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Community Participation: The nature of training
as an integral process in development planning
and implementation of Water and Sanitation Programmes

by

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"... a lack of appreciation by technical staff of the value of the observations which villagers make, or could make if given the chance, concerning the way in which a project is planned and constructed". (White, September 1981)

How to create that chance for creatively and systematically releasing the latent potential of villagers for positive technical and social change is a problem presented across the board to all the sectors which have a role to play in development. Although we will need to spell out what is specific for planning water and sanitation projects, we must recognise that we are addressing just one aspect of a wider search for methods and techniques for bringing together the imperatives of community life and the interactions and instruments of development planning. Progress will depend much upon the general advances made in the state-of-the-art of community development and the learning of skills by external agents in establishing a true working partnership with communities for effective participation.

The water and sanitation field should have an important contribution to make within the broader context of community participation for development since water is often the first and very acceptable 'entry-point' into communities. In water programmes it is possible to demonstrate the credibility of partnership for development in very tangible ways.

However, one small step for the moment seems to be a need to agree upon a system of communication to establish some kind of clearing house for depositing, classifying, exchanging and distributing the training materials currently used in community development work generally and in water and sanitation community work in particular 2/.

2/ Perhaps a reinforcement of the work of the International Reference Centre for Community Water Supply in the Hague. Recognition of the need and similar recommendations can be found in Basic Strategy Document (IDWSSD, April 1982), Summary of Back-to-Office Report on Mission to Europe and West Africa (Listori, July 1982), and Integration of Health Education in the 'Care' Water and Sanitation Project in Indonesia (WASH, April 1982). See also later discussion of situation in Nepal.

Without a considerable body of 'readily available' training materials to examine, the consultant undertook a quick review of the more general community development documentation that could be found.

The range of ideologies and identification of key factors in community participation has already been given an extensive airing by a number of authors. (For examples see WHO International Reference Center, March 1979, Ibid. 1981, UNICEF/WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy, 1977, Communication and Community Participation, IDWSSD and Duncan Miller, 1979) It soon became obvious that "Too much use of the "rhetoric of participation" without the practice of it can be counter productive and create dangers, frustration and confusion." (See UNICEF Paper prepared for the International Seminar on Popular Participation organized by the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development, 17-25 May 1982, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia - especially Part V Lessons Learned through UNICEF Experience, pp 29-33.)

Consequently, the consultation terms of reference were revised and required:

"... a review of 4 or 5 successful water and sanitation projects around the world which have incorporated community participation. The review should identify key factors which contributed to the success of the projects, particularly any information and training material used to inform and motivate the community".

The selecting of successful projects raises many questions regarding the criteria for success. Examples of impressive arousalment of the community (in some kind of physical labour, for example) on a one shot-basis were not to difficult to find. Quite tangible results could be observed. However, as far as the stated wide objectives of the water and sanitation programmes are concerned these results characteristically turn out to be short-term and short-lived. Success cannot be merely a quantative expression of physical targets achieved over a limited period of time.

Success might also be judged in the context of long-term utilization of completed facilities and a resulting increase in the communities' capacity (social capital) for self initiated and sustained activity in broad based development which the water project has stimulated 3/.

Success in terms of community participation of this kind is what UNICEF aspires to "not a separate programme component but rather both a methodology and a goal ... its vital elements are those of shared decision making and responsibility; joining in the process of problem identification followed by programme development, implementation and monitoring. It means a shift from poor people and communities serving as objects of attention by development

3/ David Werner in The Village Health Worker -- Lackey or Liberator?, Hesperian Foundation, Palo Alto, California, dramatizes some of these issues regarding the proper place of participation by postulating community supportive and community oppressive programs.

"Community supportive programs or functions are those which favorably influence the long-range welfare of the community, that help it stand on its own feet, that genuinely encourage responsibility, initiative, decision making and self-reliance at the community level, that build upon human dignity.

"Community oppressive programs or functions are those which, while invariably giving lip service to the above aspects of community input, are fundamentally authoritarian, paternalistic or are structured and carried out in such a way that they effectively encourage greater dependency, servility and unquestioning acceptance of outside regulations and decisions; those which in the long run are crippling to the dynamics of the community."

Similar matters are addressed in terms of objectives to be evaluated

- "- determination of whether program goals have been met.
- determination of costs and benefits of a health program.
- determination of organizational efficiency.
- determination of individual learning about health.
- determination of the degree of equitable distribution of benefits (who benefits and to what degree?)
- determination of degrees of community participation and self-reliance in health programs.
- determination of changes in health statistics such as infant mortality, adult mortality and morbidity rates." (Hall et al, Nov. 1979)

specialists to their being full partners in the development process". (See UNICEF Paper prepared for the International Seminar on Popular Participation organized by the United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development, 17-25 May 1982, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia)

If one is looking for success in these terms, then unequivocal examples are very hard to find.

The implications, for Water and Sanitation programmes which either from conviction or from experience are ready to embrace community participation as an important element in setting objectives, planning implementation and follow-through, are profound.

Such considerations have been much in mind in drafting this consultation and we have preceeded as follows:

First we selected a simple example from Yalcuc in Mexico. Although simple, the material is unusual in a number of respects. It has been analyzed to show how important the community involvement has been, but also how much was already in place and did not have to be stimulated and provided from outside.

As a contrast, we then continued by looking at the reporting from Nepal where a great deal of work has been undertaken, much of it reactive to the discovery that the communities were insufficiently responsive to external inputs.

Yalcuc and Nepal provided a framework; although continuing to draw upon the documented experience from other countries, we decided that full scale analysis of two or three more programmes would tend to be unnecessarily repetitive for the present purposes. Instead we have suggested what seems to be essential in framing a before-the-event approach to planning with the community which would embrace the technical considerations, rather than the after-the-input-episodic-events which characterised the Nepali and so many other situations.

Inherent in the suggestions we have offered is that training needs to arise directly from, and be an integral part, of the whole planning and administrative structure and not be the added-on, somewhat after-thought activity of some external educational or training institute.

This is a departure from much that has been the experience of the past and we have gone even further in suggesting how the trainers of community focused workers will need to experience and struggle with the field realities themselves. It is from this first-hand field experience that they could gradually and cumulatively assemble the kind of training programme which constantly keeps in touch with, and is enriched by, the partnerships which are established with the communities in the process of planning and realising water, sanitation, and allied development programmes. The creation of a training programme as process is emphasised.

The matter of training modules is approached obliquely within the framework of this process, in which content is identified and a large range of mini modules will cumulatively need to be constructed, accumulated and utilized.

Finally we have hinted at some of the considerations that such an approach raises in terms of assistance to countries within the context of the Water and Sanitation Decade.

Clearly we have skimmed the surface and much more detailed work and field application remain to be undertaken.

Yalcuc, Chiapas - Mexico

The situation at Yalcuc is unusual in the literature on water supply and sanitation.

We have two reports spanning a relatively long period - twenty years (1957 - 1977) and though it is a small community (45 households, 6.6 persons per

household) the focus of the reports is upon sanitation (installation of latrines and their use) and sanitation efforts are always more of a problem than water supply.

Success here is couched in the following terms:

In 1957, instead of completely rejecting the latrines

"as did most neighboring villages, 88 percent of the Yalcuc households installed latrines and 65 percent used them. The acceptance rate was the highest in the highlands of Chiapas and perhaps in all of rural Mexico at the time."

Twenty years later, in 1977,

"the researcher found that 75 percent of the households with latrines in 1957 were still using them even though they have had to relocate them over new pits three or four times. Some households planted fruit trees in the old sites; others merely filled in the holes. The remaining 25 percent of the households who were using the latrines in 1957 are not using them now because they have moved to new house sites or away from the community."

"A health promoter still supplies concrete slabs and seats for US\$0.45 to any family wishing to install a latrine, but he does not actively promote them. Of the eighteen new households established since 1957, 44 percent have taken the initiative to install latrines and they are using them now. (Miller (Frank C.) and Cone, 1978)

An analysis of Yalcuc

Yalcuc is not the familiar long-standing tradition-bound human settlement. It is an agrarian community established as recently as 1937 during a time of revolutionary ferment which included a programme of land reform. Some of the labour force of a broken-up large land-holding began to cultivate the new lands which became available under the land redistribution scheme.

The matter of latrines was introduced as part of a larger package of modern health practices which in turn were part of a programme of "integrated rural development"^{4/} (road building, new agricultural practices, co-operatives, stores, etc.). The agency initiating these changes was the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (ITI) which is described as "one of the world's pre-eminent examples of applied anthropology" (Ibid. 1978) and was given its guiding principles and directed for many years by a distinguished anthropologist who 25 years ago expressed much of the spirit and some of the process of our most recent community participation interest.

