

WORKING PAPER **298**

# Taking Community-Led Total Sanitation to Scale: Movement, Spread and Adaptation

Andrew Deak  
February 2008

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**Andrew Deak**

### Summary

When a practice becomes widespread enough, then it has ‘gone to scale’. But increasing the intensity and spread of a particular practice is not a linear or obvious endeavour.

The paper proposes that going to scale is multi-dimensional and complex. It focuses on Community-led Total Sanitation (CLTS): an innovation in participatory methodology, as well as a unique approach to sanitation. While CLTS has followed both vertical and horizontal trajectories, with quantitative, political, functional and organisational scaling-up, its general movements are best described as ‘spread and adaptation’. The paper describes how CLTS offers important lessons to understand spread which is critical for scaling up in an effective way. CLTS shows how increased scale entails both wide-scale coverage, with pertinent adaptations to local contexts. The main argument is that spread and adaptation are important aspects of scaling up, which is often neglected in the literature.

After a brief overview of CLTS, the paper reviews the literature on scaling-up and extracts the useful points relevant to CLTS, and highlights the gaps in the literature around self-spreading movements. A number of case studies of innovative methods or approaches that have been successfully scaled-up are then considered: PRA, Reflect, Community Integrated Pest Management and System of Rice Intensification. The author then maps out CLTS experience, outlining the various ways in which CLTS has spread. After considering the various forms of spread, the ‘spatial strategy’ employed by CARE Bangladesh is given specific attention. The paper then discusses how CLTS and other participatory approaches challenge dominant thinking around community developing by critically examining the World Bank’s discourse around Community-based/driven development. The final section offers concluding remarks regarding how to better understand scaling-up and spread.

**Keywords:** CLTS, sanitation, scaling-up, spread, participatory methods, community-based development, community-driven development

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# Contents

Summary, keywords	3
Author note	4
Acknowledgements	7
List of acronyms	8
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2 CLTS: a new innovation in the participation movement, a revolutionary way of doing sanitation</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>3 Overview of literature on ‘scaling-up’</b>	<b>12</b>
3.1 Background to scaling-up	13
3.2 Other schools of thought	16
3.3 This idea of a self-spread, and the possibility of a movement	18
3.4 Lessons from the scaling-up literature	19
3.5 Gaps in the scaling up literature	19
<b>4 Other experiences: Participatory Rural Appraisals, Reflect, Community Integrated Pest Management and System of Rice Intensification</b>	<b>20</b>
4.1 Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA)	20
4.2 Reflect	21
4.3 System of Rice Intensification (SRI)	24
4.4 Community integrated pest management	25
4.5 Overall lessons from the case studies	26
<b>5 CLTS as a new innovation</b>	<b>27</b>
5.1 CLTS as a case experience for spreading an innovative, participatory methodology	27
5.2 Factors in in-country spread	27
5.2.1 Organisations committed to CLTS	27
5.2.2 Champions able to resist institutional pressures	29
5.3 Factors in international spread	29
5.3.1 Support for the principal innovator	29
5.3.2 Transfers of champions within organisations	29
5.3.3 International exposure visits	29
5.3.4 International meetings and hands-on training workshops	30
5.3.5 Dissemination through publications, website and networking	30
5.4 Opposing entrenched tendencies: obstacles on the way ‘up’	30

5.4.1	Professional commitments, mindsets and incentives	31
5.4.2	Bureaucratic: top-down targets and pressures to disburse	31
5.4.3	Diverse views of core assumptions	31
5.4.4	Bandwagon effect	32
5.4.5	Early innovator reputation versus quality	32
5.4.6	Funding, power relations, and myth	33
5.4.7	Philanthropic reflexes	33
5.4.8	Failures to ignite	33
5.5	CARE Bangladesh: an example of including a strategy for horizontal and political scaling-up within CLTS process	34
<b>6</b>	<b>Situating the spread of CLTS within the broader discourse on community development</b>	<b>35</b>
6.1	Overview of CBD/CDD discourse	35
6.2	Challenges to scaling-up CBD/CDD	36
6.3	Evaluations of CBD/CDD to date	37
6.4	Calling the CBD/CDD model into question	38
<b>7</b>	<b>Conclusion: focusing on spread</b>	<b>40</b>
	<b>References</b>	<b>42</b>
	<b>Figure</b>	
	Figure 3.1 Definitions of scaling up	17
	<b>Tables</b>	
	Table 1.1 Countries where CLTS has been implemented	9
	Table 5.1 Forms and trajectories of spread	28



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# Acronyms

AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (Pakistan)
CBD	Community-Based Development
CDD	Community-Driven Development
CIAT	Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical/ International Centre for Tropical Agriculture
CIIFAD	Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture and Development
CIRAC	Circle of International Reflect-Action and Communication
CLTS	Community-Led Total Sanitation
CM	Community-Management
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DISHARI	Decentralised Total Sanitation Project
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation (of the United Nations)
FFS	Farmer First Schools
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus /Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IIRR	International Institute of Rural Reconstruction
IPM	Integrated Pest Management
IRC	International Water and Sanitation Centre
IRSP	Integrated Rural Support Programme (Pakistan)
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MYRADA	Mysore Resettlement and Development Agency
NDDB	National Dairy Development Board
NEWAH	Nepal Water for Health
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NLs	Natural Leaders
NWFP	North West Frontier Province (Pakistan)
ODF	Open Defecation Free
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OED	Operations Evaluation Department
PCI	Project Concern International
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
RSP	Rural Support Programme (Pakistan)
RWS	Rural Water Supply
SACOSAN	South Asian Conference on Sanitation
SDU	Social Development Unit (Care Bangladesh)
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association (India)
SLTS	School-Led Total Sanitation
SRI	System of Rice Intensification
TOT	Training of Trainers
TSC	Total Sanitation Campaign
VERC	Village Education Resource Centre
WSLIC II	Water and Sanitation For Low Income Communities Phase 2
WSP	Water and Sanitation Programme (World Bank)
WSP-EAP	Water and Sanitation Programme East Asia Pacific
WSP-LAC	Water and Sanitation Programme Latin America
WSP-SA	Water and Sanitation Programme South Asia

# 1 Introduction

When a process leads to positive change, it is desirable to instigate that process elsewhere. There are different ways of facilitating such processes, encompassed by different approaches, methodologies, and practices. When these become prolific enough through an intentional course of action, promotion and spread, then the process has 'gone to scale'. But increasing the intensity and spread of approaches and methodologies is neither a linear nor an obvious endeavour. The process captured by the concept of scaling-up is complex, and has generated much debate. This paper endeavours to engage with these debates, and also to consider how they relate to and challenge dominant discourses of community development, and more recently, community-based/driven development.

I will hone in on a new approach to community sanitation, pioneered in Bangladesh in 1999. This new approach, Community-led Total Sanitation (CLTS), has been hailed as a 'spreading revolution' (Lenton, Wright and Lewes 2005). Widely adopted in Bangladesh, it has spread throughout South and Southeast Asia (Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan), and is now being used in Latin America (Bolivia) and Africa (Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, and Nigeria) as well. Table 1.1 represents the most recent countries where CLTS has been implemented.

**Table 1.1 Countries where CLTS has been implemented**

<p><b>Asia</b>            Bangladesh (Plan, Care, WaterAid, VERC, Dshari, NGO Forum, WSP)            India (Government of Maharashtra, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, WaterAid, WSP)            Indonesia (Ministry of Health WSLIC, PCI, AusAid, WSP)            Cambodia (UNICEF, Concern Worldwide)            Nepal (Plan, WaterAid, NEWAH, UNICEF), Pakistan (IRSP Mardan NWFP, RSPs, WSP)            (China (Plan) and Mongolia –unsuccessful)</p>
<p><b>Africa</b>            Plan RESA (Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Malawi, Sudan, Zambia, Egypt)            Ethiopia –Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Region (WSP, Health Department, Vita, Plan)            Nigeria – WaterAid – they are also planning to roll out in Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso            Interest from Chad, Sierra Leone</p>
<p><b>Latin America</b>            Bolivia (initial workshop in Dec 06 was also attended by participants from Peru Brazil and Chile), led by UNICEF, other organisations involved: WSP, Plan, Save the Children, JICA</p>
<p><b>Middle East</b>            Yemen – (Yemeni) Social Fund for Development</p>

(Source: Petra Bongartz, personal communication)

But what exactly is a ‘spreading revolution’ within the context of community-based/driven development? This paper will look at CLTS and the processes that have been involved in spreading and evolving the methodology. First, it will introduce CLTS so as to set the context. Second, it will review the literature on scaling-up with the aim of drawing potential insights on how to go about spreading and evolving CLTS. Third, it will consider a series of case studies that offer experiences of apparently successful processes of spreading and adapting a particular approach or method. The fourth section will revisit CLTS and consider the diverse manner in which it has spread, adapted and subsequently gone to scale. Finally, it will juxtapose the arguments on scaling-up in the context of CLTS with a critical assessment of the World Bank discourses on community based/driven development (CBD/CDD).

It is hoped that this will offer general insights on the principles and strategies for scaling-up and spread of participatory and people-centred approaches. The main argument is that the literature on scaling-up has not sufficiently understood the dynamics of spread and adaptation, and instead it often focuses on the programmatic and institutional dimensions. In the context of scaling-up CLTS, spread and adaptation are core processes with going to scale as the desired outcome. These processes challenge the dominant understandings of scaling-up of community-led development, as represented in the World Bank’s CBD/CDD projects, by shifting the focus on spread and adaptation rather than grander models for going to scale which are often target driven and involve high costs.

Central to the success of these methods is the process of facilitation and general mobilisation of people. When these are compromised, the true extent of going to scale may be questionable. While the revolutionary potential of CLTS is still unknown, the approach is certainly novel, potentially self-spreading, and there are critical lessons to be learned for development agencies and practitioners in the field.

## 2 CLTS: A new innovation in the participation movement, a revolutionary way of doing sanitation

As is often pointed out in other documents on CLTS,<sup>1</sup> sanitation is essential in reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which have been the focal point for many development projects and initiatives. It has, however, been neglected as an area of concern and attention in this respect. CLTS is a new approach to achieving better sanitation which fosters innovation and commitment within the community and motivates them to build their own sanitation infrastructure, without depending on hardware subsidies from external agencies.

