

Impact of Community-Led Development on Food Security (InCLuDE): A Rapid Realist Review

September 2021



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Acronyms and Abbreviations

Acronym	Definition
CBO	Community Based Organization
CDU	Charles Darwin University
CLD	Community-Led Development (also known as Locally-Led Development)
DEC	Development Experience Clearinghouse
IDEAL	Implementer-Led Design, Evidence, Analysis, and Learning
InCLuDE	Impact of Community-Led Development on Food Security
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
FFP/OFDA	Food for Peace/Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance
LLD	Locally-Led Development (used interchangeably with Community-Led Development in this report)
LMIC	Low and middle-income countries
LGBTQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and Intersex
MCLD	Movement for Community-Led Development – a consortium of 1500+ local civil society organizations and 70+ INGOs
MERL	Monitoring, Evaluation, Research, and Learning
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations

A glossary of terms defined for this project is provided in Appendix 1.

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Executive Summary

Purpose of the study: Community-Led Development (CLD - also known as Locally-Led Development, LLD) is increasingly recognized as a scalable pathway-of-choice to steer communities towards resilience and to ensure sustainability of desirable development outcomes. Advocates argue that putting communities at the center of development supports effective and efficient program implementation, enhances sustainability, facilitates poverty reduction at scale, increases social capital and strengthens governance (USAID, 2019; The World Bank Group, n.d.). However, there is relatively little understanding of the current practice of CLD – what works, where, why and how? – resulting in calls for greater evidence-based learning about the practice of CLD for improved program design and sustainable results (King, 2015; White et al., 2018). In response to this need, [The Movement for Community-Led Development](#) (MCLD) started a multi-phase collaborative research program in April 2019. In the first phase, MCLD looked at the [current practice of CLD across 173 programs in 65 countries](#) and developed two tools– [one to strengthen CLD practice](#) and another to assess [the quality of CLD evaluation reports](#). The second phase included dissemination of the study and tools, and this rapid realist review. Realist reviews seek to understand how types of interventions generate their outcomes – that is, the underlying causes of outcomes - and why outcomes vary for different populations or contexts. *Rapid* realist reviews are generally more focused in the questions they address and the data sources they use.

Key research question: This review sought to answer the question “*How and in what contexts do key aspects of CLD – particularly leadership and facilitation – contribute to resilience and equity in relation to food security?*” For this research, Community-Led Development was defined as a development approach in which local community members work together to identify goals that are important to them, develop and implement plans to achieve those goals, and create collaborative relationships internally and with external actors—all while building on community strengths and local leadership. Community-Led Development (CLD) is characterised by 11 attributes: participation and inclusion, voice, community assets, capacity development, sustainability, transformative capacity, collective planning and action, accountability, community leadership, adaptability, and collaboration.

Methods: The review examined evaluation reports and other documentation provided by MCLD and its member organizations and publicly available legacy Food For Peace/Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance evaluations from the Development Experience Clearinghouse (DEC). No other literature was sought or used in the review, beyond the initial development of definitions. The review progressed through several stages: developing definitions of key terms based on a review of key literature and previous work by MCLD (see Appendix 1); developing program theories to be tested through the review (Section 3.1 and Appendix 7); selecting programs and documents for inclusion (Appendix 3); extracting data from included documents; synthesising the evidence and revising the program theories (Appendix 8). The synthesis included developing a typology of seven ‘types’ of CLD approaches represented in the included literature (Section 3.2).

Types of CLD: Many programs used multiple types of CLD. Many of the types are not, in themselves, consistent with the definition of CLD developed through this research project.¹ The type that was most consistent with that definition was evident in only 20% of the programs reviewed.

Contextual factors for implementation: The review identified a range of contextual factors that enable or impede implementation of CLD and the primary ways in which those contextual influences work (Sections 3.4-3.6). This is in addition to determining how specific aspects of context affect particular causal processes, which is the essence of realist analysis. Because the review did not examine other approaches to development, it is not possible to identify whether any of these factors are specific to CLD, or whether they exercise their effects in different ways. Many of these factors are out of an implementing organizations' control but speak to circumstances in which community-led programs are more (or less) likely to be successful. *Enabling environments* included a supportive, effective and transparent policy and legal environment at the national or state level, presence of relevant local community-based organizations and accessible funding. Poor quality of infrastructure or government services, lack of government capacity or support, intra-government conflict, elite capture and disasters were among the limiting environments. Low levels of literacy, cultural barriers to participation by women and young people, teenage pregnancy and early marriage, migration to cities and distance from the program centre or office also limited participation in CLD programs.

Facilitation and Community Leadership: The evidence for facilitation and for individual and collective community leadership was generally weak. In many documents, it was difficult to tell whether facilitation occurred, how exactly it was employed, and by whom it was performed. Likewise, it was difficult to discern whether community leadership (in the collective sense) was taking place, and whether community leaders (in the individual sense) had a role in the process. However, it was often possible to tell whether the intermediate outcomes expected to follow from facilitation and community leadership occurred, and so it was possible to undertake partial tests of the theory (Section 4).

Critical contributors to good quality facilitation include adequate investment in capacity development for facilitation skills and processes, and for technical skills appropriate to the program. Reasonable workloads, geographic distances to cover, and expectations for facilitators were also important. Positive recognition for facilitators supported motivation to continue.

Individuals and/or program committees mobilized community members, garnered support, and catalyzed action. Leveraging synergies with other programs, NGOs, government policies, and existing community structures contributed to effectiveness. Traditional leaders could support CLD by legitimizing CLD goals or activities, and/or by participating directly. Where there were high levels of corruption or elite capture, however, community members were less likely to participate. CLD is a change process and change often meets resistance. Consequently, conflict resolution and de-escalating tensions between groups with different interests are important roles for leaders.

Formalized structures: Formalized structures enable local governance of Community-Led Development. They can be structured to ensure processes for consultation with the wider community, and transparency and accountability to the wider community. Formalized groups are more likely to be viewed positively by authority holders and may therefore be more successful in engagement with and/or advocacy to local government and external bodies. Low levels of literacy

¹ Here it must be added that the programs did not identify themselves as doing a particular type of CLD. That typology was developed as part of this research based on how programs described their activities and processes.

and high levels of volunteer turnover in these structures both undermined participation in administration and could exclude the most marginalized.

Advocacy: Where facilitation supported development of formalized organizations and leadership structures, community groups could develop a sense of collective voice and increase their capacity for advocacy. Structured advocacy processes, facilitated by agencies but involving community members, could increase communities' power, bringing communities into decision-making they had previously been excluded from, and increase agency. However, responses from authority holders were contingent on the political context, and on the awareness and knowledge of authority holders with respect to advocacy claims. Capacity building and advocacy at the local level did not necessarily generate change at higher levels of systems. There was insufficient evidence to make judgements about the effectiveness of community-led (as distinct from agency-facilitated) advocacy. There was also insufficient evidence to suggest that power dynamics shifted beyond the specific focus of the project or local examples of change.

Resilience: CLD can contribute to resilience, in part by building human and social capital. Positive feedback loops built a sense of collective efficacy and contributed to the ability to respond to emerging challenges. This was less likely where resources were inadequate, where failures or significant difficulties reduced motivation, or where the opportunity costs were too high (Section 5.1). Agency-led planning processes, combined with significant capacity development for those involved in project implementation, contributed to effective implementation, albeit evidence for sustainability was weak. Groups being representative of the community, truly voluntary participation, and lesser influence by the facilitating agency were necessary (Section 5.2). For those who participated directly in workshops that addressed self-reliance, a change in mindset towards self-reliance², and development of a sense of common cause, contributed to collective action. This was less likely where communities had an unmet expectation of tangible resources being provided by the NGO (Section 5.3). Savings groups were generally successful in contributing to resilience. Elite capture, corruption and undue agency influence all undermined resilience. Where targeting of specific groups was seen as excluding other groups, programs could contribute to increased tension and conflict. Programs were sometimes inaccessible due to distance and/or poverty (Section 5.4).

Equity: Marginalized groups were less likely to participate in, or benefit from, CLD unless particular strategies addressed their specific needs, issues and opportunities. Marginalized groups identified in the literature included women, children, youth,³ the very poor, people with disabilities, ethnic minorities (including caste, tribal, and indigenous groups), refugees and internally displaced people, people living with HIV/AIDS, people who were illiterate or faced language barriers, those who were particularly time poor, and groups in ethnic/religious conflict. However, adequate evidence was only available in relation to women and youth. Barriers to participation included literacy, cultural barriers, teenage pregnancy and early marriage, migration to cities, and distance.

Where laws and policies were supportive, gender equity was actively pursued and skilled facilitation challenged gender inequality, women developed confidence and voice, and were included in decision-making. They developed new roles at home and in the community, including increased

² Self-reliance does not imply self-sufficiency or that no external links are necessary. Rather, it describes a process and outcome whereby communities are increasingly able to take control of their own development and mobilize required resources, networks and capacity themselves.

³ Note that age groups for 'youth' vary significantly – in some cultures, people up to 35 years old were regarded as youth.

capacity to earn and control income. This was less likely where gender equity was perceived as an ‘imposed norm’, where cultural norms precluded women from speaking in front of men, or there was fear of gender-based violence for challenging norms. Equity gains for marginalized women depended on their participation in programs. There was also evidence that CLD could increase demands on women and vulnerable groups, in part through its reliance on voluntary work.

Food security: Severe drought affected many of the food security focused programs included in the review, changing their focus from development to humanitarian aid. This reduced the evidence available to test linkages between CLD and food security outcomes. However, there was sufficient evidence to demonstrate that both equity and resilience do contribute to food security.

Social capital was demonstrated to be both an intermediate outcome from some successful CLD,⁴ and a mechanism through which CLD generates other development outcomes, including food security. CLD could increase bonding, bridging and linking social capital, but was also more likely to be effective when starting from a positive social capital base. Intra-community conflict and violence undermined the collaboration and negotiation required for CLD.

Many of the programs had a significant focus on development of human capital (especially knowledge and skills), and some on social capital. Fewer directly addressed development of community-controlled material and financial capital. Communities could be enabled to identify, build and use their own resources, but access to funding and other resources were regularly argued to be necessary during and beyond programs. This may be particularly true for the poorest communities. Environmental capital was necessary for improved food production as a contribution to food security outcomes, but was sometimes taken for granted in reports. Taken together, the findings imply that all five forms of capital - human, social, material, financial and environmental - are necessary for CLD for food security outcomes, although the importance of each may vary with the particular model and objectives.

Programs which demonstrated food security outcomes all had evidence of equity outcomes and intermediate resilience outcomes; these programs all used multi-sectoral approaches. Programs which demonstrated partial food security outcomes (that is, positive outcomes that did not reach statistical significance, or positive outcomes for only some of the objectives) also demonstrated partial or no equity outcomes, and partial or no resilience outcomes. Short-term food aid could keep people alive but sometimes at the expense of nutritional diversity and did not result in food security, equity or resilience outcomes. Programs relying on “train the trainer” models were not always effective at the local level. The poorest households sometimes had the lowest increases in agricultural productivity. Capacity development for women in agriculture could contribute to nutrition outcomes and including functional literacy as a component of food security programs could improve nutrition and WASH outcomes. Reliance on women’s volunteerism in nutrition and WASH⁵ activities is likely to have created opportunity costs for women’s economic empowerment, which is crucial to increasing gender equality.

Terminology and program theory: There are significant differences in the terminology used across organizations who do CLD work, which appear to reflect differences in understanding around the

⁴ Other literature, not reviewed here, has found different results. For example, White, H; Menon, R; Waddington, H; (2018) Community-driven development: does it build social cohesion or infrastructure? A mixed-method evidence synthesis. Technical Report. International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie), New Delhi.

⁵ WASH programs were sometimes designed to contribute to food security by providing water for agriculture.

core ideas in CLD. Key terms include but are not limited to those defined in this research (Appendix 1).

Clarifying key terms can also contribute to clarifying program theory. Explicit use of program theory was relatively uncommon in the reports reviewed, but it can contribute to improved program design (by surfacing assumptions for further consideration) and evaluation. There are many types of program theory, and the types most appropriate to specific evaluation purposes and questions should be selected.

Evaluation: The quality and nature of evaluation reports included in this literature sample varied significantly. Rigorous outcomes evaluation was relatively uncommon in the sample reviewed⁶, as was disaggregation of participation and outcomes data to identify program contributions to equity. Causal analysis (that is, *how* interventions cause outcomes, rather than simply ‘whether’ or ‘that’ they do) was uncommon. Rigorous description of the processes used in implementation, which can contribute to causal analysis, was also relatively uncommon⁷. There were also issues with attribution of outcomes to programs in some reports, because other programs were working on similar issues in the same locations. Better evaluation across the CLD sector has the potential to strengthen understanding of the CLD approaches that are most appropriate for particular purposes and contexts, and to strengthen advocacy for CLD.

Summary of Recommendations

Note: The following recommendations were developed on the basis of the review and an ‘Implications and Recommendations Workshop’ attended by the full research team, members of the Expert Advisory Group and Reference Group, funders and other key stakeholders. They are also summarized in two guidance documents: one each for [funders](#) and [implementation agencies](#).

1. Implementation agencies should be explicit about the models they select for particular contexts and justify the choice of the models against the contextual analysis for the location (Recommendation 4 below). A specific theory of change should be developed for each model used. Monitoring and evaluation should assess progress against the theory of change and determine whether, to what extent, and for whom different models are effective.
2. CLD looks different at different times in the lifecycle of a program, depending on the context and resources of the community. Whatever the stage of programming, plans need to be negotiated with the community, justified against the contextual analysis, and adapted if necessary, taking account of the particular strengths, resources and needs of the community. Funders need to acknowledge this and build this into the grant-making processes. Implementing organizations also need to explicitly document the various stages of a program and how it was developed.
3. Funders should support implementation agencies to adapt models to become more truly led by communities. This could mean explicitly including community leadership in grant guidelines. The [CLD Assessment Tool](#) developed by MCLD may be useful for agencies to review their own models and approaches.

⁶ This may in part be a function of the selection criteria for inclusion, which included rich qualitative data: it is possible that there were additional rigorous evaluations which did not include rich qualitative data.

⁷ A participant in the Implications and Recommendations workshop suggested that agencies have descriptions in other types of documents. Apart from USAID reports from the Development Experience Clearinghouse, all agencies that submitted evaluation reports were requested to submit any additional program documentation to enable understanding of processes or models.

- 4.** All CLD programs should incorporate analysis of the social and political context at local and higher levels prior to implementation. This should include analysis of who currently participates in which kinds of decisions and who is excluded, who has access to what kinds of resources and who does not, how intersectionality affects vulnerability, and the social and political risks for marginalized groups and for participants in CLD. This analysis should sit alongside analysis of strengths, resources (including social structures) and needs. CLD models should be adapted to suit the results of the analysis. This may imply selecting (or de-selecting) particular approaches or activities, adapting processes or activities to ensure that they are inclusive, building in collaboration with local partners, and building in strategies to address specific barriers to participation. Funders and implementation agencies should provide (and/or seek) funding for adequate time and staffing to undertake the analysis, provide evidence of the analysis in designs and in evaluation, and demonstrate how they have adapted models to contexts. This may involve either a preparation stage within grants, or a 'preparatory grants' program, to enable context analysis.
- 5.** Funders and implementation agencies should support further research into CLD approaches that have been both safe and effective in fragile contexts.
- 6.** Where the political context allows, implementation agencies should work with local governments and seek to align goals.
- 7.** Implementation agencies and funders should examine the extent to which their programs and budgets provide adequate time, a realistic scale and realistic resources for CLD objectives, and increase time or resources, or decrease scale, where appropriate. This is likely to imply negotiations between funders, implementing agencies and communities. It may imply allowing different programs and budgets for different stages of development, and/or multiple programs over time in the same location.
- 8.** Implementation agencies and funders should consider strategies to build confidence and maintain motivation for CLD, while remaining cautious about 'quick win' strategies.
- 9.** All program documentation should provide clear descriptions of the roles of key actors in the program models. Implementing agencies and funders should review programs to demonstrate appropriate workloads, expectations and remuneration for facilitators; and ensure that adequate training, supervision, on-going support and resources are available for all aspects of facilitators' work.
- 10.** MCLD should facilitate a process to develop common terminology, guidelines and principles for facilitation in CLD. This should address circumstances in which facilitation by external people (e.g., implementation agency staff) is appropriate, the support that should be available for local facilitators, and the circumstances in which remuneration should be provided for local facilitators.
- 11.** Program models should be explicit about the ways in which, and the extent to which, communities (or particular structures within communities) have authority to make decisions in relation to the program (including decisions about program planning, implementation and evaluation). This should include decisions about the priorities to be addressed, resource allocation and staffing.
- 12.** Program models should be explicit about the protections they incorporate to prevent elite capture and corruption.
- 13.** Implementation agencies should develop explicit program theory for resilience: that is, review the design of their programs to strengthen factors that have been found to contribute to resilience and include specific mitigation strategies in response to risks to

resilience. Where aspects of program design and/or contextual factors are likely to (or are found through monitoring to) undermine resilience, further strategies to address those factors should be introduced. Funders should ensure that grants allow for refinement of implementation strategies where monitoring demonstrates that programs are not supporting communities towards resilience.

- 14.** Implementing agencies should include identification of marginalized groups and the particular barriers that affect them in context analysis, and design strategies to address them, before CLD programs are implemented. Operationalizing this may require funders to build a preparation stage within grants, or a 'preparatory grants' program, to enable context analysis, and design in relation to marginalized groups, prior to implementation.
- 15.** Implementing agencies should examine the design of their programs to ensure equity in the burdens placed on participants, including inequitable burdens on women; and ensure that benefits outweigh costs to individuals (including opportunity costs) of their participation.
- 16.** Monitoring systems and evaluations should collect data about participation of, and outcomes for, marginalized groups. This requires collecting and storing data in ways that enable disaggregation of outcomes for different groups.⁸ Evaluation reports should normally include findings in relation to equity based on disaggregated data.
- 17.** Implementation agencies should support and equip CLD groups to formalize their structures early in the development process, including developing constitutions, formalizing roles, and ensuring processes for inclusion and accountability. Funders should provide appropriate timelines and financial support to enable implementation agencies to do so.
- 18.** CLD programs with an advocacy focus should include capacity development for authority holders, as well as communities, as key program strategies.
- 19.** CLD advocacy programs should enable forums for interaction between community groups/organizations and authority holders.
- 20.** MCLD member agencies should use and share tools for assessing stocks of the five capitals (human, social, material, financial and environmental). Pre-program assessments on existing capital should inform program design and later assessments should inform evaluation of CLD effects.
- 21.** Funders and implementation agencies should review the designs of CLD programs which intend to achieve food security outcomes to ensure that they are multi-sectoral, equitable, culturally appropriate, contribute to resilience, and do not impose unfair burdens on women.
- 22.** Subject to context assessments (Recommendation 4), implementation agencies should consider whether and how functional literacy components can be integrated into food security programs.
- 23.** CLD implementation agencies should consider whether the definitions of key terms provided in Appendix 1 of this document provide an accurate summary of their work and adopt the definitions if appropriate. Where the definitions do not accurately describe current work, agencies consider whether their models of work should be updated or whether the definitions should be adapted. [The CLD Assessment Tool](#) developed by MCLD may be useful in this regard.

⁸ This should be done in compliance with local laws. For example, in at least one country it is illegal to collect data on ethnicity.

- 24.** Funders and CLD implementation agencies should include definitions of key terms (as adopted or adapted) in funding proposals, program descriptions and evaluation reports.
- 25.** All evaluation reports should include a description of the program model(s) as it was implemented in the specific context being evaluated. Descriptions of program implementation should enable an assessment of the scope and the intensity of interventions (e.g., the frequency and duration of capacity development processes).
- 26.** The purposes of, and therefore methods to be used in, the evaluation should be negotiated between funders, implementation agencies and communities early in the process of implementation.⁹ This should include consideration of theory-based evaluation approaches and participatory evaluation approaches.
- 27.** Evaluations should normally include evaluation of the attributes of CLD most central to the model(s) implemented (the attributes of CLD as defined by MCLD are participation and inclusion, voice, community assets, capacity development, sustainability, transformative capacity, collective planning and action, accountability, community leadership, adaptability, and collaboration.)
- 28.** Funders should encourage and enable systems that reduce the need for communities to provide the same data repeatedly to different agencies/programs. This may include data sharing arrangements.
- 29.** MCLD should further processes to strengthen monitoring, evaluation and learning in the CLD sector, using strategies which involve implementation agencies, funders, and communities.

⁹ See also Guidance for Funders

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Community-Led Development (CLD - also referred to as Locally-Led Development, LLD, by some) is increasingly being recognized as a nationally scalable pathway-of-choice to steer communities towards resilience and to ensure sustainability of desirable developmental outcomes. Advocates at USAID and other institutions argue that putting communities at the center of development leads to effective and efficient program implementation, enhances sustainability, facilitates poverty reduction at scale, increases social capital and strengthens governance.^{10,11}

However, there is relatively little understanding of the current practice of CLD – what works, where, why and how? As a result, there may be little impact or unintended impacts – both positive and negative. For instance, working as community health workers has, in some instances, resulted in an increase in violence faced by women or adversely impacted their psychosocial health.¹² The complexity of CLD and the diversity in CLD programming makes it difficult to apply traditional positivist methods to understand its impact.¹³ Many questions remain unanswered. For instance: Why does CLD programming lead to greater social cohesion in some situations and no change or increased tensions in others? Why do some communities become self-reliant, while others continue to depend on aid after decades of “similar” programming? How does the availability of resources or pattern of service delivery impact community agency? There have been increasing calls for greater evidence-based learning about the context-specific practice of CLD for improved program design and sustainable results.¹⁴

In response to this need, [The Movement for Community-Led Development \(MCLD\)](#) has been undertaking [a multi-phase collaborative research program](#) over the past 2.5 years, designed to understand the current practice of CLD and its impacts.

The Movement for Community-Led Development (MCLD or The Movement) is a global consortium of 1500+ local civil society organizations (CSOs) and 70+ international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) which collectively believes that “every person has a fundamental right to voice in the decisions that affect their lives.”¹⁵ The Movement pursues five goals: voice and agency for women, youth and all marginalized groups; adequate community finance; good local governance; quality

¹⁰ USAID. (2019). *USAID Policy Framework: Ending the Need for Foreign Assistance*.

https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1870/WEB_PF_Full_Report_FINAL_10Apr2019.pdf

¹¹ The World Bank Group. (n.d.). Community-Driven Development Chapter: Why Community-Driven Development? In *Poverty Reduction Strategy Sourcebook*.

<http://web.worldbank.org/archive/website00518/WEB/OTHER/2AC8FBE9.HTM?Opendocument>

¹² Maes, K., Closser, S., Tesfaye, Y., & Abesha, R. (2019). Psychosocial distress among unpaid community health workers in rural Ethiopia: Comparing leaders in Ethiopia’s Women’s Development Army to their peers. *Social Science & Medicine*, 230, 138-146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2019.04.005>

¹³ Woolcock, M. (2019). *When do developmental projects enhance community well-being* (355). Harvard University. <https://bsc.cid.harvard.edu/files/bsc/files/2019-06-cid-wp-355-community-well-being.pdf>

¹⁴ King, E. (2015). *A Critical Review of Community-Driven Development Programmes in Conflict-Affected Contexts*. International Rescue Committee & DFID. <https://www.rescue.org/report/critical-review-community-driven-development-programs-conflict-affected-contexts>; White, H., Menon, R., & Waddington, H. (2018). *Community-Driven Development: Does it Build Social Cohesion or Infrastructure? A Mixed-Method Evidence Synthesis’ Technical Report*. International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie).

¹⁵ Movement for Community-Led Development, n.d.

public services; and resilience and risk reduction in the face of disaster. The Hunger Project (THP) serves as the Global Secretariat for MCLD.

In Phase 1 of the collaborative research, over 35 Program and Monitoring, Evaluation, Research and Learning (MERL) professionals from 23 organizations came together to examine the current practice of CLD and develop tools to strengthen it. Three products were released: A report on the current practice of CLD based on an analysis of 173 programs across 65 countries, a tool to strengthen the practice of CLD and a tool to ensure the quality of evaluations for CLD programs. The [CLD Assessment Tool](#) “can be used as a self, peer or participatory review tool ... to determine how the programming aligns with CLD characteristics and undertake course corrections, as needed.”¹⁶ The [Quality Appraisal Tool for CLD Evaluations](#) is a “simple 13 question tool designed to appraise the strengths or weaknesses of evaluations in terms of a) methodological rigor and b) CLD principles.”¹⁷

However, this first phase also identified that existing evaluation reports tend to focus on outcomes without unpacking how or why they are caused. It was therefore decided that a realist synthesis should be undertaken, to understand the underlying mechanisms that cause impact, or lack thereof, and the contextual factors that influence whether, and which, mechanisms operate.

This realist review, InCLuDe (Impact of Community-Led Development on Food Security), thus represents the second phase of the research. It is expected to contribute to two related goals: institutionalizing Community-Led Development as a discipline and a recommended approach for addressing hunger, malnutrition and access to adequate, safe and nutritious food; and assembling an evidence base for the impacts of CLD. In the shorter term, it seeks to strengthen the capacity of Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance (BHA)¹⁸ and MCLD partners to improve the design, implementation, evaluation and effectiveness of emergency and development food and nutrition security activities, and to advise donors of key aspects of funding policy and procedures to best enable food security and nutrition outcomes through CLD programming. At the same time, it will contribute to some members of MCLD developing skills and experience in realist review, enabling them to develop the capacity to tackle other research questions in future.

1.2 InCLuDE Structure

InCLuDE was a two-part project funded under the IDEAL small grants program. The first part of the project was to disseminate the report and tools from phase 1 of the study through a Global Learning Event with implementing organizations, funders, IDEAL grantees and policy-makers. This event was hosted on January 27, 2021, with a keynote address from President Joyce Banda (former President of Malawi). The bilingual event¹⁹ (in English and French) saw the participation of almost 300 development sector professionals, including professionals from various local civil society organizations from around the world, INGO representatives, representatives from funders like USAID and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and government officials including representation from the office of the President of Uganda. These tools and this report were developed without any funding

¹⁶ *Assessing Community-Led Development Interventions: A peer or self-review tool*. (2021). The Movement for Community-Led Development. <https://mclد.org/download-the-scoping-tool/>

¹⁷ *Evaluation Quality Appraisal Toolkit*. (2021). Movement for Community-Led Development,. <https://mclد.org/download-the-quality-appraisal-tool-for-cld-evaluations/>

¹⁸ USAID established the Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance that encompasses seven offices in 2020, merging the Offices of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) and Food for Peace (FFP). For more information, see <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-humanitarian-assistance>

¹⁹ Event recording and key takeaways can be found [here](#).

support and are being rapidly adopted by organizations around the world. They can be found in multiple languages and formats on the [MCLD website](#).

The second part of the project was to conduct a rapid realist review that would examine how and under what circumstances facilitation and community leadership contribute to equity and resilience in relation to food security. The remainder of this report focuses on this rapid realist review.

1.3 Team Structure and Funding

The rapid realist review has been a collaborative project between the Movement for Community-Led Development and Charles Darwin University.

The research has been funded under the Implementer-Led Design, Evidence, Analysis, and Learning (IDEAL) activity, funded by the USAID Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance. The BHA programming aims “to reduce hunger and malnutrition, and ensure that all individuals have adequate, safe and nutritious food to support a healthy and productive life.”²⁰ Its development activities aim to “reduce food insecurity among vulnerable populations for the long-term and help build resilience in communities facing chronic poverty and recurrent crises such as drought. Development food security activities equip people with the knowledge and tools to feed themselves, reducing the need for future assistance.”²¹

The overall research project has been managed by Gunjan Veda, Senior Advisor, Public Policy and Global Collaborative Research for MCLD. MCLD regional coordinators (Pascal Djohossou and Daisy Owomugasho) and MCLD research team members were involved in the dissemination of results from Phases 1 and 2.

The realist review has been led by Prof. Gill Westhorp of Charles Darwin University. The research team comprises two other staff from CDU and a team of six MERL (Monitoring, Evaluation, Research and Learning) practitioners from various MCLD organizations. Cara Donohue (CDU), who was the primary researcher for the project²² contributed to the development of program theory, undertook the data extraction to develop the definitions of key terms and drafted the definitions, contributed to data extraction for theory testing, synthesised data extractions undertaken by the MCLD researchers, contributed to writing of this report and coordinated the work inside CDU. MCLD research team members contributed to development of program theory for the review, reviewed definitions of key terms, undertook data extraction for five programs each, reviewed the draft report, and contributed to development of recommendations. The definitions developed for research were based on literature reviews and prior work carried out by the MCLD team. MCLD members will also support uptake of findings in their own agencies. This team comprised Amy Williams, (formerly) Project Concern International; Diana Delgadillo, The Hunger Project Mexico; Elene Cloete, Outreach International; Matthew Cruse, Relief International; Molly Wright, Pact; and Holta Trandafil, World Vision US. Gunjan Veda both facilitated this group and participated as a member of it. Dr. Ruth Nicholls (CDU) undertook data extraction for USAID-funded projects not

²⁰*Office of Food for Peace*. (n.d.). USAID. Retrieved 30 June from <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-democracy-conflict-and-humanitarian-assistance/office-food>

²¹ Ibid.

²² This role was referred to as ‘Research Assistant’ in the funding application, but that does not adequately describe her role in the project. Funding for the ‘research assistant’ was split across the two staff from CDU.

included in the MCLD data sets, synthesised that data and contributed to report writing. All team members contributed to the development of guidance materials based on this report.

All MCLD research team members had previously undertaken web-based training in realist methodology with Prof. Westhorp, funded by World Vision US. The approach was designed to develop the capacity of MCLD practitioners and their agencies in realist methods, to share some of the direct costs of undertaking the review across member organizations, and to facilitate uptake of findings by ensuring that member organizations ‘own’ the expertise in the subject matter by undertaking the review. An *InCLuDe* Reference Group and an Expert Advisory Group comprising of research team members and advisors from Phase 1 of the research alongside subject-matter and practitioner experts were provided with products from each stage of the work and invited to provide feedback and assist in quality control.

1.4 Review Question

The overarching question for the Review is:

How and in what contexts do key aspects of CLD – particularly leadership and facilitation – contribute to resilience and equity in relation to food security?

‘Leadership’ and ‘facilitation’ were selected as the key aspects to investigate because they emerged as being critical across CLD approaches in the first phase of the research project. The key development outcomes to be addressed were selected as resilience and equity. Resilience was selected because food security is subject to repeated shocks, and the ability to recover from those shocks in a timely manner is significant for survival and well-being. Equity was selected because food insecurity is not equitably distributed. Consequently, many of MCLD members seek to improve outcomes for the most disadvantaged. Moreover, improving outcomes for women can have follow-on effects for children and families.

1.5 Data Sources

Literature was initially drawn from over 300 evaluation reports submitted by members of MCLD in Phase 1 of the research project. Because work during Phase 1 found that many evaluation reports provided little detail about the actual processes of CLD, program documents (e.g. funding applications, program descriptions, guidelines for implementation of program models) were sought from partner agencies for included programs. To ensure an adequate representation of programs reporting food security outcomes, publicly available legacy Food for Peace/Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (FFP/OFDA) evaluations from the Development Experience Clearinghouse (DEC) which met the inclusion and exclusion criteria were included.

1.6 Structure of Report

The structure of the remainder of this report is as follows. Chapter 2 provides a summary of the methodology and methods for the review. A full description is provided in Appendix 2.

Chapter 3 provides some conceptual framing for the review. It begins with an overview of the program theories that have been investigated in the report (at the most superficial level: facilitation and community leadership contribute to equity and resilience which contribute to food security). It then provides a typology of CLD approaches developed through the review: community leadership

and facilitation appear to be understood, and may be expected to manifest, differently in each type. Chapter 3 also describes contextual factors that were reported, in this literature sample, to enable or impede the implementation of CLD programs. These factors are not necessarily specific to community leadership and facilitation but may affect how these aspects of CLD programs are implemented and/or how and whether they work. In realist terms, these contextual factors may affect multiple of the mechanisms of change (underlying causal processes) through which CLD programs generate their outcomes.

The next sections of the report follow the broad structure of the program theory that has been investigated. Chapter 4 addresses the two primary elements of CLD considered in this review, facilitation and community leadership. Chapter 5 moves forward to consider resilience, the first of the two intermediate outcomes of interest; Chapter 6 considers equity, the second intermediate outcome. Chapter 7 looks specifically at formalized structures and advocacy and chapter 8 addresses the highest-level outcome for this review, food security and nutrition.

Chapter 9 provides a brief summary of findings, and reflections on three issues which became apparent through, and affected, the review, but which were not topics for it. However, we believe these issues have implications for the MCLD sector and therefore have included our reflections and recommendations on them. The issues are inconsistent use of terminology, program theory, and evaluation.

2 Methodology and Methods

2.1 Methodology

Realist review (also known as realist synthesis) is a methodology for synthesizing a wide range of existing evidence to answer a policy question or inform a field of practice (Pawson, 2006).

Traditionally, systematic reviews (and particularly meta-synthesis) answered the question “Does this intervention work on average?”, giving an effect size as one of its primary findings (e.g., “the intervention improved outcomes by an average of 7% for the intervention group”). Meta-synthesis traditionally only included studies: a) of ‘the same’ intervention; b) applied with similar populations and c) which used randomized controlled trials or quasi-experimental designs.

Realist review seeks to answer a different question and therefore uses different methods. It seeks to answer the question, “How and why does this type of intervention generate different outcomes in different contexts or for different groups?” The scope of the review is wider – not a particular program but a ‘family’ of interventions that are linked by common underlying program theory. In this review, the program type is ‘Community-Led Development in low and middle-income countries (LMIC)’. The evidence base is also widened: rather than relying on experimental evidence, realist review draws on robust evidence developed through any research or evaluation method. It is therefore appropriate in sectors where experimental evidence is rare.

A realist review begins by developing an initial, tentative program theory, then searches for the evidence best suited to ‘test’ (‘support, refute or refine’) that theory. The theory is progressively refined to identify the circumstances in which, populations for whom, and mechanisms by which, interventions generate their outcomes. This provides program designers and implementers with a stronger evidence base from which to make decisions, which can result in more effective implementation, tailored to context, to maximize outcomes. No single review (or single evaluation) can deal with a whole program theory. The scope of review question is therefore narrowed at commencement of the review and ideally, further restricted as the review progresses. In this study, the review was narrowed to focus on two aspects of CLD – leadership and facilitation – and two development outcomes – equity and resilience – which could contribute to a higher-level outcome – food security.

Realism also uses a different approach to generalisation than other methods. For example, results from randomized controlled trials can only be generalized to the same population group experiencing the same intervention under the same conditions (a set of conditions rarely found in development settings). Some qualitative methods assume that results cannot be generalized at all: they apply solely to the groups, times and places from which they were drawn. Realism, however, generalizes on the basis of the program theory. It argues that specific programs may or may not be portable, and they may or may not generate similar outcomes in different contexts. However, *understanding* of the underlying causal processes (known as ‘mechanisms’) that generate outcomes, and of the conditions which affect whether or not they operate (known as ‘contexts’) is portable. (Note here that realist approaches treat particular aspects of implementation - those that affect whether and which mechanisms fire - as being ‘context’. A wide variety of other factors – culture, religion, gender, relationships, economic conditions, capacities and so on can also operate as context.) An individual program may trigger different mechanisms for different people; and different programs may work through the same mechanisms. That is, while there is a relationship between program activities and program mechanisms, they are not the same thing; and the relationship is not

singular or uniform. Whether, and which, mechanisms operate will always depend on contextual factors.

Consequently, realists do not ask whether programs work on average, or assume that the same program will work everywhere or for everyone. The understanding of ‘causation in context’ is the generalizable product of realist work, which implementers and funders can use to inform their work. In this project, for example, understandings of the mechanisms involved in CLD and the contextual factors that affect whether or not they operate are likely to apply to future programs targeting food security outcomes, even if the programs from which the lessons were drawn did not target food security. Similarly, those understandings may also be relevant to programs targeting health, economic development, environmental protection or mixed goals.

International standards for realist review, known as the Rameses standards, support the rigor of the method and describe its requirements (Wong, Greenhalgh, Westthorp et al, 2013).

2.2 Methods

The study was undertaken in a series of stages (see Appendix 2 for full description).

Stage 1: Definition of Terms. Theoretical clarity requires clear use of language. Most of the terms commonly used in CLD are not clearly defined, so the first stage was to develop definitions of terms that would be used in this study. The definitions were developed to reflect MCLD member organizations’ understandings of the terms, based on resources provided by MCLD and key word searches conducted in Google Scholar. Articles were selected for inclusion by title and abstract review. The MCLD website, some of its member organizations’ websites, and USAID website were searched for sources.

Stage 2: Develop initial theory. Nine documents were used to develop the ‘initial rough’ program theory. The documents came from key readings provided by MCLD and articles included in the Community-Led Development literature review previously undertaken by MCLD interns. Four sources were used for the Facilitation draft theory and five for the Community Leadership draft theory.

Stage 3: Refine and apply inclusion and exclusion criteria. The criteria built from the foundational criteria of ‘relevance and rigor’ established in the international standards for realist review (Wong, Greenhalgh, Westthorp et al, 2013). The criteria were used to select both the programs and the documents from which evidence would be drawn. The criteria were specified in the funding application for the project (see Appendix 3).

MCLD provided 336 program evaluation reports, research studies, meta evaluations, and meta syntheses which had been previously submitted by member organizations as examples of Community-Led Development programs. Data was cleaned to remove missing documents (21), corrupted files (2), and documents that had already been used for developing the draft program theories (4), leaving 309 programs for potential inclusion in the review. Because of time and resource constraints, a maximum of 50 programs could be included.

An iterative process of keyword searches and reviews against inclusion and exclusion criteria were used to ensure documents: included either or both of the terms ‘resilience’ and ‘equity’; included

multiple references to community leadership terms²³ or facilitation terms²⁴ and a series of other terms; were relevant to the program theory; and included rich qualitative information. Many of the included programs came from a few large INGOs. Some were excluded to enable selection of a diverse range of programs and organizations, and to mitigate the bias towards practices of select organizations. These processes resulted in a total of 36 included programs. Additional documentation was sought from the implementing organizations for all selected programs.

Searches were conducted in the USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse to identify potential program documents (See Appendix 4). After three duplicate programs were removed, the search yielded 20 total programs. An additional program was added on recommendation by Expert Group members and one USAID program with only a baseline report and no program data was excluded. The review therefore included 56 programs (36 MCLD and 20 USAID).

In total, 117 documents covering 56 programs were included in the review. 93 of these were sourced from MCLD member organizations, and 24 from the USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse.

Stage 4: Data extraction. MCLD Programs and their associated documents were allocated to MCLD researchers, ensuring that no researcher reviewed programs from their own organization. Researchers used a data extraction instrument to produce a single data extraction sheet per program, reflecting all the documents for that program. Any issues or questions were forwarded to the CDU team for advice and resolution. USAID extractions were undertaken and synthesised by the second CDU researcher.

Stage 5: Analysis and synthesis. Data extraction sheets were uploaded to a shared EndNote library and imported to MaxQDA for analysis by the two CDU researchers. Extracts were coded to a pre-selected list of codes related to the key topics for the review and the program theories. New codes were added during the coding process as necessary. Extracts coded to each draft theory or topic were then analysed for evidence to support, refute and/or refine the draft program theories. Where possible, program theories were revised based on the evidence.

Stage 6. Implications and Recommendations Workshop. MCLD convened a workshop to which the research team, Expert Advisory Group and Reference Group members, funders and selected key stakeholders were invited. A copy of the preliminary report was provided to participants in advance, and material was summarized in a PowerPoint presentation. A series of small group sessions considered sections of the report, discussing implications and recommendations arising from the findings. The sessions were recorded and transcribed.

Stage 7. Development of guidance materials. Guidance materials for implementation agencies and for funders were developed based on findings from the review and material from the Implications and Recommendations Workshop. The final report was edited in response to feedback.

2.3 Limitations to the Review

As with any other study, a number of limitations affect this review.

²³ Community leadership, community leadership capacity, community level leadership, local leadership, local leaders, community leaders, village leader/ship

²⁴ Facilitation, facilitators

The first limitation relates to the use of language. The term 'Community-Led Development' is applied to a wide variety of program types and approaches, which meet the definitions of CLD developed for this project to very different extents. It is likely that this reflects diverse understandings of what CLD is. The apparent lack of agreement about 'what CLD is' makes analysis of 'how it works' more complex.

Meanwhile, a diversity of terms is used for (apparently) similar roles (facilitator, mobilizer, animator, trainer). However, the roles are not clearly defined in the literature. It is often not clear whether roles are paid or unpaid, whether they are occupied by local community members or staff from NGOs (who may not be local), or whether the title applies to a whole position or to a function undertaken as a small part of a role.²⁵ This made analysis of how leadership and facilitation worked in practice particularly difficult.

The second major limitation is that the evidence directly related to leadership and facilitation was leaner than had been hoped. The literature selection processes involved – that is, programs initially being provided by MCLD members as examples of CLD, and then selection within that pool for inclusion of material in relation to leadership and facilitation – should have provided the best data set possible within the scope of the project. However, the processes used to recruit, select or appoint people to leadership or facilitation roles were often not described, and neither were the processes used to implement those roles. There was, generally, very poor demarcation between 'facilitation' and 'leadership', and analysis of the contributions of facilitation or community leadership to later processes or outcomes was rare. This weakened the causal analysis possible in the review. Nevertheless, there was some evidence. By following the realist process of attaching 'nuggets' of evidence to particular aspects of program theory, the review has made the most of what was available in the sample.

A third limitation is that the majority of the evidence was about programs in Africa, which limits the range of cultural contexts that have been included.

A fourth limitation relates to the nature of evidence available in the included documents. The range of research and evaluation methods used varied, but common methods included interviews, focus groups and surveys. Rigorous pre-post evaluations, rigorous causal explanation, and experimental evidence were less common. Where quantitative data existed, it was not always extracted²⁶. These factors limit realist analysis (particularly causal analysis) and limit the strength of claims that can be made on the basis of the review.

The fifth limitation was that the project was, by comparison with full realist reviews, a short term and low-budget exercise. This precluded a more comprehensive search of the literature. This means that the review has not drawn significantly on formal (academic) theory or research related to the topics²⁷ or on other evidence, outside of that described above. It also means that CLD that was not initiated or supported by an external organization and/or funded by USAID is excluded. It might therefore be argued that the 'truest' CLD – which has developed within communities without external support – is excluded. However, it should be noted that the number and range of included documents exceeds the normal range for a full realist review. This would not have been possible

²⁵ As one team member noted, 'Any staff member could be a facilitator or a trainer for a particular workshop.'

²⁶ Some additional data was extracted and analysis undertaken for the final report, however, it remains the case that some additional data may not have been included.

²⁷ Some were used, primarily in development of definitions.

without the contributions of pro-bono researcher time made by MCLD member organizations and their staff, and a contribution of unfunded time by CDU staff.

Finally, the project was designed to be a form of capacity development for the MCLD researchers and their organizations. There was, as should be expected, some variability in the quality and comprehensiveness of extractions. The fact that the researchers undertaking the synthesis had not read all the materials from which data had been extracted limited their understanding of the material and made synthesis more difficult.

2.4 Notes on Language, Referencing and Theory Representations

The acceptability of descriptive terms changes over time as people begin to unpack the colonial underpinnings of our language. For example, the term ‘capacity building’ largely replaced ‘training’ (except in reference to training events) and has itself been largely replaced by ‘capacity development’ and ‘capacity strengthening.’ The term ‘beneficiary’ was in common use until recent times but is now increasingly recognised as a top-down term that undermines the agency of people. This report primarily follows MCLD’s language conventions in the written text. However, the initial program theories were developed on the basis of previously existing literature and reflect the language in use at that time. Quotations also retain the language from the original document.

In this report, either numbers (for MCLD programs) or abbreviated program names are provided as the primary type of reference. The numbers for MCLD programs came from the first phase of the research and were retained for ease of reference in this second phase. USAID-funded programs were not allocated numbers and an abbreviation of the program name has been used for them.

In realist research and evaluation, program theories are usually represented as Context-Mechanism-Outcome (CMO) configurations. These are often represented as CMO tables. Initial program theories need not take this format (Wong, Greenhalgh, Westhorp et al, 2013). In fact, initial program theories often simply describe in positive terms how a program is expected to work, with relatively little attention to contextual factors that are expected to contribute to, or inhibit, that (the expectation is that these will be identified through the research or evaluation). These are sometimes represented as hierarchies of outcomes, with or without initial specification of mechanisms (underlying causal processes or forces), depending on the stage of theoretical development for the program. In this report, initial theories were represented as hierarchies of outcomes, including mechanisms, but with little specification of context.

Revised program theories have been presented in two forms. In the text, they are presented as CMO propositions (statements of the theory), with component elements labelled as (C), (M) or (O). They are not presented as tables because tables tend to be read as linear, whereas CLD theory is complex and interactive. Both positive (operating as intended) and negative propositions are provided: the latter usually represent contexts in which intended mechanisms do not operate. Diagrams similar to the initial program theories (hierarchies of outcomes with mechanism names) are also provided in Appendix 8. These provide a visual overview of the relationships between, and the apparent sequencing of, program elements, mechanisms and outcomes as found in the review. This can support a general understanding of how things have been found to work in the documents relevant to that particular theory. However, the diagrams do not provide the full detail of enabling or inhibiting contexts, nor the ‘negative’ propositions. Consequently, the written propositions are necessary, and the diagrams may be helpful, for understanding the revised theories developed through the project.

3 Conceptual Frameworks

This chapter provides some conceptual framing for the review. It begins with an overview of the program theories that have been investigated in the report. It then provides a typology of CLD approaches developed through the review: community leadership and facilitation appear to be understood, and may be expected to manifest, differently in each type.

The chapter also describes contextual factors that were reported, in this literature sample, to enable or impede the implementation of CLD programs. These factors are not necessarily specific to community leadership and facilitation. However, they may affect how community leadership and facilitation are approached or implemented and/or how and whether they work. In realist terms, these contextual factors may affect multiple of the mechanisms of change (underlying causal processes) through which CLD programs generate their outcomes.

