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Subjects: (tick box)	Project	Synopsis	Portfolio	Thesis X	Written Assignment
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Study programme:	Development and International Relations	
Semester:	10	
Exam Title:	Module 24: Master's Thesis	
Name, Student No/ Names, Student Nos of group member(s):	Name(s)	Student Number(s)
	Anne Nørgaard Jensen	20114740
Hand in date:	29/07-2016	
Project title /Synopsis Title/Thesis Title	Taboos in Foreign aid Sanitation Projects: A Case Study Analysis	
According to the study regulations, the maximum number of keystrokes of the paper is:	168.000	
Number of keystrokes (one standard page = 2400 keystrokes, including spaces) (table of contents, bibliography and appendix do not count)*	129.515	
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Taboos in Foreign Aid Sanitation Projects: A Case Study Analysis

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This thesis was prepared as a part of the Master program Development and International Relations at Aalborg University

Abstract

One of the leading causes of child mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa is diarrheal diseases, poor sanitation being directly linked to its spreading. One of the major contributors to poor sanitation in Sub-Saharan Africa is open defecation, which is still practiced extensively in especially rural areas. That open defecation practices and poor sanitation is a large contributor to health issues in the region is not new information. However, even with the large focus on the issue, and the major sums of money going into sanitation development projects, there is no progress. In fact, recent numbers from the World Bank stated that while access to sanitation worldwide has improved immensely, the amount of people practicing open defecation in SSA has increased. This paradox therefore indicates that there is a sustainability problem in foreign aid sanitation projects. This thesis therefore sets out to find a possible explanation to this sustainability problem. Through the work on a Tanzanian development project with the Danish Association for Sustainable Development, taboos were detected as a possible hindrance to sustainability. Nonetheless, the emphasis on taboos and social sustainability was scarce in the project, and from this observation stems the research question: How and why do taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects in rural societies in Sub-Saharan Africa?" A hypothesis for this thesis is further stressed: "Taboos are a challenge, if not a prohibition, to the sustainability of foreign aid in rural societies in sub-Saharan Africa. I.e. if taboos are not addressed before implementing foreign aid sanitation projects in these areas, the likelihood of achieving sustainability is greatly diminished, if at all possible".

To best answer this question, and prove/disprove my hypothesis, a framework for analysis is incorporated, putting focus on project management methods. The analysis of two sanitation projects is therefore conducted through a sustainable project management approach, as well as a sustainable project management approach adapted to sanitation projects. Both approaches emphasize social sustainability as an important aspect in the sustainability of projects, and therefore highlight the importance of cultural considerations in development projects. Through the analysis of the two sanitation projects, it is discovered that sustainability in the two cases differed based on the inclusion/exclusion of cultural factors, as advocated by the project management frameworks. This indicates the importance of including cultural considerations in sanitation projects. It is therefore concluded that taboos do challenge the sustainability of sanitation projects, strengthening the hypothesis of the thesis. This was concluded upon the two sanitation projects, as the sustainability rate in these projects is influenced by the inclusion of important cultural considerations. It is further emphasized that it is especially in regard to sanitation behavior that taboos have an impact on sustainability, as taboos can govern sanitation behavior. This is illustrated by the two cases, as both stress that there were certain behavior linked to sanitation because of cultural traditions and taboos, and that behavior could influence the use of sanitation products. Upon a discussion of behavior change in sanitation projects, it was concluded that the omission of taboos and cultural considerations was also detected in social marketing methodologies. That taboos and cultural considerations are not systematically included in social marketing models specified to sanitation projects, illustrate the inadvertent omission of the subject, even in fields closely related to culture and social structures. This illustration therefore contributed to the overall conclusion: taboos challenge the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation

projects, because taboos govern sanitation behavior. As taboos are often excluded in sanitation project considerations, project owners do not truly understand the sanitation behavior of the community. Therefore, sanitation projects are built on procedures and an understanding of behavior not fitting with the communities they are implemented in, and this challenges sustainability.

Table of Contents

I. INTRODUCTION	2
ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM	2
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	5
III. METHODOLOGY	12
PERSONAL DEALINGS WITH THE SUBJECT	12
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY	13
IV. BACKGROUND	17
THE HISTORY AND POLITICS OF FOREIGN AID	17
FOREIGN AID AND CULTURE	20
FOREIGN AID AND SANITATION	22
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION	22
WATER AND SANITATION	24
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	26
THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF TABOOS IN AFRICA	31
V. FRAMEWORK PRESENTATION	33
PROJECT CYCLE MANAGEMENT	33
LOGICAL FRAMEWORK APPROACH	36
SUSTAINABLE PROJECT MANAGEMENT	39
PROJECT CYCLE MANAGEMENT: SUSTAINABILITY IN SANITATION DEVELOPMENT WORK	42
VI. CASE STUDIES	45
COMMUNITY-LED TOTAL SANITATION+, LIBERIA	45
RURAL URINE DIVERSION DEHYDRATION TOILETS, BOTSWANA	53
VII. DISCUSSION	62
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	62
CHANGING SANITATION BEHAVIOR	65
VIII. CONCLUSION	71
IX. FURTHER RESEARCH	76
X. REFERENCES	77
APPENDIX A:	82

I. Introduction

Addressing the Problem

The parasite cysticercosis is a tapeworm that lives in the intestines of humans. The parasite often develops in pigs after the ingestion of the larva. Cysticercosis can also occur in humans after accidental ingestion of the eggs, and can cause neurological disorders such as epilepsy. The parasite is prevailing in many developing countries as they often have a lack of sanitation facilities and are thus e.g. defecating in the open (Thys, et al., 2015). In sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) it is estimated that over 215 million people¹ engage in open defecation and recent numbers from the World Health Organization stresses that while the number of people defecating in the open has decreased globally since 1990, the number of people engaging in open defecation in SSA has increased (2015). Besides the above mentioned parasite connected to open defecation practices, it is also a known facilitator of transmission of diarrheal diseases, one of the lead causes of child mortality in SSA, among a vast number of other health related issues. Because of these issues, a multitude of sanitation projects have been and are implemented in the region, with the aim of ending open defecation practices and improving access to sanitation. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, more people are practicing open defecation in SSA now compared to 1990, indicating that access sanitation has not yet been improved. The amount of money and work going into improving sanitation in SSA in parallel with the lack of overall results indicates that there is a sustainability problem, and that many of the sanitation issues detected in SSA are not being solved, at least not in a sustainable way.

¹ This number is from 2012, and possible changes can thus have occurred since.

A multitude of scholars have examined, researched and analyzed the possible challenges to the sustainability of foreign aid in SSA, also in regard to sanitation. Some stress that development aid in itself is the problem (Moyo, 2009), whilst others have looked at factors such as culture, religion or war (Lunn, 2009). However, in my initial research the amount of scholars found looking into the role of taboos in foreign aid projects has been scarce. Moreover, taboos are often interdependent analysis segments rather than independent ones. Thus, I argue that there is a gap in the research already conducted, and my aim with this thesis is to fill that gap.

Since January 2016 I have worked with the Danish Association for Sustainable Development (UBU) to implement a foreign aid project in Tanzania. The projects' objective is to improve sanitation and hygiene conditions in 8 rural societies in the Arusha region. The implementation of the project will function through advocacy and raising awareness of sanitation, hygiene and health practices, along with the construction of latrines. Through the development of this project, some initial problems were detected. There are several taboos related to sanitation, health and latrines in the 8 rural societies, and these, if not tackled properly, could be a prohibition to the sustainability of the project. It was thus my work with UBU, which sparked my interest in the area, and revealed that there might be a gap in the research related to sustainability in sanitation project in SSA.

I have chosen to limit my research scope to rural societies in Sub-Saharan Africa. In SSA 63% of the population live in rural areas, where the main source of income and employment is hunting, fishing or agriculture (The World Bank, 2014). Therefore, if a family experiences "bad luck" in these sources of income, this can

mean extreme hunger and a depriving of their means of living. Thus, taboos can have a greater influence in such regions, because of the disastrous outcome if “bad luck” was to strike. Rural societies further have a higher degree of water scarcity, and thus often have limited access to sanitation that requires water.

As a researcher, I find it incredibly interesting to look into a problem detected through practical work, from an academic perspective. In this project, and in my search for the possible disconnect between foreign aid and sustainability in sanitation projects, I will examine the following:

How and why do taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects in rural societies in Sub-Saharan Africa?”

Based on my work with UBU and my preliminary research, I go into this thesis with the hypothesis that *“Taboos are a challenge, if not a prohibition, to the sustainability of foreign aid in rural societies in sub-Saharan Africa. I.e. if taboos are not addressed before implementing foreign aid sanitation projects in these areas, the likelihood of achieving sustainability is greatly diminished, if at all possible”*.

II. Literature Review

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of taboos in foreign aid projects, with a focus on sanitation projects in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, to possibly answer this question it is important to look at relevant literature and the existing possible explanations to the low sustainability rate of sanitation projects. Examining the related literature to this topic has left both some possible answers and contributions to my research question, but further highlighted some shortcomings in the literature.

I have chosen to conduct my literature review in a deductive way as it best illustrates how literature was collected and analyzed. It was a process starting in the general and narrowing down as my understanding of the problems became more developed and specific. The purpose of this literature review was to firstly get an understanding of the empirical data collected and used for this thesis. Secondly, it was to get a clear understanding of the leading theories and approaches within the field of this thesis, to possibly find answers to the low sustainability rate of sanitation projects in SSA. My thesis therefore aims to fill some of the holes left by the literature revised and analyzed. I have further chosen to conduct my research deductively as the contributions to the role of taboos in sanitation projects are somewhat scarce. It was therefore necessary to start in the more general and narrow it down to get a thorough understanding of the subject and find the most relevant research needed for this thesis.

In the beginning of my research period, I firstly focused on the more generic contributions to the field of development and foreign aid projects to get a broad understanding of the field. One of the major theoretical contributions in this regard was Dambisa Mojo's book "Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa" (2009). Mojo's criticism of foreign aid is presumably one of

the most famous contributions within the field, and has received much appraisal and criticism. Mojo claims that while billion of dollars from rich countries has been invested in the development of Africa, that money has not helped African development in any way, but has actually worsened the African economy. This she argues through different lenses, aid dependency and corruption being the most dominant ones. While Mojo definitely touches upon core issues in African development, and does argue for the why aid is unsustainable, she is very focused on government-to-government aid, something that is not necessarily the focus of this paper. She therefore ultimately excludes huge contributors to development work/projects in Africa – NGO's and grassroots organizations. Mojo does argue that NGOs and the charitable sector is excluded, as the same criticism does of aid dependency and corruption does not apply. As mentioned above, Mojo's contribution to this thesis is also a more generic one, giving me as an author an important perspective to key issues in African development and sustainability issues, but doesn't give the perspective needed on the role of taboos in aid projects, more specifically sanitation projects in sub-Saharan Africa.

In order to get a more thorough perspective on taboos in foreign aid sanitation projects in SSA, I chose to include and examine a very recent research article looking at taboos and how they affected pit latrine building, and use, in chosen rural societies in Zambia. The research article is written by Thys, Mwape, Lefèvre, Dorny, Marcotty, Phiri, Phiri, and Gabriël (2015) and is titled "Why Latrines Are Not Used: Communities' Perceptions and Practices Regarding Latrines in a Taenia solium Endemic Rural Area in Eastern Zambia". In the article the authors look into motivations around building and using latrines, and therefore conducts interviews in several rural villages in Zambia where latrines building was promoted. One of the

main findings by these interviews was that taboos in regard to the use and building of latrines were one of the leading causes to why latrine building and use had not been sustainable in the area. The article thus concluded that unless program planners start directly focusing on traditional cultural practices in regard to sanitation behavior, the installments and use of latrines would not be sustainable. The authors further call for an in-depth anthropological study to fully understand sanitation practices and behavior. This article in the research phase was extremely important for the development of my research question, as it formulated issues vital to my subject area.

In order to also understand the framework in which I have chosen to conduct this thesis, I have researched some key contributions to the field of sustainable development and culture in Africa, and the literary approaches could possibly provide explanations of the low sustainability rate of sanitation projects in SSA. In the sphere of sustainable development there is what I, and several scholars (Silvius & Schipper, 2015) (Heywood, 2011) (Drexhage & Murphy, 2010), will argue as one key contributor to the understanding of the term – Gro Brundtland. Gro Brundtland chaired the Brundtland Commission, responsible for the 1987 report “Our Common Future”. In this report the most used conceptualization of sustainable development is formulated. The report states that sustainable development “ensure that it [development practices] meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (United Nations, 1987, s. n/a)”. Even though Brundtland’s report on sustainable development was important in reaching a common understanding of sustainable development, it did not provide a more specified view on sustainable development in sanitation projects.

The literature examined in regard to sustainable development in sanitation projects is presented below, merged with the literature used to understand sustainable project management.

I examined literature on project management (Project Cycle Management and Logical Framework Approach) to get an understanding of the main approaches and project management in general. Further, how a project is managed could also be an influencer to sustainability, and therefore important to include in any discussions on the low sustainability rate of sanitation projects.

