



Community-driven development: understanding the interlinkages between individuals, community-based workers and institutions.

CDD Working Paper Series

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Case Study: Uchira Water Users Association

By
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Community-driven development: understanding the interlinkages between individuals, community-based workers and institutions.

The purpose of this research is to identify the potential and constraints of community-driven management and service delivery by tracking the evolution of participation, in selected projects as shaped by the interface between individuals, community workers and institutions.

Pro-poor community-driven development is both enabled and constrained by individual identities, the actions of community workers and the workings of institutions. The positive aspects can be enhanced through a greater understanding of individual motivations, institutional processes and improved monitoring techniques. However, the limitations of such models must also be recognised.

This research has three objectives: (1) to understand individual participation in collective action; (2) to understand the contribution of community-workers to participatory processes; and (3) to understand the possibilities of 'getting institutions right' for pro-poor development.

The research analyses case studies of community-driven development activity in relation to water and HIV/AIDS in Tanzania and South Africa.

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*This Working Paper Series is dedicated to the memory of
Comfort Mfangavo
enthusiastic research partner in Dar es Salaam.*

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Working Paper 6

Case Study: Uchira Water Users Association

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Key findings

This intensive exploration of UWUA tells us several things, all of which have implications for the shape and implementation of water policy in Tanzania, and more broadly for certain fundamental principles of IWRM.

- 1) Managing water at the local level does not necessarily lead to community ownership. Whilst considerable emphasis was given to community participation and ownership in Uchira, through the constitution of the association and the efforts of external consultants, in practice community ownership is limited to a small group of members.
- 2) Community contribution to the water supply rehabilitation in this case is through payment for water and through communal labour. Communal labour has proved a burden for many and a contentious issue in relation to enforcement. It is doubtful that community ownership is enhanced through forced communal labour (enforcement using village militia and confiscation of property).
- 3) Water pricing at the local level shows an evolution in favour of private taps and therefore necessarily the wealthier section of the village. There are no exemptions given at the local level to the most vulnerable, although this is at the discretion of the Village Council. This issue caused considerable difficulty at the local level and it may be most appropriate role for government (or other external regulatory authority) to set some minimum access criteria for local level water user entities to fulfil. This may reduce conflict at the local level. As we see in Uchira whilst people in principle are prepared to pay for water, the flat pricing structure places a burden on the poorest some who have to ask for credit. The unstable and vulnerable nature of cash income in the agricultural economy must also be taken into account. As is shown in the public taps survey water average water use in the village is still below the minimum standard detailed in the 2002 water policy. This has implications both for health and productive livelihoods.
- 4) Getting local community institutions right for management requires considerable external and professional support. The day-to-day operations of UWUA are funded through payments for water collected directly at the public taps by water attendants, and through billing owners of private taps. This system is generating a surplus and allows the association to employ a number of professional staff. However, it remains uncertain that UWUA can generate sufficient revenue to maintain and develop their scheme. The continued external support from GTZ (capacity-building support) suggests that the association requires a long period of support before it can be fully autonomous. This raises some questions about the viability of village-level water user associations can a wide-scale model for the management of water supplies.

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I Introduction- Three systems for managing water supply in Tanzania

This case study relates to the Uchira Water User's Association in Tanzania. It is one of three interventions in the water sector examined in this research. It is a donor-funded project that works in partnership with local government but it has also established a new institutional structure (Water Users's Association) for the supply and management of water in Uchira village. The other case studies covered in this research are a water supply trust (donor-funded) and a village council managing a piped system with no external assistance (Working Papers 8 and 9 respectively). Therefore this case study when viewed in combination with the others offers lessons concerning community participation and representation, the scale of intervention, and the various roles of community-based workers. The questions that guide the case studies can be condensed in three key questions: a) How is individual participation in collective activity shaped? b) What is the role of CBWs in such collective activity? And c) What is (or should be) the role of institutions in pro-poor development?

The methodological approach in all of these case studies is to provide a contextual understanding of the geographical community in which an intervention is operating. This allows us to track the 'transversal logics of action' so that we reveal how an intervention is positioned in relation to other institutions and not simply viewed as a closed system. Hence the analysis of the community-based system is decentred and placed in relation to other community and collective actions.

This paper gives an analytical account of a development intervention that sought to apply community-based water management in the village of Uchira, Tanzania. The idea that we can 'get institutions right' for the poor through decentralised and 'localised' management is an important component of populist approaches to development. It is often assumed by proponents of such approaches that the local level is synonymous with sustainability, equity and efficiency and so is necessarily both good for the poor and for development, however this may be a trap as the evidence for such an assertion is unconvincing (Purcell and Brown 2005).

The longitudinal nature of this research offers the opportunity for an intensive examination of community-based delivery of drinking water services in Uchira village, Tanzania. The evolution of the Uchira Water User Association, its interaction with pre-existing institutions and the impact that this has on provision of water is analysed in this paper. What this reveals is how this new

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bureaucratic organisation (UWUA) is shaped by a variety of forces, internal and external. Both individual agency and collective action act to produce the rules in practice for water provision in Uchira.

As a donor-funded project, the Uchira water supply project is necessarily shaped by the context of its formation and an examination of national and local political economy illuminates such connection. This paper begins by exploring water policy as a means of charting the linkages between the macro and micro levels of policy-making, translation and implementation, and shows how some of the central tenets of current policy are reinterpreted in Uchira. The evolution of water policy in Tanzania follows a similar pattern to the evolution of the state itself, in the post-colonial era characterised by firstly provision by the state and moving now towards the state as facilitator for private enterprise and civil society service provision. Considerable emphasis is placed on community ownership of the project and their active participation in the management of it. In this respect, the evolution and impact of UWUA is an important test of current policy.

Community ownership is one of the stated aims of UWUA and, as explored in Working Paper 2 in this series, a central component of Tanzanian water policy. This paper considers how broad community ownership of the project is in Uchira and finds that ownership is highly contested. From this research it appears that community ownership is actually in the hands of a few people and that for the majority, community ownership is restricted to participation in communal labour and the payment of financial contributions. The paper also explores the management of public taps, sales of water from private taps and the power struggle that developed between the Village Council and UWUA. This institutional ethnography highlights the tension between bureaucratic and community-based management in terms of organisational sustainability and equity.

The evolution of water policy in Tanzania- pre-independence to 2005

The evolution of water policy in Tanzania follows a similar pattern to the evolution of the state itself. Firstly local social arrangements regulated access to water, for example the furrow system of the Chagga. These institutional arrangements were often eroded through colonial contact, and then disappeared formally following independence. However in some areas local institutional arrangements were more resilient than others. During Ujamaa the state viewed water as a right to

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be accessed freely and embarked on large scale programmes to improve access to water. The state has gradually withdrawn its responsibility for supply and opened the way for donors, NGOs and private investors. Current water policy follows the so-called international consensus on water, which views water as an economic good to be managed at the 'lowest appropriate level'. Water users associations are therefore seen as one means in a range of mechanisms, which aim to enable local people to manage water efficiently and equitably.