3.1 Initial Program Theories

Realist research and evaluation starts by developing an “initial rough theory” based on limited evidence. The theory is then developed and refined using a wider range of evidence.

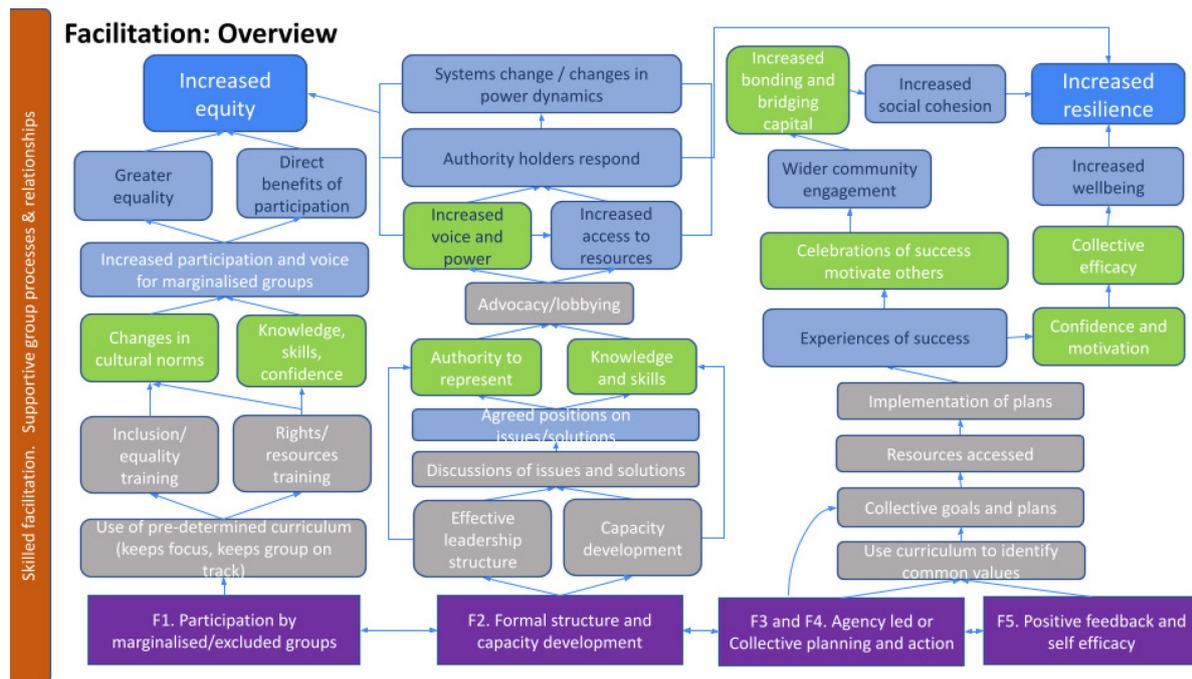
At the broadest level, the theory for this project was that programs use facilitation (and where this is initially provided by external agencies, strengthen the capacity for local people to take on the role over time) and enable and develop local leadership. Together, facilitation and local leadership enable implementation of activities which contribute to increased equity and resilience, which in turn contribute to food security. Initial program theory diagrams were therefore mapped for the two key topics of facilitation and community leadership. In each case, an ‘overview’ diagram was developed, supported by more detailed sub-diagrams (see Appendix 7).

Each sub-diagram dealt with a particular pathway to, or mechanism, creating equity and/or resilience. Diagrams were numbered for ease of reference (F for facilitation, L for leadership, and a number in order).

In the diagrams, orange boxes represent contextual factors (most had not been identified at the start of the review and were to be added based on the evidence extracted). Grey boxes represent program activities and green boxes represent mechanisms. Note that in realist work, program activities are never mechanisms. Pale blue boxes represent interim outcomes of two different kinds: those with white print are outcomes which then contribute to the operation of subsequent mechanisms; those with dark print are simply intermediate outcomes. Dark blue boxes represent the outcomes of interest – equity and resilience. Purple boxes relate to sub-topic diagrams. The five sub-topic diagrams for facilitation were:

- F1. Participation by marginalized or excluded groups;
- F2. Formal structure and capacity development;
- F3. Agency-led planning and action;
- F4. Collective planning and action;
- F5. Positive feedback and self-efficacy.

Figure 1: Overview of Facilitation theory



In summary, then, the facilitation theory argued that:

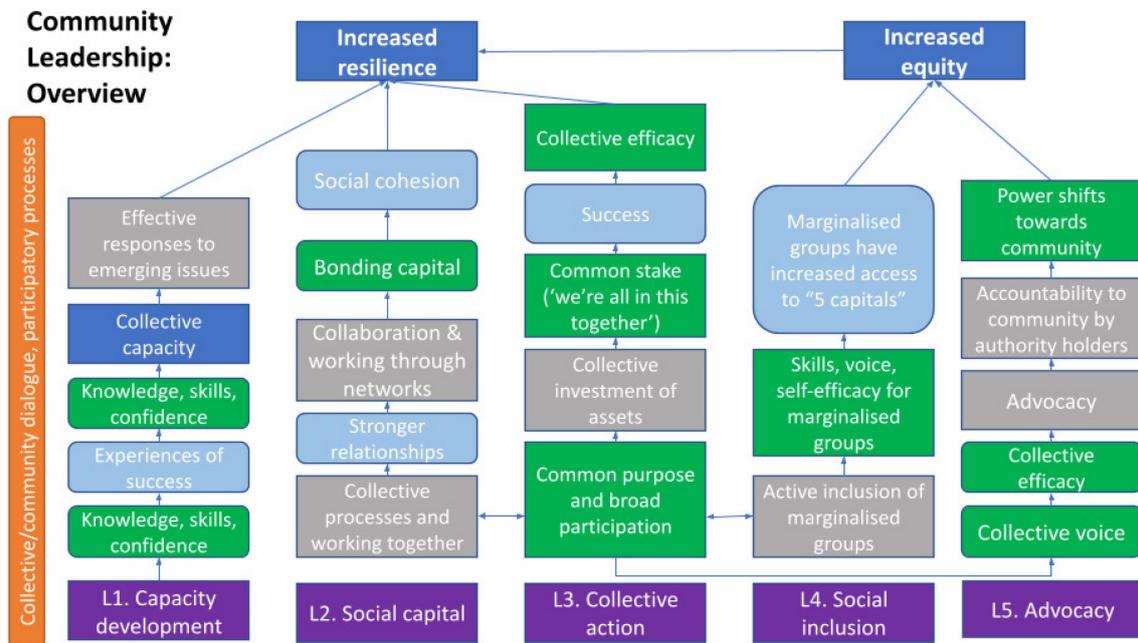
Where there was skilled facilitation and supportive processes and relationships within groups, provision of training in equality and inclusion contributed to changes in cultural norms about inclusion for mainstream groups, while training in rights and resources for marginalized groups contributed to increased knowledge, skills and confidence for marginalized groups. Together, these two mechanisms resulted in increased participation by and voice for marginalized groups, which contributed to direct benefits from participation and to greater equality of outcomes in the particular issues addressed by the project. These contributed over time to greater equity overall. Meanwhile, the establishment of effective leadership structures in (or by) the program, along with capacity development for members, provided a basis for discussions of issues and potential solutions, resulting in agreed positions by the group. The formalized structures gave leaders the authority to represent their communities and the capacity development strengthened knowledge and skills which were applied together in advocacy activities. Authority holders would then respond in ways that created changed policies or structures or changes in systems dynamics, which in turn would also contribute to greater equity. Concurrently, the development and implementation of plans to address identified issues, including accessing resources for their implementation, would contribute to outcomes being achieved which would trigger confidence, self-efficacy and higher motivation. Both the outcomes themselves and these psychological benefits would contribute to increased wellbeing. Meanwhile, celebrations of successes would motivate additional members of the community to participate, which would build social capital and contribute to increased social cohesion. Together, increased wellbeing and increased social cohesion would contribute to improved resilience.

The sub-topic diagrams for community leadership were:

- L1 – Capacity development
- L2 – Social capital
- L3 – Collective action

- L4 – Social inclusion
- L5 – Advocacy.

Figure 2: Overview of Community Leadership Theory



The summary of the community leadership theory argued that:

Where there were collective processes for community dialogue and genuinely participatory processes were used, capacity development would contribute to increased knowledge, skills and confidence, which (applied to CLD activities) would result in experiences of success which would further develop knowledge, skills and confidence, resulting in higher collective capacity. This collective capacity could then be applied to new or emerging issues, contributing to increased resilience. A sense of common purpose and broad participation would contribute to three pathways to higher outcomes. Firstly, working collaboratively towards common goals would strengthen relationships, resulting in stronger bonding capital which would strengthen social cohesion, also contributing to increased resilience. Secondly, collective investment of assets would strengthen the sense of having a collective stake in efforts, contributing to their success and generating a sense of collective efficacy, which would also contribute to resilience. Thirdly, active inclusion of marginalized groups would contribute to development of skills, voice and self-efficacy for those groups, which would contribute to the groups developing increased access to the 'five capitals' (human, social, material, financial and environmental), which would contribute to increased equity. Collective voice and collective efficacy would enable advocacy which would contribute to holding authority holders accountable to communities, resulting in a shift of power towards communities. That too would contribute to increased equity. Increased equity would then contribute to increased resilience.

Feedback from the wider research team, Advisory Group and Expert Reference Group on the first draft of the program theory diagrams highlighted a range of additional issues to be included in data extraction. These were:

- Power dynamics, including the response of power holders and authorities.
 - When and why do power holders act in the interest of marginalized groups? What causes power holders to address the concerns of marginalized groups?
 - In what instances do power holders form compacts with sub-groups of minorities?
 - When and how do various minority/marginalized groups come together to act in their common interest?
 - What are the mechanisms and intermediate outcomes that result from advocacy (especially advocacy by marginalized groups)?
- Enabling environment/removal of structural barriers
- The role of the State, and whether/how CLD influences this
- Agency-led facilitation model vs conscientization model.²⁸ To what extent are programs actually community-led?
- Resource provision by NGOs vs community mobilizing necessary resources. When, why and to what extent does each of these occur?
- Participatory needs assessments—does this increase perceived relevance and perceived priority, and if so, what is the result?
- How are sub-groups within communities accommodated?
 - Communities (and “the marginalized”) are not monoliths—do sub-groups have their own space for agenda setting and deliberation?

Some (but not all) of these were incorporated in the sub-topic diagrams before time constraints required that the project move forward to commence data extraction. These ‘somewhat revised’ diagrams were provided to the reviewers and are included in Appendix 7. Reviewers were requested to extract for the additional items, even where they had not been included in revised diagrams.

3.2 A Typology of CLD Approaches

As noted above, the documentation reviewed here should have provided the best possible evidence, within the constraints of the review, of facilitation and community leadership in Community-Led Development. However, there was wide variability in program design, activities and implementation across the sample. The understanding of what CLD is in practice appeared to be vastly different across implementing organizations. Even organizations with apparently similar understandings may vary in their implementation methods. The models, approaches or strategies used have implications for facilitation and leadership – what those terms are taken to mean, what roles, rights and responsibilities are attached to facilitators and leaders, and so on. Moreover, this review was limited by the information available in the documents reviewed. Therefore, it only reflects the types of CLD as documented by the organizations (which may or may not reflect their practice; and/or their practice may vary in different settings, programs or times).

In the documents reviewed, there appear to be seven “types” of CLD approaches or ‘main strategies’ incorporated by these programs. The types were:

1. Implementation committees

²⁸ Conscientization is the process of awakening critical consciousness among the oppressed people, a concept spread by Paulo Freire in the 1960s. It shifts people's mindset from being victims of history to being actors in history.

2. Community mobilization
3. Self-help groups
4. Peer sensitization and behavior change
5. Support or develop local Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)
6. Collective or group leadership
7. Community advocacy

These types are described below, but first we provide an indication of their frequency in the literature we reviewed. Note that numbers and percentages do not add up to the number of programs reviewed, as most programs included multiple types of CLD approaches (see Table 3.1 below).

Figure 3: The number and percentage of programs employing each CLD type

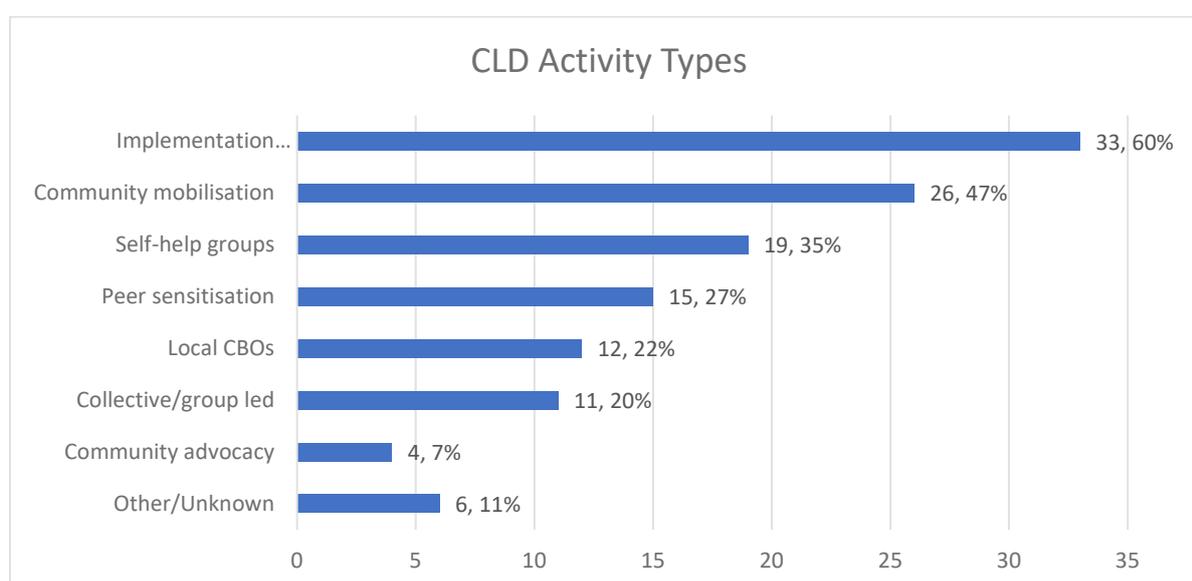


Table 3-1. Programs using multiple types of CLD approaches

Number of CLD approaches used	No. of MCLD Programs (36 total)	% of MCLD programs	No. of USAID Programs (20 total)	% of USAID programs
1	8	22%	3	15%
2	17	47%	7	35%
3	11	31%	7	35%
4	0	0	2	10%
5	0	0	1	5%

We note also that these types of CLD overlap with the “Participation Ladder” for international development work included in Robert Chambers’ (2005) *Ideas for Development*. That model is relevant for three reasons. First, the levels of the model might more accurately be described as representing various degrees of community control of development processes, rather than just degrees of participation. Translated to the questions for this review, the higher levels of the model equate to levels of community leadership while the lower levels equate to external (what Chambers

calls ‘outsider’) control. Second, participation is a co-requisite of facilitation: that is, facilitation is only possible if there are participants to be facilitated. Third, participation is an element of both the overarching program theories and four of the sub-theories that this review set out to test.

In this section, we use Chambers’ model to help categorize and describe the types identified in the review. First, however, we reproduce parts of his model in the table below for reference.

Table 3-2. Chambers’ Ladder of Participation

Level of ladder	Outsider’s objectives	Local people’s roles/ relationships
Totalitarian	State political	Slave
Nominal	Cosmetic legitimization	Puppet
Extractive	Obtain local knowledge for better planning	Informant
Induced	Gain action through material incentives	Worker
Consultative/ Instrumental	Improve effectiveness and efficiency	Collaborator
Partnership	Share responsibility	Co-equal partner
Transformative	Facilitate sustainable development by local people	Analyst / actor / agent
Self-Mobilizing	Support spontaneous action	Owner/controller

Source: Extracts from a table in *Ideas for Development* (Chambers, 2005, p. 106).

3.2.1 Implementation Committees

The most common type of community-led approach is the use of committees comprising of community members for program implementation. Sixty percent of programs examined exhibited this type of CLD. In this approach, implementing NGOs use committees to carry out program activities, gain community support, and engage in community mobilization activities (see table below). There are many examples of location-based committees, such as Village Development Committees or Community Development Councils; sectoral committees, such as Water User Groups; and goal-oriented committees, such as Care Groups to support people living with HIV/AIDS or groups who mobilize assistance for orphaned and vulnerable children.

Nobo Jibon formed 1156 Village Development Committee (VDCs) and its sub committees like, Village Health Committees (VHC) and Village Disaster Management Committees (VDMC)... The committees provide a local perspective to decision-making and make valuable contributions to Targeting and Engaging beneficiaries, Phasing in activities, Local Capacity Building, Participatory Monitoring of activities and Sustainability of program interventions. (Ravesloot et al., 2013, p. 205)

Just before programme closure, the ADP dissolved a set of hierarchical committee structures that had been formed and used throughout the programme to identify and voice community interests and needs...These committees were praised in various programme documents and ex-post interviews for their utility during the ADP activity implementation. (Trandafilii et al., 2016, p. 27)

NGOs often create their own committees at the beginning of a project (which can lead to the proliferation of various different NGO’s committees in the one community) but may also use existing groups such as School Management Committees, or utilize groups from other NGOs.

LAHIA uses community groups as a key sustainability strategy. Some of the groups they work with were already in existence at the start of the project, others were reinvigorated by the

project, and others were created from scratch. The case varies by village and group. For example, there were remnants of CARE International’s revolving credit groups in the targeted communities. The government of Niger started village development, natural resource management, and emergency response committees. (Endres, 2015)

While the use of implementation committees clearly increases community *involvement* in programs, unless the committees also play other roles and without the inclusion of other types of CLD, it is difficult to see these programs as truly *community-led*. In terms of Chambers’ participation ladder, this type of CLD may fall into either the extractive or consultative/instrumental categories, depending on how it is implemented.

Further discussion with the group of leaders and interviews with other NGOs confirm that almost every NGO and even almost every project develops its own committee or structure of committees. Apart from this, each village has its committee for sustainable village development (CVDd) which is an administrative structure, related to the commune. The leaders express “we have understood that we need to group ourselves in order to receive help from NGOs, because they do not help individuals”. They find it positive that each NGO has its own committee structures, because this helps each committee to focus well on what the NGO wants to achieve and to work according to the principles of the specific NGO. (Rijneveld et al., 2015, p. 33)

Table 3-3 Implementation Committees

Implementation Committees	Evidenced in^{29 30}	No. of reports evidenced in³¹
Use of committees	1 ; 4 ; 6 ; 10 ; 17 ; 18 ; 24 ; 26 ; 28 ; 30 ; 31 ; 34 ; 35 ; 37 ; 46 ; 47 ; 52 ; 55 ; 70 ; 71 ; 75 ; 76 ; 78 ; 80 ; 81 ; 82 ; 86 ; 89 ; 90 ; 91 ; 92 ; 100 ; 108	33
Location-based committees	4 ; 28 ; 34 ; 37 ; 78 ; 80 ; 81 ; 82 ; 89 ; 90 ; 100	11
Sectoral committees	6 ; 28 ; 30 ; 37 ; 47 ; 75 ; 81	7
Goal-orientated committees	4 ; 26 ; 52 ; 101	4
Group origin:		
i) Created by project	79	1
ii) Existing group	66 ; 90 ; 100	3
iii) Other NGOs	28 ; 52	2
Committee saturation and NGO appeasement	79	1

²⁹ Numbers in tables of evidence throughout the report link to the correspondingly numbered document listed in Section 9.2 (Appendix 6. List of Documents Reviewed).

³⁰ The number of citations listed as evidence for each CLD type may differ from the number of programs assigned to that type, as multiple documents were examined for many programs.

³¹ This column shows the number of documents in which the evidence was found, a very rough proxy for the strength of evidence for the item.

3.2.2 Community Mobilization

Another frequent approach to CLD is community mobilization, with nearly half (47%) including activities explicitly referred to as “mobilization.” Community mobilization is itself a term with multiple understandings but seems to encompass many different activities aimed at:

1. Gaining community attendance and participation in program meetings and activities,
The mobilisation strategy was highly effective in promoting beneficiaries’ and stakeholders’ active participation in all key program’s components and processes particularly in the identification of the beneficiaries and their needs, in activity development and implementation. (Roffi, 2015, p. 4)
2. Gaining support of key community members for program goals,
Following formative research in year 1, the Institute for Reproductive Health and partners developed an intervention model (see Figure 2) based on a life-course perspective, encompassing four components... community mobilization process called the Community Action Cycle to mobilize key community leaders to promote and sustain change... (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2016, p. 8)
3. Encouraging community members to contribute time, labor and resources to achieve program goals, and
World Vision through its CVA approach came to our community to help mobilize the parents and other people in the community to contribute to the project of helping the school have electricity. Before the intervention of the CVA team, people were not willing to contribute anything for the purposes of the electricity project. It was very hard for the school to mobilize the community to help with the project because they did not take it serious. But when World Vision through CVA came to mobilize them they responded positively. For example one individual in particular decided to contribute 300,000/= TShs which was more than half of the money that was needed to provide the school with electricity. (Kibanja, 2016, p. 40)
4. Behavior change through the provision of information or training. This last use of the term “mobilization” more accurately falls in the category of Peer-Led Sensitization and Behavior Change.
The committee members receive a two-day training before proceeding to sensitize and mobilize the community, with supervision by PASAM-TAI field agents. As explained by CLTS participants during MTE fieldwork, the CLTS committee sensitizes the community on hand-washing at critical times. (Hedley et al., 2015, p. 28)

Mobilization activities may be conducted by individual community members, groups such as implementation committees, community-based organizations, or program staff.

Although community mobilization was used as a CLD approach by almost half of the programs examined, the evidence suggests that it is mainly a method for procuring participation and in-kind or financial contributions to program activities. As such, it may be seen as falling on the consultative/instrumental level of the participation ladder. This may also be seen as consistent with using local resources (an element of the CLD Assessment Tool).

Table 3-4 Community mobilization

Community mobilization	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Explicit reference to mobilization	1 ; 4 ; 11 ; 25 ; 26 ; 29 ; 33 ; 34 ; 35 ; 37 ; 39 ; 44 ; 51 ; 52 ; 70 ; 75 ; 78 ; 79 ; 80 ; 82 ; 89 ; 90 ; 92 ; 102 ; 105 ; 108	26
Gaining attendance/participation	11 ; 26 ; 33 ; 35 ; 37 ; 39 ; 75 ; 79 ; 80 ; 90 ; 105	11
Gaining support	29 ; 37 ; 39	3
Encourage contribution of time/labor/resource	1 ; 11 ; 33 ; 44 ; 75 ; 82 ; 95	7
Behavior change	34 ; 39 ; 48 ; 51 ; 52 ; 70 ; 79 ; 108 ;	8
Mobilization activities:		
i) Individual led	11 ; 33 ; 39 ; 70 ; 79	5
ii) Group led	1 ; 34 ; 75 ; 78 ; 79 ; 82 ;	6
iii) CBO led	33 ; 102	2
iv) Program staff led	52	1

3.2.3 Self-Help Groups

Self-help groups were common, with about a third (35%) of reviewed programs including some kind of self-help group. Self-help groups are small groups of community members that are formed to be mutually supportive and work together towards common and individual goals.

They are “mutual assistance organizations through which individuals undertake collective action to improve their own lives.” Self Help Groups are groups of 10-25 members that meet regularly (usually weekly) to share their time and resources (e.g., labour, money, and assets), to work towards personal and group goals. Training and activities are often developed to assist Self Help Group members to meet these goals. By design, the groups aim to develop mutually supportive relationships through “collective decision-making, determining rules transparently, and promoting accountability in taking loans, all of which are achieved through regular face-to-face meetings. (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 11)

These groups are often facilitated by NGO-trained facilitators or staff, may use a specific curriculum, and are often supplied with some level of training and resources to achieve their goals. Women are typically the targeted participants of these groups, with microfinance and savings groups a very common example. In the documents reviewed, there were a number of programs that utilized village savings and loan associations (VSLAs) or similar, as well as farmer/producer groups, mothers’ groups, women’s empowerment groups, and even group psychotherapy groups.

To build the VSLA members economic status more than 900 members were trained on Microenterprise Selection, Planning and Management for four days. The project has established a total of 66 VSLAs; 1324 members significantly improved their incomes through savings and loans, and strengthened technical skills that enabled them to engage in different income generating activities that helped them to send their children to ECD [Early Childhood Development] centres. (ChildFund Ethiopia, 2017, p. 43)

PEKKA’s approach to social change and women’s empowerment has centered on the creation of small-scale savings and loan cooperatives. By starting with women’s most pressing

economic survival needs, PEKKA helps provide a critical element of economic stability and community connectedness, which are vital to organizing. (Zulminarni et al., 2018, p. 12)

In Heifer model, self-help group members become themselves doers, and gradually they develop themselves as community development leaders with multiple human values. Empowered SHGs are guided towards sustainable holistic development. (Kanel, 2016, p. 8)

Self-help groups exhibit a greater level of participation on Chambers’ participation ladder—groups that are more self-led and have greater say over group activities and processes may be at the partnership level, while some may be transformational.

Table 3-5 Self-help groups

Self-help groups	Evidenced in	No. of report evidenced in
VSLA or similar	5 ; 11 ; 18 ; 28 ; 37 ; 38 ; 66 ; 68 ; 75 ; 82 ; 93	11
Farmer/producer groups	30 ; 47	2
Mothers’ groups	6 ; 30	2
Women’s empowerment groups	17 ; 41 ; 66 ; 117	4
Psychotherapy	100	1

3.2.4 Peer-Led Sensitization and Behavior Change

Sensitization led by a community member or group is an approach employed by implementing organizations in twenty-seven percent of programs. Individuals or committees are trained by implementing NGOs on program-related issues and used to conduct sensitization—essentially information dissemination or soft skills training with the goal of behavior change. This may also be called behavior change communication, consciousness-raising, or mobilization (not to be confused with mobilizing attendance and resources, as above, although sometimes simultaneous). Volunteers and committees might work in group settings or go door-to-door.

1,440 Volunteer Community-Based Health Activists (VCBHA) were trained and equipped by the program to disseminate health knowledge and serve as links between communities and health facilities (Aamoum et al, 2012, p 1).

After selection of the Peer Leaders, partner NGOs provide them with training and give them responsibility for conducting Behavior Change Communication (BCC) in their community with primary focus on women’s empowerment, gender, awareness raising on gender-based violence, and basic leadership skills (Chaturvedi et al, 2018, pp 41-42).

Programs including this type of CLD view the inclusion of a community member or group, rather than program staff, conducting these sensitizations as a CLD approach. However, this seems to be an example of Consultative/Instrumental participation. A commonly-cited drawback of this approach is the voluntary nature of involvement—without compensation, it is difficult to sustain motivation and activities in the face of other commitments.

Most Lead Mothers expressed satisfaction with their participation in Fararano, but some expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of compensation for their work and not receiving food distributions even if they did not meet eligibility requirements. (Henry et al., 2020, p. xiii)

Table 3-6 Peer-led sensitization/behavior change

Peer-led Sensitization/Behavior Change	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Information dissemination/soft skills training	1 ; 6 ; 16 ; 17 ; 18 ; 25 ; 30 ; 36 ; 37 ; 52 ; 70 ; 73 ; 75 ; 78 ; 95	15
Difficult to sustain motivation, especially when voluntary; opportunity cost	37 ; 52	2

3.2.5 Local CBOs

Twenty-two percent of programs reviewed employed an approach of supporting existing local community-based organizations working on similar issues or forming new CBOs. NGOs typically provided training and capacity development to the organizations, particularly in organizational strengthening, and also linked them with networks or resources. There was often an assumption that CBOs would continue program activities after the departure of the NGO.

In SO3, GHG actively supports youth-led community based organizations (YCBO) to improve their ability to effectively interface with government and their community to reduce the impact of harmful cultural practices and other issues that have traditionally marginalized youth in Karamoja. (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a, p. 19)

As World Vision prepared to transition out of the community, it identified 14 community-based organisations (CBOs) and 2 faith-based organisations to spearhead the sustainability of activities and outcomes... The ADP invested heavily in the capacity development of these organisations for at least two years prior to programme closure. The groups received training on group functionality, proposal writing, resource mobilisation, leadership, and financial management, as well as technical knowledge in their areas of operation. (Trandafilii et al., 2016, p. 2)

In some cases, programs had mutually supportive partnerships with local CBOs, while on the other extreme, project implementation appeared to be “sub-contracted” to the CBO. The level of genuine engagement with local CBOs determines whether this type of CLD demonstrates true partnership, or whether participation is more consultative/instrumental.

“We now have a common dream... But now, using AI [Appreciative Inquiry], we look at long term partnership rather than year to year and what significant benefit we can mutually bring to the communities. Now we are benefiting both sponsored and unsponsored children. SC [Save the Children] has been able to broaden its impact through improved partnerships.” (Szecsey & Skaggs, 2000, p. 17)

... the quality of the partnerships in most of the intervention areas was poor. Qualitative data showed that most of the programme activities were being “sub-contracted”, as opposed to co-created. Redefining the conceptual basis of partnership and improving transparency and accountability with local partners is needed. (World Vision Cambodia, 2011, pp. 8-9)

Table 3-7 Local CBOs

Local CBOs	Evidenced in	No of reports evidenced in
Support existing CBO	6 ; 31 ; 33 ; 36 ; 51 ; 66 ; 71 ; 75 ; 81 ; 88 ; 102 ; 100	12
Mutually supportive partnership	88	1
“Sub-contracted CBO”	10 ; 108	2
Assumption of continuity	43 ; 100	2

3.2.6 Collective or Group Leadership

This approach to CLD most exemplifies the definition employed in this review. Programs employing collective or group leadership included community or group needs identification and goal-setting processes, collective planning, and collective action. They typically included a high level of dialogue and collaboration, and projects were initiated and completed by community members.

Implementing agencies employing this type of CLD typically convened community meetings or developed representative groups, provided capacity development on collective planning and action, as well as specific project-related skills, and may have provided resources either directly or through links and training in obtaining funding from other sources.

The Community Action Program (ACT) mobilizes, trains, and supports community members to achieve their vision of an improved standard of living for all. Community volunteers are selected by their peers to form the village’s Community Action Group (CAG), a gender-balanced cohort that undergoes intensive leadership training to produce targeted development projects to effectively meet community-identified needs. The purpose of this ongoing training is to create long-standing leaders in the village that will continue to independently push the community toward their vision of improved wellbeing. (OneVillage Partners, 2020, p. 1)

This type of CLD is a clear example of transformative participation, although there are indications that implementation may sometimes be less community-led than specified in program designs or theories of change.

...it needs to be underscored that the choice of the project is determined by the persuasive power of the elders and it worked, probably because the community was small. However, systemic use of formal tools, in arriving at the consensus, is not much in evidence. Moreover the choice of projects is not unrestricted; the community (read CDC) is often confronted with the list of activities set out in the NSP Operating Manual by the Community Mobilizer. (Mukherjee et al., 2015, p. 48)

In the documents reviewed, slightly over a third of MCLD member programs exhibited this CLD type, while none of the USAID DEC programs did—resulting in a total of 20 percent. This seems surprising given that all programs were selected as being ‘community-led’, and participation in determining needs and goals is a central element of ‘Participation, Inclusion and Voice’ (as identified in MCLD’s CLD Assessment Tool).

Table 3-8 Collective or Group Leadership

Collective or Group Leadership	Evidenced in	No of reports evidenced in
Employs collective/group leadership	11 ; 16 ; 23 ; 33 ; 41 ; 68 ; 79 ; 86 ; 94 ;	9
Transformative participation	68	1
Implementation less community-led than theory	65	1

3.2.7 Community Advocacy

Finally, some organizations train and equip community members to advocate for themselves. This approach is obviously very intertwined with advocacy-focused programming. The key community-led aspect seems to be enabling community groups or members to initiate and sustain advocacy efforts on their own, rather than the NGO advocating on their behalf. Often this approach includes forming community groups; providing training based on an understanding of rights, legal and government structures, service rights and entitlements, and available services; and connecting groups with resources and sometimes funding.

Groups of women, now empowered with knowledge, mobilised to garner greater attention from regional government officials. OGB, through the GROW Campaign, played an important role in this process by both mobilising women through trainings and workshops and facilitating greater interaction between communities and regional government officials... They used the training and workshop paradigm common in Tajikistan to provide women with greater knowledge and then encouraged greater collaboration and self-advocacy through regular meetings and roundtables. (Westrope, 2017, p. 20)

In a sense, these groups are a subset of implementation committees; however, their work is less tangible and more focused on increasing community agency and equity. While the NGO chooses community advocacy as the method, and may choose which issues on which to focus, the aim of the approach is intended to increase community voice and influence. Given this, the level of participation in this type of CLD could range from Self-Mobilizing to Partnership. This type of CLD was only present in the MCLD member programs, representing seven percent of total programs.

Table 3-9 Community Advocacy

Community Advocacy	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Community advocacy approach	29 ; 87 ; 93 ; 104 ; 105	5

Analysis of the contextual factors that influence implementation agencies' choice of CLD approaches was not possible in this review: the necessary information was not provided in reports. Possible contextual factors may include the agency's own philosophy in relation to development; its level of 'program decentralization' (for example, whether decisions about program approaches are made centrally for a whole organization or locally); funding sources and guidelines (funding programs usually carry their own objectives); and the existing capacities and resources of communities (some types of leadership expectation are unreasonable unless certain human capacities and types of intellectual capital exist). This may make a fruitful topic for future investigation by MCLD.

3.3 Implications and Recommendations – CLD Approaches

The extent to which the types of CLD programming mentioned above are consistent with the definition of Community-Led Development adopted by this research (see Appendix 1) varies considerably. This research is limited by the description of programs in the documents reviewed. Therefore, it is possible that organizations practice different types of CLD (which may be more or less community-led) but that was not reflected in the documents. Participants in the Implementation and Recommendations workshop also suggested that the variation in CLD programming may in part reflect different stages in the development of community leadership within communities, and/or the evolution of the CLD sector over time. The literature used in the review did not reflect or allow analysis of stages of development, and a review of included texts did not find evidence of change in the types of models used over time. It was clear, however, that some implementation agencies use pre-determined models across settings and the extent of true leadership by communities is quite limited. The [CLD Assessment Tool](#) developed by MCLD in a previous stage of this research may be useful for agencies to review their own models and approaches.

Recommendations:

1. Implementation agencies should be explicit about the models they select for particular contexts and justify the choice of the models against the contextual analysis for the location (Recommendation 2 above). A specific theory of change should be developed for each model used. Monitoring and evaluation should assess progress against the theory of change and determine whether, to what extent, and for whom different models are effective.
2. Funders should support implementation agencies to adapt models to become more truly led by communities. This could mean explicitly including community leadership in grant guidelines. The [CLD Assessment Tool](#) developed by MCLD may be useful for agencies to review their own models and approaches.
3. CLD looks different at different times in the lifecycle of a program, depending on the context and resources of the community. Whatever the stage of programming, plans need to be negotiated with the community, justified against the contextual analysis, and adapted if necessary, taking account of the particular strengths, resources and needs of the community. Funders need to acknowledge this and build this into the grant-making processes. Implementing organizations also need to explicitly document the various stages of a program and how it was developed.

3.4 Contextual Factors – Enabling and Limiting Environments

In realist analysis, contextual factors are treated as necessary conditions for particular mechanisms to operate, or as conditions which block the operation of particular mechanisms.

Many of the documents examined provided little detail about factors external to the programs that either helped or hindered their implementation or effectiveness. Nevertheless, some factors were identified which either enabled or inhibited community-led programs. That is, the factors may have affected implementation in general and/or the operation of several mechanisms. We report these factors here; however, they may also be reflected in CMO (Context Mechanism Outcomes) summaries in the remaining chapters.

The factors relate to government, society, communities, NGO activities, funding and program design and implementation. Many of these factors will be out of an implementing organization's control,

but they speak to circumstances in which community-led programs are more (or less) likely to be successful.

3.5 Enabling Environments

The factors that are conducive to CLD programs and processes form an enabling environment, and in many cases, are mutually reinforcing. The factors most strongly evidenced in this review are discussed below.

3.5.1 Government

A supportive, effective and transparent policy and legal environment allowed strong local government support at the community level. When program goals aligned with government goals or policy, programs were able to work alongside government workers, potentially strengthening outcomes for both the program and government. In some cases, communities were enabled to participate in government planning processes. There were also examples where Governments were able to respond positively to requests from communities, for example for health workers and/or agricultural extension officers, when program goals and government policies were aligned.

*“The prevailing high public and political profile of accountability and governance issues in Tanzania is a factor that is very likely to have contributed to the work of CH [Chakua Hatua] in general... Acts, Government directives and circulars concerning the need for public officials to make financial transactions public provided a necessary framework for the CH programme.”
(Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 47)*

Table 3-10 Enabling Factors

Enabling Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Supportive, effective and transparent policy/legal environment	37 ; 51 ; 65 ; 82 ; 84 ; 93 ; 105 ; 117	8
Local-level government support	13 ; 44 ; 65	3
Provision of qualified professionals and technicians	11 ; 94	2
Inclusion of communities in planning processes	89	1
Law enforcement/security	85	1

3.5.2 Social Structures and Institutions

The presence of relevant local Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and non-government organizations (NGOs) enabled implementing organizations to create mutually beneficial partnerships and gave communities access to more resources and links. The coordination of stakeholders across multiple levels was also important, with CLD processes supported when CBOs, implementing organizations and other non-government organizations, community leaders and various levels of government collaborated. In addition, the presence of individuals who championed a community-led initiative was also very helpful. All these civil societal factors were reinforced by a supportive government environment - where local government was supportive and involved, and CBOs were able to operate effectively.

“While coordination at woreda level helped to avoid duplication of efforts and to leverage on local opportunities, coordination at kebele level helped to mobilize resources from community members, private organizations and CSOs [Community Service Organisations] operating in the kebele to better serve HVC [highly vulnerable children] and sustain interventions.” (ABH Services PLC, 2014, p. 74)

Table 3-11 Enabling Factors

Enabling Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Relevant local CBOs	44 ; 84 ; 88	3
Coordination of stakeholders across multiple levels	44 ; 84	2
Program champions (community leaders)	44 ; 33	2
Availability of employment/livelihoods	60	1
Access to markets and inputs	41	1
Stability/security	89	1
Broad awareness of issues	105	1

Programs sometimes built on the work of other NGOs which had carried out training, awareness raising, or activities on similar issues, and sometimes multiple NGOs worked together on the same issue. This led to a broad level of awareness of the issues among community members, the existence of facilitators who had previous experience and relevant training, the ability to use other NGOs’ structures (such as committees) for program activities, and more effective advocacy. Additionally, prior positive experiences with NGOs led to increased trust by community members and encouraged participation in new programs.

“Donor agencies, UN organisations and international and national NGOs alike work on these same issues, implement in the same communities, are part of the same networks, and engage with the same policymakers as did OGB through the GROW Campaign and its related activities. These activities have directly influenced changes in legislation and can reasonably be expected to have contributed to changes in awareness and knowledge in much the same way OGB has.” (Westrope, 2017, p. 25)

Table 3-12 Enabling Factors

Enabling Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Training, awareness raising and activities of other NGOs on similar issues and/or working together	22 ; 39 ; 52 ; 84 ; 105	5
Facilitators with training and experience in other programs	39 ; 52 ; 84	3
Positive experiences—increasing trust and encouraging participation	44 ; 84	2
Using other NGOs’ structures	52	1
Networking of NGOs for advocacy	105	1

3.5.3 Social Capital / Social Cohesion

A pre-existing level of social capital or social cohesion in a community increased the likelihood of mobilizing around a common goal and collective action. Where communities had an existing culture of collaboration and collective decision-making, CLD processes and collective action were easier to achieve. Size and homogeneity of a community could make a difference as well—there was one

example in which very small communities had great success persuading all villagers to implement a collective project and were able to easily resolve disputes (Mukherjee et al., 2015, pp. 43-44). Additionally, where traditional leaders were engaged and supportive, and where traditional systems of accountability existed, they were likely to contribute to CLD processes and collective action.

“In Malawi, THP has successfully built on and expanded traditional levels of cooperation among villages.” (Avevor et al., 2013, p. 7)

Stability and security were also important enablers. While this was explicitly evidenced in a small number of programs, it is implicit in many of the other enabling factors. In an unstable or conflict environment, it is less likely that a supportive policy and legal environment will exist. Infrastructure and provision of government services may be impacted, impacting program implementation. Additionally, program activities may be hampered or disrupted by violence and conflict, as occurred in at least two programs, where program activities were halted or negatively impacted due to violence. There were also lower levels of social capital and cohesion when there was conflict between groups within an area (Mercy Corps et al., 2017, pp. 7-8; Springer & Gehart, 2016, pp. 19-20).

“In many conflict affected contexts in South Sudan, societal norms are challenged by a chaotic and changing environment, and the government is unable or unwilling to provide a regulatory framework to facilitate the productive exchange of resources.” (Global Communities, 2018, p. 24)

Table 3-13 Enabling Factors

Enabling Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Existing social capital/cohesion	25 ; 60 ; 79 ; 85	4
Culture of collaboration and collective action	11 ; 46 ; 85	3
Size and homogeneity of community	60 ; 65 ; 85	3
Traditional accountability systems	46 ; 84	2
Stability/security	33 ; 89	2
Engagement of traditional leaders	22 ; 46	2
Employment of youth	33	1

3.5.4 Funding

The evidence pointed strongly to the availability of funding as a key enabler. The presence of government or NGO/CBO funding, and transparent processes for obtaining it, strongly contributed to community-led initiatives, the implementation of collective action, and sustainability of projects. In addition, having funds available increased the legitimacy of CLD groups within a community.

“Other factors supportive of CH implementation are the following regulations, systems and funding of the Tanzanian government and state: Funding from the Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF). This was cited by councillors as an important source of funding to address community priorities and recounted examples of how they had been able to help fulfil community needs by securing funding for roads, power tillers, dams, teacher’s houses, toilets, etc.” (Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 21)

Table 3-14 Enabling Factors

Enabling Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Availability of government/NGO funding, transparent processes	29 ; 44 ; 84 , 85	4
Enabling sustainability	33 ; 52	2
Giving legitimacy to CLD structures	46	1

3.5.5 Program Design and Implementation

Program design and implementation factors were also key to enabling CLD. One of the most well-evidenced of these was leveraging synergies—with other related programs, with other NGOs (as discussed above), with government policies, with existing community structures such as school use or water use committees, and within program activities (such as requiring completion of one program activity prior to accessing another program or resource).

The evidence also strongly pointed to the type of intervention as key to enabling CLD processes, with ‘soft’ (community building) projects more likely to lead to community-led and collective outcomes than ‘hard’ (infrastructure) projects, which tended to cultivate community expectations for resource provision and dependency on INGOs. In tension with this, projects that had a broad community impact and those that gave “quick wins” were more likely to mobilize community participation and support and increase collective efficacy and motivation for continued action. Projects that enabled positive economic interactions also encouraged participation and engagement by community members, due to their economic interest in the project. Other factors related to program implementation include duration and frequency. Programs that operated over a shorter time-frame were less likely to contribute to lasting and sustainable change, as attitudinal shifts towards self-reliance were unlikely to be achieved quickly.

“We had to communicate with people about CVA [Citizen Voice and Action] on the one hand, and then deal with people about other projects concerning classroom construction and things like that. It was contradictory and hard to manage.” (FH Designs, 2016, p. 36)

“In other words, there is a major discrepancy between the NSP official objective ‘to build, strengthen and maintain Community Development Councils (CDCs) as effective institutions for local governance and social-economic development’ and the perception of the NSP by the beneficiaries, who see it as a major rehabilitation/infrastructural programme, not as a community-building initiative with a long-term perspective.” (Komorowska, 2016, p. 48)

Additionally, the program staff mattered. Staff who were experienced and knowledgeable, understood the NGO and the communities, had a positive and respectful attitude towards community members, and had the appropriate technical expertise enabled more effective implementation of programs. Likewise, the evidence showed that a culture of continuous learning and knowledge-keeping within a program encouraged shifts in activities and strategies when necessary, allowing programs to be responsive to the needs and realities of communities. Staffing capacity was on occasion evidenced by its absence:

“Most of the staff are new to the area and/or to the WV. On average, the total workforce has been a part of the organization for two years. Many of them, with the exception of one, were not part of the design and implementation of the sector programme that they implemented. This has

an implication in terms of effective programme management, monitoring and evaluation, and providing effective technical support for programming.” (Amit et al., 2019, p. 49)

Finally, the question of who participates in CLD programs is absolutely crucial. One of the basic assumptions of the program theories is that there is broad community participation, sub-groups are included, and marginalized voices are both sought and heard. However, the evidence showed that this was often not the case, and the issues of participation, motivation to participate, inclusion and volunteerism were very complex (See 3.6.3 below and Section 6, Equity).

Table 3-15 Enabling Factors

Enabling Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Leveraging synergies	11 ; 66 ; 94	3
‘Soft’ (community building) projects compared to ‘hard’ (infrastructure) projects	29 ; 44 ; 46 ; 76 ,	4
Timeframe/frequency	14 ; 44 ; 65 ; 77	4
Continuous learning and recording knowledge	10 ; 65 ; 86	3
Staff—quality of service, positive/respectful attitude, experience/knowledge, professionals and technicians as required	10 ; 11 ; 108	3
Projects with broad community impact	33 ; 34	2
Positive economic interactions	14 ; 60	2
Conflict resolution training	36 ; 86	2
Includes input from all community members, particularly women, youth and the most marginalized	10 ; 36	2
Provide, require or link to basic education and literacy training	11 ; 36	2
‘Quick wins’—initial projects easily achievable in short timeframe	33	1
Mutually beneficial partnerships with CBOs	88	1

3.5.6 Summary: Theorizing Enabling Environments

The ways in which enabling environments operate to support CLD may be summarized in realist terms as follows. Contextual factors are labelled (C), mechanisms as (M) and intermediate and higher-level outcomes as (O).

