

Different Things to Share

Participation Keeps the Water Flowing

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1) Some Background Generalizations

Community Participation has recently once more attracted a great deal of interest and a tidal wave of words. It is, however, instructive to remember that under the name of community development more than thirty years ago, here in Africa, in India and elsewhere, the underlying ideas were very much in vogue. With the coming of national independence there was a shift from highly colonial-oriented economies and land-holding systems. Community development was to be the vitalising element in land-reform, agriculture, co-operatives and so on — all part and parcel of processes intended to galvanize and organize people in the task of building the new nations. Although community development departments of various kinds and non-government organizations kept the faith, as a major influence in development affairs, community development went into decline. The thrust for industrialization, the push to and pull of the cities, export-oriented production, foreign financing, the growing power of urban elites, the professionals and white-collar workers, along with the cheerful economic theory of the "Tricklet-down" of wealth to the poorer — all these transformed development thinking and practice.

Then, some ten years ago, community development ideas surfaced again (for many as a brand-new idea, earlier experience unknown and the lessons undigested). This time known as Community Participation, it grew from a concern that the spectacular advances in medical technology were not being translated into health care and that the "disease palaces"(hospitals) in urban centres were prohibitively expensive and clearly unable to reach out to the massive majority of the poor population. In any case, for the rural poor, preventive measures were more appropriate than exotic "cures". With the Launching of Primary Health Care (formally endorsed by the nations at the meeting in Alma Ata) health endeavours were going well beyond measures such as immunizations (which through extraordinary social organization was supremely successful in eradicating smallpox),

and would now find themselves involved in the mainstream matters of development. Fundamental issues now had to be addressed: Multi-sectoral and Integrated Planning around such things as food production and distribution related to nutrition, and (specifically related to our present concerns at this workshop), the matter of water. The implications of this growing concern for water can hardly be exaggerated. No one here in Africa need dwell on the catastrophic results of drought. In addition, as UNICEF, WHO and others repeatedly point out, water-related diseases are the great scourge of our time and, in particular, is the major killer of children in most parts of the world. As in the case of smallpox, in the main the technologies to deal with such conditions have been known to us for some long time. The problems reside in applying the technology appropriately to the geographic, climatic, economic, political, social, and psychological conditions that differ so much from country to country throughout the world and (as is sometimes forgotten in large-scale planning) can differ considerably from one small community to the next.

2) What shall we mean by community participation

The basic idea of community participation can be stated very simply. It implies a true partnership between those who have special knowledge, skills and resources, and those who can and want to utilize them effectively. Such partnerships work towards agreed objectives with the details of method and means explicitly spelled out and mutually accepted within a climate of shared responsibility. Community participation recognizes that knowledge, skills and resources do not solely belong to the educated, the powerful or the wealthy, but that each of the partners has something valuable to contribute. It requires that the relationships between the people involved be based on a mutual respect for what each has to offer and not on hierarchical ideas of superiority - inferiority. Some have different things or more to share than others, that is all. True status should derive from how one shares not from who possesses what or is connected to whom. Perhaps that is not quite as simply stated as I claimed it would be. May be a mini-example of the kind of shift in relationships - how one set of behaviour influences a reciprocal set - and the kind of power - sharing that community participation requires will illustrate what I have in mind.

2 (a) Experts and Experts

The jeep carrying the local medical officer bumps into a fairly isolated village, and while I am talking to the village midwife, three or four hundred children, some carrying smaller ones, come to stare at me, the foreigner. I notice the doctor goes among the children looking at their arms. I ask him what he is doing and he tells me that he is taking this opportunity to check the immunisation status of the children by looking for scars on their arms.

"How long will it take you?" I ask. "Perhaps 45 minutes", he says, but it is worth taking the time since we are here.