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1 See the CLTS resource page on the Livelihoods Connect website: [www.livelihoods.org/hot\\_topics/CLTS.html](http://www.livelihoods.org/hot_topics/CLTS.html)

The CLTS-story began in 1999 Bangladesh. Dr Kamal Kar was hired as a consultant by WaterAid to work with its local partner, the Village Education Resource Centre (VERC), on participatory monitoring and evaluation for sanitation. Sanitation programmes are often based on individual household hardware subsidy and had largely been unsuccessful. Confronting communities through their own analysis, without teaching or preaching, it was apparent that they could take action themselves, and that this could lead to total sanitation in the sense not of everyone having a latrine, but of the community being Open Defecation Free (ODF). The initial pilots that were carried out as a follow-up of the evaluation led to 200–300 villages in 4–5 districts of Bangladesh becoming ODF. International agencies like WSP and DFID became enthusiastic supporters (Kar 2003). As the principal innovator, Kamal Kar went on to champion the approach all over South Asia and beyond. There was an effort to institutionalise the approach within the NGOs being evaluated – VERC and WaterAid-Bangladesh. After developing in Bangladesh, the approach began to spread through visits by Kamal Kar and field exchanges to Bangladesh.

What makes CLTS different from conventional approaches to sanitation is its focus on people rather than hardware in the whole implementation process. CLTS has strong emphasis on good facilitation. It requires the facilitator to provoke people through using tactics that trigger powerful emotions such as disgust, shame and fear. At times, laughter and humour are also used to incite self and community analysis. As a result, a process of discovering certain truths about the community's sanitation situation such as the easy spread of diseases through flies is initiated, and community members are compelled to take action on their own. The essential aim of the facilitator is to make community members aware of the link between defecating in the open and negative impacts on their health (Pasteur 2005).

Often with CLTS the facilitator is more active and seeks to enable local people to confront an unpleasant reality, and in doing this deliberately shocks, provokes, jokes and teases. Sparking these emotions and affects is key to triggering CLTS. If it is successful, the community can quickly eliminate the practice of open defecation. The changes in attitudes and behaviour are often initially accompanied with the digging of basic pit latrines. Facilitators of CLTS strive not to prescribe. Local sanitation markets and solutions emerge, for example: '32 innovative toilet models suitable for the rural areas of Bangladesh have emerged from the use of the CLTS approach and are mostly based on the local community's indigenous knowledge. All are low cost models and range in cost of between 0.25\$ to 10\$' (Hossain 2007).

Indeed, sanitation projects have often involved 'latrinisation', where building a certain number of latrines was the sole measure of success. In the CLTS process, the desired impact is first and foremost Open Defecation Free (ODF) communities. A broader goal is to increase community participation, as well as provide an entry point for other projects and initiatives aimed at empowerment (Kar 2003).

CLTS has its roots in Participatory Rural Appraisal, the flagship method of the participation movement. CLTS started through an application of PRA to assess community sanitation in Bangladesh. PRA tools such as transect walks, mapping and community discussions are an important part of the effective CLTS facilitation process. Combined with the overall package are forms of low cost sanitation technology that are innovated by the communities themselves. We will see below how CLTS has spread to many different socio-political and cultural contexts.

Depending on the context, certain elements of the CLTS package are emphasised over others, and new elements are often incorporated. For example, in Pakistan CLTS has been integrated with the Rural Support Programme and the key agenda is not solely to eliminate open defecation; rather, the focus is on integration into a larger more comprehensive package which includes water waste management, solid waste disposal, overall hygiene and more (Bongartz 2007; Khan 2007). Also, in Nepal the approach has been modified to ‘School-led Total Sanitation’ (SLTS), whereby schools are the prime drivers in achieving ODF status (WaterAid 2006: 8). Later we will see how CLTS has been incorporated into a broader livelihoods project in Bangladesh.

As with PRA, CLTS has generated a lot of excitement. As the principal innovator, notes: ‘Since the first experience with a small village in Rajshahi district in March 2000 the programme has spread dramatically [...] Today, more than 400 villages have totally cleaned themselves up, covering more than 16,000 families in at least six districts from the north to the south of Bangladesh’ (Kar 2003: 5). VERC’s latest figures show that CLTS has spread to nearly 1,500 villages, constituting a total population of almost 2 million. It has also spread rapidly on an international level. In Indonesia, for example, is now implementing CLTS in 54 districts, which encompasses 15 per cent of the country as a whole. The spread of CLTS has been so rapid it is difficult to track. It has taken many forms, which will be explored in more depth below.

At first glance, CLTS seems it has the right ingredients for large-scale improvements in sanitation and the subsequent health benefits. It has indeed been moving fast. But exactly how is it moving? How is it ‘going to scale’? Before these questions can be answered, it is important to gain a better understanding of the current ways of thinking about to the meaning of ‘going to scale’.

### 3 Overview of literature on ‘scaling-up’

In the age of rapid technological growth, we forget that the simplest innovations in processes and methods can dramatically improve people’s lives. Sanitation is key to a basic health, and for providing the basis for sustainable livelihoods. If a method for improving sustainable livelihoods, such as sanitation, is good and works well, then it is desirable to spread this innovation to other areas and populations where it has the potential to be equally successful. Success in this context should be seen as being able to reach certain development goals, such as the MDGs, as well as carving alternative development paths whose guiding principle is that of smaller scale and self-organised initiative which are not necessarily adherents to a grand narrative of development. Groups such as *Via Campesina* in Latin America exemplify this community based ethos of ‘do it yourself’ development, where local energies and autonomous action are the primary drivers.

This ‘proliferation of success’ is referred to in terms such as diffusion or spread, but also, more popularly labelled scaling-up. For our purposes, scaling-up refers to a

process and an outcome, with an emphasis on the latter. It refers to universal coverage over an indefinite period of time. There are many processes that underlie scaling-up, and in the case of CLTS, it is one of spread and adaptation. If we wish to understand how CLTS might be going to scale, we need to focus on how it has spread from one context to another.

Scaling-up, however, often invokes a number of assumptions of institutional involvement, and thus carries with it a high degree of administrative baggage, including, but not limited to, incentives and procedures of the implementing institutions that are passed ‘downward’ to governments and NGOs (Chambers 2005b). The term scaling-up can mean many things and is often thrown around impulsively, signifying an urge to ‘go big’. A vague image often invoked is to form a programme from above and then roll it out on the ground below. As a result, its use can potentially be the cause for confusion unless it is methodically defined.

When discussing issues surrounding scaling-up, it is important to come to grips with the terminology, as well as to have an understanding of theoretical groundwork that has already been covered. When referring to the spread of CLTS – that is the spreading from one community to the next in countries where the process has already been ‘ignited’, as well as the initiation of CLTS in entirely new places – we are actually concerned with a particular aspect of what is otherwise called a process of going to scale within development discourse. Below I will engage with some of the existing literature on scaling-up and try to extract any aspects that may be useful for shedding light on CLTS, as well as highlighting some possible holes in the literature on ‘scaling-up’.

There are a number of sound literature reviews on scaling-up in development. Peter Ryan’s (2004) wide ranging literature review on scaling-up in the water and sanitation sector is relevant for our purposes. In an International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) report, Menter *et al.* (2004) also offer a good overview, paying particular attention to definitions, including quantitative scaling up; functional scaling up; political scaling up; organisational scaling up; as well as alternative terms that could also describe these same types of scaling up, such as dissemination, replication; scaling out or horizontal scaling up; and finally, vertical scaling or institutionalisation. They provide a wide array of ways to think about what it means to ‘go to scale’, providing categories, definitions, and raising some issues. I will survey these reviews critically, and leave the possibility open to question the language around ‘going to scale’.

### **3.1 Background to scaling-up**

Looking at the history and context of the literature on scaling-up, it is not clear when this particular phraseology became popularised, though Myers (1983) is said to have made the earliest analyses around the issue of scaling-up in the context of community-based child development (Hancock 2003: 6). We can nonetheless assume that it is connected to the broader discourses around international development. Uvin and Miller (1996) discuss how experiments with the ‘bottom-up’ and grassroots model for development have been ongoing since the 1960s. But during the 1990s, a new consensus emerged that the state still has an essential role to play in scaling up, because it alone has the potential to really make a difference on a national

scale. Some go as far to argue that in light of the failure of NGOs to bring about development, the state should be brought back as the sole means for large-scale impacts (for example see Akbar Zaidi 1999). States can programme at the national level and have an indefinite mandate, making them good avenues for change. One might caution against these extremes in light of anthropological critiques illustrating some of the dire consequences of 'seeing like a state' (Scott 1998).

We can be sure that there will be a different set of principles applicable to each individual state, sub-states, and local councils or districts. Yet states will almost always operate in relation to other agencies, such as NGOs. States can work in cooperation with other development agents, through for example partnerships, or by providing an 'enabling environment'. In such a context, NGOs scale-up the size, complexity and impact of their programmes (Uvin and Miller 1996: 345). In other contexts where the state is absent or defunct, NGOs might go through a process of scaling-up so as to provide the services that a state otherwise would. So in any given context, it may well be NGOs that take the lead in taking a particular innovation to scale, or it may be entirely state driven, or pioneered by community groups. CLTS is a good case in point of this diversity. In India and Indonesia, CLTS is largely a state-driven process. In Bangladesh, local government is now getting more involved in what was an NGO driven process. In many parts of Africa, the role of NGOs such as Plan and WaterAid has been crucial, but government is playing a key role in the Southern Regions in Ethiopia.

What, then, does scaling-up entail within the context of the work of NGOs? Uvin, Jain, and Brown (2000) offer some possible meanings specific to NGO scaling-up: (a) expanding coverage and organisational size; (b) increasing activities; (c) broadening indirect impact; and (d) enhancing organisational sustainability. In an earlier attempt to theorise scaling-up, Uvin and Miller (1996) offer a taxonomy that has four dimensions: quantitative – 'growth' or 'expansion' increases the number of people involved through replications of activities, interventions, and experiences; functional – projects and programmes expand the types of activities; political – projects or programmes that move beyond service delivery, and toward institutional changes; and organisational – where organisations improve their efficiency and effectiveness to allow for growth and sustainability of interventions, achieved through increased financial resources, staff training, networking, etc (Menter *et al.* 2004: 6).

As they astutely noted early on in the debates about scaling up, 'it is impossible to make general statements about the risks and rewards of various types or paths of NGO scaling-up' (Uvin and Miller 1996: 345).

There are other ways to think about scaling-up such as the distinction between 'vertical' and 'horizontal' made by Gundel *et al.* (2001: 7):

- Vertical scaling up is project or organisational expansion higher up the ladder. It is institutional in nature and involves other sectors/stakeholders – from grassroots organisations to policymakers, donors, development institutions and international investors.
- Horizontal scaling up is the geographical spread and expansion to more people and communities within the same sector or stakeholder group. Achieving geographical spread is also realised through scaling-down – increasing participation by decentralisation of accountabilities and responsibilities.



The first definition would suit much of the literature that the World Bank produces around scaling-up, which places a lot of emphasis on institutions; the second would be more relevant to CLTS, which is very centred on increasing community participation and takes sanitation to be a good entry point, leading to an overall empowerment of the community members (Kar 2003). Although, as we will see, horizontal scaling up may be achieved first through vertical scaling up, as is the case with significant state involvement in CLTS in Indonesia and India.

