

Sustainable WASH interventions as populations transition from relief to development

Darfur case study

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Context of transition to Early Recovery

The UN, since 2008, has prioritized the role of early recovery-based activities, advocating for adaptation of humanitarian responses by individual agencies to address aspects of environmental vulnerability, water, sanitation and shelter interventions (Bailey et al, 2009). In their 'Work Plan for Sudan', UN and Partners identify one of three strategic priorities as the promotion and facilitation of "durable solutions" that empower people and communities through reducing aid dependency (OCHA, 2012: 5). The report recognizes that people are increasingly "...seeking assistance that provides opportunities for them to move beyond emergency relief assistance and rebuild productive lives" and recommends that activities in the WASH sector be carried out in close collaboration with national counterparts "to ensure the sustainable provision of services to local populations" (ibid, 2012: 9).

A range of early recovery-style approaches have been integrated into the humanitarian response, under the UN Resident Coordinator's Office, including activities in awareness-raising, capacity-building and skills development. Despite the absence of a national institutional framework, some significant achievements are reported as having been achieved – notably in relation to addressing environmental degradation, conflict and livelihoods support in aspects of water, sanitation and shelter interventions (Bailey et al, 2009).

The UN's report on planning longer-term sustainability in Darfur promotes both mid- and long-term planning opportunities among UN agencies in areas where conditions allow, as a way to complement on-going humanitarian assistance efforts. Key challenges facing longer-term planning are identified as environmental change, demographic shifts, and institutions and governance – each influencing the level of conflict and vulnerability of Darfur. These challenges in turn require responses that address the following four priorities:

- environment,
- livelihoods,
- education and human capital, and
- governance and capacity building (UN Sudan, 2010)

Only by addressing these components will humanitarian assistance and its achievements help to leverage longer-term progress and the establishment of "durable solutions".

In relation to WASH services, the report highlights challenges affecting access to sustainable water resources and supplies – significantly affected by a poor understanding and implementation of good technical solutions, environmental degradation, rapid urbanization and a lack of capable institutions. Efforts will be needed to; increase opportunities for technical innovations that protect the environment (the use of stabilized-soil blocks for construction is noted as an example), increase access to livelihoods opportunities (particularly in rural areas), address concerns of gender equality, vulnerability and marginalization, and develop capacity within government officials and community-based organizations. On-going collaboration with these organizations is seen as necessary to increasing access to

water and sanitation services, particularly in urban areas. They include the UNICEF-supported federal level Water, Environment and Sanitation (WES) project, state-level water corporations and community-based organizations (ibid, 2010).

Water, Sanitation and Hygiene Sector Strategic Plans for 2011-2016 have been drawn-up for the Darfur States. Led by the Ministry of Environment and Water Resources (MoEWR), these Strategic Plans were prepared with significant input from the Public Water Corporation and the UNICEF-WASH Programme. The Strategic Plans acknowledge the critical need to both review and develop sector capacity in support of reducing dependency on external support (MoEWR, 2011).

A key strategy to achieve such results is identified as the use of *“community-based and demand-responsive approaches... applied at household, community and government levels”* (MoEWR, 2011:9), as a means to ensure respective responsibilities are adopted and fulfilled in the drive towards achieving total sanitation (covering water availability and use, latrine use, personal hygiene, food hygiene and an improved household environment). A component of the identified way forward is for WASH sector partners to engage communities in the operation, maintenance and management of both water and sanitation facilities – mobilizing communities to *“establish sustainable water tariff system and to ensure medium and long term suitability of WASH services”* (MoEWR, 2011:26).

The UN report identifies appropriate WASH interventions as including community-led rain water harvesting, construction and maintenance of traditional water reservoirs (*haffirs*), small dams and other traditional water storage facilities – alongside effective wastewater strategies to improve sanitation services particularly in and around urban centres (UN Sudan, 2010).

Set against such Plans, the protracted nature of Darfur’s insecurity has made implementing strategies of transition from relief through early recovery to development extremely challenging for Tearfund and other I/NGOs working with displaced populations, host communities and villages.

Tearfund’s WASH programme in Darfur

Within this context, Tearfund’s international WASH programme is seeking to learn from the experience of implementing WASH interventions in parts of Darfur, looking in particular at the actuality of, or potential for, longer-term sustainable outcomes.

It is acknowledged that Tearfund and other agencies are working in extremely challenging circumstances, given the context of chronic insecurity and limited local capacity. A number of specific approaches and interventions, being introduced and adopted by Tearfund’s DMT programme, can be seen as early indications of a shift towards demand-led interventions.

Tearfund’s emergency response to the escalation of conflict in Darfur during 2003 started in 2004 in El Geneina (Western Darfur). The focus of the response was towards food security, water, sanitation and health promotion support. Tearfund’s

relief support to communities around Ed Daein area (East Darfur region) started in 2005, shortly after the escalation in the conflict began to affect levels of malnutrition in the area. Here, the focus was on supporting nutrition alongside health promotion, children's activities, water and sanitation. Since this time, the focus of support in Ed Daein has remained primarily one of an emergency response approach, with Tearfund overseeing the provision of essential services, including water supplies and sanitation facilities.