For example, he is quoted as saying: "Any action programme...must be approved by the community itself". (Ibid. 1978)

It is emphasised that:

"...no projects were initiated without the permission usually the request - of the people."

and specifically this emerges in Yalcuc:

"...all the men in the community signed a agreement in a village meeting signifying their commitment to the collective decision to install the latrines."

A vital factor which apparently sets Yalcuc as a community apart from its geographical neighbors (where latrine installation seems not to have succeeded) is the nature of its leadership.

The village leader from strong personal conviction requested a health clinic for Yalcuc, accepted the sanitary engineer's suggestion of latrines as part of the larger deal and "convinced other leaders". However, in addition to whatever the leader's charismatic and driving energy might be, it is pointed out that the decision-making process was:

"...a classic example of consensus where the leadership tests opinion informally before ideas that are likely to be accepted are presented in the town meetings. Proposals are discussed thoroughly, and opposing opinions are heard respectfully. Discussion continues until the opposition is convinced or acquiesces. Never is a vote taken, and as a result, polarization of opinion is minimized. Miller observes: "The concern with solidarity is supported by a system of social pressure to comply with collective decisions and generally follows the norms of the community." (Elmendorf and Buckles, Dec. 1980)

4/ Our most recent terminology

While it is sound practice (the present writer thinks essential) that communities are helped to fully understand and consider the costs and efforts which commitment will require of them and to have some appreciation of the benefits which will result, Miller and Cone elaborate further:

"A broad conception of costs and benefits is required. The costs (in money and time) of installing a latrine were perceived by many as minor compared to the costs (in social pressure, loss of good will, and deterioration of solidarity) of not installing one. Similarly, many perceived the primary benefits to be not cleanliness and sanitation, but community values such as unity and progress." (Ibid. 1980)

Social aspects of the Yalcuc experience

To identify some of the social aspects of this Yalcuc experience:

- a) A climate of change (in this case political will of a revolutionary kind).
- b) Competent external agencies of change to provide the political and bureaucratic means of translating the will into operational terms (and the specific agency involved in the Yalcuc development much influenced by a leadership very much aware of the social aspects of the programmes and projects).
- c) Manpower, comfortable in negotiation with villagers and able to listen to requests and offer suggestions and modifications (the sanitary engineer).
- d) Recognisable and dynamic village leadership.
- e) A genuine and wide community following or partnership with the leadership ("aura of solidarity and common purpose").
- f) Culturally acceptable discussion processes between agency and villagers able to examine the specifics of the developments required, accepting suggestions and making counter suggestions until a package of changes are agreed (latrines, in the context of wide developments in health and in the region).
- g) Creation and endorsement of community "standards" around the specific development embodied in a formal signed agreement (latrines - acceptance was overwhelming because of the strength of social control and community solidarity).

h) Successful handling of both the social and technical implementation of the project.

i) High level of on-going utilisation of the facilities and a fair measure of institutionalisation of latrine building subsequently (health workers no longer actively promoted latrine building but what was originally "a matter of community concern is now a matter of personal preference").

Discussion

The quality of the community relationships are clearly of great importance and in the case of Yalcuc are presented as given and serve as a pre-condition to the technical inputs. The existence of such positive community conditions cannot, however, usually be taken for granted. Projects planned in any community should involve a judgement regarding whether sufficient community cohesion and drive potentially exists to successfully support and carry the proposed technical change(s).

Just as geological indicators, exploration, survey and testing are required to establish whether water can be produced, and to select the appropriate available technology, so too the social conditions need to be examined to provide indicators and a guide to action in ensuring the social success and likelihood of the attainment of the objectives of the projects. Where such social indicators suggest that the pre-conditions are not already in place, it will be necessary to consider what will need to be done (by whom) to lay a sound social foundation.

"Indicators" is used here not in a statistical sense but in the sense of quality. From the case study one is left in little doubt that the necessary quality is to be found in Yalcuc. However, what this quality is and how to judge it in relation to the likely outcome of a project is a subject which must be given much greater attention. How procedures and training to ensure and enhance the exercise of such judgements are to be developed is crucial to our current concerns.

The Yalcuc case study provides no information regarding training nor the utilisation of training materials at the community level. The sanitary engineer seems to have handled this situation well (if the results are our point of reference). However, we learn that similar projects and results are not to be found in the surrounding area so that there was no diffusion of this experience, nor seemingly did the sanitary engineer have to persistently promote such developments. (Later, although the health worker makes latrine slabs available as required, he seems not to have had any special responsibility for sanitary campaigns, promotion and the like.) It would be useful to know whether Yalcuc was an exceptional one-off situation; the converging of unusual circumstances; whether the sanitary engineer is typical of his kind; made a one-off effort at Yalcuc; or of greater significance, his work at Yalcuc was a clearly defined responsibility laid down in his job description and part of a specific work plan which for some reason did not extend to other villages or failed. Although the exceptional skills of a staff member are welcome and should be exploited, ordinarily we need to plan for the development of skills in those not naturally endowed and in order to widen the application of such skills well beyond the communities that spontaneously identify and request projects.

Training - Some general comments

It cannot be emphasised too strongly that training is training to do - to do something quite specific, and the specific doing must be related very closely to when, where, with what it will be done. Too much so-called training is knowing about rather than doing. Knowing about things is a broader educational endeavour and like most education leaves the application and the where and when of the application to be determined, if ever, at an unspecified later time in an indeterminate place by someone other than the educational authority.

Training must be work specific, directly and clearly related to the operational details of policy, spelled out in job descriptions and specific workplans, and matched as precisely as possible to a detailed task analysis. Training courses should not be timed according to predominating administrative

decisions and their length dictated mainly by financial considerations. The planning of training must be linked directly to experience of how long it takes for appropriate recruitment of this kind of person, with this kind of background, to learn and to demonstrate he can perform this kind of activity. Training then merges with practical supervision on the job and is part of an administration's line activity and not part of an unrelated and often disconnected "training institute". No amount of training can make up for the lack of definition in policy, operational clarity, realities in workplans, good supervision and expectation, specific assignments and good feedback of field realities. Feedback may lead at one level to change in the training given for the performance of specific jobs, all the way to the level requiring a change in policy.

To illustrate these general but extremely relevant considerations and to examine a situation where neither the community nor the agency pre-conditions existed, it might be useful to consider the situation as reported from Nepal.

Nepal

Jacques B. Bovier (Swiss Association for Technical Assistance) wrote a "special report" in December 1978 relating "Two year of experience in Rural Water Supply Projects in the Gardaki Zone". (Bovier, Dec. 1978)

He begins:

Our introduction to Nepal was in July 1976. We did not have too much time to visit projects under construction by the Local Development Department (LDD) at the beginning to gain experience. We were put directly into work at the Pokhara office especially for the conception and writing of the five manuals for the training courses. ...after the training courses, we did have time to visit projects completed by various departments and agencies." (Ibid. Dec. 1978)

Mr. Bovier goes on to say that for almost all the projects visited, the water supply was deficient in relation to protection of water source; quality of the structures; sanitation around the distribution points; and in

"...we saw the urgent necessity to build up a complete standardization for the various structures." (Ibid., Dec. 1978)

and Mr. Bovier goes on to describe his technical efforts.

It must be clear from the sequence of events that the basis for training even of the "hardware" side of the project was initially poorly related to the existing reality, a reality which was quickly discovered after!!!

In no way should this comment be construed as a criticism of the excellent Mr. Bovier, who quickly went on to improve the situation. It is however a criticism of the way in which many, too many, training programmes are conceived and of the fait accompli situations in which consultants find themselves and are expected to produce 'instant' training. This results in technically sound but often insufficiently focused manuals and materials for specific training needs.^{5/}

Mr. Bovier states: "...more than 80% of the taps all over Nepal are in very bad shape."

The job is done with as cheap an initial outlay as possible.

"Soon afterwards the people unbury the pipe, cut it and take the water from a small hole. ...There comes pollution...the purpose of the project is lost".

Mr. Bovier is recognizing, as all really good development engineers should, the people factor in his work and continues to acknowledge beyond the technical means, the social purpose of the whole endeavour.

^{5/} Here we see the general need for developing a "How to construct an appropriate training programme - (in the present case) - for your water and sanitation project" guide - a guide which concentrates on process as much as content. The process is discussed later.

Mr. Bovier does draw attention to a social pre-condition element (i.e. what will need to be done before technical work starts):-

"It is possible to build some high quality without a high price. ...Even if it takes some time before the construction to argue 6/ with the villages for the location, it will at the end give more satisfaction to the population."

and

"Of course an educational component through the school should help the children to care about the tapstand and its use".

and he continues

"...we saw the necessity to do many surveys in advance. ...Almost all the overseers do not have a feeling of feasibility for rural water supply. ...they are not strong enough against the villagers concerning the tapstand, quality and location".

Mr. Bovier identified the need and possible source (retired army serviceman) of a "responsible technician" -

"But they need many different training..."