Supportive governments, local CBOs and other NGOs (C) and experienced and knowledgeable staff within CLD programs (C) provide access to different types of capital (financial, human, material and social) (M). This provides resources to enable effective implementation (O) and flexibility to respond to changing needs or situations (M), while also contributing to trust in and perceived legitimacy of CLD actors and actions (M). These factors contribute to participation (O) and to the achievement of outcomes (O). Achieving outcomes builds further motivation (M) and stocks of capitals (C) which, with appropriate leadership (C), may be reinvested in CLD (O), increasing the likelihood of sustained outcomes.

3.6 Limiting Environments

The absence or converse of the enabling factors above would constitute limiting factors, making implementation of CLD more difficult. However, a few of these “opposites” stood out as presenting more of an obstacle, and some unique obstacles were also identified.

3.6.1 Government

First, poor quality or lack of infrastructure, government services, policies and qualified technical personnel was clearly evidenced as a major hindrance to CLD. This corresponds to the absence or weakness of state authority, limiting “trickle down” of any supportive national-level policies or programs that may exist. Similarly, lack of government capacity, support, strategy or interest in supporting community-led goals and actions also limited the success of CLD. Intra-government conflict, political opportunism and corruption hindered CLD processes, as did high costs and barriers to accessing legal and government services. All these factors affected communities’ ability to influence local government, operate effectively and engage in advocacy. Interestingly, though, these governmental barriers also provide opportunities for CLD programs in some circumstances, where communities and collective action were able to provide the services or infrastructure lacking from the government.

But the rest hasn’t been easy. “We’ve been doing follow-up with the District since 2013”, explains...one CVA [Citizen Voice and Action] Working Group member, “The response is always, ‘You’ll hear from us.’ But we never have.” Discouraged by the District government’s inaction, the CVA Working Group started exploring other options, eventually securing support from a local NGO called ‘Paddies’.”(FH Designs, 2016, p. 95)

Table 3-16 Limiting Factors

Limiting Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Poor quality or lack of infrastructure, government services, policies and qualified technical personnel	2 ; 11 ; 22 ; 25 ; 65 ; 85 ; 105	7
Absence/weakness of state authority	33 ; 65	2
Lack of capacity, support, strategy or interest in responding to CLD	2 ; 29	2
Intra-government conflict and politics/corruption	22 ; 84	2
Cost/barriers to access of legal/government services	87	1

3.6.2 Fragile Contexts

A major limiter was conflict and instability. As noted above, conflict and crises made it more difficult for programs to operate and limited the time and freedom people had to participate in collective processes. Where there was a history of conflicting groups within a community, such as tensions between tribes or IDP/refugee and host communities, collective processes and collaboration were more difficult. Natural disasters, climate change and disease also presented challenges, though these could also be seen as opportunities for collective planning and action.

“Key Challenges... Hardship, sickness and insecurity present obstacles to mobilization... Key Challenges... Urgent needs due to shocks and stressors demand immediate attention and

Conflict risks compete with livelihood needs in prioritization.” (Global Communities, 2018, pp. 23, 25)

Table 3-17 Limiting Factors

Limiting Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Conflict, instability, crises	33 ; 60	2
History of conflicting groups	33 ; 45 ; 60	3
Climate/natural disasters, disease	18 ; 33	2
Lack of employment/livelihoods	11 ; 82	2
Cost of goods and services	11	1

3.6.3 Factors Restricting Participation

There was strong evidence that low levels of education and literacy were a hindrance, particularly for women. Illiteracy made it more difficult for community members to participate in collective planning, draw up action plans, and monitor these plans over time. It made it more difficult to engage with implementing NGOs and their requirements and limited the ability to obtain external funding, particularly as community members often lacked access to traditional forms of financing. Elite capture and corruption were also big issues, with CLD groups and project committees in multiple programs controlled by a few most powerful voices or by traditional leadership. Lack of employment or livelihoods also played a role, with those unemployed more likely to engage in conflict and violence. Finally, a number of community factors affected participation. These included cultural barriers to women’s and youth participation, teenage pregnancy and early marriage, migration to cities and distance from the program centre or office. Particular programs could be affected if they addressed issues considered taboo.

“In most communities, local organization is incipient and they lack the skills and schooling to keep adequate records. This situation is even more pronounced among the COSANs [local food and nutrition security committee], given women’s more limited education and that their participation is still incipient. The project could establish strategic alliances with other organizations, particularly with the newly established Oficinas Municipales de la Mujer (Municipal Office for Women) to provide COCODE [official community organisation] and COSAN members with additional training.” (Heffron et al., 2010, p. 21)

Table 3-18 Limiting Factors

Limiting Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Low education and literacy (particularly of women)	11 ; 36 ; 65 ; 84	4
Elite capture/corruption	25 ; 33 ; 38	3
Cultural barriers to women’s and youth participation/equality	36 ; 65	2
Migration to cities	11 ; 82	2
Teenage pregnancy and early marriage reducing participation	11	1
Distance	79	1
Lack of access to traditional financing	18	1
Cultural taboos around certain subjects	23	1

3.6.4 Non-Governmental Organizations

The most significant limiting factor relating to the presence of NGOs was a community expectation of resource provision based on prior experiences with NGO programs. This was particularly strong in communities where humanitarian aid programs had been conducted. This expectation made it extremely difficult to implement a community-led program in which the community was expected to mobilize its own resources, engage in collective action and be sustainable in the long-term.

Previous negative experiences with NGOs made buy-in and participation more difficult in some programs. In terms of program implementation, the most evidenced factor was distance and reach, with those communities furthest from the program’s center receiving the least from the program, participating least, and having the least awareness of program activities. This speaks to the difficulty of running a program (even a community-led one) across a large geographic area and is reinforced by the experiences of program facilitators (see Section 4, Facilitation and Community Leadership).

For example, M4 and M5 [villages] were considered difficult places, because of the communities expecting handouts rather than cooperating based on their experiences with other, often humanitarian, NGOs, which is more than M1 [village] has experienced. (Compernelle et al., 2018, p. 34)

In MWE [Mpohor Wassa East], World Vision’s long-term presence in the area, and the way in which the organisation engaged with communities in the past, has to some degree conditioned people to expect enticements to participate in meetings and local development activities. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 80)

Table 3-19 Limiting Factors

Limiting Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Community expectations of resource provision	22 ; 26 ; 29 ; 38 ; 82 ; 85	6
Negative experiences	82 ; 85	2
Proliferation of committees	79	1
Competition between programs	101	1
Location and reach	22 ; 79	2
Coordinated implementation of multiple interventions depending on one another for success	13	1
Applicable use for increased knowledge and skills	45	1

3.6.5 Summary: Theorizing Limiting Environments

The ways in which environments may limit CLD may be summarized in realist terms as follows.

Poor quality or lack of infrastructure, government services, policies and qualified technical personnel (C) and/or lack of government commitment to CLD (C) limit access to resources (M), making implementation of CLD more difficult (O). Intra-government conflict, political opportunism and corruption (C) reduces state authority which may contribute to social conflict and violence, reducing social capital (M). It also reduces legitimization of CLD activities by the state (M), which undermines participation. Expectations of hand-outs (C) and low levels of literacy (C) also impede participation, the latter particularly in CLD management and administration. High costs and fragile contexts (C)

decrease institutionalization of CLD (M) which reduces effectiveness of CLD (O) and sustains current problems (O).

3.7 Implications and Recommendations: Enabling and Limiting Environments

Participants in the Implications and Recommendations Workshop (IRWS) conducted as the final stage of this review noted that there have been successful CLD programs in contexts with limited government resources. ‘Low resources’ and ‘being supportive of CLD’ are not necessarily related. It may be that certain types of CLD can be effective in contexts identified here as ‘limiting’. Government support can take many forms, ranging from encouragement through participation in some aspects of CLD to provision of resources. Some CLD approaches may be more appropriate and effective in fragile contexts than others. Consultation with government actors may help to identify and negotiate the particular kinds of support that are most feasible and appropriate.

Analysis of the social and political context is important in the design of CLD approaches. CLD approaches can be tailored to suit local settings, but it appears that only some agencies do so. Tailoring may include selecting particular models of CLD and, by implication, de-selecting others. Alternatively, it may involve adapting aspects of models to suit local political conditions. Social and political analysis should be undertaken in collaboration with communities and other knowledgeable stakeholders.

Recommendations to improve the quality of context analysis³² and to adapt programs in response are far from new and a number of tools have been developed to support implementation agencies in doing them. Options include, but are not limited to, Inclusive Development Analysis³³ and Political Economy Analysis.

Recommendations:

4. All CLD programs should incorporate analysis of the social and political context at local and higher levels prior to implementation. This should include analysis of who currently participates in which kinds of decisions and who is excluded; who has access to what kinds of resources and who does not; how intersectionality affects vulnerability, and the social and political risks for marginalized groups and for participants in CLD. This analysis should sit alongside analysis of strengths, resources (including social structures) and needs. CLD models should be adapted to suit the results of the analysis. This may imply selecting (or de-selecting) particular approaches or activities, adapting processes or activities to ensure that they are inclusive, building in collaboration with local partners, and building in strategies to address specific barriers to participation (e.g., revising materials so that they do not require literacy, adapting processes so that people with disabilities can participate equitably).
5. Funders and implementation agencies should provide (and/or seek) funding for adequate time and staffing to undertake the analysis, provide evidence of the analysis in designs and in evaluation, and demonstrate how they have adapted models to contexts. This may

³² Some reports in the review provided concise contextual analysis for the region or country overall but few provided detailed analysis of factors likely to affect CLD in the communities in which programs were implemented.

³³ https://usaidlearninglab.org/sites/default/files/resource/files/additional_help_for_ads_201_inclusive_development_180726_final_r.pdf

involve either a preparation stage within grants, or a 'preparatory grants' program, to enable context analysis.

6. Funders and implementation agencies should support further research into CLD approaches that have been both safe and effective in fragile contexts.
7. Where the political context allows, implementation agencies should work with local governments and seek to align goals.
8. Implementation agencies and funders should examine the extent to which their programs and budgets provide adequate time, a realistic scale and realistic resources for CLD objectives, and increase time or resources, or decrease scale, where appropriate. This is likely to imply negotiations between funders, implementing agencies and communities. It may imply allowing different programs and budgets for different stages of development, and/or multiple programs over time in the same location.
9. Funders and implementation agencies should consider strategies to build confidence and maintain motivation for CLD, while remaining cautious about 'quick win' strategies

4 Facilitation and Community Leadership

4.1 Definitions and Initial Theories

The key research question for this review concerned the role of facilitation and community leadership in Community-Led Development programs. Both terms were defined before the draft program theories were developed. The terms were originally conceptualized and defined as though they were distinct and easily discernible functions: we present them here for ease of comparison.

*In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Facilitation** is a co-creative and adaptive process in which a facilitator enables local actors to set common goals, take ownership of these goals, build on existing strengths, and work towards achieving their goals. Key components of effective facilitation are guiding discussion, asking questions, consensus-building, mediation and ensuring diverse voices are heard, all within a relationship of mutual learning and partnership. Facilitation can also support social learning processes in which stakeholders learn from one another, often by managing group dynamics and processes. Facilitators may be internal to or external to the local community, and different people may be facilitators in different aspects or stages of a process. Facilitation functions can be shared across group members, particularly in high functioning groups.*

*In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Community Leadership** can refer to either a type of leadership by an individual from a given community, or to a process by which a community exercises collective leadership at a grass-roots level.*

In the case of an individual, a community leader is a person from a specific community (usually geographically-defined) who uses their knowledge of and influence in the community to mobilize people and resources to meet a common goal—by building on strong relationships and social capital to generate community collaboration, creating alliances and connections with external actors, acting as a mouthpiece and intermediary for the community, and being a catalyst for change. Leaders may act as participants in multi-stakeholder decision-making processes, usually on the basis of consultation with other community members. Leaders may or may not hold formal leadership positions in communities.

In the collective sense, community leadership refers to a broader process whereby members of a community come together to solve a problem or achieve a goal through collaboration. In this case, leadership is distributed and shared across the community. It involves similar activities as above, and is marked by dialogue; collective processes to make decisions about priorities, plans and activities; and the harnessing of various skills, roles, talents and assets to contribute to community gain and spark positive change. Different people may act as leaders at different times or in different aspects of the process.

However, the evidence in the literature was by no means this clear or distinct. In many documents, it was difficult to ascertain whether facilitation occurred, how exactly it was employed, and by whom it was performed. Likewise, when community-inclusive actions were described, it was difficult to discern whether community leadership (in the collective sense) was taking place, and whether community leaders (in the individual sense) had a role in the process.

Despite this, some program documents did speak to the issues at hand (more for facilitation than community leadership), and from these we can make some observations.

4.2 Facilitation

One of the main issues with facilitation appears to be lack of agreement on the use of the term. Where the word ‘facilitator’ was used, it was often describing a purely teaching, training or organizational role. Similar terms such as ‘animator,’ ‘mobilizer,’ and ‘volunteer’ were likewise used in this fashion, and also seemed to encompass activities intended to mobilize the community around program goals.

“Women ELTE [Entrepreneurial Literacy Training for Empowerment] Facilitators...effectively conveyed information and skills to their trainees on empowerment and other topics in the ELTE curriculum. (Chaturvedi et al., 2018, p. 19)”

“These animators provide their communities in the villages with information that is said to have increased the use of health care services.” (Compernelle et al., 2018, p. 16)

While these uses are markedly different from the usage envisaged in this review, there were some clear examples of facilitation as it had been defined by the review.

“The majority of facilitators did describe their roles as being someone who outlines the topics for discussion, gives a space for participants to identify concerns and discuss those concerns.” (Mc Crossan & Sinkineh, 2009, p. 18)

In many cases, however, it was simply not possible to ascertain what exactly was meant by the terms employed. Consequently, all examples were included, regardless of the apparent understanding of the term, when looking for evidence of what was necessary for ‘quality and skilled’ facilitation.

Table 4-1 Facilitation

Facilitation	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Teaching/training/organizational role	17 ; 18 ; 21 ; 30 ; 75	5
Incorporating mobilization	2 ; 11 ; 17 ; 18 ; 20 ; 34 ; 39 ; 52 ; 79 ; 84	10
As envisaged by review	44 ; 49 ; 51 ; 88 ; 104 ; 117	6

4.2.1 Training, Materials and Resources for Facilitation

Most of the evidence in relation to the quality of facilitation dealt with problems or inadequacies in facilitation and made recommendations about how to improve it.

High quality, appropriate training was key. Documents noted that training on facilitation skills and processes needed to be included, as did specific technical skills appropriate to the program. Additionally, ongoing/refresher trainings and reflection meetings would provide opportunities for peer learning, problem solving and recognition of success. In addition to the trainings themselves, appropriate supervision was necessary to ensure that facilitation could be conducted at a high standard and in accordance with the program design.

“It is also apparent that the frontline staff are not adequately trained to develop the institutional maturity of these groups and cannot provide sustained technical assistance. Their tasks are predominantly organizational—scheduling trainings in the action plan and making sure that everyone shows up—when more substantial cultivation of group empowerment is called for.” (Finan et al., 2017, p. 43)

Appropriate materials and resources also contributed to quality facilitation. Materials included training materials, manuals, learning aids and participatory tools. Resources such as logistical support and mobile phone credits were also cited as necessary for facilitators to do their jobs well, as was technology for data collection and record-keeping.

“In addition, a new electronic tool to support training, business planning and data collection and analysis for smallholder farmer groups will be released. The tool is called “Farm Book” and it is on a notebook computer platform, to be used by farmer group facilitators.” (Peterson et al., 2012, p. 69)

“Community Action Group members were expected to conduct activities across the parishes, away from (far/or a distance from) where they lived, but lacked the resources to travel around such a large area... In addition, it was not always easy to mobilize community members to attend events because this would have required mobile phone credits that the Community Action Groups members could not afford and were not provided with by the project.” (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2016, p. 15)

Table 4-2 Facilitation aspects

Facilitation Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Manuals, training materials, learning aids, participatory tools	18 ; 65 ; 75 ; 97 ;	4
Financial, material, logistical support, supervision	39	1
Refresher trainings, reflection/follow-up meetings—problem solving, sharing	18 ; 84	2
Recognition of efforts and success	39 ; 84	2

4.2.1.1 Facilitation Skills

Specific skills required for high quality facilitation were referenced in the documents reviewed. Those mentioned included:

1. Prioritization of good representation in groups,
2. Understanding of power dynamics and subgroups,
3. Promoting dissenting and less powerful voices,
4. Encouraging collective dialogue, including guiding discussion towards potential solutions,
5. Focus on “soft” rather than “hard” objectives,
6. Supporting visioning and exploring alternate possibilities,
7. Listening and learning, and
8. Providing emotional support.

“One of the key elements is the selection of the facilitators so that they support the community in being visionary and encourage communities to explore possible alternatives to the present norms and values.” (Mc Crossan & Sinkineh, 2009, p. 19)

“So I would spend a lot of time building their confidence. I talk with the women about the program but in the language of daily reality. In the meeting, they get to know other women,

other jandas. They get to feel that they have a lot of friends and can be confident together. From there, we move on and I present the details of the program to them.” (Zulminarni et al., 2018, pg. 15)

Table 4-3 Facilitation Aspects

Facilitation Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Prioritization of good representation in groups	44 ; 51 ; 86 ,	3
Understanding of power dynamics and subgroups	65 ; 70	2
Promoting dissenting/less powerful voices	46	1
Enabling collective dialogue/discussion--space for all voices, guiding discussion toward solutions	44 ; 51 ; 86	3
Focus on ‘soft’ rather than ‘hard’ objectives—evidence of the opposite occurring	30 ; 46	2
Supporting visioning and exploring alternate possibilities	51	1
Listening and learning	51 ; 104	2
Provide emotional support, confidence-building	18 ; 117	2

4.2.2 Workload and Expectations

A strong theme in the evidence was that the workload expected of facilitators was unreasonably high. The amount of work and number of hours required of facilitators was unrealistic, especially considering that many were unpaid and had other work and commitments in addition. Facilitators in several programs were expected to travel large distances to reach all their assigned locations and were unable to spend enough time with all villages/locations (and especially not with those far away). Additionally, many facilitators were relatively young and/or had little education, making conducting their work more difficult, especially when adequate training was not provided.

“In the view of the MTE [evaluation/research] team, these frontline workers, besides their excessive workload, are undertrained and insufficiently prepared for the important responsibilities that they have.” (Finan et al., 2017, pp. 40-41)

A number of sources indicated that more time spent with communities indicated more success in terms of facilitation. If this is the case, then unrealistic workloads would certainly hamper facilitators from spending enough time with each location. Evidence also indicated high turnover rates, and trained facilitators seeking employment with other organizations, in which unrealistic workloads seemed to be a factor.

“And one reason why the CDC [Community Development Council] does not meet regularly could be that the facilitating staff may not be spending quality time in the village, motivating the CDC to function properly including meeting regularly and keeping of records.” (Mukherjee et al., 2015, pp. 38-39)

Table 4-4 Facilitation Aspects

Facilitation Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Unrealistic workload	30 ; 18	2
Geographic reach or density too high	30 ; 79	2
Necessity of adequate time spent with communities	18 ; 30 ; 65 ; 79	4
Remoteness/inaccessibility of communities	30 ; 65	2
Security concerns	46	1
Absenteeism—other responsibilities	11	1
High turnover	30 ; 52	2

4.2.3 Compensation

Where the level of compensation was discussed in the evidence, facilitators were either unpaid volunteers or the compensation was cited as being inadequate. While this may be a bias in the evidence (if the compensation is adequate or generous, why mention it), it was clear that there were very real opportunity costs for unpaid or poorly paid facilitators. Lack of adequate compensation contributed to absenteeism and seeking employment elsewhere, lowered motivation, and decreased sustainability—without pay, facilitators did not continue their work post-program. Several of the programs reviewed assumed that facilitation activities would continue after the departure of the INGO. However, where there was evidence regarding what occurred post-program, it did not support this assumption.

“Motivation was fronted as a major issue amongst the caregivers and facilitators engaged with 90% advocating for an increase in stipend to match the increased standard of living in their localities.” (McSorley et al., 2018, p. 47)

“Although volunteers are generally motivated to support their community rather than doing it only for a stipend, after the project ended in September many had reduced their efforts by late October. In focus groups, some were reporting that they will look for jobs with other NGOs.” (McSorley et al., 2018, p. 54)

Table 4-5 Facilitation Aspects

Facilitation Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Inadequate compensation	30 ; 52	2
Higher compensation/seeking employment elsewhere	52 ; 84	2
Need for recognition	3 ; 39 ; 84	3
Personal/community benefits not enough	39 ; 84	2
Facilitation activities do not continue post-program	52 ; 49	2

4.2.4 Facilitator Characteristics

In addition to the aspects listed above, the characteristics of the facilitators themselves made a difference to quality facilitation. First, facilitator demographics did matter. In many cases, as mentioned earlier, facilitators were young with a relatively low level of education. This made the need for adequate training and support more pressing and could also delegitimize the facilitator’s

presence and activities in a community. The gender of facilitators was mentioned as important, usually in cases where their gender did not match the people with whom they were working.

There was also strong evidence to indicate that ‘internal’ facilitators—from the same community in which they work—were preferred. These facilitators were able to understand the people with whom they worked, speak local languages, and may already have had the trust of the population. There were drawbacks to this, however, with the possibility of elite capture, lack of community respect and facilitators being unable to “see past” cultural norms.

“Our findings suggest that the selection of animators may not be optimal because a lot (too much?) is being expected of those with little or no education. Being able to facilitate, lead, take the initiative and respond with resilience when one person in authority does not yield to your demands, requires people with a reasonable level of education. (Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 47)”

“Use of local community members and service providers who understand their communities as CVA [Citizen Voice and Action] working team members... This enabled other community members feel free [sic] to share any grievances, and to get more committed to the project.” (Kibanja, 2016, p. 61)

Second, motivation and commitment to the program goals were mentioned as key traits. This was especially the case when facilitators were unpaid or poorly paid—a strong internal drive and belief in the program goals were necessary to carry out and continue their work. Additionally, facilitators who didn’t understand or weren’t committed to the program goals undermined their legitimacy and work.

“The CVA coordinator was a good implementer. He had passion for the CVA model and convinced local leaders.” (Kibanja, 2016, p. 63)

Table 4-6 Facilitator Characteristics

Facilitator Characteristics	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Gender of facilitator doesn't match gender of target population	30 ; 34	2
Age—youth	18 ; 30	2
Education level—low/inadequate	18 ; 30	2
Elite capture	65	1
Don't apply knowledge to their own lives	79	1
Internal vs external	17 ; 18 ; 44 ; 82 ; 100	5
Speak local language	18	2
Motivation/commitment	3 ; 14 ; 18 ; 30 ; 44	5

In summary, although the understanding of the term ‘facilitation’ was not universal, there were some clear themes that emerged from the evidence in terms of what contributes to high quality facilitation: a facilitator with adequate education and experience, who possesses internal motivation and commitment to the program; provided with high quality training and appropriate materials, resources and support; adequately compensated; and with a reasonable workload considering other commitments.

“...the quality and intensity of facilitation matters. This includes both planned activities and variation introduced by individual facilitators. In terms of planned activities, some interviewees

suggested that programmes may need to spend much more time and money on facilitation, making this component of the programme more intensive.” (King, 2015, p. 38)

4.2.5 Summary: Theorizing Facilitation

The ways in which facilitation enables CLD may be summarised in realist terms as follows.

Adequate training, peer reflection, and supervision (C) enable facilitators to develop appropriate skills and maintain motivation (M), which contributes to high quality facilitation (O). Adequate logistical support (C) enables access (M) which contributes to participation by community members (O). Appropriate financial and material support (C) enable group activities to be implemented effectively (C), contributing to capacity development (M) and/or shared decision-making (M) which contribute to implementation of CLD programs.

Facilitators with adequate education and experience (C) have the skills to undertake the range of activities required (M). Facilitators who are “culturally matched” to the expectations of the role (e.g., age, gender) (C) are more likely to be accepted by community members (M) which supports participation by community members (O). Adequate compensation and reasonable workload expectations (C) contribute to facilitator motivation and commitment to the program (M), reducing facilitator turnover (O) and contributing to program effectiveness.

Unreasonable workload or travel expectations and/or inadequate compensation (C) decrease facilitator motivation (M), contributing to absenteeism and/or facilitators seeking other employment (O) and reducing the likelihood of activities being sustained after CLD programming finishes (O).

4.3 Implications and Recommendations: Facilitation

The variation in terms and roles, combined with lack of description of those roles, made it difficult to identify who performed what roles and therefore whether or how facilitation was ‘community-led’ (or undertaken). It also limited our ability to describe whether and how facilitation contributes to later outcomes. Clear descriptions, at minimum, and preferably greater commonality in terms across the sector, could contribute to learning about ‘what matters about facilitation’.

Recommendations:

9. Program models should provide clear descriptions of the roles of key actors. Implementing agencies and funders should review programs to demonstrate appropriate workloads, expectations and remuneration for facilitators; and ensure that adequate training, supervision, on-going support and resources are available for all aspects of facilitators’ work.
10. MCLD should facilitate a process for implementation agencies to develop common terminology, guidelines and principles for facilitation in CLD. This should address circumstances in which facilitation by external people (e.g., implementation agency staff) is appropriate, the support that should be available for local facilitators, and the circumstances in which remuneration should be provided for local facilitators.

4.4 Community Leadership

The processes of group formation, collective dialogue and decision-making, and catalyzing collective action were so rarely described in the program documents reviewed that it was very difficult to

know when community leadership (in either the individual or collective sense) occurred. A handful of observations could be made from the evidence that did exist; however, these observations were supported by a small number of program documents and so should be interpreted with care.

4.4.1 The Role of Individuals and Small Groups

Evidence showed that individuals played a key role in garnering community support for initiatives, networking and catalyzing action. Some were committee members, facilitators (in any sense of the word), or simply highly engaged community members. These individuals used their personal networks to mobilize people and resources, speak out to address issues, cross-fertilize ideas across programs and projects, and act as a program “champion” or catalyst. Two documents cited the development of individuals showing potential for such leadership as key to success and two spoke to the need to develop youth leaders in particular.

Similar leadership functions were also carried out by small groups acting collectively as a community leader. The groups fulfilling this function in the documents examined were program committees created by the NGO, local CBOs and self-help groups (such as Village Savings and Loan Associations).

“You need a good catalyst that is able to trigger the process. The person who touches the trigger, is the extension worker. Projects that miss that fail. You hear back: we need male involvement, we want leaders, we need them involved, the community doesn't understand the project, there was no buy-in, the community needs to be mobilized. So the person who holds the trigger should be skillful to respond to these needs. They are central to the change.” - Program Manager, Save the Children” (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2016, p. 14)

“Continue to invest in strengthening local governance structures and leadership as foundational for community development initiatives in the Malagasy context. Invest more time and resources in the identification and development of dynamic local leaders and, when necessary, delay the selection for key volunteer roles (e.g., members of VDCs [Village Development Councils]) to allow for the identification/ emergence of the strongest possible candidates.” (Henry et al., 2020, p. 54)

Table 4-7 Community Leadership Aspects

Community Leadership Aspect	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Use personal network to mobilize people and resources	39 ; 73 ; 89 ; 94	4
Speak out to address issues	51	1
Cross-fertilize ideas	37	1
Champion or catalyst	9 ; 39 ; 117	3
Need to develop leaders	37 ; 60	2
i) Youth leaders	33 ; 37	2
Group leadership	45 ; 65 ; 68 ; 75 ; 79	5
ii) Program committees	79 ; 88	2
iii) CBOs	100	1
iv) Self Help Groups	117	1

4.4.2 Traditional Leaders

Traditional leaders and power holders played an important role in either stimulating or hindering collective leadership. In at least one program, elders played an important role in supporting community decision-making through their consistent guidance in some communities, but corruption was a problem in other communities. Traditional leaders served as a helpful accountability mechanism for collective action in some programs and were seen as legitimizing collective action. A number of program documents spoke to the need for engaging and gaining the support of traditional leadership to ensure successful community mobilization and collective action.

There were at least two examples, however, of traditional leaders being successfully engaged in the program without gaining community support. Conversely, when traditional leadership was not genuinely supportive of programs, corruption, elite capture, and reluctance of the community to engage resulted.

“An important lesson for any project focusing on social and behavioural change in rural Zambia concerns the involvement of traditional leaders, who offer credibility and authority.” (Brudevold-Newman et al., 2018, p. 13)

“Community mapping revealed that in multiple communities, some leaders had frequently monopolized or diverted resources from NGO activities to benefit themselves or their close network.” (Global Communities, 2018, p. 25)

Table 4-8 Community Leadership Aspects

Community Leadership Aspect	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Need to engage traditional leaders	13 ; 25 ; 29 ; 46 ; 85	5
i) Unsuccessful in gaining community support	33 ; 82	2
ii) Legitimize collective action	13 ; 29	2
Roles of traditional leaders	33	1
Accountability	46 ; 84	2
Elite capture, corruption, no engagement	33 ; 65	2

4.4.3 Conflict Resolution and Mediation

One of the important roles of community leadership - whether individual, group or traditional - was conflict resolution and mediation. The necessity of conflict resolution processes and training were mentioned in a number of program documents, and both individual and traditional community leaders were specifically trained to conduct resolution and mediation. Resolving disputes arising during collective dialogue, as well as de-escalating tensions between groups, was important for continued engagement of community members and collective action. However, conflict resolution training in and of itself was ineffective when mediation only occurred within trainees’ personal networks (Springer & Gehart, 2016; Tabaja & Economic Development Solutions, 2017).

“This indicator is important to PROPEL because capacity to manage internal conflicts is key to a community’s ability to organize itself and take collective action. This indicator looks beyond the initial stages of community mobilization or willingness to take part in activities, to how well the community leadership will be able to manage inevitable disputes and tensions that may arise. ...it is important that community leadership is capable and that community members are willing to engage in

available forums and use the corresponding mechanisms to address grievances and resolve potential conflicts, rather than resorting to violence or disaffection.” (Springer & Gehart, 2016, pp. 21-22)

Table 4-9 Community Leadership Aspects

Community Leadership Aspect	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Training leaders on conflict resolution and mediation	36 ; 46 ; 89 ; 85 ; 90	5
Mediation confined to personal networks	85 ; 89	2

4.4.4 Summary: Theorizing Community Leadership

The limited evidence available for community leadership may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Community members (individuals or groups) with strong personal networks (C) explain programs and ideas to other (C), increasing understanding of the program (M) and catalyzing participation (O). Active support by traditional leaders (C) lend credibility and authority (M) and legitimize collective action (M), contributing to community participation and/or intended behavioral changes (O).

Capacity development for leaders in conflict resolution and mediation (C) and their acceptance of the mediation role (M) enables disputes, grievances, tensions and disagreements to be resolved (M), reducing conflict or violence and enabling collective action (O).

Corruption and/or lack of genuine support by leaders (C) enables elite capture (M) and/or diversion of resources for personal gain (O and M), which increases reluctance to participate (O) and contributes to program failure (O).

4.5 Implications and Recommendations: Community Leadership

Lack of clarity about what constitutes ‘leadership’ and ‘community leadership’ may contribute to confusion among community members and implementation agencies and decrease the extent to which implementation agencies strengthen community leadership. For instance, supporting traditional leaders is not the same as community leadership. It is likely that this lack of clarity contributes to a range of work not being community-led, even when it is described as such.

Recommendations:

11. Program models should be explicit about the ways in which, and the extent to which, communities (or particular structures within communities) have authority to make decisions in relation to the program. This should include decisions about the priorities to be addressed, resource allocation and staffing.
12. Program models should be explicit about the protections they incorporate to prevent elite capture and corruption.

5 Resilience

5.1 Definitions and Initial Theories

Resilience is a common goal of funders, organizations and programs, but there is still variability in how different organizations apply the term. The following definition of the term 'resilience' was developed for use in this review:

*In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Resilience** is the active ability to positively manage, learn from, and adapt to adversity and change without compromising current or future wellbeing, identity and goals. In social terms, resilience is generally described by three **capacities**: absorptive, adaptive, and transformative (see below). Various types of **capital** (natural, human, social, cultural, political, financial and built) contribute to resilience, and resilience operates at many levels, from the individual and the household to the system. Resilience is characterised by agency and positive adaptation in the face of unpredictability. Resilience is also a feature of natural systems, and communities dependent on their natural environments require resilience in both social and environmental systems.*

Absorptive Capacity: Coping skills to ensure stability, maintain current way of life and “bounce back” from shocks

Adaptive Capacity: Making proactive, informed adjustments to increase flexibility in the face of unpredictability and change

Transformative Capacity: Systemic change to reduce vulnerability to shocks and more equitably share risk, creating whole new systems when conditions require it

Community-Led Development may, at least in theory, contribute to both individual and household resilience; ideally, however, these initiatives should also impact on resilience at the community level. In considering community-level resilience more specifically, the following definition is also helpful:

The authors adopt the following definition of community resilience: “The general capacity of a community to absorb change, seize opportunity to improve living standards, and to transform livelihood systems while sustaining the natural resource base. It is determined by community capacity for collective action as well as its ability for problem solving and consensus building to negotiate coordinated response.” (Walker, Sayer, Andrew, & Campbell, 2010) (Frankenberger et al., 2013, p. 5)

The second definition of community resilience above captures the ideas of consensus building, negotiation, problem solving and collective action that are inherent in community-led processes. Hence, community-led processes in and of themselves may contribute to community resilience if they improve community capacity, skill and collective efficacy in these areas.

The types of capital necessary for community resilience operate at a community level. These can include collective goods like credit/loan services, insurance schemes, natural resource management, maintenance and user fees for community infrastructure, and ability to influence political systems and policy (Frankenberger et al., 2013, pp. 11-13). Improvements in these collective capitals, as well as individual capitals, can lead to improvements in community resilience.

Community resilience does not exist in isolation from wider systems and structures, over which communities may have little or no influence; programming needs to take these wider conditions into account. Likewise, actions to improve resilience are affected by power relations and social dimensions. While some people may increase in resilience, this may be to the detriment of more

marginalized groups. Because a community consists of various groups with varying degrees of vulnerability, “resilience is not an automatically pro-poor concept, and ...resilience thinking does not ensure that the most marginal are systematically benefiting from resilience interventions” (Béné et al., February 2013, p. 3).

The initial program theories for this research hypothesized seven pathways leading from facilitation (four pathways) and community leadership (three pathways) to community resilience (See Appendix 7). The evidence, however, did not support a clear delineation between the two sets. As a result, several program theories were combined, resulting in four program theories with resilience as the highest-level outcome. (see Appendix 8). There is still some overlap between them, and multiple pathways may operate concurrently in the same intervention.

5.2 Success & Positive Feedback

Four of the initial theories for resilience anticipated positive feedback loops in which experiences of success in CLD generated continued motivation and engagement in future CLD work, which would contribute to resilience.

5.2.1 Capacity Development and Resources

The evidence clearly indicated that both capacity development and resources were necessary to enable successful project/action implementation. There was ample evidence that capacity development was provided to individuals and groups in many programs and on a variety of topics. Further, capacity development had to be of good quality, applicable and ongoing in order to ensure success. Some respondents in evaluations believed that adequate, continued funding was also necessary. For example, members of community groups in the Victory Against Malnutrition (ViM) program stated that ongoing training and funding was necessary to continue promoting health, nutrition and WASH, and building latrines and hand-washing stations after USAID funding ended.

When asked about what key elements of support are needed for organizations [community groups] to continue offering ViM services, 19 of the 36 key informants said that multiple types training would be essential, while six respondents mentioned capacity building in particular... Six respondents said that financial support would be crucial. (ACDI/VOCA, 2018, p. 64)

Members of self-help therapy groups for people living with HIV/AIDS organized by World Vision in the Rakai Kakuuto ADP likewise mentioned lack of training as an impediment to continued action, and groups that were able to obtain funding were more able to sustain their activities.

Sustained group activity reportedly was impeded by factors such as lack of training among all group members beyond the initial cohort trained by World Vision, dwindling motivation over time, and the unpaid, volunteer-nature of the activity... Based on qualitative data ..., those that were more effective at sustaining activities tended to more actively organise funding, either through pursuit of external funding or through self-funding. (Trandafili et al., 2016, p. 47)

Table 5-1 Capacity Development Aspects

Capacity Development Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Capacity development provided to individuals	14 ; 17 ; 18 ; 27 ; 34 ; 36 ; 79 ; 81 ; 89 ; 90 ; 100 ; 117	12
Capacity development for and about groups	18 ; 36 ; 39	3
Ongoing capacity development and funding required	3 ; 4 ; 14 ; 65 ; 79 ; 90	6

5.2.2 The Nature of Learning

Three types of learning were identified in the literature: learning of specific skills in training or coaching, learning by doing, and peer learning. Project management and leadership skills were learned as a result of dialogue and planning processes and/or specific capacity development. Some documents recommended that these be included in ongoing or future programs. Specific sectoral skills were learned in training workshops and sensitization related to the program’s goals or group action plans (improved agricultural practices, or the importance of educating children, for example).

The effects of the VCA [Vision Commitment Action] training are perceived as high by the participants themselves. An overall 72% of the participants state that the VCA workshop has had a very high positive effect on their leadership skills. At the same time, compared to people who did not participate in VCA workshops, they feel they are more able of bringing change to their communities. (Hoebink et al., 2012, p. 26)

Learning by doing occurred as a result of the collective action or project implementation, as did peer learning. In implementing group action plans, group members applied and refined their project management and sectoral skills, as well as gaining more knowledge and skill in these areas. Peer learning occurred through problem-solving during implementation, learning from other’s successes, and sharing knowledge with others. All three types of learning contributed to successful implementation of project or collective action plans.

“We pass on knowledge from one another within the group on crop cultivation and raising animals...” “We advised each other on how to overcome problems...” “We get courage from those who have managed to overcome their problems...” (Lewandowski, 2011, pp. 116, 119)

Table 5-2 Learning Aspects

Learning Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Project management and leadership	36 ; 37 ; 38 ; 68 ; 100	5
Ongoing project management & leadership training required	80 ; 102	2
Sector-specific knowledge/skills	16 ; 17 ; 34 ; 100	4
Learning by doing	27 ; 90	2
Peer to peer learning	25 ; 49 ; 94 ; 102	4

5.2.3 Positive Feedback Loops

Successful implementation of projects or action plans triggered two main mechanisms. Two documents provided evidence of continuous learning from both successes and failures within the project contributing to increased ability to plan and execute projects,

“Today we know that in order to develop we need to have a vision. We search to understand why there have been failures, to that we can reposition ourselves. With the trainings received, we are somewhat capable.” (Rijneveld et al., 2015, p. 32)

More commonly, success resulted in increases in motivation and collective efficacy, leading to tackling new and additional issues, resulting in individual and collective gains in wellbeing. As there was stronger evidence of this positive feedback loop occurring than for the knowledge and skill increases discussed above, motivation and collective efficacy may contribute more strongly to later outcomes of sustained action, maintenance of infrastructure and responding to emerging needs (discussed below). However, it is more likely that both are necessary.

The community of M1 [village] was thus contemplating agro-dealing, motivated by the benefits they experienced from having a local food bank for maize. (Compernelle et al., 2018, p. 25)

Encouraged by what they’ve been able to achieve with Paddies [a local CBO], the CVA [Citizen Voice and Action] Working Group now plans to approach telecommunications company, MTN, to assist with other requirements in the health facility’s action plan. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 96)

Success also increased individual and community wellbeing and assets. There were many examples of individual improvements in wellbeing and assets, with fewer examples of increased community wellbeing and assets. However, in both cases, there was clear evidence that increased wellbeing and particularly assets can lead to increased agency and adaptive capacity for resilience.

Some women are in the position where they now pay others to maintain their land or pay for weaving labour. The women feel proud of being able to pay others and that they are in control of decisions regarding how and when to ask for extra help. (Quak, 2019, p. 18)

Donating maize to the government as happened in M1 [village] in 2015, stands out as the ultimate evidence of how the food security situation can improve through the epicentre strategy... The proceeds of the farm input loans accrue to the communal foodbank of the epicentre, where community members can access the maize at relatively low costs (including lowered transport and queuing costs). As such, the farm input scheme should not only improve food security at an individual household level but also at community level: people who do not benefit from the farm input loans (e.g. poorest farmers with too small plots) can potentially also benefit from the foodbank. Because the loan repayments accrue to the community, village headmen and the epicentre committee are actively involved with recollecting the debts (bags of grain). (Compernelle et al., 2018, pp. 19, 22)

In addition to contributing directly to resilience, increased wellbeing and assets also contributed to tackling new issues, as well as the outcomes discussed below. Moreover, there was some evidence of a positive feedback loop of increased assets being reinvested to generate further gains in wellbeing and assets, contributing even more strongly to outcomes.

Table 5-3 Feedback Loops Aspects

Feedback Loops Aspects	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Continuous learning contributes to effectiveness	90 ; 33	2
Success builds motivation and self-efficacy	11 ; 15 ; 29 ; 44 ; 46 ; 49 ; 55 ; 68 ; 80 ; 82 ; 100	11
Improvements in individual wellbeing or assets	18 ; 39 ; 52 ; 66 ; 68 ; 77 ; 89 ; 100 ; 108	9
Improvements in collective wellbeing or assets	22 ; 39	2
Increased assets contribute to agency and adaptive capacity	14 ; 22 ; 49	3
Reinvested to build further assets	82	1

5.2.4 CLD Outcomes Contributing to Resilience

In this pathway, four outcomes lead to increases in resilience capacity: sustainability of outcomes or actions, maintenance of infrastructure, the ability to collectively and effectively respond to emerging needs, and tackling new or additional issues. As only four of the documents reviewed were from ex-post evaluations,³⁴ there was insufficient evidence to determine the circumstances in which ongoing maintenance and sustainability really did occur. Multiple other documents speculated that success encourages sustainability and maintenance but did not provide any evidence of this link.

The evidence did show an increase in the ability to collectively and effectively respond to emerging needs, that is, to an increase in adaptive capacity.

Resource scarcity and ethnic overtones stemming from the July 2016 conflict led to leaders neglecting the public interest to look after their own, and likewise exclude certain groups from accessing needed services. These dynamics spilled over to PROPEL projects due to an influx of IDPs [Internally Displaced Persons] putting strain on PROPEL boreholes. However, PROPEL's CET [Community Enhancement Team] and WUC [Water User Committee] effectively resolved the tensions by adapting by-laws and devising a strategy for funding an additional borehole. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 40)

³⁴ Lain, J., & Fuller, R. (2018). *Resilience in Zambia: Impact Evaluation of the 'Citizen Participation in Adaptation to Climate Change' Project* (Effectiveness Review Series, Issue 2016/17). Oxfam GB. <https://oxfamlibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620475/er-resilience-zambia-effectiveness-review-310518-en.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>, Trandafili, H., Waswaga, R., Walyaula, P., Lavin, B., King, W., & Brown, K. (2016). *Ex-post Evaluation Report: Rakai Kakuuto Area Development Programme, World Vision Uganda*. World Vision. , van Hemelrijck, A. (2017). *Governance in Myanmar: Evaluation of the 'Building equitable and resilient livelihoods in the Dry Zone' project* (Effectiveness Review Series, Issue 2015/16). Oxfam GB. <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/governance-in-myanmar-evaluation-of-the-building-equitable-and-resilient-liveli-620177/>, Westrope, C. Ibid. *Governance in Tajikistan: Evaluation of the women smallholder farmer advocacy campaign 2015/16*). <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/governance-in-tajikistan-evaluation-of-the-women-smallholder-farmer-advocacy-ca-620286/>

Tackling new and additional issues may increase all three resilience capacities, depending on the issues addressed—improving wellbeing and increasing assets (absorptive), making adaptations as a result of change or shock (adaptive), or tackling issues that have a systemic impact (transformative).

Table 5-4 Outcomes *asserted* to contribute to resilience

Outcomes <i>asserted</i> to contribute to resilience	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Increased ability to respond to emerging needs	26 ; 33 ; 68 ; 84	4
Assertion that success contributes to maintenance and/or sustainability	17 ; 33 ; 46 ; 75 ; 80 ; 91 ; 100	7

5.2.5 Limiting Factors

The literature reviewed provided a few examples of factors that prevent this pathway from operating as expected. Capacity development and access to resources is key, with insufficient soft and hard resources impacting the ability to implement projects, motivation and collective efficacy. Groups may also disband after projects are finished and training and resources withdrawn. The quality of and commitment to the group also seems to be a factor, with the difficulties of volunteerism and opportunity costs of participation, alongside the necessities of survival, leading some members to prioritising their own income or employment over collective action. Finally, an expectation of tangible resource provision by the NGO can also discourage collective action implementation.

“The voluntary nature of the organisation is a problem. People get discouraged and have moved out. When we started this group, members were free but now members are busy. It’s a challenge to us. Most people have got jobs. They are in and out of the group.” (Trandafili et al., 2016, p. 60)

Table 5-5 Limiting Contexts

Limiting Contexts	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Inadequate resources undermine effectiveness, motivation and collective efficacy	2 ; 4 ; 14 ; 38 ; 65 ; 90 ; 100	7
Groups disband after projects, undermines sustainability or maintenance	17 ; 100	2
Volunteerism and opportunity costs of participation undermine maintenance	100	1
Unmet expectations for tangible resource provision undermine collective action	25	1

5.2.6 Summary: Theorizing Positive Feedback Loops

The evidence available for success and positive feedback may be summarized in realist terms as follows.

Where participatory planning results in agreed plans (C) and is supported by adequate capacity development and resources (C), successful collective action (C) creates positive feedback loops of

increased motivation and collective efficacy (M) which sustain action (O). Reflection on successes and failures (C) contributes to increased knowledge and skill (M) for planning and executing future projects. Success also contributes to increased individual and community wellbeing and assets (O), with a positive feedback loop (M) of reinvestment (O). Sustainability of action and maintenance of infrastructure are improved (O), and groups are better able to respond to emerging needs. (O) Improved community resilience capacities (C/M) result in increased resilience (O).

Where there are inadequate resources (C) or unmet expectations for resource provision (C), motivation decreases (M), undermining collective action (O).

