



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

CDD Working Paper Series

Working Paper No. 9

Case Study: Kileuo Village- the role of community-based workers in maintaining a gravity-fed pipeline with no external intervention

By
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July 2006

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
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enthusiastic research partner in Dar es Salaam.*

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Working Paper 9

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Key Findings

In order to get water, people in Kileuo rely on a combination of natural springs and a dilapidated gravity-fed pipeline which supplies public and private taps. In the dry season there is often an acute water shortage in this village which has intensified in recent years.

The management of water in Kileuo is embedded within existing multipurpose institutions such as the Village Council (VC) and District Council. The water committee of the VC attempt to maintain the current piped system and to protect the natural springs. They do so through the use of bye-laws to prevent the contamination of the springs and through the mobilisation of community cash and labour contributions. Limited assistance is available from the District Council Engineers. Local water use is also shaped by a range of institutions including the locally dominant Catholic Church and a local NGO. The system of village government is political and in Kileuo (where no single party is dominant) this leads to an impasse in proceeding with some collective activities.

The residents of Kileuo are currently very dissatisfied with the water system and are willing to pay for water on a usage basis. However, there is local concern that some people will be unable to pay.

Volunteers are a vital part of operating the system at the local level in two main ways: 1) As community representatives- e.g. members of the water committee; and 2) As labourers and technicians. The majority of these volunteers are middle-aged or elderly men, however women are represented in village bodies, often through the use of 'special seats' reserved for women. In the absence of external resources most work at community level is undertaken on a voluntary basis. People who undertake this work are usually motivated by a commitment to local development efforts. On the whole they are people with particular skills and social status.

Institutional Evolution

The current water system is clearly inadequate and it is expected that a donor-funded rehabilitation project will soon be operational. This has led to questions within the village council concerning their role. They are hopeful that they will maintain control of the water and intend to operate a system whereby a basic allocation of water will be set aside for the poor and any profits made will be reinvested in village projects.

The new project may also resolve a growing water conflict with a currently independent water user association (in a neighbouring village) who are attempting to use their greater power and resources (donor-facilitated) to claim rights over some of the water sources in Kileuo.

At present, the existing institutions have an integrated and functioning system for water management, although the dilapidation of the gravity-fed system is such that water supplies are totally inadequate. Without significant external investment no improvement is likely and this is well recognised at the local level. Kileuo appears to demonstrate the negative effect of a national water policy that has favoured devolution to the lowest level. Kileuo sits in between two newly empowered water users associations, who with their donor resources and high level political backing are able to divert water resources to their own areas at the expense of the people in Kileuo

Introduction: Three systems for managing water supplies in Tanzania

This case study relates to the Kileuo Village in Tanzania. It is one of three interventions in the water sector examined in this research. The water system in Kileuo at the present time is unsupported by any external intervention and an aging gravity-fed pipeline is managed entirely through the existing government system with technical oversight and the payment of fees managed by the District Council and local management of communal labour and the resolution of disputes handled by the Village Council. The other case studies covered in this research are a village-level water-users association (donor-funded) and a District-wide system of water supply trusts (Working Papers 6 and 8 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 (Olivier de Sardan 2005). Hence the analysis of the community-based system is decentred and placed in relation to other community and collective actions.

Kileuo: Government-managed gravity-fed pipeline

This study focuses on the village of Kileuo in Moshi Rural District in Tanzania. The case study is in three sections: the first profiles the village itself covering the range of livelihoods activities undertaken in the village but also profiles the range of local institutions and service providers. Secondly the study profiles the range of community-based workers who operate in Kileuo and discusses their roles, how they perceive themselves and how others perceived them. It further explores the evolution of institutions in the village in this case using water as a focal point through which to examine the interactions and interlinkages between community-based workers, the people they serve and the institutions and organisations of which they form part.

1. Kileuo- Community profile

Kileuo is a village bordering Uchira (the subject of another case study in this series) covering a large geographical area in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania, approximately 30Km to the east of the town of Moshi. The village spreads over the lower foothills of Kilimanjaro and is located 8km from the main road in Uchira. Kileuo can only be reached on foot, private car or pick-up truck as the road is too steep and rutted for public buses.