"...a very small simple training will not help for our purpose or either a too sophisticated training".

Mr. Bovier opts for a division of labour, he outlines job descriptions in very general terms and gives emphasis to on-site experience in training. The community aspects are not developed very much further than this in his report, nor is it discernable whose job it will be to deal with these and what training would be relevant to the problems, although he makes some important observations:

6/ Mr. Bovier uses English (which is evidently not his mother tongue) graphically. 'Argue' here surely indicates a lively exchange rather than an altercation.

"If the villagers really want the project they should work for it".

and

"This is the actual point which is giving us the biggest problem. For more than 50% of our project, we have difficulties in getting these villagers for the work and delay appears in the realisation of the project".

To make a leap, nearly two years after this report (September 1980), the Local Development Department (LDD) with UNICEF sponsorship conducted a 'Conference on the Rural Water Supply Programme' (Local Development Department, October 1980) with two objectives:

1. To develop procedures for the implementation of a village water supply project, with special emphasis on engaging and maintaining community participation.
2. To identify all communications materials needed to support these procedures.

One notes the "special emphasis on engaging and maintaining community participation" which is not limited merely to maintenance of facilities.

In July 1980 the UNICEF project officer had reported

"Almost every project visited had problems of community participation. At present there appears to be no coherent strategy concerning the engagement and management of community participation. It is assumed that because the request is supposed to come from the community, their participation is somehow guaranteed and that it is necessary only to carry out a brief survey and design and then proceed with construction as quickly as possible. The evidence shows that this assumption is false, because usually the request does not genuinely come from the community and because, even if it did, such a request is only the first stage in the difficult process of engaging the participation of the community.

In reality, the engagement and management of community participation is a complex exercise, requiring certain definite procedures and the skills of experienced field staff. There is an urgent need to develop a more rigorous and professional approach to the whole concept of community participation. Such an approach will take time and experience to develop. Much experience has already been gained, but it has not yet been utilised to form a coherent strategy."

"It is likely that the construction of a water system is the biggest, perhaps the only, joint activity that the village has ever undertaken. The maintenance of community participation through the main phases of survey, construction and maintenance, covering numerous activities spread over a long period is something that needs careful management. The management should be provided by the construction committee, but the committee will be generally unaware of the scale of work involved, and of the problems and difficulties that they are likely to encounter. On the other hand, RWS programme field staff should be aware of these factors, having gained the relevant experience from previous projects. There is a need therefore for the field staff on the project to give much more specific assistance and advice to the committee and the villagers."

and he recommended

"Successful community participation is fundamental to the success of the programme. In view of the urgent need to develop a more specific strategy on community participation it is recommended that a working group of all the senior and most experienced officers in the programme convenes for about one week to make specific proposals. These proposals should state exactly what procedure the project staff and the community must go through at each of the phases of the project, before, during and after construction." (Glennie, July 1980)

Two comments can be made regarding the 1980 conference.

1. The conference seems to be an after situation similar to the one that took place with Mr. Bovier in the 1976-78 period. That is, the procedures, the community participation, and the communication materials are attended to in some detail long after large-scale overall plans have been proposed, accepted and financed, and the project has been under implementation for a considerable period of time. On the positive side (as in the case of Mr Bovier) recognition that things are not working out will lead to the identification of problems and the search for solutions and the conference is set up as a step towards corrective action. It should by now be fully recognised that future programming anywhere should attend to such matters before large-scale and expensive technical activity, in order to anticipate the by now very predictable problems which characteristically emerge at the grass-root project pay-off points. Herein lie very important matters regarding the means and techniques of planning such projects and the role and

level of operation of the donor agencies who often instigate and take a major part in the planning process.^{7/}

2. Notwithstanding the disclaimer that "...because of lack of time during the conference itself, some of the procedures were not developed to a final usable form", the conference has much to commend it. The evaluation is reported as follows:

"Achievement of Conference Objectives

"The first objective was considered to have been achieved. Detailed procedures were established covering the pre-construction and construction phases. The post-construction phase was not treated in the same detail because of lack of time, but the importance of maintenance was acknowledged and certain initial guidelines established for further development in specified follow-up activities.

"The second objective was not achieved, again because of lack of time. However the importance of the development of communications material was acknowledged by the conference and UNICEF undertook to support such activities in the immediate future."

The Conference ^{8/} outputs are considerable over the six-day period and both the manner in which these were produced and their content merits close attention. The material is presented in 16 annexes.

Pre-construction phase

The Initial Project Request Procedures (Annex 1)

• Application Form for Water System (Annex 2)

^{7/} A colleague in a different professional field (although, as he points out, very relevant to water supply) raises a similar issue in his field notes. The conference discussed above does, as he calls for, address low-level management and more finely detailed technical help.

^{8/} "Conference", "Seminar", "Workshop" are terms which have come to be used interchangeably. Workshop seems appropriate here as participants actually worked on and produced material "outputs". As we have commented earlier in relation to training to do in contrast to education about, workshops should also be set up to do, rather than the more general conference activity of hearing about.

Criteria for District Panchayat to Establish Priority List (Annex 3)

Village Preparation/Feasibility Survey Procedure (Annex 4)

Procedure for Conducting First Public Meeting (Annex 5)

Procedure for Conducting Final Public Meeting (Annex 6)

Detailed Survey Procedure (Annex 7)

Procedure for Conducting First Public Meeting (Annex 8) and Procedure for Conducting Final Public Meeting (Annex 9) for the Detailed Survey

For the Construction Phase, Job Descriptions were established for:

Project Engineers, Overseer/Supervisors, Water Technicians (Annexes 10, 11, 12)

The Duties and Responsibilities of the District Panchayat Relating to Village Water Projects (Annex 13)

The Formation, Membership and Duties of the Water Supply Committee (Annex 14)

Part I Membership and Status

Part II Construction Fund

Part III Material Transportation and Construction

Post-Construction Phase (less detailed but includes guidelines for):

List of Forms...necessary for implementation of the project, which would be Developed, Revised and Standardised (Annex 15).

The Village Responsibilities for Maintenance were identified (Annex 16).

The External Support Needed for Maintenance was also identified (Annex 16).

The External Maintenance Organisation was discussed and some follow-up activities identified (Annex 16).

In addition, the Conference made a determination to carry out a number of operational activities such as "elimination of backlog of surveyed projects", the recommendations, and planned follow-ups.

The true value of the 1980 Conference must of course be judged in terms of what was put at the village level in meeting, or much improved meeting, the objectives of the Water and Sanitation projects. Information and material is not available as yet to make such an evaluation. But clearly the

productiveness of the conference is related to familiarity and conviction of the participants regarding the problems and the need to address them systematically, and the culmination of a great deal of work and experience that has preceded it.

For example, contemporaneous with Bouvier, New ERA (June 1978) had also identified many of the problems emerging in the Water and Sanitation programme, as they were seen in the context of a broadening of perception provided by concepts of primary health care. (New Era, June 1978)

In November 1979 there was held a Local Development Department/Central Panchayat Centre/UNICEF Drinking Water and Sanitation Workshop 9/ (Nov. 1979) which also examined the problems. Most useful in this report is the documentation of some mini case-studies which were utilised to focus and stimulate discussion. One observes that the workshop had a strong Project Support Communications (PSC) orientation in its solutions and recommendations. Of particular interest (and this is common both in-country elsewhere and internationally 10/ it was reported:

"In Nepal, various agencies are involved in improving the living conditions of Nepalese people. Most of these agencies produce communications and educational materials for different audiences, but are not aware that other agencies are involved in similar activities.

9/ Interestingly enough (regarding the earlier comment on terminology) here the term 'workshop' seems less than appropriate except perhaps as regards the exhibition of materials. Although recommendations were ample, the 'products' of the workshop are not too evident. Although this 'workshop' seems to be a direct antecedent of the following years 'Conference', as far as one can see there is no specifically stated lead-in from the workshop to the Conference. Conferences should lead to recommendations for workshops to produce specifically identified pieces of work. Workshops, one supposes, might discover areas around which insufficient general discussion and guidance has taken place and a conference may be recommended to examine the topic in a broader perspective.

10/ See Introduction.

"In the course of UNICEF's pre-test training courses of 1979, it was discovered that many agencies were producing communications and educational materials related to Drinking Water and Sanitation. However, there was little co-ordination between agencies.

"Hence, the Local Development Department, Central Panchayat Training Centre and UNICEF felt the need to organize an exhibit of education materials for drinking water and sanitation and to invite concerned agencies to join a workshop.

Worth emulating elsewhere was "the active involvement by each of the different agencies in setting up a display of their own communication materials related to drinking water and sanitation."

