

## CHAPTER 18

# Using social norms theory to strengthen CATS impact and sustainability

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### Abstract

*Significant strides have been made through programmes such as Community Approaches to Total Sanitation (CATS), which focus on eliminating open defecation (OD) by working with communities to change their beliefs and expectations around sanitation. However, challenges of effectiveness and slippage remain which can limit longer-term sustainability. Social Norms Theory (SNT) is a framework which can be used to explain why CATS works, and help us improve both the effectiveness and sustainability of our sanitation interventions. Achieving ODF is about creating a new social norm, and in order to do this, not only do we require a change in beliefs and attitudes, but we also need to create new social expectations. In this chapter we explain SNT and discuss how the achievement of ODF is not an end point but just one step along the way to stabilizing a new social norm.*

**Keywords:** Social norms, Behaviour change, Open defecation, CATS, Factual beliefs, Normative expectations, Phased approach, Collective action

### Background

Over the past decade significant strides have been made through programmes such as Community Approaches to Total Sanitation (CATS),<sup>1</sup> in which the traditional model of building toilets has been replaced with a focus on eliminating open defecation (OD) by working with communities to change their beliefs and expectations around sanitation. CATS has been successful in achieving open defecation free (ODF) communities, but challenges of effectiveness and slippage can limit longer-term sustainability. What can be done to strengthen what has already been achieved and ensure the sustainability of future achievements? Can the answer be as simple as having a better understanding of social norms and of how practitioners can use that knowledge in development work?

Within UNICEF, work on health, nutrition, education, and child protection has been greatly strengthened over the last few decades by a better understanding of behaviour and social change. The WASH sector has also embraced various behavioural/social change models from the use of participatory approaches such as Self Esteem, Associative Strengths, Resourcefulness, Action Planning and Responsibility (SARAR)<sup>2</sup>, and Participatory Hygiene and Sanitation Transformation (PHAST) in the 1980s and 1990s, to the use of Community-Led Total Sanitation

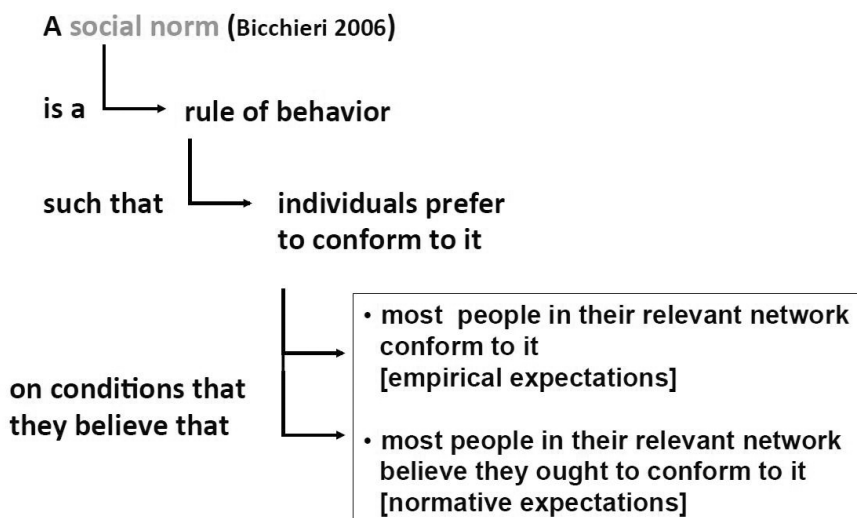
(CLTS) and the socio-ecological model (Parvanta, 2011) in the 2000s to design its behaviour and social change programmes. CATS builds on and successfully uses many of the tools, methods, and theories behind these models, but we realized that in order to improve the sustainability of our interventions there was a need for us to better appreciate and understand the broader issue of social norms – what factors change, stabilize, or even create new norms within a social group?

This chapter outlines Social Norms Theory (SNT) and explains how it can be used to strengthen CATS programmes. Using a SNT framework to assess UNICEF's work on CATS critically, a number of areas of potential refinement will be highlighted which would improve ODF success rates and sustainability.

