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Chapter 16
CLTS in Africa: Trajectories, challenges and moving to scale

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At AfricaSan 3 in Kigali it was clear that in short three years since the last AfricaSan conference, and in only five years since its initial rollout in Africa, Community-led Total Sanitation (CLTS) had spread and diversified to become more embedded in Africa than in any other region. This chapter looks at the progress and maturing of CLTS in Africa. It introduces innovations and adaptations, poses questions and challenges and suggests possible ways forward as CLTS goes to scale on the continent.

16.1 A NEW ERA
Community-led Total Sanitation (CLTS) was seeded in Africa in a hands-on training workshop facilitated by Kamal Kar near Dar es Salaam in early 2007. Plan International, which had convened the workshop then spearheaded its initial spread in six countries. Over the five years since 2007, Kamal Kar has made many further visits to Africa to promote CLTS and conduct hands-on trainings and many African trainers have become active. The adoption and spread of CLTS has been little short of spectacular. As of mid-2012, UNICEF estimates suggest that close to ten million people are living in communities that have been declared open defecation free (ODF) in Africa. This has happened in the context of an enabling environment which has been strengthened by the recognition, approval and support of CLTS by governments and external agencies. More attention has been given to sanitation policy and budget issues thanks to the International Year of Sanitation in 2008 and the eThekwini Declaration at AfricaSan + 5, has helped increase the profile of the sector and explicitly includes indicators related to national coordination, monitoring and evaluation and community-led approaches.

At least seventeen African countries have made CLTS central to their national rural sanitation policies – Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Togo, Nigeria, Niger, Liberia, Guinea Conakry, Ghana, Gambia and Cameroon. National, sub-national and district level working groups are overseeing the implementation of CLTS. Some governments have set ambitious targets for making their rural areas ODF, for example Northern Ghana by 2012, Kenya 2013, Ethiopia, Mauritania and Zambia 2015, Malawi 2016 and Madagascar 2018. They have adopted the policy of no household hardware subsidy which is a critical condition for the rapid spread of CLTS. Governments have made lenders and donors remove these subsidies from their project proposals: Ghana did this with the World Bank, Chad with the European Union, and Nigeria and Mauritania with the African Development Bank. UNICEF, WSP, bilateral donors, and NGOs such as Plan, SNV and Engineers Without Borders (EWB) have recognised the power and potential of CLTS and supported and promoted its spread. Increasingly, CLTS has become a continent-wide movement, ushering in a new era for rural sanitation.

Nevertheless, many challenges and questions remain, for example concerning appropriate follow up after triggering, monitoring and evaluation, sustainability, equity and the interface and interaction between CLTS and other approaches such as sanitation marketing. Perhaps the most important overarching question for CLTS remains how to go to scale with quality.
16.2 WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED: CHALLENGES AND KEY ELEMENTS OF SUCCESS

16.2.1 Government leadership

Governments have become key actors in CLTS. Whether it’s the endorsement of CLTS as national sanitation policy, national ODF campaigns, or the integration of CLTS into the responsibilities of local government staff, health extension workers and so on, advocacy efforts to gain buy-in from government have clearly paid off. Undeniably, CLTS can only be sustainable and scalable if government is at the centre, but government involvement and leadership in sanitation does not come without challenges.

Whilst integrating CLTS with existing government systems and the ongoing work of local government staff seem like an obvious way to ensure wide reach, sustainability and flow of data to national levels, there are questions about whether these professionals are always the right people to take on CLTS responsibilities, especially where training and triggering are concerned. Are they equipped with the right skills and do they have the capacity and time to do CLTS justice alongside their (often) many other responsibilities? Does CLTS come naturally to them, that is, are they able to adopt the role of the devil’s advocate, talk freely about shit and avoid falling into a teaching role? Can they ‘sing and dance’, as Kamal Kar describes the qualities of a good CLTS facilitator? It is clear that government can’t ‘do’ CLTS on its own but needs support, coaching, capacity-building and networking with others (for more on this topic see Raeside (2010) and Soublière (2010)).