5.3 Project Coordination & Mobilization

The initial program theory for ‘Agency-Led Planning and Action’ specified that the implementing agency led the needs identification process and facilitated group planning processes. It hypothesized that project successes led to increased social capital, but this was not evidenced in the literature. It also hypothesized a positive feedback loop of increased participation, which was evidenced.

The theory hypothesized that this pathway revolved around collective action and implementation of goals selected by the community, but the evidence primarily showed mobilization of the community to support program goals. This raises a question of whether this really constitutes Community-Led Development —community engagement and mobilization are evident, but it is more the agency driving the process than the community (at least initially). It was not always possible to tell who really led the process of needs identification: clear description was not always provided.

The revised program theory is provided in Appendix 8. Particular aspects of it are discussed below.

5.3.1 Strong Agency Influence

In agency-led processes of needs identification and planning, forming or co-opting groups or committees for project implementation and coordination was common.

The LAHIA project implements a large number of their activities through community-groups that they have adopted, strengthened, or created... Some groups contribute to achievement of more than one objective, such as the village development committees (VDCs). (Endres, 2015, p. 10)

In some cases, it was the NGO or its staff who identified community needs, although in many cases the NGO-formed group participated in a needs identification process within specified sectors or goals pre-set by the implementing agency. While this gave the community group some flexibility in action planning, it is not the same as enabling communities to identify their own needs and vision for development. Needs identification was then followed by group development of action plans, which was an agency-facilitated process (either by a facilitator trained by the agency, or by program staff). Given this, action plans were likely to be very tailored to the programs’ and funders’ stated goals.

The program begins by gathering background field data. Afterwards, a three-hour inception ceremony is held to initiate awareness on hygiene and methods for implementing ODF [Open Defecation Free] areas. Communities then make their action plan and appoint two people, one male and one female, as natural leader as part of a CLTS [Community-Led Total Sanitation] committee along with the village chief, the community prayer leader (or the Iman), and masons. The committee members receive a two-day training before proceeding to sensitize

and mobilize the community, with supervision by PASAM-TAI field agents. (Hedley et al., 2015, p. 28)

Some documents indicated that different parts of a single program utilized different degrees of agency-led versus community-led needs identification and planning processes.

Table 5-6 Agency Influence

Agency Influence	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Agency forms or co-opt groups or committees for project implementation and coordination	10 ; 28 ; 37 ; 47 ; 52 ; 65 ; 78 ; 81 ; 82 ; 91 ; 100	11
Agency identifies needs	4 ; 25 ; 30 ; 34 ; 52 ; 70	6
Agency identifies sector or goal, community committee identifies needs within that	39 ; 47 ; 55 ; 66 ; 80 ; 82 ; 86 ; 91 ; 100	9
Action planning facilitated by agency staff or agency-trained facilitator	30 ; 34 ; 37 ; 39 ; 44 ; 47 ; 71 ; 82 ; 86 ; 91 ; 108 ;	11
No action planning undertaken by agency or community	36	1

5.3.2 Maintenance and Sustainability

Group structures formed by NGOs were involved in a number of activities related to project coordination and implementation, some of which were assumed to contribute in turn to maintenance (e.g. of infrastructure) and sustainability of activities and/or outcomes.

First, project-related groups were often linked to structures, networks and resources by the NGO, and some were provided directly with resources and funds.

As an approach to ensure the sustainability of the aforementioned local community projects and the established local groups in each village, Mercy Corps endorsed and implemented “Peace Building Initiatives”. The logic behind these initiatives was to establish a link between the local groups and their respective municipalities... (Mercy Corps et al., 2017, p. 31)

Capacity development for project groups in project management, planning and action, and specific sectoral skills led to learning in these areas, and contributed to successful project implementation. Additionally, groups were often involved in project monitoring and accountability systems.

30 CAP [Community Action Plan] committees were set up and 210 CAP committee members were trained on child labor-related issues; CAP development; OSH [Occupational Safety and Health]; resource mobilization, advocacy, lobbying, and the grant application process. Additionally, CAPC [Community Action Plan Committee] members were trained on team building; conflict management; and strategies for networking and building alliances with decentralized government departments and agencies, as well as other development partners... CAPCs are instrumental in project implementation and have played a critical role in awareness-raising on CL [child labor]-related issues. Also, they play a role in monitoring skills training (MFS) and in managing cocoa nurseries. (Sevilla, 2018, pp. 13, 16)

Where group-implemented projects were successful, individual and program-related outcomes were achieved. Having successfully implemented the project, there was evidence that some groups were involved in maintenance and ongoing action. This may be particularly true where community mobilization (see below) also occurred.

IMA [Infrastructure Management Association] members are committed to maintaining infrastructure by mobilizing community members to maintain it, and to mobilize local resources for maintenance (for example, charging road taxes in collaboration with local authorities in Marokarima). (Peterson et al., 2012, p. 76)

On the other hand, high participation level in OLD communities is encouraging, as it suggests the NSP has managed to create institutional structures that allow people to participate in local development even after the NSP completion, which makes a strong case for sustainability. (Komorowska, 2016, p. 21)

When groups continued to function after the initial project was complete, and previous project results were maintained (or new actions taken), this provided some evidence of sustainability, albeit only for a limited time. Document authors sometimes seemed to assume that ongoing sustainability would follow. However, there was also evidence in other projects of groups ceasing to function after the project was complete or of ineffectiveness and group dysfunction (see Limiting factors, below).

... it is a major NSP [National Solidarity Program III] achievement to (1) see the OLD CDCs [Community Development Councils] still functioning and (2) meet quite regularly. This suggests sustainability. (Komorowska, 2016, p. 36)

Finally, the committees of elected representatives stated that all functioned well, now that the initial problems of embezzlement were settled. (Hoebink et al., 2012, p. 41)

As the findings note, there is little evidence from the qualitative field work or program documentation that VDCs [Village Development Councils] are able to sustainably lead and coordinate the development activities in their areas. (Sage et al., 2017, p. 53)

Table 5-7 Maintenance or Sustainability Strategy

Maintenance or Sustainability Strategy	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Project group linked to other structures or provided with resources	2 ; 10 ; 30 ; 51 ; 52 ; 57 ; 90	7
Capacity development for management and implementation	2 ; 26 ; 34 ; 36 ; 39 ; 55 ; 82 ; 75 ; 90 ; 100 ; 104	11
Capacity development contributed to effectiveness	10 ; 28 ; 29 ; 66 ; 80 ; 82 ; 89 ; 90 ; 100	9
Project groups involved in MEL and accountability	4 ; 23 ; 44 ; 57 ; 82	5
Program and individual outcomes achieved	39 ; 66 ; 100	3
Group involved in maintenance or sustainability	17 ; 33 ; 46 ; 49 ; 75 ; 80 ; 91	7
(Some) maintenance or sustainability	46 ; 80 ; 100	3
Groups disbanded	17 ; 100	2
Group dysfunction or ineffectiveness	38 ; 81	2

5.3.3 Mobilization and Positive Feedback Loop of Participation

Agency-led planning processes led to community mobilization and a positive feedback loop of increased participation, where community ownership of the group was established. Collaboration and dialogue within the group was key for stimulating this feeling of ownership. Where genuine group dialogue and collective planning took place, group members internalized the program goals

and had a common voice. This led to the community feeling ownership of the group's goals and actions, which in turn aided in community mobilization by the group.

Also, the central role played by Sarpanches and Village Committees in decision-making, development and supervision/management of activities fostered the BNF's [beneficiaries'] sense of ownership of the implemented actions and achieved results. (Roffi, 2015, p. 26)

...the Community Safety Action Groups and Role Model Men and Boys (all of whom liaise with the Refugee Welfare Committee - a structure formed by refugees which coordinates with the OPM [Office of the Prime Minister] on issues within settlements), not only increased knowledge about GBV [Gender-Based Violence] among key mobilizers, but also created ownership of the initiative by the community... (McSorley et al., 2018, p. 27)

Some groups were very involved in processes of information-sharing and awareness raising. Agencies provided links to structures, networks and resources, which aided in this information/awareness function and increased the visibility of projects.

Village Development Committees (VDC) are a central aspect of Nobo Jibon. They aid in consciousness-raising about legal rights, campaign and network to protect human rights, and mitigate domestic conflicts. (Langworthy et al., 2015, p. 98)

Additionally, project implementation groups were used to mobilize stakeholders and resources from the community to participate.

The mobilisation strategy was highly effective in promoting beneficiaries' and stakeholders' active participation in all key program's components and processes particularly in the identification of the beneficiaries and their needs, in activity development and implementation. The active involvement of the Community Elected Leaders and the creation of Village Committees were particularly successful. (Roffi, 2015, p. 4)

As a result, community members valued the action or project and had a desire to be involved. This created a positive feedback loop whereby successful projects led to increased community participation.

"These groups know what they are doing. For example; if someone has lost a relative; they come in and intervene, they come with their materials and help. According to their achievements, according to what they do, they are role models in the community." (Trandafilii et al., 2016, p. 52)

In fact, in some cases, participation was described as the most significant change resulting from the project... "...there is involvement of citizens, because they actively follow whenever there are meetings on scorecards, they assess and they give their voice, and there are many involved from the fathers of the baby/ toddler, mothers of baby/toddler, government officials were also present, religious figures also, and they all are engaged to give their voice through scorecard meetings. (Village facilitator, Kupang)" (Westhorp & Ball, 2018, pp. 117-118)

Table 5-8 Mobilization and Feedback Loop Aspects

Mobilization and Feedback loop elements	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Strong dialogue and planning participation	39 ; 82 ; 104	3
Program goals internalized	51 ; 52 ; 82 ; opposite ³⁵ 10 or 28	3 (Opposite: 2)
Common voice	51 ; 66	2
Groups share information, awareness raising	25 ; 29 ; 34 ; 47 ; 48 ; 51 ; 66 ; 104	8
Community ownership of group goals & actions	47 ; 52 ; 80 ; 81 ; 90 ; not 82	5 (Opposite: 1)
Linkages to structures/networks/resources aid awareness raising	2 ; 39 ; 47 ; 90 ; 100	5
Groups mobilize stakeholders and resources	10 ; 29 ; 34 ; 44 ; 80 ; 100 ; 104	7
Community members value the project	39 ; 47 ; 100	3
Increased desire to participate	100 ; 104	2
Increased participation	66 ; 104	2

The links between increased community participation, maintenance or ongoing action, and sustainability was assumed in the documents reviewed; however, the actual logic of how one leads to the other was vague, and there was inadequate evidence to assess the claims. There was also insufficient evidence to gauge whether or not increased sustainability contributed to resilience.

5.3.4 Limiting Factors

Factors which impact this pathway seem to mainly relate to the group formed by the NGO. Where group members were not representative of the community, or village chiefs or other authorities maintained ultimate authority over decisions, community ownership of group goals and actions were less likely. When group members were “induced” to participate, were dissatisfied with the support provided by implementation agencies or were unwilling or unable to give enough time and commitment to the project, implementation, information and awareness raising, and mobilization were all impacted.

Though some community-based organizations have taken responsibility for project resource management and community mobilization for self-development, others do not consider themselves to be project collaborators, but rather recipients of project activities. They feel they have to "put up with the project". (Gaudreau et al., 2009, p. 37)

Table 5-9 Factors limiting engagement

Factors limiting engagement	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Non-representative groups reduce community ownership of goals	10 ; 25 ; 28 ; 31 ; 34 ; 57 & 89 ; 65 ; 108	9
Low/no willingness to engage	25 ; 30 ; 57	3

³⁵ Opposite refers to instances where the evidence said the opposite.

5.3.5 Summary: Theorizing Project Coordination and Mobilization

The evidence available for project coordination and mobilization may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Where implementation agencies specify project goals or strategies (C) and/or authority holders retain decision-making power (C), ownership of program goals and strategies (M) is reduced, which may contribute to reduced willingness to participate (O) and/or reduced likelihood of sustained action after the implementation agency leaves.

Where community members are actively engaged in program activities and mobilization (C) and adequate capacity development is provided (C), a sense of ownership may develop (M), with participation contributing to effective implementation and goal achievement (O), which may motivate (M) continued action (O).

5.4 Ownership & Self-Reliance

In contrast to the project coordination and mobilization theory just discussed, the third pathway to community resilience concerns community ownership and self-reliance. This is a combination of two of the original draft program theories (L3. Collective Action and F4. Collective Planning & Action, See Appendix 7). Importantly, the use of the term ‘self-reliance’ here does not imply self-sufficiency or that no external links are necessary—this pathway still requires resources, networks and capacity development. Rather, ‘self-reliance’ describes a process and outcome whereby communities are increasingly able to take control of their own development and mobilize required resources, networks and capacity themselves.

The original theories hypothesized that, in the context of facilitated strengths-based workshops with communities, successful collective action would lead to increased participation and increased social cohesion. However, the evidence showed the positive feedback loop of increased participation much more strongly in the context of organization-facilitated project implementation/ coordination groups (discussed in the previous section). There was also insufficient evidence to support the increase of social capital and cohesion. Instead, the evidence showed that strengths-based workshops led to increased agency and self-reliance amongst those who participated.

The original theories also assumed that successful collective action and the process of working together would lead to increased collective efficacy and passion for change. There was strong evidence to support both of these elements, as well as a link between them and the concept of self-reliance. The updated program theory diagram is provided in Appendix 8.

5.4.1 Context

Three sets of circumstances appear necessary for this pathway. These may operate in parallel or alone. (Note here that realist approaches treat particular aspects of implementation - those that affect whether and which mechanisms fire - as being ‘context’.)

In the first, implementing NGOs began program activities by conducting workshops with community members focusing on the strengths and resources the community already had, and facilitated the participants through a process of collective visioning and goal-setting.

Empowered SHGs [Self-Help Groups] are guided towards sustainable holistic development... In the social mobilization process, once Self-Help Groups (SHGs: Original Group/'OG' and Pass-on Group/'POG') are formed, different trainings starting first from Cornerstones training (a 4-day package) [values-based training including sustainability and self-reliance] are given. (Kanel, 2016, pp. 8, 13)

In PHASE ONE, communities are mobilized to participate in Vision, Commitment and Action (VCA) Workshops to develop their own vision of a different future. Local volunteers, called "animators," work with their communities to make a firm commitment to achieve their shared vision of the future and create action plans for moving forward. (The Hunger Project, 2018, p. 2)

The second context involved a project-related group facilitated by the NGO, with the key being that the group was elected, democratically chosen, or broadly inclusive of the community. The group engaged in self-identification of needs, determining its own priorities for development rather than being constrained to goals or sectors identified by the agency. As a result, community members felt represented by the group and that their needs were addressed.

"A new thing happened: NSP came here and people elected a village Council. Problems are now solved through this village Council. Now there is an elected local government that represents people and that people can contact easily." (Mukherjee et al., 2015)

"CC [Community Conversations] is a good session on which community identify own problem, devise solution and implement accordingly." (Oda Development Consultants, 2015, p. 14)

The third context was that of an individual or a group exercising community leadership and catalyzing community involvement. The individual or group mobilized internal support, resources and networks and cross-fertilized ideas across multiple groups or segments within the community.

A third consideration is the nature of Nani Zulminarni's own role in the creation and maintenance of PEKKA. It is hard to imagine what might have been the result of the World Bank's initial project idea without having a clear champion who had the necessary expertise as well as legitimacy both with national actors as well as the women heads of households themselves. (Alma et al., n.d., p. 8)

Key members of the various committees had several other community responsibilities, which had the benefit of cross-fertilization of ideas (on-the-ground project integration) but also placed a large burden on them and their families. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 35)

An existing level of cooperation and solidarity within the community was an enabling factor for all three of these factors. Transparency and accountability by the group or leader(s) was essential for generating ownership and motivation.

...there was a certain culture of working together and helping each other in community and individual works prior to the onset of The Hunger Project. But, the project further strengthens the already existing culture and also capitalizes on it. (The Hunger Project, 2016, p. 17)

The transparency in conducting the business contributed towards increasing the sense of ownership of the community. (Mukherjee et al., 2015, p. 48)

Inclusivity and transparency have created good feelings and sense of unity among all. (Dresser & Mansfield, 2016, p. 24)

Table 5-10 Ownership and Self-Reliance - Context

Ownership and Self-Reliance – Context	Evidenced in...	No. of reports evidenced in
Context 1: Strengths based, community resources, goal setting	16 ; 41 ; 68 ; 79 ; 95	5
Context 2: Project group elected or broadly representative	33 ; 65 ; 76 ; 86	4
Context 3: Individual or group catalyst	17 ; 25 ; 26 ; 29 ; 34 ; 37 ; 51 ; 65 ; 82 ; 89 ; 94	11
Enabling factors:		
i) Existing cooperation/solidarity	25 ; 84 ; 94 ;	3
ii) Transparency and accountability	26 ; 27 ; 33 ; 65 ; 82 ; 104	6

5.4.2 Mindset Shift Towards Self-Reliance

The original program theory (F4) theorized that strengths-based workshops with community would lead to a mindset shift towards self-reliance and a reduced dependency mindset. The evidence supported that such facilitated workshops do lead to this change in mindset, but only for those who actively participate.

“People have realized that resource like roads, land and even stones are theirs...it is not like before when they thought all the resources belonged to the government and NGOs. They now think that it is their responsibility to watch over these things, and now they have realized they have greater stake in the management and protection of these resource.” (Concern Worldwide, n.d., p. 8)

Hawa believes that the first OneVillage Partners community meeting was the start of a change in Gbeka’s sense of unity and commitment to spearhead local initiatives... “Learning positive behavior from others is a very good step for our community’s development. A village with the vision of leading itself believes in what its people can offer which is something we are proudly motivated to do right now.” (OneVillage Partners, 2020, p. 24)

Further, there was evidence to suggest that this mindset shift, in combination with capacity development, technical assistance and resources, led to increased agency and results in a change towards self-reliance.

Knowledge is at the core of the epicentre strategy, but this is accompanied by the tools and resources to make good use of the increased knowledge and ensure the community has the means to change behaviour and practices according to what they have learnt (e.g. farm inputs, health centre). People seem proud of how this gives them agency. (Compernelle et al., 2018, p. 31)

“Freedom is to take part in all the problems in the Community, to get Information, and to try to solve them.” Khan Bibi, a 60-year-old housewife, Riah Khillaw, Herat province (Mukherjee et al., 2015)

However, where the workshops did not include a large enough proportion of the community, or excluded certain sub-groups, a broader cultural shift did not result. This was the case in one program in Bétérou, Benin, where an evaluation found that the strengths-based workshops were largely unknown by women, traditional leaders, and the very poor.

The ... workshops are an important aspect of the ... strategy to instill a mentality and attitude that contributes to sustainable change. However, among the groups of women and of leaders no one is aware of these workshops... In the workshop with the very poor, no single person was aware of the ... workshops. (Rijneveld et al., 2015, p. 31)

Interviewees in the last evaluation consistently suggested that the implementing organization should provide free or reduced cost services, pay community workers, and provide additional facilities. This suggests that non-participation in the workshops may contribute to a continued expectation that implementation agencies will provide resources.

Table 5-11 Mindset Shift Towards Self-Reliance

Mindset Shift Toward Self-Reliance	Evidenced in...	No. of reports evidenced in
Changed mindset for active participants	11 ; 16 ; 26 ; 41 ; ³⁶ 51 ; 65 ; 66 ; 68 ; 86 ;	9
Mindset plus additional input > change toward self-reliance	11 ; 22 ; 26 ; 33 ; 65 ; 82	6
Insufficient reach inhibited change	79	1
Expectation of resource provision	79	1

5.4.3 Common Cause

All three contexts discussed (strengths-based workshops, elected groups, and individual or group catalysts) contributed to a sense of a common cause or goal. The presence of a common cause was strongly evidenced in this pathway to resilience, inspiring community engagement and collective action.

“Sitting together as a community, understanding our problems and their causes allows us to work together with one accord. Also we are aware that this issue is affecting all of us.” (Donahue & Mwewa, 2006, p. 36)

“Villages assisted each other with communal labour for their common interest in building schools in their villages. But when there was nothing in common unifying the villages most projects were difficult to complete.” (Avevor et al., 2013, p. 158)

The local communities and their leaders have developed a strong sense of ownership. They told the interview team that “Abdishe is no one else’s project, but it is our own project that is cherished by every one of us.” (Teruneh Zenna Business and Management Consultancy (TZBMC), 2016, p. 23)

This common cause or goal, combined with the process of participation in a facilitated-group or mobilization through community leader(s), led to an understanding of the need and capacity for collective action.

“OVP taught us self-reliance and to work as a group for community development, which showed us that unity is strength,” said Amara. (Dresser & Mansfield, 2016, p. 23)

For example, in Mingkaman Boma, the participants referred to the process as eye-opening because they have long thought that Mingkaman community is so poor that they cannot afford to contribute to their development but should only wait to be helped by NGOs, the UN,

³⁶ This document clearly demonstrated that a changed mindset as a result of strengths-based programming was the program’s intent; however, whether this had in fact occurred was not assessed.

and government agencies. The communities now believe in their local collective capacity to effectively control their development process regardless of limited external support. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 19)

Table 5-12 Common Cause

Common Cause	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Common goal leading to community engagement, collective action	11 ; 14 ; 17 ; 26 ; 44 ; 46 ; 49 ; 51 ; 79 ; 86 ; 93 ,	11
Understanding need/capacity for collective action	11 ; 26 ; 30 ; 33 ; 68 ; 75 ; 94	7

5.4.4 Collective Action

While communities understood their need and capacity for collective action, this review found that a number of additional factors were essential for successful implementation of collective action: capacity development; collective dialogue and decision-making; mobilizing resources and support; and ownership and motivation.

Evidence showed that adequate capacity development was necessary for successful collective action, with specific skills, technical assistance and resources all contributing to success. Conversely, insufficient capacity development led to lack of funding, inability to mobilize the community, and difficulty implementing collective actions.

...interactive planning and feedback sessions where communities were trained on the concepts of LCDP [Long-term Community Development Plans], and guided to develop their respective community vision, goals and objectives, action plans, implementation strategies, sustainability measures, and M&E plans. The communities further developed strategies on how to attract external support to complement their internal resources. During this planning process, the PROPEL team guided and managed community expectations by focusing on internal resources, discussing existing donor funding sources and opportunities with community members, as well as alternative methods to implement CDD [Community-Driven Development] programming in the face of limited resources. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 19)

Collective dialogue and decision-making were also necessary to implement collective actions, with planning processes and peer learning key components of this. While contributing to collective action, peer learning also operated at multiple levels of this resilience pathway—group members learned from each other throughout the process of capacity development, dialogue, working together and success. Collective planning was necessary to initiate and implement agreed actions.

The different meetings held have also added to the knowledge system of the community and created a good platform for the peer learning in the community... It helped us to think together and also work together in time of fertilizer and wheat grain distribution as the distribution of them is made at the center after being transported from elsewhere." (The Hunger Project, 2016, p. 17)

Resources and support from various sources were mobilized to implement collective actions. Some groups accessed funding from external sources, including government and local CBOs. In addition, groups often collected contributions for collective action from community members, either monetarily or in-kind. Some groups mobilized external (ie outside of the community) support, networks and links. Some included local or district level government in efforts for collective action,

and some linked to local CBOs or additional INGOs. These links and resources contributed to successful collective action. In some programs, such as advocacy, citizen engagement or community mobilization focused, the mobilization process was the collective action.

Now enrolment has gone up and parents have started contributing food for their children's lunch at school. Yesterday but one I have a head teacher who said that "I now have 500 kgs of maize". Three of the schools did not have food at all. (FH Designs, 2016, pp. 23-24)

Women in ELTE [Entrepreneurial Literacy Training for Empowerment] have been empowered to link with and access government services and resources. Local governments finds it easier to establish linkages with and provide services to ELTE women' groups, such as training in agriculture or livestock, rather than working with scattered individual women. (Chaturvedi et al., 2018, p. 20)

Another key 'ingredient' for successful collective action evidenced in this review was community ownership of and motivation for collective action. Communities who felt represented by the group, saw their needs addressed in decisions and plans, and were invested (figuratively and literally) in a common goal had a sense of ownership over projects. There was also motivation or determination to engage in collective action, and a sense that 'we're all in this together.'

Community members and leaders who carried out the PLA [Participatory Learning and Action] shared and discussed the results of the exercise with the wider community; thus, the sense of ownership extended beyond committees. Given the scope of the problem and the work required, it became clear that wide community participation was needed. This participation was fostered and sustained by the community's own perception of their responsibilities to the most vulnerable among them. Committees often spoke of the wider community coming together, for example, to make bricks to repair a house, to work in the communal garden, to engage in day labor to raise funds for a child's school fees, or to guard against and report abuse or exploitation of vulnerable children... Thus it seems appropriate to conclude that community ownership was essential to initiating community action. (Donahue & Mwewa, 2006, pp. 57-58)

Table 5-13 Collective Action

Collective Action	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Adequate capacity development	11 ; 16 ; 25 ; 26 ; 29 ; 30 ; 33 ; 65 ; 79 ; 82 ; 84 ; 86 ; 94 ,	13
Collective dialogue/decision making and peer learning	11 ; 14 ; 26 ; 33 ; 41 ; 44 ; 49 ; 51 ; 65 ; 76 ; 82 ; 86 ; 94 ; 104 ,	14
Adequate resources and support	11 ; 14 ; 29 ; 33 ; 44 ; 46 ; 49 ; 52 ; 73 ; 82 ; 84 ; 94 ; 104 ,	13
External support/networks/links	17 ; 44 ; 46 ; 93 ; 104 ;	5
Ownership and motivation	14 ; 26 ; 49 ; 51 ; 65 ; 101 , (Opposite 30 ; 68 ; 90)	6 (Opposite: 3)
Mobilization as collective action	26 ; 44	2

5.4.4.1 Social Pressure and Enforcement

In some cases, an unintended outcome of processes of community support and engagement was a sense of social pressure or enforcement. Community members felt obligated to fulfill plans or commitments they had made, and community leaders sometimes played an enforcement role in ensuring this occurred.

Table 5-14 Social Pressure and Enforcement

Social Pressure and Enforcement	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Feeling obligated/leaders as enforcers	14 ; 25 ; 43 ; 68 ;	4

5.4.5 Success to Self-Reliance

Successful collective action led to two key attitudinal changes for group members: increased collective efficacy and passion for change. It also sparked a cycle of continuous learning and adaptation. The process of working together and its outcomes is linked to the resilience pathway explored in the social capital and social cohesion theory (see 5.5 below), and successful implementation is linked to success and positive feedback (see 5.2 above).

First, this review found that the experience of success built up both individual self-efficacy and collective efficacy of the group. Having successfully engaged in collective action once, group members began to believe that they themselves and the group together were capable of further success.

CC groups are able to move beyond dialogue to action. CCs [Community Conversations] and their communities demonstrate qualities of empowerment – they possess perceived competence, are motivated to take action and participate for the public good. (Concern Worldwide, n.d., p. 8)

Members are confident that they can make changes in their rural communities and they have already started taking initiative through leadership roles in the development of their rural communities and also by making contributions (material, cash and labor). (The Hunger Project, 2016, p. 48)

Success also increased motivation for new or additional projects. Group members wanted to keep going with their efforts, reflecting a passion for continued change.

That said, community members—including young people—told the team that they felt the situation of vulnerable children had improved. In fact, it was this very perception of progress that motivated communities to continue their efforts, in spite of often daunting challenges. (Donahue & Mwewa, 2006, p. 5)

[...] participants take great pleasure for being a part of the group, and receive the social and financial support they need to move forward in their living. Seeing their own success and that of their peers, they are inspired to earn more, save more, and fulfill their dreams of providing food for their families, sending their children to school, repairing their homes, and taking control of their lives and their futures. (Action Research Team, 2016, p. 61)

One document commented that in order to be most successful, collective action should be achievable within a short timeframe and have a broad community impact. “Quick wins” with impacts

that are widely visible across the community are likely to increase collective efficacy and group motivation even further.

One strategy for dealing with this challenge [balancing the urgency of community needs and allowing time for community cooperation] is to select a relatively quick-implementation project that yields immediate and tangible benefits to a wide swath of the local population... small-scale infrastructure projects (e.g. road rehabilitation, school or health clinic rehabilitation) implemented through cash-for-work mechanisms are always in very high demand. Visible infrastructure that is seen to benefit large segments of the community serves to motivate the community and serve as training grounds for potentially more complex follow-on programming. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 25)

Finally, evidence showed that continuous learning occurred through the process of reflecting on successes and learning from failure, with adaptations to current or future efforts resulting.

Many cases discussed “proactive planning and mobilization meets priority needs”, citing examples of how the community had come together to lead development projects and plan for the future, most times on a project outside of direct OneVillage Partners work. (OneVillage Partners, 2020, p. 13)

There was, however, insufficient evidence to demonstrate a link from these outcomes of success to longer term or wider spread self-reliance.

Table 5-15 Success to Self-Reliance

Success to Self-Reliance	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Success builds self/group efficacy	23 ; 33 ; 41 ; 94	4
Success increases motivation for new projects	5 ; 11 ; 26 ; 37 ; 49 ; 51 ; 82 ; 93	8
“Quick wins” to build efficacy/motivation	33	1
Continuous learning	39 ; 65 ; 68 ; 84 ; 86	5

5.4.6 Limiting Factors

A number of documents reviewed provided examples of situations in which the pathway described in this program theory did not occur. Two of these limiting factors relate to context. First, those who did not attend facilitated strengths-based workshops did not experience a mindset shift towards self-reliance, as discussed above. There was evidence of a continued dependency mindset, where resource provision by NGO actors is expected, in relation to a number of programs which operated strengths-based workshops. Second, when there was elite capture of group membership positions, transparency and community ownership of group goals did not result. This was also the case when corruption was present in groups, and when participation or representation of all sub-groups did not occur.

Not involving all levels of the community may lead to changes not being endorsed by all members of the community and not being sustainable. (Mc Crossan & Sinkineh, 2009, p. 17)

Another limiting factor related to the process of collective dialogue and decision-making. When there was a strong agency influence in this process, then community ownership and motivation were difficult to attain and groups tended towards a project coordination and mobilization role, as seen in 5.3 above. There were multiple examples of programs in which the theory of change

described either strengths-based workshops or groups having full say in needs/goals identification, but where the process of dialogue and decision-making described in the documents was strongly influenced by the NGO, or where the intervention was very structured. The result was decreased self-reliance, and lower ownership and motivation.

Moreover the choice of projects is not unrestricted; the community (read CDC) [Community Development Council] is often confronted with the list of activities set out in the NSP Operating Manual by the Community Mobilizer. (Mukherjee et al., 2015, p. 45)

... communities in all project areas already have awareness of their priority development needs and are informed of the actions that need to be taken to address those needs. However, ... development agents often operate on the assumption that communities know very little about what needs to be done, a potentially counterproductive assumption that may lead to disempowerment and resentment, and may undermine communities' willingness to act productively in support of development interventions by INGOs. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 48)

Finally, implementation failure or failure to deliver on stated goals decreased community trust in groups and motivation to continue collective action.

"When implementation of community projects gets delayed, it can lead to mistrust, which is hard to overcome" (Avevor et al., 2013, p. 7)

A few of the NEW CDCs [Community Development Councils] had initially prioritised building a school jointly with other CDCs, but their combined allocation was not enough to construct a building that would meet governmental standards. As the result, the projects they eventually selected left community members feeling disappointed with the NSP. (Komorowska, 2016, p. 27)

Table 5-16 Limiting Factors

Limiting Factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Dependency mindset	11 ; 58 ; 65 ; 79 ; 94 ;	5
Elite capture, corruption, non-representative	65 ; 84 ; 85	3
Agency influence over dialogue/decision making, highly structured program	26 ; 33 ; 57 ; 65 ;	4
Implementation failure/failure to deliver	11 ; 46 ; 82 ; 85 ; 89	5

5.4.7 Summary: Theorizing Ownership and Self-Reliance

The evidence available for ownership and self-reliance may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Where groups collectively identify their strengths and resources (C) and a common cause (C), recognition that the resources can be allocated to the common cause contributes to a sense of ownership (M) and self-reliance (M) amongst direct participants, resulting in collective action (O). Successful common action (C) builds collective efficacy (M) and passion for change (M), and sparks a cycle of continuous learning and adaptation (M) which contributes to further action.

Where participation in groups is not representative (C) or widespread (C), or where there is elite capture or corruption (C), the mindset shift to self-reliance is constrained (M), participation is reduced (O) and communities maintain an expectation that resources should be provided by external parties (O).

5.5 Social Capital & Cohesion

The final pathway to resilience relates to increases in social capital (bonding, bridging and linking) as a result of the process of working together and positive interactions between groups. It is a revision of the original draft theory L2. Social Capital. While the original program theory assumed broad community participation and increased social cohesion through working together, this revised theory includes two contexts: participation in a goal-oriented group and broad community participation, including marginalized and sub-groups. Additionally, this revised theory finds that there are two main patterns of outcomes, one of which does relate to working together, while the other relates to the creation of spaces for positive interaction between segments of the community.

5.5.1 Working Together

When small groups and/or participants from throughout a community engaged in community dialogue and participatory planning processes, collaboration was increased, and a sense of shared common cause or goal was developed. Groups began to work together in pursuit of this common cause. There was strong evidence to show that the process of community dialogue and consensus building led to the development of a common cause.

CC [Community Conversation] participants were taking a more active part in supporting people living with HIV, openly taking on leadership roles to address issues and in rural areas in particular, there was a feeling of a whole community coming together and all being responsible. (Mc Crossan & Sinkineh, 2009, p. 12)

Table 5-17 Working Together

Working Together	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Dialogue/participatory planning contributes to common cause or goal	11 ; 23 ; 33 ; 39 ; 44 ; 49 ; 86 ; 104 ;	8
Working toward common cause	11 ; 33 ; 37 ; 49 ; 86	5
Consensus building contributes to common cause	11 ; 33 ; 51 ; 86 ; 104	5

5.5.1.1 Linking Capital

Groups working together with a common cause were able to exercise a collective voice, seeking the engagement of external actors in their cause. They engaged with local government, service providers, markets and CBOs, as well as relatives or friends who had emigrated to cities or other countries. These links outside of their communities, to various external actors, demonstrate an emergence of linking capital.

The Community Action Cycle “brings everybody on board,” one said. And another: “All persons are taken as people who have gifts who can do something in the community.” For example, one extension agency noted, the Community Action Cycle facilitated engagement between

various levels of governance and society, such as elders and young people, or sub-county government with parish government. (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2016, p. 17)

Table 5-18 Linking Capital

Linking Capital	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Common cause > collective voice > engage external actors	29 ; 39 ; 57 ; 65 ; 100	5

5.5.1.2 Bridging Capital

There was also evidence that groups increased bridging capital as they worked towards their common cause. Community networks and links to other nearby communities were developed in support of the common goal. In several cases, multiple communities began to work together or form networks.

“As is also discussed earlier in the effectiveness section, the training, education sessions and awareness-raising activities conducted by the project has had a positive impact on how people see the value of protecting natural resources, while they see conflict as a destructive force that must be addressed for sustainable use of forest resources. There are also tangible changes in terms of how people see each other. That means those who used to see members of other CFUGs [Community Forest User Groups] as competitors or adversaries have now begun to engage collaboratively, for example, through NRMFs [Natural Resource Management Forums].” (Subedi et al., 2016, p. 31)

Micro-credit activities were not as successful in all Epicentres, but the Epicentres Avlamè, Kissamey, Zakpota and Dékpo now each have an officially recognized rural banks which together have formed a network. (Hoebink et al., 2012, p. 33)

Table 5-19 Bridging Capital

Bridging Capital	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Links developed, communities working together	11 ; 29 ; 38 ; 55 ; 86	5

5.5.1.3 Peer Learning and Bonding Capital

During the process of working together, there were examples of information sharing and peer learning taking place. Group members began to not only work together, but develop friendships, share struggles and joys, and support one another. Peer learning and working together towards a common goal increased trust and built relationships, leading to increased bonding capital within the group.

Members cited many perceived social benefits of SILC [Savings and Internal Lending Community] membership, ranging from “greater harmony at home” to less conflict with neighbors. Working together for a common purpose was reported as leading to greater social cohesion and mutual support across age groups. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 27)

The four next most frequent responses suggest a sharing of information between group members, which may be related to “togetherness among people.” Key informants explained that group members shared information about farming that they had learned and members

learned from each other how to improve their yield. Respondents also stated that IPT-G groups facilitated greater togetherness and cooperation among members... (Lewandowski, 2011, pp. 58-59)

Community groups also played a role in accountability and addressing grievances. Evidence suggested that these goal-oriented groups resolved tensions arising from collective action projects and presented a trusted body for solving problems, keeping others accountable, or keeping funds. The resolution of issues within the group, or within the community, and the trust placed in the group helped to cement bonding capital within the community.

Greater family and community cohesion was also a major outcome. Echoing results from key informant interviews, one of the themes frequently mentioned by Community Action Group members in their Most Significant Change stories is that Community Action Groups work was often able to take the place, or supplement, police or government administration action in handling community problems. (Institute for Reproductive Health, 2016, p. 26)

According to the CVA [Citizen Voice and Action] Working Group, community members are more willing to contribute funding because they are confident the independent committee will be able to give an accurate accounting during community meetings. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 52)

Table 5-20 Peer Learning and Bonding Capital

Peer Learning and Bonding Capital	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Information sharing/peer learning	23 ; 25 ; 47 ; 49 ; 104	5
Friendship, support, trust	4 ; 14 ; 27 ; 49	4
Accountability/dispute resolution	29 ; 33 ; 27 ; 46 ; 82 ; 86	6

5.5.1.4 Changing Mindsets

Creating spaces for positive interactions between segments of community, particularly those sub-groups who have had little prior interaction, was clearly demonstrated to be of value in a number of programs.

Where there was tension between IDPs and the host community, and where there was animosity between ethnic groups, facilitated discussion could begin processes of resolution.

The realities of migration, so prevalent in Juba, force individuals who have little exposure to other ethnic groups to interact although they may not share common goals or see a shared future. The process of reaching out to marginalized groups and then convening public meetings to address all view points and the range of expectations can be used to begin building social cohesion in diverse communities. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 23)

Positive interactions between groups were shown to build relationships, increase trust, and result in peer learning. Positive interactions also challenged pre-existing prejudices community members had towards the opposing group. As they met together, they discovered new ideas, gained new information regarding the opposing group, and came to see them differently.

PROPEL's inclusive process for selecting cash-for-work beneficiaries was helpful in the case of a naming dispute over a local school. Key informants described feuding sub-clans working together on school renovation, and a government official stated that the PROPEL rehabilitation "brought unity between people of that community." (Global Communities, 2018, p. 39)

In line with baseline findings on the effectiveness of positive interactions between host and refugee communities as means to break negative stereotypes, the programme organised and implemented a large community event in each village. These events were well attended and well received by local communities, host and refugee alike, and clearly created valuable opportunities for interaction that challenged prejudice and enhanced social cohesion. (Mercy Corps et al., 2017, p. 13)

Positive economic interactions were sometimes particularly effective, as people had more of a vested interest in the outcome.

Crucially, findings show that it is not only social interactions, but also economic interactions, if facilitated in a mutually financially beneficial and socially positive manner, that can contribute to building social cohesion, an important finding for livelihoods programmes with a stability goal. (Mercy Corps Lebanon, 2017, p. 3)

Economic projects – communal gardens, markets, milling facilities – managed jointly by conflicting groups led to daily interaction between community members. Social cohesion also improved over the life of CONCUR, with growing trust between conflict groups and more tolerance for other religions. A third of community members trusted the conflicting group at baseline, which increased to just over half at endline. (Mercy Corps, n.d., p. 13)

Table 5-21 Changing Mindsets

Changing Mindsets	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Value of spaces for positive interaction	14 ; 33 ; 49 ; 51 ; 55 ; 58 ; 86 ; 89	8
Facilitated discussion > conflict resolution	33 ; 55 ; 76 ; 89	4
Positive interactions build relationships	23 ; 33 ; 55 ; 89	4
Positive interaction challenged prejudice	23 ; 57	2
Positive economic interactions effective	55 ; 60	2

5.5.1.5 Address Grievances

A significant benefit to increased positive interaction between conflicting groups is the possibility for resolution of grievances or conflict. This was pursued as a deliberate strategy and program activity in a number of the programs reviewed. Positive interactions created space for dialogue and dispute resolution between the opposing groups, and specific training in conflict resolution assisted members of both sides to de-escalate tension and work together.

Nurture South Sudan launched conflict mitigation and peacebuilding activities targeting host and IDP communities in Mingkaman. These activities aimed at reducing tensions and the peaceful resolution of ongoing conflict between IDPs [Internally Displaced Persons] and the host community ... The key driver of statistically significant increases in Mingkaman and Kalthok [in ability to resolve internal conflict] is improved relations between IDPs and host communities. This improvement is based on effective resolution of disputes between the two groups through meetings and dialogue, improved coordination between leaders and better attitudes between hosts and IDPs more generally. (Global Communities, 2018, pp. 18, 39)

These spaces for positive interaction, and targeted conflict resolution efforts and strategies, nurtured bridging capital between opposing groups. Gains in social capital and cohesion through CLD efforts may be more pronounced in these cases because the programs specifically incorporated conflict resolution and peacebuilding aims.

Table 5-22 Addressing Grievances

Addressing Grievances	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Positive interactions, conflict resolution training - > lower tensions	15 ; 33 ; 39 ; 46 ; 55 ; 60 ; 76 ; 86	8

5.5.2 Social Pressure and Enforcement

An unanticipated outcome of broad community participation in some CLD programs was social pressure or enforcement to act in accordance with community goals or standards. This was both a result of, and reinforced, bonding capital.

Social pressure/enforcement was sometimes a positive force for change, as in when communities created methods for ensuring transparency or spurring others to contribute to development goals.

Unfortunately, later on, some of the leaders lapsed back to their former ways and took money earmarked to pay workers building an agriculture infrastructure project. Furious, the workers summoned the leaders to the Paramount Chief who ordered them to return the money. Embarrassed in front of the entire community, Mamboma’s leaders finally understood that the community had gained the courage and the buy-in to hold them accountable. (OneVillage Partners, 2020, pp. 25-26)

Sanyal argues that “requiring women to conduct economic transactions at regular intervals deepens preexisting kinship and neighborhood-based ties and promotes prosocial behavior. It does so by providing a direct, unmediated economic interest in the relationship and by providing opportunities for frequent interactions. (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 21)

However, it also had a negative impact in some programs, when pressure/enforcement methods were punitive, or community members experienced a fear of reprisal if they didn’t conform. Ultimately, development outcomes may have been improved, but coercive or punitive methods likely resulted in decreases in individual wellbeing.

A different strategy has been the use of Sungusungu – traditional security guards/militia – for the enforced collection of ward village revenues (Councillor 1). Punitive measures enforced through the Sungusungu system include restricted interaction with fellow community members and restricted access to social services (Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 28)

Table 5-23 Social Pressure and Enforcement

Social Pressure and Enforcement	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Positive force for change	11 ; 14 ; 49 ; 68	4
Negative impact	11 ; 49 ; 84	3

5.5.3 Social Capital, Social Cohesion and Resilience

There are debates about whether and to what extent social capital increases as a result of CLD, with some experimental evidence suggesting that it does not. This review found that there is evidence for each of the three types being increased for some actors in some programs and contexts. That cannot, however, be interpreted to mean that all programs increase social capital, or that programs which do increase social capital do so for all actors.

As well as increased social capital, there was evidence of increased social cohesion.

The majority (64%) of MSC [Most Significant Change] cases mentioned a change in Social Cohesion. The most common topics shared include “social capital is leveraged and expanded”, “community and family have shared vision of progress”, and “networks of collaboration are built and functional.” MSC cases related to building social capital most often talked about groups that previously disagreed coming together. (OneVillage Partners, 2020, p. 12)

Increases in social capital and social cohesion contributed to increased resilience by increasing the number and breadth of resources communities were able to access during times of stress or shock—adding to both absorptive and adaptive resilience capacity.³⁷ Further, increases in linking capital may increase resilience if these links can be leveraged to push for systemic change.

Analysis by Mercy Corps in Uganda, Somalia, Nepal, and the Philippines provides evidence that bonding social capital, the networks and resources available to households within their social groups or communities, is strongly linked to improved resilience. Following shocks in these settings, households with bonding social capital were more food secure, were more able to recover through investment in productive assets, had better quality shelter, and believed they were better able to cope with risks. (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 17)

Additionally, where bonding capital leads to psychosocial gains, such as feeling supported and cared for, individual resilience may also increase.

A 2016 study by Béné et al. considers the influence of psychosocial factors on people’s resilience. The authors draw from literature primarily focused on the contribution of tangible factors to resilience and highlight the need for greater accounting of psychosocial factors such as aspiration, expectations, and motivations... (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 10)

While evidence was found of increases in social capital and social cohesion, there was also evidence of high levels of pre-program social capital in some communities.³⁸ Several program documents referenced high levels of cooperation or collective decision-making mechanisms which were seen as cultural norms and had existed prior to CLD programming.

Consultative decision making is not a new concept in Afghanistan. A traditional gathering of elders called a shura can be arranged to discuss a community issue while a jirga is called to resolve disputes. The participants of these meetings have traditionally been self-nominated

³⁷ See “Components of Resilience Capacity Measurement Framework” by TANGO International (TANGO International. (2018). *Components of Resilience Capacity: Measurement Framework*. Retrieved 28 June 2021 from <https://www.tangointernational.com/resilience.html>).

³⁸ This is a difficulty in determining social capital impacts in Community-Driven Development programs. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, Wong, S., & Guggenheim, S. (2018). *Community-driven development: myths and realities* [Policy Research Working Paper](WPS8435). World Bank Group Social Urban Rural and Resilience Global Practice.

elders and/or powerful and influential men who are used to take decisions on behalf of the community they claim to represent (Komorowska, 2016, p. 14)

Thus, while some programs appear to increase social capital, it is unclear whether, and if so to what extent, gains depend on a pre-existing level of cohesion.