The World Bank is associated with a number of contributions to the overall body of literature on scaling-up. In one report, *Scaling-Up the Impact of Good Practices in Rural Development*, the following definition is offered:

- **‘Scaling-up** – To efficiently increase the socioeconomic impact from a small to a large scale of coverage’ (Hancock 2003: 5).

One might question why socioeconomic impact is the focus of the scaling-up process. Hancock recognises the metaphor of scaling-up as being ‘horizontal’ or ‘vertical’. However, he seems to conflate organisational growth and horizontal approaches; organisational growth can be an entirely a vertical process, where institutional linkages are reinforced up the institutional hierarchy.

The report also offers two other approaches – initially elaborated by Oudenhoven and Wazir (1998) – that organisations can adopt when deciding how to scale-up (Hancock 2003: 9):

- **Universalist approach to scaling-up.** In this approach, experience provides a set of universal generalisations that can be replicated, directly expanded, or adopted elsewhere with a simple set of rules. This approach does not require identifying and dealing with local variability. For that reason, it may take less time or effort than a contextualist approach to scaling-up.
- **Contextualist approach to scaling-up.** In this approach, practices to be scaled-up are tailor-made at the outset to address context-specific conditions. The contextualist approach to scaling-up would be expected to take more effort than the universalist approach, but it also might be better suited to a particular situation.

These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and the report suggests a balanced approach. But, at the current juncture in development discourse, and here I refer to increased emphasis on participatory and community-driven development, should not all approaches be contextualist? In the case of CLTS, there are two ‘universals’: first, the belief that the community leads their own development, both in assessing their needs and taking action; and second, that the entire community must undertake to stop open defecation. In principle, self-analysis and community empowerment are more important than the material increase in physical assets or structures. Similarly, change in the behaviour of an entire community is crucial. While these are the universal aspirations of the approach, it is very people-centred, and thus contextualist. CLTS started with certain non-negotiable principles, such as the ‘no hardware subsidies’; but even here there have been exceptions where some form of subsidy has been given to the poorest of the poor.

### 3.2 Other schools of thought

The IRC has outlined a useful way to think about scaling-up community-management (CM) of rural water supply (RWS). The following is a summary of their thinking thus far (Lockwood 2004: 19).

- Scaling up CM can be divided between scaling up in space, or increasing coverage; and scaling up in time, or making RWS services more sustainable.
- For CM to be 'scaled up' requires attention not only to the community but also, and as importantly, to the enabling environment in which the community exists: the laws, policies, institutions and actors who support and build on the community's own capacities.
- Scaling up requires different approaches to implementation, especially a move away from projects towards a service delivery approach.
- Scaling up has the intention of reaching 100 per cent coverage within a geographic area with sustained services.

This usefully adds to some of the ways of thinking about scaling-up considered above in that it places an emphasis on the time scale and the sustainability of RWS as a service. And as RWS and sanitation are often linked, there may be affinities with the spread and adaptation of CLTS. A key difference that should be noted, however, is that IRC is focused on RWS as a service which is community managed; CLTS, on the other hand, has been unique in its ability to facilitate total sanitation with the community's own resources, both in terms of physical resources and labour power. Although there are inevitably exceptions to this, where certain materials are bought to help kick-start the sanitation market, the communities, ideally, serve themselves. Nonetheless, this framework for going to scale seems to resonate with the CLTS context.

What other principles of scaling-up might there be? A very comprehensive report of a workshop on 'Going to scale' convened by the Institute for Rural Reconstruction provides one broad set of principles for scaling-up agricultural projects, dividing them into five major principles, and 16 other relevant principles (IIRR 2000: 37). A few of these are listed below.

Five major principles:

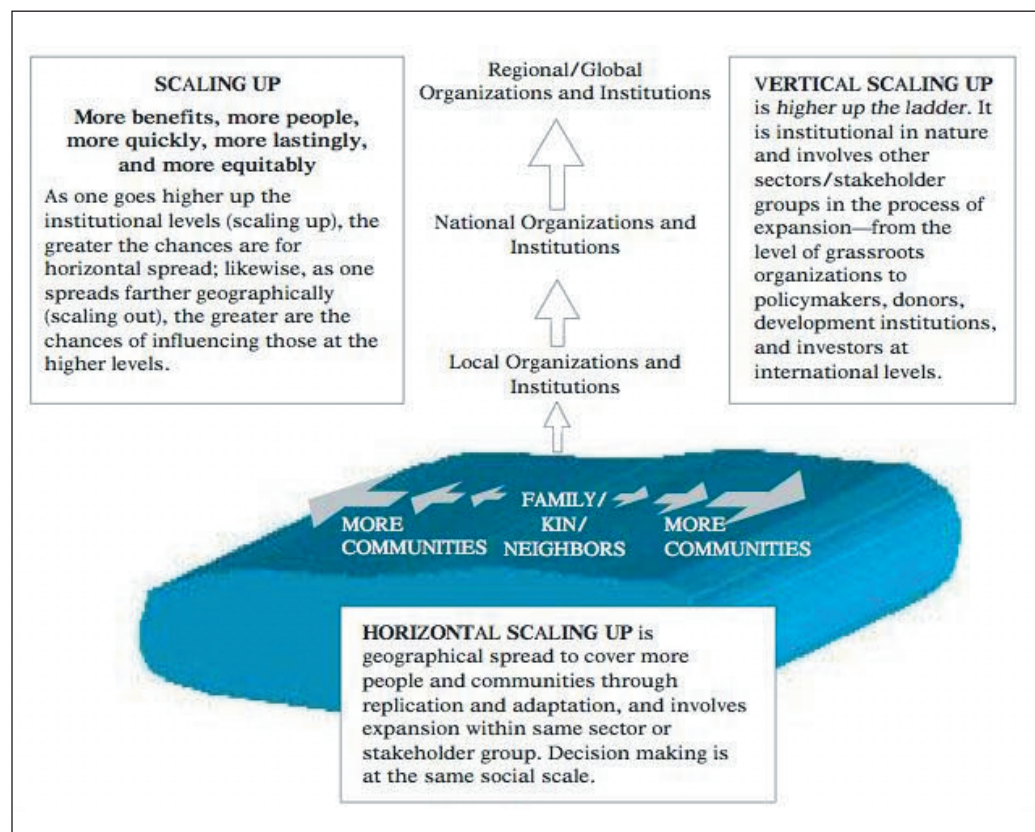
1. Partnerships (catalyst role, networking, farmer-driven, stakeholders-actors)
2. Financial sustainability (market development and access)
3. Management: start small, simplify, build on success for effective management/ programme management
4. Policy support: change policies to create enabling environment
5. Local capabilities should be based on existing local dynamics, capacity building-strengthening, organisational development, participation.

Other principles for successful scaling up in rural settings include: involvement of multiple stakeholders; facilitator and catalyst role; sustainability must be considered; policy support; participatory approaches; sense of ownership at grassroots level (to carry over the process); market development, access and viability; institutional building and organisational development of farmer organisations; strategic alliances,

partnerships, linkages; improve programme management – simplification of donor requirements, capacity building; and accountability of NGOs to farmers.

Menter *et al.* (2004: 15) provide a useful illustration based on IIRR's theorising of scale, as well as the idea of 'horizontal' and 'vertical' processes (see Figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1 Definitions of scaling up** (adapted from IIRR 2000: 17) (Menter *et al* (2004: 15))



But this, like much of the literature on scaling-up, focuses on projects, NGOs, and service delivery and does not give much specific attention to the scaling-up of specific approaches or methods that are not attached to a particular organisation. In the context of CLTS, we are more concerned with the unfolding process, and not a 'magic bullet' in the form of an NGO project (Edwards and Hulme 1996).

Gaventa (1998) gives an overview of the process of scaling-up and institutionalising participation. He outlines a distinction between 'scaling-out', as the expansion of participation from one activity to the involvement of people throughout the whole development process in a way that increases their empowerment; and scaling-up, which refers to an increase in the number of participants or places where participation will occur (Gaventa 1998; see also Chambers 2005a). This might be confusing however, as scaling-out is often used when thinking about horizontal spread, such as the farmer-to-farmer movement which focuses on horizontal learning networks (Holt-Giménez 2006, 1996). Scaling-up would then refer specifically to vertical movement in an institutional hierarchy (local NGOs, to national government, to global institutions).

### 3.3 This idea of a self-spread, and the possibility of a movement

As noted in the introduction, CLTS has been referred to as a 'revolutionary movement'. Does this label have substance? Or is it just a pithy catchphrase to market a traditionally unsexy topic? Either way, it seems to imply a sort of internal dynamic at the heart of the spread of the method. It invokes drastic turnaround, passion and speed. How does this fit into the above frameworks for scaling-up? Much of the spread of CLTS has taken forms that can be described with the terminology already defined within the broader literature on scaling-up: for example, the strategy, so far, for scaling-up CLTS has been multiplicative and diffusive.

It should be pointed out that the term 'scaling-up' might be confusing unless it is specifically defined. Many of the definitions above imply a degree of institutionalisation when scaling-up occurs. But CLTS, with its emphasis on communities doing it themselves, may be seen to imply a degree of *de*-institutionalisation. This does not mean that CLTS is anti-state or anti-institutions. As discussed, the role of the state has been crucial in countries like India; institutions can thus help facilitate the bottom up change that is required for CLTS implementation spread and adaptation, while not hindering them through excessive targets and bureaucratisation. For this reason, when looking at CLTS, we will largely be concerned with the notion of 'spread and adaptation'. In understanding the process of spread and adaptation, we can more fully appreciate the outcome of going to scale.

Before looking at some success stories of the spread and improvement of participatory approaches, it is helpful to consider some areas of literature that can offer insights into how something spreads in a rapid and self-sustained manner. According to Chambers (1992), participatory rural appraisal (PRA) became self-spreading because it was something that 'just seemed to work'; and secondly, sharing has been a part of the culture from the start. Furthermore, it had the ability to spin off and multiply through core principles such as 'handing over the stick' and 'they can do it'. A key aspect to the nature of PRA's spread was that it was facilitated by people – that is individuals, rather than the institutions they were attached to – and a plethora of networks (Singh 2001).

Can we explain the rapid spread of an approach like PRA or CLTS by looking at the key actors involved? How can we explain and understand, with a generative rather than descriptive theory, the movement of an idea between people, groups and whole societies? This topic is burgeoning in sociological fields, and is also emerging at intersections with complexity theory. It is possible that work being done around social networks, and the intersection of this with complexity theory will shed some insights on the nature of self-spreading movements that are also self-sustaining (Urry 2005). This could bring potentially fruitful insights to the discussions around scaling-up.