The emergency response programme mobilised around Kass (South Darfur region) in 2009 and has been responding to the continuing arrival of IDPs in the subsequent years. Unlike previous interventions, this programme while emphasising life-saving activities for IDPs, has had a stronger intention to adapt the response over time to introduce recovery-based activities wherever possible and appropriate. The more recent adoption by the Government of Sudan of a push for more durable solutions is only now enabling agencies to engage in a process of considering sustainability and demand-led approaches. Two examples of how this is affecting thinking are: the adoption of CATS for sanitation services and consideration of cost-recovery models for water services. It is still very early in the use of these approaches to have a clear idea of the extent to which they are likely to lead to more successful and sustainable outcomes. Nor has it been possible therefore to determine the extent to which characteristics of the operating environment are influencing the process of change and any degree of success.

The progression of Tearfund's relief response in WASH in Darfur can be outlined as in the following Table. Examples of where demand-led approaches have been implemented are small and discrete, responding to local contexts rather than conditions affecting the Darfur region as a whole.

Table 1: Changing nature of Tearfund's work in Darfur (2003 to early 2012)				
Region	Location	Starting year	General context	Tearfund approach
All		2003	Escalation in conflict leading to large displacement of populations	
West	South-West corridor (El Geneina)	2004		Emergency relief response for IDPs
		2005		Capacity building activities starting to be considered, under a predominantly relief-oriented programme:
		2008/09	Security situation worse for INGOs	Community-led, multi-sectoral, relief and rehabilitation programme, funded by USAID OFDA
		2010		Tearfund withdraws from the area
	Um Dukhn	2011/12		New programme of support, with focus on capacity building and training . No subsidies to be used
East	Ed Daein	2005	Conflict continuing and high levels of displacement	Emergency relief response Supply-driven support through provision of slabs, water points, health promotion, etc. Integration of interventions (WATSAN with hygiene-related activities and capacity building) taking time to become established. Dependency on external input remains high
		2012 (Jan)	New State of East Darfur declared. Government establishing new institutional arrangements	To be identified <i>Implications for capacity of WES, DWC, etc. and need for external support towards this</i>
South	Kass	2009	New IDPs arrive in significant numbers.	Emergency relief response, but with a stronger focus on recovery from the outset
		2011		Increased use of capacity building, training and integration of interventions (WATSAN, hygiene-related activities and capacity building)
		2012		CATS training initiated

Across the relief programme as a whole, Tearfund's WASH response in Darfur has been seeking to encourage increasing levels of community participation, the sense of ownership and potential management of WASH facilities – for host communities, IDPs living in camps and in work supporting affected villagers. The introduction of demand-led interventions with beneficiaries is however significantly constrained by a number of factors affecting the operating environment – affecting not only the external, but also the internal environment within which Tearfund is adopting its approach.

Considering both internal operating procedures and external support interventions, relevant approaches and interventions introduced to Tearfund's response as a means

of stimulating transition to recovery in their Darfur WASH programme, can be broadly identified as:

Internal

- Adopting a more integrated approach to WASH within the structure of the DMT programme;
- Achieving a mind-set change, within Tearfund and other organizations, to adopt more transition-oriented, demand-led approaches;

External

- Giving greater emphasis to the needs and capacities for community-managed water points;
- Encouraging greater community and household-level participation in hygiene awareness and behaviours;
- Promoting CATS (Community Approaches to Total Sanitation) as a way to mobilize sanitation improvements in villages; and
- Livelihoods-based construction techniques to protect the environment

Integrating WASH within Tearfund's working structure

Tearfund's DMT work in water and sanitation has, until recently, been separated into the two components of water and sanitation (WATSAN) and Hygiene Promotion and Child Activities (HPCA). This approach is recognized as leading to a lack of coordination within project activities – resulting in less effectiveness on the ground. Consultation has highlighted a clear recognition from staff throughout the programme that an integrated approach to WASH has the potential to achieve benefits for the programme and beneficiaries. The opportunity to respond to problems faced within communities (at community or household level) with **combined technical and hygiene-based action** is clearly recognized. For example, where household-level water quality testing indicates contamination of water consumed at home, improvements to disinfection of the water source can go hand-in-hand with the reinforcement of hygiene messages around protection of water sources and safe water handling techniques within the home.

The introduction of Multi-Sector Programme Managers (MSPMs) within the region provides the means through which to offer oversight and guidance to an integrated approach. However, full integration has yet to be achieved in reality – for now it remains more as a recognized approach and is slowly being introduced to the operations.

The process of **integrating WATSAN and HPCA staff and activities**, to support a coordinated approach to WASH in the communities, is an important focus for the programme that should continue to be encouraged, supported through clear leadership and appropriate interventions that can demonstrate the application and benefits of WASH.

Achieving mind-set change

Within Tearfund

A consistent message expressed by Tearfund staff is that a change in mind-set is required within the organisation first, for working styles to be able to act in a way that is supportive of and focused towards demand-led approaches.

Tearfund recruited field staff based on their experience and expertise in responding to emergencies, to support the instigation of activities in Darfur. Early approaches required in the response, based on annual plans to provide life-saving emergency assistance to communities, are still considered to be the dominant mind-set of many field staff. This is seen, by some, to be a barrier to achieving understanding within communities of the need for greater contributions and ownership – their attitudes being affected by the attitude of staff within Tearfund. Many beneficiaries still view Tearfund as responsible for the on-going operation and maintenance of water schemes and latrine provision in the community, which creates a challenge to the programme when discussing options for hand-over of management responsibility to community-level groups or local government agencies.

