

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GENDER ASSESSMENT
OF
WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMME IN MALAWI

A CASE OF THYOLO, PHALOMBE AND KARONGA DISTRICTS

MINISTRY OF WATER DEVELOPMENT/WORLD BANK

MALAWI

DRAFT REPORT

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UNDP-World Bank Water and Sanitation Programme

January, 1999

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Assessment Team

The team that conducted the assessment was composed of key personnel in addition to twelve research assistants that were recruited to assist with data collection and three Clerks who assisted with data entry.

1. Dyton Maliro

An Economist and Gender Expert, Mr Maliro is a Lecturer in Rural development at Bunda College of Agriculture of the University of Malawi. He was a technical advisor who provided technical guidance on the planning and management of the study. He was responsible for data analysis from the household survey and the writing of the main report.

2. Robson Chakwana

A Social Economist and Gender expert, Mr Chakwana is a Senior Planning Officer in the Ministry of Women, Youth and community Services. He was team leader for the assessment and provided the overall supervision and management of the survey. He was responsible for the writing of the district and an input in the main report.

3. Novice Bamusi

Mr Bamusi is an Economist and Development Planner in the Ministry of Women, Youth and community Services. He was a Supervisor for the field team. He contributed in the writing of the district and an input in the main report.

4. Alice Naphiyo

Mrs Naphiyo is a Community Development Specialist in the Ministry of Women, Youth and community Services. She was also a Supervisor for the field team.

5. Bright Sibale

Mr Sibale is a Gender Expert in the same Ministry. He was a Supervisor for the field team and contributed in the writing of the district and an input in the main report.

Executive Summary

The socio-economic and Gender Assessment in Water and Sanitation Program in Malawi is a part of a Global study that has been organised and managed by Regional Water and Sanitation Group in Eastern and Southern Africa in collaboration with World Bank resident missions and sector government agencies. The purpose of this study is to advance factors that promote demand responsiveness, gender and participation in Water Supply and Sanitation Program in order to enhance sustainability. The Malawi assessment follows the global conceptual framework with the following objectives:

- to assess whether or not demand-responsive and gender and poverty sensitive participation is positively associated with sustained water and sanitation services; and the impact of such services on women and men, rich and poor;
- to familiarize communities and agencies with self assessment methods using gender and poverty sensitive tools;
- to develop, continually refine and institutionalize the assessment methodology and findings in national, regional and global sector institutions.

These objectives were distilled to provide objectives for Malawi that would suit the local situation. The assessment was conducted between 29 November and 17 December, 1998 in Thyolo, Phalombe and Karonga districts. These were the districts that had WSS programs that fulfilled the global criteria for selection which was provided in the methodological framework. The data collection and analysis process involved a mix of data collection methodologies:-

- ▶ Review of policy documents on decentralized development and governance; poverty alleviation; water and sanitation; and gender;
- ▶ Focus group discussions at community level;

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to acknowledge with many thanks many people who cooperated in providing valuable information that has made the production of this report possible. Particularly the special mention is made to the villagers of Bvumbwe, Sandama, Mphuka, Yuwa, Kaledzera, Phodogoma, Mwantawali, Mwambuli 2 and Mwenengolongo for their information, generosity and all the logistical support they gave to our teams during the entire stay in their villages. We would also like to thank all the enumerators for their bravery and wonderful job they did in collecting the valuable information that has made the wonderful chapters of this report. Members of DEC in all the three districts deserve a special mention for the support they rendered to us during the initial stages of the exercise. Finally but not least, Mr Chikusa and Mr Makonkha of World Bank are singled out for the technical as well as moral support they gave us during the entire period of study.

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- ▶ A survey of selected households using a structured questionnaire;
- ▶ Interviews with key respondents at district and community level; and
- ▶ Observation during field visits.

The Malawi social indicators on the access to WSS are one of the poorest in this region. In Malawi the provision of water and sanitation services has been the role of Government, quasi government bodies, and NGOs. The provision of water services in the urban areas is the responsibility of the Water Boards. In the peri-urban and rural areas, the sanitation services are provided by Government and NGOs.

Poverty is pervasive and widespread in all the three districts under study. In all these districts poverty definition is material based. The people in these districts perceive poverty to be lack of adequate food, money, livestock, iron roofed house and any other necessities that sustain one's life. Focus Group Discussions with the communities indicate that there are three categories of poverty groups namely; rich, intermediate and poor. This classification is based on attributes such as quality and type of house, main assets owned, household food security and entrepreneurship. In these communities, results indicate that the majority poor are women implying that poverty in these communities is gender-based. There is a higher percentage of female headed households than male headed households in all the three districts though male headship in households is also emerging as a gender issue.

The water facilities found in the three districts were boreholes, taps, streams, unprotected shallow well, rivers and lake. The number and distribution of these facilities is limited in all the communities visited. The WSS facilities are viewed as common property resources, as such every community member has unlimited access to them. Sanitation facilities found in the districts are grossly inadequate and are limited to traditional pit latrines, temporary built bathroom and baskets instead of drying racks. The reason for poor sanitation in these villages is that the WSS Program has concentrated on the provision of potable water but ignored the sanitation component and lack of exposure to the principles of best hygienic practices by the communities.

The information from the districts indicate that the boreholes and piped water system are not functioning well due to frequent break downs citing lack of maintenance to be the main cause. The gravity fed scheme was singled out to perform badly in all cases.

It was established that reliability as an issue is linked to adequacy. When the facility produces adequate water it was also defined by the community as the most reliable source of the water. Based on these criteria, the borehole is considered by the community as the most reliable source of water because it is capable of producing adequate water for household requirement. However, this factor is constrained by limited number of borehole facilities existing in the community to be utilised by a large population.

Good quality water according to communities is defined in terms of taste, smell, safety, colour and ability to remove dirt without a lot of soap. The water facilities in the communities should be able to fulfil these attributes for that water facility to be effectively used.

The results from the communities indicate that there is no coordinated long-term financing mechanism for the operations and maintenance of the tap line in general and the taps especially. The situation was the same for borehole facilities except in one community where there is a functional maintenance fund.

Water is generally put to different uses by the communities which vary with source. Sources of safe water with very high maintenance and repair cost are used for drinking, cooking and washing of kitchen utensils. Activities that require heavy water usage such as construction, bathing, washing, watering animals and irrigation of crops use water from natural sources such as rivers, streams etc. It is also evident that group discussions that there are gender differences in the use of water for productive and domestic purposes. Men dominate the use of water for productive purpose whereas women dominate domestic use of water because of differences in economic values attached to these uses. The communities in all three districts reported that they have benefitted both socially and economically from the water facilities. The communities do also indicate that they are experiencing reduced incidences of water-borne diseases. Women walking short distances to

in place. At district level there is DDC and DEC which are responsible for guiding policies and prioritisation of projects . These structures have powers to approve projects for implementation which originate from community levels. Although they have performed their roles satisfactorily their effectiveness is hampered by political interference and lack of budget. At TA level, there is AEC and ADC which is are responsible for project formulation and approval respectively. At grassroots level, the structures include VDC and WPC. These are responsible for coordination and implementation of projects at community level. These structures lack capacity to organise and coordinate themselves.

Lastly, suggestions and recommendations have been made in the main text as well as district reports.

sources of water thus freeing up some of their time for other domestic chores. The need to wake up at 4.00 a.m to go and wait for water in an open dug wells in dry season has reduced. Another aspect about water projects is that each water point has a committee composed of men and women. This is viewed to be another form of community empowerment. In order for these committees to perform their functions effectively they have been trained in maintenance skills: this is another form of capacity building for long term sustainability.

The results show that participation and gender responsiveness in WSS programme have been limited. Our view is that the system of initiating community projects and programs has been characterised by top-down approach which did not deliberately provide avenues for demand and gender responsiveness. Community participation in project initiation and planning is generally negligible. The communities start getting involved at an advanced stage of project implementation and maintenance. The exclusion of community at initial stages of project development is recipe for unsustainability of the WSS programme. Overall, communities were told what they should do other than how they do it. It is in view of these constraints that we see a lot of communities treating WSS facilities as not theirs. This has an obvious impact on sustainability of the projects

Decision making in all aspects of projects management is a gender issue. It is the majority of men who dominate in decision making compared to women. This is reflected in few women holding influential positions in all community-based project committees. In all districts no woman hold influential position such as chairperson or vice chair person. It is our view that this situation to be a constraint in empowering women for decision making.

Overall communities have contributed in one way or the other towards the construction and maintenance of water facilities. There is also willingness on the part of communities to voluntarily contribute though 20% of them felt they are being overtaxed with the demands to contribute.

Institutions to assist in the initiation and management of community projects do exist at all levels of district administration except in few districts where efforts are under way to put these structures

Section One: *Introduction*

Years of donor assistance to developing countries, especially in the social sector such as Water and Sanitation, have shown that development assistance alone can not bring about sustainable services unless issues of demand and poverty responsiveness, participation and gender are mainstreamed at all levels of the programmes.

1.1 Poverty and Demand responsiveness, Participation and Gender issues in water and sanitation programmes

According to Sara (1997), maintenance and repairs of water facilities have been speedier where such services have been installed upon demand by the users. These users have included the poor and women, who are the disadvantaged majority. Under such a process, users have participated in deciding the technology and location of the facilities..

In the case of participation, Narayan (1995) observes that participation by users contributes significantly to the overall project effectiveness and to some extent ensures equality of access to the facilities.

Gender and poverty issues in Water and Sanitation programmes are as important as are issues of demand responsiveness and participation. Yet, accumulated evidence suggests that disadvantaged groups, mainly women and the poor, have been excluded from the mainstream of most programmes. Martin-Brown (1994) cautions that whether from rivers, groundwater, or lakes, water is both an essential and limited resource. As such, discussion on such issues should not be examined outside socio economic contexts. Instead, gender and poverty issues should form a central role in the analysis. As primary users of water and sanitation facilities, women and the poor should be actively involved at all levels to ensure sustainability and equitable impact..

1.2 Implications for Impact and Sustainability of Water and Sanitation programmes

The social aspects of impact and sustainability in water and sanitation programmes are no less important than the economic and technical ones. Thus, putting people first through mainstreaming demand responsiveness, poverty sensitivity, user participation and gender will contribute towards desirable impact and sustainability of water and sanitation services among the people that such programmes are intended to serve.

Section Two: *Conceptual Framework and Methodological issues*

This participatory learning assessment is one of the global programmes managed by UNDP-World Bank Water and Sanitation Programme. The assessment aims to contribute to the understanding of issues of poverty, participation, gender and demand responsiveness as they link with impact and sustainability of water and sanitation programmes.

2.1 Conceptual framework of analysis

This Socio-Economic and Gender Assessment of Water and Sanitation Program in Malawi is a part of a global study that has been organised and managed by Regional Water and Sanitation Group in Eastern and Southern Africa in collaboration with World Bank resident missions and sector government agencies. Other countries conducting similar assessments in Zambia, Kenya, Uganda and South Africa.

The purpose of the assessments is to understand issues of poverty, demand responsiveness, gender and participation as they relate to impact and sustainability of Water Supply and Sanitation Programs. Thus, the Malawi assessment follows the global conceptual framework.

The global objectives of the assessments are three:-

6. to assess whether or not demand-responsive and gender and poverty sensitive participation is positively associated with sustained water and sanitation services; and the impact of such services on women and men, rich and poor;
7. to familiarize communities and agencies with self assessment methods using gender and poverty sensitive tools; and
8. to develop, continually refine, and institutionalize the assessment methodology and findings in national, regional and global sector institutions.

The assessment in Malawi was formulated within the global conceptual framework to document lessons and experiences for sharing at global level. However, the outputs from the assessment

would provide baseline data for the preparation of a community managed water and sanitation programme by the Ministry of Water Development. Furthermore, the results would form the basis for the establishment of a data bank in the Ministry. Thus, the global objectives were reviewed in line with the demand created by the national objectives.

2.2 Major Research Issues addressed

The following were key research questions that this assessment attempted to address:-

1. How effective have the services been towards achieving sustainability?
2. How effectively have the services been used towards meeting the requirements of the communities?
3. How demand responsive have the programmes been?
4. How have roles, responsibilities and benefits been shared between men and women; the rich and the poor?
5. What has been the extent of stakeholder participation in planning and management?
6. Are relevant institutions available to support participatory, demand responsive and gender sensitive programme? and
7. What policy environment exists to support participatory, demand responsive and gender sensitive programme?

2.3 The Assessment Districts and Areas

The assessment was conducted in three districts of Malawi, namely Thyolo and Phalombe in the Southern Region and Karonga in the Northern Region. These districts were selected on the basis that:-

1. they have had the water and sanitation programmes established for at least the past three years;
2. they have had some forms of community based management systems and practices in place; and
3. project organizations and the communities were willing to and interested in participating in the assessment.

Table 2.1 gives a list of the communities that were assessed and type of water services that have been established under the programme. It should be noted that though they are referred to as water and sanitation programmes, emphasis has been on water. No specific sanitation facilities have been established for disposal of waste. Hence, the focus of this assessment is mainly on the water component.

Table 2.1: Communities covered in the assessment and type of water facilities

Communities assessed	Type of water facilities introduced	
	Boreholes	Gravity fed (Taps)
Thyolo District		
Bvumbwe	X	
Sandama	X	
Mphuka		X
Phalombe District		
Yuwa	X	
Kaledzera	X	X
Phodogoma	X	
Karonga District		
Mwamtawali	X	
Mwambuli 2	X	
Mwenengolongo		X

Note: X denotes that the programme implemented the facility in question

2.4 Data Collection methodologies

The data collection process involved a mix of methodologies:-

1. Review of policy documents on decentralized development and governance; poverty alleviation; water and sanitation; and gender;
2. Focus group discussions at community level;
3. A survey of selected households using a structured questionnaire;
4. Interviews with key informants at district and community level; and
5. Observation during field visits

Section Three: An Overview of Malawi and the Study Areas

Malawi is a small land locked country in Sub Saharan Africa, bordering with Tanzania in the North, Zambia in the West and Mozambique in the South-East. Administratively, the country is divided into three regions; Northern Region with five districts, Central Region with nine districts and Southern Region with twelve districts.

3.1 Selected Socio economic indicators for Malawi

Malawi is one of the poorest country in the world and has one of the lowest socio economic indicators in the Sub Saharan African region. According to Human Development Report 1998, Malawi lags behind in most socio-economic indicators (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Key socio economic indicators for selected Sub Saharan African Countries, 1998

Indicator	Malawi	Zambia	Mozambique	Tanzania	Zimbabwe
Estimated population (millions), 1995	9.7	8.1	17.3	30.0	11.2
Annual Population Growth (%), 1970-95	3.1	2.7	2.5	3.2	3.1
Real GDP per capita (PPP\$), 1995	773	986	959	636	2,135
Life expectancy at birth (Years), 1995	41.0	42.7	46.3	50.6	48.9
Adult literacy rate (%), 1995	56.4	78.2	40.1	67.8	85.1
Human Development Index (HDI) value, 1995	0.334	0.378	0.281	0.358	0.507
Gender Development Index (GDI) value, 1995	0.325	0.372	0.264	0.354	0.497
Gender Empowerment value, 1995	0.256	0.304	0.430	n a	0.428
Human Poverty Index Value (%), 1995	47.7	36.9	48.5	39.8	25.2
% Population below income poverty line of \$1 a day, 1980-94	42.1	84.6	N a	16.4	41.0
% Population without access to health services, 1990-95	65	25	61	58	15
% Population without access to safe water, 1990-96	63	73	37	62	21
% Population without access to sanitation, 1990-96	94	36	46	14	48

Source: Human Development Report 1998

3.2 An Overview of Thyolo District

Thyolo district is one of the twelve districts in the Southern Region of Malawi. Administratively, the district is divided has seven Traditional Authorities which are Bvumbwe, Nsabwe, Kapichi, Changata, Nchilamwela, and Chimaliro

In 1987, the population of Thyolo was estimated at 431,157 consisting of 48% are males and 52% female (1987 Population and Housing Census). In 1994, GOM/UNDP estimated the population to be 494,820. There were over 105,843 households and 28.2% of these are female headed.

Thyolo is basically an agricultural economy from where over 93% of the population derive their livelihood. The main food crops grown in the district are maize, sorghum, sweet potatoes cassava, bananas. These are the domain of the smallholder agricultural sector. On the other hand, the cash crop economy, essentially run by estates, is characterized by the dominance of tea, coffee, macadamia nuts. However, there is smallholder production of fruits and vegetables.

In terms of social services, the district has three hospitals, six secondary schools, ten distance education centres and one hundred sixty five primary schools. Illiteracy rate for district stands at forty three percent. Out of this figure, sixty six percent are females and thirty four percent are males.

Generally, there is limited access to safe water and proper sanitation in the district. Over seventy percent of the district population use unprotected sources of water. On the other hand, over ninety percent of the population do not have proper sanitation services.

3.3 An Overview of Phalombe District

Again, Phalombe is one of the twelve districts in the Southern Region of Malawi. Until 1998, Phalombe was part of Mulanje district and served as a sub-Boma status. Now it is a full district with its own administrative and development structures just like any other district in the country.

Composed of small trading posts and villages, Phalombe lies from north to south along the western

side of the Mulanje Mountain. It is predominantly a relatively densely populated area with an estimated population of 780,650. Frequently, many villages in Phalombe can not be accessible at all during the rainy season.

The basis of the economy is subsistence farming where maize is grown. However, there is substantial cash cropping especially some rice and tobacco. Poverty in the district chiefly relates to shortage of food as a result of recent natural disasters (avalanche and droughts). Thus, most of the population has been dependant on relief food.

For Phalombe, recent social statistics such as literacy rates, access to water and sanitation in Phalombe are scanty since it was part of Mulanje.

3.4 An Overview of Karonga District

Karonga is one of the five districts in the Northern Region. The district has a population of 148,014 distributed in the three Traditional Authorities (TA) of Kyungu, Wasambo and Kilupula and two Sub-Traditional Authority (STA) Mwakaoko and Mwirang'ombe.

The majority of the population in Karonga depend on agriculture as the main source of livelihood. Food crops grown include rice, maize, cassava and green bananas. The people also grow rice, sweet potatoes, maize and vegetables as cash crops. There is significant cross border trade with the neighbouring Tanzanian districts..

Karonga has a relatively higher literacy rate compared to the other two districts of Thyolo and Phalombe. However, less than sixty five percent have access to water and sanitation.

Section Four: *Organization and development of Water and Sanitation Services In Malawi*

A *dequate water and sanitation services are a prerequisite for sustainable development. However, like in most developing countries, the vast majority of people in Malawi have limited access to safe water and proper sanitation. A recent Malawi Social Indicators Survey (1995) shows that only thirty seven percent of the Malawian population have convenient access to safe drinking water whereas only six percent have access to proper sanitation services.*

4.1 Organization and provision of Water and Sanitation Services in Malawi

Provision of water and sanitation services in Malawi has essentially been the role of government and government bodies. In the two major cities and towns of Malawi, such services are provided at semi-commercial rate. In the case of water, there are Blantyre and Lilongwe Water Boards that provide the services in Blantyre and Lilongwe respectively. Otherwise, the rest of the urban and peri-urban areas are served by Regional Water Boards.

In terms of sanitation services, they are generally provided by City Councils and Town Councils. There are indications that this role will soon be in the hands of the Water Boards and the private sector. The recent developments in Blantyre and Lilongwe, where running of most public toilets has been privatized, show that it is possible to leave the provision of most of the sanitation services in the hands of the private sector. The private sector are able to offer such services effectively, efficiently and at low cost.

Whereas water and sanitation services in the urban and semi urban areas are in the hands of quasi-government bodies, such services particularly water in the rural communities are provided by government, donors such as UNICEF and some NGOs such as Save the Children (UK), World Vision International, Christian Service Committee. They are provided *free* and treated as part of community development.

4.2 Development of Rural Water and Sanitation Services

Government's efforts to improve the water and sanitation services in rural communities of the country are not new. They date back to the colonial period in the 1930s when wells were dug. Such efforts continued in the early days of independence in mid 1960s when boreholes were introduced. Then the major thrust was in mid 1970s when a rural piped water programme of gravity water schemes was introduced (Malawi Social Indicators Survey, 1995).

Initially, the programmes were being implemented by the Ministry responsible for Community Development, financed by donors such as UNICEF, Christian Service Committee of Malawi; United States of America, Canada, Oxfam, Denmark and the African Development Bank. Today, the World Bank and CIDA have promised to fund some new schemes and rehabilitate more (Kleemeier, 1998).

During these periods and even today, the sanitation component has not received as much emphasis as the water component. Sanitation development has been hampered by poor formulation of policy and institutional arrangements. While the water component benefits from existence of policy guidelines, the policy on sanitation does not exist. The situation is complicated by the fact that no single ministry is responsible for sanitation development in the country. Therefore, the need to have one ministry with overall mandate over sanitation development in the country is an urgent need.

4.3 History of Community managed water and sanitation programmes

The experiences of 1960s showed that facilities provided by government at the exclusion of local participation were not sustainable. Thus, the programmes that followed from 1970s incorporated aspects of participation. However, there is little explicit evidence to show that the programmes have been demand and poverty responsive and gender sensitive. Neither has the question of sustainability in terms of local financing for repairs and maintenance been seriously addressed.

Thus, the Malawi Rural Piped Water and Sanitation Programme provides lessons and experiences in the areas of demand and poverty responsiveness, participation, gender and sustainability. These should provide challenges to government and other stakeholders for future programmes.

This study report attempts to outline these issues based on the findings from nine communities in the three districts.

Section Five: *Poverty issues in water and sanitation programmes*

While poverty is pervasive and widespread in Malawi, its definition and classification of who the poor and the rich are vary from area to area. While most of the studies (World Bank, 1995) have defined and classified poverty at household level, this assessment goes a step ahead to give a functional definition of poverty from a community perspective..

5.1 Definition of poverty

In the areas studied, poverty assessment was done at two levels. Firstly, the communities defined poverty and categorized the population according to their own definition. Secondly, selected households were surveyed and asked to classify themselves according to poverty status, based on major assets owned, food security and sources of income.

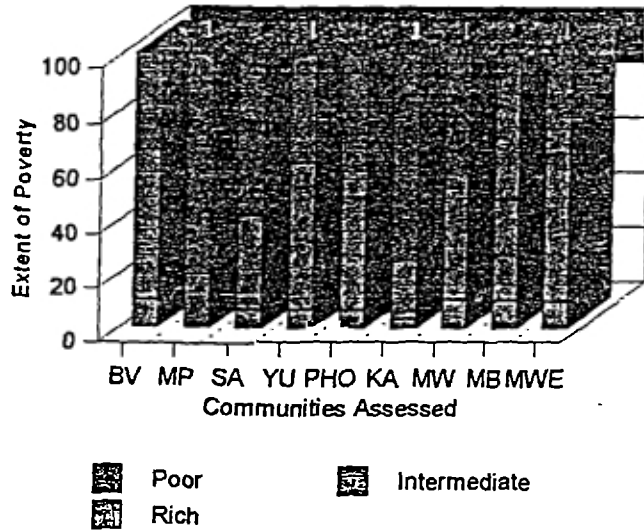
According to the assessment results, community definition of poverty involves subjective wealth ranking in terms of housing, asset ownership, livestock ownership, food security and whether or not one runs a business that a household has (Table 5.1). In simple terms, community definition of poverty incorporates to a larger extent, the deprivation of basic needs.