### Understanding social norms

Some people identify social norms with observable, recurrent patterns of behaviour. Norms, however, cannot be identified with observable behaviour alone as social norms also express social approval or disapproval of such behaviours; they tell us how we 'ought' to act (Bicchieri and Muldoon, 2011; Ravis and Sheeran, 2003). Our preference for obeying social norms is conditional, and depends on our expectations of collective compliance. Bicchieri (2006) defines a social norm as follows (see Figure 18.1):

A social norm is a rule of behaviour such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that, (a) most people in their reference network<sup>4</sup> conform to it (empirical<sup>5</sup> expectations), and (b) that most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it (normative<sup>6</sup> expectations).



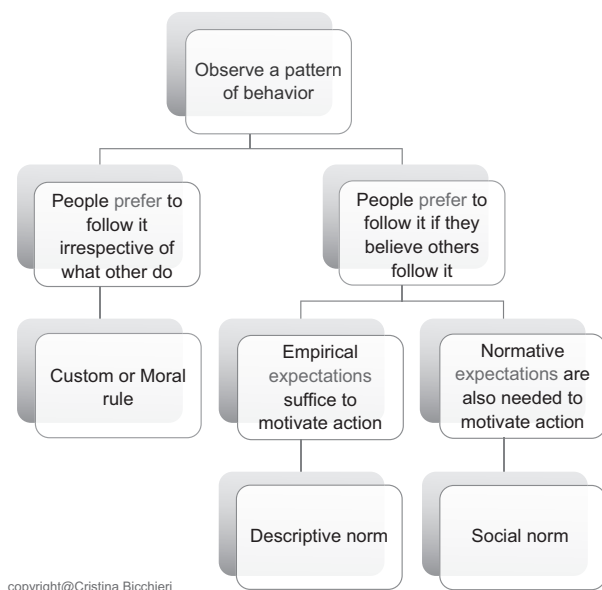
**Figure 18.1** Definition of a social norm

Source: Bicchieri, 2006

In other words, people choose to follow a social norm not necessarily because they like to but because they believe people ought to behave a certain way. Because they can see that most people are behaving in that way, and they believe that they themselves ought to behave the same way. They believe people important to them expect them to behave that way too. Social norms are all about social expectations: empirical expectations (how I expect others to behave based on what I see everyone else doing), and normative expectations (how I think others think that I ought to behave).

So how does this relate to OD and CATS? The authors originally assumed that OD was a social norm in many communities. However, upon studying and analysing OD with the support of colleagues from the University of Pennsylvania<sup>7</sup> we realized that, in the majority of communities where OD is currently practised, it is not a social norm (Dooley, 2010). This was a very important starting point, as the authors sought to better strengthen and sustain the impact of CATS programmes on the ground and guide and support UNICEF colleagues throughout the world.

If one lives in a community where toilets do not exist, people simply defecate in the open to satisfy their bodily needs. Because this action meets their needs, it will likely be repeated. This repetition creates a habit and eventually a custom. So OD is in fact a tradition or custom<sup>8</sup> (see Figure 18.2), it is the easiest way to relieve oneself. In most cases, practising OD is not dependent on social expectations. A person openly defecates simply because it is an acceptable and convenient solution to the need to defecate, hence, that person prefers to continue this practice (Dooley, 2010).



**Figure 18.2** Diagnostic framework for behaviours

Source: Bicchieri, Penn-UNICEF Lectures on Social Norms, 2015

The main difference between a custom and a norm lies in the reasons why people follow one or the other. An important factor to understand in the context of OD is that a custom is a pattern of independent actions, but for a village to become ODF, it entails changing beliefs from 'OD is personal business' to recognizing that 'OD is everyone's business'. People need to realize that OD produces negative externalities and one person's action can result in everyone's suffering. The only way this will end is for the community to take a collective decision to stop OD together and take collective action. And in order to sustain this new behaviour over time, the decision to change also needs to be supported by both empirical and normative expectations.