1.1 Local livelihoods

The inhabitants of Kileuo mainly identify themselves as Chagga and as followers of the Catholic faith. This is in stark contrast to the diversity of ethnicity and religious affiliation in the neighbouring villages of Uchira and Mabungo situated on the plains.

The Catholic Church dominates the central area of the village and also operates the only medical facility. This facility is used primarily by the pupils of the adjacent secondary school which is also administered by the church.

The village is reached by pick-up trucks running from Uchira on the main road and people travel to Uchira regularly to attend the markets. The residents of Kileuo are subsistence farmers cropping maize, sunflower and beans. The village spans a range of agro-ecological zones and in the upper part of the village bananas are a staple crop. There was some cultivation of coffee but in recent years the coffee trees have suffered the effects of drought and the income from coffee has fallen so low that people no longer harvest and process the beans.

There is little commercial diversification in Kileuo with the exception of a few very small shops around the bus stand. In order to diversify their livelihoods women often travel to Uchira and beyond to trade food products or second hand clothes. The cutting of volcanic blocks in Uchira is also another potential source of income.

One other source of income for women is the brewing and selling of Mbege (banana beer). The drinking of mbege is one of the principal leisure activities in the village. Indeed the drunken state of the village population is remarked on by the Catholic priests and by the residents of Uchira.

From the livelihoods interviewing undertaken in Kileuo it was clear that the village population was constituted mainly of older men and women and children. Many people in this area migrate to the urban areas for work and a substantial number of people report relying on the remittances sent by family members.

In common with the findings of other livelihoods analysis work undertaken in Tanzania (see the other case studies in this series), the main expenses that people face are in terms of contributions to collective village life (cash contributions and communal labour) organised by the village council, similar contributions to religious institutions, contributions of food and money to primary school and cash to buy medicines. The extent to which people can 'get by' by meeting these basic expenses is seen at village level as an indication of the extent of poverty

1.2 Water

Whilst Kileuo has a number of natural springs and a gravity-fed piped system for water, the village suffers from acute water shortage at certain times of the year when the rainfall is low. The existing piped system is disintegrating and unreliable and water flows very infrequently to the pipes. The collection tanks also suffer from inundation with mud during the rainy season. The water level of the springs is very low during the dry season, although efforts have been made to provide improved collection points and to improve and protect the springs. Local by-laws prevent agriculture in the adjacent areas. The issue of water management at the local level will be discussed in detail below.

Most village residents access water from a number of sources and only those with private taps pay for water. Public taps are free but rarely operational.

It is believed that the water situation in Kileuo has become worse in the last 2 years due to the opening of various water projects in neighbouring villages which have accessed water sources in the locality, one in Uparo and one in Uchira. Both have formed water user associations and have external donor funding.

Another explanation that people give for the lack of water in the public taps is that the wealthy people with private taps pay the pipeline attendant to let the water through the pipes during the night so they can fill their water storage tanks.

A small minority of residents questioned know that the village is to be included in the next phase of a large water rehabilitation project funded by KfW. However, a majority expressed their willingness to pay for water if it was to flow regularly from the pipes. However, some did believe that free access should continue to be available to those who can't pay.

1.3 Local Politics

The Village Council of Kileuo is split between members representing the Tanzanian Labour Party (TLP) (11) and Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) (9) (CCM is the party of government and dominates most regions of Tanzania, Kilimanjaro is exceptional in having higher levels of opposition representation.). It is alleged that this causes conflicts within the village and different factions will not support the projects of others. For instance, Colonel Njau is the TLP District Councillor and runs his office from a building adjacent to the village office. He has been active in mobilising the community in terms of labour and cash contributions in order to construct a secondary school. The school currently has 2 classes and one teacher supported by form 6 volunteers who have advanced level qualifications which are used to access Higher Education. Colonel Njau claims that CCM members will not support this scheme simply because he belongs to an opposing political party, and therefore people will not readily give cash contributions and labour to the project.

1.4 Faith-based activity

The Catholic Church is dominant in Kileuo. It provides the only medical facility in the village; although this is not well used as the fees are prohibitive to many. The church also operates a fee-paying selective private secondary school- Kisomachi Secondary. This school recruits pupils nationally and many board on site during term time.