Table 5-24 Social Capital, Cohesion and Resilience

Social Capital, Cohesion and Resilience	Evidenced In...	No. of reports evidenced in
Social cohesion as an outcome	4 ; 14 ; 17 ; 25 ; 33 ; 34 ; 37 ; 39 ; 60 ; 68 ; 100 ,	11
Increased social capital/cohesion -> increased resilience	14	1
Bonding capital -> psychosocial gains -> resilience	14	1
High pre-program social capital/cohesion	25 ; 46 ; 84 ; 85 ; 94	5

5.5.4 Summary: Theorizing Social Capital, Social Cohesion and Resilience

The evidence available for social capital, social cohesion and resilience may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Where groups work together to develop and implement plans (C) they develop a sense of common cause (M) and collective voice (M) which enables them to seek engagement from external actors, building linking capital (M) and enabling them to access resources (O). Creating common spaces and opportunities for interaction between different groups (C) enables development of trust and relationships between groups (M), while conflict resolution (C) reduces tension (M) and the potential for violence (O).

Where punitive methods are used to enforce collective agreements (C), fear of reprisal (M), reduced access to services (M) or other punishments may result in reductions in individual wellbeing.

Increases in social capital (C) and increased social cohesion (C) may contribute to increased resilience (O) by increasing access to resources in times of need.

5.6 Implications and Recommendations: Resilience

Implementation agencies should acknowledge that CLD programs are likely to be more effective for those who participate directly. Evaluation reports should be explicit about the relationship between direct participation and outcomes. Outcomes should not be claimed for whole communities (except in the rare circumstances where all members are affected relatively equally). Agencies should seek to maximize community control and minimize their own influence wherever possible, in particular, avoiding 'induced participation' (participation in return for rewards).

Recommendations:

13. Implementation agencies should develop explicit program theory for resilience: that is, review the design of their programs to strengthen factors that have been found to contribute to resilience and include specific mitigation strategies in response to risks to resilience. Where aspects of program design and/or contextual factors are likely to (or are

found through monitoring to) undermine resilience, further strategies to address those factors should be introduced.

- 14.** Funders should ensure that grants allow for refinement of implementation strategies where monitoring demonstrates that programs are not supporting communities towards resilience.

6 Equity

6.1 Definitions and Initial Theories

The definition of equity developed for this project is as follows:

In the framework of Community-Led Development, Equity is the fundamental principle that all people are morally equal, and as a result should enjoy equal life outcomes in terms of wellbeing, agency and voice, and the ability to participate in an inclusive society. Any differences in these outcomes should not depend on characteristics for which a person cannot be held accountable, such as gender, ethnicity, class, nationality, etc. Achieving equity requires differential treatment according to one's circumstances—a systematic leveling of the playing field between groups, and greater benefits for the most disadvantaged. Working towards equity usually requires processes of empowerment for those who are marginalized within a community or society.

Four of the initial program theories anticipated improvements in equity. Two of these related primarily to social inclusion and two to the contributions of formalized structures and advocacy. They are introduced in the relevant subsections below.

6.2 Inclusion for Marginalized Groups

6.2.1 Initial Theories

The first diagram (F1) hypothesized that where there was skilled facilitation and supportive processes and relationships within groups, provision of training in equality and inclusion would contribute to changes in cultural norms about inclusion in mainstream groups, while training in rights and resources would contribute to increased knowledge, skills and confidence for marginalized groups. Together, these two mechanisms would result in increased participation by, and voice for, marginalized groups, which would contribute to direct benefits from participation and to greater equality of outcomes in the particular issues addressed by the project. The second theory (L4) hypothesized that active inclusion of marginalized groups develops skills, voice, and self-efficacy for marginalized groups, enabling those groups to access the “5 capitals” (natural capital, human capital, social capital, manufactured capital and financial capital).

One of the key aspects of a realist approach is disaggregation of “what works *for whom* in what circumstances, how and why”. This section of the review reviews evidence in relation to marginalized groups’ participation (and ‘who’ from within marginalized groups participated) in facilitated activities. It examines a) the extent to which marginalized groups were willing and able to participate; and b) whether there was evidence of quality or skilled facilitation encouraging active participation of marginalized groups. It also considers the specific contexts of participatory processes; collective leadership and enabling environments.

6.2.2 Marginalized Groups

Documents within the review sample identified multiple groups as targets for social inclusion: women, youth, internally displaced people, ethnic minorities (low caste, tribal or indigenous populations), people with disabilities, refugees, and people living with HIV/AIDS). Some reports used

the term ‘vulnerable persons’ which included children and orphans (See table 6.1 below). However, adequate evidence about their levels of participation, and the equity of outcomes obtained, was only available in relation to women and youth.

There was no consistent definition of youth in the reviewed evidence. The youth category does not include children but it may include adolescents. Some programs distinguish between adolescents (ages of 13 – 18 years), and youth (18 – 35 years). The upper age limit for ‘youth’ was not always clear.

The literature reviewed was silent about Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and Intersex (LGBTQI+) persons and about persons in bonded labor (i.e. there was an assumption that participants had a degree of freedom, choice and time available to engage in CLD).

Table 6-1: Marginalized or excluded groups

CLD encouraged active participation of:	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Women	5 ; 11 ; 14 ; 16 ; 17 ; 18 ; 30 ; 31 ; 33 ; 34 ; 37 ; 38 ; 39 ; 46 ; 48 ; 57 ; 66 ; 74 ; 79 ; 80 ; 81 ; 82 ; 84 ; 87 ; 90 ; 93 ; 94 ; 104 ; 105 ; 108 ; 109	31
Youth	37 ; 46 ; 55 ; 78 ; 81 ; 82	6
Definition of ‘adolescent’, ‘youth’	52 ; 33	2
Children	2 ; 3 ; 10 ; 26 ; 39 ; 44 ; 48 ; 57 ; 78 ; 104	10
Internally displaced people	33 ; 85	2
Refugees	52 ; 56 ; 57 ; 60 ; 89	5
Ethnic minorities (low caste, tribal or indigenous)	14 ; 30 ; 33 ; 80	4
People with disabilities	44 ; 29	2
People living with HIV/AIDS	11 ; 26 ; 46 ; 51 ; 100	5

6.2.3 Gender, Culture and Participation

The promotion of gender equity was a common objective in CLD programming, including for USAID funded projects. This was sometimes linked to an anticipated contribution to increased resilience.

Gender equality concerns fundamental social transformation, working with men and boys, women and girls, to bring about changes in attitudes, behaviors, roles, and responsibilities at home, in the workplace, and in the community. Genuine equality means expanding freedoms and improving overall quality of life so that equality is achieved without sacrificing gains for males or females. (USAID, 2016, p. viii).

“...the focus on women is motivated by their vital role in increasing the resilience of their households and communities to shocks and stressors” ((Cabot Venton et al., 2021)).

Several sub-groups of women were targeted for particular reasons: married women for their role in household decision-making; mothers for their role in improving nutrition of infants and young children; older women in fostering intergenerational influence (TANGO International, 2009) or peer pressure; and young women who were literate (Komorowska, 2016).

A common vehicle for encouraging active participation of women was through the program requiring establishment/formation of 'more gender-balanced' local advisory groups/village committees and savings groups.³⁹ The intent was that women should participate in community decision-making processes where previously only men had participated. This did not necessarily mean an equal number of male and female representatives in each committee, though some programs reported achieving an 'equal number' (The Hunger Project, 2016). Reporting of participation by women in committees as a quota was common and was sometimes equated with 'increased empowerment' without further analysis. An exception to this was as follows:

...the project chose to engage with ... women, Dalits and Janajatis; however, despite inclusion in numerical terms, the actual meaningful participation of marginalized groups in decision-making was minimal. A careful analytical reflection by the project revealed that inclusive decision-making could not be achieved ... unless the members are capacitated in many ways from better knowledge of familiarity to and awareness with ... governance system and laws and policies (Subedi et al., 2016, p. 27)

Moreover, achieving meaningful participation, rather than nominal participation requires intentional adaptation of program activities and strategies.

Cultural expectations of women interacting with men outside of their household affected participation. Across multiple countries (Mali, Afghanistan, Rwanda, DRC), mixed-gender groups may have hampered women's participation and diminished, rather than encouraged, engagement in activities intended to benefit their access to resources. Strong social and cultural obstacles for women's participation included the belief held by some ethnic groups that women speaking in front of men is disrespectful, and risk of gender-based violence or fear of backlash for women challenging norms was identified (Global Communities, 2018; Mukherjee et al., 2015). Participation in mixed gender groups could be daunting for female participants and required skilled facilitation to ensure power dynamics were addressed to enable meaningful participation:

In a few CDCs [community development councils] the young women in the Executive Committees were faced with the daunting task of collaborating with their respective male counterparts, which significantly reduced their real influence. On the other hand, however, there is evidence that the NSP contributed to women's social empowerment as it has enabled them to attend various meetings and training sessions. Nevertheless, the possibility of women going out of their homes is not the norm in Afghanistan ... cultural factors seem more important for women's involvement in CDCs than the NSP requirements. (Komorowska, 2016, p. 50)

Training to support women's leadership skills was not always provided and the way in which expectations of gender equality was managed by parties external to the community was sometimes ineffective.

However, we also found that there was a missed opportunity in terms of the program strengthening the leadership skills of these women and creating networks of female leaders ... During the fieldwork it was rare to find a woman in a president or vice-president post and there was no particular leadership training or capacity building support for these women,

³⁹ As distinct from facilitated training in self-help groups, eg. Chaturvedi, S., Barr, A., & Rahman, B. (2018). *Final Performance Evaluation Feed the Future Bangladesh Women's Empowerment Activity (WEA) (AID-388-C-14-00001)*. USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00SWCG.pdf.

other than access to literacy classes (which was also available to men). (Sage et al., 2017, p. 64)

Communities felt that the gender approach used by the project was imposed on them. Meaning that project staff determined that communities needed to include women in public activities and women and men should be equal partners in household decision making. Interviewees have not yet been persuaded that women should be public figures or to work alongside men. (Endres, 2015, p. 32)

Table 6-2 Gender and Participation

Gender and Participation	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Targeted sub-groups of women	30 ; 31 ; 46 ; 57 ; 66 ; 77 ; 78 ; 80 ; 81 ; 86 ; 87 ; 89 ; 90	13
Gender balance requirement for committees	33 ; 45 ; 80 ; 81 ; 94	5
Participation in group may not equate to participation in decision-making	14 ; 34 ; 46 ; 86	4
Cultural expectations impacted participation	14 ; 33 ; 34 ; 46 ; 65 ; 78 ; 90	7
Meaningful participation requires adaptation	10 ; 46 ; 82	3
Leadership training not provided	28 ; 81	2

6.2.3.1 Working with Men

There was widespread evidence of programs engaging men and boys concurrent to efforts to raise participation by women. This was described as ‘developing male change agents’ in one program (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a). Some programs acknowledged that including men in gender programming was necessitated through “lessons learned” (Oda Development Consultants, 2015). There was evidence of the direct benefit for women and children from the sensitization of men:

Women in households from communities reached by Male Change Agents (MCA) were 34% more likely to report that women and men received equal food in the home, had more workload sharing, and had greater control over decision making. The impact of gender inequality on nutrition was particularly evident when it came to sexual and gender based violence (SGBV). Households experiencing SGBV have children with poorer nutritional outcomes, pointing to the need to directly address SGBV in nutrition programming. (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a, p. 9)

It was sometimes economic outcomes that impacted gender relations.

When Gbessay realized that his wife’s learning could transform their financial wellbeing, he began to include his wife in household decision making. (Dresser & Mansfield, 2016, p. 17)

Where communities were ready for a gender intervention (Aamoum et al., 2012, p. 71), the facilitated activities provided opportunities to practice joint decision-making and changed roles. However, in other cases, there was evidence of male cynicism in relation to gender-based programming which challenged the status quo.

Young men expressed a sense of exclusion and resentment for girls ‘who get all the services’. This frustration was mirrored among men towards women. (McSorley et al., 2018, p. 29)

*“If we didn’t consent to what they want, would we have this good thing, the borehole?”
(Endres, 2015, p. 32)*

Other programs achieved some change for women, but fell short of attitudinal change for men:

One of the community women ... indicated that ...she has gained good agricultural skills ...; moreover, she could sell the produce at a local market thereby increasing her household income and access to food for her family. However, this level of empowerment for her did not translate to improving household relationships with her spouse. She indicated that her husband does not support her travelling to distant markets to sell her produce. This example is indicative of discussions with many community women. (Finan et al., 2017, p. 32)

Table 6-3 Working with Men

Working with Men	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Involve men and boys to improve gender equality	4 ; 17 ; 33 ; 39 ; 41 ; 52 ; 68 ; 85	8
Role of male change agents	6 ; 17 ; 27 ; 39 ; 52 ; 66	6
Community ready for gender change	1	1
Men resistant to empowerment of women	17 ; 28 ; 52	3

6.2.4 Outcomes for Women

The initial program theory anticipated increased access to ‘the five capitals’. There was evidence of increased access to economic capital for women in some reports, but also of a range of other outcomes.

In some programs, tangible outcomes of participation for women included improved freedom of movement and greater control over their use of time (Chaturvedi et al., 2018). With increased participation in programs and civic life, women’s active participation in economic activities increased their income and role in household and community:

Women can now easily reach nearby markets to sell products they produce in their homestead gardens and other products from cottage industry, and can act as role models for other women. In addition, where there are women sellers, social mores are likely to adapt so that women buyers can negotiate directly with them, rather than their husbands, brothers, fathers or sons. This enhances women’s empowerment by increasing their income and facilitating their active participation in household and community decision-making processes. (TANGO International, 2009, p. 39)

In one FGD [focus group discussion], four women pointed out that they were teaching their husbands accounting for businesses, which contributed to their self-esteem. Husbands acknowledged that the learning and skills acquired in ELTE [entrepreneurial literacy training for empowerment] has in tangible ways benefited their families and livelihoods and they now regard their wives with greater respect. Husbands are now more supportive of women attending ELTE than they were at the start of the project. Other stakeholders said the same. (Chaturvedi et al., 2018)

A range of outcomes were identified for married women due to their participation which translated to changes within households:

- Dignity and acceptance within the household;
- The support of their husbands to participate as husbands saw benefits, and subsequent changes in household behaviors such as family dialogue;
- The ability to make decisions in terms of family planning and negotiating safer sex following acquisition of HIV/AIDS prevention knowledge;
- The ability to earn/diversify their income and make household financial decisions (ABH Services PLC, 2014; Chaturvedi et al., 2018) - this sometimes included the ability to have a job outside of the home or to acquire a loan through a savings group;
- Acquisition of skills and knowledge (eg. literacy) to increase the ability to make joint decisions (Mukherjee et al., 2015) or managing the family income;
- Reduced conflict or domestic violence which was attributed to reduced tensions over financial matters and a reduction in men's alcohol consumption and gambling. The benefits of reduced conflict were seen to be for the community as whole, as neighbours were sleeping better.

Benefits did not necessarily occur for all groups of women however:

In Nepal, Mercy Corps also found that women's increased confidence in household-level decision-making had positive spillover effects for participation in community-level events; however, these results were not found in Dalit women, a traditionally marginalized caste. (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 18)

There was also evidence to suggest that 'joint decision-making' could result in the unintended outcome of men acquiring greater control:

Comments made by some qualitative study participants (both male and female) suggest that men's adoption of joint decision-making may sometimes come at the expense of women's agency, if men exert control over decisions their female spouses/partners once made alone—for example, related to purchases or taking loans. One example: a male SILC [savings and internal lending community] FGD [focus group discussion] participant expressed the opinion that men and their wives should always be in the same SILC group and manage their contributions and share-outs together. The women participants unanimously disagreed, stating that being in separate SILC groups was better for women, because it minimized their risk if their husbands left them (i.e., divorced) and took their money. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 36)

In terms of food security outcomes, the structural association between the rights of married women and limited access to resources remained evident. Women continued to face structural barriers such as ownership of land which continued to limit their economic independence:

The interviews revealed that these women are mostly married, and their husbands have either migrated or are engaged in paid day labor. Women tend not to own land separate from their husbands, and they are exceedingly cash-poor. (Finan et al., 2017, p. 11)

Table 6-4 Outcomes for Women

Outcomes for Women	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Increased freedom of movement/control of time	17 ; 30 ; 90	3
Increased participation in economic activities	2 ; 11 ; 16 ; 17 ; 30 ; 38 ; 77 ; 79 ; 90 ; 94	10
Increased role in community settings	7 ; 17 ; 29 ; 38 ; 44 ; 77 ; 84 ; 94	8
Increase in household decision-making	7 ; 17 ; 38 ; 39 ; 41 ; 66 ; 78 ; 93	8
Increased support/respect from husband	9 ; 17 ; 51 ; 66 ; 81 ; 93 , opposite 30	6 (Opposite: 1)
Increased decision-making regarding family planning/safe sex	16 ; 21 ; 39	3
Increased skills/knowledge	17 ; 30 ; 65 ; 66 ; 77 ; 93	6
Reduced conflict/domestic violence	17 ; 22 ; 25 ; 26 ; 39 ; 43	6
Sub-group impacts outcomes	14 ; 77 ; 105	3
Potential greater control for men	37 ; 46	2
Structural barriers to economic independence	30 ; 46 ; 78	3

6.2.5 Capacity Development, Participation and Voice

The initial program theory hypothesized that increases in knowledge, skill and confidence would contribute to increased participation and voice. This was broadly supported by the literature.

Supportive group processes and relationships and participation in inclusion/equality training and/or rights/resources training increased knowledge, skills and confidence.

“I could see other women speaking without any hesitation and I was so much deeply inspired by knowing the important role a person can play in addressing conflict locally...With constant support and feedback from the project staffs and other community women, I started speaking in front of crowds of people. The training not only provided me an opportunity to learn, but it also enhanced my personal development: It helped me to build my confidence ... Now, I have the courage to speak rationally and also think that I can influence the decision-making processes in my villages that I have positive impact on my society.” (Subedi et al., 2016, p. 21)

Where women increased their confidence and ability to form opinions, articulate their ideas and voice them in both home and community settings, “women’s voices were integrated during community decision-making” and/or in the home (Global Communities, 2018).

Women-only self-help groups involving a mix of ethnicities created conditions for women to achieve solidarity, which, along with training, increased the confidence of excluded/minority groups to express a collective voice.

Most women were silent in meetings—shy and afraid. I saw a lot of sadness in these women. ... They were never given the chance to talk or participate; this was their first real opportunity. So I would spend a lot of time building their confidence. ... In the meeting, they get to know other women, other jandas. They get to feel that they have a lot of friends and can be confident together. ... I share the stories I heard from other villages who have the same problems. This is an important part—to explain what other women have done to

change their situations. After two or three months, we'd form a team with a vision and mission. With 10 women, you are able to change lives. (Zulminarni et al., 2018, p. 15)

Table 6-5 Capacity Development, Participation and Voice

Capacity Development, Participation and Voice	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Supportive group process and training contribute to increased skills/knowledge/confidence	11 ; 30 ; 33 ; 37 ; 82 ; 86 ; 117	7
Women "being heard"	17 ; 33 ; 39 ; 44 ; 85 ; 104	6
Women-only groups increased solidarity	14 ; 52 ; 90	3

6.2.6 Cultural Norms, Gender and Young People

Where cultural norms created limitations to women's meaningful participation in participatory processes or collective leadership, the evidence was not convincing that increased quotas of women in mixed gender local advisory groups led to changes in cultural norms. However, changes in cultural norms were sometimes evident in response to inclusion, equity, rights and resources training targeting youth inclusion.

Young people were often targeted with multiple purposes: addressing particular issues that affected young people in the program area (e.g. unemployment, recruitment into armed forces, increasing dowry payments); including the perspectives of younger adults in programming; strengthening inter-generational social capital and changing gender dynamics (Henry et al., 2020). Outcomes for young people across programs included increased knowledge and skills, increased confidence, increased social and economic participation, and participation in CLD leadership. Youth inclusion also improved the effectiveness of a negotiated settlement where there had been conflict over land (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a). There was however also recognition of the cultural tendency to 'instrumentalize youth' which was referred to as a challenge on par with transforming gender relations: (Henry et al., 2020)

Female Youth Leaders seized these opportunities, and earned their male peers' respect ... one young woman leader of an otherwise exclusively male Youth Group explained that taking that role had been hard for her: initially, and she had been embarrassed to speak. But she had absorbed everything she could from the project training and grown self-confident. Her male peers enthusiastically affirmed that she was an effective leader. However, although youth's contributions were valued and the project successfully expanded roles for both young men and women, shifting the balance of power between old and young proved more challenging. ... The endline data suggest it was hard to break from the cultural biases that marginalize and instrumentalize youth. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 46)

Youth programming was less successful where the power relations between young people and program staff mirrored 'traditional age-related power dynamics'. Greater autonomy was associated with greater motivation and confidence.

[T]he data also suggest a Youth Group's empowerment is associated with its members' level of motivation and the group's capacity to address members' collective needs. This was seen across high- and poor-performing study sites. Where groups' interactions with project staff and community actors mirrored traditional age-related power dynamics, members were less engaged and had stopped meeting. Where groups convened meetings on their own, and had

implemented member-driven initiatives such as collective farming initiatives and youth SILC [savings and internal lending community] groups, members appeared highly motivated and confident they would continue their activities even after the project ended, and regardless of whether they were registered as an association and positioned to benefit from long-term support from the MJS [Ministry of Youth and Sports]. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 47)

Additional factors associated with increased effectiveness of this youth programming approach included: “dynamic youth leaders of any gender; supportive parents who encouraged participation; high quality training (life skills and youth rights) delivered by experienced trainers; and high-quality youth entrepreneur coaching” (Henry et al., 2020, p. 47).

Table 6-6 Youth Inclusion and Cultural Norms

Youth Inclusion and Cultural Norms	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Youth-specific programming	6 ; 37 ; 39 ; 48 ; 52 ; 55 ; 60 ; 81 ; 82	9
Youth roles in decision-making processes limited due to cultural norms	37 ; 79 ; 82	3
Youth programming leading to changed gender relations	28 ; 37 ; 39 ; 52 ; 78	5

6.2.7 Limiting Factors

Women’s participation in knowledge acquisition/training and self-help activities was insufficient to transform gender relations without improvements being made to enabling environments. This requires more intentional systemic work to address gender inequities. One report suggested integrated strategies (‘programming lessons’) were required, which combined ‘increasing confidence’ with acquisition of knowledge and skills, and economic empowerment.

1. Address underlying institutional and cultural causes of social exclusion to create the confidence and space needed for women to exercise their voices and take collective action.
2. Use economic empowerment to build social foundations for autonomous voice and civic engagement.
3. Build countervailing power through action strategies that scale up member voice, leadership skills, and opportunities for participation in all aspects of the work.
4. Produce diverse forms of evidence for multiple audiences to advance advocacy strategies and maximize impact.
5. Cultivate allies and relationships inside and outside government, and at multiple levels, to expand impact and deflect opposition. (Zulminarni et al., 2018, p. 5)

Table 6-7 Limiting Environments

Limiting Environments	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Enabling environments required for improved gender relations	30 ; 37 ; 39 ; 46 ; 80 ; 85 ; 90	7
Integrated strategies	80 ; 90 ; 117 ; opposite 81	3 (opposite: 1)

Specific barriers to participation by marginalized groups included illiteracy, language barriers, cultural barriers, teenage pregnancy and early marriage, migration to cities, time poverty and distance. Gains in social cohesion were unlikely to occur where there was a lack of broad participation and/or inclusivity of sub-groups. Where some groups were excluded from participation, tension and dissatisfaction between groups increased and social cohesion was reduced.

Young men expressed a sense of exclusion and resentment for girls ‘who get all the services’. This frustration was mirrored among men towards women. (McSorley et al., 2018, p. 29)

It can be said that the benefits on household level are greater than on community level. Households which have directly benefited from the programmes have registered much more benefits than those which have not directly participated. It has not gone unnoticed that those that do not directly participate outweigh those that do, which has led to a higher demand that currently THP-Malawi cannot cope up with. If not properly managed, this may lead to resentment among partners, which may in the long-term curtail programme progress. (Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen (CIDIN), 2009, p. 29)

Conflicts between ethnic or religious groups in their access to land and economic resources which could affect access to participation.

In some cases, technical requirements and assumptions about time availability to participate in voluntary activity hindered the involvement of highly vulnerable people in community leadership activities:

In addition to gender, particular attention is given to the active participation of highly vulnerable groups in committees and in project activities. Because of technical requirements and insistence on literacy as a criterion for some committee positions, the most vulnerable people are often excluded, despite sincere project efforts to include them in decision making. Another consideration for extremely vulnerable people is the voluntary, unpaid nature of committee participation. Since many vulnerable people work as day laborers, they do not have the time to dedicate to committee activities. (Gaudreau et al., 2009, p. 40)

The review found evidence that communities understood a ‘rationale’ for nutrition and food security programs targeting vulnerable people, but this did not necessarily align with an NGO-driven strengths-based equity objective. For example, in Niger, community members believed the program “took pity on” sub-groups but this was due to weakness:

When community members were asked to elaborate why they believed these groups were vulnerable, they generally answered that “children under two years are not able to feed themselves, and pregnant women are often weak.” Some stated that [the program] pitied these subsectors of the population. (Hedley et al., 2015, p. 16)

The most marginalized/excluded groups did not necessarily have the physical ability to devote time and energy to participation. Malnutrition could be a significant barrier to women’s participation:

HKI [Helen Keller International] estimates that nearly 50 percent of adult women in Bangladesh suffer from anemia, and this is not only during pregnancy. Women who are moderately or severely anemic lack energy, which inhibits them from participating in activities other than those required. These women are not likely to participate in women’s groups, assume leadership roles, or participate in literacy classes. (TANGO International, 2009, p. 93)

Activities undertaken to provide training or sensitization for marginalized groups may not be effective unless enabling environments address physical limitations and competing demands, for

example providing on-site childcare alongside training (Global Communities, 2018; Roffi, 2015), and improving physical access to schools which support girls' education (McSorley et al., 2018).

Table 6-8 Contexts Affecting Participation

Contexts Affecting Participation	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Improvements in physical limitations/ competing demands	29 ; 33 ; 52 ; 80 ; 90	5
Technical requirements/availability assumption	31	1
Community understanding v's NGO objective	28 ; 34	2
Groups with greatest need not able to participate	31 ; 33 ; 86 ; 90	4
Low education and literacy (particularly of women)	11 ; 36 ; 46 ; 65 ; 84	5
Exclusion of groups reduced cohesion	16 ; 52 ; 79 ; 89	4

6.2.8 Summary: Theorizing Participation by Marginalized Groups

The evidence available for participation by marginalized groups may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Where laws or policies require equitable inclusion (C), awareness raising for gender equity and skilful facilitation to challenge power inequalities can contribute to improvements in enabling conditions, including changes in male attitudes (O). Where there are improved enabling conditions (C), training in inclusion, equality, rights and resources (C) increases women's knowledge, skills and confidence (M) which contributes to increased participation and voice for women (O). Training in income generation (C) increases women's knowledge and skills for participation in economic activities (M), which contributes to increased income for women (O) and increased participation in decision-making in the household (O).

Where cultures, laws or policies do not support equitable inclusion for women (C) but program activities are adapted to maximize women's participation within cultural parameters (C), increases in women's knowledge, skills and confidence (M) contribute to more limited improvements in outcomes for women.

Where cultures, laws or policies do not support equitable inclusion for women (C) and gender equity was viewed as 'an outsider objective' (C), programming did not trigger cultural or normative change ($\neq M$)⁴⁰ and improvements for gender equity were not achieved ($\neq O$).

Where parents are supportive (C) and there is targeted programming for young people (C), increased knowledge, skills and autonomy in decision-making (M) can contribute to increased participation in community development (O) and in economic activities (O). Dynamic youth leaders (C) act as role models (M) encouraging other young people's participation (O). Gender equity training for young

⁴⁰ This symbol should be interpreted as 'the mechanism did not fire' or 'the outcome was not achieved.'

people (C) and young women's participation in programs (C) can contribute to incremental shifts in gender norms (M), contributing to greater equity for women.

6.3 Implications and Recommendations: Participation by Marginalized Groups

To improve equity, programs should be designed to address the particular barriers to participation by marginalized groups, including marginalized women, in the specific context. Setting gender quotas alone is not enough to promote equity. Monitoring and evaluation systems should be designed to collect evidence that marginalized groups are indeed participating and benefiting, and that benefits outweigh the costs to individuals (including opportunity costs) of their participation. Opportunity costs may refer to lost income (for example if participation is unpaid and takes away time from income generating activities), lost opportunity to participate in paid work, or lost time for other activities: these costs should be identified in consultation with communities. Benefits will depend on the nature of the program.

Recommendations:

- 15.** Implementing agencies should include identification of marginalized groups and the particular barriers that affect them in context analysis, and design specific strategies to address them, before CLD programs are implemented. Operationalizing this may require funders to build a preparation stage within grants, or a 'preparatory grants' program, to enable context analysis, and design in relation to marginalized groups, prior to implementation.
- 16.** Implementing agencies should examine the design of their programs to ensure equity in the burdens placed on participants, including inequitable burdens on women; and ensure that benefits outweigh costs to individuals (including opportunity costs) of their participation.
- 17.** Funders and implementing agencies should ensure that monitoring systems and evaluations collect data about participation of, and outcomes for, marginalized groups. This requires collecting and storing data in ways that enable disaggregation of outcomes for different groups.⁴¹ Evaluation reports should normally include findings in relation to equity based on disaggregated data.

⁴¹ This should be done in compliance with local laws. For example, in at least one country it is illegal to collect data on ethnicity.

7 Formalized Structures and Advocacy

7.1 Initial Theories

Formalized structures and advocacy were initially conceptualized as contributing primarily to equity. The ‘formal structure and capacity development’ theory (F2, Appendix 7) proposed that where groups established formalized organizational and leadership structures and developed management and advocacy capacities, they would develop individual and group efficacy and a sense of collective voice. Formalized structures and stronger groups would contribute to increased legitimacy and authority, resulting in more positive responses from authority holders and greater access to external resources. This would contribute to changes to social, political, governance or environmental systems and changes in power dynamics, which in turn would contribute to both increased equity and increased resilience.

The ‘advocacy’ theory (L5, Appendix 7) proposed that representative and collective leadership would contribute to an increased sense of common purpose and collective voice, leading traditional power holders to engage with collective action and/or enabling traditional power holders and governments to be held accountable. The resulting shift in power towards communities would contribute to increased equity.

The mechanisms and outcomes in these theories were very similar; consequently, so was the evidence in relation to them. The primary difference lay in the context. In the initial diagrams, ‘facilitation’ was initiated by an NGO; whereas ‘advocacy’ was community-led.

There is also some overlap with the social capital theory (L2). That theory proposed that a sense of common purpose and working together led to collective voice, which led to seeking engagement of external actors and then to linking capital. This section provides further evidence of that pathway.

7.2 Formalized Structures

7.2.1 Formation of Groups

Establishing representative community groups involved democratic processes which included women, youth, and traditional leaders. In one program, group representatives were described as “being elected by the community” (Komorowska, 2016); and in another through a “general assembly meeting held with all community members” (Peterson et al., 2012). People with leadership capacity/qualities were also identified through facilitated participatory processes. Evaluation of the latter program recommended development of clearer guidance to support formation of formal representative groups and noted the need to expand the development of leadership capacity to avoid consolidation of power by those who already held community leadership roles.

Revise guidelines for VDC/SDC formation ... The guidelines available do not include procedures for elections, by-laws, and do not specify who will facilitate elections. The guidelines should be developed in conjunction with stakeholders (eg. Local Government Divisions) and should be easy for others to follow, including local government officials and other NGOs who may wish to use this model. (TANGO International, 2009, p. xxii)

Where NGOs facilitated new formal organizational and leadership structures, strategies to engage traditional leaders were also required. Some could endorse a program but still expect to be the sole

decision-makers in a community. Others needed increased awareness and skills to support transparency, accountability and a development orientation.

There is still an expectation from traditional leaders that they should be the sole decision-makers in community development, despite their knowledge of the OVP [One Village partners] model and their participation in and endorsement of OVP programs. OVP should deepen awareness among traditional leadership by keeping them informed and engaged throughout the duration of the programs. Whenever appropriate, OVP should also include traditional leadership in trainings around good communication, consensus building, and community development to foster greater transparency and accountability among leaders. (Dresser & Mansfield, 2016, p. 31)

Table 7-1 Forming Organizational Structures

Forming Organizational Structures	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Elected by the community	46 , 89	2
General assembly meetings held with all community members	75	1
Participatory identification of pro-active leadership in the targeted communities	80 , 90	2
Engagement with traditional/ faith-based leaders	39 , 22 , 11 , 65 , 84 , 68	6
Leader skills development requirements	27 ; 16 ; 68	3

7.2.2 Features of Formalized Structures

A range of structures, of varying degrees of formality, were involved in CLD activities, including committees, community-based organizations and local community groups.

Features of formalized organizational and leadership structures included legal registration, clear and documented administrative and governance structures (eg. terms of reference, constitutions), and strategic plans. To develop these structures, training in informal and formal governance was delivered, enabling communities to have open dialogue which could avert conflict. Establishment of these structures required consolidation and groups strengthened over time as training was delivered to address gaps in knowledge. Some new formalized structures built upon existing social capital, such as cultural/traditional arrangements of communities working together.

The local traditional governance system, including judiciary and the police was seen as a social capital and these key people where [sic] enrolled and became part of the CC [Community Conversations] process, making the required community changes easier to enact. (Mc Crossan & Sinkineh, 2009, p. 16)

Table 7-2 Formalized Organizational Structures

Formalized organizational structures	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Legal registration/officially recognized	3 , 117 , 75	3
Governance structure	3 , 6 , 38 , 117	4
ToR/constitution	29 , 75	2
Structures require consolidation	37	1
Building on existing cultural/traditional arrangement	94 , 51 , 65	3

Where members had low levels of education, lack of engagement with administration hindered proper understanding of governance and use of documents to support the functions of a formalized organization. In one example, staff from the facilitating partner took up the tasks of administering documents. The evaluators suggested that as a result, committee members lacked their own proper understanding about the information the documents contained, and the function of the documents (Mukherjee et al., 2015).

In some cases, there was a lack of clarity about roles and responsibilities and processes of election for new members; or relationships between group members were dysfunctional because of varying understanding among group members of relevant laws, policies and procedures (Subedi et al., 2016).

Future community-level governance initiatives should further clarify the roles and responsibilities of VDCs/SDCs [Village Development Committee/Slum Development Committee] to ensure that they are effectively supported and that they adequately respond to the needs of PEP [Poor and Extreme Poor] households. This process should include clarification of the term limitations of committee members and processes for election of new members. Special attention should also be given to promoting the active participation of women on VDCs/SDCs. Similarly, further efforts should be made to ensure that development and implementation of Community Action Plans (CAPs) allow participation by poor, illiterate individuals. (TANGO International, 2009, p. 20)

Table 7-3 Limiting Factors

Limiting factors	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Low/insufficient levels of literacy	65 , 84 , 36	3
Lack proper understanding and use of documents, did not fully absorb the trainings	65	1
Consolidation and role clarification required	37 , 90	2
Varying degrees of understanding laws, policies and procedures	86 , 75	2

7.2.3 Developing Management and Advocacy Capacities

Facilitated training was the most common means for community structures to become aware of their rights and increase knowledge of services/processes. Training content included knowledge about relevant laws and administrative procedures; being part of a legally recognized cooperative; awareness of government standards in service delivery and citizenship (FH Designs, 2016; Tabaja & Economic Development Solutions, 2017); group dynamics and cooperative management; social protection, action planning (FH Designs, 2016), and effective management of common resources.

'We had lack of knowledge in terms law and other [concepts]. Due to various organisations we improved our knowledge. Before we didn't have land or knowledge on how to obtain it.' – Community member 'We are now aware of all [land access] administrative procedures, how to follow them and do it in the right way [due to trainings]⁴².' (Westrope, 2017, p. 21)

⁴² In this quotation, words in square brackets are part of the original quote.

Benefits of knowledge acquisition through training to support formalized organization or leadership structures were reported to include increased awareness of women’s roles in economic development and the contribution this makes to the community overall (Causal Design, 2016, p 5:3).

Table 7-4 Training content

Training content	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Knowledge of laws	105	1
Administrative procedures	105	1
Government policy standards and citizenship	29, 89	2
Being part of a legally recognised cooperative	63	1
Group dynamics/cooperative management	63	1
Social protection	37	1
Effective management of common resources	105	1
Action planning	29, 17	2
Benefits include awareness of women’s roles	15	1

There was some reservation about the degree to which the effects of training could be sustained; this was in part due to volunteer turn over.

In addition to training, one source made reference to ‘coaching’ to strengthen leadership and capacity to mobilize and develop positive relationships with officials (van Hemelrijck, 2017).

In some cases, facilitated training was followed by development of action plans, articulating a common goal for community structures.

However, knowledge alone was not sufficient. Action plans developed for each school and health facility provided a common framework for action – a plan government officials, teachers, health staff and the wider community could contribute to. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 64)

Implementation of action plans provided evidence of a sense of common purpose:

Feelings of pride and accomplishment were widespread and expressed in different ways by government officials and MTC [Management Technical Committee] members alike. Respondents frequently cited issues they and others helped to address through action plans. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 68)

However, not all assessments of action plans could be considered evidence of ‘collective efficacy’- rather some were seen as antecedents building towards readiness for future action:

The evaluation team, though, questions the characterization of the VDC plans seen ... as true action plans. We do, however, recognize the value of the plans in initiating VDCs into their roles to undertake a thorough diagnosis of their village in order to be able to interact with government and NGO stakeholders who may come to do assessments or develop plans for future projects. (Sage et al., 2017, p. 53)

Some capacity development also targeted change behaviors in authority/power holders. This is described separately in the next section.

Table 7-5 Groups Develop Management/Advocacy Capacity

Groups Develop Management/Advocacy Capacity	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Volunteer turnover impedes sustainability	29	1
Additional elements to training: Leadership coaching Development of action plans	102 29 ; 44	3
Implementation of action plan evidences common purpose	29	1
Not all action plans evidence of collective efficacy	81	1

7.3 Advocacy

7.3.1 Capacity Development for Authority Holders

In some cases, to engage authority holders in advocacy processes, formalized organizations needed to ‘up-skill’ political representatives or their advisors about local government roles, responsibilities and how to work with service providers and communities, because they lacked formal education and access to information.

“We were surprised that we had to teach the Mayor’s advisors about policy. They didn’t know what they were supposed to do, so we had to teach them.” (Lour MTC member). Local advisors confirmed this. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 67)

...some councillors have benefited from only a very limited number of years of education and this constrains their ability to fulfil their functions. (Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 29)

For example, some recipients of ‘active leadership’ training demonstrated increased understanding of their roles and responsibilities in relation to communities, including improved knowledge of their roles in governance, transparency and accountability, participatory methods for engaging citizens in planning, and ‘greater appreciation of councillor responsibility for mobilizing, understanding, recording and representing the views and concerns of women and other disadvantaged groups’ (Smith & Kishekya, 2013).

...some councillors that received Active Leaders training through the Chukua Hatua programme have been more responsive to communities and, through their actions, have demonstrated a better understanding of their roles vis-à-vis the local governance structure by, for example: a) participating actively in mandated meetings (e.g. ward planning and budget meetings, village planning and budget meetings, village council meetings) where they have provided feedback to village communities on ward and district plans and budgets, responded to questions posed to them and been informed about community priorities and concerns requiring the attention of decision makers at higher levels b) allowing financial transactions and expenditure under their supervision to be made open to public scrutiny and debate c) asking VEOs [Village Executive Officer] under their supervision to ensure public budget and expenditure reports are prepared and presented to the village communities on a quarterly basis. (Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 22)

Table 7-6 Capacity Development for Authority Holders

Capacity Development for Authority Holders	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Local authorities may require capacity development	29 ; 84	2
Training can improve understanding of roles/responsibilities	84	1

7.3.2 Facilitated Processes Created Spaces for Engagement

In some programs, once groups were formed and formalized, NGOs facilitated forums such as roundtables creating spaces of engagement between representatives of communities and authority holders such as government officials. Round tables “brought together stakeholders from all levels of society” (Westrope, 2017, p. 23) which contributed to women (in particular) feeling empowered through engagement and interaction with those in official roles.

These events functioned as networking opportunities to develop new linkages between the formalized groups and officials. Convening and brokering engagement with existing networks gave the community groups a stronger voice and greater visibility and was an important advocacy strategy (Westrope, 2017).

The key mechanism by which the campaign increased political will at the regional and local levels was through the networks with which OGB [Oxfam Great Britain] engaged and the explicit linkages OGB made through the development of CBOs [Community Based Organisations] and community development plans that encouraged greater interactions between communities and local officials. By raising awareness of the active role that women could play in economic development, local officials were more willing to engage with them. This change in political will, however, was limited to engagement. Proactivity at the regional and local levels was, and continues to be, inconsistent and personality-based. (Westrope, 2017, p. 30)

Importantly, each of these trainings engaged regional and local government officials in addition to groups of women with the intention of raising awareness among these groups. Rather than only providing trainings, OGB and its partners encouraged regular interaction between these groups; a method not commonly used by other organisations. (Westrope, 2017, p. 20)

In at least one case, regional committees were established with membership including local politicians and representatives of local groups. The regional committee members were able to support local groups to undertake advocacy efforts such as writing letters to the government.

District CVA [Citizen Voice and Action] Committees act as a bridge between district governments and program communities, transmitting information between communities and the district and vice versa. With occasional funding support from WVG, District CVA Committees also ... provide guidance, encouragement and practical support (for example, helping to write letters to government officials or other partners) (FH Designs, 2016, p. 32)

There was evidence of women and refugees being able to influence decision-making through informal, as opposed to formal, facilitated structures (Tabaja & Economic Development Solutions, 2017, p. 34). Although this suggests an alternative theory in which formal organization/leadership structure is not required, different processes may be required for marginalized persons such as refugees. The revised program theory suggests that adequate social capital is needed to participate in a process of formal structure and capacity development.

Table 7-7 Increased Legitimacy

Increased Legitimacy	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Networking / engagement linkages	63 , 105 , 90 , 17 , 75	5
Linkage into committee supporting advocacy	29	1

As well as creating linkages, these forums also enabled sharing of evidence from community perspectives. For the most part however, these linkages were reported to be a point of engagement with authority holders, and a pre-cursor to advocacy.

7.3.3 Increased Transparency

There was evidence of increased transparency as a result of training of both community groups and power holders, particularly in community-level budgeting and management and use of collective resources (FH Designs, 2016; Westhorp & Ball, 2018). In at least one program, community members were able to participate in regular discussions with leaders and received relevant information about community-owned income and donations, which increased legitimacy and accountability of leaders to communities.

Leaders now share feedback on all community activities, especially fund management. They plan with community members how funds should be used and are becoming more active in projects, especially in the area of enforcing by-laws. (One Village Partners, 2020, p. 33)

Where there were high levels of illiteracy among community members, a variety of strategies were used to provide information to them, including word-of-mouth, community gatherings, mobile phones, mosque loudspeakers, and noticeboards. Interest in financial decisions was reported to be high (Komorowska, 2016).

A major difference, however, can be seen in how the community oversees the CDCs' [Community Development Councils] expenditure. While the non-financial decisions may not be communicated well, the financial ones are closely monitored by community members. (Komorowska, 2016, p. 39)

Increases in transparency and accountability were also key to how communities viewed 'inclusive leadership' being practiced by traditional leaders.

Overall, almost half of all MSC [most significant change] cases mentioned a change related to an aspect of Inclusive Leadership. Among these cases, the most common ideas reported included "representative leadership is emergent" and "leaders are transparent and accountable." These cases mostly discussed the increase of female leaders and the practicing of good governance by traditional leaders, specifically around transparency and accountability. (OneVillage Partners, 2020, p. 18)

The good reputation of groups increased with their demonstrated capabilities, and as a result, authority holders sought to work with formalized organizational structures.

'[The government officials] are [now] calling us to events organised by the government.'
– Community representative '[The officials were more willing to work with them] because the jamoat and local government were informed about those women, who have capabilities and are very active.' – Civil society representative (Westrope, 2017, p. 27)

Table 7-8 Increased Transparency

Increased Transparency	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Leaders practice good governance	68 , 29 , 81 , 46	4
Transparency	104 , 29 , 86 , 46 , 68	5

7.3.4 Responses to Advocacy by Authority Holders

Much of the evidence of positive responses to community groups' demands from authority holders came from programs that focused specifically on facilitating advocacy (FH Designs, 2016; Kibanja, 2016; Teruneh Zenna Business and Management Consultancy (TZBMC), 2016; Westhorp & Ball, 2018). Some community accountability programs provide information and training to increase awareness of rights, standards and responsibilities by the community, community leaders and those responsible for the delivery of services.

Increased awareness of rights and standards on the part of service managers and officials triggered internal accountability systems, such that resources were reallocated and staff were both enabled to, and held accountable for, provision of services to meet standards. However, it was not just managers and officials who became more active as leaders: so too were political leaders and community leaders. They were motivated to improve service quality, but also health promotion and use of health services. Leaders took action in their own spheres of responsibility and – through improved relationships with each other – did so in more collaborative ways. (Westhorp & Ball, 2018, p. 13)

Community action plans, implemented in combination with the training and capacity development provided to formalized community groups, were an effective tool for gaining positive responses from authority holders.

Recognising an opportunity to facilitate better collaboration and shared understandings of local needs, WVS [World Vision Senegal] staff approached Mayors and other local government officials to recommend establishing more participatory and transparent budgeting processes that included community input, rather than routine budgeting processes that in the past mostly reflected the operational needs of local government officials. As a result, local governments started hosting community-based budget planning that included community and service provider input. Program communities and groups trained to implement CVA drew on action plans to influence budget priorities during these events. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 35)

Garnering a positive response from authority holders depended on presenting a 'collective voice', represented in the action plans, that is, a unified position about a specific service. Local government or local officials then 'brokered support' on behalf of service providers (FH Designs, 2016).