In creating a new social norm we need to create a new behavioural rule – often this means using a toilet – which people choose to follow. Not necessarily because they want to or like to, or because they think it's right or it's wrong, but because they can see that everyone is conforming, and they believe that they are expected by everyone else to conform to the new behavioural rule (Dooley, 2010). Where there is a social norm, individual behaviour is influenced not just by personal knowledge or likes and dislikes, but also by social expectations and social pressure to behave in a certain way. So there has to be a collective understanding of how people are expected to behave, empirical reminders that people are conforming to these expectations, and rewards and sanctions for maintaining the right behaviour. CATS needs to address all of these issues if OD is to move from a custom/tradition to the introduction and establishment of a new social norm of ODF which is sustained over time.

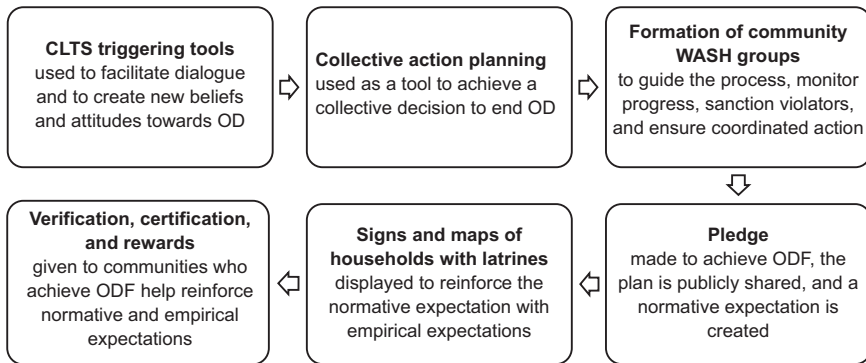
### Social norms theory and CATS

Bicchieri (2010–15, 2016) proposes that it is possible to create new social norms using the following five steps:

- 1) Changes in beliefs and attitudes;
- 2) Collective decision to change;
- 3) Coordinated action to enforce change (positive and negative sanctions);
- 4) Creation of a normative expectation; and
- 5) Reinforcement by a change in empirical expectations.

If we look at the steps within a typical CLTS programme (Kar with Chambers, 2008), we can examine how many of these support the process for creating a new social norm under Bicchieri's proposal (Dooley, 2010):

- 1) *Step 1.* CLTS triggering is used to facilitate the development of new beliefs and attitudes. Through this process, new factual beliefs<sup>9</sup> become apparent. OD has health, social, and economic costs, it is disgusting because if it is done I end up *eating my neighbour's shit*. Through this process, people develop personal beliefs around OD and feel that people should clean up their shit, use a toilet, wash their hands with soap, and dispose of their children's faeces appropriately.



**Figure 18.3** Steps towards creating new social norms in CLTS

Source: Gnilo, 2014

- 2) *Step 2.* Collective action planning involves group discussion. It provides an opportunity to come to a common understanding of what the problem is and what needs to be achieved. It is also used to inform a collective decision on how (and how soon) they would like to solve their issue of OD.
- 3) *Step 3.* Community coordination is required and is usually done through the formation of WASH committees or groups (formal or informal) that monitor progress via house-to-house visits and creation of positive and negative sanctions. This mechanism reinforces expectations to follow what was collectively decided.
- 4) *Step 4.* The plan is shared or a pledge is made. The public commitment creates a normative expectation. People believe that their neighbours and leaders expect them to end OD and manage their excreta appropriately (e.g. in Mali the pledge is videotaped and rebroadcast at certain points in the process).
- 5) *Step 5.* Signs and maps of households and latrines are put up to reinforce the normative expectation. People who start doing things are recognized. Empirical expectations reinforce the normative expectation and people see that others are disposing of shit properly, and those who do gain social rewards. Celebrations are conducted to publicize good practice. Collective rewards may be given to reinforce positive practice. A declaration is made that their village is ODF.
- 6) *Step 6.* Verification and certification of ODF status recognizes the achievement. This supports both the normative and empirical expectations and, in a sense, serves as the stamp of commitment by the village.