In the early post-colonial era this was characterised by infrastructure provision by the state. It has subsequently become an accepted wisdom that the state could not efficiently provide basic services. Therefore in order to provide such services and thereby to reduce poverty the state should act as facilitator to the efforts of private companies, civil society organisations and local communities. It is further assumed that the greater the ownership by local communities of service provision the more sustainable that service will be (Mfangavo et al 2005).

II. Uchira Water Users Association

The Uchira Water Users Association manages the supply of water in Uchira village in Kilimanjaro, using a rehabilitated pipe system and an office constructed with financing from GTZ, and through the labour and contributions of villagers themselves. The association has been operating almost five years but is part of a much longer history of local attempts to secure water for the village. Public and private taps in the village now have water throughout the year and this marks a considerable improvement in supply given the previous water shortages in the area (Taylor 1996).

Uchira Village Water Supply Project is part of the larger Village Water Supply Project operated by GTZ in conjunction with the Ministry of Water and Livestock is a high profile project and has attracted considerable attention, being opened by the President of Tanzania in 2000.

Considerable emphasis is placed by those directly involved in the management of the project on local ownership. Indeed there is some evidence for a certain degree of local ownership given that the overall strategic management of the project is overseen by a board of representatives elected from the members of the association.

This research set out to examine the impact of the scheme in Uchira and to explore further issues of community ownership and participation. Such concepts are often poorly understood and liberally applied in development practice (Cleaver 1999; Tembo 2003; Toner 2003; Chhotray 2004). Through undertaking an intensive qualitative investigation in collaboration with local people, this research aimed to reveal how the Uchira Waters Users Association has evolved and to examine in detail the impact of its policy on different sections of the Village population. The examination of this micro-level detail offers some important lessons for the applicability of the general principles of water management alluded to above. This approach also aims to reveal the both the formal rules for water management in Uchira but more importantly to understand the 'rules-in-practice'. (Bingen 2000; Hilhorst 2003)

The research team conducted a profiling exercise of village services and community organisations and have interviewed in excess of 120 water users (see appendices for details. Interviews with key stakeholders and decision-makers in village and ward government were conducted as well as consultations and discussions with the management of UWUA (see appendix 2). Official UWUA

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documentation (in English and KiSwahili) was also reviewed (see appendix 1) Water use from public water points was also mapped in detail at 12 public taps in July 2004 (see map in appendices).

The evolution of UWUA

From its humble origins as a community group lobbying for support with its idea for a water project, UWUA has developed into a professional organisation for the management of water supplies in Uchira, managing an annual turnover of approximately 19million Tsh (equivalent to \$19,000 in 2005). UWUA was officially registered as an autonomous water user entity under the Water Works Ordinance on 28th August 2000. It was founded through a legal constitution and backed by local by-laws.

Construction began in 1999 on the rehabilitation of the Ussoro-Kisomachi gravity water supply system (constructed in 1962 by GoT), which was supplied by the Mue river and by a new intake at Lyambala Spring. GTZ agreed to provide the sum of 42,000,000 Tsh¹ for works which were valued at a total cost of 84,854,590 Tsh. The balance was to be offset through the contribution of labour, materials and funds (via contributions and the sale of water) by villagers.

Once the new intake came into use it became clear that the old system of pipes could not withstand the increased water pressure and considerable quantities of water were being lost through leakage. From 2001 to 2004 the old pipes were gradually replaced or repaired and the system extended to all areas of the village (except one hamlet) with this phase of work being completed in the first half of 2004.

The formal constitution of UWUA sought to establish institutional arrangements for the sustainable management of the water supply but also to actively seek funds and resources to continue the development of the scheme and to ‘bring about community and social welfare development in general’²

Criteria for membership of UWUA recognises the contribution of community members to the construction of the scheme through either labour or cash donations. Broad-based community

¹ 1100Tsh is equivalent to 1 USD – April 2006 exchange rate

² Excerpt from Uchira Constitution Document- 2001

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ownership of the scheme was sought to ensure sustainability through the creation of a management board comprising of representatives from each sub-village (hamlet). A 50:50 gender balance of representatives is formalised in the constitution. Professional staff are also employed (General Manager, Accountant, 2 Technicians, 2 Office Watchmen, 1 Intake Watchman and an Office Secretary).

For the first six months of 2004 UWUA was without a General Manager and the Chairman oversaw the day-to-day operation of the scheme. However, to ensure the long-term sustainability and development of the scheme it was felt necessary to ensure that revenue generated through the supply and sale of water (by self-employed pump attendants) should be sufficient to cover the salaries of a professional management team³. Following the departure of the first manager and the appointment of the second manager Mr Danga, work continued to ensure a separation of professional and management board responsibilities and powers. Again this process was supported by external facilitation from a Tanzanian consultant but funded by GTZ. Table 1.2 shows the evolution of many aspects of the scheme and such changes will be analysed in more detail in this paper.

The development of the organisation has been well supported by regional and district government and GTZ, through training (with Network for Water and Sanitation International (NETWAS) and International Water and Sanitation Centre (IRC) in Nairobi), and study visits (to Iringa Region). In addition a key component of the organisational and institutional development of UWUA has been through the specific support of consultants (CEWS -Community Empowerment for Water and Sanitation) who continued to facilitate the evolution of the management of the scheme and to champion processes for wide and inclusive community participation.

Water use in Uchira

The vast majority of Uchira villagers are using the water from the project to supply their domestic needs. The new system represents a huge improvement, however most people are still restricted in their water use due to both the cost and insufficiency of supply. Interviews revealed that many people expressed frustration with having insufficient water for small-scale productive use and many felt that they could not access sufficient water for livestock, as these quotes indicate:

³ Interview with Ernst Doering (GTZ) in Uchira- August 2004

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‘We don’t have a public water station nearby so we have to fetch water from a personal station at 10Tsh per bucket. Water is not a problem for us like in previous years but what we lack is a nearby public water station.’ WU85

‘Formally we were not getting water frequently so Lyambala water project has helped us..... Another thing is about these cattle traps up to this time we don’t have a place to water our animals. These water traps were built for our benefits and they cost around three million and now they are useless’. WU2

‘We have got a relief of water problems I buy a bucket of 20L for 5Tsh and I have to walk 350m to a public tap. We don’t have an attendant at the public tap and so we have to attend ourselves on a shift basis’. WU82

‘At this time water is available for domestic use only and not for horticulture. I have a private water tap and I use 5 buckets daily in my family of four. My father is also staying nearby and so he comes to fetch water at mine. My monthly water bill is more than 4000Tsh’. WU88

Using data collected from a survey of public taps during July (and the semi-structured interviewing of Uchira residents) it is possible to estimate that the average household size is 5.45 and average consumption of water per household is 5.1 buckets. This gives an average daily consumption of 18.7 l per person. Notably despite the heavy investment in Uchira, the daily consumption remains below the 25L international standard discussed above.

The taps were selected from each village district and were visited at different times of the day to reflect varying usage patterns. At each tap data was collected relating to the names and ages of those collecting water, the number of buckets collected each day, how far they walked and the amount that they pay. Table 1.1 gives an overview of the data for each tap.