A more specific approach to both project management and sustainable development was needed for the purpose of this thesis. I therefore examined a method to understand project management and sustainability in sanitation projects. The approach to sustainability in sanitation project management was contributed by Jennifer R. McConville and James R. Mihelcic and their article: “Adapting Life-Cycle Thinking Tools to Evaluate Project Sustainability in International Water and Sanitation Development Work (2007)”. In the article the two scholars present the historically low sustainability rate of development projects, and thus claim the need for a new project management framework that includes and emphasizes sustainability. In their thesis they present that framework as a form of assessment tool needed in all the stages of project management, presented in figure 1 below. It was especially the inclusion of social sustainability elements that were relevant for this thesis, as its inclusion illustrated the omission of social sustainability in other approaches to project management.

<i>Life stage</i>	<i>Sustainability factor</i>					<i>Total possible score</i>
	<i>Sociocultural respect</i>	<i>Community participation</i>	<i>Political cohesion</i>	<i>Economic sustainability</i>	<i>Environmental sustainability</i>	
Needs assessment	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	20
Conceptual designs and feasibility	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	20
Design and action planning	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	20
Implementation	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	20
Operation and maintenance	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	20
Total possible score	20	20	20	20	20	100

The matrix dimensions show five life stages of a water/sanitation development project and five factors of sustainability that cover environmental, economic, and societal issues. The possible score for each matrix coordinate is 4. Totals indicate possible evaluation scores for each life stage or sustainability factor.

Figure 1: Matrix Framework (McConville & Mihelcic, 2007, s. 942)

In order to get a clear understanding of the role of taboos in development projects, I examined prominent literature in the field and various approaches to the subject. Again I started my research from a general perspective, examining approaches to culture in development aid, before narrowing it down to the role of taboos in sanitation projects in Sub-Saharan Africa. One of the more general approaches examined was W.W. Rostow's view on culture in development, argued through his book "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (1990)". Rostow argues for five stages of growth: the traditional society; the preconditions for take-off; the take off; the drive to maturity; and the age of high mass-consumption. These stages represent a form of ladder an underdeveloped country needs to climb to become developed. Rostow especially emphasizes economic development in these stages, and argues that economic development is the key to "true" development. Rostow's view on culture in his book, very much affiliates

with the “modernization” theoretical school², emphasizing a western style of development, and the necessity of abandoning the traditional culture related to a traditional society (stage 1). Thus, development projects should be constructed in a manner that emphasizes pure economic development, with no apparent emphasis on the respect of traditional culture and the affect a project can have on culture and society. As highlighted by Nathan Andrews, scholars with an economic perspective to development has a tendency of disregarding culture because of it’s vagueness, and often question how policies can be based on something that often changes (Andrews, 2009). Rostow’s view on development can be easily criticized for its bias towards a western style of development and its disregard for traditional culture, and therefore another view was examined. This alternative view on development and culture is presented in the UNESCO’s article “Culture and Development: Evolution and Prospects (2010)” written by Maider Maraña. In this article the importance of culture in development aid is greatly emphasized, arguing for the necessity of including culture systematically in development aid. However, it is also stated that even though there has been progress in the inclusion of culture in development aid, there is still a long way to go. This is argued because the inclusion of culture in projects is not systematic, and culture is often regarded to as an obstacle rather than an opportunity. Thus, it is concluded that there is a need for “theoretical or practical tools to facilitate the inclusion of cultural diversity and its management ... (Maraña, 2010, s. 23)”, an argument which reassures the purpose and aim of this thesis.

² The basic assumptions of modernization theory argue for a pro-western perspective as it emphasizes a replication of western development. That is, economic development will cause an industrialization, which will cause social change in the state and in the end will develop democracy (Rössel, 2012).

Finally, it is important to stress that I acknowledge all the approaches to development aid presented above, and acknowledge that they all address important issues in development aid. However, what they all have in common is a missing dimension. The debate on development and development aid is no longer a new debate, but has existed for many years, bringing attention, theories and methods to the subject to improve lives in developing countries. I have chosen to conduct this thesis on taboos in foreign aid sanitation projects because in my research phase and through my work with UBU, I discovered a dimension in development aid that is either under researched or underemphasized, and is thus not a part of the development debate happening globally. My aim for this thesis is therefore to add culture and taboos to the development aid debate and put focus on a topic, which seemingly has received little attention.

III. Methodology

Personal Dealings With the Subject

Since January 2016, I have been a project member of the Danish Association for Sustainable Development (UBU) working on a Tanzanian development project in the Arusha region. As mentioned in the introduction, the project aims at improving access to sanitation through advocacy, raising awareness, and installment of latrines. The eight communities in which this project will be implemented are rural, and have limited access to sanitation facilities, meaning that a large part of the communities are practicing open defecation. The project is planned by UBU in Denmark, however the Tanzanian NGO CBHCC conducts the implementation phase of the project.

As mentioned above, the main focus of the project is to create better access for the community members to sanitation facilities. The project further aims to raise awareness of sanitation issues in the region, hoping that the information given in the participating communities will reach other communities in the region and possibly function as a key component in advocacy strategies for improved sanitation in the area. In the planning phase of the project, strong cultural traditions in regard to sanitation were detected in the eight participating communities. More specifically, there were taboos detected in regard to sanitation practices in the communities, especially defecation practices. It was the detection of these taboos that inspired this thesis. Explaining this further; in my work with UBU it was apparent that the taboos were a possible influencer of the project's sustainability, however they were not dealt with systematically in any of the project's planning phases. It therefore became evident for me as a researcher that there were possible dimensions missing in the UBU sanitation project that could serve as a hindrance to its sustainability. It is therefore an aim of this project to research if this missing dimension is a general

tendency, or something limited to this specific UBU project. However, as also emphasized in the introduction of this thesis, it is my belief that taboos in sanitation projects in SSA are not dealt with properly, and are therefore a possible hindrance to the sustainability of these projects.

Research Methodology and Philosophy

The underlying philosophy of this thesis is based on relativism and social constructionist. These two underlying philosophies can also be referred to as ontology and epistemology. Relativism argues for truth or findings to be created by people, and thus facts depend on the observer. Similarly, social constructionists believe that reality is given meaning by people, and therefore focus on how people have communicated their beliefs and thoughts (Skillsyouneed, n/a). Because of these underlying philosophies in my thesis, I will also analyze and conclude based on different approaches to the same subject. E.g. I will include two cases to make a comparative analysis. I will further include several approaches to project management methods. Therefore, as I attempt to answer the research question of this thesis, it is not to uncover one absolute truth. It is rather to uncover how my chosen subject is looked upon from different viewpoints, and thus making my conclusions on these viewpoints. My reasoning for examining taboos in sanitation projects in SSA is further based on possibly generalizing a tendency discovered in my work with UBU. My underlying philosophy will therefore affect the choices I make in this thesis, and how I choose my methods to best answer my research question. My role as a researcher will also be affected by my ontology and epistemology. The underlying philosophy and my aim at generalizing a specific observation made through my own work, makes me personally involved in my research. Because of my personal

involvement with the research, I will therefore often be influenced by events and project developments happening in my work with UBU.

However, it should be noted that even though my underlying philosophy is rooted in relativism and social constructionist, I will likely draw on other approaches as my thesis progresses. This is mainly based on my exclusive use of secondary sources, and thus the exclusion of e.g. interviews, often emphasized by a social constructionist approach within a relativist ontology.

In this thesis, I will include in-depth analysis of two case studies to possibly draw out broader teachings and discuss whether these findings can be generalized to a tendency within the sanitation field. I have chosen to examine my research question through secondary case studies, as I am not able to do a primary case study myself. I have therefore chosen to include two case studies which are very similar to the Tanzanian sanitation project I am a part of in UBU. Using case studies to generalize results to a wider understanding of a problem, I acknowledge, is not always representative, as the projects are not guaranteed to represent the dealings of all other sanitation projects. However, as I am not able to conduct quantitative data collection in Africa, the use of sanitation cases do offer the components needed to facilitate a discussion of my research question.

My research and data collection for this thesis will be collected qualitatively. A qualitative research methodology assumes, much like the above mentioned ontology and epistemology, that knowledge is personal and thus relative. When conducting research based on qualitative methodology, and the above-mentioned underlying philosophy, it is important to note that in this view objectivity is unmanageable. That is, there will always be a bias in knowledge, as my personal viewpoint to any data collected and knowledge acquired will affect the findings of this thesis.

In this thesis, I have chosen to use secondary data. Secondary data was collected through online journals, encyclopædias, websites and books. Almost all online scholarly approaches was collected through google scholar, as sources collected through this service can be validated through citation numbering. I chose to use secondary data collection, because of my inability to collect primary data. Primary data could have been collected through e.g. interviews or first hand case studies in Africa. However, it was not possible for me to travel to Africa due to financial restrictions. However, through my work with UBU I will travel to Tanzania in January, and it is my hope that I can test the conclusions of this thesis at that present time.

The exclusive use of secondary sources does have some limitations, which are important to discuss as they can influence the trajectory of this thesis. Firstly, as there are numerous of approaches and data on almost every subject, acquiring and choosing relevant data can be difficult. The multitude of secondary data, therefore makes it impossible to include every approach available, and therefore only data deemed especially relevant for this thesis was included. E.g. government corruption is an element of development aid often looked at, as it is highly relevant for the sustainability of foreign aid projects. However, as I am writing my thesis in the scope of taboos and social sustainability, I did not include this approach as it is not obviously related to taboos and how it influences sustainability. Moreover, I acknowledge that there could exist data relevant for this thesis, as a multitude of data is either unpublished or inaccessible, as the results or processes by many development project are not published. As emphasized by Catarina Fonseca (2016), there is a general lack of transparency in the sanitation field. Therefore, accessing relevant data can be hard if it is unpublished, especially in a study trying to generalize a tendency through the

use of secondary case studies. This can therefore result in the omission of highly relevant data, because it is inaccessible. In this regard, it should be noted that I did have access to unpublished case studies through my work with UBU, but chose to exclude it due to ethical considerations. That is, I did not have permission to publish any of the data in the reports, and therefore excluded it.

IV. Background

I have chosen to include these following background sections to get a thorough understanding of the different subjects my thesis touches upon. I have chosen to write my thesis interdisciplinary, as it touches upon e.g. international relations, development, and anthropology. Thus, to get a thorough understanding of the background, which makes up my subject, I will include relevant elements of all the disciplines, to build my later analysis and discussion on a well-researched background.

The History and Politics of Foreign Aid

Foreign aid was initially in the shape of military assistance to help parties engaged in war that were considered allies, and thus deemed strategically important. The use of foreign aid in the modern era started in the 18th century with Prussia subsidizing some of their allies. Later in the 19th and 20th century, European powers put money into their colonized states to improve the economic output of their colonies.

The present understanding of foreign aid can be traced back to World War II with the enactment of the Marshall Plan and its implementation of an economic package aiming to help 17 European countries. Foreign aid today is further connected to the founding of international organizations such as the UN, World Bank, and IMF. These international organizations played a major role in e.g. assigning and distributing funds and addressing the impact of foreign aid. The organizations are still some of the most important actors in foreign aid worldwide. After World War II and the emergence of the Cold War, foreign aid was often used as a political strategic tool,

where states would withhold aid if the recipient states were allied with the enemy³. However, since the end of the Cold War, foreign aid is mostly used as a part of peacemaking and in aiding the transitions of non-democratic states into democracies. This view is contested by critics claiming that foreign aid is used as a tool by some countries and organizations to support the spread of capitalism (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016).

Looking more specifically at Africa, the continent has received vast amounts of funds through a multitude of foreign aid programmes. However, many of the states in the region are still severely underdeveloped, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Historically, foreign aid has been used to alleviate suffering from natural disasters, such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Civil Wars (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016), and more recently the Ebola epidemic.

Foreign aid has also been used to deal with transnational issues in a collective way (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2016). An example of this is e.g. the more recent Sustainable Development Goals, where governments collectively agreed on achieving key development goals through foreign aid.

Even though foreign aid has a long history, it is still one of the most debated areas in regard to efficiency, and numerous of scholars and organizations have discussed, analyzed and concluded on the mistakes of foreign aid programs.

³ It should be noted that there is a difference in political aid and foreign aid. Foreign aid can be argued to be one of the broadest definitions of aid. Britannica Academic (2016) defines foreign aid as “the international transfer of capital, goods, or services from a country or international organization for the benefit of the recipient country or its population. Aid can be economic, military, or emergency humanitarian” (e.g., aid given following natural disasters). Hence, foreign aid is a term that can be used interchangeably when discussing different forms of aid such as economic or humanitarian aid. Political aid is argued to be foreign aid, which frequently has a political motive. Thus, aid is given not on the basis of need, but rather on the basis of politics and political needs. Hans Morgenthau (in Dreher, Klasen, Vreeland, & Werker, 2010) further emphasized that the transfer of money, goods and services from one country to another performs as a price for political services rendered.

Especially in regard to Sub-Saharan Africa, much criticism has been made, and with the shortcomings of the Millennium Development Goals many remain skeptical.