Although CLTS wasn't developed around the concepts of SNT, CLTS addresses the key elements required to create social norms: the introduction of a new behavioural rule supported by empirical and normative expectations – *I will build and use a toilet, not because I am alone in understanding its importance to me and my family, but because everyone else in the community has committed to*

and is using a toilet and everyone in the community thinks I ought to use one too. However, the degree to which these components are addressed varies. A better understanding of the dynamics of social norms, and more particularly of empirical and normative expectations, would greatly enhance the process and better sustain the norm.

### ***The process of adapting a new social norm***

While many of these steps are addressed through the current CATS process, a number of areas could be reinforced to strengthen and sustain the new social norm. Without a reinforced social norms approach, we often see real change only in innovators and early adopters; and even these changes will be fragile over time, due to the absence of normative expectations within the target community and networks (Gaya, 2013; Gnilo, 2014; Maule, 2013).

It is the opinion of the authors that the weakest points in the current CATS interventions are Steps 4 and 5, particularly creating new expectations. Activities that support the creation of new expectations are alluded to by Kar and Chambers (2008) in the post-triggering component of the *CLTS Handbook*, for example, reminding the community of the target dates. Many of the activities suggested in the community action follow-up section, whether it was messaging national leaders to follow up in the community, developing spot maps, formation of committees, and even visiting other villages who are progressing faster, reinforce expectations; however these are not consistently applied across all programmes.

During the global CATS evaluation (UNICEF, 2014), we saw that where these activities were properly implemented, CATS programmes succeeded in creating normative and empirical expectations. In these programmes the creation of social norms was evidenced by genuine adoption and enforcement of community-level rules and by-laws which were accepted by all community members and cannot be transgressed without consequences. For example, fees between US\$0.67 and US\$1.12 were being enforced for those that openly defecated, that didn't have handwashing facilities, were not using a 'potty' for small children, or even not reporting broken toilets.

But changing expectations is an intricate process, involving trust, public pressure, meaningful collective deliberation, common pledges, and common knowledge of what the group is going to do and expects others to do. Most importantly, it has to be intentional. In the CATS evaluation, it was noted that while components of the processes to create norms were in many of the CATS programmes across the globe, success or failure against these processes was rarely analysed. The evaluation also found that the social norms concept had not fully influenced all segments of CATS programming. It was highlighted that many implementers and implementing partners still did not understand or appreciate the role expectations play in creating and, more importantly, stabilizing a social norm. It was further stated in the evaluation that, 'it is expected that a better understanding and use of the social norm concept will help increase the

conversion ratio of communities triggered to ODF status achieved, which would have a strong impact on the effectiveness of CATS programmes’.

### **Using SNT to strengthen CATS programming**

As with CLTS, within CATS we divide interventions into three main processes – pre-triggering, triggering, and post-triggering – with each process containing valid and important steps. This breakdown is necessary to ensure that all steps are undertaken, monitored, and assessed. In the early days of CATS, the tendency was to focus just on triggering and certification, with limited or no attention given to pre-triggering and post-triggering, which we now understand are just as important in the development of expectations.

#### ***Pre-triggering***

Pre-triggering involves selecting a community and building rapport before triggering commences; getting to know and understand the community and its leaders; and ensuring everyone is included in the process. Everyone needs to trust the facilitator before triggering can begin. Social Network Analysis can be used at the community level to map and analyse the relationships between individuals and between groups, and to think more systematically about key issues of relevance to our programming, such as how information flows within and between reference networks and communities as a whole, and to identify which individuals (opinion leaders) have most influence on what others believe and do (Dooley, 2010; Maule, 2013). Certain marginalized groups may be identified as having different circles of influence or a different set of reference networks. Identifying these in the pre-triggering stage would be important especially in places where communities are highly heterogeneous, where coming to a collective decision might be particularly challenging. This is vital to ensure equal participation of all groups within the change process at community level. Only relying on Natural Leaders to emerge is too risky to CATS effectiveness.