Communities were also said to be poor if they have limited access to such services as health services and transport infrastructure such as roads and transport facilities. Using this definition, one can conclusively say that all the communities that were surveyed in Phalombe qualify to be poor. In Thyolo, Mphuka and Sandama can be said to be poor while Bvumbwe is intermediate. Generally communities surveyed in Karonga are in the intermediate category.

Table 5.1: District Comparisons of definition and attributes of poverty

Comparative District Indicators	Definition and attributes of poverty		
	Rich	Intermediate	Poor
Thyolo District			
Quality and type of house	Burnt bricks with iron roof	Unburnt bricks with grass thatched roof	Wattle or mud walled with grass thatched roof
Main Assets owned	Car, Ox wagon, Double deck hi-fi system	Motorcycle, Bicycle Single deck hi-fi system	No tangible assets
Livestock owned	Cattle, goats poultry	Fewer goats and poultry	No livestock owned
Food security and type of food	Enough food throughout the year; Always takes tea with milk; Usually have meat/fish/eggs in the diet	Enough food to last up to February; Usually takes tea without milk. Occasionally have meat/fish/eggs in the diet	Food last around August every year; Rarely take tea and meat/fish/eggs
Business	Run viable business throughout the year	Run seasonal business	Do not run any business, No capital and cannot access credit
Phalombe District			
Quality and type of house	Burnt brick walled Iron roofed	Unburnt brick wall thatched	Grass/mud wall and thatched
Main Assets owned	Car, Motorcycle; Bicycle	Bicycle, Some small furniture	None
Livestock owned	Cattle; Goats, Poultry	Fewer goats, Poultry	None
Food security (availability of maize)	Adequate maize for food throughout the year; Can sell some	Maize to last up to August or September	Maize consumed while in the garden and does not harvest. Survive on hired labour; Near landlessness
Business or income generating capacity	Viable throughout the year Has a grocery	Seasonal business	Cannot afford credit; No collateral; Depend on casual labour
Use of fertilizer	Able to buy adequate and use it in the field	Able to buy some fertilizer	Cannot afford fertilizer.
Participation in development activities	Low	Medium, attends community meetings	High, Attends community meetings.
Access to water and sanitation facilities	Boreholes; Unprotected shallow wells, streams, toilet bathroom, drying rack and rubbish pit	Boreholes, springs, streams, toilet, bathroom, drying rack and rubbish pit	Borehole, springs, streams.
Keronga District			
Type of house	Iron sheet with cement floor burnt brick	Burnt or unburnt bricks with no thatch and doors	Bamboo reeds or grass built with grass thatch
Livestock	Cattle (including oxen, pigs)	Some poultry, pigs	Some poultry
Food security and type of food	Enough food to reach next season	Enough food to last up to November; Relies on ganyu/barter	Food last up to July/ August; Survives on ganyu/barter
Household assets	Plough, oxen, radio, bicycle viable business	Bicycle, small radio	negligible
Major water sources	River, Taps, Unprotected shallow wells	River, Taps, Unprotected shallow wells	River, Taps, Unprotected shallow wells
Sanitation	No permanent toilets	No permanent toilets	No permanent toilets

Figure 5.1 : Classification of households according to poverty groups in the communities surveyed



Thyolo

BV - Bvumbwe
 MP - Mphuka
 SA - Sandama

Phalombe

YU - Yuwa
 PHO - Phodogolo
 KA - Kaledzera

Karonga

MW - Mwamtawali
 MB - Mwambuli
 MWE - Mwenengolongo

Based on the household survey results (Figure 5.1), relatively more poor than rich households were in Mphuka in Thyolo and Kaledzera in Phalombe. Mwambuli and Mwamtawali communities in Karonga, Yuwa in Phalombe and Bvumbwe in Thyolo could be said to contain more intermediate than rich and poor households. On the other hand, the proportion of households reported to be rich is almost the same in all the communities surveyed. The exception is Mphuka community where, according to the household survey findings, no household was rich.

5.2 Gender dimension of poverty in the communities surveyed

5.2.1 Distribution of heads of the household in the survey

Figure 5.2: Community distribution of respondents by gender

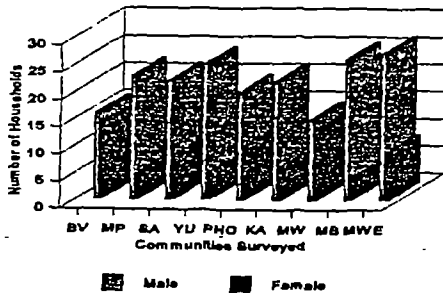
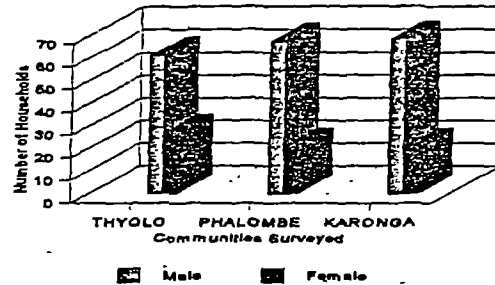


Figure 5.3: District distribution of respondents



Thyolo

BV - Bvumbwe

MP - Mphuka

SA - Sandama

Phalombe

YU - Yuwa

PHO- Phodogolo

KA- Kaledzera

Karonga

MW - Mwamtawali

MB - Mwambuli

MWE - Mwenengolongo .

Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3 give a distribution of households surveyed on the basis of whether they are headed by men or women. However, the respondents who were basically females since issues of water and sanitation affect women more than they affect men.

District level analysis of the results have shown that in general, the households are headed more by men than by women. However, community level analysis provides variable results. In Bvumbwe community and Mwambuli communities, out of the households surveyed, almost half were headed by women. Otherwise, in the rest of the communities, women headship of a household varied from five to 40%. These household level results differ slightly from the focus group discussion results in which Sandama was said to consists of more women than men since men have left for better opportunities elsewhere, outside the communities.

5.5.2 Poverty as a gender issue

Results from both the focus group discussions and a survey of selected households revealed that poverty in the communities is a gender issue. Generally more women than men are poor; men are otherwise generally either rich or intermediate. However, the results (Table 5.2) should be interpreted with care.

Table 5.2: Categorization of poverty groups by sex of head of households

Communities assessed	Poverty Classification by gender (%)											
	Community's own assessment (Focus group discussion)						Individual's own assessment (Household Survey)					
	Rich		Intermediate		Poor		Rich		Intermediate		Poor	
	M	F	M	F	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH
Thyolo District												
Bvumbwe	20	0	20	10	20	30	13	7	47	64	40	29
Sandama	0	3	5	5	45	42	5	13	33	38	62	50
Mphuka	10		0		90		0	0	20	20	80	80
Phalombe District												
Yuwa	0		20		80		8	0	54	50	38	50
Kaledzera	15		30		55		0	17	23	17	77	67
Phodogoma	5	0	7	3	35	50	5	10	63	20	32	70
Karonga District												
Mwamtawali	20	5	22	28	12	12	20	0	47	46	33	54
Mwambuli 2 2	10	0	10	10			4	67	81	33	15	0
Mwenengolongo	3	0	7	3	60	27	12	0	65	50	23	50

The focus group discussion results should be interpreted as follows:-

In Bvumbwe community, 20% of the population are rich men, no woman is rich. 20% of the population are men and 10% are women who are intermediate. On the other hand, 20 of the population are poor men and 30% of the population are poor women.

On the contrary, the household survey results should be interpreted as follows:-

Out of the male headed households interviewed in Bvumbwe, 13% were rich, 47% were intermediate and 40% were poor. On the other hand, out of the female headed households interviewed in Bvumbwe, 7% were rich, 64% were intermediate and 29% were poor.

While the situation in Thyolo in general portrays the picture that the majority of the poor are women, in Sandama the picture is slightly different. Some women were said to be rich. The ratio between the male poor and the female poor is almost the same. The unique demographic feature of this community is that there are more women than men. Men have left the community in search of employment elsewhere. Thus, Sandama results imply that generally more women than men are rich or intermediate.

5.3 Employment opportunities and its impact on poverty

While farming is a major occupation in all the communities, generally, more men than women are advantaged because they are engaged in more lucrative activities. On the contrary, women by tradition conduct home based and less lucrative petty activities (Maliro, 1997). The focus group discussion revealed that men are engaged in work such as constructing and brick making or they travel long distances to seek better employment opportunities. These income generating initiatives are, by culture, limited to men. Thus, they are likely to be relatively less poor than the women.

Introduction of credit and viable businesses for women in the communities is likely to ameliorate their problems and bring about empowerment.

Household survey results presented in Table 5.3 supports the above that majority of women in all the three districts depend on farming as the major occupation and source of income. On the other hand, men dominate the formal employment and business.

Table 5.3 : Categorization of the households surveyed according to major occupation

Communities Assessed	Classification of households according to major occupation (%)					
	Farming		Formal Employment		Business	
	Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed	Male headed	Female headed
Thyolo District						
Bvumbwe	63	77	13	8	6	3
Sandama	86	37	0	0	9	38
Mphuka	70	80	4	4	26	20
Phalombe District						
Yuwa	88	100	4	0	8	0
Kaledzera	86	83	4	0	0	17
Phodogoma	74	56	5	0	5	33
Karonga District						
Mwamtawali	43	25	14	0	43	68
Mwambull 2 2	60	0	5	25	35	75
Mwenengolongongo	89	75	0	0	12	25

5.3 Education and implications for poverty

The data in Table 5.4 confirm that fact that literacy level is a gender issue and is community based. In the southern districts of Thyolo and Phalombe, it is women who lag behind in terms of education. However, the situation is different in the northern district of Karonga where the proportion of both men and women who can read and write is almost the same.

Table 5.4: Highest education attained by the heads of the households surveyed.

Communities Assessed	Level of education attained (%)									
	None		Adult literacy classes		Up to standard 5		Up to standard 8		Secondary level	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Thyolo District										
Bvumbwe	6	14	6	0	69	36	19	43	0	7
Sandama	18	37	5	13	46	38	27	13	5	0
Mphuka	43	60	39	0	13	0	0	0	0	0
Phalombe District										
Yuwa	17	60	13	0	50	20	21	20	0	0
Kaledzera	41	50	0	17	36	17	23	0	16	4
Phodogoma	11	60	53	20	37	20	0	0	0	0
Karonga District										
Mwamtawali	0	0	0	0	7	23	60	62	33	15
Mwambuli 2 2	4	0	0	0	27	9	46	75	23	25
Mwenengolongo	26	25	7	0	11	0	30	75	22	0

It is particularly interesting to note that while in Thyolo and Phalombe, the proportion that can not read and write is higher, the reverse is true for Karonga. There is a higher proportion that can read and write than the proportion that can not read and write. Some even attained secondary education. Only one respondent in Mwenengolongo attained university education. The exception is Mwenengolongo community where up to 25% of both men and women can not read and write

5.4 Poverty and household headship

Table 5.5: Marital status of the heads of households surveyed.

Communities Assessed	Marital status of the household heads (%)							
	Married		Widowed		Divorced/Separated		Never married before	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Thyolo District								
Bvumbwe	94	29	0	36	6	36	0	0
Sandama	95	12	0	38	5	50	0	0
Mphuka	91	0	4	40	0	60	4	0
Phalombe District								
Yuwa	100	20	0	20	0	60	0	0
Kaledzera	96	17	4	50	0	33	0	0
Phodogoma	100	0	0	60	0	40	0	0
Karonga District								
Mwamtawali	93	15	7	77	0	8	0	0
Mwambuli 2 2	92	25	0	25	0	25	8	25
Mwenengolongo	89	25	7	50	4	25	0	0

Most research conducted in Malawi show that poverty is a gender issue and is directly related to the sex of a household head. It is female headed households that are likely to be poor. Up to thirty percent of the households are headed by women.(World Bank, 1996). The proportion of female headed households is increasing. Mostly, single headed households are generally concentrated in the southern region, in districts such as Thyolo and Phalombe as opposed to northern districts such as Karonga.

The results in Table 5.5, while confirming that most of the single headed households are those run by women, seem to suggest that single headship of a household by men is also an emerging gender issue. The only contrast is that these households may not be as poor as those run by the female heads. In both cases, the main factors for single headship are divorce/separation or being widowed. However, these factors seem to affect women more than men.

5.5 Poverty in water and sanitation development: emerging issues

These results seem to advance the idea that provision of water and sanitation services alone can not improve the poverty status of any community. Complimentary services such as health facilities, good roads and schools are a prerequisites and gainful employment. These should be conceived simultaneously or in relation to each other as water and sanitation programmes are being formulated.

Section Six: Effective use of the water and sanitation services

Effective use of the facilities in the communities was assessed in terms of the proportion and category of the population using the available safe water services and the resultant improvement in family welfare. It was found that these are grossly inadequate and most of them are out of order. Thus, households resort to unsafe sources.

6.1 Sources and uses of safe water facilities

Generally, there is little utilization of safe water in almost all the communities surveyed. As depicted in Table 6.1, none of the households surveyed in Mphuka and Sandama in Thyolo reported to be utilizing water from a borehole, a tap or a mere protected shallow wells. The explanation has to do with the absence of the facilities nearby and where they are provided, the facilities are not operational. In Mphuka, all the twenty taps were reported not working whereas in Yuwa community, all the eleven boreholes were reported to have been sealed off sometime back.

Table 6.1: Distribution of Households by major sources of water in the communities

Major sources of water	Thyolo				Phalombe				Karonga			
	Bvumbwe	Mphuka	Sandama	Total	Yuwa	Phodo goma	Kale dzera	Total	Mwamta wali	Mwambuli 2	Mwenen gotongo	Total
Borehole only	27	0	0	10	30	14	0	15	48	100	0	50
Taps only	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.7	0	0	1
Protected shallow wells	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.4	1
Borehole and Protected shallow well	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
Taps and boreholes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	9
Borehole, Taps and Protected Shallow well	0	0	0	0	0	0	86	28	0	0	0	0

6.2 Population coverage of water facilities

Without considering whether or not the facilities are located far away or they are not operational, the facilities installed are not adequate. From Table 6.2, it can be deduced that the population to facility ratio is very high, implying gaps in access to safe drinking water. The number and distribution of the facilities are limited in all the three districts.

Consequently, the communities use unsafe sources of water, namely streams/ivers and springs/unprotected shallow wells. Hence, they are at risk of outbreak of water borne diseases which this year has been a problem especially in Phalombe and Karonga.

Table 6.2: Population Coverage of the facilities installed

Communities	Population coverage	Type of water facilities introduced	
		Boreholes	Gravity fed (Taps)
Thyolo District			
Bvumbwe	693	7	na
Sandama	27,432	16	na
Mphuka	21,000	na	20
Phalombe District			
Yuwa	726	11	na
Kaledzera	793	2	3
Phodogoma	1,466	6	na
Karonga District			
Mwamtawali	DK	6	na
Mwambuli 2 2	1,200	3	na
Mwenengolongo	2,000	na	5

Note:

1 na denotes that such facilities are not available in the community

- 2 *DK denotes that the communities do not know the figures*
 3 *** denotes that all the installed facilities are not working*

6.3 Utilization of the facilities by the poverty groups

According to the focus group discussions and where the facilities are operational, both the rich and the poor have equal access (Table 6.3). The water is used for such purposes such as drinking, cooking, washing, bathing and construction.

However, community discussions indicated that the rich use more water because they have more activities require use of water and also they have more water storage facilities. Despite that it is the rich who benefit more, more poor households were reported to have actively participated in the construction by providing labour. The rich, however, provided financial contributions since they were said not to be available to provide labour.

Table 6.3: Type of water facilities available

Communities Surveyed	Access to safe drinking water facilities available (%)					
	Boreholes			Gravity fed (Taps)		
	Rich	Intermediate	Poor	Rich	Intermediate	Poor
Thyolo District						
Bvumbwe	100	88	90			
Sandama	100	90	70			
Mphuka				0	20	5
Phalombe District						
Yuwa	100	100	100			
Kaledzera	0	0	100			
Phodogoma	50	86	85			

Communities Surveyed	Access to safe drinking water facilities available (%)					
Karonga District						
Mwamtawali	33	69	92			
Mwambuli 2 2	100	100	100			
Mwenengolongo				33	12	25

6.4 Access by gender

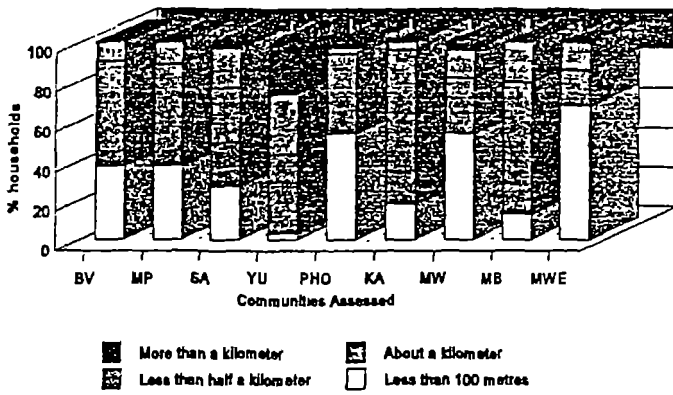
Both male headed and female headed households have access to the facilities. The introduction of the facilities has reduced burden of carrying water long distances by women since drawing water is regarded as women's responsibility. Communities in Karonga also thought that the availability of the facilities closer to the households has also reduced the suspicion that most men had, that their wives were having affairs.

6.5 Accessibility, adequacy and reliability of the water supply

6.5.1 Accessibility to the safe water facilities

Generally, the water facilities are located within half a kilometer, according to the households surveyed and results presented in Figure 6.1. The limiting element was when the facilities for safe water were not functional as was the case with most of the communities assessed.

Figure 6.1: Accessibility to safe water facilities



6.5.2 Waiting time at a water point

In the communities studied in Thyolo, households reported that there was no more waiting at a water point before drawing water. Within thirty minutes, they would draw the water. In Phalombe, households in Phodogoma and Kaledzera do not have to wait for more than thirty minutes whereas in Yuwa community, households reported to be waiting for an hour or more before they draw the water. In Karonga, almost half the households can draw water within thirty minutes whereas the other had reported to be waiting for an hour or more.

The presence and use of the facilities have had advantages. Before the installation of the water facilities, women were traveling long distances to fetch water. In addition, they had to wait for long hours to draw water from a shallow well. This process of traveling long distance and waiting for too long caused misconception as some husbands especially in Karonga were suspicious that their wives were having affairs.

Table 6.4: Waiting at a water point by households

Indicator of accessibility and adequacy of water supply	Thyolo			Phalombe			Karonga		
	Bvumbwe	Mphuka	Sandama	Yuwa	Phodogoma	Kaledzera	Mwamtawal	Mwambuli 2	Mwenengolongo
Households according to waiting time at water point (%)									
No waiting	70	84	80	7	77	57	30	17	48
Less than 30 minutes	20	18	20	10	20	25	28	43	18
About an hour	7	19	0	27	3	18	30	37	19
More than one hour	3	0	0	57	0	0	15	3	16
Average number of pails drawn per day (Number)	4.9	3.9	4.0	3.1	4.2	3.3	6.8	4.5	4.6
Households that felt the water drawn per day was adequate (%)	90	93	97	67	87	96	89	76	77

However, these results seem to be contradictory in the sense that assessment shows that the communities are under provided. In most of the communities, the available facilities can not adequately service the population. In Karonga, observation showed that households had to wait for long hours for water to start coming out again.

Asked about the adequacy of water that they draw, except in Yuwa community, most of the households surveyed felt that the water they were drawing was adequate for their household use. And on average, a household required and draw three to four pails of water a day.

Section Seven: Demand and gender responsiveness and participation

Demand responsiveness in a programme is assessed by the extent to which users contributed towards initiation, management and maintenance of the facilities. This assessment shows that participation, though of different nature, has always been there. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the services were demand and gender responsive and genuine participation. The system of project planning and management at that time did not make deliberate effort to provide avenues for demand, poverty and gender responsiveness and genuine participation

7.1 Demand -Responsiveness and gender

In general, the demand for the services never originated from the users. Instead, the project ideas were brought to the communities from outside. If the idea was from the community, then it was the traditional or the political leader who would speak to higher authorities, presumably on behalf of the communities.

The reason is that the concept of bottom up approach development is relatively new and has not very well been formalised in the communities in Malawi. Before 1993, top down development approach was in place and followed by almost all development players. Thus, communities had little influence on what type of the technology should be installed, where they should be installed, how and when they should be installed and why such communities should contribute and manage the facilities.

This approach excluded the communities at initiation and planning stages of the programmes which are very critical in shaping various issues of responsiveness that affect equality of impact and sustainability of the services. The community based committees that were there were merely to rubber stamp what was planned, agreed and decided from outside the communities. The process overlooked the needs of the poor and women.

However, participatory development and decentralised governance has been formalised in the decentralisation policy. It provides a framework for demand responsive development. This demand responsiveness should include issues of poverty, gender and participation originating from the communities. Effectively applied, the new framework should properly mainstream these development concerns. What is required is to sensitise the communities to take advantage of the new development focus and conceptualise on the services and facilities that they require. Unless users especially women and the poor are consulted in the process, the programmes will fall short of meeting strategic gender, poverty and participation needs of the communities.

7.2 Extent of Community participation in planning and management

7.2.1 Historical perspective of community participation in Malawi

Whereas gender, poverty and demand responsiveness in community development are new concepts in Malawi, participation in the establishment of the programmes is not new. What is different is the nature of participation that exists today where communities have a choice to participate or not. Before 1992, it was imperative that communities participate, in most cases by providing labour.

The World Bank Participation Source Book 1995 defines participation as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them. Thus, while researchers such as Kleemeier (1998) paint a rosy picture that the Malawi Piped Water Scheme is a best example of participatory and demand responsive approach, there are doubts as to whether or not it was popular participation and demand.

What used to happen is that public meetings would be held in the communities with traditional and political leaders. Communities would agree to provide labour for maintenance. A project committee would be formed among the communities to oversee the facilities. This process has mistakenly taken to imply participation.

Within the framework of participatory development and good governance, participation implies a situation in which communities and individuals are willing to contribute, in whatever form, towards the services that they consider to be of benefit to them as communities or individuals. Thus, such services are likely to be sustained by the communities themselves without looking out to government, NGOs or donors for assistance. This has not been the case in Malawi. This failure by communities to maintain and repair their own facilities might explain why, according to Malawi Social Indicators Survey (1995), over 30% of the water facilities installed under the programme were out of order due to breakdowns. Community repairs and maintenance could be done effectively where popular and genuine participation concept exists.