Table 1.1: Overview of water service at Public Taps in Uchira- July 2004

Public Tap	No of households collecting in 1 hour	Collection system	Price per 20L	Distance travelled (m)	Average buckets collected (range)
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A	5	Monthly rota	5 to those in rota, 10 to those outside	15-80	4.4 (3-6)
B	6	Private attendant (pay on collection)	10	10-70	7 (5-10)
C	6	Private attendant (collects money later)	10	40-100	5.2 (1-15)
D	16	Rota	5 if in rotation, 10 if not	30-500	4.8 (1-10)
E	13	Rota	5 (credit sometimes given)	30-600	3.84 (2-5)
F	10	Private attendant	10	10-100	7 (2-10)
G	8	Private attendant	10	10-70	4.25(2-10)
H	15	Rota	5	35-800	4.7 (2-12)
I	13	Rota	5	100-2000	4.6(1-10)
J	13	Attendant (paid 200 per month by each household)	5	30-420	6.2(3-10)
K	21	Private attendant	10	30-2000	13.5(6-50)
L	6	Volunteer attendant	5 to those from area, 10 to those from outside	70-1500	2.83(1-8)

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Different areas of the village show different patterns of water usage, distance walked to the taps and different mechanisms for the collection of money. These differences reflect the characteristics of different areas of the village. For instance the central areas (upper central and lower central) are densely populated and therefore people do not have to walk far to public taps. The commercial activities in the area could also account the wider range of water usage in this area. In these areas people do not need to walk great distances to the public taps (a range of 10-100m – with collection times of 5-15 minutes) and showing a range of use from 2-10 buckets per household. Without exception the taps surveyed in the central area were operated by a private attendant charging 10Tsh per bucket. Some attendants were open and willing to discuss business and pricing at the tap whereas others were unwilling to give details.

More rural and area of lower population density show a greater variation in distance walked to public tap and time taken in collection. A considerable number of those questioned during the larger survey of water users argued that they still had to walk great distances to public taps and that more should be built. The distances walked range from 70-2000m and some of those questioned admitted that they preferred to purchase water at a higher cost from owners of private water lines who lived nearby. It is also noticeable that average water usage is lower in these areas

The sub-village of Miwaleni is at present excluded from the scheme. It has a completely different geology to other areas of the village and some people are able to draw water from shallow wells within their own compounds. A large spring rises here and is used for irrigated agricultural production. The Red Cross also provided concrete for a water collection area at the spring to alleviate the environmental fouling of the collection area. Those questioned argued strongly that this water was polluted and was the cause of water-borne diseases, consequently they argued for the extension of provision from the Lyambala scheme to Miwaleni.

‘What we want is if this project is meant for Uchira Villagers they should be included in everything and not for some few people, and if the project was meant for Uchira Village then the water supply system should go to the whole village like Miwaleni District. Miwaleni is within Uchira village and they don’t get that service- they drink water from Miwaleni springs which they say has got bilharzias.’ WU2

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However, in discussion with UWUA chairman (Jan 05) he said that Miwaleni had been invited to be part of the scheme but the hamlet leadership at that time had refused given that they already had plentiful access to water at the spring.

As expected, women and children predominantly do water collection at all taps, the exception was at tap K where young men on bicycles were travelling from Mabungo. There is a noticeable boundary effect due to the presence of the water project in Uchira and the continued water shortages in neighbouring villages. Mabungo suffers from similar water shortages, as was previously the case in Uchira and it was noticeable that people from Mabungo were coming to Uchira to take advantage of the improved water availability. At tap K the attendant reported business was very brisk and she kept long opening hours. The majority of customers travelled by bicycles from Mabungo and collected an average 13.5 buckets of water with each paying 10Tsh per 20 litres. Children were also found to be walking from Mabungo to public tap I. At most public taps on the village boundaries water was being sold at the price of 10Tsh per bucket to 'outsiders'. Some villagers suggested that the sale of water to other villages should be encouraged in order to make the project more sustainable, however others argue that given the existing shortage in supply priority should be given to Uchira villagers.

'We pay 200Tsh per month to our water attendant but in the dry season we don't pay because he sells to Mabungo for 10Tsh per bucket' WU30

'We must be given first priority to draw water rather than Mabungo villagers' WU31

Overwhelmingly the water situation in Uchira is considered to be better than before. Clean water is now available throughout the year for domestic purposes in all parts of Uchira (except Miwaleni) and people were grateful for the improvement in supply. Interviews with the UWUA and Village Chairman also indicate that the improved water supply has made the area more desirable as a place to live. The construction of some 'luxury' housing in Uchira is thought to result from the improved water access.

However there is some disagreement on the extent of the improvement in supply. At a meeting in Karamsingii district, with external facilitators from CEWS, separate male and female groups discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the project. The men reported that 'the successes included: that water problems had been solved for 24 hours, that we have got an office with

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leaders and professionals being given seminars, and getting clean and safe water'. However the Women's group argued that the water supply is not 24 hours and that the public taps do not always have regular opening hours. (Karamsingii meeting 24/2/04)

'Water is not available to satisfy needs because sometimes there is no water at all.' WU59

The development of UWUA is of interest to many external stakeholders given that this model of water management remains relatively rare in practice and has been presented by GTZ as an exemplar of community management in practice⁴. With moves to decentralise the management of water and to pass water rights to companies, trusts and user associations, the experiences of the early pioneers are vital in informing the policy of both regional and central government. Therefore it is important to there to consider some of the difficulties and limitations of implementation and sustainability:

⁴ Personal comment from Dominick De Waal of Wateraid Tanzania- July 2005

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	1996	2000							2005
	YEAR →								
Organisational events/trends	Village Council (VC) water committee formulate Lyambala spring plan	Funding sought from GTZ via Ernesto Kreka. Lutheran Bishop	UWUA legally constituted And works begin Formal opening by president of Tanzania	Working in partnership with VC to mobilize villagers	Chairman reelected due to good links with GTZ despite some opposition	Some strain in relationship with VC	Changing constitution with increased separation of community/professional roles	Seeking new water sources. Facing incorporation into larger district project	
Communal labour/Community contribution	Communal labour (msaragambo) already part of village life-building secondary school	Communal labour to dig trenches + contribution of 2000Tsh per adult (water veterans eligible for membership)	Continuing need for communal labour to extend pipelines and complete refurbishment		Communal labour increased to 2 days	Increasing confiscation/fines to those not attending	Rehabilitation works completed- communal labour reduced to 2 days	Further 'sensitisation' of community to encourage membership	
Staffing Locals/outside	Scheme pioneered by L Mfinanga, Mlaky & others	Lazaro Mfinanga (insider) installed as chairman		Tesha (outsider) employed as professional manager	Leo Balige (Consultant) supports capacity building	Tesha leaves due to frustrations	Joseph Danga (outsider) takes over as manager	Leo Balige's support continues- now trying to improve community ownership	
Formal Membership	All villagers represented through local government system.	Membership fee of 1000Tsh plus participation in communal labour	62 members		133 members	145 members	Estimated approx 200 members	Campaigns to raise awareness of benefits of membership	
Water tariff	Free from river/springs or purchased @ 200 per bucket		5Tsh –private taps 3Tsh public taps 1Tsh institutions		Pricing changes to 5 Tsh for all	Actual pricing appears to be 10Tsh- private sales +busy public taps 5 Tsh rural public taps		Pipeline attendants ask that sales from private taps be banned as they have few customers	
Institutional form	Local bureaucracy-community initiated project under village council	GTZ capacity building to constitute formal community NGO				Local adaptation of revenue collection	Increasing professionalisation (bureaucratisation) via reform of constitution + under pressure from donor.		