Mapping of the social networks across villages at the district or sub-district level can identify central villages that are well positioned to support a process of organized diffusion of positive examples. During this phase it is also possible to identify existing traditions, beliefs, customs, or even social norms which may have a negative impact on the processes. The field note from Madagascar (UNICEF, 2015) illustrates how this can be addressed within CATS (see Box 18.1).

#### ***Triggering***

Engaging the whole community, or at least a critical mass and key influencers, in the triggering process, is essential to ensure that enough people go through the ‘ah-ha moment’ and realize the impact that OD is having on the community, creating a collective change of factual beliefs and attitudes, and resulting in a collective decision to enact change. Collective belief change and the collective



decision to enact change create new normative expectations; through the public declaration and development of the community action plan, individuals now know that the people around them expect them to stop the practice of OD. During this process, communities also develop their own vision and schema<sup>10</sup> with autonomy and this may require some adaptations (Dooley, 2010).

**Box 18.1 Using social norms theory to understand why CATS wasn't working in Madagascar**

Social norms and customs are context specific and in some cases there can be existing social norms that have a negative impact on the creation of a new social norm. In such cases the existing norm needs to be addressed and abandoned or modified before work can commence on creating a new norm. For this, a similar but slightly modified series of steps needs to be followed with the main difference being the order of empirical and normative expectations:

Creating new norms	Abandoning or changing a social norm
Changes in beliefs and attitudes	Change in beliefs and attitudes
Collective decision to change	Collective decision to abandon the norm
Coordinated action to enforce change	Coordinated action
Creation of a normative expectation	New empirical expectations
Reinforcement by empirical expectations	Abandon old normative expectations

Source: Bicchieri (2015, 2016)

In Madagascar challenges were apparent with CATS in the south where progress was falling behind compared with the rest of the country. A social norms analysis of the context was undertaken and found that people believed there was no harm in openly defecating. They also believed that the ground was sacred, as this was the place where their ancestors were buried. Digging a pit and putting excrement in the ground was considered to be an insult to the ancestors, hence taboo. More importantly, the consequences of doing so might be a fine in the form of animal sacrifice to the traditional leaders, or not being allowed to bury deceased members of the family in the future or, worse, being shunned by the community. In these communities, the social norms analysis identified that it would be important to address not only the false factual beliefs and normative expectations around the practice of OD, but also to confront the sacred values upheld by the community given the role these were playing in preventing adoption of an ODF social norm.

Triggering was introduced to express the risk in OD and challenge the factual belief that it is safe to openly defecate. At the same time, values deliberations with the traditional leaders and their communities were used to discuss what it meant to honour their ancestors and to identify how these values could continue to be upheld in a way that would not interrupt the introduction of latrine use. The core groups, which were made up of influential members of their communities, were essential in helping to initiate change. Festivals were used to make public declarations and create new empirical expectations.

Understanding the difference in steps required in such communities was a key factor, as without finding ways to support important social values, while abandoning the existing normative beliefs around OD, the new process could not begin and these communities would be classified as 'difficult'. Undertaking a robust social norms analysis during the pre-triggering phase would have assisted the implementers in identifying these issues from the outset and to adjust accordingly.

Source: Gaya (2013), UNICEF (2014)