The transition to demand-led approaches, initiated from the coordination office in Khartoum, is slowly becoming embedded within the planning and operations of the site offices. While the level of awareness within communities of the need for change is growing, it is recognised that only once the staff team is fully oriented to this approach will demand-led activities become effectively introduced within the communities.

Influencing other organizations

Tearfund has been taking some opportunities to share knowledge and learning in the adoption of demand-led approaches within WASH interventions in Darfur. This is primarily in connection with support provided to communities who are settled in villages, rather than those in IDP camps or within host communities. The primary intervention that has been shared with other NGOs and government (WES) through running training workshops, is CATS: Community Approaches to Total Sanitation. Further details are included in a later section.

Changing the mind-set of communities

Tearfund staff identify that their work with communities needs to address a change of attitude within communities, focusing beneficiaries on how to make changes to improve their lives for themselves in the longer term. For now, many communities see Tearfund as responsible for ensuring on-going operation and maintenance needs of basic WASH services.

Host communities often face a decline in their situation: as IDP camps remain for much longer than anticipated, IDP populations are increasing and host communities are not receiving any more support than the IDPs themselves. Staff in both South and East Darfur programmes consider that the process of transitioning – away from dependency on supply-driven support towards more demand-led initiatives – has

started late and approaches focussing on mind-set change could have been introduced at an earlier stage.

Community-based management of water points

The role of CBOs is very weak in Darfur, as is the capacity of government agencies to effectively manage water and sanitation services within the IDP camps, urban host communities and villages. With an apparent scarcity of small-scale entrepreneurs offering services directly, a greater emphasis on the role for community-management for aspects of service delivery sustainability (including technical, operational and financial aspects) will be necessary as Tearfund and other INGOs plan a withdrawal from aspects of direct support.

Tearfund is now implementing a change in its support to Water and Health Committees, which intends to enable Committees to address many more water, sanitation and hygiene-related matters in the community. Water and Health Committees have up to now been trained by Tearfund in ensuring WASH facilities are kept functioning – primarily through overseeing the role of trained technicians who carry out routine operational tasks (keeping water points clean, fenced and functioning). Tearfund has continued to provide tools, spares and skills to help in the case of significant repair or maintenance needs. For committees to be able to take on a more advanced role as Tearfund support is gradually withdrawn, they will require further training in both technical and financial matters. The nature of a hand-over relates to the type of water scheme, as summarized in the following sections.

Motorized water supply schemes in IDP camps

WES holds the mandate to maintain water points with motorized pumps in IDP camps, but due to their own limited capacity they have not been involved in many of the communities where Tearfund has supported the installation of motorized water systems. By recognizing that communities are not able to manage such schemes by themselves, a phased take-over of support from Tearfund to WES over a 3-month hand-over period is an important stage in the transitioning process. The intention is for WES to oversee O&M and cost-recovery matters, but for the community's role to increase as they gain the capacity to do so.

IDP camp water yard, Darfur



Handpumps in IDP camps

Opportunities for community-based management of handpumps are much stronger, with WES agreeing to a process of Tearfund handing-over O&M and financial management of water points to WASH Committees. Currently, the role of WASH Committees is poorly defined, beyond ensuring that a caretaker keeps water points functioning and that breakages are reported directly to Tearfund to fix. Strengthening the role of WASH Committees and responsibilities of its members will be necessary to ensure functions are effectively carried out to the benefit of all water users.

New arrangement for water points in IDP camps

A new approach, adopted since 2011 and so far applied to 2 motorized schemes but no handpump schemes, has the roles and responsibilities of WES, the community and Tearfund agreed and documented from the outset. This change in approach is an indication of progress towards supporting more formalized and recognized engagement between WES and IDP communities, although it is too early in the process to clearly identify the benefits and drawbacks from this approach.

Water yards in urban settings - serving host / settled communities

A significant challenge facing Tearfund in water supply provision to host communities and urban areas – as identified in the Ed Daein evaluation report (van Uffelen, 2011) – is the role that the Drinking Water Corporation (DWC) plays when water yards are handed over for them to manage¹. A major barrier to addressing longer-term functionality of water yards and longer-term sustainability of services is the management of fees charged to users and the responsiveness of DWC to utilize fees to ensure safe, available and accessible water supplies to meet the needs of their “customers”.

The loss of community-level management and oversight of water yards is a concern to the community at large – as expressed by members of the Abu Matariq host community in Ed Daein. With no water committee present, the community can only raise concerns about the water supply system with DWC or the Ministry of Health directly. They feel that there is now no role for the community, who previously collected funds to help with management of the water yard, such as ensuring the yard was securely fenced. Interventions that encourage an attitude change within host communities and urban setting – enabling communities to identify what can be achieved without a reliance on external incentives – are an essential part of addressing the dependency cultural that was established during the emergency response interventions and has continued since. However, appropriate roles and responsibilities for community management structures, within the context of DWC management of water yards and charges for water, will need to be addressed.

Water Yards: needing a change in attitude of their purpose

While water yards remain a significant source of income for the operator (DWC) it is extremely difficult for Tearfund (and other NGOs) to influence a change to this situation. The best approach may be through advocacy, to draw attention to the responsibility DWC has towards their “customers” in ensuring the provision of safe, available and accessible water supplies. This needs a change in mind-set from DWC as to the purpose of water yards – so they are not viewed primarily as a source of income, but a place to secure safe water for the population.

