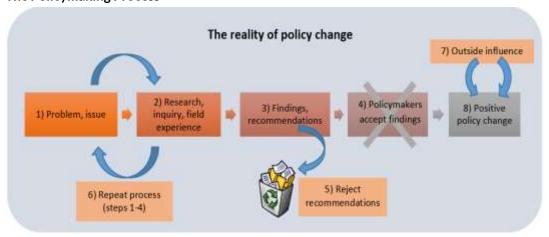
advocacy can hinge on the creation of a broad network or coalition of support. Such networks bring greater pressure to bear on decision makers. They also provide the backing needed by decision makers when they make difficult or controversial choices.

Advocacy and lobbying are often used interchangeably, but the literature highlights a subtle difference between the two. While advocacy focuses on a particular social policy of significance, lobbying is generally directed at legislators such as ministers, members of parliament at the national level, or state legislators. It seeks to alter or put in place a particular piece of legislation. For example, lobbying would be used to influence a particular part of the formal budget process and change a tax or expenditure policy, while advocacy would make a persuasive case for why decision makers ought to pay attention to the larger problem that the new tax or expenditure would resolve.

a. Domestic Advocacy

The textbook view of policymaking presents a logical and clear process. It begins with problem identification, information gathering and research on potential solutions, and sharing knowledge with policymakers, followed by an adoption of the recommendations in the form of a new policy or legislation. The policymaking literature, however, paints a far more complex picture of policymaking in which the process is far from linear, predictable, or even logical. It involves an array of actors and interest groups, which may or may not be formalized into the process. An adapted version of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization's (2011) depiction of the complex reality for policymaking can be seen in figure 1, which demonstrates the complex reality of the decisionmaking process.

FIGURE 1

The Policymaking Process

The reality of policy change

1) Problem, issue → 2) Research, inquiry, field experience → 3) Findings, recommendations → 4) Policymakers accept findings → 8) Positive policy change

7) Outside influence

6) Repeat process (steps 1-4)

5) Reject recommendations

The advocacy coalition framework (ACF) of policymaking presented by Sabatier (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999) builds on three main premises:

> First, that understanding the process of policy change—and the role of policy-oriented learning therein—requires a time perspective of a decade or more. Second, that the most useful way to think about policy change over such a timespan is through a focus on 'policy subsystems,' i.e. the interaction of actors from different institutions interested in a policy areas. Third, that public policies (or programs) can be conceptualized in the same manner as belief systems, i.e. as sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about how to realize them. (Sabatier 1988, 131)

In addition to insights about the length of time that it may take to achieve policy change and the importance of both anticipated and unanticipated participants in coalitions, the ACF also argues that changes in the core aspects of a policy usually occur because of external (noncognitive) factors such as macroeconomic shocks or dynamic shifts in governing coalitions (Sabatier 1988, 137). In a developing country context, this translates to the need for ongoing communication and advocacy with all stakeholders in the political and policy spheres and a special need for readiness to take advantage of opening policy windows. Such openings could be related to elections, economic shocks, or simply the availability of new and compelling evidence that may change core beliefs. Because it can be difficult to predict when such policy windows will open (aside from regularly scheduled elections, for example), it is critical to seek ways to make ongoing communication a part of the core business of organizations seeking changes in the policymaking process.

In this view of policy change, the role of an advocacy coalition is to provide a body of actionable evidence; marshal public support via the media, civic bodies, or other avenues; and be ready to push its agenda when there are focusing events such as crises, disasters, or availability of new, high-profile evidence (Munira and Fritzen 2007).

The World Bank's Water and Sanitation Program's political-economic analysis of pro-poor sanitation in four countries finds that paying special attention to the "timing, tailoring and sequencing" of support to the sanitation sector can be critical in improving its effectiveness (Water and Sanitation Program, World Bank 2011). An application of the ACF to policy change with respect to private sector water provision in Ghana finds that advocacy coalition members are more likely to interact with actors they perceive as sharing their beliefs than with those who do not. It also finds that learning within the policy space occurs more readily in a professionalized forum than in an ad hoc one. (Ainuson 2009) This finding validates Sabatier's original insight that the core beliefs around which advocacy coalitions work will only be modified if there is a "shock originating outside the core system" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999, 123).

a. Transnational Advocacy

As the interaction between state and nonstate actors has grown, transnational advocacy networks have become important influencers in domestic policy processes. Such networks are similar to advocacy coalitions in that internal communication is "voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal" (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Keck and Sikkink point to the important role that transnational advocacy networks now play in promoting causes. International and domestic NGOs play key roles in organizing such networks and pressuring others to join. They provide new ideas and information, and lobby for policy change. Such networks can become influential players in some political contexts.