### ***Post-triggering***

Toilet construction, monitoring and follow-up, ODF verification, declaration and celebration, reinforcement, incentives, and diffusion: all of these create both internal and external incentives to achieving ODF status (Dooley, 2010). They generate a positive internal incentive, pride in the community. Negative internal incentives include shame and disgust in the act of OD. External incentives include the ODF certification process and the celebration for achieving the ODF status. Negative external incentives can include fines, as for some people, there will be a continued personal preference to practice OD rather than go to the trouble of building or using toilets. Through the celebration process, traditional and political leaders from neighbouring communities and districts are engaged. Including measurements of beliefs and social expectations in baseline assessments allows for subsequent results monitoring (Maule, 2013). Comparisons with measurements taken post-triggering may provide evidence of whether the triggering has been successful in changing personal factual beliefs and in creating new normative expectations. Comparisons with measurements taken following ODF certification and in sustainability checks may provide evidence of whether there has been a harmonization of personal normative beliefs, empirical expectations, and normative expectations. This would provide evidence of whether a social norm has been established, and if so, how 'secure' or stable the norm is. Reinforcement of the new social norm is vital; this may take the form of traditional, public, or media campaigns undertaken by either the public or the private sector to provide a reminder to individuals of what societal expectations around OD are. At the time of writing of this chapter, UNICEF is integrating social norms measures into the CATS sustainability evaluations.

As mentioned above, within CATS we categorize interventions into three major components, pre-triggering, triggering, and post-triggering, with each component having valid and important steps. Within these components, we have drawn on SNT to introduce a number of important checks, which may have previously been taken for granted as part of the process. This helps to ensure that all steps are followed, as many of these elements are vital in the creation of expectations and a new social norm. The following are some of the checks and actions we suggest are undertaken by implementers:

- *Social norm analysis.* Is OD a custom in this community, or are there existing normative expectations around OD which first need to be addressed? If there are normative expectations, do they influence individual behaviours? Do other customs or social norms within the community prevent the creation of a new ODF norm (as identified in the Madagascar example in Box 18.1)?
- *Measure baseline expectations.* Do individuals currently expect others in the community to use a toilet and do they think that others expect them to use a toilet (or defecate in the open)?

- *Measure behaviour.* If such expectations exist, measure whether they influence behaviour.
- *Social Network Analysis (SNA).* Use SNA to get a better understanding of formal and informal communication channels and the key individuals (influencers) who are central or have more connection to people (both within and outside the target community). SNA also provides the facilitators with a more systematic way to analyse the reference networks in the targeted communities. Understanding who should be present in the triggering and in their networks could also provide insight on the need for more triggering in other sub-villages or who should be targeted for post-triggering activities, thereby supporting *organized diffusion*.
- *Collective belief change.* Are all the relevant people engaged in the discussions and are the discussions being led by Natural Leaders? Is there a commitment to effect change and do people agree/pledge to abide by the decisions of the group?
- *Public declaration.* Not everyone can always take part in the triggering and discussions, so how can decisions be made public? How can everyone be reached? (If the initial group was large enough, the rest of the community may follow suit, realizing that most other people will follow the new norm as their empirical expectations have been changed.)
- *Incentives/sanctions.* As people normally require incentives to follow a norm, has there been any discussion of this? Social approval or disapproval is often sufficient incentive, so have the community discussed this? Have any positive (rewards) or negative (punishments) incentives been discussed and agreed upon by the community?
- *Organized diffusion and norm reinforcement.* How is information about this change relayed to others? Has there been spontaneous diffusion internally and externally? Have meetings been held outside the community? Are certified communities and districts recognized by the media? Is there a public information campaign about sanitation and ODF which would help reinforce the norm? Is the private sector involved in promoting sanitation products?
- *Monitoring social expectations.* In the post-triggering stages, are beliefs and social expectations monitored? Is there evidence of a significant change in both personal normative beliefs and normative expectations? During sustainability checks are beliefs and social expectation measured? Has a social norm been established (is there consensus on what people believe others expect them to do)? And is it being maintained (are people conforming to the expected behaviour)?