This requires advocating to DWC the extent to which operation and maintenance costs of water points can be reduced, and their management made more effective as the community plays a stronger role in collaboration with the service provider. The issue of tariff-setting and fee collection is however very sensitive and would require sensitive negotiation with DWC if suitable changes are to be achieved.

¹ DWC is the government agency overseeing the operation of water yards in urban areas. The WES project of UNICEF is responsible for water supplies to IDP camps.

Beneficiary participation and ownership

Beneficiaries are commonly involved in the construction of infrastructure – typically helping to dig trenches for laying pipelines and to dig pits for family latrines. Beyond this role, there appears to be limited participation of communities that requires skill sets or helps to potentially bring livelihoods into the family or community more widely.

Women consulted in an IDP camp in Ed Daein mentioned that there is no real role for the community in maintaining water supplies – other than through guards keeping water points clean and functioning. The Water Committee ensures that guards carry out this role, but the women were not aware of any other role the Committee plays. Similar views were expressed in other IDP camps, where Water Committees had a limited role in management or oversight of the functioning of water points beyond ensuring water points were kept clean, water from shallow boreholes fitted with handpumps was regularly disinfected and taps at piped supplies were operating (although with limited effect in a number of cases).

Engaging women

Tearfund seek to ensure the relevance of their interventions with beneficiaries, through a process of close consultation with communities prior to any activity taking place. While attendance at such consultations may be high, they are more typically attended by male community leaders, while few women attend. Within the home, women take responsibility for WASH activities and household visits clearly indicate that men typically do not engage with WASH considerations and duties within the household. When consulted at home, women express a willingness to support WASH interventions in whatever way they can, but they are often reluctant to express this opinion within the context of a community consultation.

Hygiene awareness and adoption

Tearfund's support to enhance community *awareness* of WASH is being mobilized through the support given to established community-level groups: primarily Water Committees, Health Committees and Women's Health Clubs. Moving towards transition-based action needs to enable the community to take the lead in place of Tearfund – particularly given its reducing numbers of technical staff and funding available for direct support.

- In aspects of health promotion and hygiene, the training and support provided to voluntary Health Club Facilitators, HPCA assistants, community facilitators and community leaders has led to significant levels of awareness within communities of the importance of safe water, sanitation and hygiene behaviours (hand washing with soap, cleaning jerry cans, covering water pots, cleaning latrines, etc.). Levels of awareness were clearly demonstrated during dialogue with beneficiaries in a variety of forums and are reported as encouraging through Tearfund's own monitoring reports. However, there is still a high level of dependency from communities on Tearfund (and other INGOs) for the provision of the means (including incentives) by which hygiene behaviours can continue to be practiced.

- Health Committees receive tools to support general clean-up activities to remove solid waste from their community; spades, brushes, baskets, etc. In addition, soap has been distributed as an incentive, or reward, for people involved in these activities. Participation in the clean-up activities has fallen dramatically in the cases where Tearfund and other INGOs have stopped providing soap.² In most cases INGOs only now provide soap during specific focussed events, such as Global Handwashing Day.

Demand-led sanitation in villages: CATS

The intention of CATS (Community Approaches to Total Sanitation) is to place emphasis on achieving ODF (Open Defecation Free) status within the community. It is seen as a way to enable all in the community to reach the first step on the sanitation ladder (moving from practicing open defecation to contained excreta management). The CATS approach seeks to foster a “can-do” culture within the community, where solutions to achieving ODF status come from the community members themselves, rather than being imposed from outside.

CATS was first introduced into villages in South Kordofan region of Sudan (outside of the Darfur region) in 2009. The interventions made use of existing latrine slabs – previously distributed by other agencies in the communities – to mobilize their use, as the community responded to the triggering of ODF status. In this sense, the approach was a variation on most CLTS interventions, although the same triggering techniques were adopted. CATS was later introduced into North Kordofan and eventually into the Darfur states – accompanied by a process of sharing results with the wider stakeholder group of government ministries, WASH Cluster members and UNICEF programme partners.

In 2010 the Government of Sudan committed to adopting CATS as an approach to sanitation, in support of the Khartoum Declaration of 2009 that committed the government to scaling-up national sanitation provision (SWA, 2012). Targets set for numbers of ODF villages by the end of 2010 were not achieved, recognised as being hampered by the short timeframes and a need to address mind-set change within implementing agencies first.

CATS introduced to long-term IDPs in host-communities, Sudan

WES has introduced CATS into communities where long-term IDPs reside within host-communities. WES is emphatic that the approach has no hardware subsidy, promoting uptake of locally-devised sanitation solutions by basing CATS within a wider programme of self-help and self-improvement. CATS is seen as a component of broader Community Action Plans, linking sanitation improvements with both the needs and benefits to be gained through protection of water sources, safe water handling and use, handwashing, food hygiene and cleanliness of the home environment.

Close collaboration between government actors, NGOs and local private enterprises is seen as necessary to ensure sufficient skills, knowledge and capacity to provide support services can respond to the increase in demand for sanitation as the programme moves forward.

Source: Greaves, 2012

² In a similar way, the removal of in-kind incentives (provision of free soap at weekly health clubs) has seen these clubs cease to exist in some key localities (van Uffelen, 2011).