A year following the Rural Water Supply Conference there was a National Seminar for Environmental Sanitation which produced a report, "Sanitation - Why and How" (National Sanitation Seminar, September 1981) and in the same month UNICEF and the Agricultural Projects Services Centre (APROSC) prepared a programme formulation, "The Small Farm Family Programme" (UNICEF and APROSC, Sept. 1981), which also includes a section on water supply and sanitation.

Project Support Communications (PSC)

Reflected throughout is the relatively strong and lively influence of UNICEF's PSC personnel. They seem to have been actively finding their way into and demonstrating their usefulness in many programmes. Water supply and sanitation has clearly become one of their major fields of operation. It would seem that in the early stages of their work, they have responded to needs which have emerged around technical matters. There are guides such as "Use of Hydraulic Rams in Nepal" (Silver, 1977), and well illustrated flip charts such as "How to Build a Pit Latrine?" (Integrated Non-Formal Education Programme Research Center for Educational Innovation and Development, T.U. and UNICEF, Nepal). There is an illustrated Nepali language booklet "How to Carry

Out a Preliminary Feasibility Study for a Village Water Supply" 11/ (Directorate of the National Development Service of Tribhuvan University)). This particular "How to..." probably arose directly in response to the oft reported observation of how poorly this work was actually being performed by the technical staff.

Much commendable effort has gone into developing a communication resource among the staff of Nepali government departments, and there is much to be learned from this regarding how to research and produce PSC printed materials. Professional recognition has come from the care that has been taken in developing the visuals in order to maximise comprehension according to local culture and traditional perception, and great pains have been taken to pre-test before undertaking large scale production. (Fussell and Haaland)

In "Planning a Communication Campaign for Community Water Supply and Sanitation" (Reader, Sept. 1980) prepared for the 1980 Conference, Cynthia Reader characterises PSC as "...aimed at maintaining or changing behaviours of target groups" and goes on to take the village maintenance worker as an illustration. She provides a very useful

"Ten Fundamental Issues

1. That an intervention project planned together with a target group in response to a need stated by them will have a much better chance of being adopted than one planned by "experts" for target groups. It is essential to meet and dialogue with groups to identify their needs and to get their inputs into their projects which will help to solve the problems.

11/ The production of this piece involved the National Development Service (the organisers of a student social service commitment which is a compulsory part of the education system of Tribhuvan University) as well as the health-education related agencies.

2. That research must be done first about a target group. Once the characteristics are known, activities, media and messages can be adjusted to suit languages, customs, location, communication behaviour and patterns, which members of the group are already using the intervention, etc.
3. That pretesting of all activities, media and messages should be done with members of the target group. This will clear up misunderstanding, prevent cultural mistakes and reflect the tastes of the target group.
4. That appropriate media (traditional media - at any rate), that the target group feels comfortable with and is not distracted by - should be used. Members of the target group should be consulted as to what media they would prefer to have used.
5. It is important that the materials used to train technicians and extension workers be similar to those which he/she will use in the field.
6. Training course for technicians or extension workers should itself be a participatory model so that when it comes to local training, the technicians and extensions workers will employ some of the same procedures.
7. That local influentials need to be identified, enlisted and trained as advisers, implementors, motivators before communication inputs begin. Further, special face-to-face motivation should be planned specifically for these influentials before mass media inputs begin.
8. That all necessary members of a government bureaucracy be informed about innovative programmes before they begin. Officials should be consulted at all stages of planning and thoroughly trained and (hopefully) motivated in methods for carrying out the programmes, as well.
9. That all supplies must be in place before your messages begin; or all resources mentioned in your messages must be easily available locally. If not, the credibility of your project and your organisation is jeopardized.
10. That the functions of the mass media are limited for the majority of the population. Mass media (generally) does three things: (1) creates awareness; (2) creates a climate for change; (3) gives information. The media themselves rarely are instrumental in changing firmly held attitudes and traditional behaviours, except among a small percentage of a population.

In changing firmly held attitudes and traditional behaviours, it is best to use face-to-face communication either through the use of:

- a. well-motivated field workers and extension agency (health, agriculture, family planning, community development) or
- b. "satisfied acceptors": members of a target group who have adopted a new intervention, are happy with it, are convinced that it is worthwhile and who are willing to speak to their friends and neighbors about it.
- c. small group meetings and training sessions in which community members participate actively in identifying problems and seeking solutions.

It is of some significance that in this preparation there is "A Final Plea":

"It is important to have clear written "job descriptions" (devised behaviours) for each target group in order to design a communication campaign."

It will be remembered that we began this look at Nepal with some general remarks regarding the necessity of training being directly related to doing as spelled out in job descriptions and detailed task analysis. At the 1980 Conference we see that job descriptions formally emerge. This is of course excellent and grew out of a gradually perceived necessity, but it must also be noted that this is after the Water Programme has been in action for at least 10 years. We cannot take for granted the operational existence of good project planning practice which will include job descriptions, as an integral part of management. Our present planning practices still seem to miss out on these vital dimensions.

From all this good PSC work in Nepal there is much to be learned in terms of why and how and for whom audio-visual materials can and should be produced for Water and Sanitation programmes. The struggle is to place PSC work firmly within the process of planning from the beginning of projects, so adding the what and the when to the why and how. The production work must be anticipated and paced instead of being an after-the-event response when things are seen

not to be working properly. 12/ In establishing PSC as a discipline in development projects, it is perhaps inevitable that initially the reactive role is necessary for demonstration purposes, but similarly to 'community participation' the time has come for our until now ad-hoc and episodic activities to be integrally incorporated into the framework of an improved planning process. Such a process will acknowledge that physical inputs may have to be held back, and the counting of site completion will no longer be sufficient as targets and the basis for evaluation. 13/ Along with the technical inputs there will need to be a period of social preparation and a set of activities, to ensure and confirm the existence of the necessary social preconditions. In turn evaluation will be judged on the success or otherwise of the technology functioning and continuing to function as positive social facilities.

We have spent some time on the matter of PSC in Nepal because it takes us close to the core of our concern, Community Participation and Training. PSC

12/ "Input has been concentrated by and large in the area of training users to use the facilities properly once installed, or of providing visual aids for pump caretaker training. That is to say they become involved in support activities after the design and installation of the facilities has been completed. The same could be said of Health Educators; where they have been involved it is not in very early activities integral to project planning." (Bunnag, 1982.)

13/ "Because of the sectoral approach to local development planning, progress monitoring is also done at the sectoral level. Reviews and evaluations of the programmes at the district and village level with a view to ascertaining their impact, as distinct from the progress of target accomplished, are rarely done. Such an evaluation effort has been an equally rare phenomenon even at the national level. Progress reports are essentially reports on the accomplishments of targets originally set at the centre and handed down to the local level. For want of an effective supervision mechanism, tampering of progress reports to "meet" the original target is also frequently resorted to." (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific, November 1978)

itself has a public information function but it is also increasingly getting to the people directly related to specific development projects. 14/

The first of Ms. Reader's 10 issues states how essential it is to "...dialogue with groups to identify their needs and to get their inputs into their projects."

It still remains to be asked whether the materials produced for the various functionaries are actually used and used in a way which is compatible with and enhances the communities' role in taking responsibility for their project and enriching their own lives. In addition, we still need to consider the place and nature of training which will have such community-focused social objectives in mind.

Dr. Fred Reed raised similar questions in his report to UNICEF of February 1979.15/ (Reed, 1979)

Noting once more the problems of poor construction, inadequate maintenance, and water disputes following the construction, along with contamination of the water supply and facilities which were not operable, he observed:

14/ UNICEF reports "Several trends in PSC. emerged during 1981. First, there has been a substantial shift from co-operation with the emphasis on hardware to strengthening national capabilities, including orientation and training of extension workers and their trainers. Second, similar changes were seen in the production of materials for programmes by UNICEF offices. The materials produced now are more for training and field reference than for direct communication education programmes." (PSC Newsletter Vol. 6, No. 2, July 1982, UNICEF, New York) (Tuluhungwa, 1982)

15/ This report comes immediately after Bovier's report although Dr. Reed does not mention meeting him or seeing his report.

"The answers to the above problem so far have tended to be primarily technological, e.g. perform better initial surveys, train the overseer better, train village technicians better, make materials more readily available for construction, and find ways to pay the maintenance technicians. A more intensive look at the social context into which water systems are placed might offer some suggestions for an improved programme of water supply installation. One significant characteristic of the rural water supplies is that after they are installed, they will become a community responsibility. No government programme is foreseen which can supply maintenance and routine inspection. Such activities are a community responsibility. Given this basic premise, what can be done?"

He continues:

"...it is important to note that water supplies should not be narrowly regarded simply as sources of water for drinking and other local purposes. Rather, the installation of a water supply implies a wide variety of changes in a village.

He too reaches a conclusion that demands:

"...a change of focus from immediate project achievement to longer term evaluation and community development."

and this of necessity requires workers with community development functions, who get appropriate training, and are assigned ahead of installation work for the purpose of preparing the community - social preparation.