16.2.2 Networking, partnerships and peer support

In recognition of these challenges, innovative support systems and peer-to-peer learning have been set up to assist government staff at all levels. In most countries, there are national WASH groups or ODF Taskforces through which different stakeholders work jointly and coordinate their activities better. In Kenya, district level reflection and learning workshops support continuous reflection, peer-learning and finding solutions jointly with involvement of all stakeholders (government, NGOs, INGOs and others), in particular with the view of improving follow up after triggering and sustainability. In Malawi, Engineers Without Borders, Canada staff have set up an innovative model for peer support and sharing of experiences. EWB staff partner with people from the bottom to the top of the water and sanitation sector to create stronger learning and coordination linkages between stakeholders who tend to work in isolation; innovate feasible solutions to deal with challenges of programme capacity or staff motivation; and facilitate leadership development among key leaders throughout the water and sanitation sector (to read more about this, see Raeside (2010)). On an international level, IDS continues to engage in networking via the CLTS website www.communityledtotalsanitation.org, its bi-monthly e-newsletter with over 3000 subscribers and sharing and learning as well as thematic workshops that bring together practitioners to exchange experiences, discuss challenges and share innovations and ideas, make linkages and support each other.

16.2.3 Supporting champions at all levels

Champions at all levels are crucial to successful spread and sustainability. Natural Leaders, those who emerge during triggering and have the passion and commitment to take the lead in implementing action plans towards ODF in their communities, play a critical role. Champions and natural leaders at all levels need to be recognised, identified and encouraged and enabled to have maximum influence. For this, support mechanisms as well as ways of sustaining their interest and motivation are needed.

In Ethiopia, the work of Natural Leaders has been professionalised through forming a legal entity and enterprise, the Natural Leader’s Association which can access funding and loans and aims to address issues of sustainability by improving the movement up the sanitation ladder in ODF kebeles. The Association focuses on sanitation and hygiene promotion, demand creation and the production and supply of sanitation hardware such as slabs in accordance with community demand (Tunsisa and Beyene (2012)). In Homa Bay, Kenya, a Natural Leader’s Forum convenes Natural Leaders from triggered villages to reflect together on the status of CLTS implementation in the district, discuss their challenges and agree on ways forward. This has had the effect of ‘energizing them to rededicate themselves to their mission’ (Otieno (2011)). In Sierra Leone, a Training Manual (http://www.communityledtotalsanitation.org/resource/clts-training-manual-natural-leaders), designed by the Ministry of Health and Sanitation (MoHS), UNICEF and GOAL, helps support Natural Leaders during the pre-triggering, triggering and follow-up of CLTS communities and regular trainings are being held to build the capacity of NLs. Plan Sierra Leone uses rewards and incentives in various forms, from Natural Leaders being recognised by name at ODF ceremonies to distribution of bicycles to make them more mobile and increase their reach. There are debates about whether incentives in the form of rewards are a good way to motivate Natural Leaders. Reward and incentives schemes may be counter-productive and unsustainable in the long term. The best way forward will depend on the local context.
Alternative ways of motivating champions and natural leaders, e.g. through capacity development, cross visits, trainings, recognition, exposure, mentoring and coaching, should also be considered.

### 16.2.4 Follow-up, monitoring, verification and certification

National policies and ODF campaigns raise issues around the reliability of data. Will ambitious targets lead to false reporting and act against sustainability? Over-reporting of achievements is a risk. There is an urgent need for practical realism as Robert Chambers argues (2011) – a need to balance aiming at high targets with feasibility. An indicator of honest reliable data is that a substantial number of communities fail when they first apply for ODF verification. However, this means not punishing failure but providing encouragement and support to address problems. It is important that communities strive to meet ODF criteria not because an external agency tells them to, but because they recognise the value and benefit of a shit-free environment.

- Verification, certification and monitoring at scale pose many challenges:
  - How can monitoring by communities and local level staff provide realistic and comparable data for monitoring, analysis and subsequent appropriate follow up action higher up in the system?
  - Who is best placed to conduct verification in order for the data to be credible?
  - What reporting systems can capture sustainable ODF status of communities rather than once again reverting to counting latrines built?
  - The increasing speed of CLTS means that it can be challenging for verification and certification to keep up with communities’ claims to be ODF, so human resource capacity needs to be factored into the equation from the start.