While not referred to in other reviews, it is possible that social movement literature can offer insights to those wishing to 'scale up' social mobilisation. For example, resource mobilisation theory outlines that organisations form the heart of a movement and they seek to attain and disperse resources to achieve their goals (McCarthy *et al.* 1977). Their resources have been categorised as material, moral, social-organisational, human and cultural (Edwards and McCarthy 2004). As we will

see later on, CLTS can be used as part of a strategy for mobilisation that resembles a veritable social movement.

### 3.4 Lessons from the scaling-up literature

In the scaling-up literature we see much more nuanced and sophisticated analyses and understanding of how it is that we ‘go big’. We can spatially conceive of scaling-up as being horizontal or vertical; and also think about scaling-up temporally, where coverage is sustained over an indefinite period of time. There are more specific pathways to scaling-up defined in terms of quantitative, functional and organisational dimensions. It would seem that these different ways of looking at scaling-up are compatible, as one can be mapped onto the other. We also see that the orientation between approaches to scaling-up can be either contextualist or universalist.

However, there is no obvious way to understand the spread of CLTS. It has spread in many different forms: it has moved vertically to be championed by states and government departments; it has moved horizontally at the community level, as well as internationally; aspects of the method and the desire to spread it are universalist in nature, but it also has in-built principles of contextualism.

### 3.5 Gaps in the scaling up literature

We can thus partially piece together the process of how CLTS is going to scale, but there is a lack of understanding *vis-a-vis* the *movement* aspect of CLTS. Indeed, there seems to be an unlikely gap between the literature on scaling-up, social movements and the notion of spread. It would be a fruitful endeavour to bring together the literature on social movements and scaling-up community development initiatives.

The literature does not sufficiently deal with the notion of spread. Uvin and Miller’s taxonomy (1996) only paints the picture from a particular NGO-context, and does not promise to explain how the process of spread is a part of scaling-up. Similarly, while we can imagine how spread can occur through vertical and horizontal avenues of scaling-up, the literature does not explain how an innovation spreads and takes on a movement-like character, which seems at times to be capable of spreading on its own. Beyond taxonomies of scaling-up, the principles and definitions highlighted do not offer anything more substantive on understanding spread and adaptation.

How might such gaps be dealt with? One solution would be to search for principles within context of CLTS’s spread. Through understanding the intricate process of CLTS’s spread, we can begin to understand how it is going to scale. Before delving into how CLTS has spread, I will now consider a number of case studies that share varying degrees of similarity. This will hopefully contribute to the overall collection of experiences, out of which some common themes may eventually emerge, and possibly lead to generalised principles of spread.

## 4 Other experiences: Participatory Rural Appraisals, Reflect, Community Integrated Pest Management and System of Rice Intensification

Having considered a number of broader schools of thought on scaling up, we can now turn to examples which relate directly to the experience of CLTS as a way to gain insights into how CLTS is spreading. There are specific methodologies and innovations that share the participatory character of CLTS, such as: Reflect, Community Integrated Pest Management, and more broadly, PRA. Other experiences, such as the innovation and spread of the System of Rice Intensification can also provide us with insights into how spread occurs.

### 4.1 Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA)<sup>2</sup>

**Definition:** PRA began as Participatory Rural Appraisal and as a family of approaches, methods and behaviours to enable local people to do their own appraisal, analysis, and planning and take their own action. PRA activities often involve visual and tangible presentations and analysis by small groups. PRA's three original pillars were methods, sharing, and attitudes and behaviours.

**History:** PRA emerged out of a confluence in the late 1980s of methodological streams from applied anthropology, agroecosystem analysis, RRA (rapid rural appraisal), participatory action-reflection and farming systems research. Originating in India and East Africa, during the 1990s it spread worldwide to at least 100 countries, in the north as well as in the south. It showed astonishing versatility: its applications were multifarious, urban as well as rural, and in fields as varied as natural resource management, poverty assessment, health, education and organisational development, and in sensitive areas like sexual behaviour and violence.

**Factors in the spread:** Drawing on the analysis of Kamal Singh (2001: 183–5) factors in the spread of PRA were the personal excitement and learning generated by the use of PRA; an energetic and ardent cadre of first generation 'travelling champions', several of them from India, who introduced PRA into other parts of Asia and Africa, and who contributed to a second generation of champions and trainers; South-South sharing workshops with field-based hands on training and sharing; space and encouragement for continual innovation; the formation of national networks and their linking; the compilation and dissemination of ideas and information; open-ended, relatively flexible support from powerful global actors;

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2 With input from Robert Chambers.

and the loose, decentralised nature of global-level networking. The emphasis on sharing throughout was a factor in preventing exclusive ownership and in encouraging free dissemination.

**Similarities and differences to CLTS:** CLTS and PRA have much in common.

Kamal Kar, the main originator of CLTS, was an experienced trainer, facilitator and researcher using PRA methods, approaches and behaviours. Components of CLTS like participatory mapping, transects, observation and participatory analysis are part of the PRA tradition. Follow up after an activity is very important with both PRA and CLTS.

The major differences are first, in the focus, PRA having innumerable applications while CLTS concerns one topic and in its classical form has a rough sequence of activities; and second in behaviour and attitudes. In PRA, the facilitator is normally non-confrontational, and initially at least is at pains not to cause conflict. As mentioned earlier, with CLTS in its classical form, the facilitator is more active and seeks to enable local people to confront an unpleasant reality, and in doing this deliberately shocks, provokes, jokes and teases. The behaviour and attitudes required are more exacting than in PRA. Many have little difficulty in facilitating PRA participatory mapping. But many would not be capable of the behaviours and relationships demanded for triggering effective CLTS ignition in its classical mode (Musyoki 2007: 11).

**Key lessons:** Travelling champions sponsored and supported to go to new countries and introduce PRA had a key role. Hands-on field-based training provided direct exposure and learning, and quickly won people over. This was complemented with international exchanges and networking in dissemination of ideas and information.

Several other factors were important: attitudes and behaviour of facilitators; follow up with communities after a PRA exercise; and flexible funding that could be freely switched between uses in a rapidly evolving situation to support varied activities and processes of development, networking and dissemination.

The dangers of widespread abuse and bad quality PRA were seen when donors and large organisations demanded instant PRA on a large scale. Quality was also diminished when PRA was 'taught' in classrooms without field experience and NGOs did PRA' with communities without follow-through, so raising and disappointing expectations.

Many also capitalised on the excitement around PRA: demand for training was so high that consultants and others set themselves up and profited when they actually had little idea what they were doing and had not internalised appropriate behaviour and attitudes.

## 4.2 Reflect

**Definition:** The main elements – PRA techniques and a Freireian<sup>3</sup> philosophy – were fused together in El Salvador; it was then adapted by women's savings and credit groups in Bangladesh, and then in a multi-lingual area of Uganda. An evaluation of

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3 Paolo Freire was an educationalist, most famous for his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

these pilot experiences was published by DfID, and practical learning was brought together in 1996 into a Reflect Mother Manual as 'a new approach to adult literacy and social change' (CIRAC 2003). The manual provides the following definition of Reflect:

Reflect is an approach to learning and social change. Key to the Reflect approach is creating a space where people feel comfortable to meet and discuss issues relevant to them and their lives. Reflect aims to improve the meaningful participation of people in decisions that affect their lives, through strengthening their ability to communicate.

(CIRAC 2003)

In a very reflective piece, David Archer (2007: 25) explains some of the history of funding Reflect, showing how that part of the scaling-up process took some interesting twists when it reached the World Bank level:

They were very excited by *Reflect* and, after meetings, said that they wanted to support us and asked us to 'write a two page concept note for how you would like to scale up'. We did, expecting this to be the first stage of a long and torturous application process. Instead they gave us \$200,000 a year for the next four years – without any detailed budget or plan.

This is a remarkable move by the Bank. Archer does not mention the importance of World Bank funding of Reflect to its overall spread and evolution. For Reflect, this funding-with-few-conditions was undoubtedly useful to allow the method to evolve and develop more freely. But why did the Bank jump off the Reflect bandwagon so unconditionally? Archer offers a possible explanation:

One way of looking at this is that they wanted to buy into success. Another is that they really wanted to learn how this would work on a large scale. Another is that they wanted to keep an eye on or co-opt *Reflect*. We used the money to support networking and exchanges and to support documentation and learning, and the funds certainly helped us to maintain relationships with organisations around the world that facilitated the spread of *Reflect*. However we never widely publicised the World Bank support, as we felt a little embarrassed by it.

Two questions arise from the matter of the Bank's funding of Reflect: first, how long would the Bank continue to fund Reflect with such unprecedented unconditionality? And second, how long could 'embarrassing' funding relationship be kept under wraps?<sup>4</sup> Archer's further explanation of Reflect's interesting history may help to shed some light:

[I]n 2000 ActionAid's CEO went to Washington with ActionAid's Patron, Prince Charles to meet the President of the World Bank, who was very complimentary about ActionAid's education work and said if we ever needed

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4 Such funding might be construed as embarrassing because of the political nature of Reflect, and the bad reputation that bank has with respect to participatory development projects.



money – any amount – we should just ask. The CEO returned and said we should ask them for millions of dollars. After two days of meetings of the *Reflect* and education teams we concluded that it would compromise us too much – that if we took the money, especially from such a level, we would be co-opted. We took a decision never to take money from the World Bank again and we wrote to ActionAid Directors and Trustees urging that this become an organisation-wide position.

**So**, it was not easy saying no to a blank cheque, but we did not regret it. We entered into extensive correspondence on why we would not do this work. But the bottom line for us was that we had decided that we did not want World Bank endorsement. We could see by then that much of the exciting work with *Reflect* was developing with people's organisations and social movements. The vocal support of the World Bank would discredit *Reflect*. So we pulled back from the brink of being co-opted.

Eventually, ActionAid spun off *Reflect* so that it is no longer housed by the organisation.

**Factors in the spread:** Some of the following are highlighted as important to the initiation and spread of *Reflect*: building interest; training resource people; recruiting, motivating and training facilitators; and networking around *Reflect* (linking groups, trainer's forums) (CIRAC 2003). David Archer (2007) highlights some of the seeds of success, while also being cognisant that these are also seeds for failure:

- Reflect was innovative
- Rooted in the work of Paulo Freire
- A 'grassroots' identity
- Support from big players, first and foremost being ActionAid, as well as large donors such as the World Bank
- A simple manual
- Roots in three continents, demonstrating the applicability and need for such a method
- A strong identity
- Part of the participation movement
- ActionAid supported spread
- *Reflect* was not controlled
- External validation by ODI/DfID
- A vocal champion
- Adult literacy: a powerful entry point

**Similarities and differences to CLTS:** *Reflect* also emerged with some of its roots in PRA. There has also been a degree of self-spread with *Reflect*, probably more so than with CLTS, but not as much as with PRA. Because of the Freireian influence, *Reflect* is explicitly political in nature, and puts social change more at the forefront when CLTS, in most cases, focuses on achieving ODF communities.

