

The illusion of community ownership: community-based water management in Uchira, Kilimanjaro Region

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Abstract

Community/stakeholder participation, ownership and cost sharing/recovery are key components of Tanzania's water policy. However these are not easy to achieve and the benefits of them (both in terms of efficiency and equity) may be overstated.

Evidence from this research suggests that some of the basic assumptions of IWRM require revisiting. The limitations of 'bottom-up' and demand led approaches need to be recognised. It is likely that the state cannot simply be a facilitator and still expect to achieve basic human rights such as equitable and universal access to safe water. It may need to play a more active role in setting and enforcing equity criteria and even in delivering schemes itself.

Research¹ from Kilimanjaro region (Pangani River Basin) on a GTZ-funded rehabilitation of a piped water supply demonstrates that:

Community-based management (through water user's associations) does not necessarily lead to broad community ownership.

- *That benefits from local-level management are not shared equitably and many people remain water poor despite significant increases in water supply.*
- *That the project mechanism is unsustainable and expensive and that communities are being asked to bear the cost of expensive and institutionally inappropriate schemes.*

This paper offers an analysis of the limitations and inherent problems of community-based management, from the perspective of local people themselves, and explores mechanisms through which equitable access to water may be better enhanced.

In this research the focus is on extending my understanding of the possibilities for community-driven development, in part through an intensive examination of community-based delivery of drinking water services in Uchira village. The evolution of the Uchira Water User Association and its interaction with pre-existing institutions is necessarily shaped by the context of its formation and the examination of national and local political economy illuminates such connection. This focus also enables an exploration of water policy as a means of charting the linkages between the macro and micro levels of policy-making, translation and implementation. 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.

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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 arrangement were more resilient than others. During Ujamaa the state viewed water as a right to 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.

Evolving water policy

Water Policy
Reliance on improvement of indigenous systems
<i>Some large-scale irrigation projects</i>
Water as a public good State took responsibility for capital investment
Improved access to water from 12-47%
State continues as provider in partnership with donors- particularly GTZ, KfW and Danida
1990/01 Access to protected water source- 46%
State as facilitator and regulator. Civil societies and communities to deliver services in partnership with private sector
Integrated water management approach echoing international 'consensus' 2000/01 Access to protected water source- 55%

The evolution of water policy in Tanzania is necessarily mirrored in the political economy outlined above. The British Colonial Administration sought to implement some largescale infrastructure projects in irrigation but the success of these was limited (Hyden).

Following independence and particularly following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, there was heavy investment in the water schemes during the 1970s, which resulted in the proportion of the population with access to improved water supply rising from 12 to 47% in the period from 1971-80. Water was recognised as a public good and the government undertook to cover all capital costs of investment (Maganga et al in Vavrus) However these early investments could not be maintained and many schemes fell into disrepair.

Since the 1990s Tanzania has attempted to implement an integrated approach to the management of water resources (Sokile et al. 2003; Sokile et al. 2004) The 1991 policy aimed for the provision of safe, clean water to all the population within 400 metres by the year 2002. However by 2002, only 50% of the rural population had this access. The 2002 water policy (URT 2002a) sought to rectify gaps in the 1991 National Water Policy, which framed the state as the main investor in and manager of water projects. The revised policy, in common with most policy reform of this period, reorients the state away

from service provision and towards facilitation, co-ordination and the formulation of policy.

This document views water as an integrated component of Tanzania 2025 Development Vision which aims at 'achieving a high quality livelihood for its people, attain good governance through the rule of law and develop a strong and competitive economy' (URT website accessed 2004). Universal access to safe water is viewed as one of the central features of a quality livelihood.

The 2002 policy argues that the present water acts (1974 and amendment in 1981) are insufficient to deal with the current management challenges. Water in Tanzania is managed through a river basin approach and is divided into nine hydrological zones, and this policy makes a case for integrated water resources management at basin level. Integrated management approach seeks a participatory, multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary management that views water as a scarce resource and makes linkages between water, land-use and the importance of water ecosystems in the national economy (URT 2002:14, 2004 Sokile, Maganga.)

Considerable emphasis is placed by the 2002 document on participation of water users and local communities in managing water and in driving projects/programmes, in cost-bearing by communities, in working with NGOs, private sector and other external agents, decentralisation of decision-making.