Some promising models for verification are already in use. In Côte d’Ivoire, exchange verification missions are used between the two regions (Bouaké and Tiassalé) where CLTS is being implemented, making verification more objective and aiding inter-regional learning. The teams include members from the government, NGOs, local authorities and community representatives and teams assess communities according to a set of criteria. In Malawi, verification is also being conducted jointly by community leaders, district representatives, and NGOs working in the area. The Government of Malawi’s strategy outlines two levels of verification criteria: ODF, meaning every household uses a latrine with privacy, there is no shit in the bush (100 percent latrine coverage, sharing is acceptable) and ODF ++ for which every household has a latrine with cover and handwashing facility (100 percent coverage, sharing is acceptable); all religious institutions, market centres and health centres in the catchment area have latrines with covers and hand washing facilities (100 percent coverage). Similarly, in Ethiopia, the Ministry of Health has developed a verification protocol that is being used by all stakeholders, so that standardised indicators are applied across the board. First, there is self-verification at village level, then verification at kebele (smallest administrative unit) level, followed by verification and certification by district staff and finally ODF celebrations in the community. In Kenya, third party verification is being used and large-scale verifications have been conducted by the NGO KWAHO in Nyanza and Western Provinces. Verification criteria included latrine coverage, existence of handwashing facilities and dish racks. A large percentage of villages (54 percent) were failed, but the process had a positive orientation, calling on evaluators to be ‘watchdogs not bloodhounds’. KWAHO reported that “[t]he most critical aspect of the certification exercise was to encourage and celebrate sanitation progress and innovations attained by various communities. Even when the village had not attained ODF status it was our mandate to encourage the natural leaders, the CLTS teams towards attaining ODF status. The approach also encompassed appreciative inquiry in to the way forward for those communities that had not attained ODF status.’ (2011: 7).

It is hoped that more learning around these issues will emerge from an international workshop due to take place in Malawi later this year (August 2012) as well as from IRC’s proposed symposium on monitoring sustainable WASH service delivery in Ethiopia in April 2013.

### 16.2.5 Reflection, documentation, sharing and learning, research

Strengthening the evidence base for CLTS continues to be crucial. Continuous reflection, documentation, learning and sharing activities are needed. With the fast rate of development and transformation that CLTS has seen in Africa, much of the territory ahead is unknown and this makes rapid ‘learning whilst doing’ an imperative. This ‘action learning’ takes many forms, but the vital ingredients are honesty, transparency and flexibility: recognising what does or doesn’t work, admitting failure, adjusting plans, being open to change, and learning from the innovations and successes of others in similar situations. This also has implications for institutional ways of working- there is still some way to go in changing institutional attitudes so that
reflection, documentation, sharing and learning become central to implementation and are not seen as add-ons or extra-curricular activities. Many good initiatives are already taking place in this area:

- International workshops that bring together CLTS practitioners from governments, NGOs and agencies and facilitate cross-country and cross-organisational learning (e.g., the CLTS in Africa workshops in Mombasa in 2009 (Bongartz 2009), Lusaka in 2010 (see Lusaka Declaration (2010)) and Bamako (see Bamako Consensus (2010)) and the workshop on scaling up at Lukenya in 2011 (see Lukenya Notes (2011)), organised by IDS in collaboration with others).
- Regional and international conferences such as AfricaSan, the annual Stockholm World Water Week, the World Toilet Summit due to be held in Durban in December 2012.
- The CLTS website www.communityledtotalsanitation.org, which aims to be a global hub for CLTS, connecting the network of practitioners, communities, NGOs, agencies, researchers, governments, donors and others involved or interested in CLTS and a space for sharing and learning on CLTS across organisations, countries and sectors.
- In country peer-to-peer sharing initiatives, national taskforces and WATSAN groups.
- Emerging national CLTS websites, for example, in Kenya.
- Exchange visits between different districts within countries, between different countries and between regions.