7.2.3 Community Contribution during construction of the services

Findings summarized in Table 7.1 shows that most households (over 80%) in the communities contributed either money, labour or materials during construction. The primary contribution was labour. Money and materials were contributed mostly by households that were not able to provide labour input. While the majority of the households surveyed felt that the contributions were voluntary, a significant proportion (about 20%) reported that it was not voluntary. The system in place at that time compelled the households, rich or poor, male headed or female headed, to contribute.

Table 7.1: Households' contributions towards construction

Contribution towards construction	Thyolo			Phalombe			Karonga		
	Bvumbwe	Mphuka	Sandama	Yuwa	Phodogoma	Kaledzera	Mwamtawal	Mwambuli 2	Mwenengolongo
Households that contributed towards construction (%)	82	86	70	86	85	81	88	79	78
Type of contribution									
Unskilled labour	73	85	74	78	54	76	81	88	79
Money	5	0	0	16	0	0	0	4	0
Households that felt the contributions were voluntary	88	87	90	86	71	100	87	100	83

Contribution towards construction	Thyolo			Phalombe			Karonga		
Households willing to contribute towards construction of future facilities	100	50	89	100	100	100	100	100	100
Nature of contribution households willing to make									
Money	0	100	13	0	14	50	25	50	0
Materials	0	0	13	25	6	0	0	0	0
Labour	0	0	25	0	0	33	0	0	13
Money and labour	63	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	25
Money, labour, materials	37	0	49	75	72	12	75	50	62

Asked whether or not they would contribute towards construction in future programmes, most of the households (over 75%) expressed willingness to contribute either labour, money, materials or a mix. The exception is Mphuka community where only fifty percent expressed willingness.

From gender perspective, it is generally more women than men who made contributions especially labour towards construction and pledged their willingness to contribute in future (Figures 7.1 and 7.2 above). The explanation may be because more women than men appreciate the importance of having water facilities within their proximity. Thus, they see the need to contribute since availability of such facilities would reduce their water drawing burdens.

Figure 7.1: Gender participation towards construction

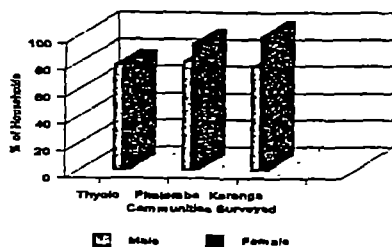


Figure 7.2 Willingness to contribute Towards future programmes

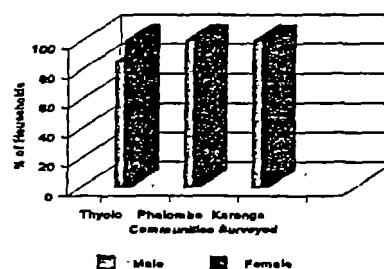


Figure 7.3: Contribution towards construction by poverty groups

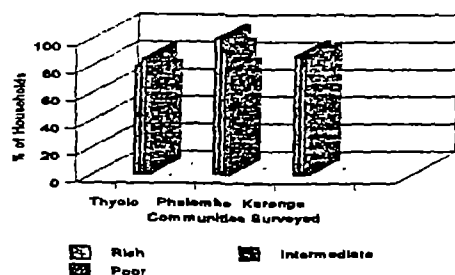
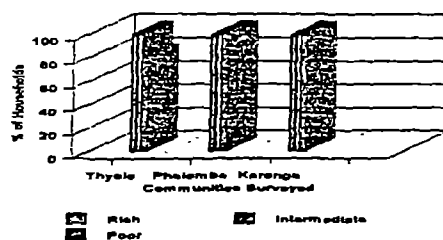


Figure 7.4: Willingness to contribute



According to Figure 7.3, it is more of those that were said to be intermediate in Thyolo that contributed than the rich and the poor. In Phalombe more rich households than intermediate and poor reported to have made contributions. On the other hand, the proportion of the rich and the poor that made contributions is almost the same.

In terms of willingness to contribute towards future construction, almost all groups expressed that they would be willing. The exception was Thyolo where some 20% indicated that they would not be willing to participate. May be they have been disappointed with performance of past programmes or they still have the misconception that in the democratic environment, one could choose not to contribute.

7.2.4 Community Contribution during repairs and maintenance of the facilities

While there was more community contribution during construction, there is relatively less during repairs and maintenance. Likewise, more households were willing to contribute towards construction of future facilities and not repairs and maintenance. This attitude explains why the communities are

not willing to service the facilities that are currently unoperational.

Table 7.4: Willingness of households to contribute towards maintenance and repairs

Extent and willingness to contribute towards	Thyolo	Phalombe	Karonga
% of Households that reported to be contributing	61	81	91
Male headed households	62	79	89
Female headed households	58	88	100
Rich	60	60	75
Intermediate	70	62	85
Poor	51	81	83
Nature of contribution by households (%)			
Those that provided Labour	47	11	4
Those that contributed Money	47	88	89
% Households willing to contribute in repairs and maintenance in future	93	100	90
Rich households	100	100	0
Intermediate households	100	100	100
Poor households	88	100	100
Male headed households	88	79	90
Female headed households	100	88	0

7.3 Effective financing

In almost all the communities assessed, there is no evidence of a well coordinated long-term financing mechanism for the operations and maintenance of these facilities. While user committees exist, they see no tangible benefit from the scheme as such it is difficult for a financing mechanism

to be put in place. Financing for O&M is done on ad hoc basis. The level of contribution is determined by the cost of spare parts required. The only exception is Mwambuli 2 community where a well defined maintenance fund is functional. The Water Point Committee ensures that there is always money for maintenance.

Section Eight: *Division of labour, responsibilities and benefits*

E conventionally, the assessment of division of roles, labour and responsibilities should centre around the extent of relative economic and management participation between by men and women; the rich and the poor. Hence, this study attempted to assess these indicators.

8.1 Division of roles and responsibilities

Through the process of scoring, the community in Karonga indicated the extent to which men, women, boys and girls were involved. The results are shown in Table 9.1

Table 8.1: Project Cycle Involvement Scoring- a case of Kārōnga

Project stages	Relative participation			
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Initiation	0	0	0	0
Planning	0	0	0	0
Implementation	6	4	0	0
Maintenance	3	5	1	1

The community was not involved at the initiation and planning stages of the gravity fed scheme and borehole programme. However, at the programme implementation level, records show that the people participated in provision of unskilled labour like trench digging and preparing access roads to the intakes. Whereas skilled labour in surveying, marking and determination of intake site was done by the project staff. The same pattern was observed in Thyolo and Phalombe.

8.2 Division of burden during project work

The findings suggest that both men and women contributed unskilled labour towards construction. But in terms of repairs and maintenance, it is more men than women who contribute money. The reason could be because relatively more women than men are poor. It is not a question of unwillingness to contribute on the part of women.

8.3 Division of burdens in the homes

8.3.1 Household sizes

Table 8.2 gives average household size. Generally, the households are large, more than six members regardless of whether or not the household is male headed or female headed.

Table 8.2 Average household size by age groups

Community	Male Adults	Female Adults	Male Youth	Female Youth	Male Children	Female Children
Bvumbwe	1.35	1.37	2.0	1.85	1.6	1.94
Mphuka	1.0	1.16	2.0	1.25	1.13	1.30
Sandama	1.05	1.04	1.85	1.71	1.55	2.0
Yuwa	1.2	1.09	1.75	1.4	1.95	1.64
Phodogoma	1.0	1.17	1.83	2.0	2.5	2.25
Kaledzera	1.0	1.0	1.6	3.0	1.73	1.58
Mwamtawali	1.4	1.68	1.37	1.33	1.69	1.69
Mwambuli	1.24	1.05	1.33	1.54	1.17	1.4
Mwenengolongo	1.04	1.28	2.25	1.18	1.94	1.94

Male headed as well as female headed households have almost same pattern of household size as shown in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3: Average household size by gender of household head.

Community	Male Adults	Female Adults	Male Youth	Female Youth	Male Children	Female Children
Bvumbwe						
Male headed household	1.05	1.15	1.92	1.12	1.53	1.76
Female headed household	1.5	1.32	2.0	2.1	1.3	1.83
Phalombe						
Male headed household	1.08	1.0	1.8	1.72	1.97	1.87
Female headed household	1.0	1.38	1.6	2.0	2.0	1.92
Karonga						
Male headed household	1.18	1.26	1.77	1.33	1.5	1.82
Female headed household	1.5	1.64	1.28	1.4	1.9	1.09

8.3.2 Intra-household division of burden and use of services

In terms of water collection, it is generally females that collect the water. However, all members of the households use the water. Similarly, there little division in terms of use of facilities such as toilets and bath rooms. All age groups and both sexes use them equally. However, the role of cleaning them is essentially left to women, youth and children.

Section Nine: *Institutional Arrangements for water and sanitation services*

While the effectiveness of the institutions vary from one district to another, there are well established district and community institutions that operate and could be effectively utilized in water and sanitation programmes. These institutions were introduced during the fifth county programme of the government with support from UNDP. The institutions have been formalized with the decentralization policy. These structures exist in Thyolo and Phalombe and only lower level structures exist in Karonga.

9.1 District Structures

The two structures of operate at district level. These are District Development Committee (DDC) and the District Executive Committee (DEC). These district structures are established to support demand responsive participatory approaches because projects which are approved at this level come from the grassroots after gaps have been identified. However, there was a general concern that provision of WAS sometimes take a different approach mainly in terms of where to locate such facilities. In a number of incidences, top-down approaches have been used basically because politicians interfere by deciding the location for political gains and not where the community want. In such moments, demand responsiveness approaches, though useful, have been frustrated.

9.1.1 District Development Committee

The DDC works as a policy guiding body for the district. It ensures that district projects and programmes are consistent with policy and hence it approves programmes and projects which originate from the community.

Membership includes the District Commissioner (DC) who is also the chairperson by default, all

Members of Parliament (MP) in the district, representative from political parties, Chiefs (TA) and the private sector.

9.1.2 District Executive Committee (DEC)

The DEC works as the *technical arm of the DDC at the district*. Membership is composed of the District Development Officer (DDO) who is chairperson, representatives from all governmental sectors /departments and Non- Governmental Organization (NGOs). The DEC assists communities to initiate programmes. DEC appraises the proposals and recommends to DDC for approval.

Membership to these two structures is already determined because those who are in certain positions are members by default. It is difficult to make a deliberate effort to be gender sensitive regarding portfolios within the committee.

9.2 Area level institutions

At traditional authority level, there exists the Area Development Committee (ADC) which works just like the DDC at the district level. The Chairperson for the ADC is the TA who is also a member of DDC and membership is from all village headmen/women, members of parliament and religious leaders.

The technical arm to the ADC is the Area Executive Committee (AEC). This is not well established in most communities. The AEC is meant to recommend projects from the community level to the DEC through the ADC. The chairperson is elected among the extension workers. Membership includes all extension workers in the area.

9.3 Structures at village level

At village level, there is the Village Development Committee (VDC). This is basically where projects

are originated and coordinated as gaps get identified by the community. Membership to the VDC includes the Group Village Headman (GVH) who is the Chairperson of this body, all Village Heads and religious leaders

9.4 Structures at the Grassroots Level

At programme level, there is the Water Point Committee (WPC). It is responsible for the water point by ensure that it is in an expected working condition. This is done by mobilizing the community to make contributions to finance the operations of the water facility. The WPC decides in consultations with the community how much each member of the community should pay as contributions towards repairs and maintenance. It also decides on the time schedules for drawing water. In addition to these responsibilities, the committee makes requests to appropriate authorities for additional boreholes because of the current population increases. The community elects the people to be in the committee, and they also have the mandate to dissolve it if it is not performing. Other structures such as Village Health Committee were not present in most of the communities.

9.5 Effectiveness of the structures

It was observed that there was lack of coordination between the structures. While mechanisms are there for coordination, power relations limit the extent to which effective coordination is formalized.

The other concern is the issue of gender representation. At the district and area levels, there is little representation and participation of women, implicitly by design since the process of filling the positions do not favour women. For instance, members of DEC are generally heads of government departments. Very few women qualify. Where women are represented, they get allocated such roles as secretaries, who have no much voice.

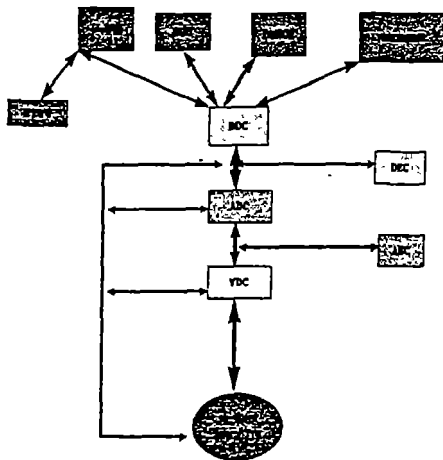
At community level, the basis for appointment is education. And by default, more women than men are illiterate. Thus men fill almost all influential positions in Water Point Committees. They make, on behalf of the women, decisions that affect women instead of consulting them.

9.6 Proposed institutional framework for future water and sanitation programmes in Malawi.

In the planning and management of future programmes, government would like to promote stakeholder participation. In the area of water and sanitation, there is proposal to strengthen the utilization of the existing district and community structures, thereby promoting decentralized development and responsiveness. The framework also places strong emphasis on joint participation and responsibility with communities, government, private sector, NGOs and donors in order to promote sustainability.

The proposed institutional framework is as given in Figure 9.1

Figure 9.1: National Organization Structure for Water and Sanitation Programme



Section Ten: Government Policy environment and Implications for Water and Sanitation Programmes

The centrepiece of the agenda for the development of Malawi is poverty alleviation. The 1995 Policy Framework for the Poverty Alleviation Programme has stated very strongly that poverty alleviation is the operative development philosophy of Malawi. Thus, all other sectoral policies are formulated and implemented within the framework of the poverty alleviation policy.

10.1 The Poverty Alleviation Policy

Since 1994, the Poverty alleviation Programme has been one major economic and social principle which guides national development policy in Malawi. The Poverty alleviation Policy has four major goals:-

1. to raise the productivity of the poor;
2. to promote sustainable poverty reduction;
3. to enhance participation of the poor in the socio-economic development process so as to raise and uphold individual and community self esteem; and
4. to increase income and employment opportunities for the poor.

The principles of poverty alleviation programme entail that the poor and most disadvantaged groups, including women, should be empowered to improve their well being thereby playing a vital role in national development.

10.2 The Participatory Development and decentralized governance

A central feature of the poverty alleviation programme is that the development strategy for Malawi should be people centred. Such a focus dates back to 1992 when the need for good governance was felt in this country. Thus, responding to the need for promoting demand responsiveness and

participation, there has been a reorientation of national development policy emphasis towards decentralization. In November 1993, government formalized decentralization by establishing the District Focus for Development Policy. Consequently, a National Decentralization Policy was drafted and incorporated into the Local Government Bill in 1997.

Conventionally, decentralization takes two forms, namely devolution and decocentration which Malawi has been applied selected aspects. Through the District Focus efforts were made to devolve decision making authority and financial control over development funds to the district level.

Whatever the form, the ultimate goal of decentralization policy in Malawi is to ensure that decision making on development programmes and control of resources for such programmes is at district and community level. Such initiatives would promote demand responsiveness, participation and empowerment in decision making on development programme matters.

Thus, district and community based development planning and management is being promoted. Structures and support services such as the District Executive Committees (DEC), Area Development Committees (ADC) and District Development Fund (DDF) have been established for such a purpose. Until the decentralization policy comes into full force, it is too early to expect much progress from the district and community level structures and support services in the area of water and sanitation programmes since most control seem still to rest at national level.

However, these district and community structures have proved to be effectively used in the planning and management of development programmes such as those by under Malawi Social Action Fund and the European Union Micro projects. Hence, it should be possible to fully utilized them in the planning and management of water and sanitation programmes.

10.3 The National Gender Policy

Malawi has signed and ratified a number of human rights and women conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and

the recent Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. Furthermore, a number of national strategies to address gender issues have been developed and adopted. The most recent gender strategy is the National Platform For Action whose implementation of the four key priority areas of Poverty alleviation and empowerment; the Girl child; Violence against women; and Peace require collaborative efforts of all stakeholders.

The concept gender as a development issue is relatively new in Malawi and is being coined from the Women in Development (WID) strategy which government adopted in and has been using since 1993 as a guide to addressing women's concerns in the development process. Mainstreaming gender issues in the development process is an emerging issue of the late 1990s. Thus, there has been no national gender policy to guide the development process until July 1998 when a draft policy was developed. This initiative followed an earlier initiative by the United Nations System in Malawi who jointly developed a UN Gender Policy in 1996 to guide their operations.

Although the national gender policy has not yet been formalized, the presence of the draft policy is a milestone towards addressing gender responsiveness, equality and participation of men and women, and the poor in the development process. The government recognizes that sustainable development can not be achieved unless there is full and equal participation of both men and women. The policy reaffirms government commitment to gender equality as enshrined in the 1995 Malawi Constitution.

The national gender policy does not stand alone. It enhances the country's central development policy of poverty alleviation. The policy is to guide and direct at all levels the planning and implementation of development programmes, including resource allocation.

Whereas the national gender policy recognizes and emphasizes the crosscutting nature of gender issues, water and sanitation issues have not been clearly articulated. Strategies for mainstreaming gender have been well elaborated in the other socioeconomic sectors such as education, health,

agriculture. Neither are gender issues in water and sanitation a priority in the National Platform For Action. The policy must directly address gender issues in water and sanitation. Evidence abound that women and poor households are excluded from the planning and management processes yet they are the major users of water and sanitation services.

10.4 The Water and Sanitation Policy

The government policy on water and sanitation articulates two major aims:-

1. to ensure sustainable management and use of water resources, water supplies and sanitation facilities; and
2. to ensure that citizens of Malawi have access to safe and adequate sanitation.

From the national policy, specific objectives relevant to demand responsiveness and participation include, *inter alia*:-

1. promoting the concept of community based management;
2. promoting provision of convenient access to portable water supplies;
3. ensure access by all households to hygienic means of excreta and refuse and other sanitation facilities;
4. promoting water and sanitation facilities that are affordable and appropriate;
5. building capacity at all levels to manage water and sanitation services; and
6. promoting economic value of water resources.

While issues of demand responsiveness and participation are adequately addressed in the policy, explicit objectives on gender are missing. What is required is to make the policies explicit on levels and extent of equality and empowerment to be expected from the programmes.

According to Longwe (1991), it is not enough to address basic welfare issues of the communities. Equality and empowerment can be achieved if the programmes go beyond addressing welfare issues and start focussing on long terms issues related to conscientisation, accessibility, participation and control.

10.5 The renewed role of government: Implications for Water and Sanitation Programmes

In the new democratic Malawi environment, the renewed role of government is seen as that of providing an enabling environment for joint partnership with non governmental organizations, civil society, the private sector and donors in the development process for effective poverty alleviation.

Between 1996 and 1997, national aspirations by means of a vision for the year 2020 have been articulated to hold partners and stakeholders to improve development planning and management. In summary, the Malawi Vision Statement states that

By the Year 2020, Malawi as a God-fearing nation will be secure, ecologically balanced, democratically mature, environmentally sustainable, self reliant with equal opportunities for and active participation by all, having social services, vibrant cultural and religious values and being a technologically driven middle-income country.

The idea behind Malawi Vision 2020 is to ensure that there is accessibility by all at all times to adequate and quality to basic necessities and services such that everyone is able to develop and exploit his/her potential to lead a productive, dignified and creative life through social, economic and political empowerment.

Therefore, any future programmes in water and sanitation need to be formulated and managed within conducive policy framework in order that the programmes are demand responsive to, encourage participation of and are poverty and gender sensitive to the needs of the communities for which they are intended to serve. On the other hand, the spirit of partnership between government, the civil society, NGOs and the private sector in planning and managing such services should be enhanced.

Section Eleven: Major conclusions and recommendations

The assessment has revealed the extent to which issues affecting sustainability of community water and sanitation programmes have been addressed. The assessment also provides lessons and challenges for future programmes. This section is therefore a summary of major findings and recommendations towards improving the planning and management of the programmes.

11.1 Planning and Management at community level

It can be concluded that people at community level are not involved in the planning processes of development projects/programs. Planning process is largely still top-down despite the efforts to promote bottom-up approach. The powers and authority to plan is still concentrated at the central level. Communities as a result still lack spirit to own and manage their projects effectively thereby affecting the sustainability of the projects.

11.1.1 Sustenance and use of services and determining factors

All the communities lack abilities to manage their WSS facilities effectively because community based structures which facilitate performance of these functions are still weak. Poverty also militates against them in managing an effective and efficient maintenance fund. Due to these reasons, most of the water facilities are not functioning. The backup services from MWD are also not adequate. These factors are threatening the sustenance of these facilities.

11.1.2 Poverty and Demand responsiveness of the programmes and participation

Poverty is widespread and gender based. The majority who are poor in these communities are women whose participation in decision making is very minimal at all levels. It is still uncommon to see women entrusted with big responsibility of decision making yet women are main users of WSS facilities. Further, it is evident from the communities that WSS Programs existing in their communities were not established through demand responsive approach. They lack basic skills to organise themselves and put forward requests for WSS facilities from donors.