For example in 2013 the communities in Kimbe village demanded to have a permanent medical officer but there was no house for such service provider. Their demand to the DHMT [district health] was through planning sessions incorporated into the district plan and the house was built. They now have a fully furnished house for the health workers and a well-built house which is now used as a dispensary. This incentive to the health workers was a response to the community demands (Veronica Mushi, The Kilindi District Designated Hospital Secretary). (Kibanja, 2016, p. 16)

Some CAPCs [Community Action Plan Committee] have been successful in mobilizing local resources to support implementation and/or mobilize some funding from the Das [District Assembly]: e.g. construction of water pumps, water tanks, or IT classrooms. Furthermore, some CAPCs have exhibited a certain degree of empowerment and are now able to address the

District Assemblies and appeal the district representatives/authorities in order to advocate for their communities and CAPs, and to gain access to some resources. According to several testimonies (specially, CAP committee and VSLA [Village Savings and Loan Associations] group members), this was unthinkable a year ago. (Sevilla, 2018)

However, where most activity was undertaken at a local level, responsiveness to collective advocacy was also constrained to the local (and to a lesser extent District) level.

The levels of Government most commonly identified for policy, budget and government responsiveness showed a remarkably clear pattern. Almost all reported changes were at the village level.... Changes at the village government level clearly should be celebrated. However, the project would appear to have had very little impact at higher levels. (Westhorp & Ball, 2018, p. 98).

There was limited evidence to understand *why* authority holders responded actively, beyond their engagement in training to support increased knowledge, and their willingness to ‘engage’ with communities in facilitated forums. The clearest evidence was where those in authority were directly accountable to communities, such as local leaders seeking re-election:

“I have been in this position for almost one year. So far, people ideas that were voiced through the citizen voice and action program have been implemented one by one. That is why I am optimistic that I will get elected again in the next period.” (Westhorp & Ball, 2018, p. 121)

There was insufficient evidence to explain a causal link to increased equity (as per the F2 program theory). One program found increased engagement led to greater inconsistency in action (presumably because some officials changed their actions and others did not).

While evidence suggests that willingness to engage on issues related to women in rural communities did increase among regional officials with whom OGB engaged, this political willingness did not necessarily lead to greater proactivity. Rather, more inconsistent action among regional officials is reported. (Westrope, 2017, p. 26)

There was also evidence that some power holders did not respond favourably to increased collective voice. The political climate in which formalized community groups were operating became fragile due to conflict in some cases (Global Communities, 2018; Peterson et al., 2012). Other examples clearly demonstrated the importance of the political climate.

The political climate in Shinyanga Rural district, one of the locations where CH [Chakua Hatua] works that is subject of this review, is particularly supportive of accountability issues because of the vibrant opposition parties in the area. These parties have been successful at bringing accountability to the attention of community members by linking economic difficulties of increasing unemployment and the challenges of drought to non-democratic government. (Smith & Kishekya, 2013, p. 21)

In many conflict affected contexts in South Sudan, societal norms are challenged by a chaotic and changing environment, and the government is unable or unwilling to provide a regulatory framework to facilitate the productive exchange of resources. (Global Communities, 2018, p. 24)

There was also an example of partisan behavior which made group decision-making difficult, diminishing chances of garnering a successful response from an authority holder (Smith & Kishekya, 2013).

Table 7-9 Responses from Authority Holders

Responses from local authority holders	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Local official responsive to community demands	44 , 104 , 29 , 93 , 84 , 82	6
Power holders don't recognise the formalized group/political constraints/conflict	22 , 84 , 33 , 75	4

7.4 Outcomes of Formalized Structures and Advocacy

7.4.1 Improved Linking Capital

Membership of formalized organizations or formalized leadership increased the effectiveness of lobbying and advocacy with local government had the potential to improve access to economic input and skills, but also opened up new social and economic network and opportunities:

These lobbying and advocacy activities have to some extent improved household incomes and business productivity or reduced costs to PEKKA [Grass-roots member-owned cooperatives for female heads of households in rural Indonesia] members. However, the women do not describe advocacy activities for the purpose of income improvement, although having access to more productive machines, better access to land or inputs, and better skills to improve their businesses could affect positively their incomes. They describe the indirect economic improvement as being much more significant, and related to an improved recognition of their economic contribution to the community, which has opened up new social and economic networks and opportunities. (Quak, 2019, p. 21)

In one example, the linkages established and brokered between a formalized group with capacity to manage collective resources (a Village Development Committee [VDC] formed a savings association), and a landowner enabled collaboration which generated income, thus creating greater access to resources for community development.

The VDC formed a savings association and IGA [Income Generating Activities] group for fish cultivation, as well as guava and eucalyptus plantation. Private land was made available by the landowner, who happens to be the UP [Union Parishad] Chairman. The savings association saved 25,000 taka to buy 70 kg of fish fingerlings, and the NGO ... provided the guava saplings. Seventy-five percent of income earned from this project will be allocated to the 30 members of the association who are maintaining the project, and the remainder will be split between the owner of the land, the VDC, and a fund for community development. (TANGO International, 2009, p. 23)

Table 7-10 Greater Access to Linking Capital

Greater Access to Linking Capital	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Formal organization/leadership improved advocacy effectiveness	77 ; 90	2

7.4.2 Changes to Social, Political, Governance or Environmental Systems

The evidence to this point suggests that formalized organizations/collective leadership structures have enabled members to develop collective awareness, skills, linkages, and legitimacy. There was also evidence that people's roles evolved from clients to active citizens, engaging in advocating for standards to be met in health system delivery (Westhorp & Ball, 2018). However, there was little evidence to support long-lasting changes to social, political, governance or environmental systems, with many of the reported changes at the local level. This may be a symptom of the timeframes required to generate broader system changes and relatively short timeframes of many programs. Alternatively, it may reflect the fact that there is no guarantee of systemic change, given the complexity of systems in which programs operate.

There were examples of community action plans being integrated into district level plans, in one case where the focus had been to develop community resilience in disaster management, and in another in health (Westhorp & Ball, 2018).

The one indicator (of transformative capacity) on which there does appear to be a significant positive effect from the project is the integration of community-level committees or plans into district-level structures. As found earlier (Section 6.7), respondents in the intervention communities were more likely to be aware that the community had a disaster management committee and an action plan or disaster management plan. They were also more likely to express confidence that the SDMC [Satellite Disaster Management Committees] was representing the community's needs at a district level. (Lain & Fuller, 2018, p. 48)

However, groups could not always sustain working at a "higher level" in the system, which was attributed to the challenge in mobilizing people who did not have a common cause.

We started a district level action group, but it wasn't sustainable. We were hoping they could influence issues at the district level. But people have different objectives at the district level; it's not like at the community level. It's more difficult to mobilise ... because there is no common cause that personally affects them. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 28)

Similarly, awareness raising about key policy issues such as gender-based violence and food security did not necessarily translate effectively into implementation:

'We adopt very good law, theoretically, for violence against women or food security. However, those are not implemented well. The main reasons why those strategies or adopted laws are not implemented in practice is due to lack of knowledge or will [at the regional level].' – Civil society representative (Westrope, 2017, p. 28)

The majority of evidence reviewed was of programs conducted at local levels, and the majority of outcomes achieved (including those in social, political, governance or environmental systems) were also at local level. This was still contingent on the political context, and whether authority holders had appropriate knowledge and beliefs or attitudes to engage with advocacy/lobbying. We did not find evidence of a 'trickle up' effect, where changes at local level automatically contributed to changes at higher levels of systems.

Table 7-11 Changes to Systems

Changes to Systems	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Role evolvment	104	1
Integration of local plan into district plan	47 ; 104	2
Challenge to work at higher system level	29	1
Awareness raising about policy issues did not necessarily translate to implementation	105	1

7.4.3 Changes in Power Dynamics

Increased confidence on the part of community members strengthened their ability to effect change through increased negotiation and bargaining power. In the examples below, increased confidence was associated with engagement, negotiation and bargaining.

Project participants' regular tie-ups and networking with different organizations have provided greater confidence. "Now they can approach anything through groups and cooperatives - owing to this their negotiation/ bargaining power has increased" (Kanel, 2016, p. 37)

Increased CVA Working Group and District CVA Committee member confidence to engage directly with the District Assembly, rather than waiting for local representatives to act on the community's behalf. Using her newfound confidence, influence and position on the Ga West District CVA Committee, one member with a disability also motivated the District Assembly to invest in disability-friendly infrastructure in local schools and health facilities. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 56)

'Confidence to advocate', however, was no guarantee that an authority holder would be willing to accommodate requests.

While most government officials interviewed during field visits welcomed increased community initiative, one district official from MWE [Mphohor Wassa East, Area Program Ghana] informed the consultant that the District Assembly took a decision not to entertain any further requests for support if these were not channeled through District Assembly representatives, or Assemblymen and women. Apparently, this decision was taken in response to intense and prolonged requests received directly from CVA Working groups and service providers, including in person from individuals. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 53)

Much of the evidence about changes to power dynamics is shown by how community members view interactions with authority holders, subsequent to receiving training which resulted in greater awareness and knowledge. For example, increased confidence to express a 'courageous' collective voice can be understood to indicate the initial stages of shifts in power relations:

Multiple interviews in that first year suggested within the same sentence that both 'courage' and awareness had increased; and courage was described as relating both to the processes used and to the presence of World Vision. Notably, the processes used did not simply increase awareness of official standards (which deal with very objective measures, such as staffing and equipment levels), but also organised groups of citizens to determine their own assessment criteria, and to speak collectively about performance against those criteria. This might be conceptualised as 'the courage that flows from collective action', or in more formal terms, as initial stages in shifts in power relations. (Westhorp & Ball, 2018, p. 115)

It is therefore likely that the initial stages of shifts may be developed through facilitated processes to gather a collective voice, generating legitimate claims on behalf of the community, suggesting ‘enhanced power to negotiate’ where possibly there was previously very little power to do so.

Through greater awareness of resources, communities can negotiate better terms using their contribution as leverage. This allows communities to make tangible investments in their own development projects, which in turn strengthen their ownership of projects. This enhanced bargaining power also implies communities are better able to negotiate terms and conditions for development assistance from a position of strength, which is important for sustainability. (Concern Worldwide, n.d., p. 8)

Table 7-12 Changes in Power Dynamics

Changes in Power Dynamics	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Increased confidence associated with negotiation/engagement/bargaining	29	1
Expressing voice can be initial stage of power change	104	1
Processes to generate collective voice can be initial stage of power change	23	1

7.5 Sustained Structures

There were reservations in the literature about the extent to which facilitated organization/ leadership structures could be sustained without the support of the program, in particular ongoing capacity development and training.

...some respondents also mentioned that they did not feel that their organization was sufficiently trained, and that institutional knowledge was not sufficient for independent service delivery without project support. Some KIIs [key informant interviews] described their organizations as young or fairly new and, according to one quote, likening the organization to a child learning to walk. (ACDI/VOCA, 2018, p. 64)

The evaluation team found that the LACs’ [local advisory committees] role appeared more limited later in the project perhaps because there was little follow up on capacity building after their initial orientation in LFC [leadership for change] training, or in developing a strategy with LACs for amplifying and further strengthening their role in the project. ... LACs have prepared Action Plans, but these were not shared with the team, nor did LACs mention that they had any such plan. ... The team observed that LACs’ capacity needed to be strengthened and their role enhanced for undertaking specific activities in the community (Chaturvedi et al., 2018)

Provision of timely resources, such as specialist or technical advice (eg. legal advice when required) was essential, along with time and tangible resources to coordinate follow up. There were multiple reports that ongoing provision of resources was needed (FH Designs, 2016; Finan et al., 2017; Tabaja & Economic Development Solutions, 2017) and that groups sought funding from a range of sources beyond government.

...the sustainability and success of this collaboration largely depends on creating local fundraising mechanisms to independently resource the work CVA Working Groups and District CVA Committees ... Prolonged government inaction often motivated CVA Working Groups

(Ghana), MTCs [Management Technical Committee], SMCs [School Management Committee], HCs [Health Committee] (Senegal) and CVA Action Groups (Sierra Leone) to seek funding or technical support from NGOs, foundations, private sector businesses, private individuals, including local members of parliament, and other sources. (FH Designs, 2016, p. 28)

There was little evidence that formalized organization and leadership structures become self-perpetuating without tangible resources and support over an adequate time period, and without strong linkages to existing infrastructure.

Three elements reduce the potential for this elected committee to succeed in establishing durable mechanisms: i) the absence of clear commitment from the municipalities to support the local groups; ii) the absence of funds for the implementation of activities (either municipal funds, own funds or donor funds); iii) programme implemented infrastructures, especially community centres that could or have been used to set up durable mechanisms, were not fully operationalized within the programme period (Tabaja & Economic Development Solutions, 2017, p. 38)

Table 7-13 Sustained Structures

Sustained Structures	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Doubt whether organization/leadership structures could be maintained	4 ; 17 ; 46 ; 81 ; 89	5
Provision of timely resources essential	84	1
Ability to follow-up	89	1
Ongoing resources needed	29 ; 30 ; 89	3

7.6 Summary: Theorizing Formalized Structures and Advocacy

The evidence available for formalized structures and advocacy may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Where groups are formed to lead or implement CLD activities (C) and group members are elected by communities (C), the groups have credibility with (M), and can be held accountable to (M), community members. Formalizing governance procedures (C) provides clarity about roles and required procedures (M), which contributes to appropriate governance of CLD activities (O). Effective capacity development in relation to governance and relevant laws and policies (C) increases knowledge and skill (M) which contributes to effective governance and to effective advocacy. Common goals (C) enable groups to develop a sense of collective voice (M), and collective efficacy (M) develops through application of expertise and experiences of success; these contribute to agreement to subsequent actions (including advocacy) (O).

Formalized groups (C) develop stronger linking capital (M) and are more able to access ongoing resources, including timely advice and support, funding and capacity development (O).

Low levels of literacy and low levels of education (C) undermine both capacity (M) and motivation (M) to engage in administration of CLD activities, reducing groups' ability to manage their own affairs (O). High levels of volunteer turnover (C) reduce the available knowledge and skills (M), reducing effectiveness and efficiency (O).

Capacity development for authority holders in relation to laws, standards and rights (C) increased their understanding of the basis for advocated claims (M) and increased the possibility of positive

responses. Formalised groups (C) are more likely to be viewed positively by authority holders (M), increasing the likelihood of positive responses by authority holders.

Fragile political contexts (C), high levels of violence (C) or partisan behavior (C) reduce the likelihood of positive responses to advocacy (O). (Mechanism not identified).

There was insufficient evidence to establish the link between these activities and increased equity; and no evidence that outcomes ‘trickled up’ to higher levels of authority (that is, beyond those directly involved).

7.7 Implications and Recommendations: Formalized Structures and Advocacy

CLD programs which include or develop formalized structures have greater legitimacy and may be more able to engage with a range of actors within and external to the local community. These programs may also be more successful in advocacy efforts. Implementation agencies should encourage and support groups to formalize structures as early as possible in the development process. Care should be taken to ensure that structures are inclusive, representative of the whole community, and accountable to the community. Instead of imposing externally defined structures, implementation agencies should support communities to develop their own formalized structures. Capacity development for formal roles and responsibilities is likely to be necessary. Groups may require support in relation to developing constitutions, clarifying roles, training, engaging with traditional and faith-based leaders, establishing facilitated processes as ‘spaces for engagement’ between the group and authority holders, and enhancing good governance including transparency in budgeting and use of resources.

Capacity development for authority holders is a key aspect of community advocacy, especially in respect to their responsibilities to citizens, legal and policy environments, and available resources. Capacity development for community members may be required in relation to rights, responsibilities and effective strategies for advocacy. Formalized structures may be more successful than informal structures in advocacy. Where the intent is to influence regional or national policies, standards or resourcing, specific strategies will be required at those levels: local outcomes will not necessarily ‘trickle up’.

Recommendations:

18. Programs should support and equip CLD groups to formalize their structures early in the development process, including developing constitutions, formalizing roles, and ensuring processes for inclusion and accountability.
19. Implementation agencies and funders should assess the implications of formalization for project processes, capacity development, timelines and resource requirements, ensuring that adequate time and resources are available.
20. CLD programs with an advocacy focus should include capacity development for authority holders, as well as communities, as key program strategies.
21. CLD advocacy programs should enable forums for interaction between community groups/organizations and authority holders.

8 Food Security and Nutrition

8.1 Definitions and Initial Theory

This section of the review seeks to link findings in relation to resilience and equity to food security. No initial theory was developed at the start of the project for this linkage (the diagrams ‘assumed’ that improved resilience and improved equity would contribute to improved food security but did not specify how or why).

Resilience was discussed in detail in section 5 of this review and equity in section 6. Below we focus specifically on the issue of food security resilience. Adapting our earlier definition, we define food security resilience as the “the active ability to positively manage, learn from, and adapt to food insecurity (adversity) and change in food security without compromising current or future wellbeing, identity and goals”.

8.2 A Note on the Evidence

The primary sources of evidence for this section of the review were programs funded by the USAID Food for Peace (FFP) program and implemented between 2003 and 2019. Some programs operated by MCLD member organizations also provided evidence. The legacy FFP-funded initiatives had (usually) three common strategies: maternal and child health (improved nutrition) commonly through “Title II⁴³ commodity distribution to vulnerable groups”; agricultural initiatives to improve food production practices for local consumption and income generation; and improved disaster risk management and resilience to shocks. Gender was a cross-cutting element for most programs.

A large proportion of the documents in the FFP sample were evaluations of programs in Africa, during a period when devastating drought led to emergency-level food insecurity. This had a major effect on nutrition and food security programming, which moved from development to humanitarian responses and then back again. Adaptation was required as the situation evolved (Sage et al., 2017; TANGO International, 2010). Some findings may be affected by the transition process and its impacts on food availability. The effects of drought permeate across all aspects of society (Kurtz & McMahan, 2015) and were often complicated by other issues including political and economic instability, inadequate infrastructure and poor levels of service provision.

8.3 Equity, Resilience and Food Security – Overview

There was clear evidence of a relationship between equity, resilience and food security. Programs which demonstrated improved food security outcomes also had evidence of equity outcomes and intermediate resilience outcomes⁴⁴:

- In Bangladesh (2004-2010), one program’s goals were improved access to food, improved health and nutrition; empowerment of women and girls; and better preparation for, and response to, natural disasters. The program demonstrated equity and resilience outcomes as well as achieving specific objectives. The program took an integrated approach to addressing the underlying issues that contribute to

⁴³ Title II of the Food for Peace Act funds U.S. food assistance to meet emergency food needs around the world and development (non-emergency) activities to address the root causes of food insecurity.

⁴⁴ Note that the table providing references for this section is provided in section 8.5, to avoid repetition.

food insecurity through rights-based programming to improve social equity, livelihood security, and an enabling environment (improving governance) (TANGO International, 2009, p. 18).

- In Uganda (2012 -2017), a program's goals were economic growth, improved nutrition, and good governance. The program demonstrated equity outcomes, intermediate resilience outcomes (reduced conflict, increased social capital) and food security outcomes. The program theory of change centred around 'post-conflict transformation' supporting a multi-sectoral approach to recovery (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a).
- In Burkina Faso (2011-2018), a program's goals were increased agricultural production, increased income, and reduced malnutrition of children under 5 and pregnant/lactating women. The intermediate resilience outcome was increased income and community assets through improved crop storage (ACDI/VOCA, 2018; Persha et al., 2018).

Programs which demonstrated mixed food security outcomes had partial or no equity outcomes, and partial or no resilience outcomes.

- In Burkina Faso (2010-2018), a program's goals were improved access to food, mother and child health, and establishing community-based organizations (CBOs). The evaluation found establishment of CBOs did not have clear design, and it was difficult to assess whether the program achieved its objectives with respect to CBOs. Use of Title II food commodities promoted participation in mother care groups, however the end-line results showed a decline in levels of household dietary diversity. The program did not demonstrate resilience outcomes, and partial equity (prioritizing participation of women but no gender equity strategy to promote leadership) (Sage et al., 2017)
- In Democratic Republic of the Congo (2008-2011), a program's goals were to increase crop productivity and access to markets by providing post conflict resettlement support. The program achieved its objectives of improved agricultural practices, but the quality and diversity of household diets decreased due to reliance on food rations of vegetable oil, maize flour and peas (Hedley et al., 2011, p. 8).
- In Madagascar (2014-2020), a program's goals were to prevent under-nutrition among children aged under 2 years, increasing household incomes, and increasing community capacity to manage shocks through natural resource management. There were improvements in child health and nutrition, uptake of improved agricultural techniques and participation in savings groups, however the program achieved partial equity outcomes (women participated in the program but remained underweight and lacking in dietary diversity). Resilience outcomes were also limited due to drought (Henry et al., 2020).
- In Zimbabwe (2003-2010), a program's goals were to provide short-term, targeted food assistance to vulnerable households and to improve productive assets. The program did not show evidence of equity outcomes or resilience outcomes and only partial food security outcomes. The program delivered on short-term delivery of food rations, but due to the drought and other limiting factors (political instability, bans on NGOs activities, near collapse of the economy) was unable to improve productive assets. The approach to targeted food assistance was a challenge for equity (and efficiency) in the program's implementation (TANGO International, 2010).

8.4 Equity, Resilience and Access to Food

Analysis of a sub-sample of USAID outcome evaluations⁴⁵ found a series of equity- and resilience-related conditions – some but not all of which could be outcomes of CLD programming - which could support or inhibit access to food.

Women’s participation in savings groups supported access to resources and engagement in economic or agricultural activities, which was related to better access to food. More gender equitable households experienced better food security and nutrition. Activities that increased household food production, income, and sanitation, and equity within the household (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017b), and households participating in more than one type of intervention (TANGO International, 2010), were both found to support access to food. Crop storage and conservation techniques and less food spoilage increased availability of food across lean seasons (ACDI/VOCA, 2018).

Conversely, women in traditional male-headed households lacked control over resources and were less likely to have adequate access to food and dietary diversity (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a; Hedley et al., 2011, p. 20). Where households were unable to grow produce to supplement food rations due to extreme water shortage from drought, reliance on food rations alone could reduce nutritional diversity. Water and food supply crises exacerbated political instability and could increase conflict, reducing social capital: social capital has elsewhere been associated with resilience and food security.

Table 8-1 Equity, Resilience and Food Security

Equity, Resilience, and Food Security	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Positive relationships with food security	30 ; 6 ; 91 ; 4	4
Inhibiting relationships with food security	6 ; 35 ; 70 ; 91 ; 103	5

⁴⁵ ACDI/VOCA. (2018). *Final Report: Final Evaluation of Victory Against Malnutrition (ViM) Project, Burkina Faso* (AID-FFP-A-10-00014). NORC at the University of Chicago. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TB94.pdf, Advanced Marketing Systems. (2017a). *Final Report: Evaluation of the Northern Karamoja Growth, Health and Governance Project in Karamoja Region, Uganda* (AID-FFP-A-12-00006). Mercy Corps. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00SVZZ.pdf, Hedley, D., Magistro, J., & Sagara, B. (2011). *ADRA DRC—JENGA JAMAA Final Evaluation Report* (FFP-A-00-08-00071-00). TANGO International. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACP830.pdf, Henry, K., Crenn, B., Andrianjafitrimo, N. V., & Loucks, J. (2020). *Final Performance Evaluation of the Fararano Development Food Security Activity in Madagascar* (AID-OAA-M-14-00026). The Implementer-Led Evaluation & Learning Associate Award (IMPEL). https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00WG9J.pdf, Persha, L., Sadhu, S., Grant, A., Weiss, E., & Ntahorugiye, P. (2018). *Final Report Annexes: Final Evaluation of Victory Against Malnutrition (ViM) Project, Burkina Faso* (AID-FFP-A-10-00014). NORC at the University of Chicago. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TF84.pdf, Sage, B., Tilford, K., Somé, B., & Crawford-Garrett, B. (2017). *Final Evaluation: Burkina Families Achieving Sustainable Outcomes (FASO)* (AID-FFP-10-00013). Oxu Solutions. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00N51N.pdf, TANGO International. (2009). *SHOUHARDO a Title II program of USAID: Final Evaluation Report* (FFP-A-00-04-000079-00, P. L. 480). USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACP746.pdf, TANGO International. (2010). *C-SAFE Zimbabwe End of Program Evaluation*. USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACR617.pdf, TANGO International. (2015). *Endline Report: PROSHAR Quantitative Final Program Performance Evaluation (QFPE) 2015, Bangladesh* (AID-FFP-A-10-00012). USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M1HD.pdf, Vondal, P., O’Colmain, B., Temsah, G., Bishwakarma, R., & Khan, N. (2018). *Ethiopia Endline Study: Quantative Assessment of Food-for-Peace Development Food Assistance Projects (DFAPs)* (AID-OAA-TO-17-00005). ME&A. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TJQR.pdf

8.5 Resilience in Food Security

Program goals relating to food security resilience could be broadly defined into two groups: those focusing on preparedness for disaster and risk reduction (Henry et al., 2020; TANGO International, 2009, 2015), and those focused on withstanding ongoing shocks (e.g. protracted drought, conflict). For programs in African countries during the period under review, drought was a major limiting factor for achieving resilience outcomes. The context of conflict or post-conflict transformation affected resilience outcomes in terms of community cohesion, social capital and wellbeing. Programming often aimed to improve governance and enable collective action such as savings groups.

Only one program in the sample of USAID outcome evaluations demonstrated achievement of resilience outcomes at a community level. It did so through the formation of groups to support disaster preparedness (raising awareness, training, developing plans, early warning systems, improving infrastructure) (TANGO International, 2009). This was a large-scale program, featuring strong collaboration with governments, and was not operating in the context of severe drought. However, the evaluation noted further effort was needed to support the most vulnerable households, for example in adapting to emergent climate change shocks, through technical support in crop selection.

Intermediate outcomes for resilience were demonstrated through the formation of savings and loans groups, which enabled improved purchasing power and increased social cohesion by reducing the need for members to migrate for work (TANGO International, 2009, p. 17). Another intermediate outcome was an increased ability to store crops (thereby increasing potential income by having greater control over the timing to sell). However, the evaluation reported that this aspect of program implementation lacked consultation, suggesting that it was not community-led.

Improved social cohesion due to reduced conflict was another resilience outcome, also with equity overtones. One program in Uganda reported that including women and young people in peace groups and in government departments improved the ability of all parties to reach negotiated settlements. (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a, p. 11)

Table 8-2 Resilience Outcomes

Resilience outcomes	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Preparedness for disaster and risk reduction through collective action	90	1
Improved governance	6 ; 90	2
Collective action such as savings groups, community development committees	4 ; 35 ; 37 ; 90	4
Improved purchasing power at the household level and strengthened markets at the community level	6	1
Increased capacity to store crops	4	1
Involving women and young people in peace initiatives	6	1

Table 8-3 Partial Resilience Outcomes

Partial resilience outcomes	Evidenced in	No. of reports evidenced in
Preparedness for disaster and risk reduction through collective action	31 ; 35 ; 37	3
Consolidate communities as they re-establish post conflict	3 ; 6	2
More effort required to adapt to continuing climate change	37 ; 90	2
Reduced household hunger	4	1

8.5.1 Capacity Development⁴⁶

The examples for resilience in food security related primarily to absorptive capacity; that is, coping skills to ensure stability, maintain current way of life and bounce back from shocks.

Capacity development played a significant role in food security resilience by increasing agricultural productivity, but also by developing human and social capital.

Key informant responses suggested that increased productivity may be attributable to three factors: 1) Respondents received knowledge and skills in modern farming methods and animal husbandry; 2) Respondents are now motivated, encouraged, have the emotional strength to work, and understand that working is very important because it is a means to earn money; 3) Increased cooperative farming efforts and advice giving about farming techniques ... (Lewandowski, 2011, p. 57)

Access to food banks, seeds, tools and land for community farming also assisted some people to diversify agricultural production (The Hunger Project, 2016, p. 7), although there were some mixed results about practical assistance (Hoebink et al., 2012). Where practical assistance to address risk and support adaptation was not provided, motivation to participate in CLD activities reduced.

...the local beneficiary groups want less “talk” and more action-based support to tackle the problems of floods, landslides, and other challenges. ... Even well-received community activities like REFLECT sessions have slowly become a platform to express frustrations, as these platforms raise expectations without a concurrent strategy to either provide asset-building inputs or link local groups with other service providers in the district. (Finan et al., 2017, p. 27)

Training of religious leaders in mediation was highly effective in reducing conflict between farmers and pastoralists over access to food security resources (Mercy Corps Nigeria, 2016). The religious leaders became skilled mediators who, through their established roles in their communities, were able to prevent violence on a wide scale.

In contrast, training which was delivered via a cascade approach (a chain of actors using a training of trainers strategy to maximize reach) without consideration of trainer attributes and the technical skills required did not meet the complex needs of program beneficiaries:

It is also apparent that frontline staff are not adequately trained to develop the institutional maturity of these groups and cannot provide sustained technical assistance. (Finan et al., 2017, p. viii)

⁴⁶ Note the program theory for Facilitation also features ‘Formal structure and capacity development’.

Table 8-4 Absorptive Capacity

Absorptive Capacity	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Develops resilience, social capital	49	1
Through training materials and practical assistance	38, 94	2
Practical assistance complemented by government subsidies	11	1
Lack of practical assistance linked to lower motivation	30	1
Conflict resolution over food security resources	15, 63	2
Cascade training approach did not meet needs	30	1

8.5.2 Social Capital

Social capital is a key feature of food security community resilience models (TANGO, 2013). Social capital is commonly conceptualized as bonding (within groups), bridging (across groups), and linking (to higher levels of systems or more distant groups). At least two studies provided evidence of bonding capital playing a critical role in resilience to drought.

Analysis by Mercy Corps in Uganda, Somalia, Nepal, and the Philippines provides evidence that bonding social capital, the networks and resources available to households within their social groups or communities, is strongly linked to improved resilience. Following shocks in these settings, households with bonding social capital were more food secure, were more able to recover through investment in productive assets, had better quality shelter, and believed they were better able to cope with risks. (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 17)

In Ethiopia, researchers from The Feinstein International Center at Tufts University evaluated the impact of the 2015 drought on the Self Help Groups started by Tearfund and its local partners. The qualitative study focused on 16 Self Help Groups in four priority drought hotspots in Wolayta, Kembata, Sidama, and Shashemene. It found that key factors in greater drought resilience were group savings and loans, increased confidence, social bonds and mutual support, and advice and technical support. Echoing findings from Downie et al. (2018). (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 26)

Bonding capital developed as people worked together in projects, supported peer learning and underpinned the successful translation of training into agricultural practices.

Key informants explained that group members shared information about farming that they had learned and members learned from each other how to improve their yield. Respondents also stated that IPT-G groups facilitated greater togetherness and cooperation among members, who visited each other more often to share farming ideas and techniques, and even to help each other with manual tasks (Lewandowski, 2011, p. 58)

Table 8-5 Bonding Capital

Bonding Capital	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Important to drought resilience	14	1
Collective processes strengthened existing culture, provided peer learning opportunities	94	1
Underpins translation of training into practice	49	1

However, the Mercy Corps research across Uganda, Somalia, Nepal, and the Philippines quoted earlier found that there was weaker evidence for bridging and linking capital:

Evidence on the role of bridging social capital, the networks and resources available to households from different social groups or communities, in making households more resilient was weaker. The evidence from linking social capital, or the networks and resources available to households from groups or people in positions of power, was mixed. These insights highlight the importance of and variability in context, actors, and type of relationship when assessing the effects of social capital on household resilience. (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 17)

8.5.3 Savings Groups

Savings groups were a common strategy for collective action to improve livelihoods, particularly for women, and were identified as contributing directly to resilience and food security.

Fararano’s results demonstrate clearly how SILC functions as both a driver of on-farm and off-farm income generation, and as a safety net mechanism. ... the “Caisse Sociale” component of the SILC model, ... provides grants or interest-free loans to members in case of events such as the death of a family member, the birth of a child, or serious illness in the family. ... Members cited many perceived social benefits of SILC membership, ranging from “greater harmony at home” to less conflict with neighbors. Working together for a common purpose was reported as leading to greater social cohesion and mutual support across age groups. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 27)

...Downie et al. (2018) identified that one of the determining characteristics of households with better food security and coping ability in Somalia is VSLA membership.... The access to loans and the focus on savings were crucial. Loans were used for new and/or enhanced business activities, planting crops, migrating in search of better pasture, and selling water. The groups were also cited as specifically contributing to capacity building and participants felt they built social capital, self-esteem, and empowerment, allowing them to better cope with shocks (Cabot Venton et al., 2021, p. 25)

Table 8-6 Savings Groups

Savings groups	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Used across multiple programs	37	1
Improve livelihoods/resilience, particularly for women	14 ; 37	2

8.6 Equity in Health and Nutrition

Evidence of improvements in health and nutrition outcomes were found where food assistance was coupled with interventions that improved household economic conditions, access to clean water, and provided health and hygiene support for mothers (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a; TANGO International, 2009, p. 16).

Analysis of a sample of USAID outcome evaluations⁴⁷ found a range of equity conditions – some but not all of which could be outcomes of CLD programming – which were associated with particular

⁴⁷ ACIDI/VOCA. (2018). *Final Report: Final Evaluation of Victory Against Malnutrition (ViM) Project, Burkina Faso* (AID-FFP-A-10-00014). NORC at the University of Chicago. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TB94.pdf,

improvements in health and nutrition. (Note that this does not constitute realist analysis because it does not identify whether the relationships are causal, or identify the mechanisms if so.)

Improvements in maternal health practices (e.g. breastfeeding, child nutrition and child stunting) were associated with:

- Better mother's education, mother's access to savings, no gender-based violence, family ownership of land and livestock, family access to income (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017b, p. 54).
- Women's involvement in decision-making and resource allocation for households, (Vondal et al., 2018, p. 11).
- Family planning and antenatal health care are tailored to specific sociocultural norms and practices within the [program] area (Vondal et al., 2018, p. 10).

Poorer outcomes for the same outcome measures were associated with:

- Distance from health center and cost of medicines for treating sick children (Henry et al., 2020, p. 11);
- Women being malnourished (e.g. anaemic) and not having strength or energy to participate in programs (TANGO International, 2009);
- Households experiencing gender-based violence (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017b);
- Volunteering diverting mothers from income generating activity (Sage et al., 2017);
- Religious beliefs against family planning and/or domination of men in all areas of decision-making (Vondal et al., 2018, p. 10).

Programs which achieved improvements in equity in food security (ACDI/VOCA, 2018; Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a; TANGO International, 2009) all demonstrated sensitization and changes in perceptions of gender-based violence, mobilization through women's groups or through care or neighbourhood groups and included strategies to increase women's ability to earn cash. Having an

Advanced Marketing Systems. (2017a). *Final Report: Evaluation of the Northern Karamoja Growth, Health and Governance Project in Karamoja Region, Uganda* (AID-FFP-A-12-00006). Mercy Corps. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00SVZZ.pdf, Hedley, D., Magistro, J., & Sagara, B. (2011). *ADRA DRC—JENGA JAMAA Final Evaluation Report* (FFP-A-00-08-00071-00). TANGO International. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDAGR830.pdf, Henry, K., Crenn, B., Andrianjafitrimo, N. V., & Loucks, J. (2020). *Final Performance Evaluation of the Fararano Development Food Security Activity in Madagascar* (AID-OAA-M-14-00026). The Implementer-Led Evaluation & Learning Associate Award (IMPEL). https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00WG9J.pdf, Persha, L., Sadhu, S., Grant, A., Weiss, E., & Ntahorugiye, P. (2018). *Final Report Annexes: Final Evaluation of Victory Against Malnutrition (ViM) Project, Burkina Faso* (AID-FFP-A-10-00014). NORC at the University of Chicago. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TF84.pdf, Sage, B., Tilford, K., Somé, B., & Crawford-Garrett, B. (2017). *Final Evaluation: Burkina Families Achieving Sustainable Outcomes (FASO)* (AID-FFP-10-00013). Oxu Solutions. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00N51N.pdf, TANGO International. (2009). *SHOUHARDO a Title II program of USAID: Final Evaluation Report* (FFP-A-00-04-000079-00, P. L. 480). USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACP746.pdf, TANGO International. (2010). *C-SAFE Zimbabwe End of Program Evaluation*. USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PDACR617.pdf, TANGO International. (2015). *Endline Report: PROSHAR Quantitative Final Program Performance Evaluation (QFPE) 2015, Bangladesh* (AID-FFP-A-10-00012). USAID. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M1HD.pdf, Vondal, P., O'Colmain, B., Temsah, G., Bishwakarma, R., & Khan, N. (2018). *Ethiopia Endline Study: Quantative Assessment of Food-for-Peace Development Food Assistance Projects (DFAPs)* (AID-OAA-TO-17-00005). ME&A. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00TJQR.pdf

income increased women’s decision-making power in households, which led to improved nutritional status for children (in combination with the provision of direct food assistance and WASH initiatives). In some evaluations, the available quantitative evidence about equity outcomes was inadequate to support all conclusions about women’s empowerment (ACDI/VOCA, 2018, p. 16; TANGO International, 2015, p. 11).

Other programs demonstrated mixed outcomes, such as increased participation by women in program activities, but lacked more deliberate strategies for addressing. Even those programs which demonstrated increases in women’s household decision-making needed to increase women’s participation in mixed gender groups (such as Village Development Committees) to elevate women’s ability to make meaningful contributions in collective, community level decision-making.

While increases in household income and women’s decision-making in the household increased children’s nutrition and health outcomes (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a; TANGO International, 2009), other programs showed no significant improvements in women’s nutrition.

The data also suggest that women may benefit less from increased access to diverse and nutritious foods than their family members, with no significant improvements for direct participant women in rates of underweight or minimum dietary diversity, which underscores the need for greater focus on the gendered dimensions of food security. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 11)

Table 8-7 Equity in health and nutrition

Equity in health and nutrition	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Positive associations between equity and health	6 ; 90 ; 103	3
Limiting associations between equity and health	37 ; 90 ; 81 ; 103	4
Programs improving equity in food security	4 ; 6 ; 90	3
Mixed equity and health results	35 ; 37 ; 81 ; 90	4
Equity improves child nutrition and health outcomes	6 ; 90	2
No improvement in women’s health outcomes	6 ; 103	2

Gender equity outcomes - improvements in women’s income earning and financial decision-making, women’s participation in community structures (at least one woman in a decision-making position) and women’s freedom of movement - were reviewed. Contexts associated with improvements included:

- Participation in women’s groups increasing the likelihood of earning cash, where increased income leads to improved status within the home and contributes to greater participation in decision-making (TANGO International, 2009);
- Integrated programming which expanded resources for households and provided opportunities to practice joint decision-making (Aamoum et al., 2012);
- Building of women-friendly markets with water and sanitation facilities are encouraging women to control their own sales, as well as providing the opportunity for more women to shop in the market without fear of harassment or abuse (TANGO International, 2009, p. 18);

- Economic empowerment activities being paired with consciousness-raising about legal rights, transformative action, political representation, and defence against gender abuse or harassment (TANGO International, 2009, p. 23).

Contexts which appeared to hinder achievement of the same equity outcomes included:

- Programs lacking an intentional strategy to address underlying systemic issues, with little done to transform gender relations and promote women’s leadership through more in-depth and deliberate work (Sage et al., 2017, p. 11);
- Staff lacking training and linkages with other specialized agencies needed in order to promote discussion of gender equity, nutrition, gender-based violence (Hedley et al., 2011, p. 10);
- Increased sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) where men were idler without livestock, were not willing to take on agricultural activities and had resorted to increased consumption of alcohol (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017b)

Women’s roles in food security were most commonly detailed in nutrition activities, where mothers’ behaviors were targeted to improve child nutrition, infant feeding and WASH practices. Women’s involvement in household decision-making was strongly linked to diverse and sufficient food intake being maintained by family members (Cabot Venton et al., 2021).

A typical vehicle for women’s participation in nutrition activities was through peer-led care or neighbourhood groups, commonly run by mother-leader volunteers to support behavior change, for example in breastfeeding practices. There was evidence to suggest that women felt more respected by their husbands, and that they played a role in changing attitudes and behavior of men, as a result of participating in these groups. The combination of providing women with knowledge, along with resources to support economic empowerment, was found to be more effective than a ‘standard’ mother care group for improving nutrition outcomes:

Mother Care Group Plus (MCG+) model is more effective at improving nutrition outcomes in comparison to a standard Mother Care Group (MCG) approach. Women who participated in the MCG+ received additional economic empowerment activities (savings, financial and life skills, and income generating activities) while women in the standard MCG received only health and nutrition education. (Advanced Marketing Systems, 2017a, p. 9)

Table 8-8 Contexts associated with gender equity outcomes

Contexts associated with gender equity outcomes	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Contexts positively associated with gender equity outcomes	90 ; 1	2
Contexts impeding gender equity outcomes	81 ; 35 ; 6	3
Women’s decision-making linked to family food intake	14	1
Women’s participation linked to men’s behavior change	4	1
Supporting economic empowerment improves outcomes	6	1

Women’s large-scale role as volunteers was central to the implementation of these care groups in one program (Sage et al., 2017, p. 40). However the evaluation noted that “sustaining the volunteers’ motivation over the long term can be a challenge” (Sage et al., 2017). Similarly, another evaluation found “Intervention models that are almost entirely dependent on unpaid community

volunteers are unlikely to be sustained at any scale post-project“ (Henry et al., 2020, p. 50). The reliance on women volunteering was seen to become a:

...source of demotivation among Lead Mothers, and aggravated by their husband’s disapproval in most cases. Almost all Lead Mothers expressed the desire to continue their activities beyond the end of the project, although their levels of motivation varied greatly. At some qualitative study sites, Lead Mothers demonstrated little interest in volunteering, and recommended receiving monthly allowances for their work. (Henry et al., 2020, p. 22)

Reliance on women’s labour as volunteers displaces their time from income generation (this was also identified as a reason why men are less likely to participate in VDCs) (Hedley et al., 2015; Henry et al., 2020; Ravesloot et al., 2013), which, in effect, creates opportunity costs for women in terms of access to material resources and economic empowerment, so crucial to achieving increased equity.

Women required equitable access to resources to elevate their roles in food production systems and increase potential income generation (Langworthy et al., 2015, p. 82). Training provided gains in knowledge of agricultural practices, but access to loans and subsidies amplified women’s opportunities to put that knowledge into action and generate or diversify their income (Finan et al., 2017). Provision of loans to women needed to be monitored to ensure protections were in place for the benefits to flow as intended (Henry et al., 2020)

...there is often a problem with women’s savings and loans programs where women perform the difficult work and when they get a loan, their husband (or brother, etc.) may feel they have a right to use those funds. (Hedley et al., 2015, p. 58)

Literacy is a key barrier for women’s roles in community leadership and economic empowerment and is considered an asset for sustainability of activities (Gaudreau et al., 2009). This barrier was addressed through functional literacy across several programs (Gaudreau et al., 2009; Hedley et al., 2015; Sage et al., 2017).

Table 8-9 Gender, Volunteerism and Economic Empowerment

Gender, Volunteerism and Economic Empowerment	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Volunteerism undermines program sustainability	81 ; 37	2
Volunteerism undermines income earning	35 ; 37 ; 78	3
Women need additional resources for agriculture	48 ; 30 ; 37 ; 35	4
Literacy a barrier and an asset	31 ; 35 ; 81 ;	3

8.6.1 Outcomes for the Poorest Households

There was evidence from one program (not FPP-funded) that gains in knowledge to support improved agricultural processes (which may have been delivered to a range of participants, some who may have had higher levels of starting capital) were not benefitting the poorest families:

It appeared that medium and richer families were generally being more successful in the application of techniques to increase yield. Although all sectors of the community showed some increased yields i.e. both richer and poorer families reported an improvement in yields, there was a clear pattern of richer and medium families reporting higher yields overall. 40% of medium families were reporting 3 tonnes/ha or over of rice, but only 27% of poor families and none of the poorest families. Similar patterns, although with a smaller difference between the richer and poorer families, were seen for beans and corn (World Vision Cambodia, 2011, p. 15).

8.6.2 Community-Led Total Sanitation

Some Water Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) initiatives were intended to improve nutrition outcomes by reducing rates of diarrhoeal disease. There is a gendered dimension to responsibility for maintaining sanitation and hygiene (Global Communities, 2018). There was some (limited) evidence that involvement in water use committees may create opportunities to increase women’s participation in managing community resources.

Community-led total sanitation (CLTS) featured as a component of some WASH programs. It was described as an NGO-initiated process which was triggered when a village is placed on a list to receive state water services. The program gathered background data and conducted a three hour “inception ceremony” to raise awareness:

Communities then make their action plan and appoint two people, one male and one female, as natural leader as part of a CLTS committee along with the village chief, the community prayer leader (or the Iman), and masons. The committee members receive a two-day training before proceeding to sensitize and mobilize the community... (Hedley et al., 2015, p. 28)

However, in some communities, being certified as “open defecation free” contravened social norms about resource use and there was stigma attached to latrine construction (Henry et al., 2020, p. 21).

WASH outcome measures included access to safe water, and hygiene, sanitation and health practices. Outcomes were less likely to be achieved when drought caused severe water shortages. Safe drinking water was not easily accessible/available, and water was less likely to be used for sanitation practices. Lack of water also hindered engagement with agricultural and WASH programs.

Table 8-10 Community-led Sanitation

Community-led Sanitation	Evidenced In	No. of reports evidenced in
Attitudinal change, improved knowledge/awareness	28 ; 34	2
Impeded by cultural norms	37	1
Women seen as responsible for water/hygiene	33	1
Involvement in committee supports managing community resources	28	1
Lack of water hinders engagement	4	1

8.7 Summary: Theorizing Resilience and Equity in Food Security

The evidence available for resilience and equity in food security may be summarized in realist terms as follows:

Programs which address multiple underlying causes of food insecurity (e.g., capacity development in agricultural production or household food production, access to income, clean water, equity) (C) increase knowledge, skills and access to resources to produce food (M) which improves food security.

Programs which enable collective action (e.g., food silos, food banks, community farms, savings groups, capacity building for the social components of collective action) (C) increase social capital (M) which enables peer learning (M), mutual support (M), and collective confidence (M). Collective resources (C) enable access to food, shelter and productive assets (M) in response to shocks, which contributes to resilience including resilience in food security.

Programs which provide conflict resolution training for traditional or religious leaders (C) increase their knowledge and skills in conflict resolution (M) and draw on their traditional authority during conflict resolution sessions (M), contributing to acceptance of resolutions by parties to the conflict (M) and to reductions in conflict and improved social cohesion (O). This in turn increases security for food production (M) which contributes to food security (O).