There is no rigorous evaluation of the effectiveness of such networks or coalitions in raising greater resources for water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH). However, one study found that average per capita public expenditure on water and sanitation rose by over 200 percent from 2000 to 2008 for 15 sub-Saharan African countries (Van Ginneken, Netterstrom, and Bennett 2011). Further, two billion people gained access to improved water sources and 1.8 billion gained access to improved sanitation (UN Department of Public Information 2013). The WASH sector has seen a proliferation of transnational advocacy networks in the last decade in conjunction with this growth in WASH funding. Examples of such networks include the Global Water Challenge, a transnational advocacy network composed of 36 leading international NGOs, foundations, multilaterals, and domestic organizations all committed to addressing water and sanitation issues (Global Water Challenge 2014), and Sanitation and Water for All, a coalition with over 90 partners representing seven constituencies such as donors, civil society, and research institutions (Sanitation and Water for All 2014).

The literature on how to conduct advocacy is unanimous in identifying the key steps to advocacy: successful advocacy begins with identifying the group of people who must be influenced and then planning the best way to communicate with them. It also points to the need for continuous action, building partnerships, and working with the media (Fenton Communications 2009).

Method 3: Social Marketing

In 1971, Kotler and Zaltman introduced the concept of social marketing for planning and implementing social change. They defined social marketing as "the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research" (Kotler and Zaltman 1971). While consumer marketing and social marketing have very different goals, the latter uses strategies

developed by the former. Kotler and Zaltman adapted the four Ps which form the basis of commercial marketing—product, price, place, and promotion—into an administrative planning system led by a change agency that would be responsible for the research and planning of the marketing program. Further, sanitation marketing differs from conventional engagement with community members because of its focus on the private sector and view of households as consumers (Pedi, Kov, and Smets 2012).

Critical lessons from consumer marketing—such as segmenting the market, understanding consumer preferences, and testing the market and the product—have been incorporated into social marketing. Health programs have used social marketing in the analysis, planning, execution, and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and the welfare of society (Economos, Brownson, et al. 2001). The "P process" used by the Population Communications Service (funded by USAID to plan and conduct strategic communication on population and health in over 50 countries) reflected some of the basic tenets of social marketing—audience research, segmentation into identified markets, and establishment of a marketing niche for certain products and services (Piotrow et al. 1997).

In recent years, social marketing has become popular in both hygiene-improvement and sanitation-promotion programs. Working with the private sector—which uses market research, public relations firms, and advertising agencies—allows public information campaigns to reach greater numbers of people with information about products associated with improved hygiene, such as soap, or better sanitation, such as household toilets. Private sector collaboration has had two large effects: first, communication messages are tailored to appeal to consumer preferences, and second, the influence of information campaigns can sometimes be measured through actual product sales. Sanitation marketing has been pursued aggressively by the World Bank's Water and Sanitation Program and by numerous social entrepreneurs in the sector, partly based on evidence that individuals are more likely to invest in sanitation based on preferences for convenience, safety, and status rather than on health (Devine and Kullman 2011; Sy, Warner, and Jamieson 2014).

Method 4: Social Mobilization and Participatory Models

The participatory paradigm originates in Paolo Freire's theory of dialogical communication and liberating pedagogy (Freire 1973). Participatory and community-based models of communication emphasize altering the root causes of certain behaviors or choices and not the behavior itself. They thus focus on structural inequalities and power differentials (Morris 2005). They rely on the horizontal

spread of ideas, messages, and concerns rather than vertical information-sharing. Such models do not rely on experts and professionals. Media is used as a means of raising issues that need to be discussed among people and perhaps to put pressure on decision makers (social advocacy), not just as a means of transmitting messages (as is the case in social marketing) (Waisbord 2000).

Social mobilization approaches to development use participatory communication methods, including media advocacy, to link multiple stakeholders. While such communication may be critical for communities to come to a common understanding of a problem or to craft a solution, it is not necessarily more democratic or more effective than other social marketing techniques or programs. Because empowerment is one of the main goals of participatory communication and social mobilization, researchers and practitioners point to the difficulty of measuring success within project or funding cycles (Cadiz 2005) or even coming up with measurable indicators that could capture changes in empowerment (Morris 2005).

SARAR (self-esteem, associative strengths, resourcefulness, action planning, and responsibility) is a participatory methodology used to empower communities to address their own water and sanitation issues by identifying problems and planning, implementing, and monitoring solutions. Communication within SARAR is meant to be democratic and horizontal (World Health Organization and UNDP-World Bank Water and Sanitation 1997). Social mobilization methods have been used in the WASH space by the Total Sanitation Campaign, which aims to create behavior change by changing community-wide norms of cleanliness and hygiene. Even so, the total sanitation campaign relies on a mix of communication strategies, from knowledge transfer to social marketing, to ensure that sanitation behaviors are sustained over time.

