

Capacity Development for Social change in small-scale community based water projects

Examples of projects in Water and Sanitation in Uganda
reviewed

Av

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Acronyms

AICD	Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic
CBO	Community Based Organization
CDO	Community Development Officer
GOU	Government of the Republic of Uganda
IDRC	the International Development Research Centre
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LCs	Local Councils
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MWE	Ministry of Water and Environment
NAOS	National Agricultural Advisory Service
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OM	Outcome Mapping
PME	Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
QENP	Queen Elizabeth National Park
RGCs	Rural Growth Centres
RWSS	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation
UBOS	Ugandan Bureau of Statistics
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
UWA	Uganda Wild Life Authority
VIP	Ventilated Improved Latrines
WSA	Wide Sector Approaches
WSS	Water Supply and Sanitation
WUG	Water User Group

1. Background

Despite considerable progress in science and technology and solid economic growth in many parts of the world the last decades, many countries in Asia and Africa are still lagging behind the ladder of development. Challenges related to education for all, access to health care and social services, water supply and sanitation along with the preservation of the environment continue to beset many developing countries. Many studies carried out by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank indicate that Sub-Saharan Africa is still facing challenging issues of dire poverty, weak civil society, entrenched corruption, poor governance, to name a few. The last 40 years have witnessed the efforts of donors and international institutions like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to propel the development pace in Sub-Saharan Africa through capacity strengthening initiatives and Wide Sectors Approaches (WSA). Yet the challenges outlined above remained to be tackled in an effective way.

The new consensus in the development discourse draws from the assumption that development is likely to happen in a given context when capacity is sustained through long-term efforts on individual, organizational and enabling environment levels, with the emphasis laid on local ownership and systemic approach. In this perspective, it is argued that human development is linked to the ability of individuals, organizations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully (OECD 2006). The Technical Assistance approach of the 1970's and the 1980's was mainly based on the transfer of skills, competence and expertise from the North to the South without attention being given to contextual factors and sustainability. Developing countries were then able to fill their competence gaps, but without creating the capacity needed to sustain social change and development. In my research I intend to focus on the *extent to which capacity development can bring about social change in rural poor communities with a particular emphasis on community mobilization in small-scale community based projects in the sectors of Water Supply and Sanitation (WSS)*. Access to clean water and sanitation is a critical indicator of the UN (United Nations) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) number 6 which is aiming at *combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and others diseases* in developing countries. Norway is among the 189 member states of the UN General Assembly which have adopted the Millennium Declaration in 2000.

1.1 Research question

In line with this rationale outlined above, I choose to focus on the following research question: *To what extent can capacity development in small-scale community based projects aiming at water supply and sanitation (WSS), bring about sustainable social change in poor rural communities? Examples of projects in Water Supply and Sanitation (WSS) in Uganda reviewed.* Drawing from the research question the following aspects will be examined and explored:

1. The theory of change of the implementing Non Governmental Organization (*Fontes Foundation*) and the impact of its community mobilization approach on sustainable social change in the studied rural communities of *Katunguru, Kisenyi* and *Kazinga*.
2. The extent to which capacity building through seminars animated by *Fontes* and the follow-up activities contribute to social change for water committees and the rural communities of *Katunguru, Kazinga* and *Kisenyi*.

In tune with my research philosophy based on a subjectivist, interpretivist and social constructionist view, the methods adopted encompasses a ***deductive approach*** whereby chosen theories will be tested against empirical findings, an exploratory and descriptive study to make sense of the data and a case study as baseline for the research. The data collected are mainly qualitative. However I've drawn from existing secondary data through a desk study to better explore the research question.