11.1.3 Gender and division of roles and responsibilities

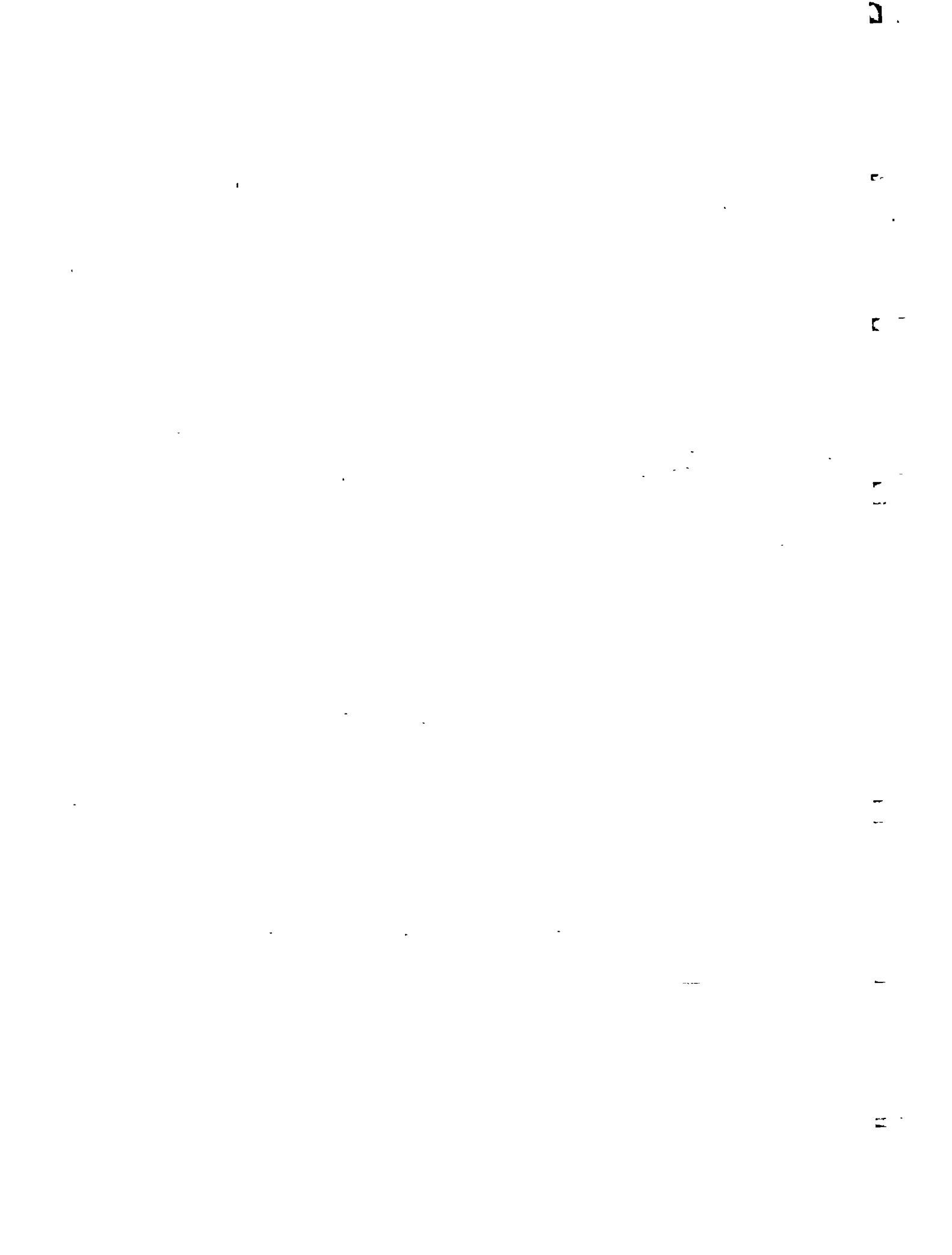
It is very clear from this study that the sharing of roles and responsibilities in the implementation and management of WSS projects is gender based with women performing more arduous tasks such as collection of water for household use and management of water points.

11.4 Institutional Framework

Although institutional framework exists to promote gender and demand responsiveness there is lack of coordination and collaboration to holistically advance these issues effectively. These institutions also lack capacity in terms of financial and human resources. It is urgent that institutional capacity building should take precedence.

11.5 Support policy environment

The policy environment exist to support the promotion of gender, demand responsiveness, water and sanitation issues. However these poplicies have short falls. For instance, the water and sanitation policy has not mainstreamed gender issues while the gender policy does not adequately engender water and sanitation issues.



RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 The programme should retrofit the health education and sanitation (HESP) component to the water programme. The component should intensify information, education and communication for the beneficiaries. Adequate care should be given to traditional sources of water like rivers and unprotected shallow wells because people still use them even if they have protected sources.
2. So far we conclude that MWD as a lead Ministry in water sector do not have adequate capacity at all levels to provide adequate supervision to all WSS programs. In addition to this the Ministry does have elaborate M&E system to provide relevant data on routine basis for effective management .We therefore recommend that Ministry of Water Development should revamp their M&E system. We propose that the Ministry can create a seperate M&E Section to be responsible for developing performance indicators as well as collection of data. It is also our view that the extension staff at lower levels lack means for mobility, and skills for supervision.This prevents them from conducting supervision. We recommend it is an urgent thing for Ministry of Water to give support to Extension workers so that they discharge their duties as expected. We also propose that a coordination mechanism should be put in place to also use staff such as CDAs from other Ministries to assist in the supervision services .
3. It is our view that most of WSS projects are not conceived by the communities. Those who conceive and initiate these projects do not involve the communities at all. People view such projects as just hand outs and do not in most cases want to dispense their stake in these project. We recommend that the community members should be involved in all stages of the project to ensure ownership and sustainability. The Village Development Committee should be the entry point to the community.
4. The community should be given civic education regarding project ownership and their roles and responsibility.

5. We find that training for capacity is always left to the Ministry responsible for the project despite the fact that they are community based committees charged with responsibilities of implementation. As a result Committees lack skills in so many areas. We therefore recommend that the main water committees should having refresher courses from the different Government Departments . These courses could include the following initially.
- maintenance and repairs
 - management of the water and sanitation programme
 - leadership skills
 - gender and development
 - committee procedures.
6. The analysis on the community contribution show that cash generating opportunities are dwindling with harsh economic environment the country is facing at the moment. The effect of this is that people are overtaxed to contribute in cash or kind towards the maintenance of their water points. We recommend that Food for Work Program should be extended to maintenance to WSS project. This would provide an incentive to people to be contributing to community projects.
7. Supervisory visits to monitor the implementation of the programme be regular and the extension workers responsible for the areas should be given support to enable them to be more mobile and innovative in their work.
8. All committees should be trained in pump maintenance and leadership skills. Every training programmes should end up with an implementable action plan with clear division of roles and

responsibilities between men, women and children.

9. Gender and poverty issues be mainstreamed at levels of programme and project management.
10. All water committees should have written constitutions to guide their operations including the generation and management of funds. The Chief and the users should ratify the constitution through a community meeting.
11. The distribution of spare parts need to be localised to the community to ensure programme sustain ability at the same time ensure that both men, women and children have access to them.
12. Undue interference in the management of committees from local politicians in the management of committees should be reduced. Communities need to participate in the election and de-election of people into-out of the committees without political leaders dictating the process.
13. The District and Area Development and Executive Committees (DDC, DEC, ADC & AEC) should be trained in the CBM concept to enable them give the required support to the water point committees. The formation and subsequent training of the VDC should also be hastened so that it can effectively coordinate development activities.
14. Some consideration should be made on giving incentives to communities who are managing their water points properly to enhance participation and sustain ability. Some incentives would be exchange visits between different committees should be organised to share experiences and committee.

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Section Thirteen: Appendices

Appendix 1 Thyolo District Report

Appendix 2 Phalombe District Report

Appendix 3 Karonga District Report

Appendix 1 Thyolo District Report

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GENDER ASSESSMENT IN
WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMMES**

A REPORT FOR THYOLO DISTRICT

January, 1999

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADC	Area Development Committee
AEC	Area Executive Committee
CDA	Community Development Assistant
DDC	District Development Committee
DEC	District Executive Committee
GOM	Government of Malawi
HESP	Health Education and Sanitation Program
IGA	Income Generating Activity
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MWD	Ministry of Water Development
ND	Not Disaggregated
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
O&M	Operation and Maintenance
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RA	Research Assistant
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
STA	Sub-Traditional Authority
SUW	Shallow Unprotected Well
TA	Traditional Authority
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VDC	Village Development Committee
VGH	Village Group Headman
WSS	Water and Sanitation

1. Introduction

The socio-economic, Gender Assessment in Water and Sanitation Program in Malawi is a part of a Global study that has been organised and managed by Regional Water and Sanitation Group in Eastern and Southern Africa in collaboration with World Bank resident missions and sector government agencies. The other countries participating in the study are Zambia, Kenya, Uganda and South Africa. The purpose of this study is to advance gender and participation in Water Supply and Sanitation Program in order to enhance sustainability. The assessment in Malawi was done in three districts i.e. Thyolo and Phalombe in the South and Karonga district in the North. These districts were selected based on the following criteria which they fulfilled:

- * The districts should have Water & Sanitation Program established and functioning for a minimum of three years.
- * The districts should have some forms of community based management system and practice in place.
- * The project organisation and community are willing and interested in participating in the assessment.

The assessment was conducted between 29 November and 17 December, 1998 with a multi-disciplinary Team in three sites in each district. This report below details out the major findings for Thyolo district whose results are emanating from the three sites that were under investigation. These sites are Mphuka, in TA Changata, Sandama T.A Nsabwe and Bvumbwe in T.A Bvumbwe.

2.0 Team Composition

The team that conducted the study comprised of Robson Chakwana (Team leader), B.B. Sibale, N.S. Bamusi and Mrs A.O. Naphiyo.

Robson Chakwana (Team Leader) is a Senior Social Planner and Gender Expert in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

Bright Sibale is a Gender Coordinator in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

Novice Bamusi is an Economist in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

Alice Naphiyo is a Community Development Specialist and Gender Expert in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

These people were assisted by a team of 15 enumerators from Ministry of Water & Development, Women, Youth and Community Services and Ministry of Lands Housing and Physical Planning. All these people received Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) training prior to undertaking the exercise.

3.0 BACKGROUND

3.1 Geography

Thyolo district is located in the Southern Region of Malawi. In the South it shares boundaries with Mozambique and Nsanje. In the North it is bordered by Blantyre and Chiradzulu and in the West it shares borders with Chikwawa. Thyolo district is divided into 7 Traditional Authorities (TAs); Bvumbwe, Nsabwe, Kapichi, Changata, Nchilamwela, and Chimaliro.

3.2 Demography

The 1987 population census estimates that Thyolo has a total population of about 431,157 of which 48% are males and 52% female. The GOM/UNDP baseline survey of 1994 estimated the population at 494,820. It also estimated that there are over 105,843 households in the district and 28.2% of these are female headed. The average household size is about 4.7 persons.

3.3 Economy

Over 93% of the population in Thyolo derive their livelihood from Agriculture directly or indirectly. The main food crops which are produced by smallholder farmers are maize, sorghum, sweet potatoes cassava, bananas, beans and other pulses. Cash crops are tea, burley tobacco, coffee, macadamia nuts, fruits and vegetables. Cash crops are dominated by estates. The GOM/UNDP study revealed that 22% of total land in Thyolo is under estates, 45% is under smallholder and 33% is under customary system.

3.4 Access to Social Facilities

Thyolo district has 3 hospitals, whose doctor/person ratio is 1:82470 and nurse/person ratio is estimated to be 1:4998. The district also has 165 primary schools, 10 DECAs and 6 Secondary Schools. It is also estimated that illiteracy stands at 43% of which 66% are female and 34% are males.

About 76.6% of the district population get the water from unprotected sources such as rivers, streams, unprotected wells etc. The Study also estimated that Thyolo has over 118 boreholes, 93 shallow/deep wells. About 54.8% of the households have private latrines, 39.2% share

latrines and about 6% have no toilet facilities. Rubbish disposal facilities are very poor.

4.0 BVUMBWE, SANDAMA AND MPHUKA VILLAGES

The assessment in Thyolo district took place in Bvumbwe, Sandama and Mphuka which are in the Traditional Authority Bvumbwe, Nsabwe, and Changata respectively.

4.1 Bvumbwe

Bvumbwe Village is under the Headman ship of Group Village Headman Bvumbwe, Traditional Authority, Bvumbwe. It is located 21km North of Thyolo district headquarters and about 8km East of Bvumbwe Agricultural Research Station. The evidence from the survey indicates that the village has well over 100 households dotted over the entire width and breadth of the village.

4.1.1 Demography

The statistics from Makungwa Health Centre which is within the village indicates that the Bvumbwe village has a total population of 963 of which 58% are women and 42% are men. The under-five population make up 32.5%. The village is predominantly chewa speaking with satellite villages of Yao and Lomwe tribes.

4.1.2 Land Usage

The village falls within the undulating hills of Thyolo Escarpment with a lot of artificial trees such as mango, oranges, blue gums and other fruit trees. These artificial trees form the main vegetation in the area. Much of the land in Bvumbwe area is under tea estates as compared to land available for smallholder production. The main crops grown by smallholder farmers are maize, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, pulses and different types of vegetables such as cabbage, onions, tomatoes etc. Tea is the dominant cash crop grown on the estate land.

4.1.3 Social Facilities

The village has one Health Centre, one Primary School. The major sources of water are boreholes, two streams (Chikundunga and Mpota) and one spring.

It has a total of 7 boreholes. These boreholes are the main sources of water for drinking and cooking. The 2 streams and 1 spring provide supplementary water for other uses such as bathing, washing clothes irrigation watering livestock. However the team noted that this division of uses does not apply in the dry season when boreholes start yielding less water due to lowering of water table..

The sanitation facilities found in this village are generally poor. The statistics from the Village Health Centre indicates that less than 30% of the households have latrines and bathrooms in satisfactory condition. The rest of the households have latrines which are generally damp, dirty and smelly. The bathrooms apart from being few, have poor drainage system. The surrounding are untidy because refuse/waste matter disposal system is poor. The majority of water points in this village have surroundings with a lot of algae and their soak away pits are in terrible conditions.

4.2 Sandama

Sandama village is about 95km South of Thyolo Boma under Traditional Authority Nsabwe. Sandama has a hilly topography, sharing boundaries with Mulanje district to the North East and Mozambique to the East. It is within the lower Ruo River valley with an altitude of 200 metres above the seal level. The study was restricted to Matewere and Shomola sub-villages where all water facilities are.

4.2.1 Demography

The 1987 Population Census indicates that Nsabwe area has an estimated population of 27,432 with a growth rate of 3.1%. Sandama is generally matrilineal society where women have more control over the use of resources such as land than men.

4.2.2 Land Usage

The villages making up Sandama are scattered on the hill. Much of the land is hills and mountains hence difficult for cultivation. These hills and mountains have suffered severe deforestation. However people in this area earn their living from the farming. The major crops grown being: maize, banana, pigeon peas beans and bananas.

4.2.3 Social Facilities

This village has few basic social amenities such churches, maize mill markets. The nearest Health centre is 10km away. The village also has 1 Primary School. There is also a Railway line passing through this village which connects it to Blantyre. This is a major source of transport for this village.

The major sources of water in this village are boreholes, rivers, streams and unprotected shallow wells. The sanitation again is poor with very few pit latrines working and the rubbish disposal system is also poor.

4.3 Mphuka

Mphuka village is located 40km South from Thyolo Boma. It is under Traditional Authority Changata sharing boundaries with Chikwawa District to the South and Nsanje to East. It is located within the hills and mountains of Thyolo Escarpment with few bridges and bad road as only one passable connecting it to outside world. This makes the village very remote and difficult to reach.

4.3.1 Demography

Mphuka village has a total population of 21000 people with growth rate of 3.2%. The village is predominantly Lomwe speaking with satellite villages surrounding it.

4.3.2 Land Usage

The village is located within hills of Thyolo Escarpment. Much of the land is occupied by hills leaving little land for crop production. The major crops grown in this area are maize, cassave, pigeon peas, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and bananas and different types of vegetables such as cabbage, onions, tomatoes.

4.3.3 Social Facilities

The village has one Health Centre which is 4km away, one Primary School and two churches. The major sources of water are taps, unprotected shallow wells and rivers. It has about twenty taps with only five working.

The sanitation facilities found in this village are generally poor. From our observation there are very few pit latrines belonging to each household. Their hygienic practices are still crude with unnoticeable number of bathrooms and drying racks.

5.0. Methodology

5.1 Selection of Villages and Households

The villages were selected based on the fulfilment of criteria for the Water and Sanitation Program that were specified in the Terms of Reference. The actual selection was done through a consultation meeting with Thyolo District Executive Committee. This ensured that the sites were purposively selected without any bias following the agreed criteria. In each village a total of 30 households were randomly selected for individual interviews. The selected households were selected to corroborate with information from qualitative data and to expand on the information in areas where focus group discussions were not clear, or seemed incomplete or possibly inaccurate.

5.2 Study Instruments

The study used two approaches. The first approach followed the use of structured questionnaires which were administered to individual households selected randomly from each village. This provided a complementarity to the information collected through the Participatory Rural Appraisal Methods. In addition to the structured questionnaires question checklists were used to solicit information from the policy level. The second approach was the use of Rapid Rural Appraisal Methods using tools such as focus group discussions, semi-structured Interviews Social Mapping, transect walk, wealth ranking and observations. This method offered the flexibility of probing into issues in as much depth and breath as desired. This facility is limited in the structured interviews.

These tools were largely adapted from the methodological guide that was prepared by the Regional Water and Sanitation group of the World Bank in East and Southern Africa for Global Assessment. All what was adapted was tested and modified to suit the local Malawian situation. This process was performed by four principal investigators in their preparation before the actual district assessments were done.

After recruiting the Research Assistants (RAS) further modifications were made during their classroom training and field testing sessions. Additional modifications were still made during the field interviews.

5.3 Implementation

The initial study was done by three principal investigators. Just prior to the beginning of the field exercise. Additional member from University of Malawi was added on to the team to perform specific tasks such as administration, data analysis and to contribute to report writing.

Data collection from the village head, district staff, focus groups, individual households was done by a fifteen member team of male and female Research Assistants. Three independent teams with a Supervisor were constituted for each site in all three sites for every district visited.

A total of five days were allocated for detailed investigations in each site and assembled every Saturday at one central place for feedback sessions. The best logistical arrangement that helped in the consistency was that all three research teams were visiting one district after another. This meant spending one week in each district. Field accommodation was in most cases provided by the village headmen prior to the arrival of the research team. This approach enabled the research members get familiarised with the village, getting accepted into the village, collecting information outside formal interview sessions. Research Assistants summarised the outcome of their interviews on daily basis and cross checked the collected information while still in the field. Their work was supervised and checked on daily basis by the supervisors and the team leader.

6.0 Main Findings

6.1 Poverty Situation

Poverty is pervasive and widespread in all the three villages under study. In all these villages poverty definition is material based. The people in these villages perceive poverty to be lack of adequate food, money, livestock, iron roofed house and any other necessity that sustain one's life. In one village lack of radio and bicycles was also added on the list of the attributes of poverty.

6.2 Categories of Poverty

The three villages under study indicated that there are three groups of poverty in their communities. The categories and proportions that members of the communities came up with are presented in the table below:

Table:1 Categories and Proportions of Poverty Groups by Gender

Village	Category	Proportion (%) by Gender		
		Men	Women	Total
Bvumbwe	Rich	20	0	20
	Intermediate	20	10	30
	Poor	20	30	50
Sandama	Rich	0	2.5	2.5
	Intermediate	5	5	10
	Poor	45	42.5	87.5
Mphuka	Rich	ND	ND	10
	Intermediate	ND	ND	0
	Poor	ND	ND	90

ND- Not disaggregated

From the table above the results show that poverty in all three villages is acute and widespread. The proportions of poor people vary from 50% to 90% with Mphuka village to be the worst among the three villages. The magnitude of figures depicts a very serious situation of poverty. Disaggregating these proportions by gender the situation reveals that the majority of poor people are women except in Sandama village where (slightly less women (42.5%) are poor compared to their male (45%) counterparts. This is so because there are more women than men in this village. A lot of men from Sandama Village have migrated elsewhere in search of employment.

6.3 Attributes of Poverty Groups

The attributes of poverty groups are presented in the following table

Table2 : Attributes of Poverty

Attribute	Rich	Intermediate	Poor
Quality and type of house	burnt bricks with iron roof	unburnt bricks with grass thatched roof	Wattle or mud walled with grass thatched roof
Main Assets owned	car,ox- wagon, double deck radio	single deck radio, motorcycle, bicycle	nil
Livestock owned	cattle, goats, poultry	fewer goats and poultry	nil
Food security	Enough food throughout the year. Takes tea with milk. Relish is usually animal protein in their diet	Enough food up to February. Usually takes tea without milk. Takes animal protein irregularly in their diet	Food last around August every year. No tea, No protein in their diet
Business	viable throughout the year	seasonal business	No business. Usually cannot access credit

6.4 Types of Water Facilities Available

Generally the types of water and sanitation facilities are limited in all the three villages. The table below depicts the types of water facilities that are available in these communities.

Table 2: Types of WSS facilities available in 3 villages

Village	Water Facilities	
	Water	NO
Bvumbwe	Boreholes	7
	Running Streams	2
	Springs	1
	Unprotected wells	2
Sandama	Boreholes	16
	Rivers	2
Mphuka	Taps	20
	River	1
	Unprotected Wells	1

The table shows that the number of water and sanitation facilities are limited in these villages. For example Bvumbwe a village of 963 people has 7 boreholes while Sandama with a population of 27432 has 16 boreholes and Mphuka with a population of 21000 people has about 20 taps which do not work. It was found out that the majority of boreholes in Sandama and Bvumbwe do not work. The magnitude of this problem will be presented in the following section.

The sanitation facilities are limited to traditional pit latrines, temporary bathrooms, drying racks. There is no organised rubbish disposal system in all the three villages. The reason for poor sanitation is that villagers have not been exposed to the principles of best hygienic practices. The WSS Program seen to have concentrated on the provision of potable water but ignored the sanitation component of it.

6.5 Access

The access to these facilities is open to all men women, boys, girls ,rich and the poor groups of people in the villages. However, women including girls have a sole responsibility of drawing water from the various water-points available in these villages .The provision of water for household use is a woman's

domain in Malawi. Although the access is open to all, the communities indicate that in terms of water use the rich use more water than poor. The rich use more water than the poor because they have more facilities and household chores in their households that require a lot of water. The number of these facilities are inadequate to satisfy the normal household requirements. This problem is very serious in Mphuka village where their water piped scheme is not working because it was not completed during installation stage. The water from the boreholes is supplemented by the water from traditional sources such as rivers, unprotected shallow well, springs, streams etc. .

6.6 Effectively Sustained WSS

Under the survey an effectively sustained WSS Program was understood to have five operational features namely; functioning system, effective financing, effective management, effective use and demand responsiveness. In Thyolo, while there were a lot of similarities in the above features among the villages and between the WSS types, several differences existed in the overall management of the facilities.

6.7 Functioning System

The information on functioning system in these villages was obtained from men, women, water-point committees and village development committees through focus group discussions. Key informant interviews especially with a Water Monitoring Assistants and Health Surveillance Assistants also provided the additional information that reinforced the information from group discussion. The non functional system according to the community members in three villages was defined as that system that is not producing water at all times of the year and that does not produce adequate water for household needs. According to the results of these discussions it was found out that in all the three villages the boreholes and piped water system are not functioning well. The majority of the boreholes in the Sandama and Bvumbwe have been down for over 2 months period due to frequent break-downs. The Gravity-fed scheme in Mphuka village has not been producing water since it was put in place by the white missionaries due to its incompleteness. The table below shows the number of water facilities that are not functioning.

Table 3: Estimated Number of Water Facilities not Functioning in the Last 2 months

Village	Type of Water Facility Existing	NO	NO not Working	Percentage Not working
Bvumbwe	Boreholes	7	5	71
Sandama	Boreholes	16	6	38
Mphuka	Taps	20	15	75

In the table above, it is shown that in Bvumbwe of the 7 boreholes only 2 are working representing 71% of the boreholes not working. In Sandama of the 16 boreholes they have 38% of them are non-functional. In Mphuka village only 5 out of 20 taps are working forcing people to rely on untreated water from the rivers which is health hazard. The main causes of non-functioning system as reported by the communities include; lack of repair, vandalism, thefts and washing away of pipes.