**Key lessons:** CLTS can learn much from the experience of *Reflect*. Being sister methodologies, CLTS may encounter the same sort of challenges in the process of spreading and adapting. One key lesson is to see how important it was for the 'hands off' approach taken by the principal actors, such as the World Bank. CLTS, being

something novel and seemingly effective, has the potential to be bought out by donors looking to buy into success. A good case in point is DfID in Bangladesh which massively increased its funding to WaterAid. Reports from the field suggest that increased funding increases the obsession with targets and reporting with reduced time for facilitation and community mobilisation. These can compromise the quality of the CLTS spread and implementation (Lyla Mehta, personal communication).

### 4.3 System of Rice Intensification (SRI)

**Definition:** SRI is an innovative way to grow rice. C. Shambu Prasad (2006: 14) outlines a set of six practices that encompass SRI:

- transplanting of very young seedlings between 8 and 15 days old to preserve the potential for tillering and rooting;
- planting seedlings singly very carefully and gently rather than in clumps of many seedlings that are often plunged in the soil, inverting root tips;
- spacing them widely, at least 25 x 25 cm and in some cases even 50 x 50 cm, and in a square pattern rather than in rows;
- using a simple mechanical hand weeder ('rotary hoe') to aerate the soil as well as to control weeds;
- keeping the soil moist but never continuously flooded during the plants' vegetative growth phase, up to the stage of flowering and grain production;
- use of organic manure or compost to improve soil quality.

**History:** SRI was innovated by Fr Henri de Launanié, a French national who came to Madagascar in 1961, and later established an agricultural school in Antsirabe in 1981 to help rural youths gain an education. After 20 years of work on developing the principles, many of which were discovered serendipitously, the findings were presented at a seminar in 1989 to NGO representatives, government extension agents, scientists, and the Minister of Agriculture. In 1990 Fr Henri de Launanié and his colleagues set up an NGO, Association Tefy Saina, which translates as 'to build the human spirit through a change in mentality' (*ibid.*: 15). In 1994 Tefy Saina began working with the Cornell International Institute for Food, Agriculture and Development (CIIFAD), in Ithaca, New York. By 1999, SRI had spread to 22 countries. In 2002 there was an international conference on SRI in China to pool together the experience from 15 countries.

**Factors in spread:** Partnership with CIIFAD was important in the spread of SRI initially in Madagascar and the rest of the world. 'The genius and perseverance' of Fr De Launanié is said to be the primary force behind SRI' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, as Lines and Uphoff comment,

[SRI] required manifestation of civil-society thinking and initiative to keep alive this opportunity, which was dismissed by government agencies and international experts when they first learned about SRI. Such a remarkable story is unlikely to occur very often but we will never know how often such opportunities have been buried by the heavy hands of authority and expertise, not valuing the kind of independence of spirit and liberty of thinking that have gone into SRI and its promotion.

(Lines and Uphoff 2005: 19)

Prasad also highlights the role of networks in spreading SRI; namely, actors involved in the innovation of SRI drew upon their existing networks to propagate and access knowledge. Indeed, the SRI has spread in places where pre-existing networks of farmers and researchers facilitated its adoption. Furthermore, there was a significant role to be had by individual 'champions' who are in a position to challenge existing paradigms and promote unpopular innovations.

**Similarities and differences with CLTS:** SRI is similar to CLTS in that it challenges much conventional thinking and practice. This can be seen in the reluctance of major institutes to look into SRI, as well as the plethora of counter claims and counter studies published in scientific journals (Dobermann 2003).

There are some key differences. Chambers and Thompson have commented that:

Unlike CLTS there have been numerous scientific studies of yields and synergies. (link). And more than CLTS it is spreading itself, farmer to farmer. SRI has spread widely, often slowly at first, then exponentially, for example in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, with the use of 80–90 per cent usually sharp gains in yields, in returns to water, and also to labour especially after the first years. The verdict of history may well be that gains in food production from SRI, at negligible cost, will have exceeded those from multi-million dollar long-term research on engineering and breeding a new rice plant (2007: 1–2).

**Key lessons:** SRI and CLTS are both methodologies that require a certain modesty of approach, with a focus on people; that is, they are first and foremost concerned with changing behaviours and not with genetic engineering, or latrines. While requiring donor support, they must not be bowled over with either a large, standard research and design budget in the case of SRI, or huge subsidies aimed at the supply side of the sanitation sector, in the case of CLTS. Chambers and Thompson suggest that '[t]o promote and improve them requires donors to recruit more staff who can learn and understand, and to spare them pressures to spend money' (*ibid.*).

#### 4.4 Community Integrated Pest Management

**Definition:** Integrated pest management (IPM) with an emphasis on community organisation, community planning and management. IMP being a way to control pests and increase productivity without expensive and ecologically unsound chemicals. It offers an alternative agricultural method to the more centralised ways of the Green Revolution.

**History:** IPM started first in Philippines and then Indonesia where in 1989 there was the Training of Trainers (TOT) for IPM Field Trainers, followed in 1990 by the first Farmer-to-Farmer Schools (FFS). Initially a programme facilitated by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) and the Indonesian government, eventually IPM developed an emphasis on the farmers taking control and thus become community oriented. These then spread throughout Asia in the 1990s.

**Factors in the spread** (Dilts 2001: 20): First and foremost, trust that people are capable of dealing with the ecological and social complexities of the programme,

and have the patience to wait it out and not rush the programme through. A concrete entry point addressing a multi-faceted problem allows for the approach to catch on. Continuous dialogue and reflection on accumulated experience means that there is a shared vision that can help to fuel collective action.

Being aware that methods and approaches are not 'neutral' and allowing for human views to be incorporated makes the approach accessible to more people. Along the same lines, making efforts to push down roles which reside 'at the top' as in the case of strategic planning which is now done at community level by farmers. This also opens up spaces where new leadership can emerge, be built up, shared and rotated to maximise 'human capital'.

**Similarities and differences to CLTS:** IPM is based on people-centred and participatory processes. It is able to bring clear, substantial and quick benefits to all concerned and is based on participatory appraisals, analysis, planning and action. In terms of spread, IPM is actively promoted by local people themselves. It is collective, with built-in quality assurance: if one or a few defect, all lose (a social ratchet effect assures sustainability and quality). It is also a good entry point into Sustainable Livelihoods. Community IPM places more emphasis on changes in policy at the local and national levels, with a focus on movement from farmers, as well as opening of policy spaces from above (Dilts 2001).

**Key lessons:** Community IPM is an example of 'doing it themselves', where the farmers demonstrate that they can not only take ownership over their production, but they can also lead the process of spreading the techniques themselves. It is less how community IPM generates the initial collective buzz that then turns into sustained action – is it simply a matter of empowerment and dignity? CLTS, on the other hand, has specific emotive targets at the beginning, where the end result is increased empowerment and dignity, but there are initial stages of shame and disgust that kick-start the mobilisation process.

#### 4.5 Overall lessons from the case studies

While each case has its own unique history, we can see they all demonstrate elements of 'self-spread', which seems explicable by identifying moments of excitement, often embodied by individual champions and institutions. Yet institutions, who lent support and legitimacy, can be obstacles to spread, as seen in SRI, and the cautious move away from the World Bank by the champions of Reflect. Self-spread can also be attributed to a sense of building momentum and belonging to a movement, respectively generating and lending energy. Each example demonstrates decentralised spread: no central institution has a monopoly over spread, and there is enough flexibility for each method to be 'owned' at the grassroots level.

From these four case studies, it is clear that each spread in its own way, leading to unique paths to scaling-up. The general lesson we can pull away for CLTS is that it too, will have a very unique set of pathways through which it spreads and adapts. It is evident that the people – the initial innovators, champions and supporters, and various interlocutors of networks – are key to the spread of innovative methodologies.

## 5 CLTS as a new innovation

So far, CLTS has spread and adapted in different ways. Initially, in Bangladesh, NGOs were key, and then the local government started to take on more responsibility. The experience has been similar in India, where the use of the bureaucracy has been prominent, although this varies from state to state. In Indonesia, the spread of CLTS is largely being facilitated at the district level, where there is an unusual degree of power due to decentralisation. Here, the Ministry of Health has been essential in orchestrating a national sanitation policy that now includes CLTS. See Table 1.1 for other country examples.

### 5.1 CLTS as a case experience for spreading an innovative, participatory methodology

The spread and adaptation of CLTS has taken many diverse forms. The paper now provides examples of how it has spread domestically, and then internationally. It is important to be aware that the international dimension was there from the beginning, and the spread does not necessarily have to follow a domestic-international line, but is often the reverse: international-domestic.

Table 5.1 gives an overview of how CLTS has spread in different forms.

### 5.2 Factors in in-country spread

#### 5.2.1 Organisations committed to CLTS

In some cases, combinations of organisations were effective for both vertical and organisational scaling-up. In contrast with PRA which was widely adopted, CLTS entailed such radical changes that initially only a few organisations adopted the approach. This was in part because of the core principles which had been articulated at SACOSAN I, especially that there should be no subsidy, a principle that was later narrowed down to 'no individual household hardware subsidy' to achieve ODF. Combinations and alliances of like-minded organisations could then be significant. Dishari is an example of organisations with similar goals coming together to cooperate. Dishari, being wholly dedicated to CLTS was able to work closely with Government (Union Chairmen, and others) in campaigns for total sanitation in Unions and *upazillas*.

In other cases, Government played a more dominant role. In Maharashtra, the Government invited NGOs to participate with a subsidiary role. There was confusion here, with ambiguities between CLTS and other sanitation programmes like TSC (The Total Sanitation Campaign of Central Government), which contributed to the disengagement of Water Aid.

In Indonesia, from the first pilot onwards, CLTS was implemented and spread by a project (WSLC II) and by the Health Ministry of the Government of Indonesia. Other Government organisations quickly took an interest.