2. Epistemology and Methodology/Research Design

2.1. Research question and objectives

Notwithstanding the importance of financial resources, official development assistance and competence enhancement initiatives in alleviating poverty, these are not sufficient to bring about sustainable development. According to UNDP, the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other international and national development targets hinges on capacities of individuals, organizations and societies to transform, in order to reach their development objectives. The capacity of organizations to function effectively and in tune with the “rules of the game”, the abilities of individuals to participate and contribute with knowledge and skills to the process of change, along with an enabling environment e.g. the structure of power and influence and the prevailing institutions are critical for capacity

development to emerge and be sustained. In line with the above-outlined rationale, I choose to focus on the following research question:

To what extent can capacity development in small-scale community based projects aiming at Water Supply and Sanitation (WSS) bring about sustainable social change in rural poor communities? Examples of projects in Water Supply and Sanitation (WSS) in Uganda reviewed.

Based on the recommendations from the 2005 Paris declaration on Aid effectiveness, the UN Millennium Project and the Commission for Africa, it can be argued that there is a growing consensus among donors and partners on the urgency to deal with capacity constraints to pave the way to sustainable development. I choose to focus on this research question because of the windows of opportunities it opens to see the issue of social change and sustainable development from a system perspective, with the emphasis laid on the capabilities of individuals and local communities to determine and lead their own course of action. Such a research question as the one outlined above will hopefully urge me to examine underlying questions of “capacity for why”, “capacity for whom” and “capacity for what”. The following research objectives will be sought achieved in my research:

- To generate knowledge about and understanding of the concept of Capacity Development and how it relates to sustainable social change.
- To gain insights on diverse constraints to social change in rural areas of Uganda.
- To gain knowledge about the factors which are likely to contribute to sustainable social change in poor communities, drawing from case studies.
- To develop and generate knowledge about the “best fit” approach to development compared to the “right answers” approach.

2.2. Research philosophy

Drawing from the research “onion” developed by Saunders, Levis and Thornhill (2009), I begin with peeling away the outer layer of the “onion” e.g. research philosophy to take a clear look at the assumptions about the “*way in which I see the world*”. The research philosophy underpinning my research will be discussed along the three philosophical lines:

2.2.1 Ontology which, according to Saunders et al. (2009:110) is concerned with the nature of reality and raises questions of the assumptions researchers have about the way the world operates and the commitment held to particular views. Since my research will revolve around capacity development and how it influences sustainable change at individual and community levels, I’ll lay the emphasis on the *subjectivist view* (e.g. social phenomena are created from

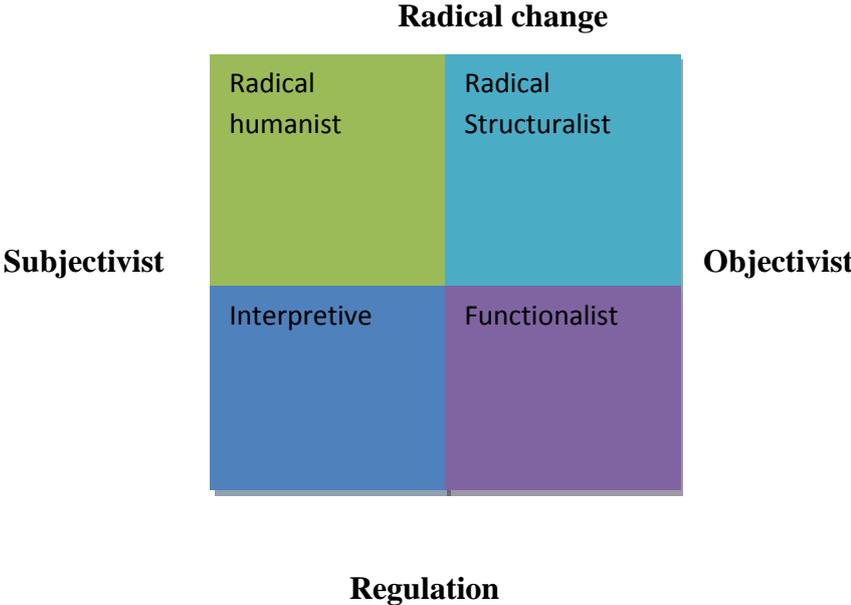
the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors) to study the social phenomena at work. Given the different contexts within which capacity development initiatives are being enacted, the different individuals and organizations involved in such initiatives, I'll take a *social constructivist stance* that holds the view that reality is being socially constructed by social actors. Capacity development and sustainable social change will be interpreted in light of the prevailing meanings in a particular context, the social interaction between different actors at different levels and the enabling environment with its norms, value system and institutions.