Nepal - Prologue and Epilogue

Before leaving the events in Nepal, it should be mentioned that in 1972/73 a UNDP/ECAFE project development mission (UNDP/ECAFE, February 1973) examined with the Ministry of Panchayat the need for front line and supervisory staff to ensure community involvement in development. (Water being just one possible project which a particular village might have need for and embark upon.) Based on their experience; their review of the existing material on manpower training, and the general status of training programmes the mission observed:

- (i) Cumulative experience in Asia in social welfare and community development education has clearly shown that many of the curricula are not based on actual field problems in the communities or countries served or on the actual analysis of the jobs to be performed by front-line and supervisory level personnel;
- (ii) "Over-reliance on western models and theories still exists, both regarding what subject matter goes into the curricula, as well as insufficient indigenisation of western experiences by trainers from Asia who may have been educated in the west. First-hand observation and evaluation of the local problems is often neglected or not seen as the raw building blocks of both training programmes as well as social theory. Ideas currently fashionable in western social sciences and social work are used for analysing the complexities of tradition-laden countries in Asia, whose problems differ not only in magnitude but also in quality. Gunnar Myrdal and many others have repeatedly pointed out the inadequacies of this approach of squeezing native environment and material into intellectual concepts not always valid for people in the developing countries of the Third World;
- (iii) "Most trainers, themselves, have not had enough in-depth experience at the grass-roots levels in their own countries, as front-line and supervisory workers;
- (iv) "Most trainers do not generally possess the necessary skills of how to devise a training programme for front-line and supervisory staff based on actual local problems to be tackled and the analysis of skills of jobs to be performed; there is very little knowledge and skill of how one gets at an indigenous curriculum, (or social theory in one's own country)." (UNDP/ECAFE 1973)

The Mobile Training Scheme was based on such observations in Nepal and elsewhere and initiated a training model.

"The MTS training model does not view in-service training as an end itself but as a means for strengthening the field operations by utilizing the knowledge and insights gained during the post-training phase. Thus, the MTS views training and field operations as the two sides of the same coin. The MTS team members are satisfied with the results obtained through this approach as they were able to build a link of communication between the in-service

training and field operations. The extent to which this link will be further strengthened will depend on the determination and commitment of the government departments and the in-service training institutions in countries served by the MTS". (Kaikobad, September 1979)

Subsequently the MTS came to Nepal (1974) and working with the Panchayat Training Centres concentrated on the upgrading of village-level panchayat secretaries in order for them to perform a grass-root planning function. The MTS subsequently worked in Afghanistan and Bangladesh and there is quite an extensive literature, published and otherwise. 16/

Curiously the Local Development Division (then a division of the Ministry of Panchayat) were partners to the discussions but did not feature actively in the subsequent programme. It may well be that when the Panchayat Training Centre staff participated at the 1980 Conference one of the reasons why great strides were taken (in relation to formalising job descriptions, procedures, forms, etc.) was the result of the impact of the Mobile Training Scheme experience. This MTS experience was precisely aimed at building an on-going cadre of trainers who would be able to tackle the creation of training programmes for the whole range of village level community workers. However it is pertinent to wonder why this experience does not seem to have been directly drawn upon previously in relation to the development of the community participation in the water sector, prior to the 1980 conference.

A re-examination of the role of the Panchayat Training Centres and what resources are still in place would seem particularly timely as within the last few weeks (November 1982) there has been a UNDP consultation in Nepal for the

16/ See for examples From the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, Thailand, January 1977).

Much of the MTS experience is incorporated and built upon in the thinking which appears in the latter sections of this consultation.

International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade (SSNCC AND UNDP, Nov. 1982). Significantly, the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) now seem to be ready to play a central part in the community worker for the Water Decade. The NGOs envisage a "Training Cell".

That our social planning is still not effective and that there is still a need for adequately trained personnel for the necessary social preparation and community participation activity, may be judged from a review incorporated in a recent UNDP mission report:

"There has been no real education input with this programme. The 18 Red Cross volunteers received a week-long sanitation education course as a part of the programme. They suffer an almost constant bombardment of literature and lectures on health. At the same time no one monitors their work and only a few are really motivated. 'Facilitators' were also supposed to be trained - they have not been. The most important aspect of the whole programme, health education has been forgotten and ignored in Kirtipur." (UNDP, July 1982)

It might be that the situation in Nepal is very ripe for a new and thorough-going joining of forces to tackle the problems which we have examined.

Social preparation and planning

In Yalcuc, as we have seen, the community apparently, for a number of reasons, was already well prepared to establish an effective working partnership with the external development agency. Indeed they themselves initiated the contact and this particular development process. The process began with their own ideas in relation to health, carried then through the delivery of external assistance and the incorporation of means to improve sanitary conditions, and on to the maintenance of the facilities along with change in the associated personal and social behaviors which were eventually institutionalized as the accepted standard in everyday community life.

Where such community cohesion and social preparedness exist, clearly short-cuts and a quickened pace along the steps of this process are possible.

In Nepal there seems not to have been sufficient social preparedness nor apparently sufficient preparedness in the external agency to successfully initiate and sustain progress to the satisfactory attainment of the project objectives. The process and the pace were set by technical and logistic considerations as envisaged by the external agents alone and the result was the reactive need to double-back and attempt to put into place elements which had not been anticipated and which the community did not deal with spontaneously.

This kind of experience in Nepal, which is also reported widely from elsewhere, has led to the search for a model in which the predominantly social interaction of community developments come together with the predominantly technical activity of external agents in a coherent, mutually satisfactory and on-going planning and implementation process.

Unlike the technical side which strives for a high degree of standardization, communities come in great variety and are far from uniform in capacity for absorbing and initiating change.

We must try to construct a dynamic model which provides a way of checking that all the technical and social ingredients necessary for a successful project are taken into account and which will provide a guide in effectively pacing and ordering the sequence of activities determined by what actually exists, or what will need to be strengthened, or what needs to be introduced and nurtured in any specific community situation. 17/

Observers who have approached these matters from a variety of perspectives seem to have arrived at a major consensus. It is that a cadre of workers is needed to concentrate on the complexity of relationships at the interface between the external development agents and the recipient 18/ communities.

Debate and discussion has taken place as to who these cadres ought to be, and to which part of the administrative structure they should most effectively belong, or whether it would be possible to add these extra and somewhat unfamiliar responsibilities to an existing cadre (engineer, health workers,

17/ One attempt to encompass the many dimensions has been outlined in what is described as 'a work in progress' which is a 'interpretive reconstruction' of the discussions at a nine-country workshop held in Asia.

Designating their concept of development as a basic change process the discussants listed the activities necessary at the government, programme, project and community levels, and broke these down into phases-preparatory, planning with the community, implementation, and the monitoring and assessment phase.

"Towards a Programme's Guide", (Ratchathanee Ubol, 12-20 January 1981) as its title implies recognises that much more detailed work needs to be done in this direction, especially in working with communities and dovetailing their micro perspectives and latent capacities with those responsible for macro considerations.

Other attempts are to be found in e.g. "Communication and Community Participation" (Kalbermatten, et al, December 1980); A Model for the Development of a Self-help Water Supply Programme (Glennie, 1982); Water Supply and Sanitation Project Preparation Handbook, (Grover, June 1982)

18/ The term 'recipient' which is in common use, gives some clue to the top-sided relationships which are generally established between the two.

voluntary organisations and the like). These questions must of course be solved according to the existing situations and the determinations made by the different countries concerned.

Agreement is clear, however, there their must be someone specifically responsible for the social aspects of water and sanitation programmes, and a vigorous attempt to clarify method and develop the necessary working-with-the-community skills.

It is worth repeating that if we can get our community/technical planning mix right in relation to water, we will have much to offer to the thinking and methodology in the wider field of development planning and implementation.

A from the bottom-up community scenario

We suggest that once the general approach has been agreed upon and planners begin to envisage the steps and sequence of events will take the programme from initiation to completion 19/, the first major operational step will be to translate and elaborate upon the generalities into as realistic and clear scenario as current knowledge and understanding will allow. This scenario should be a very detailed description of the necessary activities which will embrace the whole process as it will be perceived and experienced from the community's eye-view.

This scenario and description will require not only a feat of planning imagination but will need to be put to the test in discussion with real communities and repeatedly tried out, observed and documented before one can expect to get the descriptions sufficiently elaborated for useful model building.

19/ "completion", means here the institutionalization of the changes into the daily life of the community.