The level of quality of works in both systems was reported to be satisfactory with minor problems. In the boreholes, the major problems identified reported by the communities included poor siting and washlabs placed close to the borehole. In all the boreholes the workmanship was generally commended by the community with few reservations.

While the design of the Afridev pump was found to be more appropriate and gender responsive (use friendly) than the climax pump, the users (both men and women) do not like the way the accessories like wash slabs, the drainage system including the soak away pit were placed. Their suggestion is that wash slabs be located over 15Meters to 25Meters away, further away, to improve sanitation at the water point.

6.8 Water Quantity Versus Season

The quantity of water is determined by household requirements. The adequate water from a borehole is defined as households being able to draw between 2-6 pails a day depending on the size of the household. But the inadequate

number of water points is also another contributing factor to inadequacy.

It was also indicated by the community members that water quantity from boreholes and other water-points do vary with seasons. As the season changes from rainy season to dry season the water quantity declines accordingly. Table below indicates that effect of season on water quantity.

Table 4: Effect of Season on Water Quantity

Source	Quantity											
	Months											
	J	F	M	A	MAY	JUNE	JUL Y	AUG	SE P	OCT	NOV	DEC
Borehole	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	3	1	1	4
Taps	5	5	5	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Unprotected Wells	5	5	5	5	5	5	4.5	3.5	3	1.5	1.5	5

Scoring done by men and women using a fixed score of 5.

The results from the table above shows the quantity of water from the 3 sources declines from July to November. The critical months are September to November where the community members may even get as low as 10% of their requirements especially from borehole and unprotected wells. The situation for the taps become even worse in the same period where all taps virtually stop producing water. Mphuka village faces this problem every year because it gets its water from gravity-fed scheme that is not functioning well. However the availability of water improves when the season approach December through to May/June. This is a rainy season in Malawi and it explains the reason for having adequate quantities of water from all sources. The effect of this is that women and girls who are main collectors of water for households spend a lot of time waiting for water.¹

Although quantities of water available from the water points may seem to improve during the rainy its quality deteriorates. The water becomes dirty with

¹For example women in Bvumbwe village recounted their ordeal that during dry season their boreholes produce very little water to the effect they have to wake up at 3.00 a.m. or go to bed as late as 11 p.m just to get some water which may not be even enough to meet their household demands.

the soil that comes from soil erosions which is normally common during rainy season in Malawi. This problem is worse with in unprotected wells, gravity-fed schemes and even open streams . The end-result of water is that water borne diseases increase during this season as is revealed in the following table. It is the same time food security situation becomes precarious .

Table: The effect of season on Food Security and Water Borne Diseases

	J	F	M	A	MAY	JUNE	JUL Y	APRI L	SE P	OCT	NOV	DEC
Occurrence of water borne diseases	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	5	5
Food Security	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	4	3	3	2	2

Although the result show that the water borne diseases are generally high during the rainy season the serious effects of water borne diseases start being felt in the beginning of the mid of the rainy season that is why the scores are low between March through October. The food security situation starts dwindling from November and becomes very critical in the middle of rain season in March when rains are very high and community members can only get 10% of their food requirements in the household. This is the time when the food from previous season has completely run-out and are still more months before the next harvest.

6.9 Water Availability

Both men and women in three villages reported that water availability is certain from boreholes and taps except in those moments when they are down. When these facilities are down communities resort to using rivers, unprotected wells and other natural sources of water. The information from the three communities suggest that these are the best sources where the community is assured of getting the water at any time.

7.0 Water Predictability

In all three villages in Thyolo it was reported that it is difficult to predict the whether the water facilities will be producing adequate water at any time because their break-down can be unpredictable and frequent . The state of affairs is normally common when facilities are experiencing frequent break-downs and communities cannot raise enough funds for maintenance. The

problem of unpredictability is more common with boreholes and piped water system and less common with rivers and the open natural sources. The communities reported that the frequent break-downs are caused by the following:

7.1 *The intensity of use*

When the water facilities are not adequate to satisfy the requirements of the population of their use is more intense leading to more wear and tear. Children are accused of sometimes breaking the boreholes due to their frequent use of these facilities.

7.2 *Vandalism*

This is one of the factors which communities mentioned to be the cause of dry taps and boreholes. Thieves steal pipes to make hoes for sale. This obviously cut off the water to a number of taps. In Mphuka village, this problem has been compounded by the fact that pipes are frequently washed away by the rains. All these problems were confirmed with water staff that were part of the survey team.

In addition to this the non-functioning of piped system in Mphuka village presents a unique situation because the whole scheme has a problem in the installation stage which include:

a) *In-take Point*

Is right uphill with no sieve and uncompleted. It is normally contaminated with debris which adversely affect the water quality. The community members apart from having no right skills for maintenance they cannot also easily reach the hill to try even crude maintenance.

b) *Treatment Tank*

Was not completed and hence is not functional. People just get untreated water even if they would have a capacity to buy chemicals treatment would not be effective.

c) *Laid Pipes and Taps*

The laying of pipes was not completed. In some parts of the village the other taps are not connected to mainpipes which supply water. These pipes had to cross the river and have now been washed away. This means that some parts of the village have taps that do not receive water at all.

8.0 Adequacy and Reliability

In establishing the sustainability of the WSS Program issues of adequacy and reliability were also examined. Any project/program that is supposed to support the community should be able to produce adequate services and these services have to be reliable. It is only when these attributes are ensured a project can be beneficial to the community.

In the case of Water facilities in Thyolo it was found out that boreholes produce the adequate water though dependent on the season. It was further established that reliability as an issue is linked to adequacy. When the facility produces adequate water it was also defined by the community as the most reliable source of the water.

8.1 Water Quality

Water quality has an important bearing on the use of water in any community. Water quality is an issue of perception that cannot easily be quantified. Its attributes vary from one community to another. In Thyolo men and women in the three villages defined water quality as follows:

	Definition
Men	A good quality water is water with good taste, uncontaminated, good smell and clear colour.
Women	Good quality water is water which is clean,colorless, with good taste not salty, uncontaminated, good smell, and that does finish soap when washing and bathing.

From the table it is shown that good quality water according to communities is defined in terms of taste, smell, safety colour and ability to remove dirty without a lot of soap. The other preferred criteria is safety and the borehole was considered the safest source of water . People strongly perceive that good quality water is influenced by site of the water point. Perhaps this assumption could always have to be considered during project design.

8.2 Water Source Comparability

In order to establish whether the communities perceive that the source of water has any bearing at adequacy, availability, reliability quality as independent variables for sustainability. The community interviews revealed the following:

Table 5: Comparability of water sources

Indicator	Source			
	Tap	Borehole	River	SUW
Adequacy (in terms of availability)	Not adequate due to frequent breakdowns	Adequate but depending on season	Adequate always	Adequacy depends on season
Reliability	Not reliable due to vulnerability vandalism, thefts, blockages	Adequate with frequent O and M	Always	Always
Quality (in-terms of taste)	Good	Good depending on its site	Naturally good	Naturally good

There is one caveat that has to be borne in mind when using information contained in this table is that the information represents the perception of the communities in three villages who have had a limited exposure to water facilities and therefore cannot be generalised. The WSS facilities available in these three villages are limited to boreholes, piped water system and natural water sources.

From the table above borehole emerges to be the best water facility that fulfills all the indicators specified above and most preferred source of water than piped water system.

Although the natural sources of water such as rivers and shallow unprotected well are portrayed as better sources, this perhaps reveals the weakness of man made water facilities that they are not dependable due to problems of physical breakdowns.

8.3 Preference of Sources of Water

Comparisons between taps and boreholes were made because of several reasons. One reason was that people are sure of the safety of the borehole water since its water comes from underground. On the other hand the safety of gravity-fed water is not guaranteed due lack of chemical for treatment and

lack Secondly, communities claim complete control over boreholes than gravity-fed. scheme whose effective functioning of the system depends on complicated maintenance system which can only be provided by experts. The officials from water department rarely provides the much needed support to the communities. The boreholes are also considered to be more durable. For example it was reported in Bvumbwe there are boreholes which were installed before Independence and are still working up to now. It was not surprising therefore that in this village people requested for more boreholes.

9.0 Effective Financing

9.1 *Investment and Recurrent Costs*

Effective financing of a water programme examines the role and nature of community contributions during the project initiation and implementation and later, on operations and maintenance of that system. In WSS programmes the major contributions made by the communities were the provision of unskilled labour and other in-kind services. This included collection of sand and stones, land clearing, digging the trenches and laying pipes in the gravity-fed schemes. Women were singled out to play a great role in these activities.

9.2 *Systems of financing*

From the key informant interviews and the various focus group discussions there is inadequate evidence to suggest that there is a coordinated long-term financing mechanism for operations and maintenance of water points. In almost all three villages, water-point committees exist but inactive. These are often formed after the project has been completed. Often committee members conduct ad-hoc door to door campaigns to collect financial contributions (which range from K2 to K10) from the community only when the water facility has broken down. It was evident from the discussion that more women than men were displaying more willingness to contribute funds for maintenance. However, this willingness is constrained by their inability to pay because of lack of access to cash. Women lack opportunities to earn cash. They may also be unable to raise funds from their husbands because water is regarded as a woman's responsibility and men do place a lower value on saving women's time and effort than women themselves. They also fail to raise cash from undertaking IGAS on their own because poverty prevents them from participation into such ventures. The other reason for ineffective water committees is that these committees when put in place were not given necessary skills such as group dynamics, fund-raising and financial management. The extent on effective financing may depend on building the capacity of water point committees and empowering women economically so

that cash incomes are placed into their hands to be able to pay for O&M of WSS.

9.3 Local Monitoring and Control

Of all the 3 villages visited, the evidence seems to suggest that the water point committees do not keep spare parts and do not also have organised system of keeping records on financing and maintenance of funds. The water Monitoring Assistants who are supposed to help in the maintenance and collection of monitoring information of these facilities are not available in all the three villages visited. We view the current mandate of Water Monitoring Assistants to be restrictive as it limits them in providing M&E information at all levels. This reflects the major weakness of MWD on its capacity at that level. We therefore recommend that that MWD increase number of Assistants and their mandate should be expanded to include other aspects of community mobilisation and participatory monitoring at that level.

10.0 Uses of Water

The interviews with the communities in the 3 villages in Thyolo district suggest that water used are divided into domestic and productive uses. These are outlined in the table below:

Table 6: Uses of Water

Domestic Uses	Productive Uses
Drinking	Vegetable Growing
Washing	Brewing Beer for sale
Cooking	Brick Moulding
Bathing	Irrigation
	Watering Livestock

It is easy to see from the table that divisions on water use is based on the economic benefits people get from water where economic benefits are tangible and substantial the use is treated as productive. But when economic benefits are less clear the use is treated as domestic. This division is less obvious at the household level because domestic water can also be used for a variety of income-generating activities such as beer brewing.

It was also evident from the group discussions that there are gender differences in the use of water for productive and domestic purposes. Men dominate the use of water for productive purpose (irrigation of vegetable garden and brick moulding) whereas women dominate domestic use of water. At boreholes which are used for both purposes it was obvious that usually conflicts or disagreements arise over the priorities of the use of water where women argue for domestic purposes to take precedence over 'productive use'. Productive uses can be fulfilled from the traditional sources of water. These disagreement emerged at Bvumbwe Village where in a focus group discussion one group of people was not happy with another group's mention of brick moulding and watering livestock as uses of water. Their argument was that these uses increase intensity of water which lead to frequent breakdowns of the water facility.

11.0 The Impact of WSS programs

The communities in the two reported that they have benefitted both socially and economically from the boreholes that they have in their village. The major social benefit as they have experienced is that since they started using water from the borehole the incidences of water-borne diseases have declined. Women walk short distances to sources of water thus freeing up some of their time for other domestic chores. The need to wake up at 4.00 a.m to go and wait for water in an open dug wells in dry season has reduced. Another aspect about water projects is that each water point has a committee composed of men and women; we view this to be another form of community empowerment. In order for these committees to perform their functions effectively they have been trained in maintenance skills: this is another form of capacity building for long term sustainability.

12.0 DEMAND RESPONSIVE SERVICES

12.1 *Community Participation*

Studies have shown that projects in which communities participate fully in all stages of the project cycle are more sustainable than projects with little or no participation. In this exercise the objective was to assess to what extent communities participate in project management and implementation and further assess whether this participation has any impact on the sustainability of the project. The focus group discussions with communities revealed the following:

i) *Project Initiation*

In all the three villages it was reported that the community was not involved in the initiation and planning of the WSS programs. Government and donors in all three cases did initiate and plan for the projects. There was no consultation with the people to establish on the site, numbers and systems to be put in place. Although in some villages chiefs and extension workers were involved these did not represent the people as main users. The assumption that information would have trickled down to the lower levels completely ignored dangers of top-down approach. The result of this problem was that either water facilities were put on wrong sites regarding convenience to the community members themselves and ability to produce the water. We view this problem to be the cause for communities to treat water facilities as not theirs. This is recipe for unsustainability. We recommend that community involvement should be keyed in the whole process of project initiation. Community projects should originate from the community. Government or NGOs should just facilitate the process. We propose that the Community Project Committees that were instituted in the beginning of the WSS Programs should be revamped since they easily provide an entry point to the involvement of the community.

12.2 *Project Implementation and Management*

In Sandama and Bvumbwe the community indicated that they participate in the management of water points. However the nature of community participation at implementation level was the provision of unskilled labour. The community members were responsible for collecting sand, stones and other materials for construction. In Mphuka, people were involved in the digging and laying of pipes. However people were not given any skills to repair the pipes and taps when they break down. The assumption was that the MWD would be responsible for repair and maintenance. This has not been done because firstly the project was not handed over to communities properly and secondly the community has been unable to maintain. The worst thing that happened to this project was that it was not completed.

12.3 *Choice of Technology*

The communities are never given chance to choose type and design of the facilities. In most cases communities are just given any facility that project team feels is appropriate for the area. The assumption has been that choice of technology is very technical to be left to lay people. However, communities argue that they have now experience to choose the technology which would best suit their situation. More often the communities have ended up getting

technologies which are not easy to maintain because spare parts are expensive and difficult to get. When such facilities break down it takes long for communities to repair them. Mphuka village presents the best example where the type of the technology cannot easily be maintained by the community because people cannot afford or have no skills to fix them.

12.4 Participation in Decision Making

Decision making in WSS activities community involvement in decision making process is also very essential for sustainable projects. It should be pointed out that decision making has a gender dimension which influences on who makes decision on what and why. The table below reveals the following statistics.

Table 7 : Decision making by Gender in WSS programs

Area of Decision		Men	Women
1.	Project Cycle		
i)	Initiation	0	0
ii)	Planning	0	0
iii)	Implementation	100	0
iv)	Management of;		0
	- Whole project	100	0
	-Water points	60	40
v)	Technology acquisition	0	0
2.	Construction		
i)	Latrines	100	0
ii)	Bathrooms	100	0
iii)	Drying racks	60	40

It is evident from the table that decision making in almost all stages of the project cycle is dominated by men despite the fact that women are the main users of water. Their involvement only appears at management of the water points. The results also show that the decision to construct sanitation facilities rests on men. This perhaps explains reasons why these villages have low sanitation. If men are not interested to improve the sanitation of their surrounding then they will not construct the latrines and bathrooms. When asked why women lag behind in decision making they indicated that it is their culture that men provide a leadership in decision making process. Women just follow what men advise them. The other reason was that women have little time they can spare to participate in the village committee meetings that normally decide on Development Projects. We view these two factors to be serious stumbling blocks for women to be effectively participating in development programs. We propose that that MWD should put in place a condition that in all project committees women should atleast hold one influential position. This approach would give women confidence to make decision making in the presence of men.

12.5 Decision Making in Committees

In all the three villages it was indicated that both men and women form members of the village committees. However men still take responsible to rule in these committees. In all the three villages no woman was a chairperson or vice chairperson of the committees. Women are either secretaries or just committee members with limited powers to make decision. Appointing women to these committees was done just to fulfil the requirement .We view this to be a constraint in empowering women for decision making .

13.0 Challenges of WSS Program in Thyolo District

13.1 Top-Down Approach

It was found that all projects in the three villages in Thyolo did not initiate their own WSS projects. These project were initiated and planned by outside agencies such as government, NGOs. The people themselves are just passive recipients with no capacity to sustain the projects. We recommend that Govt Ministries, NGOs and donor agencies should start implementing bottom up approach. This recommendation is in view of the fact that there has been much talk about putting the people first in development programs but little action has been implemented.

13.2 Poverty.

Poverty in Mphuka, Bvumbwe and Sandama villages was pervasive. This prevent the community members in contributing to OM in cash. They do not easily raise enough cash when it is needed for repairs. People in these villages expressed that they were being over-taxed by the cash demands to contribute to their WSS facilities. We view poverty as one serious consrants preventing people from effectively contributing to the management of the WSS programs. We propose that the strategy of food for work could be introduced in WSS Programs. This would alleviate the problems people meet when they are asked to contribute at any stage of the project.

13.3 Ineffective Community-based Structures

As stated earlier on, village level structures in Thyolo district are weak. They lack the zeal and capacity to organise themselves to perform their functions effectively due to lack of training. The resultant effect of this problem is that communities fail to mobilise themselves for self Help Work.

13.4 Terrain

Thyolo as a district has a lot of hills and mountains which makes whole district a difficult area to sink boreholes and yet boreholes is recommended by the people to be most dependable compared to Gravity-fed Scheme. The people have found Gravity-fed Scheme to be difficult and expensive to maintain and further not easy to control vandalism. This is a challenge to MWD and other interested organisations to put in place Gravity-fed Schemes that have strong component of local community capacity building to manage them. The MWD should make sure that their maintenance scheme is strengthened to perform their function efficiently and effectively.

13.5 Water Treated as 'free good'

The communities in Thyolo district still treat water as a free good which has to be provided free from charge. This perception is reinforced with the policy of government providing the free water to the people. This reduces peoples willingness and the drive to be contributing to WSS projects for these projects to be sustainable.

13.6 Political

The discussions with community members did indicate that districts and village based organisations in WSS project operate under political interference. The effect of this that project allocation is influenced by political power than felt needs of the area. Even people who are supposed to be managing village communities have been selected despite lack of commitment in managing these structures. This is one reason contributing to weak structures at community level..

14.0 Institutional Analysis

The introduction of decentralised planning and implementation of development programmes by the Government of Malawi has necessitated the set-up of institutions at district and community levels to promote decision making at that level without referring to the Central level. The structures in place are multi-sectoral in nature from the district level to GVH level and as such they are supposed to handle all district developmental projects and programmes.

14.1 District Structures

14.1.2 District Development Committee

At district level, two structures exist, and these are the District Development Committee (DDC) and the District Executive Committee (DEC). The DDC works as a policy guiding body for the district. It ensures that district projects and programmes are consistent with policy and hence it approves programmes and projects of the district which originate from the community through the DEC. Membership includes the District Commissioner (DC) who is also the chairperson by default, all Members of Parliament (MP) in the district, district chairpersons of political parties (which are represented in the National Assembly), Chiefs (TA), representatives of non-government organisations and business people.

14.1.3 District Executive Committee

The DEC works as the technical arm of the DDC at the district. Membership is composed of the District Development Officer (DDO) who is chairperson, representative from all governmental sectors and NGOs.

These two structures at the district level are established to promote demand responsive participatory approaches to identification and management. It also facilitates the prioritisation of projects according to community areas. It was observed that these two structures do suffer from political control from politicians. This problem compromises their independence and objectivity in exercising their duties. It was also reported that the two committees have not yet acquired full control over decision making on development projects because there are still a lot of situations where donor and development agencies bypass them. It is evident from the review that DEC's are not fully financed by government nor do they have budgets of their own. The institutionalisation of these structures at district level through provision of funds for operation should be viewed as a necessity to support the decentralisation process.

14.2 Structures at TA Level

At the TAs' level two structures also exist just like at the district level. These are Area Development Committee (ADC) and Area Executive Committee (AEC) just like DDC. It passes on projects from the community level to the DEC. The Chairperson is the TA who is also a member of DDC. The technical body at this level is the AEC which submits projects to ADC for approval. Membership included all extension workers in the area.

14.3 Structures at Village Group Headman Level

At this level too, there is another structure called the Village Development Committee (VDC). This is basically where projects are originated and coordinated from as they get identified by the community. Membership to the VDC includes the Group Village Headman (VGH) who is the Chairperson of this body, Village Headmen and religious leaders. These structures are not functioning effectively because they lack capacity to organise themselves.

Their training was not completed during the time these structures were put in place. In Sandama for example it was reported that these committees were just put together without being taught on how to perform their functions. Officials from the district never supervise them to give them technical support.

14.4 Structures at the Grassroots Level

In each village there is a Water Point Management Committee (WPC) which is responsible for the operation and maintenance of water points. It is a body which is in direct link with beneficiaries of the water facility. It is composed of mostly 40% women and 60% men from the same community. It is our view that this structure has a lot of constraints. For example the committees rarely hold meetings and their legality to perform their functions is not well recognised in the villages. It was also clear from the findings that most of the WPCs do not have organised system for funding operation and maintenance of the facilities. The cash contribution for repairs which is the same for men and women is only done when the facility breaks down. The community during such times often fail to raise enough funds for repairs as such it takes a long time for the community to do a repair on the water facility. The other factor that causes ineffectiveness of these committees is that there is no coordination with other main committees in the villages because these committees are also not functioning well. Project committees which used to provide overall management of the project at community level are non-existent in Thyolo district. In addition most of WPCs in this Thyolo have not been transparent, responsible and accountable to the community. In some cases they have treated themselves as independent. They have also not been transparent enough in reporting financial transactions and have not bothered to call for community meetings to provide briefings.

We attribute lack of transparency and accountability on WPCs to lack of effective community level organisational structure that would ensure checks and balances at that level.

Committees lack skills in so many areas. We therefore recommend that the main water committees should be having refresher courses from the different Government Departments . These courses could include the following initially:

- maintenance and repairs
- management of the water and sanitation programme
- leadership skills
- gender and development
- committee procedures.

6. Our analysis on the community contribution show that cash generating opportunities are dwindling with harsh economic environment the country is facing at the moment. The effect of this is that people are overtaxed to contribute in cash or kind towards the maintenance of their water points. We recommend that Food for Work Program should be extended to maintenance of WSS project. This would provide an incentive to people to be contributing to community projects.

