Achieving ‘total sanitation’ in rural African geographies; poverty, participation and pit latrines in Eastern Zambia
(Bardosh, 2014)

Abstract
- >1bn of poorest people practice open defecation
  - Marginalisation from ‘modern’ Zambian state [quotation marks added]
- Community Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) [participatory development] equated w low cost, quick results and community self help
- Scaled up by local govt., poor management etc. diluted its impact

Introduction
- Tendency to lump water and sanitation together in policy (Black and Fawcett, 2007)
- Sanitation needs hardware (toilet tech) and software (human behaviour) —> expensive and difficult
- Again links between sanitation and citizenship
- Understanding why people openly defecate
- Toilet tripod (O’Reilly and Louis, 2014); successful adoption of sanitation depends on;
  - Political will by both govt. and NGOs over LT
  - Existence of social pressures which surround open defecation/toilet usage
  - Factors associated w local pol ecologies e.g. water access, soil type + land use

CLTS explained
- Goal = empower people to build + use locally made latrines
  - Convincing people of the need for sanitation so they construct toilets (LINK TO OTHER DOMBROSKI ARTICLE ABOUT DIFFERENT PRACTICES AND CONCEPTS OF HYGIENE BEYOND OUR OWN)
  - Uses ‘community self-realisation’ of people being unhygienic
  - Emphasis is provoking disgust, shame and fear so people —> collective action to be ODF (open defecation free)
- Whilst some have cited impressive results at low costs, others question;
  - Ability of poorest to participate
  - Poor construction of latrines
  - Shaming techniques which mimic colonial shaming of indigenous practices
  - Use of reward systems to pervert community motivation
  - Harvey (2011) - CLTS leads to self determination and communal responsibility

From Choma to Katete; translating sanitation interventions
- Pilot programme in Choma - over 2 years latrine coverage ^ed from 27-67%
- Eager to scale up; 2012 UK DFID provided $30m to support the programme
- BUT 1 year on, no villages were ODF
- ‘Projectification’ of sanitation in Katete
  - 2000 UNICEF distribution of cement slabs and ventilated pit latrines (VIPs)
  - VIPs converted to grain storage due to concerns of them being satanist (faeces used for ritualistic purposes) and cement slabs used as bathmats
  - Tried to recruit volunteers to promote sanitation - volunteers difficult to manage and abandoned sanitation once rewards (money, food, bicycles) dried up
  - Labour shortages in clinics - cleaners acting as nurses to general public
  - Chiefs established sanitation bylaws in villages - high levels of compliance and creation of pit latrines until chiefs stopped pressure
- Different actors, different interests
  - This recent history shows that political will (1st tripod) and consistent funding are vital for sanitation improvement
  - History repeated itself with CLTS; volunteers either put no effort in or were given no material, technical or managerial support. Expected to cover large distances but had no contact with district team