The scenario should begin from the moment of preliminary (and usually remote) decision-making which will first implicate the community. The description should indicate when and in what way the community will first hear of the proposed programme and how it will be able to react, respond and relate its particular needs and situation to the general policy and programme intention. The descriptions will continue by dealing with the means by which it is proposed that a creative dialogue can be opened up between the community and those externally responsible for the programme.^{20/} This requires the "contact points" to be fully considered: who on the external side? who on the community side? Bearing in mind the existing inter- and intra-community and external authority organizational and leadership patterns, what would be the desired and achievable arrangements?^{21/} How might the community assign specific responsibility for the dialogue/negotiations? Should there be community water committees (Or will an existing authority adopt this function)? If they do not exist how does one set about setting up such a committee? What should be the committee's terms of reference? How will it keep everyone informed generally? To whom is it responsible specifically?

^{20/} ... technology's impact is as much a product of the channel through which it is introduced as it is the result of innate qualities of the technology." (Elmensdorf, M. and Buckle P.) Sociological Aspects of Water Supply and Excreta Disposal, World Bank/December 1980.

^{21/} The importance of such matters cannot be overemphasized. See the extensive discussion in Water, Health and Development, (Feachem et al, 1978).

e.g. "... whereas the administrators may see water supply in terms of services and benefits, it is likely to be seen by people in the rural communities in the context of the complex dynamics of prestige, authority and alliance which form the continually changing fabric of rural life. What appears at first to be irrational behaviour on the part of individuals of social groups, turns out to be a perfectly reasonable response to events when viewed in the light of the values and interests of the participants.

"... traditional leadership has in the past been founded on judicial and sometimes ritual functions rather than routine management tasks."

"This does not mean that traditional authorities could not be used to manage water supplies. Rather it emphasizes that there is nothing inherent in their existing status which makes them particularly suited for the job."

What will be its authority vis-à-vis other community-based authorities? What will its negotiation responsibilities be in relation to external agents and organizations? To whom will it report what, when, for what purpose, and what will then follow?

Self-surveys

The scenario should continue with a description of how the community, through its working committee, might begin to look at itself by stating its present situation; the need as it experiences it; its present resources; the way in which the new resources which the programme might make available will make a difference, and as far as possible spell out these differences in terms of their own "targets".

Such a piece of work could be in the form of a self-survey and this would require the development of a community-oriented "How to ..." guide - in this case a "How to examine your Water Supply and Water-Related Health Needs" guide. The survey should clearly arise directly from the community's need to have information about itself as a preliminary step in more detailed planning.^{22/} Of course the information can be shared with others but fundamentally should be collected because the community needs to know and they should be able to see the purpose for each of the questions they will be addressing.

Such a self-survey might be placed in the context of establishing the community's "eligibility" in relation to the policy and priorities which the programme will have determined. The survey might also be part of a formal

^{22/} It has been argued elsewhere that there needs to be a demystification of planning such that ordinary people can understand it. Indeed it has been partly demonstrated that some important aspects of planning can become child's play Games Tap Children's Skills as Planners, (Drucker, October 1979).

application for inclusion in the programme. There are a number of good reasons why community groups should formally apply for inclusion in the programme.

The ability and success of the community in conducting the survey could of itself be considered an expression of a community's potential for effective participation and indicate the degree of their social preparedness for engaging in the project - an important prognostic element which should be part of the criteria for the selection of a community for receiving external resources.

In any event, communities will need to understand very clearly what the criteria for selection are, and they must have an idea of how the criteria have been arrived at. (The criteria properly explained can have an important part to play politically and relate to processes of nation building in making tangible and credible such a concept as "social justice", i.e., the reasons why one community is justifiably "favoured" with assistance rather than another.)^{23/}

^{23/} This is a very important matter in many countries. It is perhaps impolite to mention it but it is a fact that many rural people are deeply suspicious of government and government officials. It is rare for any but the politically ardent to see how governments in remote capital cities or district towns are actively improving the conditions of the villages and demonstrating in practice "social justice", which has become common terminology in ideological pronouncements and in the preambles of Five Year Plans and the like. There are of course many problems, for example in Tanzania:

"One may assume, perhaps, that if the criteria used in allocating priorities emphasises 'worst-first' principles, the communities selected will be highly delighted to welcome the supply and cooperate in its installation despite not having been involved in the original decision; whereas if the criteria emphasis cheapest-first principles (e.g. maximum number of people covered with limited funds in the shortest time) projects will often be located where people have easy access to traditional sources, and the same enthusiasm and cooperation cannot be expected. Current practice emphasizes cheapest-first solutions implicitly wherever the number of people covered is taken as the main indicator of success." Project for the Development of a Community Participation Component in the Tanzanian Rural Water Supply Programme, Draft Interim Report, Alastair T. White, September 1981, International Reference Centre, The Netherlands.

The scenario might then spell out how applications will be handled, by whom, and how the selection or rejection (or request for more information) will be managed.

On selection, the community will need to engage in detailed planning, for which an input of assistance and skill will have to become available.

Content of community-based planning

The content of the community-based planning will have to address such matters as:

- Arranging for information and campaigns around the coming of the water supply;
- Under advice, the selection of the appropriate technology and working out of its full potential (and its limitations) in terms of how it will be used in the community;
- Involving the children at school (Water Curriculum Packages);
- Selection of the optimal site for the water supply and distribution points from both the social and technical points of view;
- Clearing the site for the technical operations;
- Arranging for unimpeded access of equipment or of drilling rigs;
- Arranging for assistance to the technical crews:
 - Shelter, food, hospitality;
 - Labour, digging of pits;
 - Water supply, local materials, etc.

- Informational and educative "entertainment" while the crews are in the village ("circus" approach to Communications) 24/
- Considering and selecting the possible designs of appropriate:
 - Well platforms
 - Pump houses
 - Storage tanks
 - Distribution points
 - Drainage of water, etc.
- Selection, training arrangements and payment of pump operators;
- Securing, payment for and storage of supplies;
 - Fuel
 - Spare parts
 - Construction and maintenance
 - Materials
- Routine maintenance and procedures for arranging repairs beyond local expertise;
- Inspection and maintenance of facilities;
- Sampling for quality of water and arranging for conveying samples for analysis;

24/ "The Circus is Coming" approach - It might be useful to think of water and sanitation projects which have the objective of improving public health conditions and requiring much community involvement and health education inputs in the context of "The Circus is Coming!"

The circus is the excitement, activity, and sense of event and entertainment generated by the arrival of technicians and their equipment in the villages. Circuses are planned well in advance. Staff move ahead to negotiate sites and service, place notices about the circus, fix dates, open ticket booths, arrange the circus parade, clean up and repair sites, and make sure expenses (and fines) are paid and that the community will be ready for the circus to come again next time, etc.

The coming of project staff should be thought about in the same way. The actual physical work will be only one dramatic point in a continuum of work to be undertaken in villages." Integration of Health Education in the 'Care' Water and Sanitation Project in Indonesia, Wash Field Report No. 39, April 1982.

- All matters related to use of water;
 - Drinking - use of safe source year round
 - Household - washing clothes, bathing, preparation and protection of food
- Sanitation campaigns;
 - Improvement in domestic water usage
 - Latrines
 - Garbage disposal
- The involvement of the Community Health Worker in planning Primary Health Care campaigns and surveillance;
- Associated agricultural and animal husbandry matters;
 - Irrigation
 - Animals
- Lighting and power possibilities (if there are generators for pumps);
- Costing;
 - Capital, maintenance, operational costs, drilling crew costs
 - materials, manpower (caretakers), fuel
- Revenue management;
 - Water sales, taxes, subvention of the poorest
- On-going monitoring, evaluation of projects and reporting arrangements.

The scenario and descriptions should close beyond the point where on-going maintenance and monitoring matters have been spelled out (all with the social organisation given very much attention) and indicate the way in which as the community evaluates the success of their participation in the outcome of this project, they might begin over and plan to use the organisational experience which they have gained towards the identification and planning of other development projects.25/

/ From Burma comes an example of a beginning-to-end framework within which a detailed scenario could take shape. The proposal there was for a "social development team" to be put together which would work with village councils assisting them in their early discussions, initial survey, and application for new or improved water supply and ensuring that the community planned for the technical, the health input and the social change as a whole package. See serial in Appendix.

Community Workers Training

Each one of the activities in the scenario will require simple "How to ..." guides. Guides should tell of the real experience of other communities, what arrangements worked, what problems were run into, and how they were overcome, what to take into account, and advantages and disadvantages of different solutions, checklists. This "How to ..." material should be carefully put together, perhaps in comic strip form, but at any event geared to the literacy level and comprehension skills of the community involved.

These "How to ... guides" and how they can most effectively be introduced and used with the community will become part of the content of training for the development workers.

The scenario from which the need and focus for these "How to ... guides" will emerge is also the base from which the job of the workers can be described in detail and a task by task analysis made. These tasks are what the worker must be able to perform either from their existing proven capacities when recruited and assigned or from the skills they will learn as a consequence of training and practice. Many of the tasks framed in the scenario will be seen essentially to require skills in human relations and involve interpersonal exchanges with individuals, groups and different kinds of organizations.