2.2.2. Epistemology: this philosophical line concerns, according to Saunders *et al.* (2009:112) what constitutes acceptable knowledge in a field of study. As stated earlier in the text, my approach to capacity development and social change will be of the “*best fit*” rather than “*right answers*” kind. In other words the emphasis will be laid on what works in a specific context, the types of individuals (women, children, physically disabled...) and organizations (Non Governmental Organizations, Community Based Organizations, Associations...) involved, and the enabling environment. To generate knowledge about capacity development and the extent to which it influences social change, I'll hold a *critical realist stance* that argues that *as researchers we will only be able to understand what is going on in the social world if we understand the social structures that have given rise to the phenomena that we're trying to understand. In other words, what we see is only part of the bigger picture* (Saunders et al. 2009). Another philosophical stance which will underpin my research is *interpretivism* which according to Clifford Geertz (1983) “trains its attention on what institutions, actions, images, utterances, events, customs, all the usual objects of social-scientific interest, mean to those whose institutions, actions, customs, and so on they are”. Since the *interpretivist stance* advocates that it is necessary for the researcher to understand differences between humans in our roles as social actors, this will give me the opportunity to take a closer look at such aspects as power relations, influence, gender issues, incentives, institutions and other factors that are shaping the social life being considered.

2.2.3 Axiology: Since my study will deal with aspects related to complex issues of capacity and capabilities, sustainable development, poverty and its determinant factors, institutional arrangements, it is likely that in my analysis and interpretation of data that I make judgments that can be seen as value laden. I believe my very choice of writing a Master thesis on Capacity Development stems from the interest I have in such a subject and my genuine commitment to carry on working with development issues as a professional endeavor. Having said that, I'll make sure that this not constitutes a bias than can alter my findings or the conclusions that will be drawn from the research.

2.2.4 Research paradigms: Drawing from the four paradigms for the analysis of social theory developed from Burrell and Morgan (1982) and cited in Saunders *et al.* (2009), I believe my epistemological approach will fit within the *interpretive paradigm* approach which will draw from a *subjectivist* perspective.

Figure 1



According to Saunders *et al.* (2009), the *interpretive* dimension refers to the way we as humans attempt to make sense of the world around us. Given my research question which revolves around capacity development and sustainable social change, the *interpretive* dimension will allow me to make sense of the means by which the rural dwellers express their ability to cope with their environment and the meanings they attached to change. Every development initiative regardless the areas of intervention within which they operate, are built upon a theory of change be it manifest or tacit. However, the lines are not always blurred between change as seen by practitioners and scholars, and the way poor people of the remote areas of Uganda interpret change.

2.3. Research approaches

As outlined earlier, one of my research objectives is *to gain knowledge about and understanding of capacity development and how it influences sustainable social change*. In this perspective the way individuals and communities make sense of their life and the institutions that are shaping their behavior are critical elements for my understanding of how

they respond to capacity development initiatives. Since my focus will be on the individual and community levels, the context within which the projects are taking place are also important in determining which policy works best in which setting. Again, a “best fit approach” which underpins my study requires that contextual factors are taken into account. To cater for the two needs outlined above e.g. understand how my research objects interpret their social world and determine the context in which different projects are being carried out, I’ll choose a *deductive approach*. In so doing, the opportunity will be given to use a variety of methods to collect data in order to establish different views of capacity development and sustainable change in poor communities. Assuming that capacity development initiatives in different contexts may work in different ways and yield different outcomes, I deem it important to have a flexible structure to allow research changes as the research progresses. Although capacity development as a topic in the development discourse is being gradually put on the agenda by scholars and practitioners, there is not a wealth of literature from which to draw theories and formulate hypotheses that can be confronted to collected data. My concern is not to draw *law-like generalizations*, but rather to interpret, learn and generate lessons that can be useful in understanding how capacity development initiatives can bring about sustainable social change in the focused rural dwellings in Uganda.