From a scholarly approach, there are three leading theoretical schools dominant to foreign aid literature; realism, idealism and liberalism. (1) Realists argue that it is governments that shape foreign aid through policies that advocates and places requirements on economic and political national interests (Bountagkidis, Fragkos, & Frangos, 2015). Further, realists stress that economic factors are motivational in regard to foreign aid. That is, foreign aid can e.g. be given to states with colonial ties to acquire privileged access to natural resources and markets (Bountagkidis, Fragkos, & Frangos, 2015). Thus, realist emphasize that foreign aid has little to do with actual “good” policies and development aid beneficial for the developing country, but is rather used for the benefit of the donor country and their strategic considerations. (2) Idealists view foreign aid as being stripped from material considerations, and is instead motivated by altruism and moral obligations. From the perspective of idealism, peace is not emanating from balance of power (realism), but rather the belief that human nature possess the ability to create and sustain peace through international laws and institutions. In that view, foreign aid is given to recipient countries with low human and social development to improve human welfare, which is believed to be a beneficial contribution for both donor and recipient (Bountagkidis, Fragkos, & Frangos, 2015). (3) Liberalism argues for a domestic feature of foreign aid. NGOs, bureaucracies, and political parties are all viewed as important pieces in understanding aid. I.e. bureaucracies have the ability to petition for expanded aid budgets and can therefore influence donor coordination, while NGOs often emphasize raising awareness towards development issues through e.g. projects (Bountagkidis, Fragkos, & Frangos, 2015).

Foreign Aid and Culture

Culture in foreign aid is not necessarily a new concept, as it often has been dealt with through economic aid programs. Culture has the ability to motivate, influence and hinder foreign aid, best described by Ali Mazrul in his article “The Cultural Aspects of Foreign Aid” (1978).

Mazrul (1978) describes that aid is given and the recipient chosen. Three general areas motivate this: charity, solidarity, and self-interest. The charitable feature of aid is a feature often detected in western countries, where the Christian culture has influenced the role of giving and helping⁴, and is thus a great motivator for aid. However, looking at the charitable giving of western countries combined with the self-interested trade ruled (capitalistic) society, charity motivated aid is often dependent on also helping the trade position of the donor. Thus, cultural levels of self-interest and charity are high. Aid motivated by solidarity is however not as common. The culture of aid and charitable giving is dominant in many western countries, and thus motives for aid have become more sophisticated as it has developed through a long period of time. Hence, determining recipients of aid based on solidarity or shared ideology is no longer as dominant of a trend as previously. Mazrul (1978) goes on to argue that culture is not only detectable in motivational factors of aid, but that culture is embodied in aid itself. This is explored through the notion of direct cultural aid and cultural content of economic aid.

Direct cultural aid is a means to either consolidate cultural solidarity or expand it (Mazrul, 1978). Direct cultural aid is often detectable through education, where e.g. western learning institutions are trying to expand solidarity through manifesting a western culture of learning. However, cultural aid is not always direct

⁴ Christianity, and Christian churches, has a long tradition as havens for the poor and desolate (Mazrul, 1978).

as in the above example, but can be an element in e.g. a financial aid program (Mazrul, 1978).

Lastly, and especially relevant for the purpose of this thesis, Mazrul (1978) goes on to describe the cultural constraints on aid. Again taking an example in the western world, a cultural constraint on aid lies in liberal culture of the west and importance of maximization of return. I.e. Aid is only given and sustained if the donor sees a profitable return of the aid, meaning results. This notion can then often produce tied aid, where aid is only given if the donor benefits. This can result in the donor benefiting more than the receiver and further the receiver being imposed with conditions most favorable to the donor. This notion of tied aid can be connected to the modernization theoretical school. That is, most of the largest development banks and institutions (World Bank, European Union) offer funds and assistance in development to underdeveloped countries. However, the help is tied and only offered if the receiving nation agrees to certain conditionalities. E.g. The EU association agreements are international agreements with third party states with the aim of providing progressive liberalization of trade (European Union, n/a). However, it is further specified that the country engaging in the agreement must follow some criteria in order to engage: “Since 1995 the clause on the respect of human rights and democratic principles is systematically included and constitutes an essential element of the agreement (European Union, n/a). Thus, as illustrated by the EU association agreement, development aid can often be tied to conditions favorable or important to the donor.

Mazrul also detects possible cultural hindrances in receiving aid. The reluctance to receive aid can firstly be due to the self-claimed independence of a state. A state thus chooses to be self-reliant and willingly resist foreign aid. Another

possible explanation for the cultural hindrance to aid is the absence of a culture of anticipation⁵. A common feature of many traditional societies is a culture of nostalgia, the almost opposite of a culture of anticipation. Cultures of nostalgia value tradition, customs and ancestry highly, and will often not prioritize preparations for the day after and time management. Another feature of cultures of nostalgia is the importance of kinship. Cultures with a strong sense of kinship will often prioritize kinship over e.g. motives of profit seeking and will more likely prioritize prestige status, often among ones own kinsfolk, which regularly results in a less than optimal productivity and effectiveness (Mazrul, 1978).

Foreign Aid and Sanitation

International Cooperation

As emphasized in the earlier, the present understanding of foreign aid emerged after WWII, and since then there has been an increased focus on water and sanitation projects through the years. In 1961 the World Bank confirmed its first water and sanitation loan, and in that same period several bilateral development agencies began operating in water and sanitation activities. Multilateral, bilateral, and non-governmental agencies were all undertaking water and sanitation activities by 1972. However, even with the risen emphasis on water and sanitation in the 60's an international comprehensive view on water and sanitation management did emerge until the 70's, where the topic was widely discussed at international conferences (Grover, 1998).

One of these international conferences was the 1972 UN Environment Conference, where a need for a more comprehensive approach to water and sanitation

⁵ The notion of saving for tomorrow even if this involves sacrifices today (Mazrul, 1978)

management was emphasized. It was also during this conference that the creation of United Nation Environment Programme (UNEP) was prioritized, as an attempt to operationalize environmental principles (Grover, 1998). The first UN Water Conference was hosted by Argentina in 1977, where there was a dominant prominence of the need for water and sanitation management and globally severe water related issues. This conference led to the announcement of the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (1981-1990). This decade dedicated to water and sanitation led to two institutional arrangements: UNDP-World Bank Water and Sanitation Program (WSP), and the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC) (Grover, 1998).

WSP deployed several water and sanitation projects, handled by Regional Offices that were established by the WSP. WSP invested over US\$ 100 million in research and technical assistance in approx. 35 countries in the period 1978-1997 (Grover, 1998). Today, WSP is part of the World Bank Group's Water Global Practice, which helps poor people gain sustainable access to water and sanitation services in over 25 countries (WSP: Water and Sanitation Program, 2016). With the enhanced cooperation in the field of water and sanitation management the WSSCC also evolved in the 1980's and held four global conferences in the 1990's (Grover, 1998).

In association with a meeting in the International Water Resources Association in 1994, a background paper was developed, which presented criticism towards the existing structures for international cooperation in water and sanitation management. This session therefore led to the creation of the World Water Council (WWC), as an attempt to improve structures in the international cooperation on water and sanitation management. The WWC initial task was to inaugurate a study and

analysis of water, life and the environment, which should lead to collective global vision on just that (Grover, 1998). In the 2000's the WWC attended and hosted a multitude of forums and conferences on water and sanitation, and has played a large role in emphasizing water and sanitation in both the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals (World Water Council, 2015). After the birth of the WWC, the Global Water Partnership (GWP) was quickly developed, designed to manage technical assistance related to water (and sanitation) resources (Grover, 1998). They are today an important actor in the promotion of water and sanitation management, and works to support sustainable development, and water and sanitation management on a global, regional and local level (Global Water Partnership, 2010). Even though the WWC and the GWP was developed and functions independently, the two organizations try to complement each other to contribute to a more global comprehensive understanding and practice of sustainable water and sanitation management.

Water And Sanitation

As already established in this thesis, the leading cause of death in children under five in SSA is diarrheal diseases. These diseases are often spread through the faecal-oral route, and thus improvements in water, sanitation and hygiene are extremely important. In order to get a more clear view on the relationship between foreign aid, water and sanitation, I have chosen to incorporate the statistical findings of Botting, Porbeni, Joffres, Johnston, Black & Mills from their research article "Water and sanitation infrastructure for health: The impact of foreign aid (2010)".

As described in the above section "International Cooperation", there has been a large emphasis on water and sanitation through international conferences and forums. This focus can also be argued to have contributed to the emphasis on the

topic in the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development goals, and Official Development Assistance in the 2000's increased over 5 times the amount compared to 1990. In order to determine how the effects of the large increase in development assistance is affecting water and sanitation in low-income countries, Botting, et al. (2010) examine the local results of water and sanitation efforts. Overall, Botting et al. determine that the improvement of water and sanitation infrastructure improves health related issues such as child mortality and morbidity. Further, they conclude that countries receiving high levels of foreign aid (dedicated to water and sanitation), were 4-18 times more likely to accomplish greater access to water, though without being able to prove any dependable advances in access to sanitation. Nonetheless, it was proven by Botting et al. (2010) that there is a significant correlation between high levels of sanitation and reduction in health related issues such as infant and child mortality, and thus "... sanitation and hygiene have a greater impact in relative risk of acquiring diarrhea compared to water quality and water supply projects (p. 6)". This paradox emphasizes that the main emphasis is being put on water, and sanitation is therefore often overlooked to a certain degree. Especially in regard to health related issues it is extremely important that the emphasis on sanitation improvements grow, as improved sanitation is a main contributor to e.g. reducing diarrheal diseases. This notion is further supported by Black & Fawcett (2008) in their book "The Last Taboo: Opening the Door on the Global Sanitation Crisis". In this book, the authors also acknowledge the overemphasis on water. That is, they argue that sanitation is often connected or inadequately related to water in public health engineering, and thus receives fewer resources (Black & Fawcett, 2008). Access to water and water management is therefore increasing, whereas sanitation management and access to sanitation is still lacking in many developing countries

(especially SSA). Further, 2.6 billion people without access to sanitation, most of whom live in the developing world, dispose of their excreta in a process completely separated from their water supply. Therefore, there is no connection between access to water and the how the people dispose of excreta (Black & Fawcett, 2008). Thus, to improve e.g. open defecation practices, the focus needs to be on access to sanitation; sanitation being the primary focus rather than being secondary to water.

Botting et al. highlight that one of the main contributors to the neglect of sanitation (in comparison to water), is the notion of water and sanitation going hand in hand. While most international development goals, NGOs, and organizations working with water and sanitation tend to position water and sanitation in unison, this cannot be assumed in cultural contexts. That is, local communities often identify water, as a positive economic, social and ecological resource needed for e.g. food production and drinking water. However, sanitation is often associated with cultural believes and taboos, inhibiting the local communities in addressing this important health indicator. Hence, foreign aid project owners must acknowledge that there is a need for a specific approach in dealing with sanitation improvements, in order to utilize the benefits from water, sanitation and hygiene projects. The role of cultural complexities will be discussed further in my case study analysis (p. 45)

Sustainable Development

In this thesis I have set out to investigate the sustainability of sanitation projects. Thus a great part of this thesis will evolve around sustainability and how to achieve such. It is therefore necessary to first define sustainable development, to establish a conceptualization of the term and how it will be used henceforth in this thesis. I will further address sustainability in regard to sanitation, as this thesis deals with sustainability in the sphere of sanitation projects. The role of sustainability in

sanitation will be examined through the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals and its affiliated targets.

With the launch of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, sustainable development received a renewed emphasis not only within the development paradigm, but also through mainstream media. However, the establishment of the SDGs last year did not mark the birth of sustainable development. The term can be argued to originate back to the "Brundtland Commission". The Brundtland Commission got its name from the Norwegian then-Prime Minister of Norway Gro Harlem Brundtland, who chaired the committee. The committee published the report "Our Common Future" in 1987, and it is in this report a definition of sustainable development is coined (United Nations, 1987). The Brundtland Commission' work was very committed to unifying environment and development as emphasized in the following quote from Brundtland herself:

"The environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs, and attempts to defend it in isolation from human concerns have given the word "environment" a connotation of naivety in some political circles. The word "development" has also been narrowed by some into a very limited focus, along the lines of "what poor nations should do to become richer. (...) The "environment" is where we live: and "development" is what we all do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode. The two are inseparable (United Nations, 1987, s. n/a)".

Brundtland made a very brief definition of the term sustainable development. She viewed sustainable development as the current population being able to address its needs whilst still ensuring that future needs can be met. This landmark definition is still being used today and it will be based on Brundtland's thoughts I attempt to conceptualize sustainable development and how it will be used in this thesis.