In line with international agreements on water resource management (for instance the Dublin statement on water and sustainable development, 1992) current policy recognises the importance of:

'a sufficient supply of water and an adequate means of sanitation as basic human needs' and institutional mechanisms that 'recognise the involvement of user organisations and the private sector as fundamental'

Water is viewed as a basic right and the measure of this right is given as 25l of potable domestic water per day at a distance of 400m and serving 250 people per outlet. However this is a target to be aimed at rather than a recognised legal right as it is in South Africa (Sokile *et al* 2004). Considerable emphasis is placed on the need for communities to be empowered to become legally responsible for the operation of water schemes. Community ownership is seen as a means of achieving sustainability through community investment and commitment to their schemes and specifically through the mechanism of village water committees. Communities are expected by the policy to pay a portion of capital costs (in cash and in kind) for rehabilitation and extension of existing schemes. Communities are also expected to pay the full costs of operation and maintenance. Thus water has become reframed as an economic good (URT 2002, Vavrus 2003, Smith 2004)

Here is the contradiction. Whilst water is seen as a basic right the policy lays out no specific means of addressing the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable groups. Communities appear to be homogenous and equally able to pay. There is a disconnect in the policy- that on the one hand seeks to ensure efficient and equitable use of water stops short of suggesting any means of doing so- but passes the responsibility to water use entities and stresses their accountability. However specific mechanisms are undefined. Sokile *et al* (2004) maintain that this is a general weakness in integrated water resource management as an approach formulated through the iteration of general principles (GWP, Rogers & Hall). These approaches, appropriated entirely by the 2002

Tanzanian water policy, tend to ignore the contextual specificity of management and say little about issues of equity and sustainability at the micro-level (Sokile et al, Cleaver 2004) as will be explored further in the examination of the Uchira Water Users' Association (UWUA). Further they overestimate the capacity and commitment of private sector providers to the delivery of public services. The programmes and policies of the Ministry are themselves dependent on securing the necessary funds to implement them and this was dependent on negotiations with donors (Kapile 2003).

Need to clarify a few distinction here- the IWRM is based on large scale management of water resources and at present, in Tanzania through a complex matrix of water user entities (WUE) including private companies, co-operatives, and water users associations. Legal rights to water can be granted through these organisations. In future a rationalised institutional framework relying on water user associations as the bottom-level in water basin management will be applied (URT 2004)

Overview

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 for four 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.

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.

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. Membership of the board is open to all those who participated or contributed to the construction and operation of the scheme. However, membership of the association is low considering the village population. Many people feel that the fees charged for members are too high and act as a barrier to membership. In addition, there is a view among many that 'ownership' is restricted to a certain group of villagers and that the majority of the others are only valued for their efforts in communal labour.

There is also some evidence that there are many people in the village who struggle to pay for adequate supplies of water, and the flat pricing structure (5Tsh per 20l for all) discriminates against the poorest who pay a significant proportion of their incomes to access water. There are at present no mechanisms for providing water to the needy or vulnerable and it is assumed that everyone can pay. However, some discussion of this issue is now taking place.

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.

Background to the study

My connections with Uchira date back to 1996 when as a student I undertook a collaborative study with Village Council into the villages experience of 'development' up to that time. Thus this study is able to make a longitudinal comparison of development in Uchira over the past 8 years. At that time the issue of greatest concern was water access and provision. An existing pipeline served the village but this was leaking and was dry for much of the year. In 1996 the village council through consultation with the District Water Engineer had drawn up plans to tap the waters of Lyambala springs to supply the village. The local Lutheran church played a key role in the eventual success of the project and through KKKT was able to secure the external assistance of GTZ. Specifically Bishop Dr. Erasto Kweka (of the Northern Diocese Evangelical Lutheran Church), Moshi, used his connections to the German Minister of Economic Co-operation and Development.

GTZ provided financial assistance for a community-managed scheme. A water users' association was chosen by this lead group to run the scheme and community contributions in the form of money and labour was sought to enable construction to proceed. The scheme, was officially opened by the President of Tanzania in 2000, and continues with advisory and financial support from consultants and GTZ.

Construction began in 1999 on the rehabilitation of the Ussoro-Kisomachi gravity water supply system (constructed in 1962), which was supplied by the Mue river and of a new intake at Lyambala Spring. GTZ agreed to provide the sum of 42,000,000 Tsh 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 Miwaleni) with this phase of work being completed in the first half of 2004.

Research methodology

This research set out to examine the impact of the scheme in Uchira and to explore further issues of community ownership and participation. The research activity has been primarily undertaken by local researchers, Ernest Msuya, Rhoda Mdee and Yusufu Mfinanga in collaboration with Anna Toner of Bradford University. We have conducted a profiling exercise of village services and community organisations and have interviewed in excess of 150 water users. 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, personnel from GTZ and Mr. Leo Balige. Water use

from public water points was also mapped in detail at 12 public taps over the month of July. In addition in order to explore community participation more broadly they have completed 50 detailed life-histories from a cross-section of Uchira residents. Income and expenditure interviews were used to analyse the impact of water price on the poorest households within the village. A separate study of youth participation and attitudes was also undertaken by Christopher Mdee and Juliana Mfinanga.