In summary, the previous section surveys some of the main ways in which communication is used to change behavior and policy in international development. While it is important to understand the theoretical underpinnings, strengths, and weaknesses of all the above approaches, the literature also points to increasing use of a toolbox approach, which combines methods used by social marketing, advocacy, and participatory communication. The toolbox approach recognizes that both knowledge transfer and empowerment can be important goals and seeks to create a hybrid model where different tools can be used based on the program implementation context, funding priorities, and needs of communities (Waisbord 2000). The Communication for Social Change approach developed by researchers from Johns Hopkins University, for example, integrates the roles played by an outside catalyst of change, community-based problem solving, and social scientists who want to conduct analyses of the process and its outcomes (Figueroa et al. 2002).

In general, most toolbox approaches integrate top-down information sharing with bottom-up message generation, use media and interpersonal communication, and integrate macro policy and political considerations with messages that promote personal behavior change. This literature survey does not summarize sources that provide toolkits for carrying out effective advocacy or lobbying. However, a limited selection of advocacy toolkits and their relevant guides are listed in table 2 for additional reference.

TABLE 2

Advocacy Toolkits and Guides

Toolkit	Source	Guide	Author
Sanitation Promotion	World Health Organization (WHO), Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC) working group on promotion of sanitation	"Advocacy for Sanitation"	Sara Wood and Mayling Simpson-Hébert
Sanitation Promotion	WHO, WSSCC working group on promotion of sanitation	"Mobilizing the Media for Sanitation Promotion"	WHO
Sanitation Promotion	WHO, WSSCC working group on promotion of sanitation.	"Mobilizing Partners for Sanitation Promotion"	Sara Wood and Mayling Simpson-Hébert
Communication for Social Change Working Paper Series	Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs	"An Integrated Model for Measuring the Process and Its Outcomes"	Maria Elena Figueora, D. Lawrence Kincaid, Manju Rani, Gary Lewis
Now Hear This	Fenton Communications	"The Nine Laws of Successful Advocacy Communications"	Fenton Communications
The Advocacy Sourcebook	WaterAid	"Advocacy Toolkit"	Mary O'Connell
Food Security Communications Toolkit	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)	"Communicating with Policymakers"	FAO
Knowledge Transfer Management Toolkit	Department of General Services (DGS), State of California	"KTM Process"	DGS, State of California
Speaking of Health	Institute of Medicine of the National Academies	"Findings and Recommendations: Communication Campaigns"	Institute of Medicine

Part II: Influencing Budget Priorities and Revenue Generation

In the following section, we summarize the literature on opportunities and constraints for public participation and advocacy or lobbying to influence budget priorities and revenue generation in select African countries.

In the peer-reviewed literature, there is little evidence directly linking communications, advocacy, or lobbying to increased funding for sanitation at the local level, especially in Africa. Although a number of papers on budgetary reforms, especially at the national level, point to policies for increased transparency, budget processes in many countries remain quite opaque. To the extent that current published literature focuses on the relationship between taxation and representation, taxation serves as an umbrella term to cover all forms of revenue generation.

In this section we briefly summarize the current literature on public input into and review of the budgetary process (not specifically for sanitation), the literature on influencing revenue generation, and the opportunities for advocacy and lobbying in both respects.

Public Information and Input in the Budget Process

There are many reasons why civil society groups or individuals may not be able or willing to participate in the budget process in any meaningful way. Some are related to the absence of sufficient information and skills and others to structural issues of power and local politics. In most cases, both issues play out simultaneously.

An analysis carried out by a consortium of international NGOs working in Mozambique concludes that, at the local level, civil society groups may have limited ability to meaningfully influence the budget process because the Ministry of Finance may not share information on locally generated revenues, transfers to public companies, private organizations, or entitlement programs. (The Informal Governance Group and Alliance 2015 2010) Thus, there are actually no mechanisms in place for providing public information on how much money is available for community infrastructure or service delivery projects.

On the other hand, in some countries such as Kenya, financial devolution and public financial management reforms have significantly increased budget transparency, but avenues for citizen participation in decisions on how the budget is spent at the local level are still unclear. In 2013, the

government of Kenya passed the Community Development Fund (CDF) act, in part to improve financial management and curb corruption in the use of funds devolved to the CDF by the national government. However, according to an independent assessment carried out by the National Taxpayers Association, the provisions regarding citizen participation in the process remain unchanged and there are no requirements to make community needs a priority. Although the Act has led to increased investment in many communities, the process can be distorted by members of Parliament who select the Project Management Committee members responsible for implementation and oversight of expenditure (National Taxpayers Association (NTA) Kenya 2013).