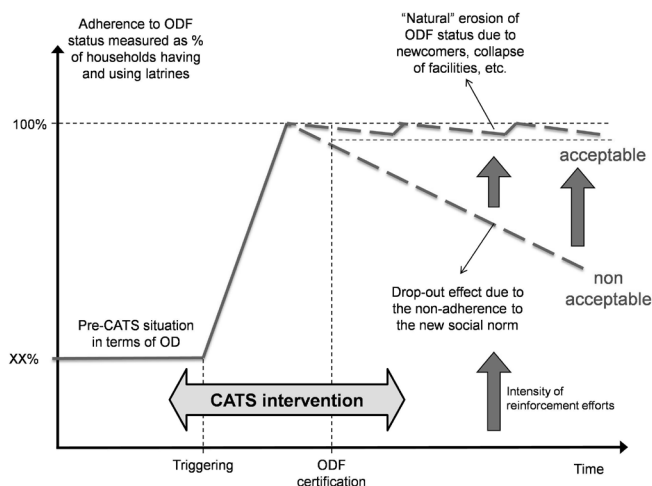
### **New social norms and sustainability**

What we hope to achieve, once the community has agreed to abandon OD, takes action, and declares itself ODF, is a new social norm, whereby it is best (easier) for individuals and the community as a whole to follow the norm and

hygienically separate human waste from human contact through toilet use, handwashing with soap, and safe management of children's excreta. By taking these actions, we stabilize the new social norm and ensure it is sustained over time. In some instances following ODF declaration, communities have created local by-laws to prevent OD in their village, thus aligning social norms with legal norms. Such systems may be important to monitor, regulate, and sustain the social norm, as it indicates to all (including newcomers to the community) that the normative expectation in that community is that everyone uses toilets.

Once the new social norm is created, it can remain volatile until it is stabilized. A social norm finds stability when a sizable majority of community members has the right social expectations, since it can be observed that toilet use is now widespread. This is why toilets made by communities themselves and the communication of progress in the form of household maps are important; they create common knowledge about behaviour change. It is also important that people's ideas about the future contain the social norms we want to maintain. If we do not always create a vision of what comes after ODF from the start, we may find instability of the new norm in the form of OD 'slippage' or reversion.

The 2014 UNICEF global CATS evaluation concluded that 'natural erosion' (slippage) is not due to a general lack of adherence to the new social norm created by CATS, but is caused by other circumstances, such as newcomers in the community, or a deterioration of toilet function (see Figure 18.4), and suggested this was acceptable if the effort necessary to maintain ODF status over time originated within the community itself or with very light external support. However, the evaluation also found,



**Figure 18.4** Adherence to ODF status in CATS programmes: acceptable and unacceptable slippage

Source: UNICEF (2014)

in a majority of countries, that it was not possible to assess the extent of slippage due to the lack of systematic ODF monitoring over time. We simply do not know enough about why some communities do not sustain collective behaviour change, and the role social norms play in their behaviour. This gap is mainly due to a lack of information and monitoring of social expectations. The evaluation (UNICEF, 2014) also indicated the need for adjustments to UNICEF's sanitation programme vision, as well as the immediate need to strengthen the conceptual understanding of SNT by UNICEF staff and partners.

SNT emphasizes the importance of not viewing the achievement of ODF status as the end-point – instead it is just one more step along the way to stabilizing a new social norm. SNT also offers potential tools to improve the way that we work – to allow us to be more strategic in our efforts to reinforce new social expectations (both normative and empirical) (see Box 18.2).

**Box 18.2 Using a phased approach to sustainable sanitation: developing a vision or schema**

CATS builds on people's existing resources and capacities to solve their open defecation challenge. A facilitator does not provide a solution but supports the community's discovery of how to end OD. When facilitation is done well, this results in a rapid change in the community. Problems sometimes arise when resources are scarce, the environment is challenging, and/or external standards are set that may be too high given the context of a specific community. This is often when programme managers feel compelled to push for subsidies or technical solutions, which undermine the core principles of CATS, creating new social norms through collective action.

Assisting communities and other stakeholders to develop a vision or schema can help them meet the challenges of resource scarcity, challenging environments, and externally imposed standards. The process of supporting a community to set the date on when they will become ODF and supporting the development of their collective action plan to end OD helps to shape that schema of the future and is a key component of the CLTS process. Often, the schema of the future ends at achieving ODF, with some link to sustainability. In the Philippines, UNICEF and partners have developed a framework whereby achieving ODF was made only the first of three phases in a longer process towards improved environmental sanitation and hygiene (see Robinson and Gnilo, 2016, this book). These distinctions allowed communities to develop a vision for change (schema or script), using their own capacities and resources to address the issues they had control over (OD), in the context of the bigger picture of achieving total sanitation.