I persuade him to ask the children themselves each to look at the child next to him, and if there is no scar to hold up the arm. Two false starts, while explanation is clarified and by now 450 children perhaps, with a buzz of curiosity and excitement inspect each other. I say to the doctor. "From the beginning to end the activity took 4 minutes, and now we have the 40 minutes saved to tell why we are looking, why it is important, and anything else that you think needs to be done." I add. "None of these children have had any special education or spent seven years at medical school. Yet they are the experts - expert at standing next to other children and inspecting their arms." This is the right kind of partnership - each bringing his own expertise, in this case the lay child and the medical man, focussed on a simple activity and purpose, but of real significance. What has happened is that the doctor has redefined his role and theirs. He has acted differently from what is familiar and expected in the doctor/patient relationship and the children have reciprocally acted differently also. He has launched a short but important step towards community participation. This is a very simple example, but it is not quite as easy as one might think to disconnect people from time-honoured expectations and behaviour and to alter roles and maintain new ones.

Community participation, then, has much to do with our attitudes and behaviour to each other; as the song used to say. "It ain't what you do, its the way that you do it."

There is an account of the well-turned out official standing with his clipboard, watching hundreds of sweating villagers digging a channel. When asked who he was and what he was doing, he replied, "I am the development officer, motivating and inspiring the people." In this case, "It ain't what we say, its the way that we conduct ourselves"

Much, perhaps much too much, has been said about community participation but there is much less on how it actually is successfully achieved. I have been recently reviewing some procedural manuals related to water programmes around the world. I find a very wide interpretation in practice. At one end of the scale the documentation consists of detailed technical considerations: sizes of pipes and pressure capacity, advisable mixtures for concrete; construction of storage tanks ; trench-digging methods; load capacity of transport vehicles, and so on. The community participation appears to be mainly related to the people in authority organizing and supervising labour and the raising of money. In this meaning of community participation, the project is predominantly expressed as a technical operation with the community " fed " into the engineering " production line " so as to keep down costs of hired labour and expensive equipment. A contrasting project document states its idea of the community s participation in the water programme as follows:

" ... any individual project, such as a piped water scheme, is seen as one step in the transformation of rural society. This transformation involves changing attitudes, beliefs and behaviour on the part of individual people, as well as the development of entrepreneurship and community organizational and managerial capacities. "

".... improved water and sanitation services are not therefore seen as the end of the programme. Rather it is a means

To overstate it, perhaps, the first example sees people as a resource to be utilized in carrying out a predominantly technical undertaking by assisting the main actors in the activity - the professionals. The other end of the scale sees the professionals, the technical personnel and the technical necessities as predominantly providing the opportunity and stimulus of a practical focus for building upon and improving upon what people will be able to do together in a growing range of undertakings. The sense of achievement and the satisfactions arise from the growing cohesion and effectiveness of the community in identifying, assigning priorities, and dealing with its own problems. The people increasingly know the true value of, and how to best utilize, the professionals. This becomes a development objective (and perhaps the most important one) in its own right.

) Where to begin

The nature and timing of project activities and the ultimate evaluation of a project's achievements will be determined by the balance between the technical and social objectives. This/^{balance}is or should be, a significant policy decision, realistically backed up with resources to make such statements of social intention a reality. The social aspect has usually been much neglected, it is, of course, much more difficult to demonstrate within our statistically — dominated planning techniques. Interestingly, the renewed interest and activity in community participation has in part been fired by a growing awareness of a technical necessity. There has been a demonstrable failure of technical projects to fulfill their potential benefits. In water programmes this is most dramatically seen in terms of misuse of facilities and the high level of breakdown as a result of poor or neglected maintenance. The projects fail, it would seem, because the communities have not been deeply and effectively involved from the beginning. In water, and much else, success is determined by people and technology — like "love and marriage", as another old song says, "you can't have one without the other"! However, neither technology nor communities start from scratch — all have a history which determines where things are and what might be possible, when we make a start to bring change. Just as the geology and hydrology and what is actually available will influence what might be the appropriate technology, so where the community is, its past and present experiences and its expectations will determine what needs to be and can be done — appropriately. The technicians obviously must contribute what they know about the geology, hydrology, reasonably available equipment, materials, power and fuel sources, and their own technical know-how. But in the course of their testing and feasibility studies they must be questioned closely. The human and social implications of what they are doing and suggesting must be anticipated and made explicit so that the "people dimension" what the people can contribute in preferences, knowledge and know-how — can be taken into the reckoning and provided for.