There are a number of priests residing in a comfortable house close to the small hospital. They see their role as a social one: firstly to attend to the spiritual matters of the local population so that people know God and secondly to provide practical education on matters such as crop selection and improving health.

Spiritual matters such as challenging local beliefs in witchcraft are approached through religious mass and educational sessions are held following the mass. Examples of the work they do include buying seed in bulk and selling it to the parishioners on non-profit basis. They may also arrange for people to bring livestock to their land so that they can co-ordinate cross-breeding. Previously they also had a project to provide vocational training in tailoring to girls but the teacher married and left so the class could not continue. In addition they can also help provide social assistance, for instance if someone needs to go to hospital they can be transported in the car owned by the Church.

The Church has its own spring and has no problem with water although it does not sell this to people in the surrounding area. It was suggested by church representatives that if individuals are wealthy enough to make the water connection then they could share the spring. In the past the Church had also sold water to the parishioners but it had caused conflict and so the taps were taken back into the priest's compound.

The business of the parish is overseen by a board who are elected from the 'faithful' and they have to give their approval for plans such as building a house for dispensary workers. Parishioners also give their labour to these projects. The parish is also further divided into small Christian communities (of 10-15 households – this mirrors the local government 10-cell structure) any small issues and problems within these units can be dealt with locally, but sometimes the parish has to step in to resolve larger issues.

The Pastors identify a number of social problems in the area. Problems with excessive consumption of *mbege* (local millet and banana beer) are very evident in this area. The Pastors argue that this practice makes people lazy and inclined to beat their wives, which then leads to divorce. Fr Minja (a Chagga himself) argues that this is a characteristic of chagga men in particular.

'I try to find the source of their problem and take this back to their small group or clan so as to help them. Men may try to take another wife or are unfaithful and spend too much money on drinking *mbege* or *gongo* (an illegal highly alcoholic liquor)' Fr. Minja 28/6/05.

HIV/AIDS is also a severe problem in this area. Fr. Minja states that people tend to try to hide those who are suffering because of the shame. The government is trying to advertise and educate

but the catholic church does not promote the use of condoms arguing that only through being faithful can you be safe from infection.

1.5 Secular NGO activity

Two NGO groups have been previously active in Kileuo. KEDA (Kilimanjaro Environmental Development Association) started a project to grow trees but this has since been abandoned. KEDA were also responsible for a goat breeding scheme which was mentioned most frequently by residents as an example of NGO activity. The entry fee to the scheme was around 15000Tsh and you had to pay 2 goats to the other members of the project. Problems were reported with this scheme and it no longer operates according with many individuals questioned through this research. However, KEDA themselves claim that the scheme remain operational and successful.

Local interviews suggest that the Pamoja Trust (based in Moshi) had also began a scheme in the village, in this case digging irrigation furrows. The villagers contributed labour to the scheme and Pamoja employed a number of community animators. However, the scheme was never finished and villagers reported that Pamoja had simply left 4 years ago and never returned. The relationship with this NGO is locally controversial and will be discussed from the point of view of one community-based workers discussed in section 2. Politicians had once come at election time and promised to finish this scheme but it had never happened.

Many people expressed their distrust of NGOs and local savings schemes in particular, which in this area stemmed from the collapse of one locally established group after their chairman embezzled their funds. This particular individual spent some time in prison for this offence and now runs a business in nearby Uchira. Several interviewees mentioned this experience:

‘There was a savings society but the one who was running it disappeared with all the money (his name is but don’t tell him because if he knows he will burn my house). He stayed in jail for 5 years but now he is free. He sells local brew in Uchira. He disappeared with a lot of money’. (Interview 15/2/05)

2.0 Water- institutional evolution and community-based workers

Kileuo is included in this research as it is a village where the water system is operated with no external intervention. As in Uchira and Koboko (see other project case study reports) a gravity-fed system was installed in the 1960s by the national government. However, such systems were not maintained.