In its “pure form”, CATS provides no subsidy to beneficiaries – in the same way that CLTS (Community-Led Total Sanitation) has a zero subsidy approach. However a number of NGOs and agencies have adopted an approach where, in certain cases, a level of subsidy support is provided to enable the most vulnerable communities and households to purchase basic items that will enable them to construct a simple, yet safe, latrine. The issue of a zero-subsidy approach continues to be a matter for discussion in the WASH community, with agencies adopting different approaches and holding diverging opinions as to whether to implement CATS in its broader sense of achieving community-wide sanitary conditions, or to focus on the purer form of CLTS that involves no direct subsidy to households.

Tearfund sees CATS as aligning with the broader transition towards achieving mind-set change within communities to take greater responsibility for the management and oversight of facilities, as external support withdraws. This is seen as particularly relevant in the support given to IDPs within host communities, as well as to villages in Darfur.

CATS training in Kass, South Darfur

In April 2012, Tearfund in partnership with Oxfam America ran a CATS training workshop in Kass, South Darfur. This was attended by 36 staff from regional WES offices, local NGOs and World Vision International, as well as Tearfund and Oxfam America. Those attending the training were due to become CATS facilitators in the villages where their organizations are working.

The worked involved trained participants “triggering” two communities on the outskirts of Kass town. One community identified that among 100 households, only two families had a latrine and all other families practiced open defecation in designated areas at the edge of the village. Community responses from the triggering process were dramatic – with people clearly showing signs of shock, shame and disgust at recognizing the reality and impact of open defecation in their community. This ranged from some people turning away and covering their faces, to others vomiting, crying and refusing to speak. Eventually the triggering also led to individuals and the community’s religious leader (the Sheik), committing to work towards ending open defecation and build latrines. Initially community leaders stated that they would start to dig pits for latrines, only once the facilitators brought latrine slabs into the community to help them with the process of construction. This was partly influence by the communities being aware that neighbouring villages had received such help.

In discussion, facilitators helped the communities to recognize the extent to which they identify and implement solutions in other matters – and could do so in response to the demand created for a defecation-free community. Each community identified a Committee to develop a community Action Plan to achieve ODF status, which would include committee members attending further training to help this process. Early “results”, measured 1 month after the triggering process, showed over a third of households had constructed a complete latrine, while over a third were in the process of building a latrine. This does not yet indicate achievement of an ODF community, supported by sustained use of safe latrines.

Livelihood-based technology: Stabilized Soil Blocks

Deforestation throughout Darfur has been a significant problem throughout the conflict – with up to a third of forests reported as lost between 1973 and 2006 (UN-HABITAT, 2009). While the population places great emphasis on maintaining forests, fired bricks have been a favoured construction material that requires significant

amounts of wood for fuel and water to produce. UN-HABITAT, with support from DFID and the Government of Japan, has promoted the use of stabilized soil blocks as an alternative construction method – which require no fuel source in their production and only half the volume of water as compared to fired bricks (ibid, 2009). A promotion programme trained many people in the production of the blocks to construct houses, offices, schools and public latrine blocks.

Tearfund adopted the use of stabilized soil blocks (SSBs) for its construction work in 2008. This has involved training community members and students at technical training colleges to make the blocks and use them to build latrine blocks at schools, clinics and mosques, as well as to build classrooms. Advocating for greater uptake of the use of SSBs has drawn attention from other NGOs (including CRS and Medair) as well as government agencies. Those trained at the technical colleges have remained keen to continue using this technique. The use of SSBs not only saves wood and water during construction and is ultimately a cheaper construction process, but also provides trainees with enhanced construction skills that can be adopted for other livelihood-related activities (Katsi, 2011).



Constraints to further uptake of the SSBs has been the lack of cement available in local markets and a restriction on the number of machines available that produce the bricks (ibid, 2011). There also remains a lack of national response to the true environmental costs associated with on-going production of burned bricks, which is needed if wider adoption of SSBs is to become a viable option, if not the main option for appropriate construction activities.

Challenges facing the opportunity to transition to early recovery

Internal constraints and dependency

Steps taken to encourage and enable greater participation in aspects of *community management* appear to be extremely challenging, especially given the constraints communities face internally (lack of resources, uncertainty over future security and hence location, etc.) and externally (weak capacity of local government agencies, limited role for communities in government-owned schemes, etc.). Tearfund staff in Ed Daein commented that communities and individuals may seek higher payments as the basis of becoming involved in community-level projects. While this may be influenced by their lack of awareness of how support agencies operate, it may also reflect the extent of need within communities for financial and physical resources.

In the same way that communities are dependent on the means (incentives) to practice hygiene behaviours, they also remain extremely dependent on the provision

of resources and materials to maintain water supplies and sanitation facilities. For example, Tearfund's continuing provision of chlorine for disinfecting wells, fuel for diesel generators on borehole-driven schemes, taps for water points, spare parts for handpumps, emptying of communal latrine pits and so on, are currently an essential part of ensuring continued functionality of services.

The high-dependency attitude created within the IDPs camp is likely to be influenced by households' lack of resources on which to draw for their own needs: women consulted in one camp reported that any finance they have is used to buy food. Combined with the general sense of vulnerability around an uncertain future, this is likely to affect a general willingness to make significant investments of time, resources or effort into changing the status quo, or seek to adopt longer-term options.