Since 1987, scholars, NGOs, businesses, and government have all contributed to different definitions of sustainable development, most building on Brundtland's conceptualization (Drexhage & Murphy, 2010) (Silvius & Schipper, 2015) (Heywood, 2011). Nonetheless, it can be argued that a general approach has emerged. This approach argues for sustainable development being constructed of three pillars: economic development, social equity and environmental protection (Drexhage & Murphy, 2010) (The World Bank, n/a). This approach is very much illustrated by the 2015 SDGs; as the goals the SDG's set forward are build on economic development, social equity, and environmental protection. It is important to emphasize that the three pillars cannot be understood as separate entities; they are interconnected. That is, without social equity there cannot be economic development and environmental protection and vice versa. Thus one cannot function without the other (Drexhage & Murphy, 2010). The interconnectedness of these three pillars is important to emphasize as development aid project have a tendency to focus on specific features of development within each pillar. Thus, to understand and determine the sustainability of a development aid project (the aim of this thesis), it is important to address and analyze the project within all three pillars, rather than just one.

As this thesis is dealing with sustainable development within the framework of sanitation and taboos, it is necessary to further examine how sustainable development is connected to sanitation and taboos. In order to get an understanding of how the two frames can be merged, I will examine the SDGs, and through them discuss how sustainable development is understood in the sphere of sanitation and taboos. I will take my point of origin in sanitation, as the SDGs do not have any particular goals, targets or indicators on taboos. Thus, I will examine sanitation through Goal 6 of the SDGs, and in this sphere further examine the role of social sustainability. Social Sustainability is working as a proxy for taboos, as taboos are not explicitly mentioned in any of the goals, targets, or indicators in the SDGs.

In 2015 the United Nation presented the SDGs, and hereunder Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation - Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all (The United Nations, 2015), emphasizing the need for development in that particular area. Goal 6 of the SDGs contains eight targets, three of which are related to sanitation, one of which is solely related to sanitation. In this regard it should be noted that the emphasis on water in goal 6 is far greater than the emphasis on sanitation. In the World Bank report “Results and Performance of the World Bank Group 2014: An Independent Evaluation” it is illustrated that the Millennium Development Goals’ targets on water has been completely fulfilled, whereas the targets related to sanitation are only at approx. 60 percent (World Bank Group, 2014). As the SDGs are formed on the successes and failures of the MDGs it therefore seems peculiar that there is less focus on sanitation, indicating that the area might still be underemphasized or that there are some fierce challenges in the area of sanitation not being addressed or tackled properly.

The three targets related to sanitation in goal 6 of the SDGs are:

”[1] By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations. [2] By 2030, expand international cooperation and capacity-building support to developing countries in water- and sanitation-related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling and reuse technologies. [3] Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management (The United Nations, 2015)”.

Examining the targets presented above and how sanitation and culture is understood in the sphere of sustainability, it is evident that there is a large focus on environmental sustainability. I.e. the targets presented above all have an emphasis on environmental protection, and the environmental part of sanitation. Therefore, little emphasis is being put on the social sustainability aspects of sanitation. As described earlier in this section, sustainable development exists within three pillars; social, environmental and economic sustainability, all three pillars interdependent and cannot be looked at as autonomous entities. However, in the targets presented in Goal 6 in the SDGs there is a dominant focus on environmental sustainability in sanitation, and thus the remaining pillars are somewhat excluded. The exclusion of especially social sustainability hence support the argument presented in the literature review of this

thesis; the social and cultural part of sanitation and sustainability is often not a priority which may serve as a hindrance to sustainability.

The Role and Importance of Taboos in Africa

The dominant theme of this thesis is taboos in SSA. In order to understand the context of this topic for later analysis, it is important to first briefly examine what role taboos play in society in Africa. This is important to get a clear understanding of the topics that are dealt with in this thesis in order to build my future analysis on facts rather than presumptions. It is presumed in the introduction of this thesis that the role of taboos are significant in African society, and because of that importance they have the ability to hinder sanitation projects if not dealt with. Thus, in order to later address this hypothesis and my research question, it is important to first look at the role of taboos in Africa.

Taboos in Africa are a native part of the religions and myths, and are often entrusted and respected for the protection of an individual, family, or community. In Africa, taboos are numerous and are thus often detectable in almost every aspect of African life, as well as everyday actions. Taboo originally means forbidden, and is therefore not connected to ethics or morals. However, in African meta-ethics actions are beyond dos and don'ts, but rather refer to things in African life, which is beyond ordinary morals and ethics. I.e. taboos goes beyond moral issues as taboos are bordering on sacredness, and are intended to establish good behavior within a group or community. Many taboos stem from history or myths of a community, and are often taken very seriously as taboos are often connected to sanctions if not respected. In almost all African societies where taboos are present, there are sanctions if these taboos are not respected. These sanctions are not upheld by the people in society, but

rather exist as natural punishment to those who violate the taboos. Breaking a taboo means going against a sacred order, and it is therefore viewed as horrendous, and the consequences of breaking a taboo are inescapable. The consequences of taboos are often dire for any persons who break it, and breaking a taboo can result in e.g. plagues, droughts and famine, all devastating to the means of living for many people in Africa (Ayegboyin & Jegede, 2009).

The role of taboos in Africa can therefore be understood to be extremely important. Most African societies have taboos infiltrated in many aspects of their lives, and taboos can thus govern their behavior in certain directions, in order not to break any taboos. Further, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, it can be argued that taboos are especially important in areas where livelihood depends on agriculture, hunting and fishing, as breaking a taboo can result in a plague, or lost harvest, devastating to their income and means of living.

V. Framework Presentation

In this thesis, I have chosen to investigate possible issues within foreign aid projects. Therefore, a framework of project management is chosen to conduct my later analysis of two sanitation projects. To best understand this framework, I will briefly describe the two main approaches to project management; Project Cycle Management (PCM) and the Logical Framework Approach (LFA), to get a general understanding of project management. The two general approaches are also included, as the more specific approaches used later in this thesis are built on the steps of PCM and LFA. I will also look into an approach to sustainable project management (SPM), both in general and in regard to sanitation, as sustainability and sanitation are key features of this thesis. The description and conceptualizations of the four approaches will thus create the framework in which the later analysis and discussion of aid projects will be conducted. I.e. I will use the four approaches as a theoretical frame for my further work, and this framework will thus function as a model to analyze the empirical data included in this thesis, with a specific emphasis on the case study analysis subsequently conducted.

Project Cycle Management

PCM was adopted by the European Commission in 1992, and was last updated in 2003. The purpose of PCM is to improve development assistance, and thus assists in supporting good management practices and effective decision-making. The quality of development assistance is defined by (1) relevance; the project meets the established prioritized needs. (2) Feasibility, the project is well designed and will provide sustainable benefits to target groups. (3) Effectiveness, the project will deliver the expected benefits and has good management. (European Commission, 2004, s. 23). In the PCM guidelines, a project is defined as a series of activities aiming to

clarify specific objectives within a defined time period and budget. A project should further have clearly identified stakeholders, a balance between development policy priority and the partner development priorities, a monitoring system, and a cost analysis. Some of the self-identified weaknesses of PCM can be (1) inadequate local participation, which can challenge the sustainability of a project. (2) Lack of cooperation between development project owners, which can result in large transaction costs for the recipient of development assistance. (3) The monitoring necessary in an aid project can undermine the locals. (4) PCM can encourage a narrow view of the usage of funds without addressing the fungibility issue. The fungibility issue can be summed up to the misuse or redirection of project funds. I.e. donor-funded projects can allow partner governments to redirect their own financial resources. Thus the partner government uses its freed resources (the money they don't have to use of development because the donor paid) on another government sector, or the freed money disappears in corruption schemes (European Commission, 2004).

PCM identifies 5 stages of operations in an aid project (European Commission, 2004). These are referred to as programming, identification, formulation, implementation, and evaluation and audit. The "Cycle of Operations" is illustrated in figure 1.

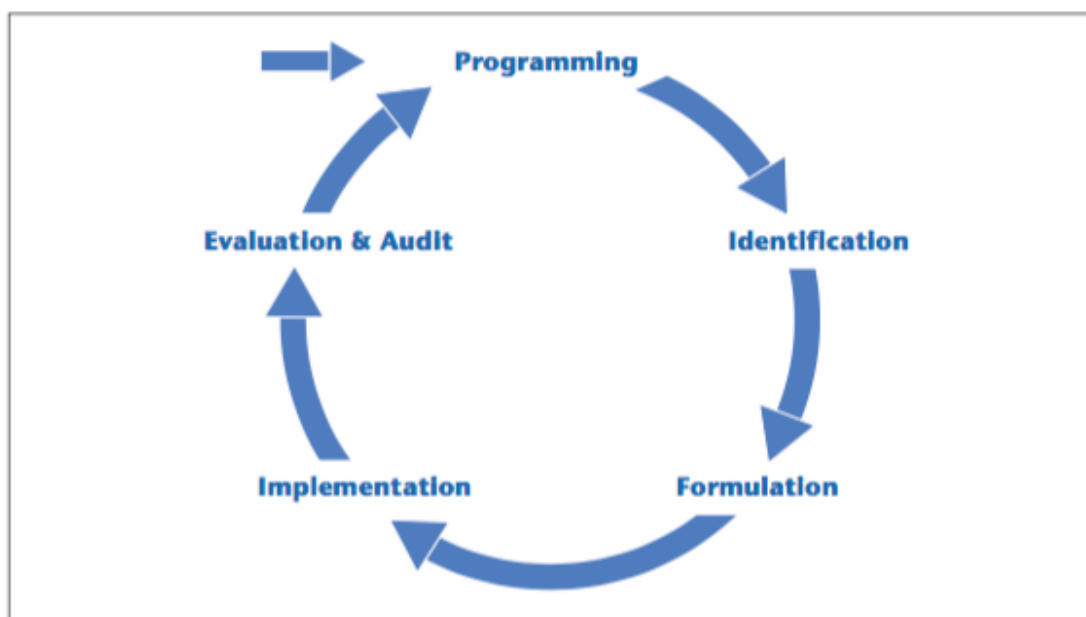


Figure 1: Cycle of Operations (European Commission, 2004, s. 16)

(1) Programming. Here national and sector levels are analyzed to identify problems, constraints and opportunities. The programming process also includes analytical elements, which are: Identifying stakeholders and evaluate their needs and interests, identifying and analyzing the development problems/constraints/opportunities, ascertaining development objectives which address the difficulties, and identifying a strategy for development assistance.

(2) Identification. The purpose of the identification phase is identifying ideas for the project that are consistent with not only development priorities, but further with key stakeholders and partners. It is further an important step to determine the relevance and possibility of the project, as well as for the preparation of financial propositions and decisions. The identification step is also significant in the development of local ownership and commitment to the project.

(3) Formulation. The purpose of the formulation phase is confirming the possibility of the project, and how relevant the project is. In this phase a detailed project design should also be conducted, along with a financial proposal. In some

cases funding is determined earlier in the cycle, and should in that case be disregarded. In this phase of the project it is important that stakeholders are frontrunners as it is important for ownership and commitment, vital parts of ensuring the sustainability of a project.

(4) Implementation. The aim of the implementation phase is to deliver the results, and contribute to the objectives of the project in an effective way. It is further important that the available resources are managed efficiently, and there is a consistent monitoring and reporting of the progresses of the project. In the monitoring and reporting of a project it is important that stakeholders with on-ground responsibilities are included. The implementation phase is the most important phase in the cycle of operations, and the other phases are thus supportive of the implementation phase

(5) Evaluation and Audit. The purpose of this phase is to have a systematic and objective evaluation of a project, either ongoing or completed. In this phase it is determined whether or not the project is relevant and if the objectives are being fulfilled in an efficient way. Impact and sustainability of the project is further assessed. An evaluation should provide useful information supporting the incorporation of “lessons learned” into the decision making process. The purpose of an audit is to ultimately produce a conclusion or opinion that provides the indented user with assurance about the project being audited. (European Commission, 2004).

Logical Framework Approach

Logical Framework Approach (LFA) is a tool created to improve the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases of a development project. LFA is further an instrument for logical analysis and structured project planning, a framework for stakeholders and roles in the project, and an instrument to create

responsibility, participation, and ownership. The use of LFA can help its handlers improve the quality of a project (Örtengren, 2003). I.e. The LFA can improve the relevance, feasibility and sustainability of a development project, defined as fundamental in the PCM approach. A vital part in the LFA is local ownership and stakeholder identification of the project. This is based on the idea that the user (project owner) assumes the main responsibility of the planning process to achieve sustainability. The LFA was developed in the 1960's and is today used by most international development organizations.

As mentioned, the LFA should be used as a tool to improve quality of a development project. The purpose is thus to (1) identify problems and needs in certain sectors, (2) facilitate and prioritize elements in a project, (3) plan and implement the programming, and (4) follow up and evaluate (Örtengren, 2003).

The LFA identifies some important elements necessary for the success of a development project. Firstly, all parties must be committed. There must also be a sense of ownership of the project. Here local ownership is emphasized as a vital part of achieving sustainability, as well as the participation of beneficiaries. Roles and the division of labor are moreover very important to define properly to reach effective results. The projects' goals setting process should also be as realistic and objective as possible. Finally, flexibility and risk assessment are important elements in the success of a project (Örtengren, 2003).

The LFA method stresses that an objective-oriented planning process of a project contains nine steps (Örtengren, 2003).

(1) The first step is analysis of context. The step is initialized to get a clear picture of the external factors important to the project, and is often implemented by conducting

a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis with information gathered as locally to the project as possible.