) People Feasibility

I once came across twenty volumes of "feasibility study" in the forest-site office of a large-scale small dam irrigation project. The work was two years behind its total three-year completion schedule. Nowhere in the feasibility study had a realistic allowance been made for transporting materials to this particular land-locked country from the foreign port, across the intervening terrain and through the torturous custom-control formalities required by its neighbour.

Worse, the community's involvement was conceived loosely as receiving "training for better agricultural methods", once the irrigation channel was in place. Since the people had not been informed or consulted and knew nothing of the positive intentions expressed far off in their (and others') capital city, and they were traditionally uncertain of modern procedures for legitimizing their land rights, they grew increasingly suspicious and hostile to the surveyors and engineers, seeing the activity as a preliminary move in dispossession. This led to serious opposition to the field workers and the feeding of political rebellion to an apparently well-intentioned central government.

The need for early and effective communication with local people regarding programme possibilities, in anticipation of initial information gathering in relation to projects, should be obvious. The way these preliminaries are handled is very important. People need time to understand, think about, question, object, offer suggestions, reach compromises and take part in planning at the earliest possible moments for their projects. Perhaps here one should remark that the handbook directives to "contact local leaders" is nowhere near good enough!

The programme Officer, a community participation enthusiast, all the way in the jeep elaborated clearly and convincingly that "the project must belong to the community, it must be their project, not the agencies' project, not the government's project, but the community's own project." He, I, and the lurah (the Indonesian village head man) stood inspecting the water hand-pump and its apron. We faced each other in a close knot while children, women, and a few men assembled and stood respectfully some way off looking at our backs. Three or four little girls were hunched down under the mouth of the pump, washing clothes by pounding them with sticks. Anyone coming for water would have to push them aside (as did one

women who placed her baby's soiled bottom under the spout).

I asked our community oriented officer whether it would be good practice to separate the laundry and ablutions from under the pump which had been installed primarily to supply clean drinking water. " Yes of course ". How would one design a place for doing the washing in this village? Would the villagers prefer to squat, stand, sit at a central trough and talk to each other...?

He replied " I'don t really know, I'll ask the lurah ". I suggested instead we ask the large audience of ladies who were standing and staring at we " orang tinggi " (high persons). When the programme officer humoured me and put the question to them, they all began to laugh. " They are laughing " he said, " because they think it very strange - no one has ever asked them such things before!" So it seems no one had ever asked them how their project ought to be. How then could it really be their project?

Between the general theory of participation (or at least the rhetoric) and what actually happens in practice, a gap yawns. One knows and talks about participation but how does one live it so that it permeates our attitudes and actions?

5) Who knows what?

I note in one of the procedural manuals, under the heading " Materials required for design ", such items as Aerial Photographs, Topographical Maps 1:50,000, census maps, census books and so on.... In this particular country or local area, presumably such important (and relatively sophisticated) tools already exist. Where they do so with sufficient accuracy to pinpoint the situation of specific communities, this should become knowledge to be shared with communities in ways that they can understand and the implications and options deriving from this knowledge should be fully explored as part of the process of opening contacts with the people in the proposed project area.

There must be many situations where this basic information (basic to whom exactly?) is not available or would be costly or take too long to obtain for small-scale programmes.

In such situations (and even where general information is available), the specifics of any given community should be gathered on a joint basis with the community members. This does not mean the kind of questionnaires and surveys beloved of the academic social scientist. These professionals too must share what they have in the way the community can use. Too many surveys treat people like lemons from which the information juice is to be squeezed and the rest discarded. One must aim to leave communities juicier from the information-gathering process and to have new enthusiasm and involvement flow as a result of their now knowing (perhaps in new ways from the surveyors' sharing), what they already knew. UNICEF, particularly concerned with the well-being of children, might be interested in ways of bringing the children into information-gathering and planning activities. For example:

5 (a) I SPY GAMES - VILLAGE SURVEYS

I found myself, after much experience of "top-down" planning, emphatically insisting on demystification, and heard myself say that "planning is child's play". I remembered how often I had enthused about the expertise of children and how they constitute an untapped development resource. They are not usually recognized as manpower, even though a recent report states that in South Asia alone, 29 million children are gainfully employed, by ILO standards. Another fact is that children know. They know an enormous amount, and adults have failed to gather and put to use the very careful research undertaken quite voluntarily and without guidance, by children, using their inherent sense of curiosity.