Supporting the ongoing enquiry into what works best and how to achieve scale with quality and sustainability, are a number of research, action learning and implementation projects, for example:

- Plan’s Pan African project Empowering self-help sanitation of rural and peri-urban communities and schools in Africa (2009 to 2014) which aims to improve sanitation and hygiene practices in rural communities in eight African countries (Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Niger, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia) through CLTS as well as urban CLTS and School-led Total Sanitation (SLTS). For more information see http://www.communityledtotalsanitation.org/country/pan-africa.
- The ODF sustainability study conducted by Plan Australia, Plan UK and Plan Netherlands in Ethiopia, Kenya, Sierra Leone and Uganda.
- The Gates-funded 3-country Plan project Testing modified CLTS for scalability led by Plan USA and the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill which looks at improving the cost-effectiveness and scalability of the CLTS approach through increased engagement of local actors in Kenya, Ghana and Ethiopia (See http://www.planusa.org/content2675015).

The impact evaluation of CLTS being carried out in Mali by the Center for Distributive, Labor and Social Studies (CEDLAS) of Argentina (Universidad Nacional de La Plata) in collaboration with UNICEF and the PEP Research Network and funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

### 16.3 INNOVATIONS: UCLTS, NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND SLTS
#### 16.3.1 Urban CLTS

CLTS has not just spread into new geographical areas, but also been applied in new settings such as the urban and peri-urban context and in schools (Figure 16.1).

In June 2010, Plan Kenya, together with a CBO called Community Cleaning Services (CCS) initiated an exciting pilot trialling an urban form of CLTS in Mathare 10, an informal settlement in Nairobi (see Musyoki (2010) for the beginnings of this pilot). There are of course major differences between the rural and the urban setting. Communities are more heterogeneous, urban dwellers are more transient, there are issues relating to limited space, tenancy arrangements and pit-emptying, particularly in urban slums. In recognition of this, urban CLTS (UCLTS) has not been about conducting conventional triggering in cities or about people digging pits or erecting structures (the city bylaws would not permit this).
Instead, it has focused on mobilising citizens to become aware of their sanitation situation and of their rights in this respect so that they can challenge the institutions who have so far not met their obligation to ensure that citizens’ right to live in a clean environment is fulfilled. Thus, in the Mathare context it has also become known as Citizen-led Total Sanitation. It builds on the history of struggles against forced eviction in the informal settlements, putting sanitation and environmental improvements on the radar of residents and the agenda of structure owners/landlords and mandated institutions such as the Nairobi City Council: ‘UCLTS does not concern itself with the hardware solutions rather it triggers the residents to start asking the right questions to the right people.’ (see Musyoki (2012)).

Thus, UCLTS in Mathare was initially demand-driven. However, a new phase has begun: The City Council of Nairobi requested training for their staff from Plan and CCS. This took place in May 2012 (see Musyoki (2012)). The City Council now wants to scale UCLTS up to 5 more wards in Nairobi. Government, local administration and public health officers from the City Council of Nairobi are beginning to enforce environmental sanitation laws and want to leave a legacy of good sanitation in Mathare.

In Zambia, ‘urban CLTS through legal enforcement’ is being used in Choma and Lusaka. It was initiated as a response to cholera outbreaks in Lusaka. Some aspects of triggering are still used, but the emphasis is on legal enforcement of laws and by-laws to address and confront ‘urban nuisances’ related to sanitation as well as food and general hygiene. Institutions and businesses are being sensitised with campaigns and trainings to ‘clean up their act’ and provide proper sanitation facilities (for more information see Zulu (2011)). In Mauritania, UNICEF together with the local municipality, used an adaptation of CLTS in the town of Rosso (32,000 inhabitants), which led to several urban neighbourhoods being declared ODF (for more information see van Maanen (2010)).

16.3.2 Technological innovations

In the context of Mathare, there has also been a lot of innovation in terms of new technologies such as GIS and mobile mapping. The Map Mathare initiative (http://mappingnobigdeal.wordpress.com/2011/03/03/how-to-map-open-defecation-areas/) used participatory GIS for open street mapping of the area (Figure 16.2). Youth were trained and equipped with the knowledge and skills to carry out the mapping via mobile phones complemented by digital photography, video SMS and ushahidi (http://ushahidi.com/). The results are thematic maps (http://www.mapkibera.org/blog/2011/02/14/base-map-of-mathare-is-complete/) on sanitation and other issues affecting the Mathare community (e.g., open defecation areas, open drains,
garbage sites, public and private toilets, water points, types of buildings etc. as well as stories and videos which can be accessed via the Mathare Valley Blog (http://matharevalley.wordpress.com). The collected data will be used as evidence for advocacy and for engaging key stakeholders.