Table 1.2 Evolution of UWUA 1996-2005

III Community Ownership

Community ownership of UWUA is formalised through membership of the association. The criteria for membership of UWUA recognise the contribution of community members to the construction of the scheme through either labour or cash donations. Broad-based community ownership of the scheme was sought to ensure sustainability through the creation of a management board comprising of representatives from each sub-village (hamlet). A 50:50 gender balance of representatives is formalised in the constitution and appears to be observed. There are around 145 individual full members of UWUA (UWUA report 2004)⁵, which represents a small percentage of water users in the village. To be a full member certain conditions are required to be fulfilled: namely that people made a financial and work contribution to the establishment of the scheme and then pay a yearly membership fee (1000Tsh in the first year and 200Tsh per year thereafter). Only full members are entitled to vote in UWUA elections and to attend board meetings. A wealth ranking exercise characterises members as relatively older and wealthier than their fellow villagers; and already involved in other forums of collective decision-making in the village.

An initial contribution, both of funds and communal labour) was demanded by GTZ before they would release funds for the rehabilitation of the water supply system. The report from the 2003 UWUA AGM stated that there were 524 people who fulfilled the conditions for membership and numbers have increased from 62 in 2002 to 133 at the end of 2003. Only full members are entitled to vote in UWUA elections and to attend board meetings.

Certainly the membership fee is a barrier to participation to those with low incomes but there is also a significant proportion of the wealthier population who refuse to become members of the scheme for a variety of reasons: that they see members as a closed group treating scheme as a private company, that they perceive barriers to their membership and that they do not agree with the yearly fee when people have already made a financial and labour contribution. An initial contribution, both of funds and communal labour) was demanded by GTZ before they would release funds for the rehabilitation of the water supply system. There are also those who are uninterested in participation. The survey of water users revealed that a majority do not feel

⁵ The total population of the Village is 5262- figure from Uchira Village Executive Officer based on data from 2002 National Census

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themselves to be part of the management of the scheme and are unaware of the income and expenditure of UWUA.

‘About income and expenditure they tell us that those who have a right to know are those who are members and have paid 1200Tsh. So we know nothing about their budget.’ WU82

‘When we contributed for the project there was only one group of villagers. The villagers are the ones who accepted the project. They are the ones who dug and still digging the water pipe trenches. We contributed 1,000Tsh each villager. Now we have three groups. The first one is the villagers who were focused by the project. The second group is composed by a person we don’t even know where he comes from. He is the one preparing income and expenditure. They call themselves water association.

The third group is the water users. A water user is anybody who uses water even if he didn’t contribute or a passer by. We the villagers the founders of the project we don’t get access to the income and expenditure of the project. This information goes to the second group. This group is composed of members but not veterans or water users’ WU59

‘Only members are called to know the expenditure of the project. We paid 1000Tsh to the water project so that we can get that project but now they say that we have to pay for a card so that you can be a member while we know that the project is for Uchira villagers. WU6’

Contested community ownership

Interviews with staff of UWUA, Leo Balige and records of meetings, demonstrate a great degree of commitment to the idea of community ownership in the scheme. The regional water engineer, Mr Shayo, stated that the village had chosen to become a water user’s association from a range of options presented. However interviews with water users and transcripts of local meetings indicate a low level of community ownership (see box 1.1).

Box 1.1

Extract from notes on South Tella UWUA district meeting 25/2/04

During the meeting there was considerable debate over membership and attendance at communal labour. People said that they were not informed of how decisions were made.

Mr Balige asked for calm saying 'you will be informed because this is your project'
Young man replied: 'No this is your project!'

As discussed above very few people questioned were members of UWUA. Some believe that existing UWUA members have actively raised barriers to wide membership and use the constitution to protect themselves. This illustrates the need to understand how the organisation is shaped by those who come to 'represent' and speak for their community: those with the active agency to sidetrack the intervention.

Public meetings were held prior to Board elections, in the early part of 2004. Records of consultation meetings show a low level of attendance (25 present in Karamsingi 24/2, 40 present in South Tella 25/2). Interviews further indicate that many villagers are not aware of how the scheme is run and some are not interested or deem that their opinions are not important. Whilst the community and professional management of UWUA recognise that there maybe some hostile elements in the village, their 2004 annual report makes clear that the organisation should protect itself in order to maintain its' sustainability rather than engage with the more hostile opinions.

This may indicate a central communication problem and limited community ownership in practice. As a great many interviewees argued that they felt included as a means of providing cheap labour in the construction and operation of the scheme but not in terms of how decisions are made.

Unfortunately the series of consultation meetings prior to board election (facilitated by external consultants rather than local staff) may have reinforced the view that scheme is not owned by the community at large but a small group who command a great deal of external resources. It adds to the perception of some that too much money is wasted in workshops and buying refreshments for members rather than keeping prices low or in paying young men to dig trenches, as opposed to forcing villagers to participate in communal labour.

'The problem of this project is that they do not focus on the poor villagers they are focused on making money. At time there are some villagers who march to the water streams to get water.

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So this project if it was for villagers they should review their systems. They pay salary to the chairman but they call it an allowance but that person is employed by the government and the money that they pay him should subsidize the price for the poor people. There is a lot of misuse of money because they get many meetings where their members are drinking Kilimanjaro water while they have Lyambala members and they cherish their members with food and soft drinks. That money should go for the poor so that they get water for free.' WU88

Internal power struggles and communal labour

As UWUA has evolved as an organisation there has been a changing relationship with the Village Council. UWUA and the village council try to work in collaboration. Indeed the chairman of UWUA, is a former village chairman. Compared to the Village Offices, UWUA offices are palatial and well-equipped with modern technology and cannot compare to the village council facilities. The Village Council now holds their meetings within the UWUA offices, as the former village meeting hall is used for adult education classes. Given the external support and the income generated by UWUA it has become a powerful force in village life. To some degree the democratically elected village council has evolved to become the executive arm of UWUA, serving to mobilise and coerce the population into labouring.

In the first six months of 2004 there were some tensions and difficulties over the organisation of communal labour. It was agreed that the rehabilitation and extension of the water supply required two days of communal labour per week.

This decision was taken by UWUA and to be implemented by the Village Council. This decision caused considerable resentment and tension as people felt they were already contributing through their payment for water, and that in the daily struggle to survive they could not afford to contribute two days of their time. The Village Council were compelled to using force to make people attend communal labour as non-attendance was delaying progress on the extension of the water supply network.