It occurred to me that it was possible to involve children in this preliminary inspection work. I thought that this could be managed in the form of "I Spy" games. * One such game could be, for example, to look for every conceivable water source in the surrounding area. The children could work in pairs or teams, leaving some kind of marker or agreed "secret sign" at each source discovered, so that the same source is not claimed more than once by any "player", and so that a proper claim is made of each "find" and can be judged to belong to the first finder. Some kind of points system and reward for the most points could be devised. All the information from this I Spy game would then be brought together and displayed on the largest possible area on which an outline map of

* The original game goes like this someone says "I Spy with my little eye something beginning with ..."

A letter is shouted, and the other players try to

the village or community can be marked out - the school playground, a sportsfield, a market square, the side of a house. The map can be outlined with chalk, stones or bamboo, or scraped on the dry earth. The children can make models with mud, coconut shells, cardboard, anything. Then with sections of the map allocated to pairs of children, they would fill in the map, marking all the water sources.

A village leader, a health worker, or a youth group might organize the whole game. Better still, an enterprising schoolteacher might use a water I Spy game to teach and link many aspects of the curriculum, preferably as a practical activity illustrating what the school is supposed to be teaching anyway-map-making, charts, graphs, handicrafts, hygiene, social studies, essay-writing or as a valuable learning project in its own right.

From this basic game, we can move on to an I Spy "Sanitary Inspector" game. Teams are again formed and rewards given, this time to the team that identifies from all the sources the most water risk danger situations (having been told all about these beforehand - cattle drinking, bathing, clothes washing, open wells, defecation). They must place a sign to mark the danger and to claim the site for their team. The signs could be semi-permanent so as to mark the site until the risk was eradicated.

Now the risks would be added (big red spots?) to the sources plotted on the huge map. These water games might be linked appropriately to local water festivals such as Holi, Mahathingyan, and so on. When the whole layout is satisfactorily completed, the village leaders and the whole village should be invited to attend a ceremonial inspection of the map. The whole thing will be explained (perhaps by the children themselves) and a full presentation made on "Our village water conditions and what might be done for a clean village water supply".

6) A hint of integrated multi-sectoral planning

What has been illustrated is a child-contribution approach to planning. (The principle is the same for adults). Variations can be prepared and experimented with in relation to the village settlement patterns (for distribution points or pipe lines) or malaria-breeding places, nutrition (what is in the market week by week and cheapest), agriculture, irrigation, forestry, husbandry, transportation and produce marketing and so on. The information, the involvement and the interest engendered by these "games" could be the fertile ground upon which specifically local, tailor-made plans can be built. There is scope here for providing materials and enriching school teaching and curriculae by putting together "Lets look at our village/community" packages related to development initiatives. This sort of work should be well suited to UNICEFs 'Basic Services Strategy'. These games of course expect much of the schoolteacher or whoever and might require a campaign to back them up with orientation and practice sessions. It should be noted, however, that we are not necessarily expecting teachers to spearhead development projects, but this might be one of the payoffs for helping him/her to become a better teacher, by using the real-life situations of the local school children to illustrate and enhance the content which his teaching already requires.

7) What kind of community will be participating?

Behind this kind of thinking, of course, are assumptions about the nature of the community, and just as we cannot automatically assume the access to information of importance in technical matters, we cannot make sweeping generalisations about communities. Our plan and way of working and sharing with communities will be determined by many considerations of particular communities. There will be major differences if we are approaching long-established, slow-changing, rigidly-structured communities, communities with great gulfs between the haves and the have-nots, where political power is held tightly in a few hands; communities with caste considerations; communities who find themselves in emergencies as refugees or migrants newly relocated, with no organized processes for decision-making, or perhaps where great change, excitement and commitment are engendered by political upheaval and ideologies, giving people a burst of enthusiasm for doing things differently. Are we to work with established local

organizations which, although historically functioning for quite different purposes, can now be extended or modified to move development projects along? Or are we faced with the need to establish new kinds of organization which will creatively mobilize the community, although possibly arousing opposition from vested interests which can sabotage development efforts?. Collections of people are not necessarily a viable community, we may have to think through how we can contribute to making them so.