In other areas of Kenya, for example Kilifi, the Point of Interest Mapper (POIMAPPER), a customised software that combines mobile and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology, has also been used for data collection, analysis, documentation and communication. The resulting data can support planning, monitoring and evaluation (baselines) of programmes.

16.3.3 SLTS
School-Led Total Sanitation (SLTS) is another growing area of innovation. Children generally make good and committed Natural Leaders and schools can serve as a good focal point for community discussions, celebrations and learning around sanitation and hygiene (Figure 16.3). Triggering takes place in a school setting, with children acting as messengers that take their learning and desire to stop open defecation and its detrimental effects back home and into their communities. Plan Kenya uses schools as catchment areas and venues for the actual CLTS triggering. Children are involved in the entire process and they share the outcome of their analysis and action plans with the wider community. In Zambia, Plan uses focus group discussions and transect walks with children for post-triggering follow-up, getting the children to evaluate the progress made with hygiene behaviour change in their villages. In Uganda, SLTS is used by Plan Uganda in conjunction with the child-to-child approach. CLTS triggering in schools encourages children to identify hygiene and sanitation issues within the school environment and to come up with action plans to maintain cleanliness and hygiene there as well as practicing hygienic behaviours at home, too. Perhaps the most developed and systematised variation of SLTS is being used in Ethiopia where Plan and the Local Administration in Shebedino have been using an SLTS approach that engages teachers in triggering CLTS since October 2010 (see Box16.1).
16.3.4 Post-emergency/conflict

Another new environment in which CLTS has been trialled in the last two years are post-emergency and post-conflict settings, including in Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and South Sudan. This is still at a relatively early stage of development and there are many challenges, including the dependency culture and the fact that many NGO interventions are modelled along the lines of serving short term needs by giving out subsidies. (For more on CLTS in emergency and post-conflict/post-emergency situations, see Greaves (2012)), and Philip Otieno’s blogs on introducing CLTS in South Sudan and Sudan (http://www.communityledtotalsanitation.org/contributors/philip-otieno (accessed 19 June 2012)).

16.3.5 Beyond ODF

Once the process of rapid collective behaviour change has been triggered, achieving ODF status is only one of the important milestones rather than the end of the journey. Follow up and long term strategies for sustainability are crucial. Depending on

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**BOX 16.1 SCHOOL-LED TOTAL SANITATION IN SHEBEDINO – A PROMISING WAY TO SCALING UP**

Schools are triggered, with teachers and pupils evaluating the extent of open defecation and the conditions of their school toilets. Teachers also attend a live triggering by an experienced facilitator to learn how it is done. Then, during a Health and Education Development Promotion Day which is part of the curriculum, pairs of teachers trigger all the Development Units (DUs)/Yeletam Budens (typically consisting of 25–30 households) in the Kebele, usually two or three of these together. Pupils bring family and community members to this meeting and engage in a sort of competition as to who can bring the most people. After triggering, a Chilo (shit) Eradication Committee consisting of one elder, one man, one woman, one youth and one child is formed, sets targets and moves the process forward. The pupils on the Committee, i.e. the youth and child, file a weekly progress report with the school, which passes them on to the Kebele Administration which can then follow up. The weekly report includes categories such as toilets constructed, roadside toilets installed, their stages of construction, and ‘ashamed people’ who had been found doing open defecation. Progress with this form of SLTS has been promising and this system clearly has many strengths that may offer a way of going to scale faster in Ethiopia than normal CLTS.

Source: For more information see http://www.communityledtotalsanitation.org/resource/school-led-total-sanitation-reflections-potential-shebedino-pilot

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**Figure 16.3** A common children’s game has been adapted for SLTS in Ethiopia to raise awareness of sanitation issues (Photo credit: Petra Bongartz).
communities’ exposure and access to sanitation and hygiene products and services and their economic status, they step onto different rungs of the sanitation ladder. Since the poorer people usually start with very basic sanitation options, there can be a risk of lapsing back to open defecation, if adequate support for investing in more sustainable options is not available. Therefore post-ODF strategies for sustainability need to consider how to link communities with opportunities for sanitation improvement that cater to their needs and their means.