A case study of citizen participation in local government planning and management in rural Ghana similarly found that while members of the District Assembly and subdistrict councils were required to consult with community members and make their concerns a priority, they generally failed to do so because there are no clear structures for informing community members of how planning and budgeting occur or expenditures are monitored (Ahenkan, Bawole, and Domfeh 2013). Media (specifically radio, television, and newspapers) generally disseminate and explain national budget statements to the public after budgets have been prepared and presented, but do not present much information from budget hearings (Aikins 2013).

One of the few peer-reviewed studies of lobbying and advocacy in the national budget process finds that in Zambia, both interest groups and civil society lobby by submitting their demands in writing to either the budget committee or to various government agencies or departments. Bwalya and colleagues (2011) find that policy demands channeled through departments and agencies may have a higher likelihood of success because they benefit from technical inputs and support from bureaucrats. Such bureaucrats are responsible for guiding the budget process and making tax and other financial proposals acceptable to politicians. This makes such bureaucrats important targets for lobbying and advocacy (Bwalya, Phiri, and Mpembamoto 2011; Sabatier 1988). Civil society groups that lack the resources to employ tax specialists and consultants who can help them craft compelling materials to present to bureaucrats or budgetary committees thus have limited ability to influence the budget.

Influencing Revenue Generation

In addition to influencing how spending priorities are established, effective advocacy that highlights the fiscal contract between governments and taxpayers to provide public services can result in increased tax revenue. The literature focuses on the theory of a virtuous cycle or quasi-consensual taxation in which "citizens understand that they need to pay for services [and that] how states spend their tax

money can affect their legitimacy and their 'right' to demand revenues from taxpayers" (Brautigam, Fjeldstad, and Moore 2008). The Tax Justice Network's Kenya report similarly proposes that "it is through taxation that citizens and the state engage in a bargain process whereby citizens comply with tax demands in return for some form of institutionalized influence over level, form, and usage of tax revenue" (Waris et al. 2009).

In Kenya, the Tax Justice Network found that, often, "poor tax payer morale is linked to poor service delivery, while equally the opposite is the case, tax payments increase when tangible benefits are available" (Waris et al. 2009). For example, in Freetown, Sierra Leone, improved service delivery and popularity of the mayor have led to higher rates of tax compliance (Everest-Philips 2008). Following such examples, messages that highlight improved service delivery can be used as advocacy tools to increase revenue generation.

However, as Brautigam, Fjeldstad, and Moore (2008) note, there is debate over the degree to which the payments of taxes can be seen as quid pro quo for better services. Holpehe and Friedman's study of the South African Revenue Service reform found that tax compliance was unrelated to a sense of better social services, while Fjeldstad conversely found that South Africans were more likely to pay local service charges if they felt the government was providing services equitably (Brautigam, Fjeldstad, and Moore 2008).

The extent to which a credible virtuous cycle can be established may also be contingent upon funding sources. In Tanzania and Zambia, local governments budgeted significantly more funding for public services when the majority of their revenues came from local taxes as opposed to donor funds or central transfers, which often resulted in less money for services and more for salaries (Brautigam, Fjeldstad, and Moore 2008). As such, issues related to funding sources are particularly problematic for the sanitation sector. A recent World Bank report on Africa's sanitation infrastructure found that aid from OECD countries is roughly 15 percent greater than public spending for capital maintenance expenditure, and aid is about three times greater than public spending for capital infrastructure (Hall and Lobina 2012). Further, in some cases advocacy campaigns are aimed at increasing external financing as opposed to local revenue generation. For example, the W Nairobi W campaign, based in the Korogocho area of Nairobi, advocated for increased donor funding as their appeals to the city council and national governments fell short because of a lack of political will and demonstrated taxpayer representation (Waris et al. 2009).

Weak Demand for Budget and Tax Accountability

A final but critical challenge to creating effective communication and advocacy channels is the simple lack of interest in these issues among the public. Fjelstand and Rakner attribute the low demand for tax accountability and lack of current tax advocacy to an advocacy trilemma: governments are under increasing pressure to generate more revenues to provide and maintain basic public goods; those in political power and with economic ability do not want to pay taxes, while the poor majority without political power pay the majority of taxes; and platforms for expressing the grievances of the population have lost credibility (Waris et al. 2009). Efforts to increase public demand for accountability must be met with corresponding state capacity to respond (Rocha Menocal 2004). By building popular participation and accountability into local governance, local government will ideally become more responsive to citizen desires and more effective in service delivery, thus rebuilding broken linkages in the virtuous cycle and generating greater revenue (Blair 2000).