The majority of villagers now get their water from a combination of sources:

- From one of the several springs in the village
- From water vendors who transport water from water-rich areas and sell it at 100-200Tsh per bucket.
- From private and public taps when water flows to them (taps may be dry for weeks at a time and if water comes it comes in the night time hours)

The Village government (through a water committee) are responsible for the management of water in Kileuo. However, the District Council (DC) are responsible for the infrastructure. Private tap owners pay a flat fee (12,500Tsh per year) to the DC whereas water from a public tap is free at source. Public taps are not locked but as indicated above water does not flow from them on a regular basis. When water is available at the taps then people must queue and serve themselves.

The water committee also manage the use of springs. It is a District Council regulation that a radius of 200m around a spring is not used for building or for agricultural purposes. The water committee ensure that this regulation is enforced.

Kileuo in 2007/8 will be incorporated into phase 1 of the Moshi District Rural Water Supply Project (funded by KfW and operated on the trust model as in Hai)

2. 1 Institutional evolution of access to water

The water committee of the Village Council (VC) is part of the social welfare committee of the elected VC. Some additional members are chosen by the Village Chairman and the VEO, based on their willingness to undertake physical labour or their specific skills in relation to the water system.

The Chairman (Evarist Minja) explained that the committee are there to deal with the problems with the taps and to look after the environment of the springs. If there is a problem then they report it to the village office. Mr Minja suggests that the committee plays a role in negotiating potential conflicts over the water supply through cooperating with those who live around the water intake.

The main tasks of the committee are to oversee the following:

- To ensure that pipes remain buried- they often become exposed due to soil erosion.
- To clear the intake- as it is in a river the intake can become blocked by stones in the rainy season.
- Ensure the cleanliness of water storage tanks – they must be washed out when they fill with mud.
- In the dry season the tanks must be closed to allow them to fill- at this time the water is finished after 1-2 hours only.

Evarist Minja expresses some concerns on the set-up of the KfW project to rehabilitate and extend the water supply in Kileuo.

‘At first some Germans came and they told us about the scheme. Some villagers didn’t understand and they refused the project. We were told that if the project starts then the office will be in Uchira. If we get private water we will have to pay. Why should we go to Uchira to pay? It is too far. If they build an office in Kileuo then the villagers may agree to this project.’ 4/7/05

It is clear that members of the water committee (WC) have high expectations of the incoming project, but also that they wish to retain some control over the management of water. The comments above highlight the suspicions around the incoming project but also that the committee see themselves as gatekeepers and as speaking for the wider community. They don’t simply welcome the incoming project but they had formulated their own conditions for access to the village. For instance they state that as they will be now expected to pay for water then the water should be flowing at all times. They also specified to KfW that there should be no more than 400m between public taps as per the current Tanzanian water policy.

The committee has recommended that the price for water from public and private taps should be the same and all will be metered. However, the Village Chairman (VC) says that they have

decided that private tap owners should be prevented from selling water. If they do that then their tap would be closed.

The WC expect to be fully involved in running the project and are adamant that the proposed Trust office should be in Kileuo. They believe that any money left over from paying the staff of the project will be used for development schemes.

On the question of whether everyone is capable of paying for water, the VC states that he believes that not everyone is able to pay and says that the village will identify those who need free water and will pay their costs from village funds. Those people will be identified by those living around the public tap. 'A certain number of litres will be set aside for those who cannot pay and it will be easy to pay for them from the funds we have collected in the water office' (VC- 15/7/2005). This assumes that the control over such issues will remain in the village office.

The above plans are to some degree idealised and the reality of implementation may not meet these high expectations. Col. Njau (Ward Councillor) argues that actually the rehabilitation of the pipes may not reach Kileuo for some time the village is some distance from the main pipe planned for this area. It is also highly likely that the administrative of the system is based in Uchira as a water office is well-established there. The currently independent system in Uchira will be subsumed by the new larger KfW project.

2.2 Operation and maintenance- the current system

If there is a breakdown in the current piped water system in Kileuo then the WC reports this to their local water technician who is employed by the District Council. The chief technician for the area (David Mdee) lives in Uchira and is rarely seen in the villages but oversees a team of local technicians to deal with maintenance issues.