(2) The second step in the LFA is stakeholder analysis. Stakeholders are identified as those who can influence the project, directly or indirectly. Stakeholders can be divided into four groups: Beneficiaries, implementers, decision makers, and financiers. It is again emphasized that there is local ownership, and local personnel should thus conduct the stakeholder analysis.

(3) The next step in the LFA is problems/situation analysis. This step is important in finding the cause of any possible problems to solve the effect the problem is having. Effects demonstrate the argument for the problem. Common problems, which can be detected in development projects, are poor management. Poor management includes poor financial control, poor administrative control, poor planning of human resources and weak IT strategies.

(4) The next step of the LFA is objectivity, or objective analysis. During this stage it is important that the project members establish the overall objectives for the project, the project purpose, and the expected results. The objectives of the paper should therefore answer e.g. what the project aims to achieve, why the project is important, and what the focus of the project is. Finally it is important that the project objectives reflect the long-term social and economic impact the project will contribute.

(5) The fifth step of the LFA is planning of activities. This stage is implemented as the means to achieve the goals. The activities should thus tackle the core problems identified in step 3.

(6) The sixth important step in the LFA is resource planning. The project group should in this step make a detailed plan of the resources needed for the

implementation of the project. These should include: Technical expertise, equipment, premises, funds (grants, credits), and time.

(7) The LFA also emphasizes the importance of identifying indicators of the objectives. Here it is stressed that there should be as many indicators as results, and they should function as a baseline study preliminary to the implementation of the project.

(8) The eighth step in the LFA is risk analysis/management. This step is important to establish which factors can influence the project. Here it is important that both external and internal factors are incorporated. External factors are comprised of e.g. political developments, natural disasters and corruption. Effective project management can minimize internal factors or risks.

(9) The last step of the LFA is analysis of assumptions. In this step it is important to be aware of the institutional situation in the country the project is implemented. E.g. it could be optimal to postpone a project, if the political situation in a country is bad. When identifying assumptions, it is important that they are realistic, as they otherwise are risks, and should thus be dealt with in the risk management step.

Sustainable Project Management

For the past decade, there has been a growing recognition of the concept of sustainable development, and also a growing recognition of the need for it. Even though there is a landmark definition of the term introduced in 1987⁶, there are still over 100 definitions of sustainability and sustainable development (Labuschagne, 2005). Even with the multitude of approaches to sustainable development, it has not yet been incorporated into the most used project cycle management approaches in

⁶ Brundtland definition – see literature review (p. 7)

development aid. However, as this thesis is produced within the framework of development aid and sustainable development, it is important to somehow merge the two into a concept comprehensible for this thesis. I have chosen to include a conceptual approach to integrate sustainability into project management presented by A.J. Silvius and Ron Schipper (2015). Silvius and Schipper stress that in order for project management to integrate sustainable development, it is important to look at project success and the barometers measuring success. Firstly, they state that project success is an elusive and multidimensional concept, and factors that contribute to project success are numerous and not universal. They do however argue that one important aspect in measuring project success is to measure success over time. Silvius and Schipper (2015) go on to define 9 features that identify sustainability and its role in project management.

(1) Firstly, they argue that it is important to balance social, environmental and economic interests. Here it is emphasized that in order for an organization to contribute successfully to sustainable development, they must satisfy all three pillars of sustainability: social, environment, and economic. (2) Secondly, it is emphasized that sustainability is both short-term and long-term. A sustainable organization is therefore obliged to consider both short- and long-term benefits and consequences of their project actions. (3) Next, it is highlighted that sustainability, because of the globalization of economies, is about thinking both locally and globally. The actions of an organization can thus have ramifications both locally and globally, and sustainable projects must hence consider their actions on a global, regional and local level. (4) Values and ethics are further mentioned as an important part of sustainability in project management. Here it is accentuated that sustainable development is very much a normative concept, and the changes needed for sustainability will therefore reflect

the values of professionals, business leaders or consumers in the project area. (5) The fifth feature emphasized by Silvius and Schipper (2015) is transparency and accountability. Transparency is understood as an organization being open about decision-making, activities, and policies, also in regard to the social and environmental effect of their project. An organization is hence responsible for its actions, decisions and policies and their impact - negative or positive. (6) Next, stakeholder participation is underscored and is described as a key to sustainability. I.e. stakeholder participation requires dialogue and consensus-building between stakeholders in all aspects of a project life cycle, and only if this is followed through can a project be considered sustainable. (7) Risk reduction is further emphasized as an important feature in sustainability of projects. This is identified based on the belief that damage is easier to prevent than ameliorate. (8) The eighth feature defined as important in sustainability is elimination of waste. Here seven waste methods are identified: overproduction, waiting, transporting, inappropriate processing, unnecessary inventory, unnecessary or excess motion and defects. (9) Lastly, the notion of sustainability being about consuming income rather than capital is highlighted. By this is meant, that the extraction of resources should not prevail the rate new resources can be produced, and the capacity of the environment to absorb waste should never be surpassed. From a social perspective, it is argued that organizations should never exhaust the ability of a population to produce labor or knowledge.

Silvius and Schipper decisively argue that sustainability, and the nine elements defined above, are important to incorporate in the life cycle of a project if a project should achieve sustainability. Thus, the conceptual model described in their theoretical contribution gives a more detailed understanding of how the different

dimensions of sustainability can affect a project, and further why it is important to include them.

Project Cycle Management: Sustainability in Sanitation Development Work

In 2001 the World Bank estimated that only around 50% of their water and sanitation projects were satisfactory, and less than 50% of these were rated sustainable (McConville & Mihelcic, 2007). In the 2014 World Bank Results and Performance report, the World Bank further stated that approx. 66% of countries with sanitation related issues were off track to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the area of sanitation being the target furthest from reaching its goals (World Bank Group, 2014). It is based on the above information that I stress the importance of the inclusion of a project management framework, which specifically addresses the certain issues related to sustainability of sanitation projects, as the success of sanitation projects are vital in the fight for development in underdeveloped countries. As I am writing my thesis within the framework of sanitation projects, I further state it is necessary to include an approach examining project cycle management in the context of sustainability and sanitation, aiming to conceptualize an approach most fitting to the problem area and research question of this thesis. This conceptualization will be based on the journal article “Adapting Life-Cycle Thinking Tools to Evaluate Project Sustainability in International Water and Sanitation Development Work” written by Jennifer McConville and James Mihelcic (2007).

In their article, McConville and Mihelcic (2007) present a framework, which can assess the effectiveness of sanitation projects, a tool that is applicable in all cycles of a project. One particularly interesting aspect of their framework presentation is the emphasis being put on social factors. In the above framework presentation there was a very small, if any, emphasis on cultural factors. McConville and Mihelcic’s emphasis

on culture is therefore another important motivation for including their specific framework in this thesis. I.e. I am investigating issues within the social paradigm in this thesis, and including a framework of project management, which includes social and cultural factors, is immensely important to incorporate a framework most relatable to my subject area. McConville and Mihelcic (2007) argue that social sustainability is something, which has been widely interpreted and is often not systematically included in most project management frameworks, especially in regard to sanitation. They go on to define social sustainability as (1) sociocultural respect, (2) community participation, and (3) political cohesion.

Having addressed the underemphasized element of social sustainability, the authors go on to define sustainability in sanitation projects by five key factors: (1) sociocultural respect: built on understanding local traditions and values. (2) Community participation: direct participation is fostered through empowerment and ownership in community members. (3) Political cohesion: increases the alignment of sanitation projects and host countries priorities. Further, helps manage aid efforts locally, nationally, and internationally. (4) Economic sustainability: should ensure that enough local resources exist to continue the project without foreign resources. (5) Environmental sustainability: should ensure that resources are not destroyed for short-term improvements. All five factors should be applied throughout the entire project life cycle. The framework presented above uses a scoring system of 0-4, where each framework element receives a rating. The maximum score of each sustainability element is therefore 20, and the total possible score of the entire project is 100. This is illustrated in figure 1. Scoring guidelines are further included, presenting a set of questions to clarify the recommended actions. A sample of these questions can be found in Appendix A.

<i>Life stage</i>	<i>Sustainability factor</i>					<i>Total possible score</i>
	<i>Sociocultural respect</i>	<i>Community participation</i>	<i>Political cohesion</i>	<i>Economic sustainability</i>	<i>Environmental sustainability</i>	
Needs assessment	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	20
Conceptual designs and feasibility	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	20
Design and action planning	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.5	20
Implementation	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.5	20
Operation and maintenance	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	20
Total possible score	20	20	20	20	20	100

Figure 1: The Sustainability Assessment Matrix (McConville & Mihelcic, 2007, s. 942)

VI. Case Studies

In order to facilitate a thorough discussion of the impact of taboos on foreign aid sanitation projects, it is important to first look into case studies of sanitation projects. These projects are chosen to possibly identify the processes of such projects, and thus identify how culture and taboos are taken into consideration. The projects are chosen based on availability and relevance.

Community-Led Total Sanitation+, Liberia

- Global Communities & United States Agency for International Development

The first case I wish to look into is a case implemented in the rural areas Bong, Lofa and Nimba counties in Liberia. The project was launched in 2010 and ended in 2015, with a budget of USD 10 million. The planning and executive team in the project was Global Communities (USA), with the financial support of United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The objective of the project was to increase access to water, sanitation, hygiene education, and household-level hygiene products. Further, the project owners wanted to increase the knowledge of water options, sanitation facilities and hygiene, as well as enable an environment for water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH). In the project the strategy of Community-Led

Total Sanitation (CLTS)⁷ was employed to reach the above-mentioned objectives, along with the later community adopted CLTS+ method⁸.

In the above-mentioned areas, and in Liberia in general, access to water and sanitation is severely low. In average 82 percent do not have access to safe sanitation and 25% do not have access to safe water. In the specific areas of this project 94 percent do not have access to safe sanitation and 37% do not have access to safe water (Urban & Steen, 2015). Hence, the motivation for implementing a project to improve sanitation in that specific area could not have been higher.

When the CLTS project was launched in 2010, the focus was on the general community-led total sanitation, and it was not until 2013 that the geographic scope of the project was narrowed, and the more community specific approach CLTS+ was adopted. This new approach built on the original one, but emphasized three important additional areas; (1) modified technology to be reactive to Liberia's context, (2) natural Leader Network adoption, and (3) coordination between the project and government and traditional structures (Urban & Steen, 2015).

(1) A part of implementing the newly adopted CLTS+ method, specific technology for installation of sanitation equipment was implemented to best fit the receiving community. This was e.g. an improved pit latrine design, which was significantly lower in cost but still reduced the chances of floor collapse and reduced odor and flies significantly. The project was further responsible for installing a reed-based hand

⁷ Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) is a practice used to mobilize communities to end open defecation practices. The communities are thus the center of the facilitation and conduct their own appraisal and analysis of open defecation, as well as conduct their own actions towards the problem. The notion of CLTS stems from the believe that the use of sanitation facilities rely on community partition to be sustainable. Further, CLTS focuses on changing behavior in communities, a practice believed to ensure sustainability (Community-Led Total Sanitation, 2011).

⁸ CLTS+ is a method where CLTS is tailored to the community specific needs of the implemented project. This thus creates a model that is more sustainable for that specific community.

washing stations, which was low cost and easy to construct, among other minor sanitation technologies. In the implementing phase of the project, the community was given different design options of the sanitation equipment, all varying in cost and complexity. This was offered so the community members could themselves decide how much they wanted to invest in the equipment and what best covered their needs. Further, to increase the sustainability of the project, all materials were local and most sanitation technologies were developed in collaboration with local community members (Urban & Steen, 2015).

(2) In the project, an important addition to the original CLTS method was the establishment of National Leader Networks (NLNs). A natural leader is a person within the community who naturally takes lead on project processes, and can be supported to become facilitators themselves. NLNs are “district-level groups of natural leaders from Open Defecation Free [ODF] communities – to bring CLTS facilitation to a local, sustainable level (Urban & Steen, 2015, s. 3)”. An advantage by having natural leaders is their automatic connection to the community in which the project is implemented. The natural leaders speak the same language, come from the same clans and have a predisposed understanding of the social structures of the community – all crucial contributing elements to the sustainability of the project and getting the community’s acceptance of the project. NLNs further form a group, which become primary contact persons in project related issues. Even after the project has ended they can serve as important networks for future WASH related issues by providing oversight, accountability and advocacy.

(3) Sustained sanitation is presented by the CLTS+ method to be depended on the inclusion of traditional leadership and the government. In Liberian traditional society, the traditional leaders of a community have a huge influence in overseeing and

guiding community members in their household activities. Engaging traditional leaders in the communities is thus very important to get acceptance of the project in the community and thus achieve sustainability. Government inclusion is equally important, and can be achieved by utilizing the NLNs. NLNs link the government structures with the communities by working together with the government to ensure ODF status (Urban & Steen, 2015).