Appendix 2: Phalombe District Report.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GENDER ASSESSMENT IN
WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMMES**

A REPORT FOR PHALOMBE DISTRICT

JANUARY, 1999

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Area Development Committee
AEC	Area Executive Committee
CBM	Community Based Management
DEC	District Executive Committee
DDC	District Development Committee
HESP	Health Education and Sanitation Promotion
GVH	Group Village Headman
MP	Member of Parliament
PLI	Participatory Learning Initiative
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RWSG-ESA	Regional Water and Sanitation Group-East and Southern Africa
TA	Traditional Authority
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VHC	Village Health Committee
WMA	Water Monitoring Assistance
WPC	Water Point Committee
WSS	Water and Sanitation Service

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Malawi is one of the five countries (the others are Kenya, Zambia, Uganda and South Africa) which are participating in the Regional Gender Assessments through a Participatory Learning Initiative (PLI) to advance gender and participation in Water Supply and Sanitation projects and programs. The socio-economic and gender assessments have been organized and are being managed by the Regional Water and Sanitation Group- Eastern and Southern Africa (RWSG-ESA) in collaboration with sector government agencies, resident World Bank mission and other partners. The assessment in Malawi will be done in three districts i.e. Thyolo and Phalombe in the South and Karonga in the North. The districts were selected using the criteria prescribed in the Terms of Reference of the Working Document III of the UNDP-World Bank Regional Water and Sanitation Program.

In each district, three sites were selected using the criteria referred to above and a multi sectoral team of five people conducted the assessment using Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques. A structured questionnaire was administered to individual households to gather household level information on effective use, financing, gender and household participation in the community water supply and sanitation programs and projects. The three sites that were chosen in Thyolo were Bvumbwe, Sendama and Mphuka Villages. The report presented below is for Phodogoma village in Traditional Authority Nazombe in Phalombe district. The report covers issues which emerged from community focus group discussions, key informant interviews and committee meetings conducted through Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques and methodologies.

The objectives were developed through a series of meetings between the Ministry's of Water Department and Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services, the RWSG-ESA and a cross section of representation from other ministries including the University of Malawi.

In general the survey was expected to achieve three outputs, namely:

- i) To provide baseline data for the WSS programmes and projects which would be formulated by government;
- ii) The baseline data would then enable the Ministry of Water Development to establish a data bank which will be used for programming, planning and management of WSS and finally provide a situation analysis of gender in WSS programmes and projects in Malawi.

The survey (assessment) as conducted in three districts in Malawi (Phalombe and Thyolo in the South and Karonga in the North) following

the criteria which was developed by the Global Team and modified to suit the Malawi situation by the assessment team. The criteria for selection of sites were three i.e that the WSS programme should have been established and functioning with minimal external support for over 3 years, that there should have been some form of community based management systems and practices in place and finally that the project organisation and the community were willing to participate in the assessment.

2.0 STUDY METHODOLOGY

The participatory learning initiative was recommend as the major tool to be used to assess the WSS in participatory countries. In Malawi the PLI modified to accommodate community, used PRA methods and techniques which were used in all the three districts. Some PRA, that were used are wealth ranking to understand the poverty question at village level and assess how it is related to supply all management of WSS, semi structured interviews, social resource mapping, and key informant interviews and others.

No survey would be complete without gathering household level formation which is also desegregated by gender. Hence the survey, in addition to the PRA, a household questionnaire was administered to users around water pointy in the three villages of Yuwa, Phodogoma and Kaledzera. The main objective of administering the questionnaire was to collect quantitative data that would supplement/compliment qualitative information.

The survey was managed by a Team Leader (Socio Economist) and supervised by 3 researchers who have a minimum of a University o Degree. The gender trained and with commendable community. All Researchers Assistants were trained for a period of 5 days, to orient them with the data collection tools. A gender clinic was also held to harmonise the understanding of gender from the study perspective. A meeting to review and sharing experience was held before conducting the survey in Phalombe district. Supervisors presented reports on emerging issues from Thyolo and the team shared experiences on problems faced and the process itself.

All the three teams were individually meeting only daily basis to reflect on the proceedings of the day and every team member was writing a daily summary of issues emerging from the community.

3.0 SURVEY OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study as outlined in the terms of reference are as indicated in the text as Annex. The objectives were developed through a series of meetings between the Ministry's of Water Department and Ministry

of Women, Youth and Community Services, the RWSG-ESA and a cross section of representation from other ministries including the University of Malawi.

In general the survey was expected to achieve three outputs, namely:

- i) To provide baseline data for the WSS programmes and projects which would be formulated by government;
- ii) The baseline data would then enable the Ministry of Water Development to establish a data bank which will be used for programming, planning and management of WSS and finally provide a situation analysis of gender in WSS programmes and projects in Malawi.

The survey (assessment) as conducted in three districts in Malawi (Phalombe and Thyolo in the South and Karonga in the North) following the criteria which was developed by the Global Team and modified to suit the Malawi situation by the assessment team. The criteria for selection of sites were three i.e that the WSS programme should have been established and functioning with minimal external support for over 3 years, that there should have been some form of community based management systems and practices in place and finally that the project organisation and the community were willing to participate in the assessment.

4.0 TEAM COMPOSITION

The team that conducted the study comprised of Robson Chakwana (Team leader), B.B. Sibale, N.S. Bamusi and Mrs A.O. Naphiyo.

Robson Chakwana is a Senior Social Planner in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

Bright Sibale is a Gender Coordinator in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

Novice Bamusi is an Economist in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

Alice Naphiyo is a Community Development Specialist in the Ministry of Women, Youth and Community Services.

All the researchers above have gender training background obtained from various courses within and outside Malawi. These researchers were assisted by a team of 15 enumerators from the Ministries of Water & Development,

Women, Youth and Community Services, Lands Housing and Physical Planning. All these people received Rapid Rural Appraisal (PRA) training and prior to undertaking the exercise.

5.0 SOCIO ECONOMIC PROFILE OF PHALOMBE DISTRICT

Phalombe district was part of Mulanje district until in 1998 when government elevated it from its sub-Boma status. Administratively the elevation into the district status has resulted into the district having its, own development institutions like the DDC and DEC. The two institutions are key in the management of development programmes in the district focussed development approach. The economy of the district is largely dependent on agriculture with maize as the staple crop.

5.1 Sites

Just like in Thyolo and Karonga the assessment was conducted in three sites in Phalombe. The sites were; Yuwa and Phodogoma village in Traditional Authority Nazombe and Kaledzera villages in T.A Nkhumba.

5.1.1 Yuwa Village

The village falls under the GVH Makhonja and is about 30 km North East of Phalombe Boma. It has a population of 726 people as indicated by from the health surveillance reports. The literacy rate for the area is very low but the research team could establish the actual literacy rate. Christianity dominates the religious sector of the area with over 5 churches available in the village.

The major economic and livelihood system is substance farming where maize and rice are the predominant food and cash crop. Supplementary food and incomes from fishing which is done in a small lake 5 km away from the village.

Although the village has a flat terrain, it is completely surrounded by a range of hills from the southern, western and north east side. Due to the flat terrain the area is flood prone and inaccessible during rainy seasons.

5.1.2 Kaledzera Village

The falls under the jurisdiction of Traditional Authority Nkhumba and is located 13 Km South-West of Phalombe Boma. The area consists of 12 villages. The village has a total household population of 793. The rural water project began in 1973 by the Government of Malawi in conjunction with DANIDA. Before the

introduction of the water DANIDA water programme, the people of Kaledzera used to get water from two unprotected wells which are no longer in use nowadays.

5.1.3 Phodogoma Village

Phodogoma village is under GVH Phodogoma in the area of Traditional Authority Nazombe in Phalombe district. It is situated 17 Km East of Phalombe district headquarters via Migowi. It was not possible to establish the population of the village through socio-economic mapping, however recent (1997) health surveillance reports indicate that there are 1466 people of which 598 (40.79%) are adult males, 655 (44.68%) are adult females, 99 (6.75%) are child male and 114 (7.77%) are child females. The total number of households were recorded as 330 which represents an average household size of 4.44 people. The area is dominant Lomwe speaking.

The village economy of Phodogoma is dependant on agriculture especially maize production. Maize is the staple food. Major livestock kept include turkeys, cattle and goats. The terrain of the village is indurating and rocky with spots of very fertile soils. The village share borders with Michesi Forestry Reserve. It could be a good idea to propose participatory natural resource management of the game reserve so that the forestry reserve is sustainable managed.

6.0 MAJOR FINDINGS

6.1 Number of Services

The WSS types found in the 3 villages were the piped water scheme (kaledzera) and the underground water scheme (Yuwa and Phodogoma). In addition to the community in Yuwa has access to boreholes which were sank by Save the Children (UK) in 1994. The distribution of the WSS among the 3 villages were as follows:

Table 1: Distribution of water facilities among three sites in Phalombe

Village	Type and No of Facilities				Total User Population	Approx Ratio of user population to no of facilities (safe)
	BH	SUW	TAPS	SPRING		
1. Kaledzera	2	2* (not being used)	3	-	793	159
2. Phodogoma	6	8	-	1	1466	244
3. Yuwa	11* (sealed)	-			726	726

Although all the villages have safe water facilities, the sources, except for Phodogoma, are not adequate. In order to satisfy house hold water requirements, people draw water from unprotected wells and streams/springs. The problem of inadequate facilities was most in Yuwa where over 726 people are using one borehole such a situation obviously is not conducive to good sanitation and reduces the economic life of the facility. Where water facilities are adequate, like in Kaledzera and Phodogoma, traditional sources of water have either been abandoned or only used for uses other than drinking and washing.

In all the services, sanitary conditions around the water point was generally very poor. In Phodogoma, one borehole which is located at a school serves about 200 villages and over 1000 pupils enrolled at the school.

6.2 Access and Distribution of WSS Facilities

Most of the WSS facilities were not evenly distributed in the villages as such even where there are enough sources, some villages walk longer than the recommend 500 metres mark. In Phodogoma for example women travel over 1 km for safe water although the village has boreholes (2 of which are not functioning). The WSS are viewed as common property resources, as such every community member has unlimited access to them, regardless of whether she/he contributes or does not contribute money during break downs. The rich, poor and intermediate have equal access to the water points but it was clear that the rich use more water (over 6-10 pails) a day although they do not actively participate in the management of the water points. One interesting finding is that children (especially girls) have access to the facilities damages.

Ironically they are not represented in any water point management committees, even when boreholes/water points are located at school.

6.3 Effectively Sustained WSS

Under the survey an effectively sustained WSS was understood to have five operational features namely; functioning system, effective financing, effective management, effective use and demand responsiveness. In Phalombe, while there were a lot of similarities in the above features among the villages and between the WSS types, several difference existed in the overall management of the facilities.

6.4 Functioning System

Of the 12 protected water points (boreholes and taps) indicated in table 1 above only two boreholes in Phodogonya village have not been working for more than a year or two. The rest were functional at the time of the survey, although the communities indicate that they usually have minor problems/breakdowns. The two boreholes in Kaledzera have never been maintained and at the time of the survey although they were still working.. They were at the verge of breaking down. Similarly all the 3 taps had worn out valves as such water was running out continuously without any community inactive to maintain them The boreholes which are not working have a major breakdowns which is the responsibility of Ministry of Water Development.

The level of quality of works in both systems was adequate with minor problems. In the boreholes, the major problems identified through focus group discussions were poor siting, washslabs placed close to the borehole and soak ways directed towards village roads. In all the boreholes the workmanship during the drilling, process and the construction of the accessories like the apron was commended by the community.

While the design of the Afridev pump was found to be more appropriate and gender responsive (use friendly) than the climax pump, the users (both men and women) had reservations on the placements of the accessories like wash slabs, the drainage system including the soak away pit. They agreed and suggested wash slabs be located over 15 to 25 away, further than they are now, to improve sanitation at the water point. A group of women in Phodogoma suggested that the pumping amplitude of the of rider hand pump should be controlled by placing two blocks at the top and bottom). The two blocks would then unable people to pump water at full (maximum and minimum) amplitude which would eventually, reduce misuse of the pump and prolong its life span.

6.5 Quantity, quality and reliability of water

The quantity of water as determined by household requirements is adequate in the borehole program as households were able to draw between 2-6 pails a day depending on whether they were rich, poor or intermediate. However, where water was not adequate to serve all households the problem was not the yield per borehole but the inadequate number of water points. In such cases the community supplement its domestic water requirements by drawing water from protected shallow wells, springs and rivers.

6.6 Quality

There were three common sources of water in the district i.e protected (boreholes, taps,) river and shallow wells. From the community perspective the quality of water from these sources was determined by its taste, saltiness, how much soap it requires to wash clothes, coolness at sources and safety. In general the most preferred criteria is safety and the borehole was ranked the safest although its water could be salty in certain locations.

The three sources of water were preferred differently depending on factors like accessibility, durability, affordability and safety of its water. In all the research sites people preferred the protected sources of water (boreholes and taps) indicating that the major preference criteria was accessibility and safety of the water. However, where the protected sources of water were not accessible (too far from the household), safety was not an issue as communities opted for streams, unprotected shallow wells and springs (where available). Another important factor related to the functioning and reference of the system as noticed by researchers was the community's control over the water source. While some components of the gravity fed water (like intake) were wholly controlled by government (through the WMA), the borehole programme had generally been owned by the community. In Kaledzera, the water flow was hence frequently abruptly by the WMA to clean the tanks while the borehole was always open for use.

Table below shows a sources preference scoring matrix done by a group of men and women at Phodogoma villages.

Table 2: Source Preference scoring matrix for Phodogoma

Attribute	Well	Borehole	River
Availability	x	x x x x	-
Durability	x x x x	x	-
Taste	-	x x x x x	-
Overall Preference	-	x x x x x	-

7.0 EFFECTIVE FINANCING

7.1 Investment and Recurrent Costs

Effective financing of a water programme must begin by examining the role and nature of community contributions during the project initiation and implementation and later, on operations and maintenance of that system. Like any other community self help projects, the major contributions made by the communities during the establishments of both the underground water programme and the gravity fed scheme, were the provision of unskilled labour and other in-kind services. The nature of the unskilled labour provided depended on the type of scheme and varied from collection of sand and stones, clearing the land to digging the trenches and laying pipes in the gravity-fed schemes. While this labour could be taken as an investment cost, there had been no creativity to attach a value to the overall project cost.

7.2 Systems of financing

A more evident way of financing the system emerges after the water point has been completed and handed over to the communities. Water point communities are usually formed after construction has been finalised and if there is responsibility they are entitled with is the mobilisation of funds towards operations and maintenance of the system. Unfortunately no training capacity were given to the committee on they could accomplish such task as income generation for the maintenance of the water point. As a result, from the key informant interviews and various focus group and individual household discussions, there is long-term, trackable financing system/mechanism for the operations and maintenance of water points. Of course committees exist. But they conduct ad hoc door to door campaigns, just like in Thyolo, to collect financed contributions (ranging from K2 to K10) from the users only when the water points has substantially broken down. Preventive maintenance is very

low and rarely appreciated.

7.3 Local Monitoring and Control

Of all the 3 villages visited, and all the 12 water points assessed none of the committees had readily available spare parts none kept records of previous financial transactions and none had a tap/pump maintenance fund.

Contributions are not regular as such communities whose taps or boreholes have never broken down since installation have never contributed any money.

8.0 INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS FOR EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT

The Government of Malawi through the First Country Cooperation Framework funded by UNDP has introduced district focussed planning and implementation of development projects. The framework, which started as the GOM/UNDP Fifth Country Programme in six districts of Nsanje, Thyolo, Dedza, Mangochi, Mchinji and Nkhata, has extended the district planning approach to the remaining districts of the country. Structures to support the approach have been set-up even in Phalombe at both district and community levels. The structures which have been institutionalised at district and community levels are multi-sectoral in approach to enable them to handle all developmental projects and programmes.

8.1 District Structures

Two structures vis a vis District Development Committee (DDC) and the District Executive Committee (DEC) exist at the district level to coordinate development activities at the district level. The DDC works as a policy guiding body for the district. It ensures that district projects and programmes are consistent with policy and hence it approves programmes and projects of the district which originate from the community through the DEC. Membership includes the District Commissioner (DC) who is also the chairperson by default, all Members of Parliament (MP) in the district, district chairpersons of political parties (which are represented in the National Assembly), Chiefs (TA), representatives of non-government organisations and business people. The DEC works as the technical arm of the DDC at the district. Membership is composed of the District Development Officer (DDO) who is chairperson, representatives from all governmental sectors and NGOs.

These district structures are established to support demand responsive participatory approaches because projects which are approved at this level come from the grassroots after gaps have been identified. However, there was

a general concern that provision of WSS sometimes take a different approach mainly in terms of where to locate such facilities. In a number of incidences, in all the sites, top-down approaches have been used basically because politicians interfere by deciding the location for political gains and not where the community want. In such cases, demand responsiveness approaches, though useful, have been frustrated. There has been a number of water points which have been installed in locations where the communities did not demand for it, and are no longer operational because demand responsiveness was not there.

Membership to these two structures is already determined because those who are in certain position are members by default. It is difficult to make a deliberate effort to be gender sensitive regarding portfolios within the committee. As it is difficult to achieve gender participation and representation. In Phalombe, the DC is a lady, and by default she is the Chairperson of the DDC. Out of the committee of 24, only 3 are ladies. One is the Chairperson and the rest are just members. Representation of men and women is determined by who is in what position in the existing structures where members come from. This has a bearing on how many women would be taking key positions in the committee. However, women use water facilities more than men but their representation and participation at the concluding level is not satisfactory. This is a sign that not many women occupy key positions at district level in Phalombe.

It is recommended that the policy should be reviewed to deliberately create an opportunity for participation and representation of both men and women. Phalombe as a district is new, and as such a starting point could be at the employment procedure where women could be encouraged to apply and occupy such positions.

8.2 Structures at Traditional Authority Level

Just like at the district level, two structures exist at the TA level. There is the Area Development Committee (ADC) which works just like the DDC at the district level. The other one is the Area Executive Committee (AEC). The AEC passes on projects from the community level to the DEC through the ADC. The Chairperson for the ADC is the TA who is also a member of DDC. The technical body at this level is the AEC whose Chairperson is elected among the extension workers from ministries or NGOs represented at community level. Membership includes all extension workers in the area.

The issues of gender representation and participation at this level is the same as at district level. At this level, project ideas come from the communities. However, in cases where Members of Parliament have an upper hand, top-down approach can also happen at this level, in which case, the MP(s) can

decide to locate a water facility where the community might not have requested for it.

It was observed that there was lack of coordination between the structures at this level and the lower level because the VDC has not yet started working. There is need to enhance coordination and also sensitise the committees on issues of gender and demand responsiveness.

8.3 Structures at Group Village Headman Level

At the VGH level, there are Village Development Committees (VDC). This is basically where projects are originated and implemented after they are identified by the community. By the time the survey was taking place there was no system for prioritising development projects because committees had not yet been trained. Membership to the VDC includes the Group Village Headman (GVH) who is the Chairperson of this body, all Village Headmen and religious leaders. The VDC was formed only 5 months ago at the time of our visit. The committee has been waiting for training ever since.

The VDCs are on average composed of about 13 men and 3 women. Gender issues are not deliberately supported at this level although some of the members of the committees are women. Representation and participation of women is quite low. The structures at this level are quite strategic to handle developmental issues in a demand responsive approach, although they were not very functional at the time of our visit. It was observed that the committees were very active but only lacked training. In all sites, the committees raised a concern that there is a lot of political interference in the WSS programmes. Certain facilities have ended up going to locations for political gains rather than where the committee decided to go. Where political interference has happened, failure rate to sustain such facilities is very high.

The gap that exists between the VDCs and the upper and lower levels could be reduced if the VDCs are trained. There is also need to sensitise the committees and the communities in general on Gender and demand responsive approaches in WSS programmes.

8.4 Structures at grassroots level

Apart from other sectoral committees, two WSS related committees exist at community levels in all sites. They are the Village Health Committees and the Water Point Committees. The two committees existed as either separate committees (as in Phodogoma) or as one committee (as in Yuwa and Kaledzera).

The Water Point Management Committees (WPC) are responsible for the

operation and maintenance of water points and ensuring that they are in an expected working condition. Although, it is the policy of the Government that the committees be trained, some of the committee were not trained.

The Village Health Committee (VHC) which looks at all sanitation issues in the community.

Other committees that existed in the sites included School Committee which looked after school development issues and Orphan Committee which takes care of the concern of the orphans in the village. They have an oil pressing machine which generates income for the orphans.

These bodies are in direct link with the beneficiaries. Through these structures, the community can communicate their needs to AEC.

It was noted that gender representation and participation was quite good at this level, especially for the WPC and Orphan Committee. It was noted that where World Vision International worked, the organisation recommended to the community that the WPC should have gender representation and participation, a very welcome development. The VHC was originally composed of men, and the idea of bringing in women was an after thought. It was indicated that women were brought in to help carrying water to make the san plats. The women participation in making decisions is therefore very remote, after all they are just committee members.

There is need to train the WPC in water management, and together with the other committees in gender and demand responsive approaches for effective service delivery and capacity building which contributes to sustain ability.

9.0 EFFECTIVE USE

Due to poor distribution and inadequate water points in the sites, some households still use water from unprotected sources like rivers, stream and wells for drinking. Where boreholes or taps are within a walking distance, water from other sources is only used only irrigating vegetables, moulding bricks, washing and income generating activities. Washing was not taken to require safe water.

The table below shows how water from various water sources in Phodogoma village is used.

Table 3: Water uses in Phodogoma

USE	SOURCE			
	unprotected shallow well	borehole	river	spring
Drinking	y*	y	-	y
Cooking	y*	y	-	y
Bathing	y*	y	-	y
Washing	y*	y	y	y
Brick molding	y*	y	-	-
Watering vegetables	y*	y	-	-

- water not used for that purpose
- y water used for that purpose
- y* water used for that purpose in absence of a borehole

Waste water was used for economical purposes like vegetable production. In almost all cases, waste water was let to run off and filtrate into the soil. When a suggestion was made to the community on the possibility of using it for irrigating vegetables which could be grown around the water point by the committee, the community in Phodogoma was more than willing to try the idea. The research team recommend such an idea but should be implemented with sectoral ministries/organisations leading with Income-generations and agriculture.

9.1 Preference of sources of water

Comparisons between taps and boreholes to taps because of several reasons. One reasons was that people are sure of the safety of the borehole water by nature of its source while the safety of gravity-fed water is not guaranteed. Secondly, because they (the community have complete control over boreholes while under the gravity-fed scheme taps can also be closed by water department officials. In terms of durability of service, the boreholes are more durable. For example some boreholes have never broken since 1974, hence financial demands for operations and maintenance from the community are very low. However, where both boreholes and taps coexist, like in Kaledzera, there was a high degree of complementarity of the two sources which was also appreciated by the community.

It was not surprising that in this village people requested for more boreholes and not more taps.

9.2 Projects impact

Any analysis of the effective use of a water scheme must also examine the nature of project impact, qualitatively or quantitatively as perceived by the user community in a specified project area. The major impact has been the reduction of water borne diseases been cholera and dysentery for all the sites visited. Although farmers still experience these outbreaks, their return period has greatly been increased. In some sites, such diseases have not been reported since 1994. If the HESP Component would be strengthened, it would consolidate this impact further. Actually in cases, where these diseases have been reported, the major culprit as indicated by the communities was not water but unhygienic handling of fruits such as mangoes especially during peak seasons. Children have been benefited quite greatly since they are not vulnerable groups from unprotected water sources.