2.4. Research design

This part is concerned with the research design e.g. *the general plan on how I’ll go about answering my research question*. Based on the “research onion” developed by Saunders et al. (2009), three layers will be considered in this part: *research strategies, research choices and time horizons*. First and foremost, I’ll outline the purpose of my research.

2.4.1 The purpose of my research

In line with the research question outlined above, the purpose of my research will be to *explore* the extent to which capacity development initiatives can bring about sustainable social change in poor communities, address related challenges and draw lessons from the studies. An *exploratory study* will hopefully make it possible to find out “what is happening; to seek new insights; to ask questions and to assess phenomena in a new light” (Robson 2002:59 cited in Saunders et al. 2009). However, prior to exploring my research question, it is important to portray the phenomena being studied (capacity development; social change; poverty), the social actors (individuals, organizations, communities) and the context in which the projects are taking place. In other words, a *descriptive study* will be a precursor, forerunner to my exploratory research. So, the purpose of my study will be twofold: to portray the different variables that appear in the research question through a descriptive study; to explore the process of capacity development with the emphasis laid on sustainable social change and poverty alleviation.

2.4.2 Research strategy

The research strategies should enable me to answer my research questions and meet the objectives outlined earlier. Based on my philosophical underpinnings, the research approaches outlined above, along with the purpose of my research which is both descriptive and exploratory, different research strategies can be appropriate to use: first, *case study*. As Robson (2002:178 cited in Saunders *et al.*) defines it “case study is a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence”.

Given the different contexts within which capacity development projects take place, case study strategy will give me the opportunity to assess particularities with individuals, communities and the enabling environment that are drivers of change or that may hamper social change. In this perspective my focus is on three villages i.e. *Katunguru*, *Kazinga* and *Kisenyi* to establish a broader view of the way capacity development initiatives work for different people, different communities in different environments.

2.4.3 Research choices and methods

By research choice, Saunders *et al.* 2009 mean the way one choose to combine data collection techniques and analysis procedures through using either quantitative or qualitative methods. Notwithstanding the importance of using secondary quantitative data whenever appropriate to compare different situations and explain context specific variations, my research is mainly grounded on a **qualitative study** with the emphasis on interviews, direct observation and field visits in the three villages. In addition to the data generated through the qualitative study, I carried out desk study of various reports published by *Fontes Foundation* pertaining to seminars and fields visits, along with Uganda policy documents about the Water and Sanitation Sector. The constitutive parts of my empirical baseline will be the information drawn from the interviews, the data stemming from direct observation and my interpretation of these and data from the desk study. Hence I’ll be referring both to the interviews carried out and the information gained through observation and desk study.

2.4.4 Time horizons

Drawing from UNDP default principles for Capacity development, the following can be read as the first principle: “Don’t rush. Capacity development is a long-term process. It is not amenable to delivery pressures, quick fixes and short term results seeking. Engagement for capacity development needs to have a long term horizon and be reliable”. Although my research is **cross-sectional** e.g. *the study of a particular phenomenon (or phenomena) at a particular time* (Saunders *et al.* 2009), I’m concerned with the long-term process and all the

initiatives being carried out to build capacity over time and create change. Given the constraints of time and other resources, it has been difficult to carry out **longitudinal studies**. However, I shall in my analysis emphasize the incremental changes occurring in the lives of the rural dwellers, both in terms of their ability and capabilities to deal with the strains of life and improvements of their well-being. The question “has there been any change over a period of time?” will be sought answered based on the meaning the interviewees attach to change and available indicators stemming from the data collection. The indicators are related to various dimensions: a *shift in definitions* i.e. how people see the issue of water and sanitation compared to before the project; a *shift in behavior* in terms of the handling of safe water and hygiene; a *shift in commitment* in the community as far as the issue of water and sanitation is concerned; whether the benefits in terms of health improvement, well-being and commitment are being *maintained* and *sustained*. Apart from data from the interviews, I shall make use of the published data that are likely to shed light on the process undergone by the studied communities since the start of the project to assess the features of capacity development and social change. These are mainly composed of internal documents published by *Fontes Foundation* along with various reports.