This being the case, subject teaching and knowledge about things which are not clearly related to a given activity (which makes up a good deal of the usual content of courses) is much less important than methods techniques and practice. The trainee will need ample opportunity to witness and evaluate example and demonstration of methods and skills and to examine his own performance with the help and guidance and educational supervision of those who have themselves mastered, can demonstrate, and convey the skills.

This kind of learning relies a great deal on what is caught rather than what is didactically taught. It is the kind of learning with which we are familiar in apprentice-type situations. The process (i.e. methods, techniques, self-conscious performance) sets up an attitude to learning which encourages self-directed and on-going improvement in performance and a constructive identification with acceptable standards. This matter of attitude is central to community work and it is why training for community work is different from training for many other things where attitude is peripheral or of no vital importance.

There is a great deal of theoretical as well as pragmatic justification for this kind of teaching and learning which it is not necessary to elaborate upon here. However, we need to be aware that what is being advocated is a style in which the relationship between teacher and learner is one of co-workers in which the trainer stimulates, encourages and helps to order the trainees' own latent capacities. This relationship is one which the trainee is expected to identify with and adopt when he (as co-worker) works with communities. He will then (it must be noted) in most situations be working counter to the all too familiar tradition of the superior stance of the authority figure bestowing his wisdom upon those who are expected to do as they are told and be grateful. These attitudes, which are endemic in many governmental and academic institutions, are fatal to true partnership and genuine participation between external agents and communities.26/

Herein lies the full magnitude of the task of establishing an effective community development cadre for water and sanitation programmes and it should not be underestimated.

26/ "There is still a tendency for all levels of government to act as if the peasants were of no account ... the truth is that despite our official policies, and despite all our democratic institutions, some leaders still do not LISTEN to people. They find it much easier to TELL people what to do."

President Nyerere of Tanzania.

Although we have placed content in a very secondary position in this approach it should not be thought that it is unnecessary or forgotten. On the contrary, content must be accumulated constantly and made ready for use when it is found to be needed and specifically related to the situation in which the worker/practitioner finds himself. We have seen in the case of PSC in Nepal that the need for content was being found all the time, and this led, even if episodically to the development of a whole range of printed materials. Such content (knowledge about the technology, cause and effect of different diseases, the How to ... guides, etc.,) needs to be collected and refined. The social dimension of the content must be understood in terms of how it can best be used, so emphasizing practice - the skills of using what we know, or can find out.

The 'cafeteria' style

Content should be envisaged as being gradually put together and stored for use as in a 'cafeteria'. The more content we can prepare, the more choice we have when it comes to select what we need when we need it (as dictated by the specific situation we find in our field experience). The 'cafeteria' style where one can take or leave in any order one prefers from what is actually available, differs very dramatically and significantly from our familiar 'banquet' style of teaching where someone on high provides fixed courses ahead of time which you are expected to get through from appetiser to mints, whether you take in, properly digest and can use the content or not.

The items accumulated in the cafeteria will gradually enrich the possibilities of pulling together a variety of permutations into composite training modules adapted to the specific needs of the trainees at any given time and situation. The range of these modules will be directed and linked to the different stages of the scenario as it is played out in a given community. In work with different communities the cafeteria style should be adopted too. The scenario provides a generalized guide to the process and variety of working with communities, each which will have its own distinct

strengths and weaknesses. Those who work with the communities should be encouraged to use their experience of the cafeteria style by effectively responding to the issues as they naturally emerge in any community, without insisting on a rigid sequence of issues (banquet). The community workers must of course see the process as a whole and sensitively introduce issues and questions as it is necessary to back-track or where important matters are being forgotten or avoided. To change the metaphor, the workers will be assisting in orchestrating the recurring themes and instruments to match the rhythms and nuances of each community. His work becomes community-centered rather than technology-centered, as it currently is.

Trainers with first hand experience

The major problem with this kind of practice oriented community focussed training and putting together of a content 27/ to be used selectively in relation to the practice is that except for a few experienced community development workers in a few small (and often controversial) institutions there are not many trainers in the developing world who know and are familiar with the approach outlined. Even more scarce are those who have first hand experience of working in a variety of communities related specifically to rural water supply.

Working on the principle that if you haven't done it, then it is difficult to teach others how to (and from the writer's experience of so many classroom-bound theoretical banquet courses which pass for training in the Third World and often in affluent societies too) it suggests that the matter of training workers for social preparation responsibilities will more often than not require the assembling and training of a special group of trainers.

27/ We have seen earlier in this paper how the training material that does exist is almost nowhere put together in a 'readily available' place Not only the dish but the ingredients seen to be invented over and over again by some of our scarce creative people.

The trainers must bring their present skills to bear specifically upon the need for setting up a training regimen (rather than a course) for the community work related to the water and sanitation projects. There are precious few precedents.

The trainers should be prepared to regard themselves as a team of explorers and become the prototype cadre of workers. Fully undertaking and playing the role of the community worker, they will be responsible for initiating contact with the villagers, finding out what seems to work in reality and what does not, putting together and fully documenting their methods, identifying and elaborating upon the skills and techniques they use, and devising the training materials for the trainees who will be following in their footsteps not very far behind.

The trainers will be the pioneers and trail-blazers and should be recruited less for their subject or academic qualifications than for their ability and enthusiasm for working in rural areas; their openness to new experiences and willingness to learn from it; their powers of analysis of what they are doing in field problem-solving; and most importantly, their ability for stimulating enthusiasm in others.

How to produce the trainers

The trainers could begin by drawing upon the best information and experience to hand and be the ones responsible for writing out the first operational scenario(s) for the community focused water and sanitation work.

For start-up purposes perhaps they should work in pairs in the villages, introducing themselves and undertaking the social preparation community work along the lines of the scenario which they themselves have written. Each pair should proceed to the best of their abilities, along the guidelines they themselves have developed from the scenario, and keep a full diary and description of their day-to-day experience.

These trainer/role playing pairs would come together regularly to extensively review and examine each others'on-going experience in the villages.

The trainers would divide themselves into sub-groups (with an overlapping membership) and be responsible for developing different aspects of the training programme which they will eventually be conducting.

They will work from their own written documentation, seek further elaboration from each other as necessary; bring in specialists for advice where it is required; and incorporate any other available material which they judge is of particular significance to their practical experience.

One group might work progressively on improving the scenario (and developing alternate scenarios) to fit with the experienced reality. Where there are inconsistencies between what planners, administrators, or technicians have in mind and what is discovered in the field realities and action, the discrepancies, gaps and inconsistencies should be fully written up and one group might be delegated to clarify these issues and come up with some agreement with the authorities concerned regarding how best to proceed. Such clarification is likely to be necessary perhaps in spelling out realistic job descriptions, and one of the sub-groups should undertake the task of getting these to a satisfactory state.

Beyond well elaborated job descriptions comes the necessity for breaking them down into a set of task analyses which will need to be performed at the village level. It is these which will begin to focus the trainers on what precisely will need to be taught, i.e. what exactly must the trainers learn to do. (The scenario writers will keep an eye on things and suggest sequences.)

A teaching materials sub-group will begin to identify and extract from the raw accounts a set of narrative mini case-studies and refine them for discussion and teaching purposes.28/

28/ There were some beginning examples of these used in the Nepal conference to which we referred on page ???

Much human relationships and problem-solving skills can effectively be developed in case study discussion sessions.29/

The trainer sub group should edit the case materials; outline the range of things which are illustrated by the materials; raise issues; indicate related materials as reading matter; so providing teaching notes and suggestions for using the case material.30/

Another group task would be responsible for the development of the PSC type materials (as we saw in Nepal), and also put in hand the work on the How to ... guides along with notes on how best the materials might be utilised.

29/ The cases can be developed from materials as is being suggested here or can be drawn out by a good trainer from the trainees written and verbal description of events. The manner in which the leader of such discussion groups draws out the essentials and the inner-dynamics from somewhat diffuse description is a good model for the trainees when working in the community. Much community discussion does take a seemingly disorganized and circuitous route, but a good listener (which every community worker needs to be) can help order and sharpen the meaning and relevance of what is being said.

See Bancharat's

There is also in existence a range of indigenous teaching materials in Nepal which was to be published by the Ministry of ~~Participant's~~ Materials Production Centre. See Steve Van Beck 'From the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal' UN ESCAP Social Development Division.

A guide to the production of this material and illustrations can be found in: D. Drucker: The Ten Commandments: Operational Instructions (Found in: Mobile Training Scheme (MTS) Training Materials and Methods ESCAP 1975.); and Chowdhory, A. and Drucker, D. What came first - the chicken, the egg or administration, ESCAP 1975.

30/ It is surprising how difficult it has been over the years to get truly indigenous case material for teaching purposes.