'Approximately 1500 are eligible to do communal work- those who don't do pay 2000 or the village militia are sent to force them. Old people/pregnant women/women with infants are excused, as are leaders, religious leaders and doctors. Numbers going to communal work are decreasing due to multiparty and hardship in the economy as people have their own business. At

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first we took things from people who do not work but a chair cannot work so now we have to use force'. Village Chairman 5/4/04

'For example the day before yesterday they came and took my tools because I did not go to their manual work. My tools which they took were hammers and calabashes which I use to produce volcanic stones so that I can make my daily income. I get something like 5000Tsh for one lorry. I can sell one or two lorries per day but that is not everyday and so it can take two or three days. I also rely on farming and I farm five acres of maize that is what is keeping me. I am a standard 7 leaver in education so I don't have anything else to make an income as you can see from my house' WU85

Although I don't get water from project stations still the leaders are forcing me to attend water trench digging. Most of the people who are attending water trench digging are women whilst there are young men who do not attend and the chairman doesn't care of this problem. Even the old women are attending to this exercise. Women especially old ones are to be exempted from trench digging. Energetic young men should do this exercise where necessary. WU78

'Communal work is for the poor-low class- if you don't go you get a penalty but if high class don't go they get left alone.' WU125

In some sub-villages the progress with completing the rehabilitation and extension of public water points was slow. For instance in Karamsingii, an influential local leader passed away and there was no one equally capable of stimulating people in that area to complete the work. The Village Council were confiscating goods of some of those who did not attend or arguing that water access should be limited as the interviews above illustrate. The Village Chairman indicated in April that the policy of confiscation was stopped as they could not sell the confiscated goods and so it was pointless to seize them. However, if people did not comply with orders to attend communal labour they could be fined or threatened with force and compelled to work by the Village militia.

Interviews with water users reveal that the debate over communal labour is a major issue. Many feel that communal labour is for the have-nots, whilst membership is for the wealthier people in the village. Some women argued that they should be exempted as they carry a heavy burden of domestic duties already. The Village Chairman indicated that there were some exemptions for

the elderly, pregnant woman and those with infants. Nevertheless the perception on the part of many people is that communal labour is an activity for the poor, to be ordered by the village council. Whilst communal labour can be characterised as a collective contribution that enhances community ownership (see Mfangavo et al 2005), in this case, with UWUA pressurising the Village Council to act (and UWUA in turn facing pressure from GTZ to meet deadlines) burden of communal labour appears to be borne by those who are unable to negotiate an exception from the obligation. The Village Council then acts as a coercive force in organising the labour.

The most recent report from UWUA also suggests some insecurity on the part of the community management of the association, and suggests that there are those who are enemies of the projects, those who seek to steal water or tamper with water meters, but also those who want to undermine the association and replace the current leadership with their own friends and associates. There is a fear that this would undermine the sustainability of the association. This illustrates how UWUA has become a contested space in which powerful agents negotiate and manoeuvre to gain control over the system. The current leadership fear that their positions are vulnerable as the power of UWUA grows. As will be discussed in the next section, other powerful agents in village life appear to deliberately obstruct the operation of the association such as through the non-payment of large bills.

IV Local adaptation of the rules and the changing shape of UWUA

One very clear way in which local institutional evolution and sidetracking can be observed in the water project is through exploring water pricing. This shows how different people have opportunities to exert agency in adapting the system. It also demonstrates how the character of UWUA management has shifted the price of water in a way which seems to disadvantage the poorest.

The official system for collection of revenue from public water taps operates through elected water attendants charging 5Tsh for 20l of water and claiming 20% of the monthly bill from UWUA. However, as table 6.1 showed this process has been adapted locally. Table 6.2 shows four distinctly different patterns.

It was found that at taps with private water attendant the actual price was 10Tsh as it was claimed that insufficient money could be collected to recompense for the time spent at the tap. These taps tended to be located in the central commercial areas of the village where residents have more

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opportunity to pursue income generating activities. Tap attendants in these systems either collect the money at the tap or operate a payment collection system in areas where all customers are known to them.

At more remote taps the system of collection was undertaken as a household rotation and the price was kept down to 5Tsh for those who were part of the rotation. In some cases each family also paid 200Tsh per month to the tap attendant for their service.

In some respects it can be argued that local adaptations in the management of taps demonstrate the responsiveness and flexibility of local management procedures. The differences in local management practices reflect differences in the social and economic profile of the locality. They also demonstrate that tap attendants and their customers have some room to shape the distribution and pricing of water. As was mentioned in 6.1, credit is also available at these taps so that the people can access water when they do not have cash available. The availability of credit depends on the personal relationship with the tap attendant.

Table 1.3: Overview of water service at Public Taps in Uchira- July 2004

Public Tap Location	Collection system	Price per 20L (Tsh)
Remote area	Monthly rota of households (women/youth)	5 to those in rota, 10 to those outside
Roadside-commercial area	Private attendant (pay on collection)	10
Roadside	Private attendant (collects money later from regular customers)	10
Remote area	Attendant (paid 200 per month by each household)	5 (credit sometimes available)

On receiving a report on these variations from the research team, the UWUA office began to enforce the official 5Tsh price at those taps charging 10Tsh. This had two main effects: some attendants resigned saying that they could no longer make sufficient money to cover the time spent at the tap; and those remaining put increased pressure on UWUA to ban the sale of water from private taps.

Despite the local flexibility of pricing many people would prefer that the office paid attendants and they argued that they taps should operate fixed hours, as opening hours at present were often irregular. Many people also argued that water attendants should be given training in how to serve their customers and also be given bonus payments for good service.

‘The office announced a price of 5Tsh per bucket but the water stations sells at 10Tsh a price arranged without consultations. Water attendants in this project should be paid by the water office so that the project can prosper WU59.’

‘I fetch water from the nearest water station and we don’t have an attendant so we have to take a shift for each family to sell water for one month. We had a meeting last June 2003 for water sellers but since then we have not been called. There is nothing wrong with the staff. Before the project started we were told to pay 1000Tsh for husband and another 1000 for the wife as a contribution to the project. At that time we thought that the project is for the villagers but now it is different. The problem is that the project is for members and manual work is for villagers.

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And manual work is not for all because there are some who don't attend but they use water like us. There is a system introduced by the village chairman that if you don't go to dig trenches then you are not allowed to draw water and that system is for low-income villagers. What I want to suggest is that money collected should be used to dig trenches and employ public water attendants.' WU80

'The water attendant in our public tap does not give us good service. We are the one who selected him to render this service. The official price for one bucket is 5Tsh but we have to pay 10Tsh so that the attendant can get something for service he gives us.' WU68

Some taps have more commercial viability than others for attendants. Tap K, which attracts considerable business from Mabungo generates a significant level of revenue for the attendant who has responded by opening for long hours. This is not the case in other village locations. By October 2004 there was even some discussion within UWUA concerning the closure of public taps that could not generate sufficient revenue.

Sales from private taps

Many people supplement their water use by buying from private taps at the standard price of 10Tsh. This is particularly in areas where populations are less dense and there is no nearby public tap. Some people sell water as a commercial venture, whereas others provide this as a service to friends and neighbours.

Sales from private taps are officially against the constitution of UWUA but it has generally been tolerated, to a certain extent, by the management whilst the coverage of the scheme was being extended. Most of those people interviewed saw nothing wrong in the private sale of water but it remains against the rules of the association.