**Table 5.1 Forms and trajectories of spread**

Country	Forms
Bangladesh	<p><b>INGOs.</b> CARE Bangladesh, WaterAid PLAN Bangladesh, and World Vision all picked up on CLTS and implemented it directly themselves.</p> <p><b>INGOs' partner local NGOs.</b> VERC is a partner NGO of WaterAid, both of which organisations gained a reputation for CLTS as they were key to its birth.</p> <p><b>Local NGOs on their own.</b> An example here is the Dhaka Ahsania Mission, a large national NGO which implemented CLTS on its own, and also took a prominent role in dissemination by managing the new NGO Dishari.</p> <p><b>The Dishari Project and Government.</b> The Dishari Project was set up with funds from Plan International and latterly also from WSP, as a consortium of the Dhaka Ahsania Mission (DAM), Plan Bangladesh, WaterAid and WSP, and managed by DAM. Its overall strategy has been to scale up from village level to the <i>upazillas</i> (subdistricts). It recruited and trained staff who were then posted to eight <i>upazillas</i>. Plan was active in six <i>upazillas</i>, and worked closely with government to achieve total sanitation. It aims to use social mobilisation, public awareness and collective action. Its aim is to achieve ODF in the six <i>upazillas</i> (1.5 million people) within three years.</p> <p><b>Government.</b> Following the first SACOSAN (South Asia Conference on Sanitation) hosted in Dhaka in 2003 the Bangladesh Government gave high priority to sanitation and set the ambitious goal, far ahead of the more modest MDG, of halving those without sanitation by 2015, and of total sanitation by 2010. At local level there were numerous Government campaigns, reportedly with various degrees of coercion, and announcements of total sanitation being achieved, but details are not known, and many treat official figures with scepticism. Some of these initiatives may have claimed to be using, and some may actually have used, some form of CLTS.</p>
India	Largely a state-driven process. CLTS has come at the district level, and has been operating in parallel with the national Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC). TSC differs in that it more readily gives subsidies for hardware. CLTS has been taken up by champions at the district level, but has yet to become a national policy.
Indonesia	A state driven process (at the district level), under the auspices of the Water Sanitation for Low Income Communities (WSLIC) II project, with support from WSP. The strategy for scaling up CLTS has essentially gone straight for the top, and now CLTS is the national approach to sanitation.
Cambodia	<p>Cambodia has gone through several phases of initiating and attempts at spreading CLTS. Initially, UNICEF and the Cambodian government jointly piloted CLTS.</p> <p>The next phase started through Concern-Cambodia and a contact of the principal innovator. It went to the commune councils and the commune council chairmen – the basic unit of local government.</p> <p>The most recent phase began when the first CLTS contact then championed CLTS with the government of Cambodia's ministry of rural development, and took government officers to the places where CLTS had previously been ignited. These government officers then started using CLTS in other provinces.</p>
Pakistan	<p>CLTS is relatively new in the Pakistani context. A group that is made up of WSP Pakistan and Rural Support Programmes are the primary champions, using a two-pronged approach. First, working on knowledge management, dissemination and at institutional policy level; and second, working at the ground level, hoping to reach 100,000 households within a year.</p> <p>Community activists are essential to the work at the ground level. They are seeking out emerging activists that they are calling 'Natural Leaders'. It is where individuals from the community emerge in the early stages of CLTS, who then take on responsibility for seeing through the process.</p>

(Source: Kamal Kar, Robert Chambers and Petra Bongartz, personal communication).

### **5.2.2 Champions able to resist institutional pressures**

A crucial element of CLTS has been ‘champions’ within organisations who were able to resist pressures to continue or adopt normal programmes based on hardware subsidy, top-down targeting, and high financial disbursements. Essentially, the sort of large-scale, programmatic thinking which loses sight of the community ethos at the heart of CLTS. There can be consequences to this: Plan Bangladesh were in trouble with their head office when they spent only about a quarter of their sanitation budget, while at the same time having a large impact with CLTS (Robert Chambers, personal communication).

## **5.3 Factors in international spread**

Several factors were crucial to, or contributed to, the spread of CLTS internationally, initially from Bangladesh.

### **5.3.1 Support for the principal innovator**

First, several organisations supported visits by Kamal Kar which were vital for country-to-country spread. Among these, the most significant was WSP, with WSP-SA bringing him to Maharashtra and other Indian States, to Sri Lanka (where CLTS was not accepted), and to Pakistan. WSP-EAP brought him to Indonesia.

Other organisations that facilitated his visits and facilitator trainings internationally were Concern-Cambodia to Cambodia, Plan-Nepal in 2003 to Nepal, Plan-China to Xansi province in 2005, and VITA to Ethiopia, Plan in Bolivia and Yemen in 2006.

### **5.3.2 Transfers of champions within organisations**

In more recent years, transfers of champions within organisations, and their promotion, have played an increasingly significant part, for example in DfID, Plan International, and UNICEF.

### **5.3.3 International exposure visits**

Senior Government officials and staff of NGOs and WSP went to Bangladesh in 2002. Over three days they visited more than ten ODF villages in three districts, interacted with natural leaders and others in the communities, and brainstormed among themselves and with Bangladesh Government and DfID staff and others at the Rural Development Academy in Bogra. This was seemingly important for the high-level commitment and support which enabled the introduction of CLTS into India in the Government system, and in this case the Country Team Leader of WSP India and the Principal Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra. There followed a series of visits to Bangladesh of elected people’s representatives and chairmen of *Zila Parishads*, and District-level officials and NGOs, from Maharashtra.

Other such visits were Chinese and Nigerian delegations to Bangladesh, Indonesian and Pakistani delegations to Bangladesh and India, and vice-versa.

### 5.3.4 International meetings and hands-on training workshops

The first two meetings of SACOSAN (South Asia Conference on Sanitation) were key occasions. For SACOSAN I, held in Dhaka in 2003, WSP had prepared a declaration for endorsement by the Ministers present. A vigorous plenary debate sharpened the issues, especially concerning hardware subsidy. World Vision showed how the materials for a latrine could be obtained for less than a dollar. The Dhaka Declaration shifted thinking and policy away from individual household hardware subsidy and towards CLTS. SACOSAN II, held in Islamabad in September 2006, provided the first opportunity for sharing experiences of CLTS between countries. A day's workshop before the main conference, convened by WSP and facilitated by Kamal Kar and the IDS research team, included contributions from Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Nepal, and Pakistan, created a sense of common concerns and commitments, and through a special session highlighted the potential role of the media in spread.

Hands-on training workshops for participants from different countries have become increasingly significant as international organisations seek to spread CLTS in countries where they operate. In December 2006, UNICEF in collaboration with WSP-LAC, convened one such in Bolivia. In early 2007 Plan International Regional East and Southern Africa branch convened two regional workshops: in Tanzania for programme managers and frontline staff from seven countries, and in Ethiopia for WATSAN advisors and field staff of eight Plan countries (Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Sudan).

### 5.3.5 Dissemination through publications, website and networking

Publications such as newsletters have given prominence to CLTS in several countries. IDS Working Papers on CLTS (Kar 2003; Kar and Pasteur 2005; Kar and Bongartz 2006), and Guidelines (Kar) have been in heavy demand, and widely distributed at conferences and meetings. The Guidelines have been translated into Bahasa Indonesia, Bangla, French, Khmer, Hindi, Mandarin, Marathi, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Swahili, and Urdu. CLTS has also been spread internationally through the production of materials, resources and the latest updates all kept on a website at the IDS.

Networking has been used to elicit, consolidate and disseminate ideas and experiences. This has been done by 'trawling' – sending an email to many people who have relevant experience, and asking them to contribute. The first concerned favourable and unfavourable conditions for CLTS. The second will concern experience with the poorest people and those least able to construct latrines for themselves. The outputs of these trawls are shared with contacts and via the website.

## 5.4 Opposing entrenched tendencies: obstacles on the way 'up'<sup>5</sup>

Every new method that requires institutional change runs up against stiff opposition, even after enthusiastic adoption from the beginning. CLTS risks being pulled into

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5 The examples in this section draw on the field experiences of Robert Chambers and Kamal Kar.



broader intuitional paradigms. Arguably, CLTS faces pretty big challenges in light of certain tendencies:<sup>6</sup>

#### **5.4.1 Professional commitments, mindsets and incentives**

Engineers with their professional concern with physical design, construction standards and standardisation, health professionals with their concern for personal cleanliness and curative measures, and agencies who are tempted by the prestige and patronage that go with big funding – all face personal and professional obstacles in recognising what CLTS requires. This means confronting their initial biases and mindsets, their organisational culture and their incentive systems. Politicians and administrators may face problems in recognising (as many now have) their potential gains from the radical changes that CLTS entails.

Also related to mindsets, CLTS requires a change from the normal ‘PRA thinking’. The tendency of normal PRA facilitation is to avoid or minimise confrontation or unpleasantness or direct challenges. CLTS facilitation is sharper. It uses crude and disgusting demonstrations, questions and processes to shock people into action (for an illustration of this point in the African context see, Musyoki 2007).

It is worth noting that in some countries, such as Nigeria, there is not as much familiarity with PRA tools as there is in Bangladesh, and as such the CLTS approach is adopted without prior knowledge or training in PRA (WaterAid 2007: 15).

#### **5.4.2 Bureaucratic: top-down targets and pressures to disburse**

Bureaucrats (whether in donor agencies, governments or NGOs) are faced with requirements and incentives to spend budgets and are liable to be penalised if they do not do so. For example, when Plan Bangladesh converted from a programme based on individual household hardware subsidy to CLTS, many more people benefited but the Country Director had to explain to his head office why he had spent less than a quarter of his budget (Kamal Kar, personal communication). The very priority given to the MDGs, including sanitation, creates a problem in that donors and central planners are vulnerable to making calculations about how much a latrine costs, and multiplying it out by target coverage in order to arrive at a budget. The pattern of interaction with communities can then revert to convention, with household surveys, social mapping, wellbeing analysis with five standard preset categories, and so on. A syndrome of misleading reporting can follow. Money is spent, but the goals of CLTS are not achieved, and scaled-up impact remains elusive.

#### **5.4.3 Diverse views of core assumptions**

As CLTS moves both horizontally and vertically, there is a balance to be struck between promoting the methodology and learning from critical comment. This poses dilemmas: facilitators who are being trained need space to air their doubts;

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6 Personal communication with Robert Chambers and Kamal Kar.

but at the same time need conviction and confidence to be able to effectively adopt the style of facilitation required for triggering CLTS. By contrast, many at a workshop organised by IDS and WSP Pakistan at SACOSAN II expressed that there should be no one purist way to look at CLTS but instead it should embrace a range of possibilities that are context-dependent. This latter position would logically become the default position with increasing diversity in how the CLTS package is applied.

#### **5.4.4 Bandwagon effect**

Quite quickly after its initiation CLTS began to gain an international reputation. It was a major topic of discussion in SACOSAN 1, at which there were demonstrations of very cheap and basic toilets for all to see. Workshops convened by WSP, Plan, DFID, UNICEF and Concern in various countries and other organisations raised the profile of CLTS. The IDS Working Papers 184 (Kar 2003) and 245 (Kar and Pasteur 2005), entitled *Subsidy or Self-respect* were printed in large numbers and disseminated at international and national meetings, and had the largest ever downloads from the IDS website. Presentations to large conferences and meetings played their part, as did national level workshops in numerous countries. At the same time, sanitation was rising on the aid and national policy agenda as its causal links with the other MDGs were increasingly being recognised.