Where communities are experiencing food shortage (C) and direct assistance to address food shortages is not provided (C), motivation to participate in CLD activities is reduced (M) and CLD outcomes are reduced or not achieved (O).

Where train-the-trainer models are used (C), local trainers do not have the range of knowledge or technical skills required (M) to resolve agricultural productivity problems, so food security issues are not resolved (O).

Where capacity development is provided for mothers in health and nutrition (C), mothers are literate or programs help develop literacy levels (C), mothers have increased knowledge and skill to provide healthy food (M) which contributes to adequate nutrition. Where programs also provide life skills, savings groups and income generation activities (C), women have increased economic capacity to access food (M), which contributes to food security (O).

The poorest households (C) may be unable to access programs (M) due to cost, time, disability, distance, or illiteracy (C), meaning they do not benefit from programs (O). They may also benefit least from food production programs (O) because of smaller land holdings (C) or inability to afford resources (M).

8.8 Implications and Recommendations: Food Security

Multi-strategy (and potentially multi-sectoral) programs are more likely to contribute to food security, and there was clear evidence of relationships between resilience, equity and food security. Participants in the Innovation and Recommendations workshop noted that many food security programs are not appropriately designed to benefit women.

Taken together the findings from the review imply that all five forms of capital - human, social, material, financial and environmental - are necessary for CLD for food security outcomes, although the importance of each may vary with the particular model and objectives.

CLD models and approaches should be designed to take into account the *pre-existing stocks* of those capitals relevant to the program, the *intended use* of those capitals within the program, and the *intended effects* of the program on those capitals. Evaluation should then assess (and measure, where appropriate) the effects of the program on those types of capital.

Recommendations

22. MCLD member agencies should use and share tools for assessing stocks of the five capitals (human, social, material, financial and environmental). Pre-program assessments on existing capital should inform program design and later assessments should inform evaluation of CLD effects.
23. Funders and implementation agencies should review the designs of CLD programs which intend to achieve food security outcomes to ensure that they are multi-sectoral, equitable,

culturally appropriate, contribute to resilience, and do not impose unfair burdens on women.

24. Subject to context assessments (Recommendation 4), implementation agencies should consider whether and how functional literacy components can be integrated into food security programs.

9 Summary and Reflections

9.1 Summary

Building on MCLD's Collaborative Research Phase I and other externally published research, this review began with a shared definition of 'Community-Led Development':

Community-Led Development is a development approach in which local community members work together to identify goals that are important to them, develop and implement plans to achieve those goals, and create collaborative relationships internally and with external actors—all while building on community strengths and local leadership.

CLD is characterised by 11 attributes: participation and inclusion, voice, community assets, capacity development, sustainability, transformative capacity, collective planning and action, accountability, community leadership, adaptability, and collaboration.

Refined realist program theory seeks to identify the circumstances in which, populations for whom, and mechanisms by which, interventions generate their outcomes. The findings of this review may be summarized as follows:

There is significant diversity in practices described as 'community-led'. There is also significant diversity in the extent to which the practices reflect the agreed definitions for 'community leadership'; in fact, much of what was described as 'community-led' appears to be led by implementation agencies. Some of the types identified here do not meet the basic pre-requisite of communities themselves determining the priority issues to be addressed. However, these approaches may contribute to developing the capacities required for communities to assume leadership over time.

Community-Led Development was easier to implement, and more likely to be effective, where governments were relatively stable and supportive, where there was existing community infrastructure and where positive relationships enabled coordination and linkages. Political and economic instability tended to undermine CLD by discouraging participation and making resources harder to access.

Social capital was demonstrated to be both an intermediate outcome from successful CLD, and a mechanism through which CLD generates its development outcomes. CLD could increase bonding, bridging and linking social capital, but was also more likely to be effective when starting from a positive social capital base. Intra-community conflict and violence undermined the collaboration and negotiation required for CLD.

The program theories suggested that 'the five capitals' are required for development. Many of the programs had a significant focus on development of human capital (especially knowledge and skills), and some on social capital – often 'formalized' in organizations and committees. Relatively fewer addressed development of material and financial capital and fewer again addressed environmental capital. Nevertheless, it was apparent that all five were in fact necessary. Communities could be enabled to identify, build and use their own resources, but access to funding and other resources were regularly argued to be necessary during and beyond programs.

A wide range of marginalized groups were identified in the literature but specific evidence in relation to their levels of participation, and the equity of outcomes obtained, was not generally available. Some evidence was available in relation to women and youth (defined in some cases as up to the

age of 35). A number of barriers to participation by marginalized groups were identified, including literacy, cultural barriers, teenage pregnancy and early marriage, migration to cities and distance from the program centre or office. There was evidence in at least some programs for most of the elements of the theories about improving equity, but patchy evidence that equity was actually improved as a result, including in relation to food security. There was also evidence that CLD could increase demands on women and vulnerable groups, in part through its reliance on voluntary work.

Community groups can develop a sense of collective voice and increase their capacity for advocacy, where facilitation supported development of formalized organizations and leadership structures. Communities could have increased power, being brought into decision-making they had previously been excluded from, and have increased agency. However, the response from authority holders was contingent on the political context, and on the awareness and knowledge of authority holders with respect to advocacy claims. There was less evidence to support the effectiveness of community-led advocacy and insufficient evidence to suggest that power dynamics shifted beyond the specific focus of the project or local examples of change.

CLD can contribute to resilience, in part by building human and social capital. Positive feedback loops built a sense of collective efficacy and contributed to the ability to respond to emerging challenges. For those who participated directly in particular types of workshops, a change in mindset towards self-reliance, and development of a sense of common cause, contributed to collective action. Groups being representative of the community, truly voluntary participation, and lesser influence by the facilitating agency were necessary; elite capture, corruption and undue agency influence all undermined resilience. There was insufficient evidence to ascertain whether maintenance of programs or infrastructure or sustainability of outcomes was achieved beyond the life of programs, or whether these contributed to resilience in the longer term.

Severe drought affected many of the programs included in the food security-focused programs in the review. There were examples of capacity development, social capital and collective action contributing to resilience, although it was not possible to assess how widespread they were. The evidence in relation to equity and social inclusion was less convincing. While nutrition outcomes may have been improved, the reliance on women's volunteerism in nutrition and WASH activities is likely to have created opportunity costs for women's gains in economic empowerment, which is crucial to increasing gender equality. Including functional literacy as a component of food security programs can improve nutrition and WASH outcomes.

9.2 Reflections on Language, Theory and Evaluation.

There are significant differences in the terminology used across the CLD sector, which appear to reflect differences in understanding about core ideas in CLD. Key terms include but are not limited to those defined in this research (See Appendix 1).

Defining key terms in important documents such as funding proposals, program descriptions and evaluation reports increases understanding of the documents and enables discussion of them. Adopting common terminology across organizations, and/or making it clear when terms are used differently, could also strengthen the sector, facilitating learning and enabling further research. It may also support scaling of CLD with major funders.

Clarifying key terms can also contribute to clarifying program theory. Explicit use of program theory was relatively uncommon in the reports reviewed. Clear program theory can support program

design, selection of monitoring indicators and choices of evaluation methods. Used as the basis for evaluation, program theory can support learning, and some (but not all) types of program theory can support adaptation of programs to context.

Recommendations:

25. CLD implementation agencies should consider whether the definitions of key terms provided in Appendix 1 of this document provide an accurate summary of their work and adopt the definitions if appropriate. Where the definitions do not accurately describe current work, agencies consider whether their models of work should be updated or whether the definitions should be adapted. [The CLD Assessment Tool](#) developed by MCLD may be useful in this regard.
26. Funders and implementation agencies should include definitions of key terms (as adopted or adapted) in request for proposals, program descriptions and evaluation reports.
27. CLD implementation agencies should develop explicit theories of change for their programs and draw on those theories in monitoring and evaluation.

The quality and nature of evaluation reports varied significantly. Rigorous outcomes evaluation was relatively uncommon in the sample reviewed,⁴⁸ as was disaggregation of participation and outcomes data to identify program contributions to equity. Causal analysis (that is, *how* interventions cause outcomes, rather than simply ‘whether’ or ‘that’ they do) was uncommon in the sample. Rigorous description of the processes used in implementation, which can contribute to causal analysis, was also relatively uncommon.⁴⁹ There were also issues with attribution of outcomes to programs in some reports, because other programs were working on similar issues in the same locations.

The extent to which agencies and, importantly, communities and their respective governments can learn from evaluation depends on the evaluation methods that are used. This has flow-on effects for the extent to which funders and the CLD sector as a whole can learn from evaluations. Evaluation methods in turn are in part determined by the purposes that evaluations are designed to serve and the evaluation questions that are expected to be answered. Participants in the Implementation and Recommendations Workshop made several observations. Some types of mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) evaluations are more likely to be able to combine accountability and learning purposes than some other designs. Involving communities and implementers in learning through concurrent monitoring and evaluation has the potential to contribute to positive outcomes from CLD. Better evaluation across the CLD sector has the potential to strengthen understanding of the CLD approaches that are most appropriate for particular purposes and contexts, and to strengthen advocacy for CLD. The [Quality Appraisal Tool for CLD Evaluations](#) may be a useful starting point for assessing the quality of evaluation reports.

Recommendations:

28. All evaluation reports should include a description of the program model(s) as it was implemented in the specific context being evaluated. Descriptions of program

⁴⁸ This may in part be a function of the selection criteria for inclusion, which included rich qualitative data: it is possible that there were additional rigorous evaluations which did not include rich qualitative data.

⁴⁹ A participant in the Implications and Recommendations workshop suggested that agencies have descriptions in other types of documents. Apart from USAID reports from the Development Clearinghouse, all agencies that submitted evaluation reports were requested to submit any additional program documentation to enable understanding of processes or models.

- implementation should enable an assessment of the scope and the intensity of interventions (e.g., the frequency and duration of capacity development processes).
29. The purposes of, and therefore methods to be used in, the evaluation should be negotiated between funders, implementation agencies and communities early in the process of implementation.⁵⁰ This should include consideration of theory-based evaluation approaches and participatory evaluation approaches.
 30. Evaluations should normally include evaluation of the attributes of CLD most central to the model(s) implemented (the attributes of CLD as defined for this project are participation and inclusion, voice, community assets, capacity development, sustainability, transformative capacity, collective planning and action, accountability, community leadership, adaptability, and collaboration.)
 31. Evaluations should disaggregate participation and outcomes data to enable consideration of equity.
 32. Funders should encourage and enable systems that reduce the need for communities to provide the same data repeatedly to different agencies/programs. This may include data sharing arrangements.
 33. MCLD should further processes to strengthen monitoring, evaluation and learning in the CLD sector, using strategies which involve implementation agencies, funders, and communities.

⁵⁰ See also [Guidance for Funders](#)

Appendices

Appendix 1. Definitions of Key Terms

The following definitions of key terms were developed for this review. A separate document showing the extractions that underpin each definition is available on request.

Community-Led Development

Community-Led Development is a development approach in which local community members work together to identify goals that are important to them, develop and implement plans to achieve those goals, and create collaborative relationships internally and with external actors—all while building on community strengths and local leadership.

Community-Led Development (CLD) is characterised by 11 attributes: participation and inclusion, voice, community assets, capacity development, sustainability, transformative capacity, collective planning and action, accountability, community leadership, adaptability, and collaboration.

Community Leadership

In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Community Leadership** can refer to either a type of leadership by an individual from a given community, or to a process by which a community exercises collective leadership at a grass-roots level.

In the case of an individual, a community leader is a person from a specific community (usually geographically-defined) who uses their knowledge of and influence in the community to mobilize people and resources to meet a common goal—by building on strong relationships and social capital to generate community collaboration, creating alliances and connections with external actors, acting as a mouthpiece and intermediary for the community, and being a catalyst for change. Leaders may act as participants in multi-stakeholder decision-making processes, usually on the basis of consultation with other community members. Leaders may or may not hold formal leadership positions in communities.

In the collective sense, community leadership refers to a broader process whereby members of a community come together to solve a problem or achieve a goal through collaboration. In this case, leadership is distributed and shared across the community. It involves similar activities as above and is marked by dialogue; collective processes to make decisions about priorities, plans and activities; and the harnessing of various skills, roles, talents and assets to contribute to community gain and spark positive change. Different people may act as leaders at different times or in different aspects of the process.

Facilitation

In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Facilitation** is a co-creative and adaptive process in which a facilitator enables local actors to set common goals, take ownership of these goals, build on existing strengths, and work towards achieving their goals. Key components of effective facilitation are guiding discussion, asking questions, consensus-building, mediation and ensuring diverse voices are heard, all within a relationship of mutual learning and partnership. Facilitation can

also support social learning processes in which stakeholders learn from one another, often by managing group dynamics and processes. Facilitators may be internal to or external to the local community, and different people may be facilitators in different aspects or stages of a process. Facilitation functions can be shared across group members, particularly in high functioning groups.

Resilience

In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Resilience** is the active ability to positively manage, learn from, and adapt to adversity and change without compromising current or future wellbeing, identity and goals. In social terms, resilience is generally described by three *capacities*: absorptive, adaptive, and transformative (see below). Various types of *capital* (natural, human, social, cultural, political, financial and built) contribute to resilience, and resilience operates at many levels, from the individual and the household to the system. Resilience is characterized by agency and positive adaptation in the face of unpredictability. Resilience is also a feature of natural systems, and communities dependent on their natural environments require resilience in both social and environmental systems.

Absorptive Capacity: Coping skills to ensure stability, maintain current way of life and “bounce back” from shocks

Adaptive Capacity: Making proactive, informed adjustments to increase flexibility in the face of unpredictability and change

Transformative Capacity: Systemic change to reduce vulnerability to shocks and more equitably share risk, creating whole new systems when conditions require it

Equity

In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Equity** is the fundamental principle that all people are morally equal, and as a result should enjoy equal life outcomes in terms of wellbeing, agency and voice, and the ability to participate in an inclusive society. Any differences in these outcomes should not depend on characteristics for which a person cannot be held accountable, such as gender, ethnicity, class, nationality, etc. Achieving equity requires differential treatment according to one’s circumstances—a systematic levelling of the playing field between groups, and greater benefits for the most disadvantaged. Working towards equity usually requires processes of empowerment for those who are marginalized within a community or society.

Empowerment

In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Empowerment** is both a process and an outcome, whereby an individual or community increases their agency and power such that they have active control over and engagement in their own lives and/or community. This requires both an expansion of opportunities in material, social and institutional structures, as well as a change in or challenging of asymmetric power relationships. Empowerment can be psychological (internal) and social (in relation to others), and it can be individual and collective. Empowerment is not a fixed end state, and one can be more or less empowered in relation to X and not Y.

Friedmann’s empowerment model describes the following constructs as necessary for empowerment: ‘defensible life space’, surplus time over subsistence requirements, appropriate

information, knowledge and skills, financial resources, 'instruments of work and livelihood', social networks and social organization.

Agency

In the framework of Community-Led Development, **Agency** is the capacity to take purposeful action in pursuit of one's own goals and values. It implies self-efficacy (a belief that one can produce a desired effect), assessment of one's goals, and the existence of choice. Agency may be individual, by proxy (i.e. through convincing others to wield influence or act on one's behalf), or collective.

Appendix 2. Methodology and Methods

This appendix provides a description of the methodology for realist reviews in general and this review in particular. It then provides a description of the methods for each stage of the project: definitions of terms, program theory development, selection of programs for inclusion, data extraction and synthesis, and an outline of some of the limitations to the review. It also provides a brief introduction to the conceptual model underpinning the review.

Methodology

Realist review (also known as realist synthesis) is a methodology for synthesizing a wide range of existing evidence to answer a policy question or inform a field of practice (Pawson, 2006).

Traditionally, systematic reviews (and particularly meta-synthesis) answered the question “Does this intervention work on average?”, giving an effect size as one of its primary findings (e.g., “the intervention improved outcomes by an average of 7% for the intervention group”). While there have been adaptations of this approach over recent years, a ‘pure’ meta-synthesis only includes studies: a) of ‘the same’ intervention; b) applied in similar contexts or with similar populations and c) which used randomized controlled trials or quasi-experimental designs.

Realist review seeks to answer a different question and therefore uses different methods. It seeks to answer the question, “How and why does this type of intervention generate different outcomes in different contexts or for different groups?” In purist terms, the question is actually about the underlying program theory, so the question is “How and why does this broad program theory work differently in different contexts or for different groups?” That is usually operationalized by widening the scope of the review from a particular program or intervention to a ‘family’ of interventions that are linked by common underlying program theory. In this review, the program type is ‘Community-Led Development in low and middle-income countries (LMIC)’. The evidence base is also widened: rather than relying on experimental or quasi-experimental evidence only, realist review draws on robust evidence developed through any research or evaluation method. It is therefore appropriate in sectors where experimental evidence is rare.

A realist review begins by developing initial, tentative program theory (commonly described as “initial rough theory”); then searches for the evidence best suited to ‘test’ (‘support, refute or refine’) that theory. The theory is progressively refined to identify the circumstances in which, populations for whom, and mechanisms by which interventions generate their outcomes. This provides program designers and implementers a stronger evidence base from which to make decisions, which can result in more effective implementation, tailored to context, to maximize outcomes. Unpacking complex programs, their implementation and their contexts in this way is necessarily detailed work, and new questions inevitably arise as a review progresses. Consequently, no single review (or single evaluation) can deal with a whole program theory. The scope of review question is therefore narrowed at commencement of the review and ideally, further restricted as the review progresses. In this study, the review was narrowed to focus on two aspects of CLD – leadership and facilitation – and two development outcomes – equity and resilience – which could contribute to a higher-level outcome – food security.

International standards for realist review, ‘the Rameses standards’, support the rigor of the method and describe its requirements (Wong, Greenhalgh, Westhorp et al, 2013).

Methods

The study was addressed in a series of stages, each of which is described in sub-sections below. Theoretical clarity requires clear use of language. Given that most of the terms commonly used in CLD are not clearly defined and in fact carry multiple meanings, the first stage was to develop definitions of terms that would be used in this study (Section 2.2). The second stage was to develop the 'initial rough' program theory, which outlined how facilitation and leadership were expected to contribute equity and resilience (Section 2.3). This provides the framework in relation to which evidence is sought. Then, inclusion and exclusion criteria were developed, building from the foundational criteria of 'relevance and rigour' established in the international standards for realist review (Wong, Greenhalgh, Westhorp et al, 2013). The criteria were used both for selecting the programs and for selecting the documents from which evidence would be drawn (Section 2.4). Programs were allocated to members of the research team ensuring that no researcher reviewed programs from their own organization, and the associated documents were provided to them for data extraction (Section 2.5.1). The MCLD extraction documents were then returned to the primary researcher (CD) for synthesis; FFP extractions were undertaken and synthesized by the second CDU researcher (Section 2.5.1). A draft report was developed and provided to the wider research group and the project advisory groups for feedback. A meaning making workshop will be conducted to consider the implications of the findings for MCLD organizations and funders and develop recommendations. Feedback on the draft and outcomes of the meaning making workshop will be incorporated into the final report.

Key Term Definitions

Creating definitions of key terms for use during the project relied heavily on work already done by MCLD. This reflected the intention to generate definitions that reflect the understanding of MCLD and its member organizations. MCLD provided a dataset of foundational sources and a dataset of sources on resilience. Additionally, MCLD interns had already completed literature reviews of the terms 'Community-Led Development,' 'facilitation,' and 'community leadership.' The Primary Researcher reviewed these datasets and literature reviews to identify the sources most likely to be useful for definitions. These sources were then accessed through Google Scholar and saved in a shared Endnote library. Further sources of interest were chosen through snowball sampling.

In addition, the Primary Researcher conducted searches in Google Scholar for the terms 'Community-Led Development,' 'resilience in Community-Led Development,' 'resilience in international development,' 'resilience in food security,' 'equity in Community-Led Development,' and 'equity in international development.' Sources were selected for inclusion based on title and abstract review. The Research Manager provided a number of readings on the topic of resilience, which had contributed to MCLD's own understanding of the topic. MCLD interns also completed a literature review of the term 'equity' after this initial search was completed, and additional sources of interest from this review were included.

During this process, it became evident that the terms 'agency' and 'empowerment' also needed to be defined. Sources for these terms were found by snowballing from references of included sources, and by searching Google Scholar for the terms 'agency in international development', 'empowerment in international development', and 'agency vs empowerment.' MCLD interns also completed a literature review on the term 'agency' after these searches were completed, and sources of interest from this review were included. One source was recommended by a member of the Expert Advisory Panel. Again, articles were selected for inclusion by title and abstract review.

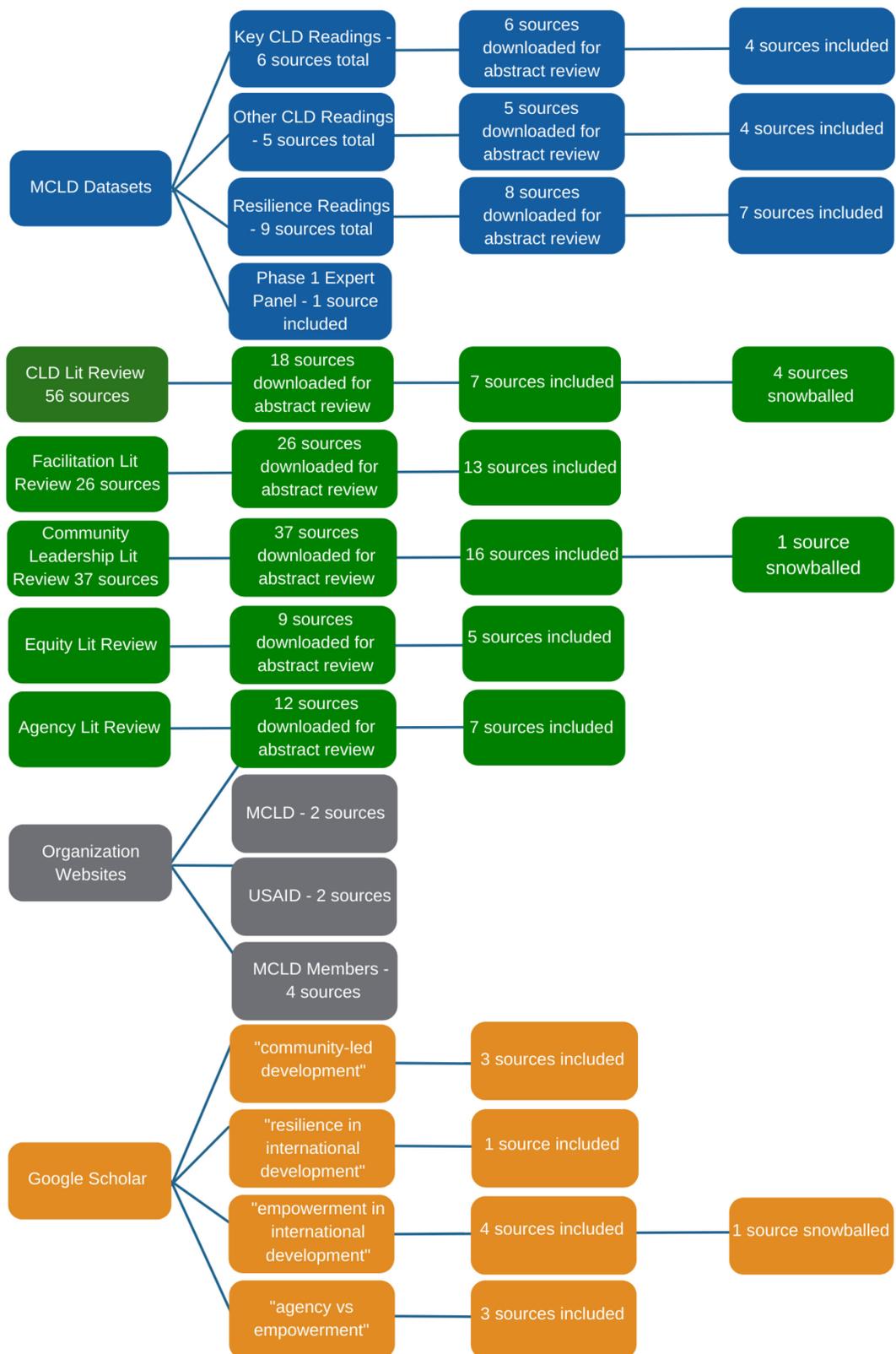
Finally, the MCLD website, some of its member organizations' websites, and the USAID website were searched for sources. This was done to capture member organizations' understandings of the terms, as well as those of the funding organization for the study (USAID).

Note that a number of sources appeared in multiple datasets and searches. Table 1 below provides a summary of the numbers of documents included from the stages of the search. Diagram 1 provides a flow chart of included documents.

Table 10-1: Sources of documents included for definitions

Total sources downloaded for abstract review	129
Total sources included from abstract review process	81
Additional sources yielded through snowballing	6
Total sources included in key terms definitions	87

Figure 4 - Document inclusion tree



Program Theory Development

Documents selected for use in program theory development came from a set of key readings provided by MCLD; MCLD member program and evaluation documents; and articles included in the Community-Led Development literature review completed by MCLD interns. The key MCLD readings were selected by the Research Manager as foundational documents reflecting the Movement's understanding of its program theory. Likewise, the program and evaluation documents were selected by the Research Manager as most likely to include program theory information. Selection of individual documents from these data sets was done by the Primary Researcher, based on abstract review, skim-reading articles, and prior reading for the key term definitions. These documents and references were saved to the shared Endnote library.

Nine sources were used to develop the initial draft program theories – four for the Facilitation draft theory, and five for the Community Leadership draft theory. Of these nine, two were from the “Key CLD Readings” dataset from MCLD, two were from the “Other CLD Readings” MCLD dataset, one each from the CLD and Community Leadership intern literature reviews, and three were MCLD member organization program evaluations or theories of change.

Initial diagrams were developed and circulated to the Research Team and the Advisory Group and Expert Group for feedback. Some feedback was incorporated in an initial revision of the diagrams (see Appendix 7). Time constraints precluded the detailed discussion necessary to negotiate the wording of all changes. Where changes had not been negotiated, the issues raised in the feedback were provided to all members of the research team who were asked to include data relevant to the issues in their extractions.

Programs for Inclusion in Review

MCLD Member Organizations' Program Documents

MCLD uploaded 336 program evaluation reports, research studies, meta evaluations, and meta syntheses to a shared folder in Google Drive. These documents had been previously submitted to MCLD by member organizations as part of MCLD's Collaborative Research Phase I. Each document was submitted because the respective member organization felt that it was about a Community-Led Development program. During the Phase I research, MCLD interns searched within each document for a number of keywords, including words related to community leadership and facilitation. The number of times each keyword was found in a document was recorded in a spreadsheet (referred to below as the 'keyword spreadsheet'). Both the Google Drive containing the documents themselves and the spreadsheet with keyword results were shared with the CDU team.

After cleaning the data to remove missing documents (21), corrupted files (2), and documents that had already been used for developing the draft program theories (4, see above), a total of 309 programs were identified for potential inclusion in the review. Based on the specifications outlined in the funding application, it was estimated that each of 7 reviewers (6 MERL practitioners from MCLD member organizations and the Research Manager) would review 6 programs each, for a total of 42 programs. Additional documentation would be requested from the authoring organization for each of the programs selected. Accordingly, roughly 50 programs were sought for initial inclusion, to allow for some anticipated lack of response regarding additional documentation.

A multi-step process following the review's Inclusion/Exclusion criteria was used to select programs (see Appendix 3). The first step identified documents which included either or both of the terms 'resilience' and 'equity', plus multiple references to any of the community leadership terms⁵¹ or any of the facilitation terms.⁵² The resulting 63 documents were reviewed against Inclusion/Exclusion criteria. Nine documents were excluded, leaving 54 documents. Four additional programs of interest were identified from meta-evaluations, yielding 58 programs. The programs were then classified as to relevance to the program theory and the degree to which the available document(s) included rich qualitative information. This resulted in inclusion of 33 programs, 19 classified as conditional on obtaining additional documentation, and 6 as back-up if required. One of the 19 programs was included after additional documentation was obtained. An additional set of keyword searches was conducted in the keyword spreadsheet, this time using any of the animator terms ('animator' is a term for facilitator used by at least one INGO)⁵³, mobilization terms⁵⁴, social mobilization terms⁵⁵, community leadership terms⁵⁶ or the term 'collective action'. 36 additional programs were identified and classified as 10 for inclusion, 1 as conditional and 3 as back-up: the remainder were excluded. Four additional programs were recommended by the Research Manager or key stakeholders.

Many of the included programs came from a few large INGOs, which risked biasing the data towards their particular practices; some were excluded to enable selection of a diverse range of programs and organizations. Additional documentation was sought from the implementing organizations for all selected programs.

These processes resulted in a total of 36 included programs. It was agreed at this point to limit the number of programs assigned to each MCLD researcher to five, as more additional documents had been received than anticipated; this covered 35 of the programs and the additional program, which had a significant number of associated documents, was assigned to the Primary Researcher. Documents for each program were uploaded to an individual Dropbox folder for each researcher and were added to the shared EndNote library.

The overall process therefore resulted in 57 programs being included: 36 MCLD programs and 19 programs selected from the USAID database.

USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse

Searches were conducted in the USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse over several weeks in February 2021 to identify potential program documents for inclusion. See Appendix 3 for the list of criteria used to select documents for inclusion in the Review. The searches are described in Appendix 4.

After completion of these searches, the 23 results obtained from Search 17 were reviewed against the inclusion/exclusion criteria. Three duplicate programs were removed. As a result, the search

⁵¹ Community leadership, community leadership capacity, community level leadership, local leadership, local leaders, community leaders, village leader/ship.

⁵² Facilitation, facilitators.

⁵³ Animators, animator.

⁵⁴ Mobiliser(s), mobilizer(s), mobilization of community, mobilizing communities.

⁵⁵ Social mobilization, social mobilisation, community mobilization, citizen mobilization.

⁵⁶ Community leadership, community leadership capacity, community level leadership, local leadership, local leaders, community leaders, village leader/ship.

yielded 20 total programs. An additional program was added on recommendation by IDEAL staff. The second CDU researcher completed the review and data extraction of these programs.

Documents Included

In total, 117 documents were included in the review. 93 of these (representing 36 programs) were sourced from MCLD member organizations, while the remaining 24 (representing 21 programs) were from the USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse. Types of documents reviewed are shown in Table 5-2, below.

Table 10-2: Included Documents

Document Type	MCLD Member Programs	USAID DEC
Ex-post evaluation	4	
Final/endline evaluation report	16	10
Midterm/interim evaluation report	6	9
Other/unspecified evaluation report	11	2
Program final report	2	1
Program midterm/interim report	4	
Baseline report	5	1
Program design/description	4	
Theory of change/log frame	2	
Other program document	8	
Brochure/communications piece	6	
Research study report	11	
Journal article	2	
MSC, success stories, case study	4	
Other	8	1
Total	93	24

Data Extraction and Synthesis

The data extraction process began with refresher training for all researchers, followed by a practice data extraction by each team member. Those were reviewed by the CI, to contribute to inter-rater reliability. Researchers used a data extraction instrument to produce a single data extraction sheet for all of the documents in each program they reviewed. Any issues or questions were forwarded to the RREALI team for advice and resolution. It had been intended that the CI would double-extract a sample of documents from all researchers. However, initial review of the extraction sheets revealed quality issues in a number of extractions. As a result, the double-extraction time was reallocated to re-extracting for these programs.

Once all data extractions were complete, the extraction sheets were uploaded to Dropbox, from where they were transferred to a shared EndNote library, as well as being imported to MaxQDA for analysis.

Data synthesis was undertaken using MaxQDA qualitative analysis software by the two CDU researchers. Extraction sheets were uploaded to MaxQDA and then coded to a pre-selected list of codes related to the key topics for the review and the program theories. New codes were added during the coding process as necessary. Extracts coded to each draft theory or topic were then

analysed for evidence to support, refute and/or refine the draft CMO configurations and program theories. Where possible, program theories were revised based on the evidence. The two researchers conducting the data synthesis had weekly meetings and regular between-meeting communication to build consistency of their synthesis process. Any questions or issues that were unable to be resolved were referred to the Chief Investigator.

Implications and Recommendations Workshop.

MCLD convened a workshop to which the extended research team, Expert Advisory Group and Reference Group members, funders and selected key stakeholders were invited. A copy of the preliminary report was provided to participants in advance, and material was summarized in a PowerPoint presentation. A series of small group sessions considered sections of the report, discussing implications and recommendations arising from the findings. The sessions were recorded and transcribed.

Development of Guidance Materials.

Guidance materials for implementation agencies and for funders were developed based on findings from the review and material from the Implications and Recommendations Workshop were developed. The final report was edited in response to feedback.

Limitations to the Review

A number of limitations affect this review.

The first is that the term 'Community-Led Development' is applied to a wide variety of program types and approaches, which meet the definitions of CLD developed for this project to very different extents. It is likely that this reflects diverse understandings of what CLD is. The apparent lack of agreement about 'what CLD is' makes analysis of how it works more complex.

The second is that the evidence directly related to leadership and facilitation was leaner than had been hoped. The selection processes involved - programs initially being provided by MCLD members as examples of CLD, and then selection within that pool for inclusion of material in relation to leadership and facilitation – should have provided the best data set possible within the scope of the project. Nevertheless, evidence on these topics was relatively weak.

Thirdly, the majority of the evidence was about programs in Africa, which limits the range of cultural contexts that have been included.

Fourthly, the project was, by comparison with other full realist reviews, a short term and low-budget exercise. The project design and its consequent budget and time allocations did not allow for a more comprehensive search of the literature, or analysis of other examples. This means, amongst other things, that CLD that has not been initiated or supported by an external organization and/or funded by USAID is excluded. It might therefore be argued that the 'truest' CLD – which has developed within communities without external support – is excluded. It also means that searches were not conducted for other academic literature or for formal theories which may be relevant to the findings. However, it should be noted that the number and range of included documents exceeds the normal range for a full realist review: this would not have been possible without the

contributions of researcher time made by MCLD member organizations and their staff, and a contribution of unfunded time by CDU staff.

Finally, the project was designed to be a form of capacity development for the MCLD researchers and their organizations. There was, as should be expected, some variability in the quality and comprehensiveness of extractions. The fact that the researchers undertaking the synthesis had not read all of the materials from which data had been extracted limited their understanding of the material and made synthesis more difficult.

Appendix 3. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria and Processes

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Any (rather than all) of the following criteria are sufficient for inclusion or exclusion.

Inclusion Criteria

Research or evaluation reports of programs which use CLD approaches (that is, using strategies involved in CLD as defined by Phase 1 of the MCLD research project), even when the document does not explicitly use the term CLD

Research into community leadership, facilitation, equity and/or resilience in international development settings (may not refer to programs)

Documents which research or evaluate community leadership interventions and/or theories underpinning community leadership in international development settings

Documents which research or evaluate facilitation interventions and/or theories underpinning facilitation in international development settings

Documents provide evidence of outcomes of community leadership, facilitation, equity, resilience, nutrition or food security

Documents provide supplementary information on programs included on the above criteria

Priority Setting Within Included Documents (if required)

1. Program objectives relate to or include food security, nutrition or resilience.
2. Documents provide descriptions of community leadership and/or facilitation processes and/or strategies to develop community leadership and/or facilitation
3. Rich descriptions (especially qualitative data) to enable investigation of Context, Mechanism and/or Outcome

Exclusion Criteria

1. Studies or documents not in English
2. Studies or documents with no relevant information in relation to leadership or facilitation
3. Studies or documents that do not include community-level interventions
4. Studies/evaluations conducted before 2000
5. Studies conducted with mainstream populations in developed countries

Processes for Inclusion and Exclusion of MCLD Programs.

1. The search function in Google Drive was used to identify which documents included either or both of the terms 'resilience' and 'equity'. These documents were identified in the spreadsheet containing the previous keyword searches.
2. The keyword spreadsheet was used to identify documents containing both the terms 'resilience' AND 'equity', in addition to three or more references to any of the community

leadership terms⁵⁷ or to three or more references to any of the facilitation terms.⁵⁸ This yielded a total of 22 unique references.

3. Documents were identified containing the term 'resilience', in addition to five or more references to any of the community leadership terms or to five or more references to any of the facilitation terms. This yielded 26 new references.
4. Documents were identified containing the term 'equity', in addition to five or more references to any of the community leadership terms or to five or more references to any of the facilitation terms. This yielded 15 new references.

Using this process, 63 documents were identified for inclusion. Of these, 57 were program evaluations and six were meta-evaluations/syntheses or research studies. Each of these 63 documents were then further qualified against the Inclusion/Exclusion criteria by the Research Assistant, using abstract and executive summary review, as well as skimming documents in full where necessary. Nine documents were excluded, leaving 54 documents. Four additional programs of interest were identified from meta-evaluations, yielding 58 programs.

The resulting 58 programs were then classified as to program relevance and the degree to which the available document(s) included rich qualitative information. Six programs were identified as 'backup'— they were less relevant programmatically but included helpful information. Nineteen programs were classified as conditional on obtaining additional documentation. These programs had a high degree of relevance to the review, but the available documents contained only quantitative data. Thus, 33 programs were identified for definite inclusion in the review, with six flagged that additional documentation would be desired. These 33 programs were divided between the research team semi-randomly, trying to keep the balance of work even, and avoiding conflict of interests where team members currently, or had in the past, worked for an implementing organization.

The Research Manager approached the implementing organizations for all 58 of these programs to request additional documentation. Additional documentation was obtained for nine of the "backup" and "conditional" programs and, of these, one was included, three were classed as backup programs, and five were excluded. This resulted in 34 programs included in the review as a result of the initial round of searching.

A second round of searching was then conducted in order to identify the remaining number of programs required for the research team to review. Using the spreadsheet containing keyword searches of the documents provided by MCLD, the following searches were conducted:

1. Documents containing the term 'resilience' OR 'equity', in addition to five or more references to any of the animator terms.⁵⁹ This yielded four additional references.
2. Documents containing the term 'resilience' OR 'equity', in addition to five or more references to any of the mobilization terms.⁶⁰ This yielded no additional references.
3. Documents containing the term 'resilience' OR 'equity', in addition to five or more references to any of the social mobilization terms.⁶¹ This yielded seven additional references.

⁵⁷ Community leadership, community leadership capacity, community level leadership, local leadership, local leaders, community leaders, village leader/ship.

⁵⁸ Facilitation, facilitators.

⁵⁹ Animators, animator.

⁶⁰ Mobiliser(s), mobilizer(s), mobilization of community, mobilizing communities.

⁶¹ Social mobilization, social mobilisation, community mobilization, citizen mobilization.

4. Documents containing the term 'resilience' OR 'equity', in addition to five or more references to the term 'collective action.' This yielded two additional references.
5. Documents were identified containing twenty or more references to any of the community leadership terms.⁶² This yielded 12 new references.
6. Documents were identified containing twenty or more references to any of the facilitation terms.⁶³ This yielded ten new references.

A total of 36 additional programs were identified in the second round of searching. Of these, ten were flagged for inclusion, one was flagged as conditional requiring additional documentation, and three were classes as backup programs. In examining the second round of programs identified, it became apparent that the list of selected programs included a large number from a few large INGOs rather than reflecting the breadth of organizations within MCLD's membership. In order to avoid introducing bias by relying too heavily on a few organization's programs, a number of programs identified in the second round of searching were excluded due to the need for more diversity of organizations. Additionally, six programs from the first round of searching were replaced with programs identified in the second round from different organizations. Finally, four additional CLD programs were added to the list for review in the second round by the Research Manager as strong examples of CLD programs or recommended by key stakeholders. Of these, two were chosen for inclusion in the second round of review, using the same inclusion/exclusion criteria. Additional documentation was sought from the authoring organizations by the Research Manager for all selected programs.

⁶² Community leadership, community leadership capacity, community level leadership, local leadership, local leaders, community leaders, village leader/ship.

⁶³ Facilitation, facilitators.

Appendix 4. Searches in USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse for Definitions

The following searches were conducted, with the most relevant results in **bold**. The number at the end of each item refers to the number of documents returned through the search.

1. In Documents; Year 20*; Language English; Type 'Special Evaluation,' OR 'Other USAID Evaluation,' OR 'Final Evaluation Report' = 4280
2. As above, with Primary Subject (Class) 'Food Security' OR 'Nutrition' = 143
3. As above, with Authoring Organization:

000087 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance

000090 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of American Schools and Hospitals Abroad (ASHA)

000088 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Private and Voluntary Cooperation (PVC)

004197 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Program and Management Support

006215 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Program Policy and Management

002672 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Program, Policy and Evaluation

007648 - USAID. Ofc. of Food for Peace (FFP)

013104 - USAID. West African Regional Food for Peace Ofc.

040265 - White House. Food for Peace Ofc.

= 0

4. As Search 2, with Sponsoring Organization:

000087 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance

000090 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of American Schools and Hospitals Abroad (ASHA)

000088 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Private and Voluntary Cooperation (PVC)

004197 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Program and Management Support

006215 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Program Policy and Management

002672 - USAID. Bur. for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance. Ofc. of Program, Policy and Evaluation

007648 - USAID. Ofc. of Food for Peace (FFP)

013104 - USAID. West African Regional Food for Peace Ofc.

040265 - White House. Food for Peace Ofc.

= 53

5. As above, with Text Anywhere in Document 'community-led' = 51
6. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document ' "community-led" ' = 16
7. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document ' "Community-Led Development" ' = 1
8. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document ' "community-led local development" ' = 0
9. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document ' "asset based community development" ' = 0
10. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document ' "community driven development" ' = 0
11. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document 'localization' = 0
12. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document ' "community leadership" ' = 7
13. As Search 4, with USAID Thesaurus Terms: 'Community Based Delivery' OR 'Community Mobilization' OR 'Community Leadership' OR 'Community Participation' OR 'Community Development' = 10
14. As above, with USAID Thesaurus Terms: 'Community Based Delivery' OR 'Community Mobilization' OR 'Community Leadership' OR 'Community Participation' OR 'Community Development' OR 'Local Level' OR 'Beneficiary Participation' OR 'Popular Participation' OR 'Public Participation' = 10
15. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document: 'community-led' AND 'resilience' = 35
16. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document: 'community-led' AND 'equity' = 30
17. As Search 4, with Text Anywhere in Document: 'community-led' AND 'equity' AND 'resilience' = 23
18. As above, with Text Anywhere in Document: ' "community-led" ' AND 'equity' AND 'resilience' = 9

Appendix 5. List of Included Programs

Programs of MCLD Member Organizations

Program/Study Name
Yekokeb Berhan Program for Highly Vulnerable Children in Ethiopia
OneVillage Partners ACT and NOW programs in Sierra Leone
Chukua Hatua
National Solidarity Program III (Concern and Oxfam programs)
Building Equitable and Resilient Livelihoods in the Dry Zone
GROW Campaign
Citizen Participation in Adaptation to Climate Change
Integrated WASH, Shelter and Protection Response to Newly Arrived South Sudanese Refugees and Host Communities in Yumbe (Bidibidi), Arua (Rhino & Imvepi) and Moyou & Adjumanyi (Palorinya) Districts, Uganda
Zambia's First 1000 Most Critical Days Program
The Hunger Project Benin
Outcome Evaluation Pilot Project (OEPP)
The Hunger Project Ethiopia Mesqan Epicenter
The Hunger Project Malawi
Linking Initiatives, Stakeholders and Knowledge to Achieve Gender-Sensitive Livelihood Security (LINKAGES) Program/ABDISHE
Governance and Community Action Programme (GCAP)
Tostan FGM/C program in Senegal
Feed the Future Bangladesh Women's Empowerment Activity
Mobilizing Community Action and Promoting Opportunities for Youth in Ghana's Cocoa Growing Communities (MOCA)
Inclusive Resource Management Initiative (IRMI)
Community Conversations
Enhancing the Socio-economic Status of Women and Girls to Play Active Roles in Advancing their Overall Development
Promoting Resiliency through Ongoing Participatory Engagement and Learning (PROPEL)
Heifer Bangladesh and Nepal
Communities Caring for Children Program
Gender Roles, Equality and Transformations (GREAT) Project Community Action Cycle
Community Options for Protection and Empowerment (COPE) and Strengthening Community Partnerships for the Empowerment of Orphans and Vulnerable Children (SCOPE-OVC)
Koumra and Kemkian Area Development Programme
Leuk Daek Area Development Programme
Citizen Voice and Action Program in Ghana, Senegal & Sierra Leone, Hear my Voice/CEED Project, Citizen Voice and Action Program in Indonesia
Rakai Kakuuto Area Development Program
Promoting Social Cohesion through Community Projects
Community-Based Conflict Management and Cooperative Use of Resources (CONCUR)/Inter-Religious Peacebuilding in Northern Nigeria (IPNN)
A Critical Review of Community-Driven Development Programmes in Conflict-Affected Contexts (Research Study)
Appreciative Inquiry at Save the Children US/Philippines Field Office (Research Study)
Building Resilience through Self-Help Groups: Evidence Review (Research Study)
Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA)

USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse Programs

Reference Number/Name	Program/Study Name
C-SAFE	Consortium for Southern Africa Food Security Emergency, Zimbabwe
DFAP(s)	Food-for-Peace Development Food Assistance Projects (DFAPs) Ethiopia
Fararano	Fararano Development Food Security Activity, Madagascar
FASO	Burkina Families Achieving Sustainable Outcomes (FASO)
Jenga Jamaa, JJ	ADRA DRC - JENGA
LAHIA	Livelihoods, Agriculture and Health Interventions in Action (LAHIA)
MYAP, CRS Burundi	Multi Year Assistance Program CRS Burundi
Nobo Jibon, NJ	Nobo Jibon Multi Year Assistance Program
PASAM-TAI	Programme d'Appui à la Sécurité Alimentaire des Ménages – Tanadin Abincin Iyali
PROMASA	Proyecto Maya de Seguridad Alimentaria (PROMASA II Project)
PROSAN	Food and Nutritional Security Program PROSAN-Rayuwa
PROSHAR	Program for Strengthening Household Access to Resources (PROSHAR)
RISE/Feed the Future (FTF)	Resilience in the Sahel-Enhanced Project
RISE/SIMAMA	Resources to Improve Food Security in the Eastern DRC
Sabal	Sabal Project
SALOHI	Strengthening and Accessing Livelihood Opportunities for Household Incomes (SALOHI)
SHOUHARDO	Strengthening Household Ability to Respond to Development Opportunities (SHOUHARDO)
Surakhya	Food Security for Flood-Affected Populations in Odisha: Project Surakhya
SUSTAIN	Northern Karamoja Growth, Health and Governance Project in Karamoja Region/Sustainable Transformation in Agriculture and Nutrition
TOPS	Technical and Operational Performance Support Program (TOPS)
ViM	Victory against Malnutrition Project (ViM)

Appendix 6. List of Documents Reviewed⁶⁴

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⁶⁴ This list of references includes all literature included in the review, regardless of whether it was cited in the report. Numbers included in tables of evidence throughout the report link to the corresponding document number in this appendix. Literature directly quoted or footnoted in the report is listed in Section 9.8. References.