Perhaps this "how best the material might be utilised" could be taken up by a sub-group which will describe and try out different kinds of training and teaching possibilities and methods for utilising each piece of material.^{31/}

Another sub-group will have to begin working out how to introduce the first batch of trainees to take up and refine the work of the trainers (who will by the time the trainees arrive have had themselves the first hand experience of trying to do the job). The sub-group will be detailing the initial true training "curriculum" course, in which the trainers will be shifting back from front line work (but not too far back) to take up their role of educational supervisor and guides to the trainers whose major training experience will be as field and practice oriented as that of the trainers had been before them.

The sub-groups suggested above should continue to function when the trainees are in place. But now the trainers will be utilising the trainees' reporting for adding to and revising the training materials and the training programme.

What will have been instituted is the 'training' of an on-going cadre of trainers who will have created a training programme from their first hand experience and who can continue to keep their programme closely related to the continually accumulated knowledge and understanding coming from the field.

This can be fairly described as bottom-up support-down curriculum building, and has a parallel in bottom-up and support-down planning processes which is fundamental to concepts of community participation.

^{31/} A very rich resource for such a sub-group has just appeared. David Werner and Bill Bowes, Helping Health Workers Learn, a companion volume to Werner's previous Where There is No Doctor. See too: D. Drucker, Ask a Silly Question - Get a Silly Answer Community Participation, Entry Points, and the Demystification of Planning

The trainers will have been taken through a process of creating a training regimen - a training to do. The tasks will be pitched at the level which they themselves will have shown to be possible to perform under real conditions which face a community worker in their country's villages. They themselves will have tried and established the initial realistic standard of delivery of service to be aimed at in working with real communities in relation to the water and sanitation programme as it has been planned and is meant to be implemented. They themselves will have to have demonstrated how the new kind of mutually respecting partnership with the community can be - step by step - initiated, established, maintained and expanded. The trainers will have been directly involved in a kind of participant action-oriented research for identifying the elements of a practice. As practitioners (and later as trainers and supervisors of field practice) they will continually be identifying and focussing upon practice problems for more concentrated attention and research.

A summation

Throughout this paper we have emphasised the need to bring into operational focus the view from below. It is obvious that the detail, the confusion, the contradictions and the great variety of views from below does not easily dovetail into the processes of planning which operates from above. But we are beginning to find that unless there can be a satisfactory fusion of the two perspectives, the best intentioned policies, plans and technologies fail to achieve their social objectives.

Increasingly the concept of 'community participation' is cited as a solution to many of the problems which surface in the different sectors.

Community participation as we have seen implies a constructive two-way set of relationships between "grass-roots" groups and formal organisations. Ordinarily formal organisations are hierarchies with bureaucratised divisions of labour and structured chains of command. Despite the pyramidal shape of such organisations with their wide base, it has been observed that administration rarely operates effectively beyond District levels and that one-way "top-down" is their normal mode of operation. Their interface with communities is usually very fragmentary and in quantity and quality of contacts not nearly as good as it could be.

Generally speaking, the community operates very separately from governmental activity, and there is a wide gap between top and bottom; the reality that there are limits to a government's or an organisation's ability to determine what will happen locally is often discounted. Certainly this is the case where on-going rather than one-shot activities are concerned. Political and party systems attempt to close the gaps and in some countries voluntary organisations emerge to organise communities around specific activities and to forge links with operations initiated at a distance by the government. Community participation introduces a great emphasis on grass-roots "bottom-up" initiatives and places the formal governmental role as increasingly "support-down".

Usually this concept presents a very unfamiliar approach philosophically and operationally - especially in traditional and scarce-resource societies.

Therefore two areas are crucial when approaching the matter of participation:

- 1) the distance (in status, perspective and so on) which separates community from development bodies such as governments and agencies;
- 2) the quality and nature of the behaviour and relationship between governmental "outsiders" and community "insiders".

For a successful outcome of a project in which the community is to truly participate, the distance has to be bridged and reduced, and the partners in development must both be stimulated to initiate, experience and create a new process of relationships and to build insitutional forms to maintain them.

The importance of this foundation-laying process cannot be overemphasised. The distance to be bridged is in terms of the political, social and economic structure that exists, the extent of the gap between government and governed, and the quality and reach of social and administrative institutions which allow or impede true participation.

The relationship task has to contend with the prevailing class and caste structures which mutually bind the haves and the have-nots. As much of development planning ostensibly has the have-nots as the targets of development, the means by which the have-nots can have real access to the decision-making processes and become the prime beneficiaries is firmly on the agenda. We should therefore fully appreciate the magnitude of what we are undertaking in attempting to interpret policy and turn brave words into action.

Although these matters are increasingly under examination - "social justice" increasingly appears in preambles to National Plans, and the important "political will" to bring about social change is declared at high levels - yet it remains rare indeed to find community participation spelled out sufficiently in work plans which establish who is expected to do what with whom; when; what resources in manpower and supply will be required; how much exactly it is to cost the community; when and from where will the costs be forthcoming; and eventually by what criteria who will judge the results. In short, the details of the "soft ware" in our work plans remain soft indeed compared to the time and effort that more characteristically go into our more familiar and manageable "hardware". One of the signs is that presently Primary Health Care continues to be predominately planned as an extension of medically oriented services, and that Water Supply plans are dominated by engineering.

Aid programmes have given a great deal of attention to planning and much of this has been centralised planning strengthening the skills at the top. Aid agencies themselves act in the main as administrators, negotiators, providers of funds and experts where high technology is involved. There has been a tendency to trust that once high-level arrangements have been made with government bodies, activity will swing into place down the line. It is often thought improper and culturally inappropriate for outsiders to do more than make tours of inspection, encourage and prompt at the lower levels.

Yet what we see in Water Programmes and elsewhere is that there has been insufficient attention to, and a desperate need for, social detail and sensitive and selective response to that detail by planners and technologists alike. Communities are often bewildered by the complexity and number of

It is argued that there needs to be a functionary to assist in community-level planning for change. However, it is an important and difficult step to move out beyond the familiar line of command and to initiate and create true partnership with communities. It is also at this low level of management ('low-level' = "front-line"!) that innovation and flexibility are usually hard to find.

It is in the interest of all sectoral programmes to contribute to the development of a community-level planning functionary and to work out methods of ensuring social preparation. It is upon such a foundation that the specifics of community planning for Water (health, agriculture, and much else 32/) can be additionally provided for.

A new emphasis in vigorously addressing the lower-level management problems in a participatory style is what is required.

It is suggested that:

- a) a major contribution could be made by aid agencies if they routinely called for (and assisted in developing) clear and viable work plans for involving the community in projects and programmes.
- b) special attention be given to setting up training processes which will develop the trainers and provide an on-going support system for community workers.

32/ Each having its own "repertoire" to add to the basic community planning process. Another version of the 'cafeteria' style?

ANNEX I

Features to note in this Social Aspects: Rural Water Supply Project: -

- 1) Explanatory material and guides are to be produced specifically provided for the different levels of decision-makers and operational groups (i.e. Township Councils, Village Councils, Village Water Committees et al.);
- 2) Village Councils, having given notice of interest and intent by a "preliminary application" to the Township, will receive the assistance of a specially prepared (Trained) Social Development Team;
- 3) The Social Development Team is a radical feature of this proposal. It could consist of appointed graduates (currently unemployed) or of co-operatives especially constituted for this task. It could therefore be a short-term arrangement; a sometime arrangement; or be built in as an ongoing and permanent feature not only for RWS but for a whole range of development efforts at the local level;
- 4) In this project, in the first case, the Social Development Team (SDT) would help establish the Village Water Committee and assist them in coming up with a Detailed Action Programme, and this will be documented in a Village Report to accompany a formal Application to the Township Council. The existence of such a report would give the Township more specific information than exists at present, to come to good decisions when applying the criteria set out for village tubewell priority. It would also assist the Township in effectively planning its inputs of technical assistance and apportioning resources and supplies (concrete, health education, cash etc.) even if a new well is not to be part of the village's Action Programme. The very existence of a report will illustrate the readiness, enthusiasm and organisational sophistication of the village which should be an important factor in its selection.

- 5) The SDT and the village committee will together plan and implement the village campaign which, where drilling is to take place, will include appropriate preparation of the village, the "Circus" activity, while the well-making work is in progress, along with the necessary monitoring and maintenance work which must follow.
- 6) The "Circus" is an educational-activity-programme especially designed around the drama and stimulus given to village development by the actual arrival of drills and drilling teams. This should be planned as an intersectoral "package".
- 7) This "package" has already been discussed and gained the positive interest of BERB.
- 8) The framework for this RWS Social Aspects project attempts to see the whole process from the village's point of view right through from preliminary and remote decision-making, to the on-going maintenance of the facilities and their related social organisations, and on from the experience of one successful participatory process to the planning of others.

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APPENDIX 6

Terms of Reference (D. Drucker)