Regardless of the inadequacy of the boreholes or taps, some women no longer walk distances of over 1 km fetching safe water. Although not all are walking/or benefiting in this way, it is commonly accepted that half a loaf is better than none at all.

In addition to saving labour, the schemes have reduced the time women and children spend in the collection of water. The labour and time is enabling women to engage in IGAs such as pottery (using the same water) to improve their household income level.

Another important benefit worthy mentioning is that since water is now closer to the people, households are more free to use it for personal and domestic hygiene which improves overall domestic sanitation.

The communities are also able to irrigate tobacco nurseries (especially in Kaledzera) mould brick using water provided by the schemes. In general it may be concluded that there has been a positive shift, regardless of its magnitude, from the state of hopelessness to somewhere where the communities can engage in activities that sustain their livelihoods, due to the provision of the water schemes, even with the presence of issues that need to be addressed.

10.0 DEMAND AND GENDER RESPONSIVENESS

In all the three sites the projects were as a result of some community problems especially outbreaks of diseases and scarcity of safe drinking water. However the community played very minor roles, except in Phodogoma where World Vision International used participatory project initiation techniques, in initiation and planning for the projects. The table below shows a summary of who was involved at what stage of the project.

Table 4: Community involvement in the project cycle by gender

Project stages	People involved			
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Initiation	0	0	0	0
Planning	0	0	0	0
Implementation	6	4	0	0
Maintenance	5	3	1	1
Total	11	7	1	1

The information coming out of Table-above was collected from projects at Kaledzera and Yuwa.

The information was similar to what was collected at Phodogoma village where a gender analysis on major activities and decisions during the initiation, planning, implementation, operations and maintenance of the scheme was done. The objectives of the analysis was to determine who did what and why among the rich and poor men, women, and children. Under the Phodogoma analysis activities or roles were categorised into four namely (1) decision making (2) division of burdens (3) access to facilities and (4) division of benefits. The table below shows that activities/roles their categories, who did them and under what influencing factor.

Table 5: A modified Harvard Analytical Framework for gender analysis in water and sanitation in Phodogoma village, Phalombe

Activity	Category	Chief	men R M P	women R M P	influencing factor
expressed need for borehole	decision making and control		P	P	the poor had problems getting water from far while the rich could send their employees to draw water
initiated negotiations for borehole	"		M P	M P	church elders saw the need and started negotiating with WVI
helped in the construction - carrying sand - carrying stones/bricks - cutting wood - carrying wood	division of burdens	yes	M P M P M P M P	M P M P M P M P	it was the duty of the chief and the project committee members to divide the burdens. The committee consisted of both men and women
sited the boreholes where they are	decision making & control	yes	M P	M P	everyone was supposed to give their views but the final site was chosen by WVI after surveying the place and the owner of the place allows
elected committee members	"		M P	M P	the committee had a meeting and voted and those who attended were the medium and the poor
is a committee member	"			R M P	the committee members were elected through votes basing the voting on behavior and character of the individual
chooses BH technology	"	yes	M P	M P	women had problems with the Climax hand pump and complained to the chief who together with chairmen and committee members expressed the need to WVI
operates the boreholes	access		M P	M P	the medium and poor men and women are available to do the work while the rich are busy with their businesses
maintains boreholes	division of burdens	yes	M		this is the duty of the committee chairpersons, area party chairmen and the village headmen. These people are respected obeyed. All these are men and medium
buys the spare parts	access & decision making	yes	M P		male committee members buy the spare parts since its easier for them to go than women. The decision is made by the chief and chairmen as their duty
uses the water for washing more	access		R	R	the rich have a lot of clothes that need to be washed. They can also afford to buy soap
uses the water for beer brewing	access			P	poor women brew beer to generate income. Those that are married do it to supplement the ways husbands generate income.
who is trained in skills	division of benefits	yes	M P	M P	these are the committee members that were elected by the community which consisted of the chief, medium and poor people
who keeps funds	access		P		the treasurer keeps the funds according to his responsibility in the committee and this one is a poor man
attends meetings	directs burdens	yes	M P	M P	the chief with the assistance of his subjects direct the people to attend
buys spare parts far away	directs burdens	yes	M		it is the duty of the chief and chairmen to ask the men who can do the work to go and buy the spare parts

KEY

RMP = RICH, MEDIUM AND POOR

Rich people were not involved in the construction of the school and boreholes, instead they sent their employees and/or some money to assist in doing the work. The money they contributed was put in the project committee's treasury.

As indicated above, community participation in project initiation is generally negligible. It was also clear that the community was not involved during the planning stages of all the projects visited, except Phodogoma, planning involved discussions/consultations on how the community would contribute towards construction, operations and maintenance, what type of structure should be put in place to ensure sustain ability of the water and (sanflows) projects. The whole process focuses on ensuring project ownership and community empowerment as priority issues in project sustain ability. However during implementation, both men and women, including boys contribute in kind. The major contribution is provision of unskilled labour during the drilling and digging of tenches, collection of sand and stones and laying of pipes for the gravity fed schemes.

Collection of sand was done mainly by women stones were collected by both men and women but breaking them down (sizing) was only done by men.

A major indication of whether the project gender sensitise is whether it main streams the concerns of both men and women in important decisions of the programme. Under every water programme, one of the most important decision is the siting of the water and the choice of the technology to be used. In Yuwa and Kaledzera, these decisions were made by only men while women were not involved despite the fact that they are the major users of water. In only one case women were requested to select the position of the wash slabs borehole site had already been chosen. The argument or the influencing factor was that men are the household decision makers despite the fact that Phalombe is purely a matrilineal district.

Under such cases where communities are not involved in planning for project, it was not possible for the villagers, especially women to make a choice on the type of the technology to be introduced. All the boreholes which are originality climax were however replaced by Afridev through the National Borehole Rehabilitation Programme.

10.1 Community participation in management

The findings indicate that medium and poor men and women were equally influential in initiation, identification and planning for the programme. Those considered rich did not participate because they could hire labour to draw water from further places. During project implementation both men and women equally contributed towards construction of boreholes by providing unskilled

labour. But during the management phase, skilled labour like repair and maintenance of boreholes, was invested mainly in local leaders who are men.

Even though some women were also trained in such skills, they do not practice because they consider such jobs as men's domain. Women do not have access and control over funds that are collected after the pump breaks down. The reason given by the community was that spare parts are so far that it is not possible for women to be directly involved. The majority of users are women and children (boys and girls) but the latter are not only directly responsible for frequent breakdowns but also not involved in the management of the boreholes.

11.0 POVERTY ASSESSMENT

11.1 Definition of Poverty

In general the people defined poverty as a situation where people have inadequate basic necessities to sustain their livelihoods. It was learnt from the community that the most important single or key indicator of poverty was household food security, which was defined as the ability of each household to feed itself throughout the year. People who do not have sufficient crops like maize, rice, and groundnuts are said to be poor because they cannot feed themselves throughout the year. The major food crops in the in the district is maize and therefore absence/presence of the crop is the most serious indication of poverty.

There were other poverty attributes which were described as very important, but when would otherwise be acquired if people had surplus food to sell. They were

Good clothes

The group defined lack of good clothes as a sign of poverty. If one does not have enough clothes of good quality, and when one cannot even manage to buy clothes, he/she is defined as poor.

Good houses

People without good ironroofed houses are classified as poor.

Livestock

People who do not have livestock such as cattle, goat and pigs are said to be poor. Livestock can easily be converted into cash to buy other basic necessities.

Access to social services like hospitals

Another important indicator of poverty for their community was said to be hospitals and other social facilities in their area.

Roads

Lack of roads and transport facilities in a community indicates the state of poverty in a community. Availability of roads, whether earth or tarmac, has the following advantages:

- Travelling to hospitals becomes very easy.
- Transportation of farm produce from the village to market places is not difficult because of the availability of roads in their area.
- It is easy for government and party leaders to visit their community if there are good roads.

11.2 Poverty/Wealth Groups

After the community discussed the wealth/poverty attributes, they identified three major wealth categories us-as-vis rich, medium (intermediate) and poor. In general the 3 groups are characterised by the attributes as described in the table below:

Table 6: General characteristics of Wealth Groups in 3 sites in Phalombe

Attribute	Rich	Intermediate	Poor
Quality and type of residential house	Burnt brick walled, iron roofed	Unburnt brick walled grass thatched	Grass/tree walled and grass thatched
Physical assets and utilities owned	Car, motorcycle bicycle	Bicycle with other small furniture	None
Livestock owned	Cattle, goats, poultry	Fewer goats and poultry	None
Food security (availability of maize)	Throughout the year. Can sell part of it	Up to August or September	Maize finishes while in the field. Survives on ganyu, they offer hired labour, have very little land
Business or income generating capacity	Viable throughout the year. Has a grocery	Seasonal business	Cannot afford credit since has no collateral. Depends on casual labour
Use of fertilizer in the gardens	Able to buy adequate and use it in the field	Able to buy some fertilizer	Cannot afford fertilizer, highly vulnerable group
Participation in development activities	Low	Medium, Attends community meetings	High, Attends community meetings. Also comprises of the aged.
Water and sanitation facilities available and accessible	Borehole, shallow unprotected well streams, toilet bathroom, drying rack and rubbish pit	Borehole, springs, streams, toilet, bathroom, drying rack and rubbish pit	Borehole, springs, streams.

The proportions (as % of total households) of each category is presented the table below:

Table 7: Proportions of Wealth/Poverty groups in Phalombe disaggregated by gender

VILLAGE	Proportion of Each Category								
	Rich			Intermediate			Poor		
	M	W	TOTAL	M	W	TOTAL	M	W	TOTAL
Kaledzera	ND	ND	15	ND	ND	30	ND	ND	55
Phodogoma	5	0	5	7	3	10	35	50	85
Yuwa	ND	ND	0	ND	ND	20	ND	ND	80
Phalombe			7			20			73

ND = Data not desegregated.

From the table above, the majority of the population (73%) the 3 sites are classified as poor, only 20% are moderately rich and a meagre 7% are rich and can afford to feed themselves as indicated in the poverty criteria in table above.

Women, as shown in the Phodogoma case are poorer than men. They form the core (58.8%) of the poor groups while fewer (30%) and none of them are classified as intermediate and rich respectively.

It was established that men are more richer than women because of the following reason:

- Men do certain jobs which are culturally not done by women eg of building of houses, brick laying. As such these activities generate income for men only.
- Men travel long distances to seek employment and ganyu while women are not allowed to travel such distances culturally.
- Most decisions are made by men as such they favour men themselves.

There is differential participation in water and sanitation programmes among the three groups. The rich are not as active as the poor and the intermediate although they use more water. They do not attend community meetings where development problems are discussed and as such they usually do not contribute towards the establishment of development programmes.

12.0 CHALLENGES OF THE WSS PROGRAMMES IN PHALOMBE DISTRICT

12.1 Political Interference

The village water and health committees in the villages visited were still operating with undue interference from local leaders. People are selected into/out of the committees by politicians. In the process trained members are dropped and untrained ones selected into committees.

12.2 Community Mobilisation

The self help spirit among the people is generally low as such committees have problems to mobilise people and funds for operations and maintenance.

12.3 Poverty

The majority of people live in absolute poverty and vulnerable to high levels of food insecurity. Poverty and food security remain major constraints to sustainable provision and supply of water and sanitation services.

12.4 Repair of Major Breakdowns of Boreholes

Maintenance and repair of major pump breakdowns remains a misery for the community and the programmes especially under ground water systems. In a related scenario, care, maintenance and control of the intake by the community is an issue that leaves a lot to be desired.

12.5 Proneness to avalanches

Phalombe as a district is prone to eruptions of the Napolo type. Any schemes especially, gravity fed schemes, recommended for the district must plan for such eruptions in the future. As if that is not enough, the area is predominantly flatland vulnerable to flooding which is a big culprit in Gravity fed schemes.

12.6 Population Pressure

Phalombe and Mulanje are one of the highest density populated area, as such water and sanitation issues feature highly among development priorities. WSS systems may be required to incorporate population issues as they related to provision of safe water and sustainable sanitation services.

13.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the findings presented above, the following recommendations are made:

1. The programmes should retrofit the health education and sanitation promotion (HESP) component to the water programme. The component should intensify information, education and communication for the beneficiaries.
2. Supervisory visits to monitor the implementation of the programme be regular and the extension workers responsible for the areas should be given support to enable them to be more mobile and innovative in their work.
3. All committees should be trained in pump maintenance and leadership skills. Every training programmes should end up with an implementable action plan with clear division of roles and responsibilities between men, women and children.
4. Gender and poverty issues be main streamed at levels of programme and project management.
5. All water committees should have written constitutions to guide their operations including the generation and management of funds. The Chief and the users should ratify the constitution through a community meeting.
6. The distribution of spare parts need to be localised to the community to ensure programme sustain ability at the same time ensure that both men, women and children have access to them.
7. Undue interference in the management of committees from local politicians in the management of committees should be reduced. Communities need to participate in the election and de-election of people into-out of the committees without political leaders dictating the process.
8. The District and Area Development and Executive Committees (DDC, DEC, ADC & AEC) should be trained in the CBM concept to enable them give the required support to the water point committees. The formation and subsequent training of the VDC should also be hastened so that it can effectively coordinate development activities.

9. A gravity-fed scheme is recommended in the area because of the availability of permanent. This recommendation should be taken together with the recommendations that will be made on other gravity fed schemes that will be assessed under this study. The only risk for the gravity fed scheme is that the area is prone to eruptions of the Napolo type.
9. Government should hasten the formulation of community based institutions reader the current district planning system to ensure that all villages, groups village headmen are represented.
10. Some consideration should be made on giving incentives to communities who are managing their water points properly to enhance participation and sustain ability. Some incentives would be exchange visits between different committees should organised to share experiences and committee.
11. The government should consider the food for work (food for water) programme in the area. The programme should focus creating sustainable water and sanitation assets which will eventually reduce famine in the area, introduce new development activities and improve community participation in development activities.

14.0 CONCLUSION

There are basically two types of water service facilities in Phalombe ie the gravity fed and the underground water schemes. Although both schemes are serving the communities, the operations and maintenance of the facilities leaves a lot to desire.

In both schemes, committees are not to manage the services themselves. Often than not communities do not have their own pump or tap maintenance fund that could be used to buy spare parts when there is a minor breakdown. In addition, the maintenance of major breakdowns for boreholes still remains a major issue.

Phalombe district has very high potential for both gravity and underground schemes. In order to improve the management of the facilities, there is need to strengthen the capacity of the institutions to allow through efforts like training.



Appendix 3: Karonga District Report

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GENDER ASSESSMENT IN
WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMMES**

A REPORT FOR KARONGA DISTRICT

January, 1999



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TEAM COMPOSITION

The team was composed of four experts from Ministry of Women, Youth and community Services, and these were:

- Mr R.B.M. Chakwana - a Senior Planning Officer
- Mr N.S. Bamusi - an Economist and Development Planner
- Mr B.B. Sibale - a Gender Expert
- Mrs A. Naphiyo - a Community Development Specialist.

This team was assisted by 12 experienced staff who worked as enumerators from the Ministry of Water Development, community development extension providers and the University of Malawi.



LIST OF ACRONYMS

AEC	Area Executive Committee
CDA	Community Development Assistant
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DC	District Commissioner
DDC	District Development Committee
DEC	District Executive Committee
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GVH	Group Village Headman
MP	Member of Parliament
MWPC	Main Water Point Committee
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RA	Research Assistant
STA	Sub-Traditional Authority
SSI	Semi-Structured Interviews
TA	Traditional Authority
VDC	Village Development Committee
VHC	Village Health committee
WIDO	Women in Development Officer
VLOM	Village Level Operations and Maintenance
WPC	Water Point Committee
WSS	Water and Sanitation Services
WVI	World Vision International



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1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Origin to the study

Malawi is participating in the Socio-economic and Gender assessment study in Water and Sanitation Programme along with four other countries of Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and South Africa within southern African region. This study is a UNDP-World Bank supported effort in partnership with International Water and Sanitation Centre, and it is coordinated by the Regional Water and Sanitation Group - Eastern and Southern Africa (RWSG-ESA).

In Malawi, the assessment has been done in three districts of Phalombe, Thyolo and Karonga. Phalombe and Thyolo are districts in the southern region of the country while Karonga is in the northern region of the country. Three sites were selected from each district for the study. The choice was based on the criteria developed within the Terms of Reference and also from the Working Document III of the UNDP-World Bank Regional Water and sanitation Programme. This write up is for Karonga district and is covering findings from the three sites which were chosen.

1.2 Study Objectives

The purpose of this exercise is to examine the links that exist between use of demand responsive, participation, gender and poverty sensitive approaches in the designing, implementation and management of water and sanitation services in rural and peri-urban communities with overall impact and sustainability. The results of this study will be used to prepare a national report which will later be integrated with outcomes from the other countries from the regional groupings. The information will be used to prepare a draft community water supply strategy which will guide the planning and implementation of water service provision programmes to rural communities.

1.3 Criteria for Site Selection

Choice of Karonga district was an entry point for other studies which will be done in the other districts. In addition to the two districts from the south, Karonga in the north was picked in order to capture cultural and traditional factors. The selection of three sites in Karonga was however based on the TORs and criteria laid down in the UNDP- World Bank Working Document III. The sites fulfilled the following conditions:

- The water and sanitation system should have been established and functioning for a minimum of three years.
- There should be some form of community based management system and practices in place.
- The project organisation and community should be willing to participate in the assessment.

The criteria above were assessed against the sites during the recognisance visit and meeting with the District Executive Committee (DEC).

1.4 Where and when the study was Conducted

In Karonga, three villages were chosen. These were Mwambuli in Traditional Authority (TA) Kyungu, Mwenengolongo in TA Kilupula and Mwamtawali in TA Wasambo. Mwambuli village is located 5 kilometres south of the boma and it is basically a peri-urban community. Mwamtawali village is situated 77 kilometres south of Karonga boma. It is 5 kilometres off Chilumba trading centre. The village of Mwenengolongo is 14 kilometres north of Karonga boma and a kilometre to the western side of the road.

Three Teams were in Karonga between 12th and 16th of December, 1998. Each team visited a site, and the following day was dedicated to confirmation of appointments and rapport building. The remaining days were for household interviews and focused group discussions (FGD).

2.0 STUDY PROCESS

The teams arrived in Karonga between 12th and 13th of December, 1998. The following day was used to confirm of our arrival and to make concrete appointments with the communities. In the three sites, the process was almost similar in that the teams could start with either household questionnaire interviews or community meeting depending on the circumstances in a particular village. It was also possible to start with a community meeting followed with FGD and then committee meetings and finally household questionnaires. Community meetings were attended by 30 to 100 people.

There were two basic ways of collecting information. The first one was through structured questionnaires which were administered to the households. The second approach used Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Under the PRA approach, tools such as semi-structured interviews (SSI), wealth ranking, scoring, social mapping, transect walk and observations were used. Meetings with Village Development Committee were also conducted except in Mwambuli village where the VDC is not yet established.

3.0 SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

3.1 District

Karonga has a population of 148,014 according to 1987 population census. Most of the population is basically rural. There are 3 TAs and 2 Sub- Traditional Authority (STA), whose population distribution is as follows:

Table 3.1: Population Distribution

	TA/STA	Population	Percentage
1	TA Kyungu	60,419	40.7
2	TA Kilupula	32,053	21.6
3	TA Wasambo	30,651	20.6
4	STA Mwakaoko	11,398	8.0
5	STA Mwirang'ombe	13,493	9.1
	Total	148.014	100

The majority of the population in Karonga depend on agriculture as the main source of livelihood. Food crops grown include rice, maize, cassava and green bananas. The people also grow rice, sweet potatoes, maize and vegetables as cash crops. There is a lot of business going on between the district and the bordering districts of Tanzania.

Karonga has a relatively high literacy rate. There are in total 119 primary schools, 5 secondary schools and seven Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSS). There are a number of health facilities available within the district which include one district hospital, 4 rural hospitals, 9 health centres and 10 under five clinics.

The district has two Water and Sanitation Services (WSS) programmes which are community-based, and these are: the underground (borehole programme) and the gravity fed scheme. In both systems, the communities are encouraged to manage their own systems through a Village Level Operation and Maintenance (VLOM) approach. Unlike the gravity fed scheme, the borehole programme has a sanitation component.

3.2 Sites

Mwenengolongo Village is under Group Village Headman (GVH) Mwangwela in Traditional Authority (TA) Kilipula and is situated about 14 km north of Karonga boma and about a kilometer west of the road. The population of the village was estimated to be around 2000 with an average family size of 6. Demographic indicators from the 1987 population and housing census indicate that the total area of T/A Kilupula has a population of 43451. The population density of the area is 76 people per square kilometre and is higher than the average for Karonga district which is 44 people per square kilometre. The community's mode of livelihood is farming, and the main crops grown are rice, maize and bananas. The area is close to the border, and as such, there is a lot of trade which goes on between the two borders.

Mwenengolongo village has a gravity fed water project which was established by the Malawi Government in 1979. The project covers areas of Chief Kilupula and Kyungu.

The other site is Mwambuli 2 village which is within GVH Katotola but under the jurisdiction of TA Kyungu. Mwambuli village is peri-urban located 5 Kilometres south west of Karonga Boma. The village has a population of 1200. It is a population where literacy rate is relatively high. The people are Nkhonde by tribe and they speak Nkhonde language. The mode of livelihood is generally farming and doing businesses. The main crops grown are rice, maize and bananas. The site is not far from Lake Malawi (approximately 7 kilometres), but fishing is not common. It is a patrilineal society where men have generally more control over resources than their female counterparts. Just like Mwenengolongo village, the village is not far from the border with Tanzania and as such, there is a lot of business going on between the bordering villages. Being near the boma, there are few individuals who have private water connection from the Water Board. There is a feeder road connecting the village and the Boma through the main road. The site does not have a school, maize mill and a market. But all these facilities are within reach. Karonga District hospital is just on the boarder of the village.

Mwambuli village has three boreholes which were provided by DANIDA in 1991. These boreholes were enough then, but now the population has increased so much so that they are no longer sufficient. The village is peri-urban and any population expansion of the town affects the villages close to it. There are Water Board pipes about 3 kilometres away, but only the well to do people have these private connections.

The third village of Mwamtawali is 77 kilometres from Karonga boma. It is within TA Wasambo, but it was difficult for the community to tell us the population of the village. The people are farmers, and they grow cassava, maize and rice as their major food crops. Since they are close to the main road, they also do a lot of business. Although they are about three kilometres from Lake Malawi, there is no serious fishing taking place. However, the community benefit from the port which is about 11 Kilometres away for transport. The people are Tumbuka by tribe and they also speak tumbuka.