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Appendix 7. Initial Program Theory Diagrams

Realist research and evaluation starts by developing an “initial rough theory” based on limited evidence. The theory is then developed and refined using a wider range of evidence.

The initial program theory diagrams for this project were mapped for the two key topics of facilitation and community leadership. In each case, there is an ‘overview’ diagram that is provided first, followed by more detailed sub-diagrams.

At the broadest level, the structure of the theories was that program activities use facilitation and build local leadership, which enable implementation of activities which contribute to increased equity and resilience, which in turn contribute to food security.

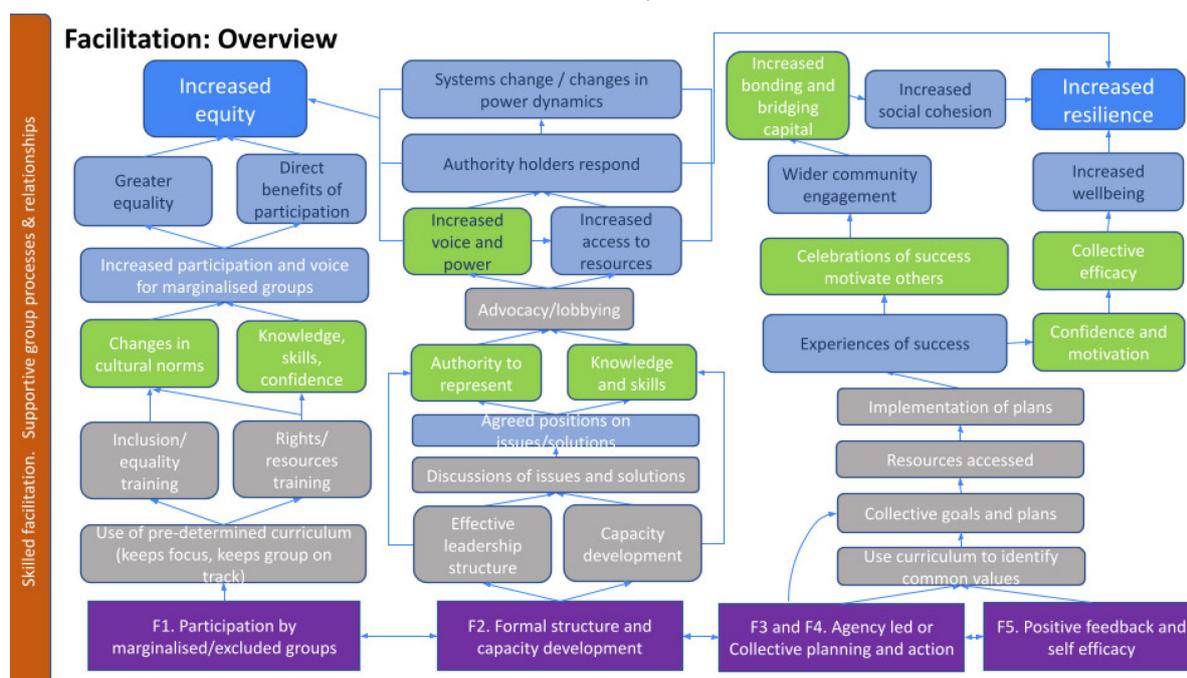
Note that the same colour code was used in all the diagrams: grey for program activities, orange for contextual factors, green for mechanisms, pale blue for intermediate outcomes and dark blue for the two penultimate outcomes of increased equity and increased resilience

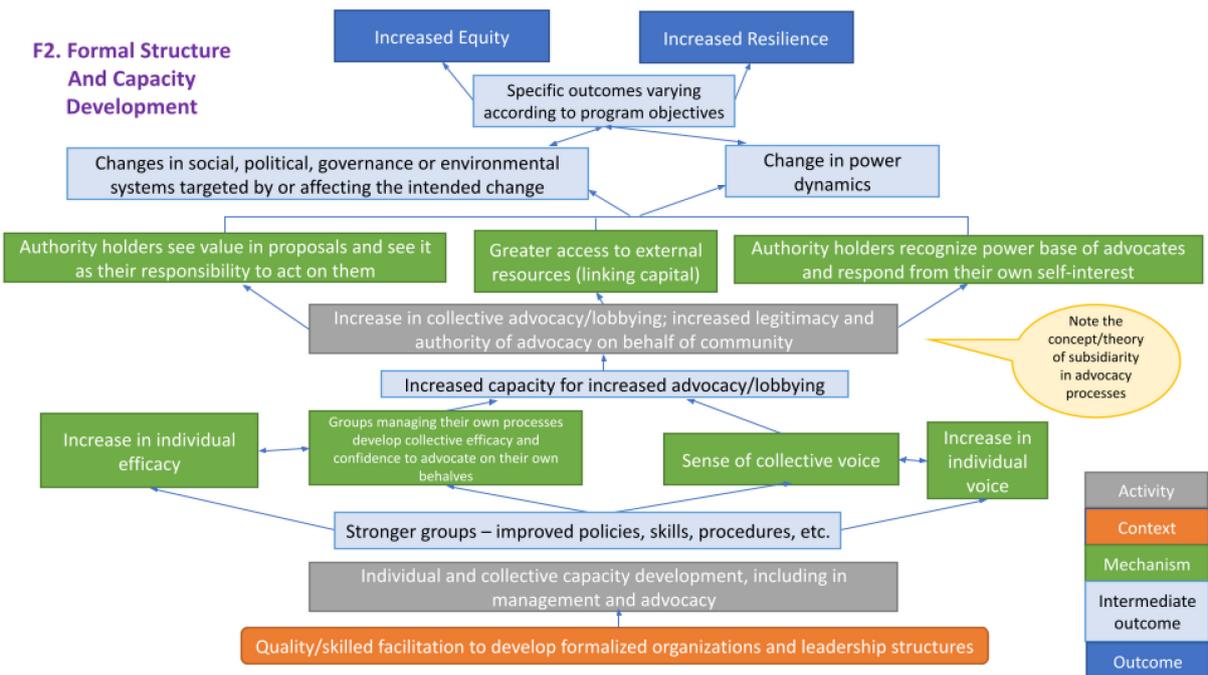
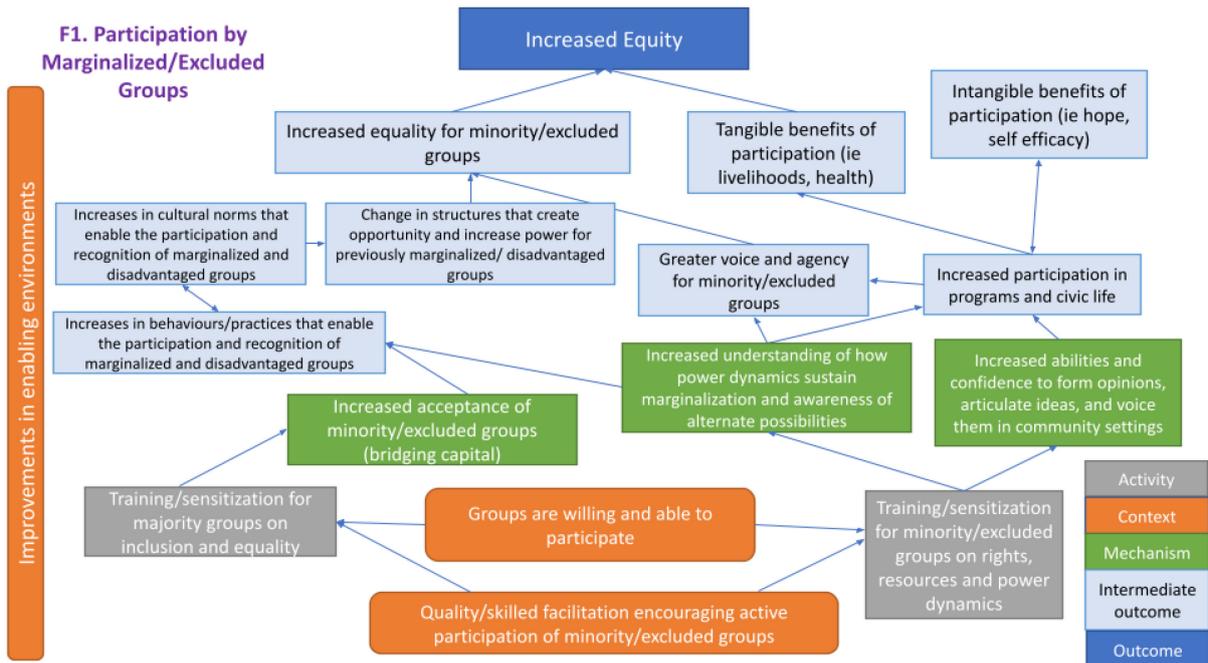


Facilitation

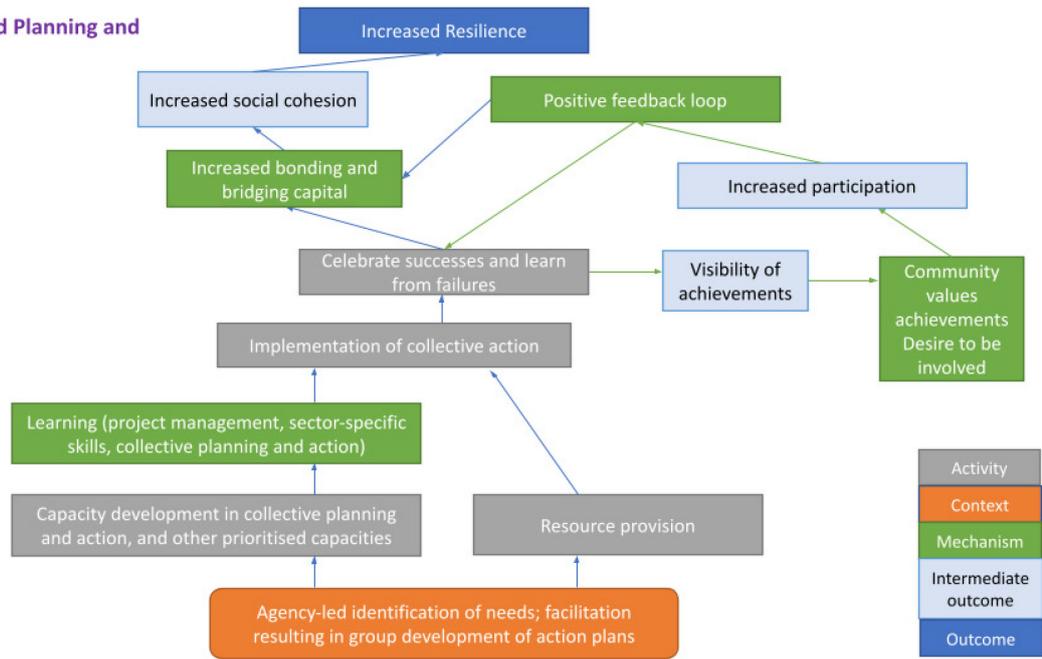
The five sub-topic diagrams were:

- F1. Participation by marginalized or excluded groups;
- F2. Formal structure and capacity development;
- F3. Agency-led planning and action;
- F4. Collective planning and action;
- F5. Positive feedback and self-efficacy.

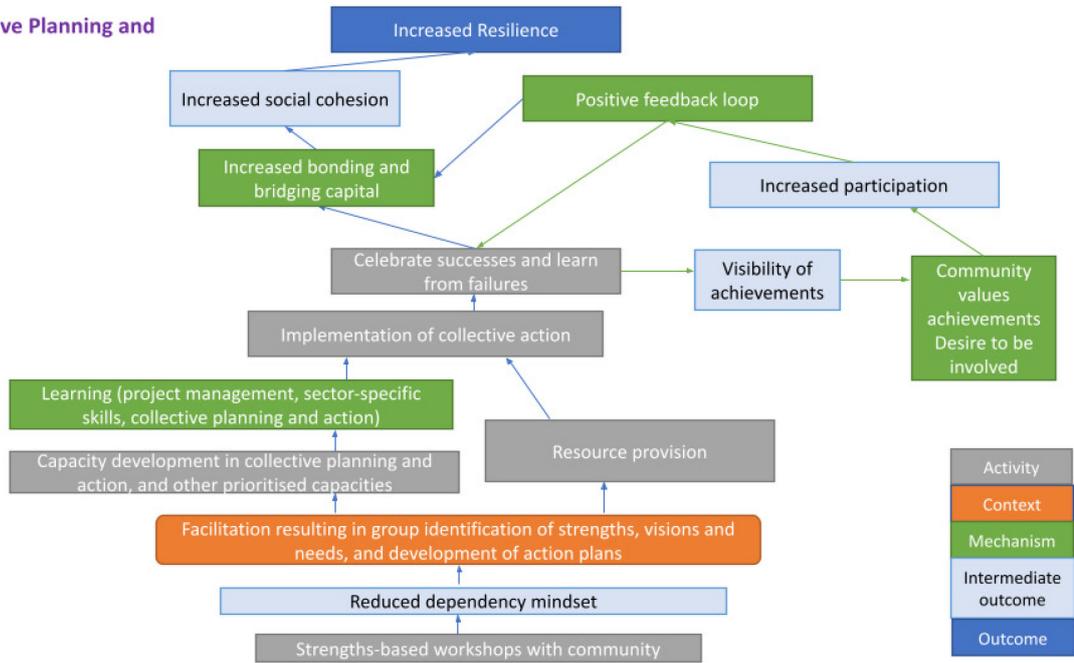




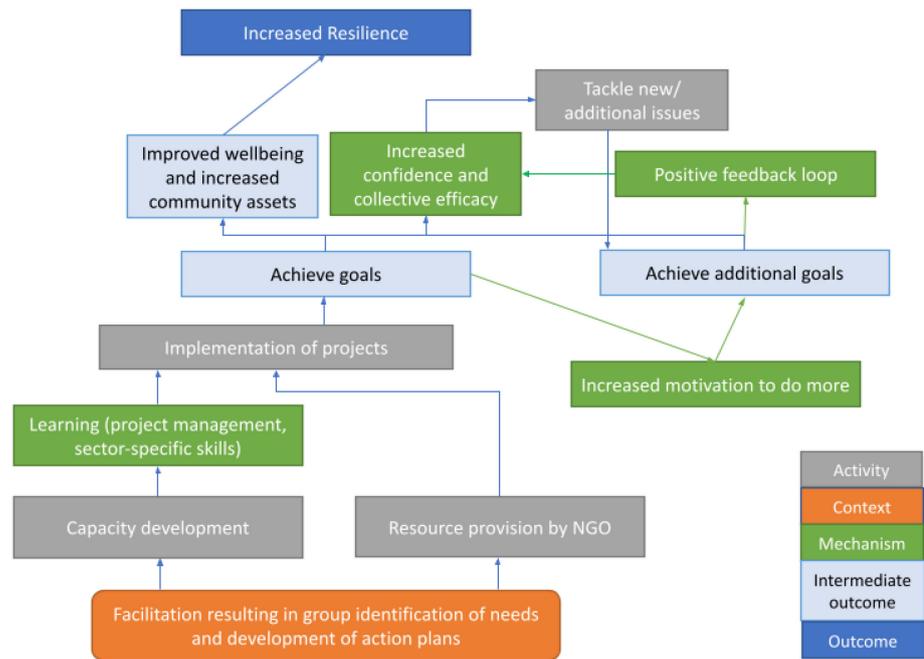
F3. Agency-Led Planning and Action



F4. Collective Planning and Action



F5. Positive Feedback and Self-Efficacy

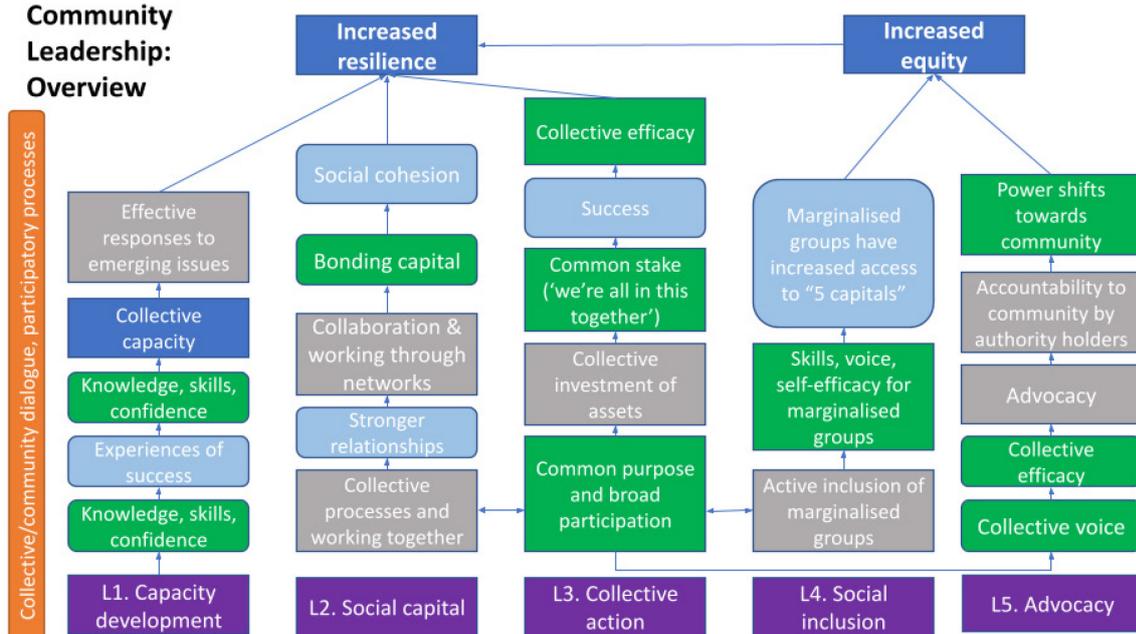


Community Leadership

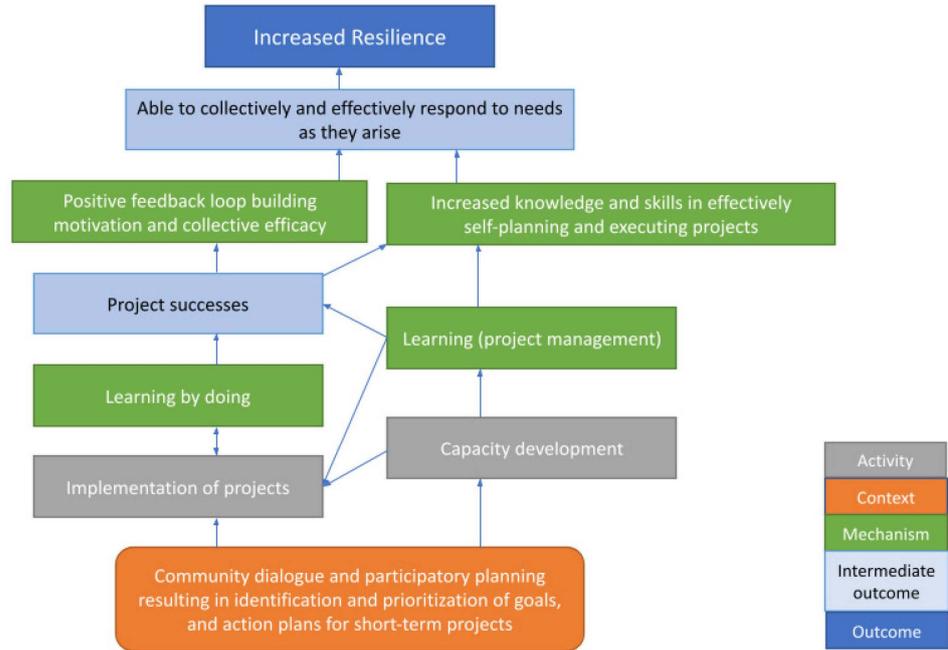
The five sub-topic diagrams were:

- L1. Capacity development
- L2. Social capital
- L3. Collective action
- L4. Social inclusion
- L5. Advocacy

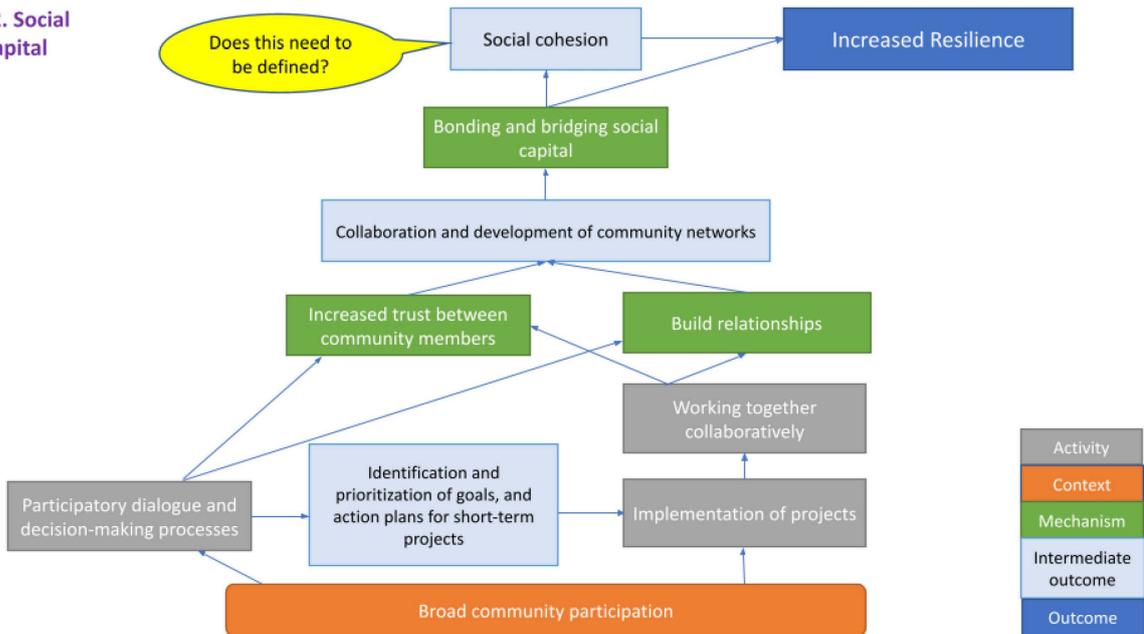
Community Leadership: Overview



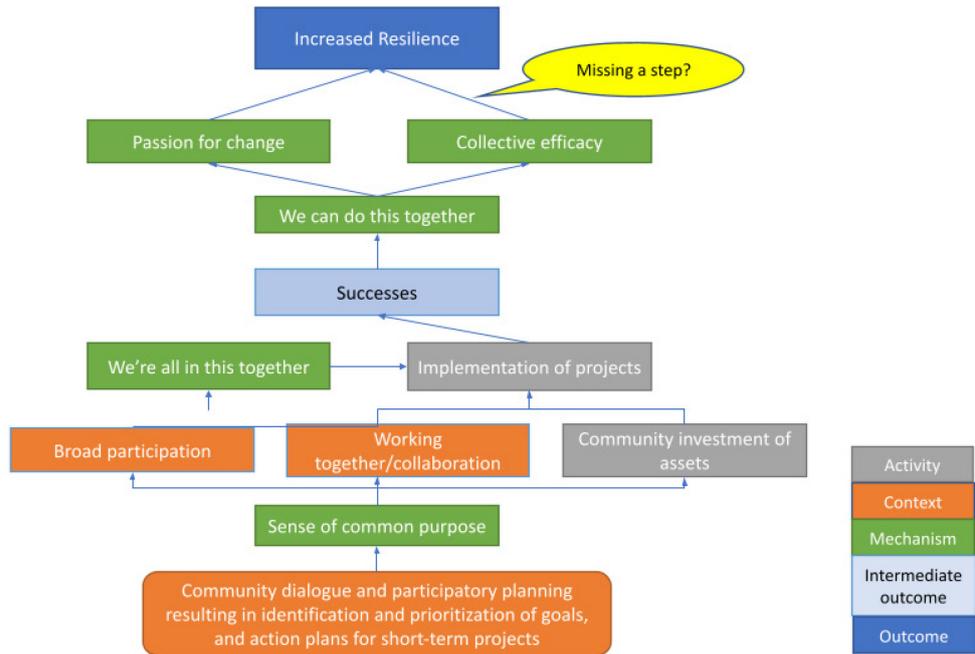
L1. Capacity Development



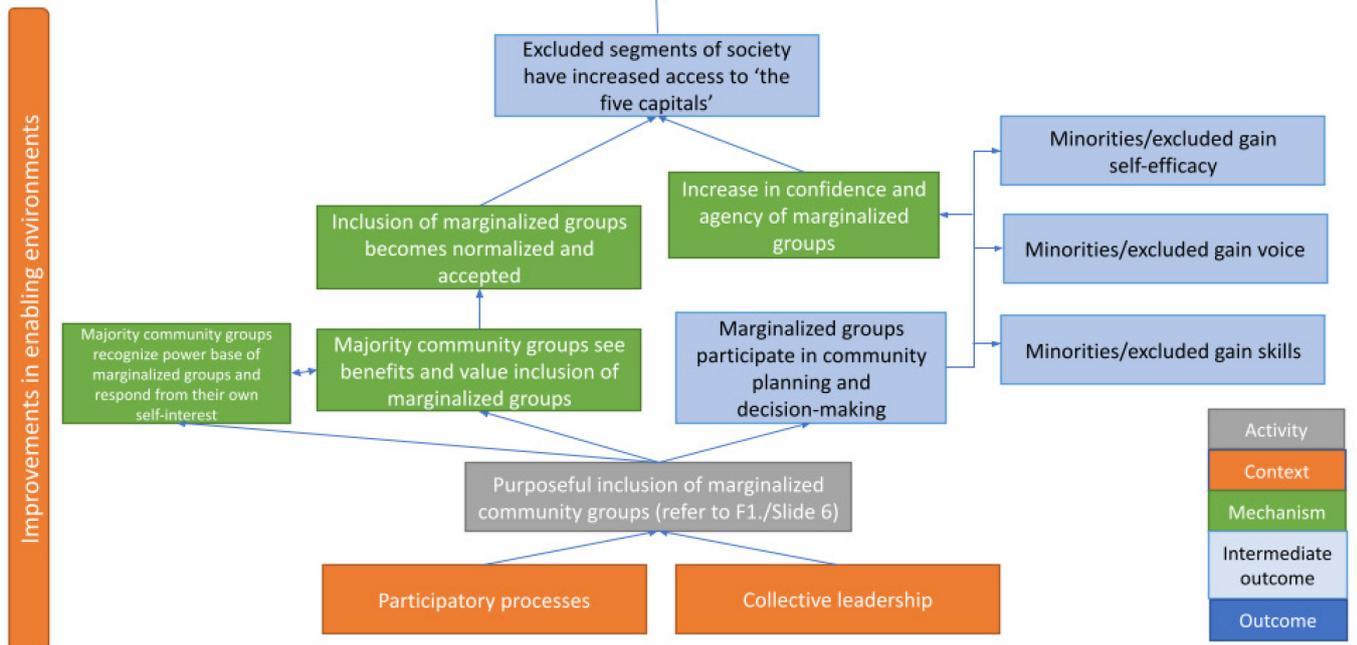
L2. Social Capital



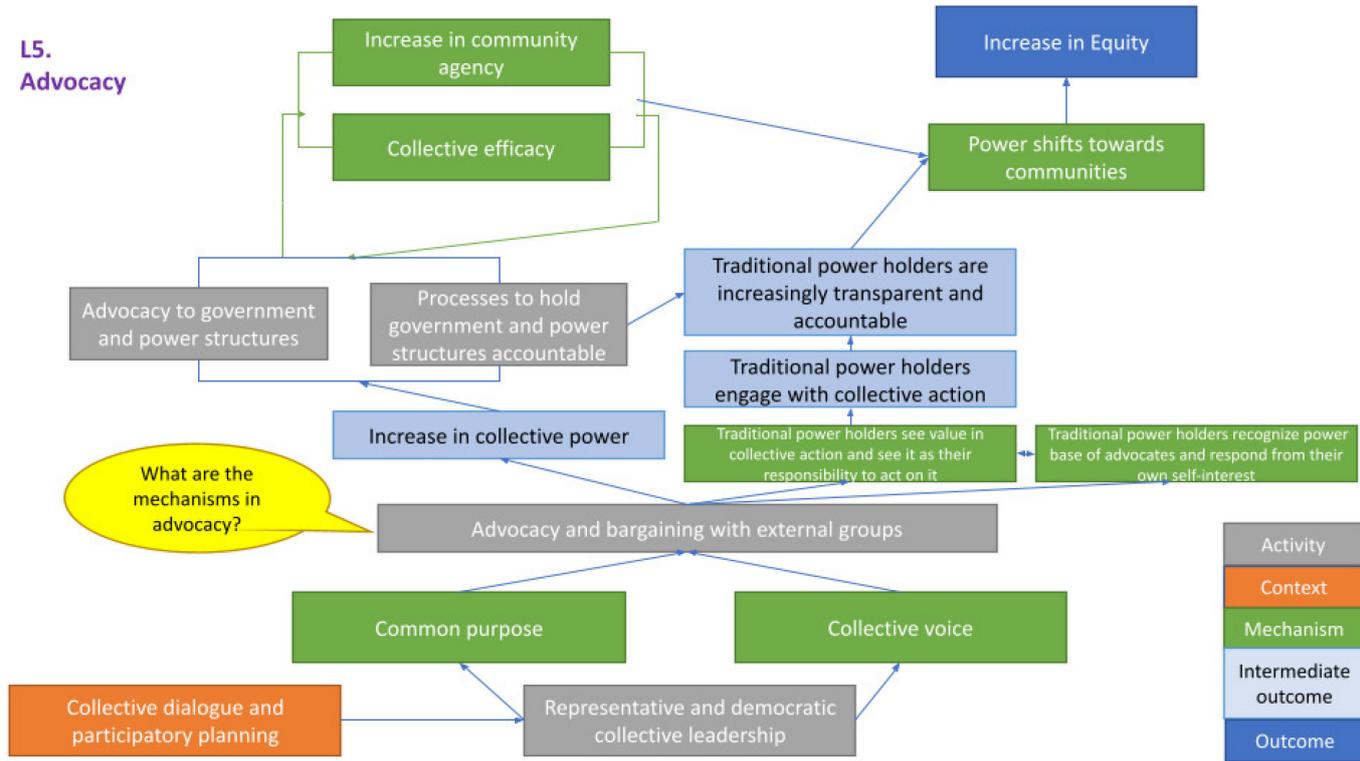
L3. Collective Action



L4. Social Inclusion

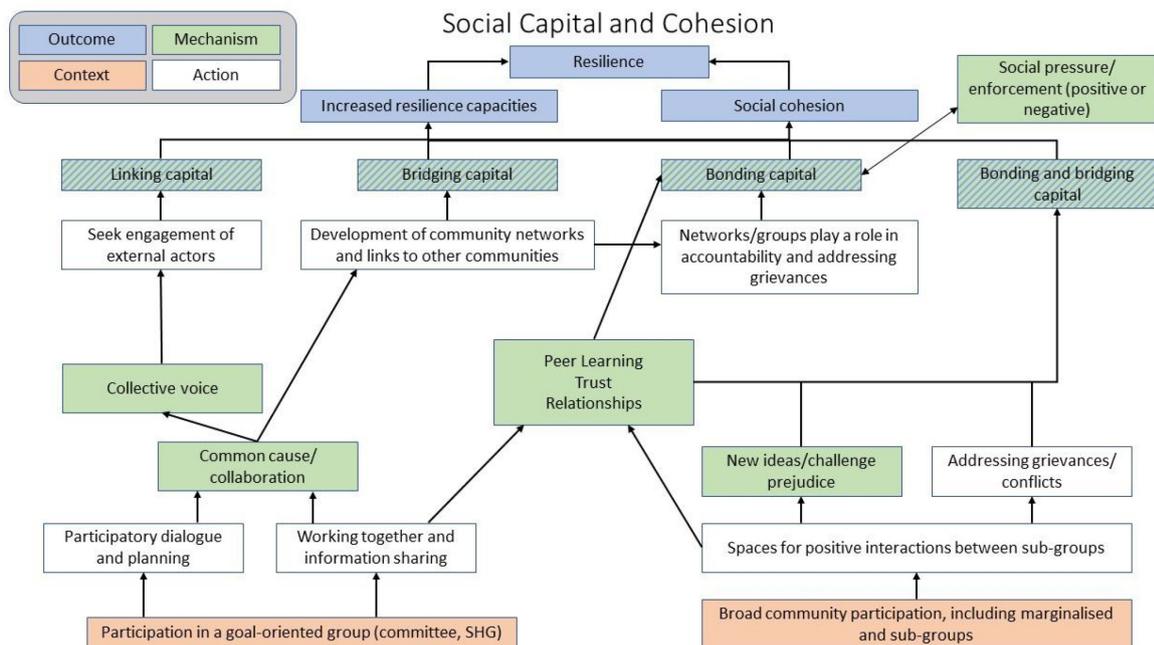
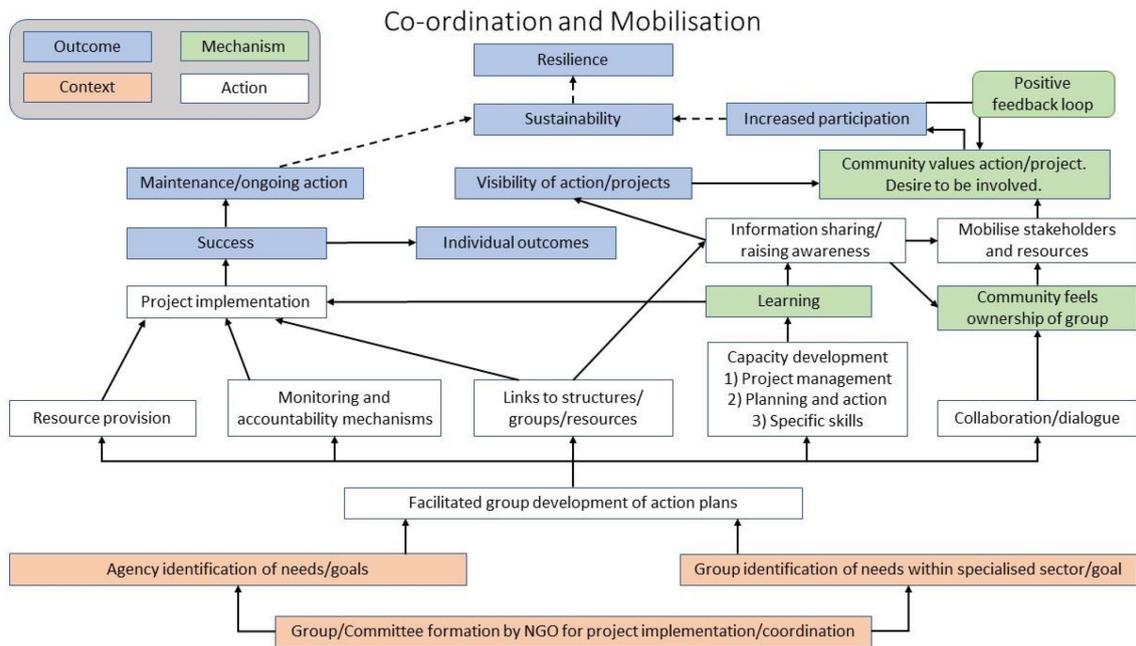


L5. Advocacy

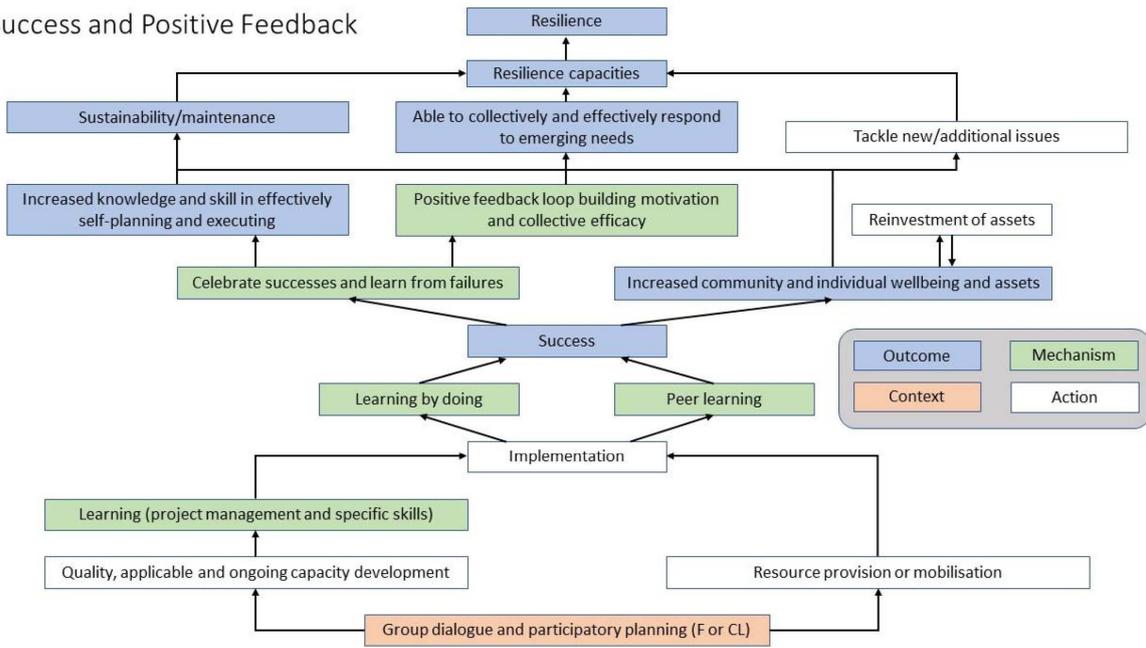


Appendix 8. Revised Program Theory Diagrams

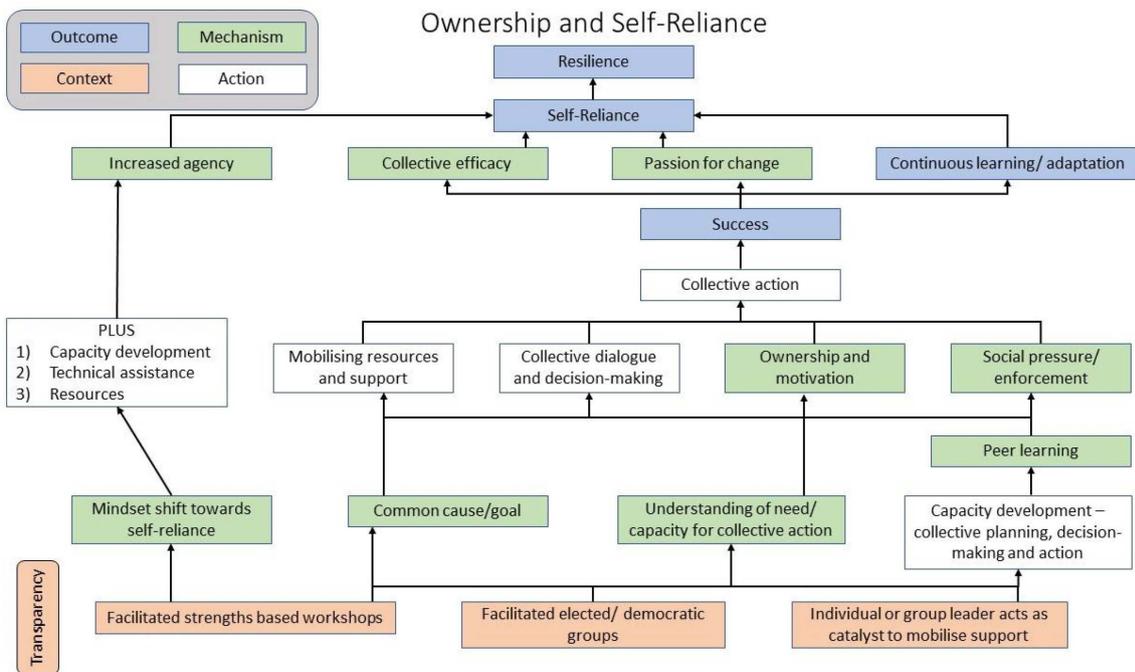
Resilience



Success and Positive Feedback

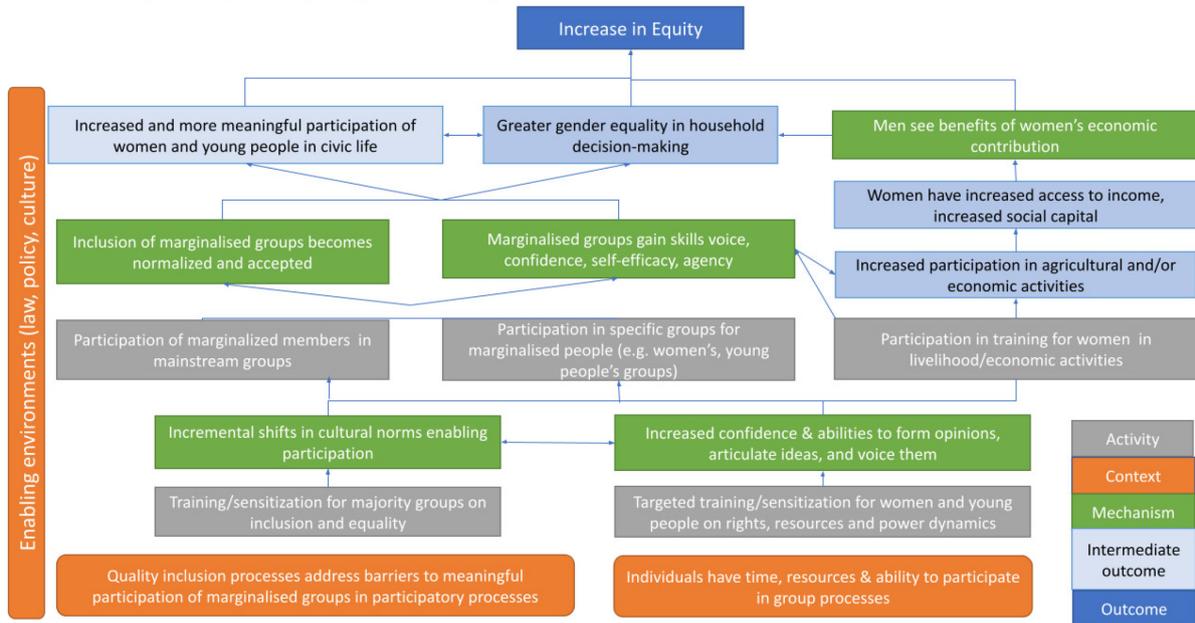


Ownership and Self-Reliance



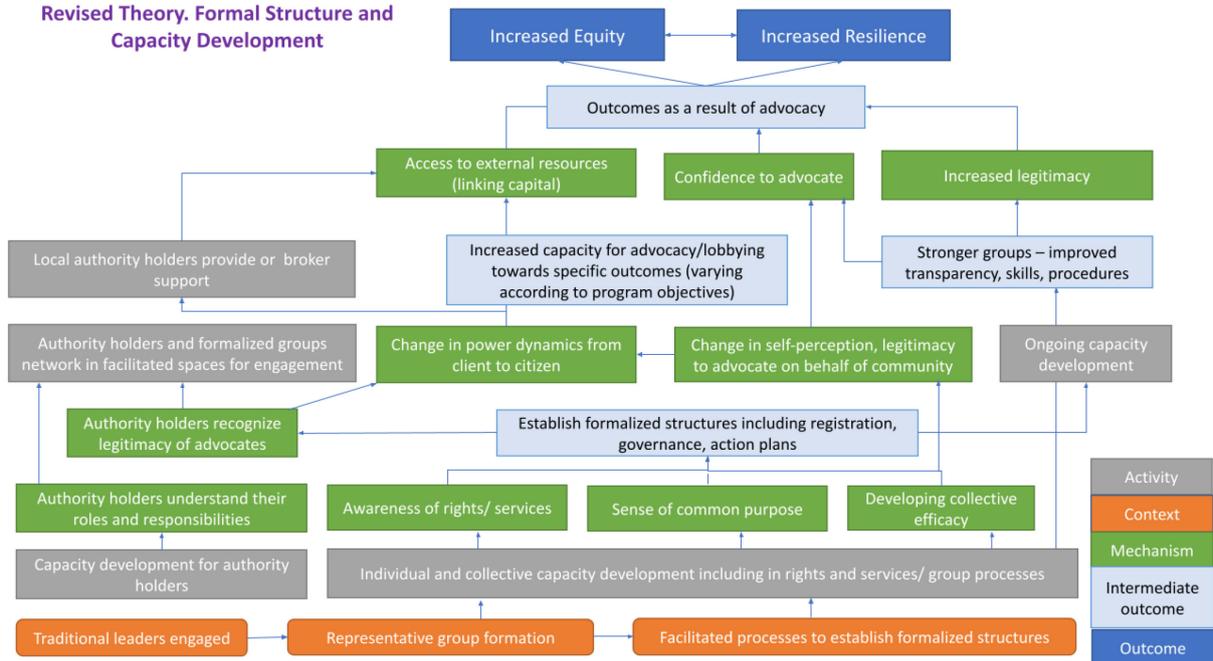
Equity

Revised theory: Participation by Marginalised Groups



Formal Structure and Capacity Development

Revised Theory. Formal Structure and Capacity Development



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