8) Who are the " we ", the harbingers of change ?

This leads to another set of difficult considerations, who is this " we " I have been so loosely talking about? Are " we " the outsiders to be trusted by the community? What do they think is in it for us? At the local level, is there already an energetic cadre of community workers? Is the authority under whom they function willing to encourage and teach their workers how to initiate effectively and organize people to consider and accept our interest in water programmes? Are there bureaucratic sectors and divisions of authority which would make this difficult? What is the track record of these workers and these communities in successfully carrying through earlier development projects or community endeavours? Is it necessary perhaps to set up and train a new cadre of promoters? Who should be recruited? Who will be responsible for developing what kind of training, making sure it is specific to actual conditions in the project area, rather than some educationally respectable fancy abstract idea of telling about things as opposed to developing skills in how to do things. What exactly is to be done with those trained beyond the awarding of certificates? Where, when and what will they be employed to do in what specific work schedule? Who will supervise their work as part of a line responsibility, to see that they continue to enhance their skills and advance the programme? Are they to be paid? By whom? How answerable will they be to the communities as well as to authority? What will be their conditions of service? How can it be ensured that their village-oriented skills are not dissipated, by the training and the structures in which training takes place, towards expectation of promotion to desk or non face-to-face with the community jobs? How can one overcome the only too-familiar attitudes of officials - " we know better " and replace this with truly sharing styles of

behaviour? The fact is that most of us are enthusiastic for change without starting with the necessity for changing ourselves.

We have been too absorbed with subject matter in most of our training programmes and too little concerned with manner and style of practice, much of which is caught rather than taught.

9) Style of Planning and content

In planning our water supply programmes we (the "we" again) in UNICEF are particularly concerned with related health matters. We place very great emphasis on sanitation and, with our child survival policy, on immunization, nutrition, and maternal and child care generally. It has been my experience in some places that our assistance in providing water has inadvertently succeeded in increasing water-related diseases where there had been precious little water to do so previously. It also has turned out that although the need for water was great and projects eagerly accepted, the villagers had quite different priorities than we, the outsiders, had in mind in designing the various systems. For example, villagers in the arid zones are primarily concerned with the survival of their animals. Animals are an enormous capital investment, are the major sources of energy in agriculture and for transportation, and are an important food source. Children, I am sorry to say, are obviously a high risk commodity and, unlike animals, are readily and often prolifically replaceable. The implication is that whatever^{the} calculations concerning the amount of water to be produced for drinking and domestic purposes a great deal will certainly be used for animals and the extending of the growing seasons by some kind of ad-hoc irrigation. The challenge is therefore how to include these multi-faceted but bureaucratically chopped up needs in realistic village-level integrated (recent jargon) planning.

This is not the kind of planning that ends in (largely ceremonial) agreement by Ministers to co-operate and support, while in practice down the line things go on much as ever. If integration doesn't take place in the villages, it is unlikely to have any real meaning. What we must aim at is end-of-the-line, bottom-up planning which will dovetail into and enhance the more familiar top-down operations. Where better to demonstrate true community based planning than

around such an important practical and symbolic item as water? Such planning involves realistic trade-offs. " If you need and want this and we are going to provide that, can we agree about how the water will be utilized so that both our sets of objectives are satisfactorily met?"

9 (a) Community Planning - a suggestion

At a large village gathering everyone is invited to list all the things that they foresee will need to be done. The emphasis is on activities. Bearing in mind the low level of literacy, someone is invited to do a drawing of each activity (no great artistic skill is necessary; matchstick men and crude representations will do, although it is surprising how often a village artist is discovered!). Each drawing is pinned on the wall until all the actions have been mentioned and everything seems to have been covered. The activities are then considered in order of precedence chronologically, clustering the pictures where activities have to be undertaken simultaneously. When the sequence has been pinned around the meeting place to everyone's satisfaction, consideration can be given to practicalities such as seasons, wet/dry, sowing/harvest, festivals and so on, so that above the pictures agreed dates for the activity can be placed. (Without talking the language of planning the community will have produced their own flow charts and chronological bar chart representations!). How many people, what skills, tools and resources, can be represented under each of the drawings and at some point who exactly will be involved in each activity can be worked out and added - a manpower plan! It is within the framework of this manpower plan - who is to do what and when - that agreement is worked out detail by detail regarding the associated sanitation and health measures. This becomes part of the water development bargain. It is here that health education begins. People can be expected to seek out information when they experience the need for it. The matter of bargain raises the troublesome problems of money. These problems must be realistically examined with the community.