Households locally carried out operation and maintenance of the facilities earlier discussed. Throughout the project financial stipends was offered to local government officials for their travels to remote communities for monitoring, the payment of Natural Leaders when their community achieved ODF status, and monthly stipends to the supervising and coordinating Environment Health Technicians (EHTs). One year after the project period ended 73% of the communities were still ODF, convincing the project managers of the projects' sustainability (Urban & Steen, 2015).

Examining some of the nine elements of sustainable project management presented in the section "Framework Presentation: Sustainable Project management (p. 39)", Silvius and Schipper (2015) firstly argue that balancing social, environmental and economic interests are important in sustainable management of foreign aid projects. The CLTS+ project presented above does incorporate all three pillars into their project, however in varying degrees. Firstly, the resources used and managed throughout the project are local resources that are easily attained by the local population, as well as low cost to fit the economic standard of the community. This indicates that the economic sustainability of the project is very much considered. However, one thing that can be questioned is the financial stipends issued for supervising EHTs, local government officials and Natural Leaders, and how that can

challenge sustainability. I argue that, when the project owners (Global Communities) administer pay to key people in the community to conduct important tasks within the project, the motivation for continuing those tasks after the project ends decreases significantly, as the financial motivation disappears.

Looking at the environmental consideration of the CLTS+ project, the local use of resources for sanitation technologies does imply that the environmental impact of the project is considered. However, the emphasis on environment is much less stressed than the importance of economic sustainability for the community members. Examining how social sustainability is regarded, the inclusion of traditional leaders in the project does indicate that social sustainability was countered. To what degree and how will be discussed later.

Silvius and Schipper (2015) also argue that it is important to think of the project on a local, regional and global level. As the project is implemented with a CLTS approach, there can be no argument against the local considerations of the projects. Throughout the entirety of the project local considerations are being prioritized, emphasizing that the project must grow from the community itself. Regional considerations are also adapted, as it is highlighted that the NLNs are created to trigger cooperation, but also to trigger other communities to achieve ODF status. The NLNs are thus an example of an organic growth model that encourages scale-up. Global impacts of the project are not explicitly mentioned, however the emphasis on government cooperation does suggest that at least national interests are considered in the project.

Another feature of sustainable project management stressed by Silvius and Schipper (2015) is stakeholder participation, something that is generously underscored by the CLTS+ project. Firstly, all stakeholders in the local community

are an integral part of the project. The sanitation technologies are developed and build with local community members, and natural leaders make decisions locally. The project also ensures that there is a vast amount of cooperation with the local, regional, and national government. The inclusion of traditional leaders also indicates that stakeholder inclusion was an important objective in the project.

Silvius and Schipper (2015) further highlight the elimination of waste as important in sustainable project management. The elimination of waste from e.g. pit latrines, was briefly mentioned in the CLTS+ project, stating that waste was stored in a pit and possible repurposing would be considered in future project programming. Thus, this element is not sustainable. Silvius and Schipper emphasize that the elimination of waste is necessary for the project not to leave a footprint in the local environment. Thus, in order for the project to become sustainable in this regard, a form of reuse of the pit waste (e.g. fertilization for crops) would need to be applied.

Examining social sustainability further, I will address this through the method explained in my framework presentation (p. 42), in the section “Project Cycle Management: Sustainability in Sanitation Development Work”. In this section I rely on the scholars McConville and Mihelcic, and their take on PCM in sanitation projects. McConville and Mihelcic (2007) argue that social sustainability is often not emphasized sufficiently in PCM, and therefore they define three features in social sustainability, which are often not emphasized, nevertheless important: Sociocultural respect, community participation, and political cohesion. It is these three features I will rely on in the following analysis of the social sustainability of the CLTS+ project. Sociocultural respect is built on understanding and respecting local norms, customs and traditions. Looking at the CLTS+ program the inclusion of traditional leaders in

the decision-making processes does indicate that socio cultural respect was accentuated. I.e. as stated in the project, traditional leaders in the communities of the CLTS+ project are important authority figures in regard to the social environment such as the use of latrines and other household practices. In order to ensure the best participation of the community members in the project, it was important to include the very important opinions of the traditional leaders. Beside the inclusion of traditional leaders in the CLTS+ project, the case study illustrates no sign of social analysis of e.g. taboos or local traditions often present in rural societies in SSA, especially in projects attempting to improve sanitation behavior and facilities. Socio cultural respect is deemed especially important in latrine installation by the scholars Thys, Mwape, Lefèvre, Dorny, Marcotty, Phiri, Phiri and Gabriël in their 2015 article “Why Latrines Are Not Used: Communities’ Perceptions and Practices Regarding Latrines in a Taenia solium Endemic Rural Area in Eastern Zambia”. In this article the authors have undertaken interviews in seven rural villages, attempting to detect the motivations (or lack thereof) of using latrines. In the article the authors find that there are key motivational attitudes towards latrines that can serve as a hindrance to the sustainability of latrine projects. I.e. there are certain taboos in place in most of the rural villages, hindering the proper use of latrines. For example, when a couple gets married, it is the man’s responsibility to build a latrine or it will bring immensely bad luck to their family (taboo). However, most of the men that participated in the interviews did not regard building a latrine as any necessary priority (lack of motivation). This creates a paradox. Traditional culture stresses that a man must build the latrines, however a large number of men do not view this as any priority. It thus becomes apparent, that if any latrine projects should be successful, the taboos and motivations around using latrines must be addressed through e.g. behavioral change.

In the CLTS+ project, even with the inclusion of traditional leaders, it is almost claimed as a given, that once the project is implemented the sustainability of the project is ensured. However, I suggest that in order for a project to become fully sustainable and accepted by the local community, there must be an element addressing behavior, and how to change sanitation behavior. I.e. it is important to address not only the installation of sanitation facilities, though further the use of these facilities; something that was not the immediate focus of the CLTS+ project. This view will be addressed further in the discussion section (p. 62).

The next element in social sustainability presented by McConville and Mihelcic (2007) is community participation. Addressing community participation in regard to the CLTS+ project, I claim that this element is completely respected in forms of Natural Leader Networks. The CLTS+ project initially and throughout emphasize the importance of community participation, and the implementation of the project (Technical installations, oversight etc.) is very much outsourced to community members, mostly through the utilization of natural leaders. As such, it can be stressed that community participation is considered in the utmost way in the CLTS+ project.

The final element in social sustainability presented by McConville and Mihelcic (2007) is political cohesion. This element is also addressed in the CLTS+ project through government engagement. In the CLTS+ project it is highlighted that Natural Leader Networks play an important role in the linkage between government and the local community. Thus, political cohesion is considered, and has helped keep the local communities ODF.

Addressing the CLTS+ project as a whole and assessing its sustainability, the project has considered most of the elements presented in my framework as important in achieving sustainability in general, though also in regard to sanitation projects.

However, I stress that one important feature is not addressed, and that is the need for behavioral change in order for the community to understand and adopt the sanitation technologies implemented by the project. Further, as addressed in the methodology of this thesis, there is an underwhelming focus on the cultural dimension in foreign aid sanitation projects, a notion that can be somewhat supported by this project.

Rural Urine Diversion Dehydration Toilets, Botswana

- International Union for Conservation of Nature, Permaculture Trust Botswana & German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

The second case I have chosen to look into in the context of my framework is a rural ‘urine diversion dehydration toilet (UDDT)’ project implemented in the villages Hanahai and Paje in Botswana. The project is funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (GFMECD) and was implemented and planned by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and Permaculture Trust Botswana (PTB) with guidance from the GFMECD. The objective of the UDDT project was to “... develop, test and demonstrate a holistic/integrated approach to environmental management, sanitation and waste management at the household and community level in selected communities (Lorenz & Khawaja, 2010, s. 1)”. The project would help teach the participating households in the villages to construct and maintain the UDDTs and reuse the waste from the toilets as fertilizer in their gardens to achieve a better harvest.

As mentioned, the project was implemented in Paje Village and in East Hanahai and West Hanahai settlements in Botswana, all three villages having water scarcity in common. In Paje, even though situated next to a river, there was water

scarcity because of a lack of rainfall; insufficient water supply from boreholes and the river water levels having decreased dramatically outside rain season. In East and West Hanahai, located around the Kalahari Dessert, the dry climate, no sufficient access to surface water, and the dependency on public water standpipes have left its population with severely diminished access to water and sanitation. In East and West Hanahai the knowledge and access to toilets were thus at a bare minimum, the majority of the population practicing open defecation.

In the Hanahais strong taboos about toilet waste were detected. In Paje on the other hand, the government had been very involved in sanitation development, and latrines were therefore detectable all over the village, though mostly used by women and children (Lorenz & Khawaja, 2010).

The project was implemented in 10 households in the Hanahais and 11 households in Paje. In Paje the participating households increased to 32 due to the great interest in the project, however the number remained the same in the Hanahais. The project was implemented through a “Learning by Seeing” approach, which consists of training workshops, household visits and on-site demonstrations, aiming at equipping the participating households in constructing and maintaining the UDDTs themselves to ensure sustainability.

However, in the follow up investigations of the project, many of the participating households were requesting additional training, especially in regard to the reuse of waste from the toilets as fertilizer.

In the implementing phase of the UDDT project, the communities were introduced to three different forms of toilets: The UDDT, Aborloo⁹, and a composting toilet¹⁰.

It was the households in the villages that chose the UDDT as the most feasible toilet. A contributing factors to that feasibility was the pricing of the UDDT. In the early stages of the UDDT project, it was researched and concluded that the maximum acceptable price of a toilet was €160. The construction of the toilets therefore would cost the amount of €156, to fall within the price frame deemed as acceptable in the villages (Lorenz & Khawaja, 2010).

Even though the UDDT project did include sustainable elements in their project, the follow up investigations of the project concluded that key parts of the project were not successful and thus not sustainable. I.e. in the follow up investigations it was discovered that out of the 21 participating households in the three villages, only 13 were still using their UDDTs and only approx. 4 households were reusing their waste from the toilets. As an important element to sustainability in UDDT project was the toilets waste reuse in form of fertilization to gardens, the abandonment of the reuse can be argued to have diminished the sustainability of the project greatly.

I will look further into the UDDT project by using some of the nine elements of sustainable project management presented by Silvius and Schipper (2015) in the section 'Sustainable Project Management' (p. 39).

⁹ "The Aborloo (...) is one of the simplest types of ecosan facility working on a composting principle. It consists of a shallow pit and a small amount of soil and ash is added after each use. When the pit is two thirds full the contents are covered with soil and a young tree planted upon the sight (Practical Action: Technology challenging poverty, 2007, p. 4).

¹⁰ "Composting toilets use the natural processes of decomposition and evaporation to recycle human waste. Waste entering the toilets is over 90% water, which is evaporated and carried back to the atmosphere through the vent system. The small amount of remaining solid material is converted to useful fertilizing soil by natural decomposition (LetsgoGreen, n/a)".

Firstly, Silvius and Schipper (2015) stress that in order for a project to be sustainable it must balance social, environmental and economic interests. Looking in to this notion in regard to the UDDT project, it does seem that all three elements are factored, however not to the same degree. Economic sustainability is addressed through the calculation of possible costs of the UDDTs in relation to the possible price the households would be able to pay for a toilet in the three villages. Further, it was emphasized in the UDDT project, that to ensure sustainability some part of the toilet must be paid by the participating households themselves so that these households would have a stake in the project. Thus, the calculation of the prices affordable to the villages, and the emphasis on project ownership suggest that economic sustainability was considered and the project attempted to structure its economic aspects in such a way that the toilets and how to use them would be sustained in the communities. The waste management aspect of the project also indicated that the project considered environmental sustainability. All three of the villages where the project was implemented suffered from water scarcity, and thus the project chose to implement sanitation technologies that would minimize water usage, whilst still giving the participating household a chance to improve their access to sanitation and improve their means of living by fertilizing their gardens. However, social sustainability, though quickly mentioned, is not something, which is underscored throughout the project. I will address this part later.

Another of the nine elements featured by Silvius and Schipper (2015) in their approach to sustainable development is the notion of thinking of your project in a local, regional and global context. It is evident in the UDDT project that the project managers have thought of the project locally. The project is implemented and maintained locally. This can be stressed as the installments and maintenance of the

project is carried out locally. However, I will argue that the project has not fully been considered on a regional and global scale. Firstly, there is no mention of cooperation within the participating communities or households. A network between the participation households, both locally and regionally, could have helped to sustain the project as the project participants could have supported each other and given each other advice in elements of uncertainty. If the project owners had the participation of the government, there is also the possibility that the project could have been scaled up and thus been implemented in other villages to help increase the access to sanitation on a local, regional and national level.

Another feature emphasized by Silvius and Schipper (2015) is stakeholder participation, an element not thoroughly addressed in the UDDT project. In the UDDT project the only stakeholders emphasized are the household participants in the project. Thus, many stakeholders such as local government, leaders of their community (often traditional leaders), and the households' close environment such as neighbors are excluded. By excluding these important stakeholders, the project is jeopardizing both an opportunity for the project to be accepted in the community, but further risks the project's sustainability. For example, by not including leaders of a community it is hard for the project owners to get the project condoned in the villages, especially in villages where strong traditional culture and taboos are present. As mentioned in the UDDT project, in the Hanahai villages, strong taboos around feces existed. By excluding stakeholders that might have helped deal with this taboo, the project inevitably risked its sustainability.