In 1973, the Government of Malawi established rural water project in the area, but it has been having a lot of problems. In 1989, DANIDA came in and provided 6 boreholes to the community as a solution to the problems faced with the rural water supply. At the moment, the boreholes are the main source of water for the village

3.2.1 Poverty Assessment

The three communities defined poverty as deprivation of basic needs. In the three societies, people identified a rich person by looking at what they may have or afford to do as reflected in the table below.

Table 3.2.1: Wealth Characteristics

Mwambuli	Rank	Mwenengolongo	Rank	Mwamtawali	Rank
Mill	1	Food	1	Food	1
Store	2	Iron roofed and burnt brick house	2	Money	2
Cattle	3	Livestock	3	Iron roofed and burnt brick house	3
Car	4	Plough	4	Have workers	4
Iron roofed and burnt brick house	5	Radio	5	Can send children to private schools	5
Poultry	6	Bicycle	6	Well dressed	6
				Can pay for a water tap at their home	7

Information from the above table helped the communities to categorise the population into three groups, namely: the rich, those who are in the middle

(medium) and the poor. It was noted that 78% of the people are poor and 15% are in the medium group while as 7% are rich. It can therefore be noted that the majority of the population is poor.

The community clearly mentioned that the borehole was for the poor. Both men and women indicated that people within the poverty group participate fully in water and sanitation issues together with those who are within the medium group. It was also revealed that the poor are in the fore front when it comes to issues of water and sanitation. Most of the well to do people normally have private connections. The poor therefore participate fully in Water and Sanitation Services (WSS) programme. In addition, those within the rich category also participate, only that the participation is mainly in monetary form if it requires their presence. The poor will mostly offer labour except in circumstances where it is money and money only which is being required. The case changes when it comes to gravity fed scheme. The fact that there is no water most of the times, people have resorted to using water from the river and shallow unprotected wells. The most affected category is the majority poor.

The other element that came out clearly is the fact that all groups have equal access to water and sanitation services. Even if some rich people were not cooperative to make contributions, when the private taps fail they still have access to the borehole only that they are required to pay penalty first before allowed to draw water. When it came to utilisation of WSS facilities, the community stated that the well to do, mostly those in the medium group use more water than the poor. The poor have less activities than the rich for example, the people mentioned that the well to do person has more clothes, more containers to store water. The area is close to the town, and the well to do have projects of construction. On overall, it was indicated that women use more water than men, girls and boys in the household. The multi-faceted roles played by women requires them to use more water.

4.0 MAJOR FINDINGS

In all the areas visited, the WSS facilities available can not meet the current demand. At the time of installation of some of the facilities, the population could get enough water from the facilities. Below is a table specifying distribution of water facilities in the three villages under study:

Table 4.0: Distribution of Water Facilities

Village	Population	Number of		
		Boreholes	Shallow Wells	Gravity Fed
Mwamtawali	D/K	6	N/A	N/A
Mwambuli 2	1200	3	N/A	N/A
Mwenengolongo	2000	N/A	N/A	5

Note: D/K = Don't Know, N/A = Not Available

The sanitation situation around water points for the gravity fed scheme was poor. Pigs were drinking from the soak away area where it is waterlogged because the soak away pit is sealed. Sustainability for the gravity fed system looked to be remote. The introduction of the system in Mwamutawali in 1973 was later overtaken by the borehole project because the communities could not afford to maintain the service. In Mwenengolongo, the taps are in good condition, but they are dry most of the time. In dry season, the source dries up and there is no water. During the rainy season, the river from where the source is floods and the pipes are often washed away. This situation makes the gravity fed scheme not effectively sustained. There is no commitment from the community to look after it because the service is not reliable. In moments when taps are dry, the people get water from the river and shallow unprotected wells. There are 9 Boreholes in the two areas under study. At the time of the visit, only one borehole was not working. The communities were generally able to keep the boreholes functioning. The threat is that the population has now grown, and the demand for the service has increased. As a result, the frequency of break down has also increased.

The sanitation situation in the three sites was not very good. The water services, except the borehole project, did not come with a component of sanitation. Where sanitation was a component of the water facility, it has not been given the emphasis it deserves. This was generally noted in the three sites. There were no village health committees responsible for sanitation issues. In most instances, there would only be a Health Surveillance Assistant (HSA) without a committee to work with him. The education and awareness efforts made were not enough to bring about noticeable change. This can be noted from the distribution table below of pit latrines, rubbish pits, bathrooms and drying racks.

Table 4.1: Sanitation facilities

Village	Number of				
	Households	Pit latrines	Rubbish pits	Bathrooms	Drying rack
Mwamtawali	DK	DK	DK	DK	DK
Mwambuli 2	300	51	DK	70	DK
Mwenengolongo	500	DK	DK	DK	DK

4.1 Institutional Analysis

The Government of Malawi through the Sixth Cycle programme funded by UNDP has introduced decentralisation planning and implementation of development projects. The current phase of the programme has extended the approach to the remaining districts of the country. Structures to support this effort have been set-up even in Karonga at both district and community levels. The structures which have been institutionalised at district and GVH levels are multi-sectoral in composition to enable it handle all developmental projects and programmes.

4.1.1 District Structures

The two structures of District Development Committee (DDC) and the District Executive Committee (DEC) exist at the district level. The DDC works as a policy guiding body for the district. It ensures that district projects and programmes are consistent with policy and hence it approves programmes and projects of the district which originate from the community through the DEC. Membership includes the District Commissioner (DC) who is also the chairperson by default, all Members of Parliament (MP) in the district, representative from political parties, Chiefs (TA) and Business people. The DEC works as the technical arm of the DDC at the district. Membership is composed of the District Development Officer (DDO) who is chairperson, representatives from all governmental sectors /departments and Non- Governmental Organisation (NGOs).

These district structures are established to support demand responsive participatory approaches because projects which are approved at this level come from the grassroots after gaps have been identified. However, there was a general concern that provision of WSS sometimes take a different approach mainly in terms of where to locate such facilities. In a number of incidences, top-down approaches have been used basically because politicians interfere by deciding the location for political gains and not where the community want. In such moments, demand responsiveness approaches, though useful, have been frustrated.

Membership to these two structures is already determined because those who are in certain position are members by default. It is difficult to make a deliberate effort to be gender sensitive regarding portfolios within the committee.

4.2.1 Structures at TA Level

Just like at the district level, two structures exist at the TA level. There is the Area Development Committee (ADC) which works just like the DDC at the district level. The other one is the Area Executive Committee (AEC). The AEC passes on projects from the community level to the DEC through the ADC. The Chairperson for the ADC is the TA who is also a member of DDC. The technical body at this

level is the AEC whose Chairperson is elected among the extension workers. Membership includes all extension workers in the area.

The issues of gender representation and participation at this level is the same as at district level. At this level, project ideas come from the communities. However, in cases where Members of Parliament have an upper hand, top-down approach can also happen at this level, in which case, the MP(s) can decide to locate a water facility where the community might not have requested for it.

4.1.3 Structures at Group Village Headman (GVH) Level

At the VGH level, there is the Village Development Committee (VDC). This is basically where projects are originated and coordinated as gaps get identified by the community. Membership to the VDC includes the Group Village Headman (GVH) who is the Chairperson of this body, all Village Headmen and religious leaders.

There is lack of coordination between the lower and higher structures at this level. The reason could be because these structures are just been set up.

4.1.4 Structures at the Grassroots Level

At this level, there is the Water Point Committee (WPC). It is responsible for the water point by ensure that it is in an expected working condition. This is done by mobilising the community to make contributions to finance the operations of the borehole. The WPC decides in consultations with the community how much each member of the community should pay as contributions towards maintenance. It also decides on the time schedules for drawing water. In addition to these responsibilities, the committee makes requests to appropriate authorities for additional boreholes because of the current population increases. The community elects the people to be in the committee, and they also have the mandate to dissolve it if it is not performing. Other structures such as Village Health Committee were not present.

It was observed that there was lack of coordination between the structures at this level and those at the higher levels. There is need to enhance coordination and also sensitise the committees on issues of gender and demand responsiveness.

In one community of Mwambuli, two structures exist at this level. There was what is called the Main Water Point Management Committee (MWPC) in addition to the WPC. The MWPC is composed of five people, and supervises the three boreholes in this community. It links up the operations of the boreholes. In moments when one borehole is down, it can solicit a spare part from a neighbouring borehole committee if they have it in stock so that they can return it when they have bought it. This facilitates quick repairing. In circumstances where the borehole has taken sometime before it is repaired, this committee negotiates with other WPC to allow people from the broken borehole to draw water without making them pay. Whenever there are conflicts they come in to settle them. It shares experiences of other WPC which are useful to others.

4.2 Functioning System

During the study, the communities in the three sites demonstrated to the research team that the borehole facilities were working better than the gravity fed system. There are five water points in Mwenengolongo area (Lufila Gravity Fed Scheme), and all were dry during the four days the team was there except one day. The community can not rely on this facility because it does not function properly. Unlike the borehole system, 8 out of 9 boreholes were working at time of our visit. This system was said to be functioning well. The only problem has been the population increase which can no longer be serviced by the same number of boreholes. It is recommended that one borehole should be used by 50 households. At the moment, there is need to double the number of boreholes in most villages in order to satisfy the current demand. The large population per borehole poses a threat to the functioning of the system.

Generally, the communities stated that the quantity of water from boreholes was alright, only that it is a problem now because of the increased number of people who are using the facility. Women end up making long lines at the water point.

But for the gravity fed (Lufila Gravity Fed Scheme) there is rarely water running in the taps. This creates a situation where the quantity of water is both unreliable and insufficient. It was further reported that this water is not treated and as such the quality is compromised. However, for the borehole, the water quality was good and the source is quite reliable. Reliability comes in mainly because when the borehole is broken down, it is repaired immediately (within a day).

It was also pointed out during FGD that the gravity fed system the taps are mostly dry between the months of August and January. There is water flowing between the months of February and July although there are a lot of washing away by floods at this time. But for the borehole, the people stated that the water was not changing with seasons throughout the year. In few instances, where there is over use of a borehole, the water changes colour slightly and becomes not very clear.

About sanitation, it was noted that the few rubbish pits available, most of them were filled. So far there was no effort made to have them dug again. As such, rubbish was just dumped in the nearby premises. Most households indicated that the decision to dig rubbish pits came long time ago before the coming in of the water facilities.

There are very few pit latrines in all the three areas compared to the number of households available. The communities revealed that they use their neighbour's toilets. It was explained that the soil texture, which is sandy, makes it difficult to dig a pit latrine. Those that are dug easily fall especially during the rainy season. Therefore people use the nearby bush and others they get to the lake. Bathrooms were not enough relative to the number of households. Some people resort to bathe at the lake or if at home during the night. It was difficult to establish the number of households with drying rack, but there were very few households which indicated they had a drying rack. The majority said they use baskets to dry up kitchen utensils.

There is need to make a lot of campaign and civic education on sanitation issues. In all the three areas, the sanitation platform (San Plats) programme has not yet been introduced to them.

4.3 Effective Financing

There is no indication for the Lufila Gravity-fed Scheme of a coordinated long-term financing mechanism for the operations and maintenance of the tap line in general and the taps especially. While user committees exist, they see no tangible benefit from the scheme as such it is difficult for a financing mechanism to be put in place. Financing for O&M is done on ad hoc basis with each household contributing K5.00 when some parts have broken down. The cost of the required spare parts determines the contributions to be made, and there is no fixed regular amount of contributions towards the maintenance fund.

Most of the time, the taps are dry hence there is no drive for the people to care for the scheme.

For the boreholes, one community, indicated that they were contributing labour. Where other members were unable to participate, they are asked to pay K5.00 which is put aside as maintenance fund. Those who pump water roughly are also charged a fee which is also used as maintenance fund. There is no regular amount contributions towards maintenance.

In one community of Mwambuli, contributions towards financing for repairs are made per household. One interesting fact about this community is that they have a maintenance fund which is functional. The WPC ensures that there is money at every point in time. Whenever there is a breakdown, they take money from the fund and purchase a spare part. At the same time, people are asked to make contribution of K10.00 each towards that spare part to replenish the fund. It is only when the cost of the spare part is expensive that households are requested to contribute more than K10.00. It normally takes less than a day to have the spare part fixed. Their participation is more organised, partly because they do not have easy alternative water sources, and they are relatively able to maintain the

maintenance fund. The community has put in place tough measures to ensure that there are no defaulters.

The contributions are mobilised by WPCs in both the gravity fed and borehole systems. It is the responsibility of the committee to ensure and monitor that the water point is functioning at all times. Where the water supply is unreliable, the committee is not active, for example, the gravity fed scheme. The WPCs decide on how much the communities should contribute, and every household make equal contributions regardless of their status.

It was noted that if the community owns the facility through their participation in all the stages of initiation, planning, implementation and maintenance, it becomes easy for the community to finance the borehole facility.

4.4 Effective Management

In all the three sites, there were Water Point Committees (WPC) at the community level to ensure that every water point is functioning. However, there were no Village Health Committees (VHC) who are responsible for sanitation issues. This could be a contributing factor why there are very few sanitation facilities, and cases where they exist, the condition is poor. In Karonga, it was generally noted that the composition of the committees was more of women than men.

Men were basically there to take up activities which would not easily be handled by women. They also help in settling disputes between women at the water point.

In some areas, the structures to support decentralisation efforts are not yet set up. This has contributed to lack of coordination between the grassroots structures and the higher structures. It is likely that gender participation and representation will not prevail at higher levels because membership and those to hold positions are by default.

The WPCs for boreholes perform their duties very well. In one community, there was an overall committee for the three boreholes, and then each borehole had a committee. It was reported that when the borehole was broken down, it would normally take a day to be repaired. It may take longer if the breakdown is a major one which involves the Water Department. The situation was different for the gravity fed system. Although the WPCs exist at each tap, the committees are not active. They are not committed because the water supply is not reliable at all. In both situations, the community stated that spare parts are available in shops, if anything, it is the money which is at times a problem.

Capacity building through training was emphasised after installation of the water system. The training was basically on how to look after the water facility as an approach to make the service community based.

There is direct link between sustainability and effective management. Every time a water facility is used, there is always tear and wear that goes on. It is an effective management which will ensure that the facility continues to offer the service intended. This has been the case for the borehole facility where the boreholes have been working. For the gravity fed system, management is not as effective, and as such maintenance of the facility including the surrounding is not effectively done. The management committee does not meet and it has given up because of the way the facility provides water.

4.6 Effective Use

From the categorisation of the community groups, the majority fall within the poverty group. The majority using the WSS facilities are therefore the poor. Water from the boreholes and gravity fed scheme was said to be used for drinking, cooking, washing, bathing and construction. During focused group discussions, the communities pointed out that there has been a lot of impact if they compare before and after the WSS. The incidence of water borne diseases has been reduced in the villages. This is because the water used before was contaminated.

The people have healthy livestock now because they use water from the borehole

which is protected and safe. People are able to construct decent houses using the water facilities as distance has now been reduced.

Before the installation of the water facilities, people were travelling long distances to fetch water. At the moment, the distance has been reduced tremendously. This also reduce burden of carrying water long distances by women since drawing water is regarded as women's responsibility. Currently, women travel short distance. The only drawback is that the population has now grown and there is an increase in the waiting time. Because of the long time women spend before the water facilities came, loss of trust among couples started coming in and as a result families were feared to break. Men suspected their wives of going about with other men. School going boys and girls used to get affected in that they were late for classes at times.

4.7 Demand -Responsive Services

Due to high incidences of water borne diseases that were prevalent in the village, and the shortage of water in the areas, the Chiefs felt it was necessary to request for safe water from the government. The community seem to have appreciated what the chief did. This can easily be verified because the community is very eager to participate in activities of the water services to ensure that it is always functioning. In this set-up, there was demand responsiveness in that the need of the community was expressed through the Chief. The boreholes have been functional to date despite the fact that there is very high demand hence frequent breakdown.

At the time of our visit, it was only one borehole which was not working out of nine. The boreholes have been there more than five years, and the community has been maintaining them. One can easily link demand responsiveness here with sustainability. In this case, the community just requires appropriate support for the facility to function efficiently and sustainably. There are other major breakdown whose repair are very costly for the community. In those moments, the government should come in to assist.

During community discussions, there was a clear request for additional boreholes, which they said are able to manage and to keep it operational with the required support from Government.

The situation was different for the gravity fed system. Although the facility was addressing the need of the community, the system can not easily be maintained by the community. On one hand, the community was in the first place not asked what type of water system should be provided to them. Issues of project planning and initiation was not done in total consultation with the community. This might contributed to the current situation.

4.8 Community Participation

The participation of the community will be investigated by considering the project cycle of WSS programme which includes project initiation, planning, implementation and management.

4.8.1 Project Initiation and Planning

During FGD, the members of the community explained that they asked for the water facility because there were frequent outbreak of water borne diseases. However, the Chief was the mouth piece of the community to communicate the problem to the government for possible funding. When it came to planning, the community was not involved. It was done by DANIDA (for boreholes) and presented to the community. Although the community did not participate in planning, these first two stages are very crucial and instrumental in creating ownership and commitment within the community. The community is able to put in place a machinery which they know will work according to their ability and potential. All this happen at the planning stage.

4.8.2 Project Implementation

At implementation stage, the community, men and women, boys and girls participated. The machinery which was brought for drilling was manual and as such men were drilling the borehole. Women participated in collecting construction materials such as sand, stones and water. They also cooked for the

people who were working on site. At this stage, the community was willing to participate because it was in need of the service. For the gravity fed, women and men were involved in digging trenches and laying pipes. Women were also involved in drawing water, gathering stones and collecting sand.

4.8.3 Project Management

Effective participation of the community at the management stage of the project acts as an indicator for determining the sustainability of the facility. It involves financing, capacity building, maintenance and repairs.

Through discussions, the community stated that both men and women, boys and girls take part in the management of the water facility. Men are involved in the actual maintenance and repairs such as dismantling and assembling of the borehole. These were those who went for training. They are also involved in the actual purchasing of the spare parts. Being a patrilineal society, men enforce laws set by the Water Point Committees (WPCs). Boys assist men during repairs and maintenance. Women are involved in sanitation issues such as sweeping and mopping at the borehole point. Women who have undergone training join men in the actual maintenance also.

Through the process of scoring the community indicated the extent to which men, women, boys and girls were involved as follows:

Table 4.8.3: Project Cycle Involvement Scoring

Project stages	People involved			
	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
Initiation	0	0	0	0
Planning	0	0	0	0
Implementation	6	4	0	0
Maintenance	3	5	1	1
Total	9	9	1	1

Further, just like the borehole system above, the community was not involved at the initiation and planning stages of the gravity fed scheme. However, at the programme implementation level, records show that the people participated in provision of unskilled labour like trench digging and preparing access roads to the intakes. Skilled jobs like surveying, marking and determination of intake site was done by the project staff.

After the scheme was established, tap committees were established but most of them are not functional. As such there is no working ethics and regular financing mechanisms to support the Operations and Maintenance (O& M) of the taps.

4.9 Decision Making

Decisions in these communities are made by the traditional structures which include the village headmen, group village headmen and traditional authorities. The government make decisions on policy issues in order to provide framework for operation. A good example would be the introduction of the decentralisation planning and implementation of projects and programmes. As a guide, additional structures have been created to support the approach both at district and community levels.

At the moment, there are some areas where the current structures have not yet been established. The nature of the structures are meant to make the communities make informed decisions. This has not been possible because such structures are being established in Karonga. In some instances, the structures exist at district and grassroots levels only. It was noted that in most instances, the chief would decide on the location of the facility. However, the contribution were normally determined after consultations with the communities. This is so because the committee wanted to have the cooperation of the people.

The committee members are elected by the communities themselves. Those elected should have the following qualities: trustworthy, faithful, reliable, responsible and developmental minded. Those who hold portfolios in the committee are people of integrity in the communities. At the grassroots level,

deliberate efforts are made to have more women holding key positions in the committee because water issues are basically women issues.

4.10 Management Capacity Created

The decentralisation policy by government requires a lot of capacity building for the system to work sustainably. In Karonga, areas where the structures to support the decentralisation system have been established, there is training given to the committees and then the communities so that they can be able to appreciate the system and also to make use of it. The structures are established so that the community is empowered to initiate, plan, implement and manage projects and programmes at the grassroots. Training has been on decentralisation planning and demand responsive approaches.

Participation of the communities in WSS has been hindered by the way the projects came into the communities. Project initiation and planning stages are very crucial in determining future participation of the community. Ownership and confidence is built within the community and they take responsibility over the preceding stages of project implementation and management. It was also noted that the poor are in the forefront regarding WSS projects compared to the rich. The rich have private connections, and it is only when the private facility is broken down that they end up participating in the public facilities. Training of the communities builds confidence in the people which will also encourage participation.

4.11 Division of Burdens

During FGD, both men and women revealed that both skilled and unskilled labour was required especially during implementation. Skilled labour was basically provided by experts from government (Department of Water) and DANIDA. It involved assembling of the water system. During this time, the communities participated in unskilled labour such as assisting in currying construction materials such as pipes, sand, stones/bricks and water. Women were involved more in providing for these materials as well as cooking food for the workers. When a manual machinery was used for drilling, men were drilling because it was

a more masculine job. Later, when the local people were trained in maintenance of the water facility, they were able to provide skilled labour. Both men and women could dismantle and assemble the water facility on their own during preventive maintenance, or when there is need for repairs.

There are routine jobs which happen at the water point such as ensuring that the water point surrounding is clean. This involves mopping, sweeping, and cutting the grass short. The women are involved in this work. In addition, they also mobilise the community when there is need to make contributions. Men come in to just enforce the exercise. At the end, women end up doing much of the work most of which is unskilled. Both skilled and unskilled labour is provided as community contribution and is not necessarily paid for.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

The teams, with the help of the communities made the following recommendations in order to improve the WSS programmes in Karonga:

1. The process of establishing structures to support the decentralisation process should be completed in the remaining areas so that there is proper coordination.
2. The government should train the committees in water and sanitation management and conduct civic education on health and general development issues. Gender participation and representation as well as demand responsive approaches should also be included in the training.
3. Where there is gravity fed water system, it was suggested that shallow unprotected wells should be converted into shallow protected wells as an alternative to the general acute shortage of drinking water.
4. The government should consider introducing food for water programme which would serve the community that is serviced with gravity fed water system to boost morale of the community regarding maintenance.

5. The government and NGOs should introduce credit mechanisms to the communities for income generating activities which can assist them make contributions towards WSS easily.
6. There is need to increase number of water points due to increased demand caused by population increase.
7. Sanitation programmes should be enhanced within the water programme to ensure that the surroundings of both the water points and houses are tidy. There is need to establish village health committees.
8. Communities should be involved in all the stages of WSS programme, most especially at initiation and planning stages to create ownership and confidence which has a direct link to sustainability.