This discussion paper presents some interim findings from this research:

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. 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.

The constitution 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'

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 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 half of this year (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 should be sufficient to cover the salaries of a professional management team. Following the departure of the first manager, Mr Tesha (for employment with Kiliwater in Rombo) in January 2004, Mr Danga was appointed in May 2004. Work is now continuing to ensure a separation of professional and management board responsibilities and powers. Again this process is supported by Mr Balige.

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 Niarobi), 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). Mr Leo Balige continues to support and facilitate the evolution of the management of the scheme and has championed processes for wide and inclusive community participation.

Water use patterns 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. Although 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.

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 consumption of 18.7 l per person.

The taps were selected from each village district and were visited at different times of the day to reflect varying useage patterns. Figure 1 shows the location of all public taps and indicates those visited in the course of the research. 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 gives an overview of the data for each tap.

Table 1: Overview of water service at Public Taps in Uchira- July 2004

Public Tap	No of households collecting	Collection system	Price per 20L	Distance travelled (m)	Average buckets collected (range)
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	10	30-2000	13.5(6-50)

		attendant			
L	6	Volunteer attendant	5 to those from area, 10 to those from outside	70-1500	2.83(1-8)

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 (kati juu and kati chini) 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.

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.

Opinions on water use/management in Uchira

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 Chairmen also indicate that they 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.

The development of UWUA is of interest to many external stakeholders given that this model of water management remains relatively rare in practice. 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:

Membership

There are around 145 full members of UWUA (UWUA report 2004), 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). The report from the last 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. There are also those who are uninterested in participation. The survey of water users revealed that the vast majority do not feel themselves to be part of the management of the scheme and are unaware of the income and expenditure of UWUA.

Pricing of water

The survey indicates 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. Suggestions to resolve this issue include:

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

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) 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.

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 the current one, when the rains were poor, people are expecting to crop very little. See box 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 one or two voices from the survey that argued that prices should be maintained or even increased in order to ensure the sustainability of the scheme.

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 we have no money for medicine, then we go to Karamsingii but if they refer you we 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.

Due to the cost and limitations of supply many people argue that there is insufficient water for anything other than domestic use and therefore they do not have sufficient water to contribute to productive activities such as vegetable growing and livestock rearing. The management are exploring accessing water rights to additional sources of water, but at the present time the cost of water appears to provide a mechanism to prevent those with private lines from overusing the currently limited supply. Those interviewed who owned private taps mostly indicated that fear of large bills ensured that they were reserved in their useage.

The reality of 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 2).

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.

Public meetings were held prior to Board elections, in the early part of the year, but attendance was low. 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 UWUA recognise that there maybe some hostile elements in the village, their 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 Mr Balige 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, rather than forcing villagers to participate in communal labour.

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.

In the early half of the year 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.

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. 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 VC indicated that there were some exemptions for the elderly, pregnant woman and those with infants.

The most recent report from UWUA also suggests some insecurity on the part of the association 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.

Management of public taps

The official system for collection of revenue from public water taps should operate around elected water attendants charging 5Tsh and claiming 20% of monthly bill from UWUA. However, as table 1 shows this process has been adapted locally. 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

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 respects it can be argued that local adaptations in the management of taps demonstrates 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.

However the interviews revealed that many people would prefer that the office paid attendants and they argued that they 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.

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.

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.

During interviews some allegations 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.

Need to 'professionalise'

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 a volunteer.

Employment of professionals is seen as being necessary for the efficient operations 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.

At the present time Leo Balige and Joseph Danga are in the process of formulating a set of job descriptions that clearly separate the professional and technical management of the scheme from the community involvement in the form of the board and members, in the hope that this will more clearly establish lines of responsibility.

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.

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. Those involved in this project are aware of the limitations in this respect but are constrained by the nature of project funding

Whilst those connected with UWUA have undoubtedly been empowered this maybe at the expense of other villages. UWUA is a powerful organisation in the locality and is now negotiating to acquire the water rights to further springs. 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 community-owned.