While there is a great deal of political theory dedicated to why it is so difficult to generate public interest in budgets and rebuild virtuous cycles, for this review it is sufficient to note that many keen observers find weak internal demand for accountability (Hodges and Tibana 2004; Renzio 2007). Hodges and Tibana conclude,

Given this reality, as well as the government's heavy dependence on external aid, it is perhaps not surprising that the most important dialogue on budget policy and performance is now external, between the government and donors. . . . To some extent donors can act as a "proxy" restraint on the elite in the absence of strong internal checks and balances. Nonetheless, there are limitations to this— and some inherent contradictions. Much more important in the long run will be the development of internal demand for improved budget policy and performance. (Hodges and Tibana 2004, 13)

McKie and Van de Wallev (2010) found that breakdowns in budget transparency and efficiency occur along all three phases of the budget process: in the budget formulation phase where spending priorities are set, in the budget execution phase where spending priorities are actualized through the transfer of funds, and in the monitoring and evaluation phase where audits are performed on the effective use of funds. As such, building local demand for budget and expenditure transparency has been part of advocacy efforts in many social sectors, including the water and sanitation sector.

Prominent actors in the WASH sector include ActionAid, WaterAid, Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council, and UNICEF. The majority of their work appears to focus on national level budgets for water and sanitation and is funded by international and bilateral donors. WaterAid and the Freshwater Action Network (FAN) have been working to increase the capacity of local civil society

organizations and networks to participate in dialogues with decision makers and to advocate for pro-poor service delivery (Freshwater Action Network and WaterAid Governance and Transparency 2011). Their work highlights tools such as community and individual scorecards and public expenditure tracking surveys that have been used with some success in Ghana, Kenya, and Uganda to share budget information with communities and hold service providers responsible. However, the sustained use of these tools in the absence of assistance from WaterAid and FAN, and their effect on long-term expenditures, is unclear (Freshwater Action Network and WaterAid Governance and Transparency 2011).

Conclusion

Although this literature review is by no means exhaustive, it provides a basis on which to categorize and evaluate communication strategies and tools. The survey reveals that the theory and practice of strategic communications have come a long way in understanding the developing country context in which they work, but there is still a long way to go to meaningfully measure impact. Increasingly sophisticated behavior change, knowledge transfer, and social marketing communication can promote individual behavior change, but advocacy for greater transparency or pro-poor budgeting faces deep structural constraints. This by no means suggests that advocacy and lobbying are not worthwhile tools. It does, however, highlight the importance of understanding the context in which advocacy will be carried out and committing to it for the long term in which policy change generally occurs.

The annex provides context-specific analysis of advocacy tools and approaches used by WSUP and other key actors in Maputo, Mozambique; Accra, Ghana; and Nakuru, Kenya.

Annex. Situational Analysis for Accra, Ghana; Nakuru, Kenya; and Maputo, Mozambique

This section provides a brief overview of the advocacy approaches and tools used by WSUP and other organizations active in the sanitation sector in Maputo, Accra, and Nakuru—the three cities in our research study. It is based on phone interviews with WSUP staff in all three cities, published and unpublished reports, news reports, blogs, and press releases. The sources and information listed here are not peer reviewed and are typically published online by either the organization carrying out the activity or an online news source. We attempt to organize these broadly into the same categories used in the formal literature survey: information and knowledge sharing, advocacy and lobbying, social marketing, and social mobilization and participatory models. There is no relevant information in some of these categories.

Part I: Accra, Ghana

Information and Knowledge Sharing

a. Knowledge Sharing and Exchange

Research and learning are core to the activities of many organizations, including WSUP. The WSUP program has been providing learning notes and guides for WASH practitioners based on its programs in Ghana and elsewhere. Many of these notes are specifically aimed at how to most effectively reach the poorest with sanitation. However, it is unclear whether these materials are used for advocacy in addition to general information sharing within the sector.[1] Phone interviews with WSUP staff confirmed that while communication and information sharing are integral to the work of the local office, they are not part of a wider defined advocacy strategy with clear messages, targets, and goals. The production of communication materials is predicated on the presence of staff and interest from the head office in London. While we are only highlighting WSUP's materials here, all large water and sanitation NGOs, bilateral and multilateral donors, and research organizations in the sector produce

dozens of technical reports every year. Not all these reports are pertinent to the issue of generating and allocating municipal revenues for sanitation.

b. Transnational Advocacy Networks

A country status overview completed for the African Ministers Council on Water (AMCOW) by a consortium of actors including the World Bank's Water and Sanitation Program (WSP), the African Development Bank (AfDB), Unicef, and WHO presents one of the most comprehensive looks at the WASH sector in Ghana.[2] While these four organizations are not specifically advocacy organizations, they are among the most influential donors and technical assistance providers in the sector. Their key recommendations on urban sanitation explicitly acknowledge the need to make peri-urban and low-income communities in cities a priority and strengthen institutional capacity for the management of sewerage systems as the metropolitan municipal district assemblies cannot do this with the current structure and staff (p 28–30). It is unclear from this report how and whether AMCOW followed up with the national government on the policy recommendations the report outlines.