The DC-employed water technician for Kileuo is Wilbard Matemu (age 56, Chagga). Formerly a Police Officer he joined the water office as a watchman and was promoted to the role of pipe attendant in 1993. He is now paid a salary of 78000Tsh (US\$78) per month. He says that tries to attend to breakages in the pipes but his main problem is transport and this village covers a very large area. The old system is so worn out and weathered that it is very difficult to maintain

However, interviews with water users tend to refer more often to an elderly man, Casmiri Minja who acts as a volunteer pipeline attendant and resides in the village. He works alongside the WC and is often called upon to attend to breakages in the pipe network. He is profiled in the section below.

3.0 Typology of CBWs in Kileuo

In the discussion of the evolution of the water system we can identify a number of individuals and organisations who have been involved in shaping the current arrangements for accessing water both for drinking and for irrigation. Given that Kileuo has no external agency funding water at the present time the local management of water is highly embedded in multipurpose and existing institutions.

In this section we profile the range of individuals who work in and volunteer their time in some of these institutions. In this village most of the profiles are of middle-aged and elderly men and they are the group most often represented in all of the categories below (with the exception of primary school teachers and nurses). However, women are represented on committees and young people do work as community volunteers (volunteer teachers in the secondary school).

This typology recognises four types of community-based worker:

- Full-time employees (such as Village Executive Officer/ DC pipeline attendant/ Teachers/Priests)
- Representative (unpaid volunteers) – Village Council Members/ Water committee member
- Volunteer- with technical skills (paid with food/drink/cash) – Local pipeline attendant/ form 6 teachers
- Volunteer- independent action (mobilising donor/local funds) – Local NGOs, savings groups

3.1 Full-time employee- Village Executive Officer

CBWs in this category include the VEO, school teachers, priests, medical staff and priests. They generally have higher than average qualifications and earn a regular salary. They should still be

considered as CBWs as they live locally and often originate from the area. The role of VEO is particularly significant in this case study, but it is a role with a very wide remit within which the management of water is but one issue of many.

Mr Ombela, the Village Executive Officer is an employee of the civil service and receives salary of 60000Tsh (£30) per month. The introduction of the salary is a recent development and previously VEO worked as volunteers. However, Mr Ombela, a former school teacher argues that the hours that he works are unlimited and that as part of his role is to oversee security in the village he can be disturbed at anytime. He must intervene in disputes, go to the scene of accidents to make a report and oversee the daily functioning of the village office. He is directly engaged in the management of the water system and explains that he is able to direct the pipeline attendant to problems. In turn he tries to mobilise the labour of the villagers with activities such as washing out the water storage tanks when they become inundated with mud during the rainy season.

With regard to the new water project, Mr Ombela believes that the responsibility for the management of the water system should stay at the village level. He says that KfW had indicated to the village that the profits from the sales of water could be used to fund village development projects. The indication that this project may be managed from Uchira is a concern especially as the relationship with Uchira is becoming strained over access to a spring, which UWUA wishes to use to increase the water supply to that village.

He is also looking forward to new plans under MKUKUTA (Tanzania's poverty reduction strategy) whereby village councils can apply for assistance with existing village projects such as the secondary school construction. He attended a seminar in Morogoro where they were instructed to return to their communities and form 'development groups'.

Mr Ombela was motivated to work for his community and so was interested to take the job as VEO but the payment of the salary now recognises all the work that he was previously doing as a volunteer.. He was teaching elsewhere in Tanzania but came home to Kileuo to take care of his elderly parents, and so this job allows him to use his education.

3.2 Representative - Water Committee Member

The category of representative is one that is perhaps ignored in other classifications of CBWs (see Khanya and Boesten 2005). Due to the management of water (and most other aspects of collective village life) occurring through the multipurpose institution of the village council, the role of village representatives is significant in shaping current arrangements. Their commitment in terms of time is often significant. Sometimes representatives receive meeting allowances but otherwise their reward is in terms of enhanced status within the community.

Rose Musoma is 63 and a Chagga of catholic faith. She is a member of the water committee and was elected to the Village Council in a special seat reserved for women. Her husband worked as regional coordinator for the catholic relief agency CARITAS, but has no retired due to ill health. Mrs Musoma was a primary school teacher until she retired. After this she was motivated to join the village council as she was disappointed at the lack of cooperation she saw in her community and particularly in relation to the water situation.

‘As people get water from different sources this means that there is no unity between people and they cannot effectively lobby the village government’ 17/7/05

Mrs Musoma argues that with the coming of the new KfW project this situation will improve but the leaders (including herself) have a heavy responsibility of educating the people on how to care for and sustain the new supplies.