All this created a bandwagon effect. This was similar to the first few years of PRA. It was fashionable to claim that CLTS was being used. As a result a range of practices have been labelled CLTS, for example Total Sanitation efforts in some state-driven processes which are driven in a top-down manner and are not community based. There is a risk of this occurring at the international level: CLTS could eventually be conflated with other discourses.

It is in this way that CLTS can appear to be spreading far more than it really is through the apparent movements at the institutional and state level. This raises an issue of what exactly is CLTS and what happens to it as it spreads. At what point does it become something altogether different?

#### **5.4.5 Early innovator reputation versus quality**

The spread of CLTS has demonstrated a phenomenon that has been found with other innovations in participatory methodology. The organisations that host the early innovations are vulnerable to a syndrome of gaining an international reputation, hosting visits and training, and losing quality through complacency, loss of creativity, and loss of key innovative staff. This occurred to some extent in the PRA. MYRADA quickly gained an international reputation for PRA, and NGOs from other countries sent individuals and teams for training. After the very early years, groups from Sri Lanka and Indonesia were disappointed by the routinised training they received. At the same time, the prime innovator in the organisation left MYRADA and founded his own NGO (Chambers, personal communication).

A similar pattern has occurred with CLTS in Bangladesh. Water Aid and VERC nursed the initial innovation, and developed a small cadre of trainers, facilitators and engineers to implement and spread CLTS. Later, DFID made a large grant of

£17.5 million, and the organisation faced a tremendous challenge to spend the money and recruited some new staff who were not familiar with CLTS (Kar and Chambers, personal communication). Although Water Aid and VERC have retained their reputation for and commitment to CLTS, has the drive to achieve targets compromised on the quality of spread?

#### **5.4.6 Funding, power relations, and myth**

Power relations associated with funding can serve to distort feedback about realities on the ground, and these distortions can turn into myths. This is described in *The Aid Chain* (Wallace *et al.* 2007): from bilateral donor to INGO to local NGO, where those receiving funds are unwilling for reasons of prudence to challenge their funders. Members of a local NGO may know that an INGO representative is presenting misleading information but feel unable to challenge it for fear of prejudicing their future funding. One result of this 'all power deceives' phenomenon is that myths are generated and disseminated, giving the impression that whole organisations are involved in facilitating CLTS when their actual practice is quite different.

#### **5.4.7 Philanthropic reflexes**

The view that the poorest and least able must be helped is not unusual. This led the Ministers from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan to leave the door open for hardware subsidy to the poorest in the SACOSAN I declaration (Robert Chambers, personal communication). Those who opposed this argued that any programme of individual household hardware subsidy could undermine and inhibit CLTS. As we have seen, the theory of CLTS has been that those in communities who are better off can and should help those who are less able to help themselves, providing land, materials and even labour, depending on circumstances, and that this can occur because becoming ODF is in the interests of everyone. In CLTS campaigns in some upazillas in Northwest Bangladesh, limited support from official sources was provided in the late stages of the campaigns. This support was intended for those who had the greatest difficulty. It was not upfront in the early stages of the campaigns.

#### **5.4.8 Failures to ignite**

CLTS raises a number of expectations of those involved. Failure to trigger CLTS can demoralise facilitators, and hinder its spread. This may have been a factor with the limited progress in Nepal. This has underlined the importance of support and mentoring in the early stages of introducing CLTS to an organisation or a country.

The rapid domestic and international spread of CLTS thus takes on many forms and has followed a number of trajectories. There is desire for horizontal and quantitative spread, and it seems that CLTS can achieve these aspects of going to scale when it is successfully 'ignited' on the ground. It is clear, however, that many issues arise in the vertical dimension: namely, institutional obstacles to the further spread and adaptation of the method.

## 5.5 CARE Bangladesh: an example of including a strategy for horizontal and political scaling-up within CLTS process

The experience of spreading CLTS is clearly varied, with multiple scaling-up strategies being used at all levels. The above should have provided a feel of this plurality, as well as a genealogy of how CLTS spread internationally, sometimes with rapid ease, and at other times with obstacles and resistance.

In order to resituate the spread of CLTS within the broader discourse of community development, it is useful to hone in on one example of CLTS being used – with an explicit strategy for scaling-up – as an entry point into livelihoods and development activities in Bangladesh. The Social Development Unit (SDU) of CARE Bangladesh seeks to build solidarity through collective action and improving social relations between rich and poor. The approach starts with the assumption that human agency is possible; agency to effect positive change on one's everyday life through institutions that shape gender and class, resource distribution, as well as other choices, opportunities and constraints (Bode in Bongartz 2007). The SDU has been supporting the mobilisation of staff and community activists under the name of *Nijeder Janiya Nijera* (We, for Ourselves) (Bode *et al.* 2006).

*Nijeder* uses a 'spatial strategy' where action researchers and community facilitators target pockets within the poorest communities where social inequality is not as stark. This becomes the centre of 'an expanding network of initiatives fanning out into surrounding communities, referred to as clusters' (*ibid.*: 2–3). Following this, community led initiatives are spread to adjacent hamlets in a phased process which is supported by local leaders from the main hamlets and staff. As analysis, planning, and collective initiatives unfold, new local leaders emerge and move the process forward. Initially, this work remains limited to leaders' own communities, but once successes are shared and discussed with neighboring residents, for example through large community events and community visits that allow them to observe the changes first hand, nearby communities actively seek to engage in the process. Their participation, in turn, sets in motion actions through which new leaders emerge in their own communities. In this way, the approach has a cascading effect (*ibid.*).

CLTS has worked well as an entry point, with its focus on collective action and its ability to generate energy and momentum in a short period. It is in this period that so called 'spontaneous' or 'natural leaders' emerge and are then supported to facilitate CLTS and other community-led processes.

Certain outcomes and changes conjunction with the emergence of 400 Natural Leaders (NLs) were noted:

- Emergence of natural leaders (NLs) through successes of CLTS has redefined the meaning of development outcome-oriented leadership in the community; 60 percent of NLs have earned broad support cutting across religious, political, gender, class ethnic boundaries
- Emergence of outcome-oriented leadership has created space for community experts to excel and flourish (community engineers, consultants to neighbouring communities, chilli, vine potato)
- Local leaders facilitate analysis of the causes of poverty with the community using participatory visual methods and encourage and mobilise collective action to overcome poverty

- Emergence of a large number of collective pro-poor activities
- Engagement in evolving mechanisms of community monitoring
- Local leaders spread activities to other hamlets
- Local leaders begin to bridge the gap between community and local government and state bureaucracy
- Informed local leaders begin to constitute a force in local development recognised by local government
- Local leaders organise cultural events (drama, folk songs – all locally innovated) to share methods and activities.

(Based on Bode *et al.* 2006: 5).

This discourse of ‘natural leaders’ has also come up in other contexts where CLTS is being implemented, such as Pakistan.

Stories such as this show how CLTS can be effective in improving sanitation and its associated benefits, as well as the increased participation and overall empowerment of the community to ‘do it themselves’. Furthermore, it demonstrates that strategies for horizontal spread can be incorporated into the CLTS package.

## 6 Situating the spread of CLTS within the broader discourse on community development

There is a need to understand the broader development context within which CLTS and other methods are situated. Spread of participatory approaches depends on people; people to facilitate and innovate, to enable and encourage. But what about international institutions? What about donors? The obstacles on the way up, that is, at the institutional level, are structurally influenced by dominant development discourses. In this section I situate CLTS in relation to the World Bank discourse on community-driven/based development (CDD/CBD). The Bank has invested a considerable amount into building a discourse around CBD/CDD, including how it can be scaled-up. It represents a brief articulation of the dominant discourse.

### 6.1 Overview of CBD/CDD discourse

Arguably, CBD/CDD is a nomenclature for the already established field of ‘community development’, which is then connected to a much broader and nebulous discourse around modernity and progress. Even though the literature does not clearly distinguish between CDD and CDB, it is generally thought that the former give communities control over resources and decisions in the design and implementation of subprojects; while the latter give communities comparatively less responsibility and emphasise collaboration, consultation, and information sharing (OED 2005: xi; Pozzoni 2006: 1).

CBD/CDD is part of the broader empowerment agenda at the World Bank (2002), and ‘seeks to put local governments and rural and urban communities in the driver’s seat, and give them a new set of powers, rights and obligations.’ Binswanger and Tuu-Van Nguyen outline some of the key principles of scaling up CDD (2004: 10–11):

- **Ensuring minimum conditions:** such as strong political commitment to local empowerment and decentralisation; a well-designed decentralisation programme geared towards local empowerment; one or several successful and cost-effective community and local government projects; and government and donor willingness to work towards unified disbursement mechanisms.
- **Cost effectiveness and fiscal sustainability.**
- **Co-production of services and infrastructure by different actors and levels.**
- **Equal access to information, participation, and democratic decision-making.**

Binswanger and Tuu-Van Nguyen do not provide any examples where these principles were duly played out. The examples of sector-specific and multi-sector scaling-up, such as the Self Employed Women’s Association in India or Participatory Budgeting and Planning in Porto Alegre, Brazil, are indigenously created initiatives with their own intricate histories of going to scale. The Bank, however, includes these examples in a way that credits its own brand of CBD/CDD. It does not recognise these as specific histories with their own discourse; rather, they seem to subsume these histories.

What is more, these principles carry with them strong neoliberal overtones in their emphasis on meeting certain ‘minimal conditions’ as dictated by the Bank. Arguably this is a redressing of neoliberal ideology in a guise of community development. Ultimately, this undermines the ethos of development from the ‘bottom up’. Binswanger and Aiyer (2003), do, however, refrain from using such neoliberal terminology in their theory of the sequential stages of moving towards large-scale CDD.

- **Initiation** – may include enhancing participation, engaging in dialogue on decentralisation, and/or piloting CDD
- **Scaling up** – after a successful pilot. Requires planning for training and logistics, development and field-testing of manuals etc
- **Consolidation** – may include going for national coverage, moving from participation to full empowerment, capacity development, expanding and deepening CDD functionally to address issues that may not have been first priorities e.g. chronic malnutrition or HIV/AIDS, and/or forming networks or federations of stakeholders.

Whether CDD projects have actually undergone this sort of process in practice is an altogether different question, one which shall be explored below.

## 6.2 Challenges to scaling-up CBD/CDD

Pozzoni and Kumar (2005) point to some of the challenges of scaling-up CBD/CDD projects. First, there is the cost involved with running a participatory project,

meaning that the treatment enjoyed by such initiatives cannot easily be applied at large. And as resources for NGOs are limited, taking participatory initiatives to scale requires the involvement of large-scale institutions such as national governments and donors. But this poses huge challenges as the larger the institution is, the less participatory it is likely to be, thus requiring huge changes at the top.