Appendix 1

UWUA Documents reviewed

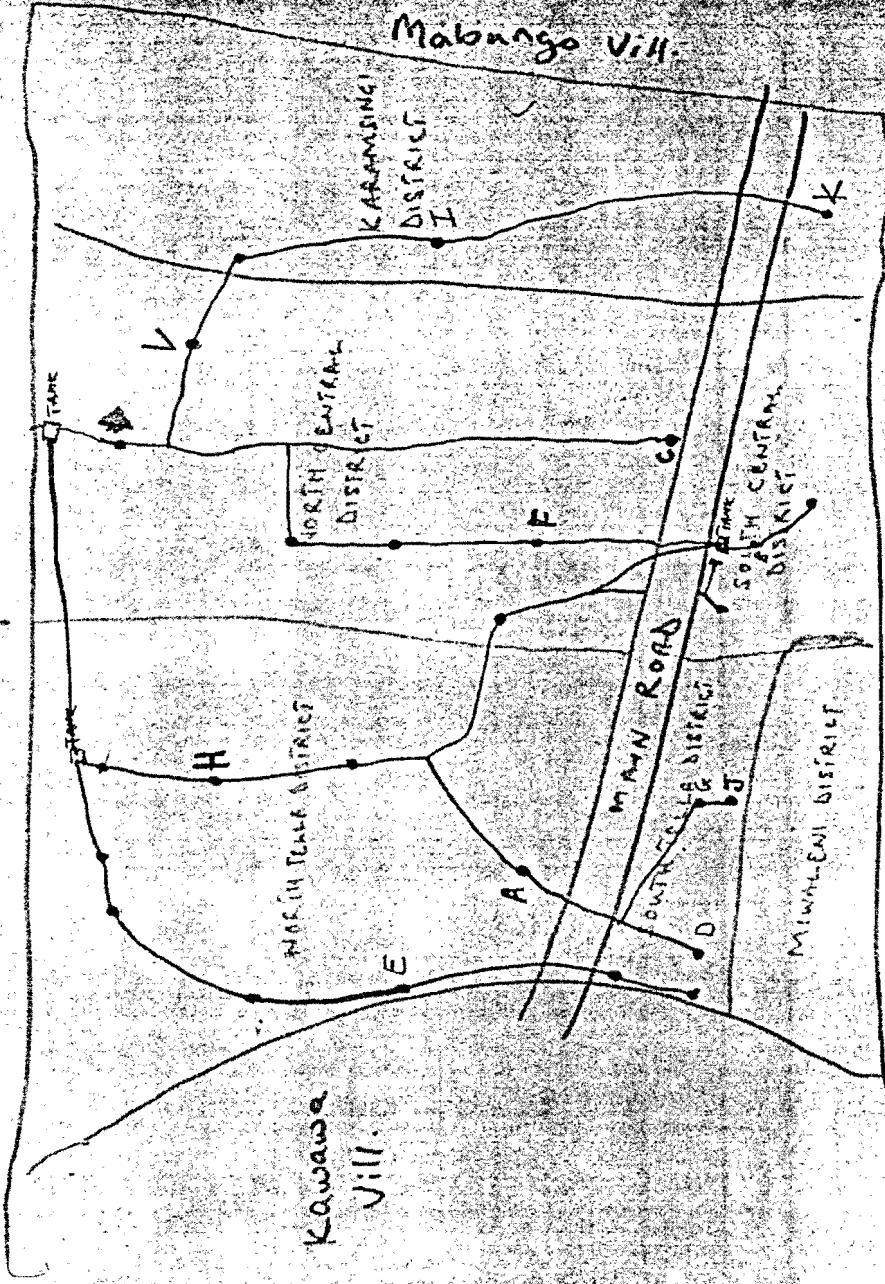
- 1) Dibaji (Constitution document of UWUA) (in Swahili)
- 2) Jumaiya ya wattumia maji- Uchira- Bajeti ya mwaka 2004 (UWUA budget 2004)
- 3) Mkutano Mkuu UWUA 2002 (Uliofanyika 15/2/03) – Annual Report 2002
- 4) Taarifa ya utekelezaji Januari 2001-Desemba 2003 – Report on implementation 2001-2003
- 5)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

Appendix 2

Persons interviewed

Mr Lazaro Mfinanaga	Chairman UWUA Board	Dec 2002/3 Jan/April/July/Oct 2004 Jan 2005
Mr Joseph Danga	Manager UWUA	July/Oct 2004/Jan 2005
Mrs Mary Mlaky	Secretary UWUA Board	July 2004/Jan 2005
Mr Tesha	Former UWUA manager, now employee Kiliwater	July 2004
Mr Shayo	Kilimanjaro Regional Water Engineer	July 2004
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	Village Executive Officer	April/July/Oct 2004
12 Pump attendants		July 2004
130 water users		Jan-Oct 2004

Uparo Vill.



Kawawa Vill.

Kisangisangeni Vill. 26 Public Taps
3 Tanks

KEY TO LOCATE PUBLIC TAPS.
(NOT TO SCALE)