'I get water easier than those days before the Uchira water supply project. In fact in my area there is no water project station but I get it from my neighbours' station. Although I am a member of the project the management resisted to build a station in my area as they argues that there were few people living in this area. When I fetch water from my neighbours I don't pay money unless I fetch much water for a big function like building. If I fetch much water I pay 10Tsh per bucket and my average daily consumption is 6 buckets'. WU78

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‘We don’t have a public water station nearby so we have to fetch water from a personal station at 10Tsh per bucket. Water is not a problem for us like in previous years but what we lack is a nearby public water station.’ WU85

One potential effect of closing public taps is that it will force people to rely on the private connections of their neighbours. Therefore access to water may depend on the personal relationship and may potentially have the effect of deepening patronage relationships between the wealthy and less wealthy in the village.

During interviews some allegation were made concerning the use of communal labour to dig connections for private taps, and also that those requesting private taps were sometimes asked to pay a bribe in order to secure one. One water user said that they had asked for a private connection over a year before but were still waiting for it to be provided.

‘There is no proper procedure to connect private taps. There may be some bribery. I was in jail and when I came out I wanted a private connection and they told me that I have to be fined 60000 because I did not dig trenches. They are not reasonable because by the time I was in jail – how am I to get that amount of money.

There is some sort of tribalism.’ WU22

This example further highlights how UWUA has offered the opportunity for those involved to consolidate their personal power and to potentially use it to control others.

Pricing of water- difficulties for the poor

Discussions with water users also indicate that a majority consider that the price is too high at the public taps and is particularly high for the poorest people within the village. Many people recalled that originally the price at the public taps had been 3Tsh per 20L, 6Tsh per 20L at private taps and 1Tsh per 20L for institutions. They considered that the current price of 5Tsh for all discriminates against the poor.

‘About the price we suggest that they sell for 2Tsh per bucket because of our economic problems. The office should take care of orphans, handicapped and the old because they cannot even manage to get 2Tsh’. WU9

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‘This project should know that in this village we have disabled, orphans, the old but they all pay the same. Paying 5Tsh per bucket is too much for the villagers because most of them depend on farming and they don’t have another income- so they have to review the project.’ WU2

‘The problem of this project is that their water is not reliable and another thing is that they don’t mind about the poor villagers. Although they charge 5Tsh per bucket but people do not have a reliable income as they depend on farming so they have to sell their maize so that they can manage to buy water. They can check the poorest and offer them 5 free buckets per day.’ WU87

Suggestions from water users to resolve this issue include:

- 1) Giving a free allocation of water to the poorest (the elderly, handicapped)
- 2) Charging a monthly fee at public taps rather than paying per bucket
- 3) Reducing the price per bucket to 3Tsh or less.

Whilst the UWUA constitution makes specific provision for the representation of women- the same is not true of the poorest groups. This research found that in terms of participation those people who might be categorised as poorer (cultivating a small area, using traditional building materials, eating 1 meal per day) were more likely to be involved in communal labour and less likely to be members of UWUA

Interviews with management and key stakeholders suggest that the price was increased in order to ensure the sustainability of the scheme, there was also some doubt that people were really unable to afford the price per bucket or the membership fee.

‘Village Council doesn’t contribute funds to UWUA as it is independent though it is inside the village. We tell people to go and pay their fees and can intervene if something goes wrong. The poor who want to join can do so because surely everybody has 1000 Tsh. A group in the VC goes to see those who are poor and handicapped and have given one man a tricycle. I am sure that everyone can pay for water but we haven’t done any research. If we receive a complaint it is sent to the board and they can choose to give free water. I attend all the meetings’. Extract from interview with Village Chairman 5/4/04

However, interviews with water users and subsequent investigation into household income and expenditure suggest that affordability of water is a problem. As many point out as they rely on farming their incomes are not guaranteed. In a hard year (such as 2004), when the rains were

poor, people are expecting to crop very little. See box 6.1 which gives details of two families questioned during the investigation. The poorest people already rely on the charity and kindness of neighbours to assist them or are forced to ask for credit at the public taps.

However, it should also be noted that there were a small number of discussants who argued that prices should be maintained or even increased in order to ensure the sustainability of the scheme.

Box 1.2 Livelihoods profiles of those who struggle to access water

Family of 8 – Uchira village

The family depend on farming and they have 1 and half acres of maize. Last year they cropped nine bags, which they kept for food. They expect only 1 or 2 bags this year, as the rains were so poor. They do daily labour to cover other expenses. Healthcare is very expensive and the grandmother requires regular medical treatment. There are three children in primary school and they must make some contributions for food. They spend 18000Tsh per year on water and sometimes they do not have enough money and miss food and water.

Family of 4

They farm 1 acre and if the harvest is good they get 5-6 bags of maize. For other expenses they do daily labour. They have to minimise all expenses. One child is in primary school but there are many contributions. If they have no money for medicine, then they go to Karamsingii but if they referred to hospital they have to go home and take some herbs. They sometimes have to get water on credit at the public tap and often miss meals when there is no daily labour available.

Livelihoods interview- Uchira Village : Fieldwork July/August 2004

The apparent refusal to recognise the poor as having problems in accessing sufficient water is interesting. This indicate an apparent reluctance to differentiate the village population and both the VEO and UWUA chair argue (separately) that either ‘we are all poor’ and therefore it is impossible to differentiate those who are really poor as everyone will claim to be in need. Conversely it is argued (as the Village Chairmen does above) that nobody can claim to be so poor that they are unable to pay the membership fee for the association. Another implicit assumption concerning the issue of affordability is that it is the responsibility of family members (and not the wider community or state) to meet the needs of the poor. It is suggested that this reluctance to

differentiate the community is rooted in the solidarity engendered during the Ujamaa period and has not yet adjusted to the growing inequalities of the neo-liberal reform period.⁶

The shift from community to professional management

Approaches rooted in the populist paradigm tend to value community-based management as it provides an opportunity to root intervention in a particular community. Community management is often discussed in positive terms in direct opposition to the negative treatment given to professionals, who are seen as arrogant and removed from 'real' local concerns (Chambers 2005). However, an exploration of the relationship between community and professional management in UWUA indicates that this opposition is overly simplistic. The management roles of UWUA have been evolving since its inception. The Chairman has undoubtedly played a key role since the inception of the scheme and was re-elected in March 2004. People perceive that his connection to GTZ is vital in continuing to ensure that funds come to the village. As mentioned above, a professional water manager was also employed from 2000 to late 2003. Mr Tesha then moved on to employment with Kiliwater, due to frustrations with the scheme and the low level of remuneration that he received. Following his departure the Chairman was forced to take an increased role in the day-to-day operation. For this role he began to receive an allowance of 50,000Tsh per month, but previously he had been working as an unpaid volunteer.

'They should have internal auditors and check their accounts and report them to the villagers as this project is for them and so this section should be independently verified because the chairmen and the management are the ones who misuse the money. At first their project was fine but they have already given themselves a constitution to protect them and that is why the previous manager left as he was not given the freedom to do his job.' WU88

However, GTZ see the employment of professionals as being necessary for the efficient operation of the water scheme and in May 2004 a new manager was appointed. Mr Danga, the new manager, who was previously involved with training the UWUA accountant, emphasised that there was a need to have a professional accountant, as problems were experienced in trying to train a community volunteer. The UWUA board were initially resistant as they felt that an accountant who was part of the community was less likely to cheat them.