‘The community needs sensitisation so that everybody knows that they must pay for water. Most people will be able to pay 10-20Tsh per bucket for this water. If they really can’t pay the village government should help them. The poorest and disabled should be exempted from payment. However, the public taps should not be free because no one will want to get a private tap’.

Mrs Musoma also raises the issue of multi-party politics as being divisive at the local level:

‘We were going fine here but now because of politics everything is going bad now due to this multi-party system. Here we have TLP and CCM and they are pulling in all directions. When we had one party we were getting everything’

Mrs Musoma does not receive any financial reward for her role as a village representative. The water committee meet once a month and she always make an effort to attend. Other representative roles require much greater time commitment, particular the role of Village Chairperson.

3.3 Volunteer with technical skills- pipeline attendant

This category identifies volunteers who work within existing institutions such as the government or religious institutions. Such volunteers often have technical skills which they wish to put to use in their community. People also feel a desire to practice their skills in an environment where formal jobs may be difficult to access or are non-existent.

In relation to the water system a volunteer pipeline attendant was frequently mentioned in interviews with individuals. Casmiri Minja originally worked on the installation of the Ussoro Kisomachi pipeline in 1985 as a foreman. He had to peg out the pipeline track so that the villagers could dig before the pipes were laid. He was paid by the District Water Engineer's office for this work. After the construction was finished he was 'left behind by the engineers to look after the pipeline'. He is not formally paid and acts as a volunteer. He also assists the Water Engineers office when they come. He feels compelled to do this work as 'I have this profession and I don't want people to suffer'.

The main issues that he deals with are:

- People breaking the PVC pipes accidentally during farming activities
- People using the taps to wash clothes and contaminating the water
- Pipes being squeezed by tree roots so the water is obstructed
- People also tend not to report breakdowns so he must try to find them by regularly checking the pipelines.

Whilst some people complain that they must pay a bribe to get breakages fixed it is likely that they are referring to Mr Minja. He was told by the Ward Office that he should be paid if he fixes a breakdown at a private tap, and he is happy to receive cash or payment in mbege. He does not feel that he is being bribed only recompensed for the efforts he makes.

He argues that he works closely with the water committee and oversees any maintenance work that needs to be done. The VC supports him with some resources if they can and arrange for

labourers to help him. He also sometimes receives assistance from the Catholic Church of Olduvai Secondary School with transport. He is also known in Mabungo (neighbouring village) and does water maintenance tasks for them.

3.4 Volunteer- independent organisation

There are other categories of volunteers working in Kileuo. They work independently often in NGOs. This category of volunteer tends to be wealthier and more educated than the previous category. NGO projects are vehicles for their activities and are used to negotiate partnerships with donors and wealthy individuals and politicians. The impact of the work of such organisations at the local level is contested, but the individuals involved tend to be charismatic and highly visible within collective village life, although they prefer to be independent.

Pascal Sabas is included in the discussion as he is the founder of a local NGO that is cited as the only one active in this area. Kilimanjaro Environmental Development Association (KEDA) was founded in 1992 and was formed as a people's NGO and voluntary organisation. The development of the organisation shows the intermittent nature of NGO project funding which relies on overseas partners. It also demonstrates an issue over the ownership of local initiatives and just what a 'local' NGO is. Whilst not directly connected to the issue of drinking water supply it does nevertheless offer insights into the negotiations with the community ownership arena. It was established as a membership organisation and has 300 members in the District. In partnership with an external donor (the German organisation – Agroaction) they began a project to extend the system of traditional irrigation furrows with the aim of encouraging vegetable production. This was followed by further funding by a Dutch NGO (HIVOS). Mr Sabas explained that on both occasions he had researched and approached these NGOs himself. They also currently receive some assistance for a goat distribution scheme from Heifer International. This scheme covers Kileuo and is mentioned by some interviewees during community profiling.

When he established the organisation Mr Sabas was a Regional Forestry Officer, as he was working he established a management committee to run KEDA. They no longer receive external funds as HIVOS were not pleased when they made a decision to build an office in the small town of Njia Panda using the grant that they received. The organisation felt that it needed an office to continue its work on a more sustainable basis. KEDA continues to have some connection with the larger Moshi-based NGO Pamoja but this relationship is not clear and is contested.