Contrasting attitudes to self-help

Tearfund staff reported that in cases where direct support has been withdrawn, such as the provision of a household latrine slab (the general policy (and slogan) is to provide "one household – one slab") or materials for constructing a latrine shelter, households find their own solutions. Some will transfer their latrine slab to a newly dug latrine pit and reuse shelter materials for the new latrines. Others source locally available and cheaper material to construct a new structure. In areas of Ed Daein, families have been found to continue re-using their latrine slabs as they transfer to new pits since 2005.

In contrast however, on a visit to an IDP camp in Ed Daein, a number of households had dug a new pit, as their existing latrine pit became full. The pits were uncovered. When asked about reusing the existing slab for the new latrine, the families stated that they were waiting for a new slab to be provided (through negotiation between the sheikh and Tearfund), giving the reason that their existing slabs were "too heavy" to relocate.



New pit being dug (left) and existing latrine (right)

Discordant donor policies, approaches and funding

A significant challenge facing the INGO community has been and continues to be the extent to which the range of donors supporting their programmes adopt similar approaches towards initiating early recovery activities or maintaining a focus on humanitarian assistance. In the case of Tearfund's operations in Darfur, while USAID's OFDA had adopted a recovery agenda in its support to Tearfund's work, ECHO funds were for humanitarian assistance initiatives only – primarily focussing on nutrition and food security (Tearfund Sudan, *pers. comm.*, 2012).

Exit strategies: need for better planning, coordination and communication

While communities are currently not – and will not be in the foreseeable future – in a position to provide or contribute towards the cost of capital infrastructure for water points, the focus continues to be on encouraging community-based inputs in terms of support to construction, followed by on-going management and maintenance of

infrastructure. External support continues to be provided at an appropriate, but in a number of cases reducing, level.

Despite clear awareness of the need for good exit strategies, many of the INGOs recognize that this has been a weakness in their approach and is having an impact on the opportunities and timing for transitioning to recovery – which is now coming extremely late in the day for many.

Tearfund's exit from Western Darfur

Tearfund's presence in the regions of Darfur has adapted over time to respond to the changing security situation, including withdrawing from Western Darfur in 2010 (see earlier table). Despite an exit strategy being planned, drawn up and shared with the communities for some time prior to eventual exit, communities were reluctant to prepare for Tearfund's exit. This may have been partly influenced by the fact that other INGOs had not adopted such a consultative approach, so communities and government agencies were not familiar with the process of a phased hand-over of responsibility and remained unwilling to accept the inevitable action until the time for exit arrived.

While benefits of certain interventions have continued in this case (for example households are reported to reuse latrine slabs and Child Friendly Spaces are continuing), a key challenge faced both during and since Tearfund's exit has been the supply of spares to maintain functionality of water supply infrastructure.

Tearfund feels that in general the INGO community should have consulted more with the Government at a much earlier stage, seeing opportunities for community-based management as a component of these consultations. The view is that the Government is now very reluctant to take-on responsibility for the “problems” created by having significant levels of WASH infrastructure installed in IDP camps. A thorough assessment of facilities is to be carried out with support from UNICEF, so that management requirements can be identified and gaps in management filled.

Financial needs for sustainable water point functionality

A significant challenge being faced in all aspects of WASH programming and support in Darfur is the ability of people to pay for any resources, which is matched by extremely low level of willingness to pay.

The WASH coordination group (involving INGOs, NGOs, government, etc.), has been discussing for some time now the requirement for community contributions to increase, to cover O&M costs and ensure longer-term sustainability of water schemes. Community members across all localities have up to now been refusing to pay the additional costs associated with broader O&M needs – beyond the payment of minimum costs to pay for day-to-day functioning of water points. Tearfund is developing information on the O&M costs that would be required for the schemes they have supported, but a matter of urgency for the wider WASH group is to establish a clear message as to what the financial requirements from communities is likely to be, once realistic costs are known more widely.

In terms of payments for the construction of WASH facilities, up to now households have not made financial payments, but provided labour-based contributions. Such in-kind contributions have typically been in the order of 5% of the project value, while the intention is that the community will contribute anything up to 50%. It is unlikely that communities will have the resources or means at present to make such contributions – particularly while purchasing adequate food remains a top priority for many households.

Affordability of water

Given the financial constraints facing communities and government institutions, it may be valuable for Tearfund, in consultation with other NGOs, to consider the complexity of facilities – most notably motorized borehole schemes – and adapt a broader range of technical solutions that can be adapted to suit greater or lesser available finance for operation and maintenance requirements (purchase of fuel and spare parts, cost of raw materials for construction, payment for operation and maintenance staff, etc.), as well as, in the long-term full life-cycle costs of schemes.

Tearfund could explore further opportunities for the Self-Supply approach towards incremental improvements in household and community water supplies (WSP, 2009), as a complimentary approach to CLTS and CATS being adopted for sanitation interventions.

Income generation and livelihoods

Tearfund staff in Kass reported that they are looking into the real operation and maintenance costs of different water schemes, to be able to identify the future funding needs to secure functionality of supplies. This information will be an essential component of the basis on which to develop a gradual transfer of financial responsibility to the community. Given the extremely limited opportunities that currently exist within communities for income-generation, such a transfer would be greatly enabled through more attention given to developing the potential of income-generating activities (IGAs): such as local production and sale of low-cost soap, SSBs, latrine slabs, water filters, etc.