Silvius and Schipper (2015) further stress waste elimination as important in sustainable project management. In this project there can be no doubt that this element was considered to a high degree. I.e. the repurposing of the waste collected

from the UDDTs was constructed in such a way that the waste from the toilets would not contaminate the ground water and instead would function as a fertilizer in the households' gardens. Thus, waste disposal was not only considered but also repurposed in a sustainable way. However, one aspect of the waste repurposing was not considered. In the two Hanahai villages there were strong taboos around excreta and especially contact with that excreta after discarding it. Hence, even though the waste repurposing was an effective and sustainable method of waste disposal, it did not consider social sustainability factors. This will be addressed below in relations to the sustainable project management approach to sanitation projects authored by McConville and Mihelcic (2007).

As previously mentioned, McConville and Mihelcic argues for three features most central to social sustainability: socio-cultural respect, community participation, and political cohesion. Looking at the three features as a whole, it can be stressed that the UDDT project did not consider social sustainability in a sufficient way. Even though the UDDT project did engage the community in the project, it was only the participating households that were considered, rather than the community as a whole. E.g. as already addressed earlier, the inclusion of stakeholders in the project was scarce. For example, in the UDDT case study there was no apparent strategy revealed which incorporated local, regional, or national government. This could have been a major obstacle in the sustainability of the project, as government support to WASH programs can have a huge impact on the outcome and are often important facilitators in building infrastructure to support the project, and important advocates in supporting WASH related issues and topics. Moreover, the UDDT project seemingly did not have enough socio-cultural respect, as there were cultural practices and traditions that were not tackled, even though mentioned. That is, in the UDDT project,

there is a mention of taboos regarding waste in the Hanahai villages. Thus, in the implementation phase of the project, the project managers were aware of the taboos in the society. Nonetheless, the participating households were asked to repurpose their excreta as a fertilizer in their garden, an action completely against the traditions of the community, where dealing with excreta after discarding it is a major taboo. Thus, many of the participating households would end up not using the fertilizer, but instead use the toilet as a latrine, if used at all. Considering the communities' culture, norms and taboos are immensely important in securing sustainability as many households and everyday actions are governed around these norms and taboos. This is also emphasized by Thys, et al (2015) in their survey analysis of pit latrine installments in rural communities in SSA. The authors argue that in the installment of latrines, it is especially important to consider socio-cultural aspects, as sanitation behavior in many rural societies in SSA is culturally conditioned. Thus, when implementing sanitation facilities in a rural community in SSA it is extremely important to factor these taboos and consider how to "overcome" them. Again, I stress that behavioral change is key in implementing sanitation technologies in such a way that it can be sustainable. This will be addressed in the discussion section (p. 62).

The UDDT project as a whole did not present itself as sustainable. Through the case study and my analysis, the project featured some holes in both its project planning phases and implementation phases. One element that was especially under considered was socio-cultural respect, and the impact that taboos and culture had on the utilization of the toilets.

Examining the CLTS+ project and the UDDT project in regard to my research question, "How and why do taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of foreign

aid sanitation projects in rural societies in Sub-Saharan Africa?” some answers have been suggested. In both case studies presented above there was a somewhat pre-acknowledged understanding of traditional culture and the role it plays in the societies. In the CLTS+ project, traditional leaders were included in the decision-making processes because the project managers acknowledged the authority they have on household traditional practices (e.g. disposal of waste and defecation practices). As the CLTS+ project was somewhat sustainable and the UDDT project was not, this could indicate that emphasis on social sustainability and socio-cultural respect is very important in sanitation projects. I.e. in both projects, it was evident that taboos or traditional norms impacted the sanitation projects in a certain way because of the specific cultural behavior that is related to sanitation. Thus, a sub conclusion is that especially in sanitation projects, taboos pose a challenge to sustainability, as these taboos can govern how members of the rural communities address sanitation and use sanitation facilities. This sub-conclusion therefore supports the hypothesis presented in the beginning of this thesis, but also indicate a possible reasoning for how and why taboos pose challenges to foreign aid sanitation projects. That is, taboos can pose a challenge to the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects, because taboos govern behavior in regard to sanitation practices, and can thus function as a set of rules for sanitation behavior. This argument is based on the above case study analysis, and the literature used for this thesis. A discussion of sanitation behavior will be conducted in the discussion section (p. 62).

Further, as addressed earlier, there is an underwhelming focus on the cultural dimension of foreign aid sanitation projects, a notion that can be supported by the two case studies. In both of the case studies there was an acknowledgement of the taboos or traditional cultural practices in the communities, and the role they played in the

sanitation practices of the communities (this was especially true in the UDDT project, as the taboos were explicitly mentioned). However, in both projects there were no special focus on how to deal with these taboos, or even an analysis of the traditional practices and what impact they could have on the project's sustainability. Thus, my analysis of the two cases does support my claim that taboos is being underrepresented in foreign aid sanitation work. This will be addressed below.

VII. Discussion

As argued above, the analysis conducted on the two case studies showed that emphasis put on taboos is limited, and both cases failed to firmly integrate taboos in their processes. However, as also addressed, the CLTS+ project did include social sustainability to a higher degree than the UDDT project, because of their inclusion of traditional leaders and other important stakeholders. In both cases, taboos, or traditional practices, around sanitation were mentioned. However, even though mentioned there were no real attempts at dealing with the taboos in a systematic way. Further, when looking at the section “Sustainable Development (p. 26)”, and its analysis of the SDG targets on the representation of taboos, there was also an underrepresentation. Even with the enormous focus the SDGs put on sustainable development, the dimension of culture in the goals (regarding sanitation) themselves seem omitted. Thus, based on the results found so far in this thesis, it can be concluded that taboos, or social sustainability, is often omitted or underrepresented in international sanitation work. Leading this back to the literature review and the arguments presented by Nathan Andrews (2009), it could be argued that culture is disregarded in the planning processes, because culture is a vague term with many changes depending on people and regions. Thus, creating policies or theoretical/practical approaches on the basis of elements so vague seems unproductive. However, as also argued by Andrews (2009) this view is often presented by scholars or program decision-makers, which have a mostly economic perspective.

Economic Development

As mentioned several times in this thesis, there is often an emphasis on economy in development aid. This emphasis on economy in development aid can be connected to

the theory of modernization, and the argument that it is the “world system” approach dominating today’s development agenda, at least by major actors. This can be exemplified by e.g. the before mentioned association agreement by the EU.

The association agreement by EU is a bilateral agreement providing progressive liberalization of trade in developing countries (European Union, n/a), and can prepare for future membership of the EU. For the applying countries, the agreement thus creates an economic privileged relationship to the EU. Even though the EU initially was a purely economic institution, the development of the institution over the years has advanced it to a key player in various fields, hereunder development aid. An association agreement with the EU can be argued to be an agreement aiming at developing the receiving country, and thus a form of development aid. The systematic inclusion of democratic principles in the agreement also indicates that the agreement is used as a mean to develop the applying country in both an economic way that fits with their own economic system, but also politically. This view is supported by the realist view on foreign aid, stating that foreign aid is shaped through policies that advocate and place requirements on economic and political interests.

One issue detected in a purely economic approach to development, is the view of culture. If exemplifying the economic perspective by modernization theory there are clear understandings of what role culture plays in the economic development of a country, and how culture should be dealt with. As mentioned briefly in the literature review, a country should develop to adopt a culture with western characteristics such as secularism and individualism (Rössel, 2012). This is argued, as traditional culture can retard the industrialization of a country and thus prevent it from developing fully (Graaff & Venter, 2001). Looking at modernization theory’s notion of culture in

regard to the above case studies, and the literature examined in this thesis, there are possible shortcomings detected.

In the theoretical approaches to modernization there is a focus on western culture and the abandonment of traditional culture. Rostow and his categorization of development underscore this argument. Rostow argues that for a country to develop, they must abandon the traditional society (step 1). The traditional society is characterized by a limited production function and technological advancements. Because of the limitation of trade and production, a large part of resources are invested in agriculture. From this derives a hierarchical social structure, with some room for vertical mobility. I.e. family and clans play a very large role in the social structure of a traditional society. This view is supported by Rössel's (2012) general explanation of modernization theory, which argues that individualism is central in a developed society, and thus collectivism plays a greater role in a traditional society. This argument is further emphasized by Mazrul (1978), who argues that cultures with strong sense of kinship often prioritize kinship over e.g. motives of profit seeking. This can result in a less than optimal productivity and effectiveness. Thus, the above-mentioned scholars acknowledge that in a traditional society the role of kinship and collectivism plays a much greater role than in western individualistic cultures. This can thus have an impact on economic development.

As mentioned in the section "The Role and Importance of Taboos (p. 31)", taboos are a vital part of everyday life for most community members in Africa, and is respected not only for the sake of the individual, but also for the protection of family and community. Therefore, looking at the culture of kinship often detected in traditional societies, any economic development procedure disregarding cultural aspects and the role taboos play in that society seems incomplete. Breaking a taboo can harm not only

an individual, but also that individual's family and community. As such, societies where kinship is extremely important, taboos are as important as any economic perspective, because of the desire to protect family and community. In societies with a strong sense of kinship, the emphasis should therefore not be put on economy, but rather on behavior and how changing certain behavior can improve the communities' collective life – especially in regard to sanitation projects.

Changing Sanitation Behavior

In the two case studies above both projects had cultural elements influencing their trajectory. In the CLTS+ project it was evident that sanitation behavior was influenced by traditions and the guidance of traditional leaders. In the UDDT project taboos around sanitation were emphasized as an obstacle. Therefore, I argued that in order to fully address the cultural dimension in the projects, sanitation behavior must be addressed, as it has the ability to govern behavior around sanitation, and thus influence the sustainability of sanitation projects. That is, it was evidenced by the two case studies that the implementation of sanitation facilities is not enough to ensure the use of sanitation facilities, but an element addressing sanitation behavior has to be present. Therefore, to relate this to my research question, I argue that this serves as a possible explanation for how and why taboos can impose challenges to the sustainability of sanitation projects in rural societies in SSA. That is, taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of sanitation projects because taboos can govern sanitation behavior, and thus influence community members' sanitation practices. This can be exemplified by the study presented by Thys, et al. (2015) who argue that the sustainability of latrine installations was challenged by taboos hindering men from going to the bathroom if a relative was nearby. As latrines are permanent constructions often built in cement, they do not offer the same freedom of movement

or privacy as open defecation. Therefore, if a sanitation project aims at achieving sustainability in spite of taboos present, the project planner could consider including methods of behavior change.

In order to facilitate a discussion of behavior change and how taboos can influence sanitation behavior, I have chosen to look at social marketing. Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman (1971) define social marketing as “... the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas ... (s. 5)”. That is, social marketing is used as a technique to foster acceptance of social change within a target population. Ultimately, social marketing aims at creating a demand for social goods and social change from within a community (UN-HABITAT & SIAES, 2006). Social marketing is, like commercial marketing, build on promoting goods and services in different ways - social marketing often promoting ideas rather than commodities (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971).

Social marketing of sanitation aims at achieving two things. Firstly, it aims at promoting hygiene, and thus encouraging people to adopt sanitation practices beneficial to their health and the prevention of diseases. Secondly, social marketing of sanitation aims to promote and market sanitation services and products (UN-HABITAT & SIAES, 2006). These two elements therefore illustrate that social marketing is not only about the sale of sanitation products to achieve social development, but further about how the product is used after the sale.

As stressed by Kotler and Zaltman (1971), social marketing is built on the four p's: Product, promotion, place, price. A well-researched background on all four p's can ensure that you have “the right product backed by the right promotion and put in the right place at the right price (p.7)”. The UN-HABITAT (United Nations Human Settlements Programme) and SIAES (Sulabh International Academy of

Environmental Sanitation) specially characterize the four p's in regard to sanitation. First, it is emphasized that sanitation products must respond to what the people want, rather than the project planners wishes. Second, it is emphasized that sanitation products must be low-cost as they are often sold in areas with extremely low income. Third, the placement of a sanitation products is deemed important because placement of e.g. latrines in areas without privacy and outside the costumers own land can result in the latrines not being used. Sanitation products should further be easily accessible, as mobility is often not very high among the population in e.g. rural villages. Finally, it is important to promote the sanitation product to ensure that the target audience is aware of its availability, price, and service in their area.