Mr Sabas argues that in fact it was KEDA and not Pamoja who were behind the construction of the irrigational furrows mentioned in the community profiling above. He further claims that: 'Pamoja are somehow arrogant- they just use our activities and they bring visitors to see them. Pamoja are very clever- they will stand on your head and use you like a tool. We are planning to stop working with them. We even sacked one Chairman who was colluding with them. They wanted to make fake contracts and take money through him (in relation to external donor funding and the need to prove established links with local organisations'. (Interview 11/4/06).

Pascal Sabbas is motivated by the decline in the economic fortunes of his home area over recent years; but he is also highly impassioned by environmental concerns:

'I am driven to work on these projects as I want to keep the snow on Kilimanjaro, we live in this beautiful land and we must see that we do not destroy it'. (Interview 11/4/06)

Now retired Mr Sabbas devotes his time to advising KEDA and experimenting with rainwater and stormwater harvesting.

Conclusion

This case study differs from the two other case studies relating to the provision of water in Tanzania in that it does not have any external intervention in the water sector at the present time. Therefore it offered the opportunity to explore what existing organisations and individuals could do within the existing system.

It shows that institutions for the management of water are functioning through the village council. A water committee is working and a volunteer attendant tries to mend faults in the system within the limits of the resources that can be raised through the village. This system does work in as much as labour can be mobilised to keep the old defective system of pipes operating to some degree. The responsibility for the maintenance of the system lies with the village council.

In this sense community collective action is functioning without external intervention. However, it is severely restricted by the availability of resources. No one is happy with the water supply in

the village, it causes frequent distress and sometimes conflict, but the analysis here suggests the solution is beyond the reach of the village alone.

Those who currently operate this system, employed CBWs, representatives and technical volunteers, appear to be working in an effective partnership. Although there is some concern that the wider population is no longer very good at working cooperatively- with both westernisation of local culture and multi-party politics are blamed for fragmenting collective interests and action. It is noticeable that all the the CBWs discussed tend to be older, wealthier and more educated than the general population. They appear to have the motivation and opportunity to act as representatives and as independent volunteers.

In terms of institutional evolution this study provides an opportunity to consider the impact of a forthcoming project. The representatives within the village council are certainly concerned about the incoming KfW water project. They fear some loss of control over the system and believe that they will be able to set conditions for the donor on the service that they expect. It is interesting to compare this to the situation in Koboko (see other case study) where similar debates preceded the implementation of the Hai District water project, and where a loss of local control did occur. Interestingly in this case study, although most of the CBWs were of the belief that people should pay for water, they also wanted specific provisions to be made for those who cannot pay for water. This remains a significant gap in the design if the incoming KfW project.

Appendix: Kileuo Data Collection

Data was collected in Kileuo by the local research team consisting of Ernest Msuya, Rhoda Mdee and Yusuphu Mfinanga from January-October 05. This incorporated a period of three months when Rhoda and Yusuphu were resident in the village.

Anna Toner visited the field on several occasions – Jan 05, Mar 05, Jun-Jul 05, Apr 06

Persons interviewed on one or more occasions during fieldwork

Mr Minja	Village Executive Officer (multiple interviews)
Mr Matemu	Village Chairman
Fr Amani	Catholic Chaplaincy
Fr A. Minja	Catholic Chaplaincy
Pascal Sabbas	Kilimanjaro Environmental Association
Sister Adelina	Karmelli Dispensary
Evarist Minja Coletta Kessy Serepia Augustine Eunita Msoma Ignas Matemu Sebastieni Mbella Basil Tesha Tumaini Mellior	Water Committee
Casmiri Minja	Volunteer Pipeline Attendant
Col Njau	Ward Councillor
Violet Paul	Volunteer Teacher
Godwin Tenga	Secondary School Headteacher
Wilbard Matemu	Pipeline Attendant (employed by District Council)
115 Livelihoods/ water users/community profiling interviews	

References

Olivier de Sardan, J.-P. (2005). *Anthropology and Development: understanding contemporary social change*. London, Zed Books.