⁶ Personal comment- Professor Bertha Koda, University of Dar-es-Salaam

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An interesting evolution seems to be taking place in Uchira between the need to balance professional management and community participation. Given the partial and contested nature of representation at village level and the perception that the benefits of the water scheme are mainly being accrued to a small group of 'big potatoes', it is necessary that the roles of all are clarified. This throws up questions concerning the differential capacity of 'community' vs 'professional' management. It is certainly not clear that the community representatives speak *for* the community. Neither are the professionals in UWUA necessarily remote, superior and unconnected. They live in the village and play a part in collective community life. They are separated by some degree by their levels of education and technical skills but these skills are an essential component of community-level service delivery. Ironically, in UWUA, it is the professional manager, who has a far greater interest in equitable water access for the poor than the elected community board members.

Organisational sustainability

Whilst in terms of generating sufficient income in order to pay its staff UWUA is sustainable. However it still relies on GTZ support for facilitation of community consultation and for advisory support. In addition if we compare the facilities provided in the UWUA office in relation to the size of community that it serves, it could be argued that the water users are being asked to bear an excessive cost in attempting to maintain a project that is perhaps 'oversized'. The office is well resourced and whilst this undoubtedly increases its capacity for professional management it emphasises the inherent problem with projects of this nature.

They are not replicable on a broader scale and lessons learnt here are therefore not necessarily relevant at a higher level e.g. for developing a national or regional water strategy (Franks et al. 2004). Those involved in this project are aware of the limitations in this respect but are constrained by the nature of project funding. In an interview with the Kilimanjaro Regional Engineer he argues that communities must be involved in choosing and delivering services; but also admits that the Water User's Association is not necessarily the best model, and that some of the other model operating in the region (companies and inter-village trusts) may more sustainable. He also mentions that although decentralisation has passed some decisions to the district level- he now has to act as an Advisor to over 140 projects but has no strategic plan for the region as a whole. (Mr Shayo, interview 16/7/04 Moshi)

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Whilst those directly connected with UWUA have undoubtedly been empowered this maybe at the expense of other villagers. The dependence on GTZ approval was a crucial aspect of the good standing of the UWUA chairman, Mr Lazaro, and one of the key factors in his re-election in 2004 (Fieldwork 2004). GTZ is both feared and revered in UWUA, visible in the nervous preparations of the Manager, Chairman and Secretary for the visit of Ernst Doering (Field Diary 28th June 2004). There was a concern that given increasing funding by KfW for the large Moshi Rural District Water Supply Project, that funding for UWUA would be scaled back.

Despite the argument from those within UWUA and GTZ that UWUA is an independent organisation, GTZ is seen more widely as a powerful force in the association, both as ordering communal labour and as overseeing responsible management of the project.

‘This scheme should be under the surveillance of GTZ because if they are under locals it will not be sustainable- it will serve the rich only.’ WU125

‘Villagers complain about paying 1000Tsh membership fee and doing communal work. This order was given by GTZ, we were told that the villagers should know that this is their project’. Interview with Andrea Msuya, Village Chairman 5/4/04’

UWUA is a powerful organisation in the locality and is now negotiating to acquire the water rights to further springs⁷. On the one hand this could be a strategy to incorporate other communities and thereby make more efficient use of the existing facilities but this would then reduce further the possibility that water supply is broadly community-owned. There is internal resistance to incorporation into the larger Moshi Rural Water Supply Project. The outgoing Village Chairman observes that:

‘KfW wants to bring another project in Moshi Rural but UWUA will be the ones to decide if they want the project here. If UWUA say no then KfW will bypass the village. If they want them they will tell them to bring their project. KfW says it is up to UWUA’ (Interview with Andrea Msuya 13/10/04)

⁷ Ernest Msuya assisted two GTZ interns to undertake an investigation of community attitudes and water use in Uparo. This study formed part of investigations of further water sources for use by UWUA (Field diary July 2004)

Whereas the view of the current UWUA Manager is stronger:

‘If KfW want to come here they will have to work with us, we will not become a part of them’.

(Mr Danga‘ Discussion meeting 15/10/04)

Mr Lazaro (UWUA chairman) is not a necessarily a charismatic figure but he has amassed considerable power in the Uchira and through his external linkages with GTZ. He himself has concerns about who will replace him after he has completed his two terms as Chairman. However this has problem has been recognised and the moves to separate the roles of the Manager and Chairman are aimed partially at reducing this dependency on the networks of one individual.

V Conclusion- Implications for community-based water management

In many ways, the water supply project is a success in terms of increasing the supply to villagers and Uchira is certainly a better place to live because of this. Women no longer have to walk 12km in the dry season or pay 200Tsh to water vendors. The project also proves that people *are* willing to pay for water and that a project of this size is able to generate sufficient revenue to pay for a staff of professional management.

However, the community management element of the project is perhaps the least successful aspect of it. The research shows that we cannot assume that managing water at the local level leads to broad community ownership, nor ownership in the interests of all. Whilst considerable emphasis was given to community participation and ownership, through UWUA’s constitution and the efforts of external consultants, in practice community ownership is limited to a small group of members. The community board *were* empowered by the project but arguably at the expense of poorer villagers. Communal labour has proved a burden for many and a contentious issue in relation to enforcement. It is doubtful that community ownership is enhanced through forced communal labour. Controversially, it appears as through community ownership is expensive in terms of time and resources, and actually locally divisive. Local level governance of water cannot be assumed to be synonymous with equity.

Attempting to get institutions ‘right’ may also be problematic. Institutions are partly shaped through the actions of individuals, as well as community norms and relationships. People are very differently placed to influence these dynamics. When we consider the evolution of the UWUA it

is clear that limited community ownership has direct consequences in terms of the pricing of water. Water pricing at the local level shows an evolution in favour of private taps, benefiting the wealthier section of the village. There are no exemptions given at the local level to the most vulnerable, although this is at the discretion of the Village Council. The ability of well-placed individuals to shape institutions and thus the distribution of benefits raises questions about the ability of external agencies in setting and enforcing minimum access criteria.

Tensions of community based institutional development

This case study illustrates the following tensions inherent to a reliance on local institutions to deliver services;

a) **Community ownership versus professionalism**

In practice local community ownership was heavily contested and the organisation showed a shift towards professionalism. This did appear to be necessary for the effective operation of the organisation but at the same time some an increasing focus on official rules may have reduced the flexibility and specificity offered by local ad-hoc arrangements.

b) **Sustainability (cost recovery) versus equity (pro-poor tariffs)**

It seems that locally appropriate technology and local salaried staff are sustainable through a system of cost recovery through water user charges. However, there was no consideration either by the donor or the local organisation concerning equity of access to water as a basic need. The apparent need for external championing of equity considerations (through advocacy, legal rights, regulation or subsidy) raises questions about which is the appropriate body to do this; central government, strengthened local government, NGO's of donor agencies?

c) **Local governance versus external intervention.**

Much of the evolution of UWUA was guided by what was viewed as appropriate by outside agency (GTZ) albeit with the justification that they were chosen in partnership with the local community. However, this has the effect of empowering those who were connected with the external donor and they came to represent the community by default.