In order to explain how the process of changing sanitation behavior works, UN-HABITAT and SIAES has developed a decision-ladder. In this ladder six steps are defined as enabling change in sanitation behavior. (1) Win consensus: establish a policy consensus. This should be started at a local level, to gain support from agencies. A successful demonstration of the sanitation development work in that area should make it easier to extend to other areas in the country. (2) Learn about the market: Here it is important to understand the present sanitation behavior, and why their behavior is in a certain way. This information should be collected through observation and conversations with residents. Further it is important to understand the sanitation supply chain. Who builds sanitation facilities? Who maintains them? To understand this, means there will be a better understanding of the four P's. (3) Overcome barriers, Promote demand: To create a demand for sanitation it is emphasized that there must be formed partnerships between the local governments, and sanitation service providers. Further, regulations must be modified to be supportive of sanitation procedures. Moreover, advertising is important in creating a

demand. Advertising can function nationally, but also more locally through e.g. mouth to mouth. It is important to choose an advertising strategy best fitted to the nature of the sanitation project (e.g. national vs. local). (4) Develop the right products: It is important to develop the right product for the nature of the project. Sanitation products should therefore be designed to a target price, for a market niche. I.e. products can be developed to best fit the community in which they will be installed, and it is important that the pricing of the product meet the needs of the community members. (5) Develop a thriving industry: in this step it is important to create “push” for sanitation through e.g. capacity building through training, credit and services for small businesses. Monitoring and evaluation of the sanitation market is also important to understand any development trends. (6) Regulate waste transport and final disposal: It is important to plan for sanitation services such as pit emptying, as it otherwise can hinder sustainability. Further, if a sanitation product has a limited lifetime due to inept service, it can serve as a constraint on the demand for sanitation products.

Now that we have established the basic principles of social marketing, both in general and in regard to sanitation, it is important to examine how social marketing address taboos. As previously emphasized in the section “The Role and Importance of Taboos in Africa (p. 31)”, taboos are deeply rooted in the behavior and actions of societies in Africa, and thus attempting to change behavior without addressing taboos seems inadequate. As presented by the above four p’s and the six-step ladder, there are methodological approaches to change sanitation behavior. However, taboos or other cultural elements are not mentioned in any of the methodological approaches. UN-HABITAT and SIAES do address cultural barriers in their report “Social Marketing of Sanitation (2006)”, however not in connection to either of the

methodological approaches. In this report they argue that cultural beliefs are important to understand in social marketing, as they can help the project planner select sanitation technology and help with the acceptance of sanitation improvements. UN-HABITAT and SIAES further go on to agree with the earlier argument made in this thesis, that sanitation behavior is often governed by cultural or traditional determinants, and are therefore important to address. However, even though both taboos and social sustainability are included, they appear more as an afterthought. I.e. taboos and social sustainability are not included systematically in any of the methodological approaches, such as the 6-step ladder or the four P's, which are the models often used practically in social marketing of sanitation.

I argue that in order for the sanitation field and important stakeholders in development to truly include elements of culture, such as taboos, taboos must be included systematically in the specific approaches to sanitation projects, such as behavior change models or project management approaches. That is, in the two approaches to social marketing presented above, there was no inclusion of cultural elements. Thus, for social marketing to be applicable to sanitation projects with a strong presence of taboos, taboos must be included in the methodological approaches developed for behavioral change.

Further, culture and taboos must be a vital part of any development discussion. In the literature and cases investigated in this project, it was evident that the emphasis put on culture and taboos in development aid is scarce, and is often deprioritized compared to economic and environmental considerations. In this thesis I investigated taboos in regard to foreign aid sanitation project in SSA. However, the review of more generic literature to development aid revealed the lack of emphasis on culture, taboos or social sustainability as a general tendency, also detectable outside the sphere

of sanitation. Thus, in order for a cultural dimension to be added to mainstream approaches to development, it is important that major agencies and stakeholders in foreign aid begin including elements of taboos and social sustainability in their discussions, as well as their theoretical and methodological approaches to development aid. This could e.g. be done through the inclusion of social sustainability factors in United Nations' and European Unions' project management approaches, such as PCM and LFA. It is important for major development agencies to include taboos and social sustainability in their discussion and methodological production. This is important, because the smaller organizations often use the procedural approaches developed by major organizations.

VIII. Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore the impact of taboos on sanitation projects in SSA. However, before narrowing down my research question I reviewed relevant literature on the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects, to broadly understand the possible scholarly explanation for the low sustainability rate within the field. It was through this review and my work with the Danish Association for Sustainable Development that I discovered a gap in the academic explanations of the low sustainability rate in sanitation projects in SSA. In my work with UBU, I discovered that taboos were receiving little attention in our work; despite the possibly hindering affect it could have on sustainability. My literature review therefore somewhat confirmed that there might be a neglect of an important dimension that could possibly provide answers to the low sustainability rate of sanitation projects in SSA. Therefore, to properly investigate this dimension and discuss its contribution to sustainability in sanitation projects in SSA, I aimed at answering the question: How and why do taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects in rural societies in Sub-Saharan Africa?

To best answer my research question I chose to include background information on relevant areas connected to taboos and sanitation projects. I chose to include this section to possibly identify key areas where taboos could be emphasized, and thus possibly prove/disprove that there is a neglect of the topic in sustainability and sanitation. Through this background section it was therefore confirmed that taboos are often omitted, and that even the broad topic of culture seems to be somewhat underrepresented in the fields of sustainability and sanitation. This therefore reconfirmed my purpose of this thesis, and the motivation for conducting

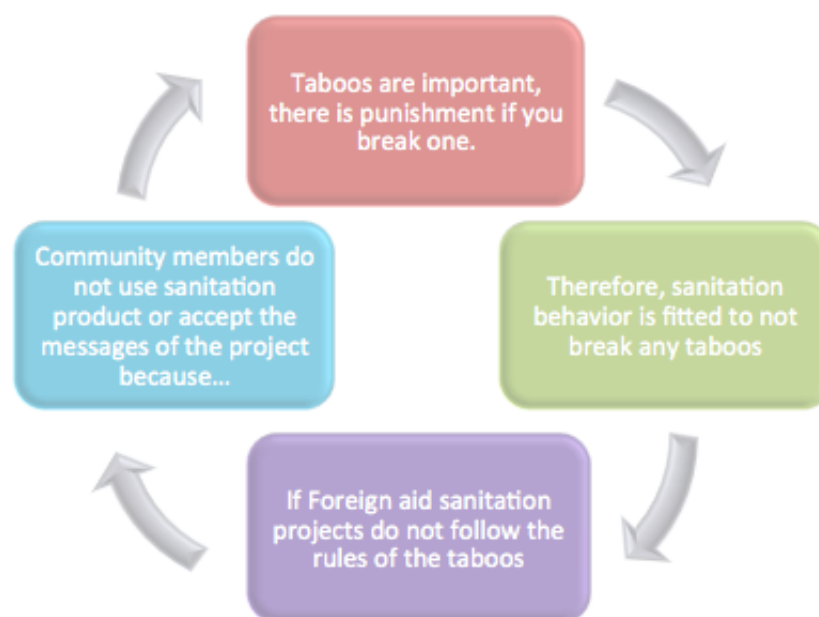
research and discussion on relevant cases to firstly research how and why taboos impose challenges to sustainability, as well as why taboos seem to be excluded in the development debate around sanitation and sustainability.

To facilitate my case study analysis, I chose to use a framework of analysis based on project management approaches. In this framework presentation I therefore explained the approaches PCM and LFA, because the more specified approaches used for analysis are build on these. For my analysis, I chose to use two project-management approaches specified for sustainable development, and sanitation projects. I chose to include these to get as close to my topic as possible, and therefore provide answers specified to the sustainability of sanitation projects.

In the case study analysis I chose to examine two sanitation cases in rural societies in SSA to see how taboos were addressed. In both cases cultural traditions and taboos were present, influencing the trajectory of the projects. Both cases were analyzed based on the project management framework, the first case being somewhat sustainable and the second not. The explanation for this, was that the first case included important aspects of social sustainability, while the second did not. The shared conclusion made on the two cases was that taboos had the ability to govern sanitation behavior, and behavior change should therefore be addressed in projects dealing with sanitation.

Therefore, to directly answer my research question “How and why do taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects in rural societies in Sub-Saharan Africa?”, I argue that taboos impose challenges to the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects, because they govern sanitation behavior and can therefore control how sanitation facilities are used, if used at all.

That is, taboos are incredibly important in the everyday actions of community members in SSA, and many taboos regarding sanitation exist. Therefore, to not break any taboos and experience punishment affiliated with doing such, the community members behave in ways not to break the taboos. The respect and fear of taboos is further supported by Dennis Mann (1984) who wrote: “When society was simply structured and static, taboos were important because their goal was to preserve the status quo. Breaking a taboo often brought about punishment, danger, or ostracism from society”. Thus, if sanitation products and sanitation services do not follow these rules set up by taboos, it is likely that the community members will not use them, in fear of the consequences for breaking a taboo. This process is explained in the model below:



In the discussion section of this paper, an approach to changing behavior was addressed to provide a possible solution for the above-mentioned process. I chose to include social marketing as a facilitator to discuss behavior change. To specify social marketing to my topic, I included two dominant approaches to changing sanitation

behavior: the four p's and the six-step decision-ladder. Even though both approaches did offer pragmatic guidance on how to use social marketing as behavioral change, there was no inclusion of cultural considerations in the methodological approaches. The non-inclusion of taboos in these models therefore catalyzed a discussion on a topic that has dominated this thesis: the inattention of taboos in sanitation projects, as well as in development aid in general. Therefore, when making my conclusions, I will not only conclude on the results that answer my research question, but further conclude on the additional findings discovered through my work.

I thus conclude that taboos challenge the sustainability of foreign aid sanitation projects, because taboos govern sanitation behavior. As taboos are often excluded in sanitation projects, project owners do not truly understand the sanitation behavior of the community. Therefore, sanitation projects are built on an understanding of procedures and behavior not in line with the communities they are implemented in, and this challenges sustainability. Therefore, understanding taboos "will lead to a better understanding on why people behave the way they do, how to access them and on appropriateness of certain aid programmes (McEachran, 2014)".

In order to address this sustainability problem, I recommend that taboos will need to be understood and systematically included in (1) the frameworks of project management within the sanitation field, and in general, (2) the methodological approaches sanitation (such as behavior-change models), (3) and the general debate on sanitation and development in SSA.

Thus, not until taboos are systematically included in the procedural methods addressing sanitation in SSA, can the projects be sustained. Further, it is important that key people within the sanitation field become aware of the hindering affect

taboos can have on sanitation projects, so that the issue will be properly addressed and dealt with.

IX. Further research

The inclusion of the background section further revealed that the emphasis on sanitation was limited compared to water. That is, in international development work water and sanitation is often connected; water receiving most of the funding and attention. However, because this was not the immediate focus of this thesis, it was not investigated further. Nonetheless, I believe it is an area that needs to be investigated, as this can also provide explanations for the low sustainability rate of sanitation projects in SSA.

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Appendix A:

Table 5. The scoring guidelines for matrix element: 1.1 (Needs Assessment, Socio-cultural Respect), including questions to clarify the recommended actions.

Generate a yearly calendar of work and social life in the community.

How is a year defined?
 How are the seasons identified?
 What are the characteristics of each season?
 What is the primary employment in the area?
 (For men? For women? For children?)
 Is this work constant throughout the year?
 What time of year is the busiest?
 Are there patterns of seasonal migration?
 When are the major holidays?
 When do weddings, baptisms, and other social ceremonies take place?

Identify social preferences and traditional beliefs associated with water supply and sanitation practices

Are certain water sources preferred over others?
 Is there folklore or old stories associated with water sources or water use?
 Are there traditional methods for protect a water source?
 Do people add things to their water? At the source or at home?
 Do people consider sanitation issues around the water sources?
 Are their social caste issues about the use of water from certain sources?
 Is there a history of filtering or screening water sources?
 Are there seasonal changes in the quality of the water supply? How are they explained?
 What is the preferred sanitation method in the community?
 What are preferred methods of anal cleansing?
 How do people feel about handling excreta (even when decomposed)? How will this affect maintenance issues?
 Are the religious constraints to be considered?
 Do people believe that excreta are harmful?
 Are people afraid to use latrines? Why?
 Are there taboos associated with washing hands with soap?

Recognize differences in gender roles in water and sanitation.

How do men use water? How much?
 How do women use water? How much?
 Who provides water for the household? Agriculture? Business?
 How much time do men/women spend per day on water collection?
 Do men and women follow separate sanitation practices?
 Are there separate latrines for men and women?
 Who is in charge of the children's hygiene?

Determine the level of health education in the community.

Have community members been involved in answering questions on community health? In formal and informal settings?
 What is their education background?
 What health education issues are covered in schools?
 Who receives education? Men or women? (Note: that there may be discrepancies between who receives education and who performs water/sanitation related tasks)
 How often do people get sick in the community?
 Why do people get sick? (According to them)
 Do people connect water and sanitation issues with disease?
 What is the community motivation for improved water and sanitation services?
 Are there health care facilities available?
 How is the quality of the water?
 How is quality perceived in the community?
 How do you perceive the cleanliness of the community?
 How do community members perceive it?
 Do they wash their hands with soap?
 Do they have a latrine?
 Do they use a latrine? Do the children?

The bold print types next to the boxes indicate recommended actions that can be checked off if completed. The number of boxes checked for each element gives the score to be entered in the assessment matrix. This table illustrates the level of detail that is provided in the scoring guidelines for each of the 25 elements. Scoring guidelines for the other 24 matrix elements can be found in McConville (2006).

(McConville & Mihelcic, 2007)