Grade 1 (Zero Open Defecation) in the phased approach protected the behavioural and social norms change process, allowed the community to manage what was within their means, and allowed for limited sharing of latrines. A key component of the ODF verification process was to check that communities had a community action plan (schema or vision) for progression to the next grade. The vision being created for Grade 2 (Sustainable Sanitation) was universal use: toilets in all households and all public institutions, meeting the national standards for excreta management, plus a monitoring system that captures sustainability losses over time. The phased approach recognizes that there will be challenges that require intervention from outside the community in the long term, but that they can develop their own vision for actions which they have control over now.

*Source:* Gnilo (2014)

## Conclusions

SNT is a framework which can be used to explain why CATS works, and improve both the effectiveness and sustainability of our sanitation interventions. It is not prescriptive but a set of principles and tools which we can use to enhance what we do and strengthen and sustain our overall approach. Understanding social norms is vital to how we work and the approaches we take during the pre-triggering, triggering, and post-triggering phases of the CATS process. We must ensure that everyone involved in our programmes is clear that we are creating a new social norm and that, in order to do this, not only do we require a change in beliefs and attitudes, but we also need to create new normative expectations that are reinforced by empirical expectations. This requires us to adjust some of our programming to strengthen our work in the areas of social networking, values and beliefs, monitoring expectations, developing organized diffusion and so on. Most important, however, is the need for reinforcement at community, subnational, and national levels; creating an environment where community members are able to express a clear vision to local and national governments of whether their right to sanitation is met, including how they believe it can be achieved. These changes are what will contribute most to sustainability and assist people in climbing the sanitation ladder.

CATS cannot work in isolation of other factors that directly or indirectly influence the community's ability to change, thus we need to be aware of this in our programming. What we started village by village, is rapidly progressing and expanding to larger geographic areas. With this spread, comes a strengthening of the new social norm, whereby someday it will no longer be about introducing a new social norm around OD, because by then ODF will be a global social norm.

## About the authors

**Therese Dooley** has over 25 years of experience working on sanitation in various countries across Africa and Asia specifically focusing on community-based approaches. She is the former Senior Advisor for Sanitation and Hygiene at UNICEF.

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**Michael Gnilo** is a sanitation and hygiene specialist based in UNICEF headquarters in New York. Michael has designed and implemented community-based health, nutrition, and WASH programmes since 2003 in both

development and emergency contexts. He has a particular interest in strengthening linkages among community, civil society, and government systems for sustained delivery of services.

## Endnotes

1. CATS – Community Approaches to Total Sanitation was coined by UNICEF in 2008 to capture the variations of sanitation programming across its country offices including Community Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) in Sierra Leone, School Led Total Sanitation (SLTS) in Nepal, and the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC) in India. Many of the programme designs were inspired by CLTS and similarly aimed for open defecation free (ODF) villages with one of the key distinct features to CLTS being government's involvement from the start.
2. SARAR is a participatory education/training methodology for working with stakeholders at different levels to engage their creative capacities in planning, problem solving, and evaluation.
3. Reference Network: those whose actions or approval we care about (family, clan, village members, religious authorities, co-workers, etc.) whoever has the power to influence our choice.
4. Empirical expectation: an expectation about what other people *will do*.
5. Normative expectation: an expectation about what other people *think we ought to do*
6. Penn-UNICEF 2013 Summer Program on Advances in Social Norms and Social Change course.
7. Custom: a pattern of behaviour such that individuals prefer to conform to it because it meets their basic needs.
8. Factual beliefs: based on a better knowledge and understanding of the issue often through the introduction of new information.
9. Schema or scripts are the mental representations of what you do (how you behave, who to talk with, what to expect from people) in specific social situations, e.g. tipping in a restaurant.

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