Further, It is arguable that GTZ's institution building of UWUA had the effect of marginalising the democratically elected village government.

Uchira data collection

Appendix 1 UWUA Documents reviewed

- 1) Dibaji (Constitution document of UWUA) (in Swahili)
- 2) Jumaiya ya watumia maji- Uchira- Bajeti ya mwaka 2004 (UWUA budget 2004)
- 3) Mkutano Mkuu UWUA 2002 (Uliofanyika 15/2/03) – Annual Report 2002
- 4) Taarifa ya utekelezaji Januari 2001-Desemba 2003 – Report on implementation 2001-2003
- 5) Taarifa ya utekelezaji Januari Hadi Juni 2004

- 6) Terms of reference for CEWS- Assignment of the faciliator Mr L. Balige in Uchira 11.2002-10.2003

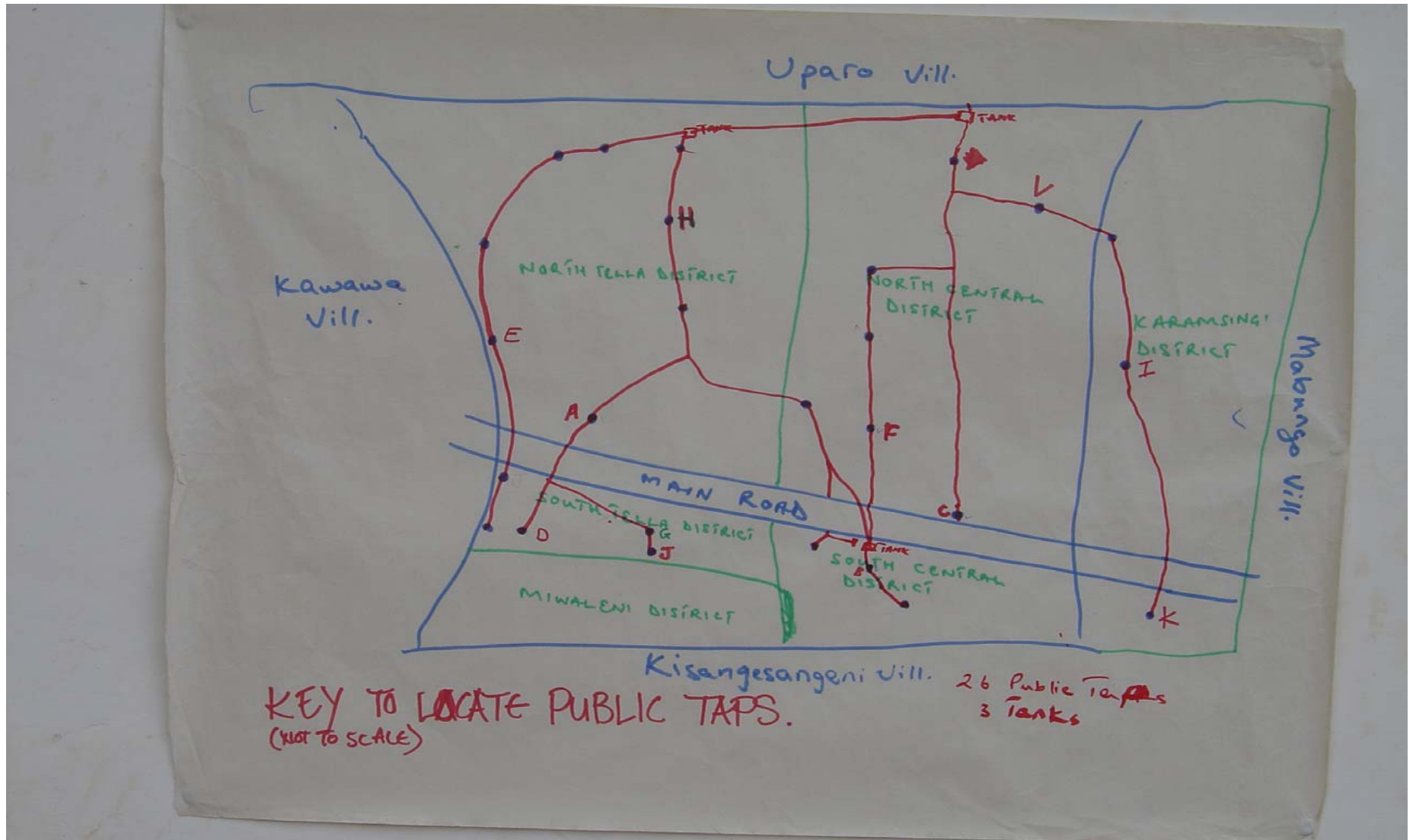
- 7) Uchira Water Supply Project- Report on Improvement and Extension of Distribution System, prepared by Community Empowerment, Water and Sanitation, Tanga supported by German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) July-May 2001

- 8) Uchira Water Supply Project- Organisation and construction of the scheme and the establishment of the Uchira Water User’s Association (documentation of the process involved and learning experiences (draft), prepared by Community Empowerment, Water and Sanitation, Tanga supported by German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) September-December 2001

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Appendix 2 Persons interviewed

Mr Lazaro Mfinanaga	Chairman UWUA Board	Dec 2002/3 Jan/April/July/Oct 2004 Jan, Mar, Jul 2005, Apr 06
Mr Joseph Danga	Manager UWUA	July/Oct 2004/Jan, Mar, Jul 2005, Apr -6
Mrs Mary Mlaky	Secretary UWUA Board	July 2004/Jan 2005, Apr 06
Mr Tesha	Former UWUA manager, now employee Kiliwater	July 2004
Mr Shayo	Kilimanjaro Regional Water Engineer	July 2004/Jan 2005
Mr Ernest Doering	GTZ	Dec 2002/July 2004
Mr Leo Balige	CEWS consultant	July 2004
Mr Andrea Msuya	Village Chairman	April/July/Oct 2004
Mr Barikeli Mgalla	Village Executive Officer	April/July/Oct 2004/Jan 2005
12 Pump attendants + customers		July 2004
128 water users		Jan-Oct 2004



Appendix 3 Map of public water points in Uchira

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Appendix 4 Water User's Interviews

Total number of interviews: 128

Conducted: January-October 2004

	Numbers given in	
	percentages	
Religion	Christian (66), Muslim (34)	
Ethnic Origin	Pare (51), Chagga (37)	Others- Mbugu, Gogo, Haya, Nyakusa, Mwiraq, Nyasa, Zigua, Kamba, Sambaa
Gender	Male (36), Female (64)	
Paying 5Tsh per 20L	49	
Paying 10Tsh per 20L	28	
Other water sources	6	Borehole 2, Miwaleni spring, Njoro spring, Uparo
Private Tap	17	Paying between 800 –20000 per month)
Consider water situation better than before	62	
Member of UWUA	4	

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