Advocacy and Lobbying

One Africa-wide advocacy effort was carried out by FAN and WaterAid's Rights and Governance Advocacy Coalition. The coalition was created in 2006 with concrete advocacy goals and outputs in mind. These included strong and functioning civil society organizations (CSOs) and CSO networks capable of influencing the design, implementation, and evaluation of effective WASH policies at all levels; CSOs representing marginalized groups effectively engaging in decision-making processes in the WASH sector; informed and empowered people who could demand greater accountability from governments and service providers; and governments and service providers that were more accountable to citizens and end users of WASH services. The coalition included many national networks such as CONIWAS (Coalition of NGOs in Water and Sanitation) in Ghana and KEWASNET (Kenya Water and Sanitation Network), which evaluated their success in the report *Learning from Experience: Rights and Governance Advocacy in the Water and Sanitation Sector*. The report provides many valuable lessons for advocates and networks but does not assess the extent to which the coalition reached its goals.[3]

Cities Alliance and its partners, the World Bank, GIZ, and AfDB, launched a major advocacy initiative in 2012 to highlight urban environmental issues in Ghana. The campaign was described as "the most coordinated advocacy on urban issues ever launched in Ghana using the power of broadcast media

to capture the voices of the people . . . already changing the urban dialogue in the country."[4] While this initiative did not focus specifically on water and sanitation, it did highlight the problem in a four part television series. The cities alliance generally directs its communications and advocacy strategy at high-level decision makers through its yearly Policy Advisory Forum, which is held at the same time as the annual meetings for its consultative group. It is unclear how WASH advocacy and communication champions integrate their work with that of the Cities Alliance.

Social Mobilization and Participatory Models

Water Aid-Ghana recently (April 2014) signed an implementation agreement with CONIWAS and Integrated Action for Community Development to embark on a behavior-changing advocacy campaign in three districts—Gushiegu, Bongo, and Accra Metropolis. According to Afiya Zakiya, the country director of Water Aid, the aim of the project is to "use targeted messages to reach 20,000 people in 30 communities . . . and increase the capacity of local communities and CSOs to effectively demand and monitor the provision of equitable WASH services through evidence-based dialogue with local duty-bearers."[5]

In conjunction with FAN Global and the Avina Foundation, US-based NGO WASH Advocates has provided a grant to CONIWAS to bolster the capacity of citizens in selected slum communities to influence decision makers, plans, and budgets and improve service provision within their communities.[6] The small effort is based in one slum community that has agreed to monitor the activities of the local provider to increase accountability and transparency in service delivery. Such small-scale participatory processes are often undertaken by NGOs in the WASH sector. It is too early to tell whether the grant and its activities will indeed lead to measurable and sustainable improvements in service in the area[7]

The Peoples' Dialogue on Human Settlements and Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor organized slum communities in Accra and help them negotiate with all the main actors in the sector, including informal water vendors and toilet operators, the Association of Water Vendors in Old Fadama, the Accra Metropolitan Authority, and the Ghana Water Company Limited. A study of their efforts and how they succeeded in changing relocation policies was completed by the International Institute for Environment and Development. Slum Dwellers International has been a key supporter of this work.[8]

In 2010, WaterAid-West Africa and WSSCC convened a group of West African journalists to understand how they covered water and sanitation in the print media and to encourage them to increase coverage of the subject.[9] WSSCC continues to support the journalists' network through

conferences in various West African countries. The last reported conference took place in Cotonou, Benin, in 2014.[10] The journalists have used social networking groups such as Facebook and blogs to share sector news.[11] It is unclear how often the journalists convene and who funds these gatherings, but the association remains active in Ghana according to WSUP Ghana staff.

Part II: Nakuru, Kenya

Nakuru is the smallest city in our sample and the only one that is not a capital city. There is little information available on WASH advocacy specific to Nakuru. The WSUP program in Nakuru is approximately a year old and therefore there are no clear guidelines on or precedent for advocacy or communication efforts in Nakuru. Media coverage of the program is currently limited to reports of the launch of the WSUP program. However, the Nakuru team works closely with the main service provider, NAWASSCO (Nakuru Water and Sanitation Services Company) and two NAWASSCO staff members work directly with WSUP.[12] WSUP also has an excellent working relationship with the county public health officer in charge of sanitation.