Sanitation Marketing is one of the approaches introduced to address this. However, it is still relatively new and a much clearer understanding of it is needed. What experience has shown already is that since markets are context specific, there is no one size fits all solution and time and resources have to be invested in understanding the local conditions and creating the right balance and integration of demand creation, market supply and enabling environment. And, crucially, CLTS and Sanitation Marketing needs to be carefully sequenced as experience from Uganda has shown (see Nabalema (2011)). Behaviour change and ODF need to be firmly in place before selling latrines to communities so as not to delay ODF attainment (for more information see Chapter 6 on Sanitation Behaviour Change and at http://www.wsp.org/wsp/toolkit/what-is-sanitation-marketing).

Other ways of helping communities move up the sanitation ladder have included:

- Engaging with financial institutions to see if their home improvement loans portfolio can be extended to include help with latrine upgrading (Uganda).
- Artisan Fairs where community members come together to discuss problems, and find solutions to common challenges (Nigeria).
- Promoting micro entrepreneurs as professional sanitation service providers through market research, strengthening of technical and business development/management skills of local micro-entrepreneurs, and facilitating forward (to communities) and backward (to supply chain actors at the regional/national level) linkages of these micro-entrepreneurs based on their business plans (Kenya).

16.4 CONCLUSION: TRANSFORMING AT SCALE

Given the rapid changes with CLTS in Africa over the last two years, it is clear that we have moved into a different landscape with new uncertainties, challenges and opportunities. Recognising its value and potential, and seeing the success across a wide range of country contexts, the key concern of all stakeholders is now how to scale up with quality at sub-district, district, province or region, and national levels. Based on experience, the following priorities emerge:

- **Capacity and quality**: Good hands-on training and follow-up mentoring of facilitators and trainers are crucial. Training without mentoring support, and rushed or cascade training, both risk large-scale failure. Plans need to provide for steady exponential expansion of good training with mentoring, bearing in mind that only a minority of those trained will make good trainers. Quality assurance in going to scale depends on their personal qualities and performance.
- **Champions, commitment and campaigns**: CLTS has spread through committed champions who have recognised its power and potential. They have been at all levels from Presidents to local Natural Leaders. Those working in central and local governments have often been critically important. Successful spread of CLTS has tended to be fastest and best as part of multi-faceted campaigns involving many actors in government departments, NGOs, religious organisations, the media and other organisations. Leadership, enthusiasm and competition have played their part. One key challenge is to enable more and more champions to dedicate more and more of their time to CLTS. Those many, like health extension workers, health volunteers and Natural Leaders, who also have other responsibilities, need backing and encouragement. And most critically, a cadre is needed of capable and committed staff who have been released or recruited to be full-time on CLTS.
- **Follow up and rapid realism**: A lot of questions still remain about good follow up post ODF. We need to know more about how to link CLTS with pro-poor sanitation marketing and other post-ODF follow-up activities to move communities up the sanitation ladder and ensure equity and inclusion. The target-driven national campaigns on which so many governments have embarked are at risk of false claims and reports. As in India, these can generate inflated figures and an unfounded fantasy of achievement which is later and embarrassment. To prevent this demands rapid realism – rapid, cross-checked information flows about what is really happening at the grass roots. Many initiatives can support this: recognising and rewarding the realism and honesty of those who report that they have not achieved their targets; regular reflective meetings at different levels to review progress and replan actions; developing M and E and information management systems, increasingly using ICTs, to provide accurate real time data; and ODF verification practices which balance passes and failures, making failures positive learning experiences for communities. The motto at all levels should be ‘Learn fast and fail forwards’.
And, above all, we need honesty, a willingness to learn from failure and the ability to be flexible and change course as field realities continue to change with dramatic speed.

What will next two years bring? Based on what we have seen these past two years, our hopes and expectations are high. If Governments, with support from civil society, can support champions, multiply capacity, foster and reward honest realism, and network, learn, and share with each other, CLTS should become transformative on a vast scale. In rural sanitation and hygiene, Africa can then expect to outstrip much of Asia. But such success is far from a foregone conclusion. Whether such transformation takes place will depend on the vision, commitment, guts and honesty at all levels of the champions who spearhead and spread CLTS. We look to them.

16.5 REFERENCES