Developing local capacity

Instability and insecurity limits the level of direct support possible within communities – access for INGOs is limited and community engagement in actions is affected. In situations where INGOs carrying out infrastructure-based support is not possible, greater focus can be put towards capacity-building initiatives away from communities. These may be targeted towards local community representatives, local NGO and government staff, who can attend training activities away from areas of insecurity.

Communities will not be in a position to provide infrastructure for water points – focus will be on community-level support in construction, management and maintenance. Training community members (artisans) in construction techniques and infrastructure options (particularly for latrines) would support such a role. Other initiatives that have enhanced opportunities for more local management of WASH interventions are those associated with water supply and water quality monitoring.

- *Community-managed handpumps:* Tearfund is adopting a stronger focus on providing handpumps in IDP camps and villages with training provided such that they can be operated through community-management structures. This approach however is likely to meet with resistance from DWC, as has occurred in the past (it was reported that in some locations DWC have removed handpumps). Strong advocacy to DWC and mobilization of communities to take-on management successfully will be required to ensure this approach is effective and sustainable.
- *Household-level water quality monitoring.* This offers a good basis for introducing community-managed safe water planning and response. It is recognized as a valuable approach by Tearfund staff in Darfur, allowing households to see immediate results of poor water safety and the impact of changing hygiene behaviours, such as washing-out jerrycans effectively, or practicing effective handwashing. Household level monitoring was introduced as a tool into West Darfur and other regions of Sudan outside of Darfur, but has since mid-2011 become a component of the WASH work in other regions of Darfur.

Local private sector providers

INGOs working in Darfur identified that there is little attention given to the potential for local private sector providers to engage more actively in decision-making, finding and implementing solutions. They have not been part of the discussion for longer-term WASH interventions in Darfur, although their role in other sectors is starting to be more seriously considered. In relation to WASH services, local private providers could play a role in a number of areas, such as:

- water carting and vending,
- water point management,
- supply chain management – water, sanitation and hygiene (soap) components, and
- sanitation services – emptying, rehabilitating, rebuilding latrines.

Of particular relevance in Darfur is the role of local water vendors. A recent report commissioned by UNOPS and DFID has identified that the role of water vendors needs to be considered, as more formalised means of water supply are introduced and expanded to meet the current and longer-term needs of urban centres and the IDPs that have settled in and around them. The report (Nicol et al, 2012) considered the economic benefits to be gained for those who operate as water vendors in Nyala city, South Darfur. About 250,000 of Nyala's population are IDPs, many of whom rely on water services provided through vendors – who are more likely themselves to be those residing in IDP camps – with gains from this livelihood recognised as significant for up to 5% of such vulnerable households. Set against this livelihoods potential for the vendors is the drawback for those who purchase vended-water – with at least 75% of households paying significantly more for their water supplied in this way compared with those receiving formal supplies.

While the vendors remain poorly regulated and therefore generally provide water of lower quality and higher price, the report highlights that the system of vending *“provides a key income-earning opportunity for thousands (by this study’s estimates) of young displaced persons, invariably young men or boys. This private water market thus has a substantial humanitarian and welfare dimension that needs to be accounted for in future decision-making.”* (Nicol et al, 2012:1).

Influences on the use of demand-led approaches

The contexts within which Tearfund and other INGOs are implementing WASH services in parts of Darfur are extremely constrained. The constraints arise both within organizational structures, attitudes and competencies of staff, through to security matters affecting the ability and confidence to plan and engage with communities throughout the region. The nature of the conflict in Darfur, which has generated high levels of uncertainty for many years, continues to hinder opportunities for demand-led approaches to be embedded into agency’s responses across a host of interventions.

The protracted nature and significant scale of these constraints dominates the opportunities for likely longer-term, sustainable outcomes from the few, rather small and discrete examples of “demand-led like” interventions identified during the research. This has resulted in very limited evidence of demand-led, or livelihood based interventions having been secured, enabling them to continue as the context improves. The course and nature of change in Darfur is also extremely unpredictable – in terms of its scope, direction and scale.

Darfur is an example of where supply-driven approaches to WASH have been implemented over an extended period of time. In some cases, a limited opportunity to consider a change in approach over the last 7 years has been driven by the nature of the short term (annual) funding cycles, which has constrained the NGOs from thinking beyond an annual response to longer-term initiatives. As a result, there has been both little expectation from and little opportunity for affected populations to participate, or achieve any sense of ownership to what has been occurring. This has resulted in the high levels of dependency on external support within people’s minds – affecting a whole range of actors (Burt, *pers. comm.*, 2012).

Only with the more recent adoption by the Government of Sudan towards pushing for more durable solutions have agencies seriously engaged in addressing sustainability and demand-led approaches as a component of that thinking. CATS for sanitation services and WASH NGOs looking at cost-recovery models for water services (through the WASH sector coordination group) are perhaps the two main examples of where this change in thinking is starting to be adopted. However, it remains early days in the process of change to clearly identify the extent to which these approaches and interventions are working – and the effect that characteristics of the operating environment will have on influencing that degree of success.