NAWASSCO has created a pro-poor unit to address issues of water and sanitation access to the poorest 175,000 individuals in the city. In its Pro-poor Strategy and Action Plan published in 2013, NAWASSCO provided detailed maps of the city, surveys of the population, and detailed plans for how the poorest would be reached. The plans for improving water supply, metering and connections are quite detailed. NAWASSCO was assisted in the planning by a coalition of international donors and NGOs, including SNV Netherlands Development Organization, Practical Action, Umande Trust, and Viten Evides International.[13]

Knowledge Sharing and Exchange

In terms of other WASH stakeholders, a WASH NGO network consisting of Umande Trust, Practical Action, the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru, the Red Cross, and World Vision is reportedly active in mostly rural areas. The University of Nakuru and small microfinance institutions are also part of this network. Smaller coalitions of actors include social start-up incubators such as Enviu, which is supported by SNV, Philips, BoP Innovation Center, NAWASSCO, and Viten Evides. Enviu is incubating sanitation social enterprises.[14]

In 2013, WEDC and Egerton University, Nakuru, hosted an international meeting on delivering WASH services. At least one of the papers presented at the meeting was specific to the sanitation situation in Nakuru.[15] The conference brought together several practitioners, political leaders, and policymakers. There is little by way of coverage in the print media, although it is likely that the conference was covered by the local media at the time.

Social Mobilization and Participatory Models

Practical Action is working in two urban slums in Nakuru using a combination of community-led total sanitation and advocacy with local landlords to provide more affordable sanitation options for the people of Rhonda and Kaptembwo.[16] In fact, it appears that Practical Action has been engaged in the provision of both sanitation and solid-waste services in Nakuru for some time. Its efforts in solid-waste management have been documented in conference papers, and it appears that Nakuru County now levies a tariff on plastic bags used in shops. The revenue from this tariff goes into a common pool of resources, some of which are supposed to be spent on sanitation. However, it is unclear who collects this tariff and how much is collected each year.

Forum Syd, a Swedish NGO, is working in Nakuru and other Kenyan cities on community-level advocacy and lobbying.[17] Its Tushirikishe Jamii project focuses on increasing the participation of young men and women in low-income communities in Kisumu and Nakuru. Its goal is to tackle "community apathy, poor governance and corruption especially in the management of devolved funds at the constituency level."[18] The Tushirikishe Jamii project has worked closely with 30 civil society and grassroots organizations, training them in advocacy and lobbying methods with the goal of helping them lobby for CDF funds for their own communities.

Local news from Nakuru can be found at http://realtime.rediff.com/news/Nakuru, on various twitter feeds, and on Hivisasa, which is Nakuru's online newspaper http://www.hivisasa.com/.

Part III: Maputo, Mozambique

Information and Knowledge Sharing

a. Knowledge Sharing and Exchange

WSUP's robust program in Maputo, Mozambique, has produced a variety of working papers and literature on its sanitation efforts. In particular, WSUP's practice note on encouraging local government investment in sanitation highlighted two recent successes in sanitation funding: (1) The municipal council committed $10,000 toward capital costs for a communal toilet project in peri-urban areas of the city, which was achieved through meetings and workshops with the statutory bodies and through professional services agreements with major service providers; and (2) a sanitation surcharge on water bills was agreed in principle in 2001 to raise revenues for sanitation provision in low-income areas of Maputo.[19] WSUP has found,

> Progress towards its introduction has been slow, due in large part to Mozambique's fragmented institutional framework, which results in a lack of clearly defined responsibility for sanitation. There are two main obstacles: firstly, the regulator CRA is unwilling to introduce a surcharge before services start actually being provided—a 'chicken and egg' situation. Secondly, it is not clear whether the proposed 10 percent charge would be either high enough to recover costs or low enough to be affordable for households. WSUP is providing technical support to the regulator through a study of different finance models, which will include a proper costing for the proposed surcharge to directly address this second point.[20]

Recent phone interviews with WSUP staff reinforced these early reports and indicate more forward movement on the sanitation surcharge.