Something that practitioners must be cognisant of when thinking about scaling-up CBD/CDD, according to the literature reviewed by Pozzoni and Kumar, is that ‘participation cannot be rushed’ (Blackburn, Chambers and Gaventa 2000: 8). Though there is still much debate on timing, there is consensus around this point *vis-à-vis* participatory initiatives, whether applied to dairy cooperatives in India, or larger scale participatory governance projects.

The final point raised in relation to scaling-up is that it often entails a trade off between participation and effectiveness. Citing Schneider and Goldfrank (2002) on participatory budgeting in Brazil, they note: ‘Scaling-up Participatory Budgeting at the state level required administrative innovations that allowed a greater number of people to participate, but that created costs for the quality of participation’ (Pozzoni and Kumar 2005: 28).

### 6.3 Evaluations of CBD/CDD to date

So the challenges to scaling-up CBD/CDD are immense, but what of the successes so far? After all, CBD/CDD has occupied a space worth \$7 billion within the World Bank's portfolio alone. Mansuri and Rao (2004) review the conceptual foundations and evidence of their effectiveness, and argue that they have not been very effective in targeting the poor, largely because such projects are dominated by elites.

They also show that there are no studies that find causal links between participatory elements of CBD/CDD projects and the actual outcomes of the project. And while there is ‘little generalisable evidence of the optimal pace of scaling up or on the marginal benefits of increasing community involvement,’ there are success stories that offer ‘grounds for optimism’ (Mansuri and Rao 2004: 26). One such example, cited by Binswanger and Aiyer (2003), is the Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) inspired by Gandhian notions of self-reliance. But on the other hand, these success stories are handpicked by the Bank, and were usually well established before the CBD/CDD entered the picture (Chambers 2005b: 151). As well as the SEWA, the AKRSP Pakistan NDDB are championed as ‘indigenously matured organisations’ with ‘exceptionally high calibre, continuity and commitment of management and charismatic inspiring leaders and which had existed for a decade or more and already successfully gone to very large scale’ (*ibid.*). In an evaluation by the Bank’s OED, these are given their own category of CBD/CDD projects, and as Chambers notes: ‘Their performance is irrelevant to the evaluation of other CBD/CDD projects.’

In citing Pritchett and Woolcock (2002) on the central role that facilitators play in CBD/CDD, they make an important and relevant point: ‘...the effort can be doomed from the start, especially when the facilitators work for a large bureaucracy, such as the ministry or the World Bank.’ They begin ‘seeing like a state’ as James Scott

(1998) puts it, and '[t]he complicated process of building community participation becomes routinized and subject to the imperatives of short term horizons and the need for quick results' (Mansuri and Rao 2004: 27). How ought a process of scaling-up CBD/CDD be carried out? According to evidence, they argue, a mix of piloted approaches followed by phased – that is, gradual – scaling up. Only in 'economic emergencies' should untested scaling-up occur, and if that is the case, this should be with extreme caution. Rapid scaling-up usually sows the seeds for failure.

Along with a gradual process, they see several other preconditions to scaling-up CBD/CDD:

- learning by doing;
- careful training for a core cadre of facilitators;
- a commitment by the country to a cultural change in the institutional environment to become more participatory, responsive, transparent, with downward accountability;
- and finally, changing from top-down to bottom-up development in a manner that is sensitive to the local context, which in turn requires a longer time horizon.

With these preconditions, community leaders can be held accountable to avoid 'supply-driven demand-driven' development. It is important to note that there are really no efficacious methods for evaluating these sorts of projects, which is why many commentators recommend their cessation or at least a dramatic slowing down of the process so as to avoid costly failed projects.

#### 6.4 Calling the CBD/CDD model into question

If we take a few steps back, and some more steps under the veneer of broad sweeping documents on CBD/CDD, we find some fundamental issues that must be brought to the fore. David Mosse has written several in-depth pieces on the contradictions in development policy and practice, especially when considering participatory projects. In one of his more recent (2006: 696) articles, 'Collective Action, Common Property, and Social Capital in South India', he notes how

Community institutions have been idealized, homogenized, and traditionalized, but they are also the object of interventions in which they are upgraded, democratized, or modernized so as to meet new demands and fit within contemporary policy objectives.

He goes on to show that community institutions and local social processes can be awkward, and 'confound the models and modes of analysis that dominate within donor agencies such as the World Bank' (*ibid.*). To be sure, the latest review of CBD/CDD by the Bank's own evaluations unit provides the dubious definition of community as a 'unified, organic whole' (OED 2005: 55).

Mosse (2006: 696) explains that failures of economic models in generalising from the policy level 'downward' to practice, are not an issue of resources, as explained by Pozzoni and Kumar, or Binswanger and Aiyer, rather:



The problem is that, because they offer general explanations, economists' models are attractive to policy makers, and even more so because they are understood as predictive (to describe the conditions necessary for collective action); but they are not predictive. Generalizing to practice from outcomes is precisely where problems arise and where anthropological attention to social process and complex agency is critical.

Applying his own anthropological insights, Mosse problematises one aspect of the economic mode: social capital. In defining CDD, Binswanger and Aiyer state that it 'aims to harness social capital through empowerment, and increase social capital through scaling up' (2003: 5). Thus social capital is clearly a concept central to CDD. Mosse offers Collier's (2002) definition of social capital as 'the set of durable interactions that results in coordination capacities – either spontaneously because of generated trust or through the conscious decisions of organizations that bring about interaction and generate trust – and establish rules and allocative decisions'. This is such an important part of the World Bank and other donor's strategies because 'if levels of engagement in civil society are raised ... this will lead to improved coordination ... and ultimately to increased levels of accountability and democracy' (Mosse 2006: 714).

By looking at a case study of tank irrigation commons in Tamil Nadu, he shows that the causal relationship between associational life and collective action does not exist:

Strong collective action in water management (in upper-catchment villages) is not linked to vibrant associational life or the presence of organizations; nor the absence or decline of cooperation (in the Lower-catchment villages) associated with the absence of 'structural' social capital. Moreover, associations do not appear to promote democratic processes so much as to be their consequence, and these same democratic processes tend to erode existing forms of collective action in commons management. This all amounts to dangerous terrain for predictive models for CDD-type interventions.

In lieu of the critiques above, as well as others, it is worth considering slowing down existing CBD/CDD projects, and imposing a moratorium on new ones (Chambers 2005b: 153). Only after multiple intensive studies are done on what actually happens in a CBD/CDD intervention, as well as a thorough examination of the Bank itself, would there be the possibility to think about taking such a massive programme to scale.

It is this discursive context within which CLTS is operating, which no doubt will influence how it spreads, is packaged and repackaged. We saw how the Bank was both an opportunity and an obstacle for Reflect; similarly, CLTS has opportunities for further spread and greater impact. However, if these are too heavily influenced and shaped by the dominant discursive forces at the institutional level, such as CBD/CDD, then it is at risk of losing its relevance and momentum. It may become part of a larger bureaucratic package that is difficult to effectively implement, and as a result is only participatory in name, not in practice.

## 7 Conclusion: focusing on spread

To recap on what this paper has considered: we have established that CLTS has generated excitement and is moving quickly. In an effort to understand what it means to 'go to scale' we saw a sophisticated assortment of literature that provides a number of ways to think about 'scaling-up'. Yet we also saw that there was a lack of emphasis on how the process of spread and adaptation is inherent to the process of an innovation such as CLTS 'going to scale'. In an effort to shed more light on the notion of spread and adaptation, we looked at comparable innovations and how they have spread (PRA, Reflect, SRI and Community IPM). In each case, we saw how there were specific histories that defined how they spread, each dependent on an array of championing individuals and institutions, as well as more autonomous collectivities that took on the innovations themselves. Upon revisiting CLTS's story, we saw some emerging principles as well as obstacles to its spread at local, national and international levels. The more detailed example of CARE Bangladesh's SDU adaptation showed how CLTS is amenable to a strategy for spread at the grassroots level. And finally, we looked at the broader discursive context of the CBD/CDD as articulated by the World Bank. This demonstrated that despite its name, CBD/CDD is still riddled with top down thinking and can potentially stifle the excitement and the genuinely community feel around CLTS. In other words, the abstract universalist discourses of CBD/CDD could compromise the contextualist core of CLTS.

What, then, have we learned about spread through all this? Spread occurs in diverse ways. It is part of the process of going to scale, but rarely receives specific attention. It is contingent upon the terrain it traverses. There is an internal, though not often explicit, drive for spread that is both horizontal and contextual. When NGOs took on CLTS, its spread was first quantitative, and then organisational in nature. The desire for increased spatial coverage can be made explicit, as seen in the SDU's adaptation of CLTS in Bangladesh. Their adaptation also demonstrates the ability to functionally scale-up CLTS, where other activities are incorporated into the process. The temporal aspect is still unknown due to the relative newness of CLTS. There is coverage, but whether it is sustained remains to be seen.

The vertical dimension seems to be a site of much struggle. We are aware that CLTS is not operating in a vacuum: the vertical ladder can lead to obstacles in both states and other institutions. When CLTS moves from one organisation to a larger institution, it is a risk of being 'watered down' or co-opted. In the case of the Indian government, it has been conflated with the TSC. In such contexts where the state environment is not immediately receptive to the adoption or endorsement of the method, strategies for political scaling-up could help instigate the necessary institutional changes.

Despite the challenges in the vertical dimension, the international spread continues for the moment. A recent workshop in Dar-es-Salaam saw participants from Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Sudan and Egypt (Musyoki 2007). In July 2007, a workshop convened by IDS in Panipat, India, drew participants from India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. These events demonstrate the dynamic and burgeoning state of CLTS. It has spread in ways we could document, but it is also spreading through networks that we cannot so easily capture.

An array of strategies is being developed along the way, each relative to particular contexts, and with differing principles applying at local, national and international levels. With CLTS there seems to be a consensus on the central role of ‘champions’ that can be drawn on for an overarching strategy of spread. It is unlikely that an exhaustive set of principles will be incorporated into the CLTS package.

Nonetheless we can see certain principles emerging out of the notion of ‘champions’. In Indonesia and India, for example, CLTS was taken up at the state and district levels, which can then spread the method through their pre-existing and extensive mandates. In such cases, CLTS moves into institutions that can spread it far and wide, balancing the essential facilitative aspects to CLTS with their inherent authority over large swathes of territory. Yet in the detailed example offered on CARE’s adaptation of CLTS in Bangladesh, there is an effort to encourage the potential for CLTS’s self-spread at the ground level by targeting areas where it is needed most and where the local population is most amenable ‘ignition’, mapping these in relation to other target populations, and then facilitating its movement in conjunction with spontaneous leaders that emerge during the process. In both instances, there is energy generated by the apparent success of CLTS, which in turn furthers its spread. When it remains open, accessible and adaptable to pertinent contexts, spread is sustained, and eventually scale is achieved.

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