Given the limited and early nature of these likely successes, the opportunities and constraints affecting the adoption of demand-led approaches in Darfur, identified during the research, are not easy to substantiate. The following table considers a range of the opportunities and constraints, based on characteristics identified in the operating environment of many of the community contexts. An explanation of this framework can be found in the research report accompanying this case study.

This is not intended as a comprehensive assessment of every characteristic of each element of the contexts. It hopefully does however provide a representation of the extent to which opportunities for demand-led approaches are gradually responding to the operating environment at this moment in time, in some locations of Darfur. Set against these opportunities are the very real and present constraints – affecting each of these locations, albeit to a greater or lesser extent.

Only with sufficient time, logistics, security and resource factors allowing a much greater depth of data collection from such locations could the Darfur case study look into each intervention as a stand-alone case. That not having been the case, the findings have been collated into one table – as follows.

Where a specific demand-led intervention has been identified, rather than a more general opportunity, this is underlined in the table.

Table 2: Opportunities, constraints & success of demand-led WASH interventions: Darfur		
Community context	Opportunities for success	Constraints to success
Needs and demand	High level of community awareness created around WASH services	<p>Dependency culture created through extensive use of supply-driven approaches over many years</p> <p>Extremely low levels of willingness-to-pay for basic services</p> <p>High level of unmet needs in IDP and host communities</p>
Participation: local		<p>High dependency on NGO incentives (e.g. free soap) for community to engage in activities</p> <p>Uncertainty about future location (due to insecurity) affects IDPs' willingness to participate in longer-term solutions</p> <p>Limited community participation beyond construction and basic maintenance: skills/livelihoods not optimized</p>
Capacity: local to national	<p>Local:</p> <p>Integrated approaches to WASH adopted</p> <p>Mind-sets and skills enhanced towards transition-related approaches</p> <p><u>Sanitation: CATS knowledge sharing and training</u></p> <p><u>Water supply: Phased hand-over of management in process – from Tearfund to WES for motorized schemes in IDP camps and from Tearfund to WASH Committees for handpumps in IDP camps</u></p> <p>National:</p> <p>Government's Strategic Plans acknowledge need to build capacity</p> <p>UNICEF-funded WES programme – building capacity to support IDPs</p> <p><u>Sanitation: engaged in CATS training</u></p>	<p>Local:</p> <p>Limited capacity of CBOs</p> <p>Lack of technical knowledge</p> <p>Mind-set change has come late – dependency culture created and played-out through a range of actors</p> <p>National:</p> <p>Limited capacity of local government</p> <p>Lack of technical knowledge</p>
Alliances and Partnerships	<p><u>Water supply: Agreed partnership arrangement between WES, WASH Committees and Tearfund to manage water schemes in IDP camps (motorized and handpumps)</u></p> <p>- leading to more formalised agreements between WES and communities</p>	<p>Lack of capable institutions</p> <p>Limited attention given to opportunities from local private sector providers who can offer direct services</p> <p>Agency's do not develop, or communicate, clear exit strategies</p> <p>Variation in approaches between NGOs, government agencies and donors</p>

Table 2: Opportunities, constraints & success of demand-led WASH interventions: Darfur		
Community context	Opportunities for success	Constraints to success
Governance and Accountability	<p>Strategic Plans acknowledge need for sustainable tariff systems, to enhance sustainability of WASH services</p> <p><u>Sanitation: Government commitment to adopting CATS</u></p>	<p>Weak institutions and governance</p> <p><u>Water supply (urban):</u> accountability to water users for levels of service (such as cost or functionality) reducing, as NGOs hand-over water yard schemes to DWC</p> <p><u>Sanitation:</u> Change in government mind-set required to promote use and success of CATS</p>
Livelihoods (linking to finance opportunities)	<p><u>Sanitation: Skills training in production of soil-stabilized blocks for latrine block construction</u></p>	<p>Lack of materials, tools and national recognition of the benefits, to up-scale construction of SSBs</p> <p>Limited attention given to potential for small-scale entrepreneurs</p> <p>Access to rural livelihoods potential, hindered by security</p>
Financial resources: Internal		<p>Limited household finance – priority given to buying food when money is available</p> <p>Communities reluctant to pay for water, beyond day-to-day maintenance costs – exacerbated by limited awareness of the <i>real</i> costs involved (see below)</p>
Economic and financial resources: External	<p>Communities being engaged in a process of taking responsibility for longer-term O&M needs of facilities – as external funds reduce and eventually end</p> <p>OFDA has adopted a recovery agenda in its support to Tearfund's work</p> <p><u>Water supply: NGOs starting to develop cost-recovery information to support longer-term financial viability of schemes</u></p>	<p>Functionality and safety of many facilities remains highly dependent on external support to O&M needs</p> <p>Donor policy may restrict extent of early-response activities initiated</p> <p>Much WASH infrastructure built (especially in IDP camps) that may not be within government's means – or interest – to finance once agency funds withdraw</p>
Conflict / Insecurity / Vulnerability (political, social, environmental)	<p>Progress in addressing environmental degradation – use of SSBs</p>	<p>Insecurity affects access to communities by external support agencies</p> <p>Vulnerability linked to lack of governance – affects gender, equity, marginalization and other social vulnerabilities</p> <p>Environmental depletion, demographic shifts and rapid urbanization affect the need to secure an environment free from disease and the viability of technical options to achieve this – particularly in the face of climate change</p>

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