Efforts to engage with media on sanitation efforts have found traction through journalism awards and recognitions. In 2007, the Southern African Development Community Water Sector program introduced an "excellence in water reporting" category for its annual media awards.[21] The awards aim to enhance awareness on water issues within the region and encourage journalists to write about integrated water resources management. Similarly, WaterAid Mozambique has established a Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Journalism Award with the objective to "value the work of media and professionals in raising awareness of the importance of water, sanitation, and hygiene services."[22]

b. Transnational Advocacy Networks

The World Bank's WSP, AfDB, Unicef, and WHO consortium completed a country status overview of Mozambique's WASH sector for AMCOW.[23] Similar to the Ghana country findings, the report

recommends addressing urban sanitation through low-cost sanitation marketing approaches in peri-urban areas and strengthening public and private sector capacity to provide services in these areas. Further, it reports a shortfall of adequate sanitation facilities in peri-urban areas due primarily to insufficient levels of financial and human resources, lack of institutional leadership, and shrinking government support for on-site sanitation.

Primary NGO stakeholders in Maputo's WASH sector include WSUP, WSP, and WaterAid. WSUP staff report that NGO stakeholders aim to meet with the local municipal council, the water regulator, and a local asset-holding company roughly three times a year as a regular opportunity for informal networking and knowledge sharing with policymakers. WSUP's primary advocacy and communications partner is WSP. A recent WaterAid country brief noted their "low visibility and low profile in Mozambique's national water and sanitation sector, where [WaterAid] is not perceived by other sector actors to actively engage in debate."[24]

Social Mobilization and Participatory Models

Building Partners for Development's (BPD) case study on Maputo sanitation partners found that community-based organizations can create influential advocacy networks, particularly in the realm of raising awareness and changing behavior at the community level.[25] Further, these networks can encourage spillover into other sectors. For example, a community-organized health association composed of youth groups, women's groups, churches, schools, and local leaders encouraged the establishment of ADASBU, an association of residents of Urbanização, to develop water and sanitation in the neighborhood. In particular, BPD found that community-based organizations can "take intermediary position in bridging gaps by communicating policy and enhancing implementation coherence, communicating needs, ideas, opportunities for partnership, in initiating links between latrine building and emptying, and finally in performing health education and social marketing."[26]

Notes

1. http://www.wsup.com/programme/research-and-learning/resources/

2. http://www.wsp.org/sites/wsp.org/files/publications/CSO-Ghana.pdf

3. http://www.freshwateraction.net/sites/freshwateraction.net/files/Learning%20from%20experience%20Rights%20and%20governance%20advocacy%20in%20the%20water%20and%20sanitation%20sector.pdf

4. http://www.citiesalliance.org/Ghana-advocacy

5. http://docs.newsbank.com/openurl?ctx_ver=z39.88-2004&rft_id=info:sid/iw.newsbank.com:AWNB:GNA3&rft_val_format=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:ctx&rft_dat=14D40941B8ACA6D8&svc_dat=InfoWeb:aggdocs&req_dat=0D0CB535F3149F6A

6. http://www.washadvocates.org/connect/wac/#CONIWAS

7. http://www.washadvocates.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WAC-Six-Month-Report-Feb-2014.pdf

8. http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/10586IIED.pdf

9. http://www.washghana.net/page/1001 and http://www.wsscc.org/node/4336

10. http://www.businessghana.com/portal/news/index.php?op=getNews&id=196562

11. http://waterjournalistsafrica.wordpress.com/

12. http://nakuruwater.co.ke/

13. http://nakuruwater.co.ke/sites/default/files/NAWASSCO%20Pro-poor%20Strategy%20and%20Action%20Plan%202013-2017.pdf

14. http://whattodowithpoo.com/

15. http://forum.susana.org/forum/categories/21-events/3386-36th-wedc-international-conference-nakuru-kenya-1-5-july-2013

16. http://practicalaction.org/total-sanitation-in-nakuru-slums

17. http://www.forumsyd.org/InternationalStart/Kenya/

18. http://www.forumsyd.org/PageFiles/1934/Tushirikishe%20Jamii%20Final%20Version.pdf

19. http://www.wsup.com/files/2013/09/PN013_Encouragins-local-government-investment.pdf

20. http://www.wsup.com/files/2013/09/PN013_Encouragins-local-government-investment.pdf

21. http://waterjournalistsafrica.wordpress.com/2012/08/21/three-sadc-journalists-awarded-for-excellence-in-water-reporting/

22. http://www.wateraid.org/news/news/water-sanitation-and-hygiene-journalism-awards

23. http://www.wsp.org/sites/wsp.org/files/publications/CSO-Mozambique.pdf

24. http://www.wateraid.org/~/media/Publications/WaterAid-mozambique-country-programme-evaluation.pdf

25. http://www.bpdws.org/bpd/web/d/doc_119.pdf?statsHandlerDone=1

26. http://www.bpd-waterandsanitation.org/bpd/web/d/doc_119.pdf?statsHandlerDone=1

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