Many water projects and the distribution points are " captured " by those who tend to capture the important resources anyway. Community water programmes must be absolutely specific in spelling out that the supply is owned communally.

Fair means of paying for some of the installation costs, the amortization of costs and loans, and especially on-going maintenance and labour costs must be amicably and firmly agreed upon. A dignified arrangement must also be hammered out so that the poorest (whether they be communities or individuals in a given community), who may not be able to pay equally with others, are not discriminated against in being supplied. And, as already hinted, the more powerful and prosperous must be seen, and known to receive, only their fair share. Elaborate household income surveys are not called for here, nor are they likely to be accurate. Once again, the specialist (here again the social scientist and his surveys) must be on tap rather than on top when the community seeks any guidance in working out the details. There are an increasing number of examples of how villages work out their schemes satisfactorily.

The " manpower plan " described above can be taken a step further in dealing with costs and bookkeeping * which will clarify matters even for those poorly endowed with numeracy: plastic bags should be placed under each activity and play-money (as in the game of Monopoly) used to count out what each activity is expected to cost. ** Where there is to be some revenue, from selling water or some other produce, a similar estimating and counting out can be enacted and shown against costs. Later as money is collected or dispersed, it can be shown to be moved from one plastic bag to another. There now exists a very visible representation of the community budgeting for the project and the whole collection of pictures and bags remains in the community publicly displayed and can be used for monitoring and further discussion as the project gets under way and proceeds.

* These matters of accounting have led to the collapse of all kinds of programmes.

** Everyone can count-out money even if bookkeeping remains a mystery.

The maintenance requirements, manpower, skills, training, reporting, back-up systems, spares, inspections and costs will also need to be spelled out here in detail, for as we have seen it is this maintenance matter which has led to the collapse of some of our best schemes. *

" PLANNING-UP" LINKS WITH "SUPPORT-DOWN"

Once the whole picture of the step-by-step development and the activities which are necessary at the community level have been laid out, it should then be possible and somewhat more familiar to work back up the administrative and technical agency structures and to tie into the community timetable and flow of activity the inputs and support from outside, detail by detail. Where there are activities determined by technical and administrative imperatives which cannot neatly gear into the community pace and way of doing things, these points of discord must be given special consideration and a mutually acceptable arrangement be agreed upon and replanned in the community. The range, content and timing of the activities must eventually all lead to a service that is satisfactory to the community and the authorities, and from the technological point of view.

When these plans have been jointly examined and agreed upon, they should then become the basis for some kind of formal contractual agreement. In skillful hands this planning process at the community level can result in the enhancing of social cohesiveness; health and development education; and the establishment and improvement of community/government operational relationships - all amounting to the essence of practical community and nation building!

If a community has been properly involved from the beginning in all the village - level deliberations, the quality, consistency and on-going interest in these planning exercises will indicate whether the outsiders can realistically strike a bargain with the community and the community is likely to fulfill its obligations particularly in the matter of maintenance.

Difficult it may be for our present macro-planners to accept that diagnostically speaking, as revealed by their lack of true involvement in the planning processes sketched here, the individual community is not ready for the

* Children are often cited as the culprits in many breakdown and maintenance problems. There is no reason why the children should be held responsible for the breakdown of the community's infrastructure.

input that the macro-planners have made available. More time and more work with the community may be required before technical inputs are brought into action. Possibly pulling out altogether from some communities might be indicated. if we could get micro-planning right, macro-planners might have a much easier time of it.

It will be seen that what has been argued here is a great change in the planning process. It is not a matter of setting community participation on top of our familiar planning, like an ornamental charry. It proposes a time frame which is required for people-change, which will orchestrate the mixture of social considerations and technical considerations differently. There is no ready-made formula or cookbook for this kind of planning, but a start could be made in practice to explore its possibilities and to devise strategies to learn how to cumulatively realize its full potential.