2.4.5 Threats to reliability and validity

The issue of credibility of my findings is an important moment in the research design. The extent to which my conclusions will stand up to the closest scrutiny will depend on whether data collection techniques or analysis procedures yield consistent findings. In other words the degree of *reliability* is an important indicator of the credibility of my findings. Given the constraints of time and other resources, the issues under scrutiny in the research (capacity development and social change), there may be some threats to reliability. My study was carried out in Uganda between 21.11.2009 and 1.12.2009 and I had to carry out many interviews in each of the three villages visited. Although I managed to carry out the tasks at hand within the timeframe, I might have missed some critical contextual factors that would probably enrich my further analysis and add some nuances to the collected data. Chambers (2008) in his work on rural *development tourism* (e.g. the phenomenon of the brief rural visit) identifies some biases which can impede outsiders’ contact with rural poverty in general and the deepest poverty in particular. This apply to me as a researcher concerned with collecting accurate, timely and reliable data for the purpose of my research although I don’t identify my research endeavor as *development tourism*, but rather a genuine concern with highlighting one of the main features of poverty in our time, namely lack of access to safe water and adequate sanitation. *Spatial bias*: assuming that many projects dealing with capacity development, social change and poverty alleviation are in remote areas far from urban settlements, one may choose units of analysis which are accessible, urban based and then miss the opportunity to get the perspective of the poor, weak and marginalized people. Although the studied projects

are in remote areas, six hours outside Kampala, I made the trip to meet with the people and stay within the area for a week; in so doing, I managed to avoid the spatial bias. *Personal bias*: it refers to the propensity for development researchers, of choosing as interlocutor or guides the well-articulated, educated and better-off people, in the research process and neglecting the “voiceless” as old people, women and children. Given that I’m not from the country, communication with locals was constrained by two aspects: Me being not able to speak the local language and many of the interviewees with shortcomings in English. I collaborated with an “articulated, educated and better-off” interpreter with the possibility of getting biased data. *Poverty bias*: Chambers (2008) explains this bias by the fact that *the widespread rhetoric on poverty has made it more acceptable in many countries and regions for a visitor to ask to go to the poorest villages or slums, or the poorest part of a village or slum or to meet poorer people*. This may entail that poor people being practiced, rehearsed to perform the roles they are supposed to play. Such a bias can affect the degree of reliability of the data collected. The organized visits to Kibera in Nairobi, one of Africa’s largest slums constitute a good example of a poverty bias. So I intended to bear in mind these threats to reliability when collecting and analyzing data. The extent to which this applies to my research remains an open question. However it is important to underscore that these communities have been through years in contact with many NGOs and seemed to have a good understanding of the standard operating procedures.

Another dimension which will be critical for my research findings is *validity*: according to Saunders *et al.* 2009, validity is concerned with whether the findings are really about what they appear to be about. Can the social change happening in an organization or a community be related to the capacity development project being implemented or are we talking about different factors at play? Are the interviewees or the individuals forming the focus groups the rights interlocutors to draw information from? These are critical questions I took into account while choosing interviewees with a variety of social background and position, and getting their own interpretation of change and what it means to them. Notwithstanding that I held my theory of change, I gave the opportunity to the respondents to tell their stories of change in order to “*reduce the possibility of getting the answer wrong*” (Saunders *et al.* 2009). In this perspective it is important to underscore that in my research on capacity development and social change I’m more concerned with *internal validity* rather than *external validity* aiming at the *generalizability* of my research results. My concern is not to generalize, but to assess best practices and lessons learned.

2.5. Data analysis

This part of my work is critical because it is about making sense of the collected data and drawing conclusions which can stand up to the closest scrutiny. My data should give me the

opportunity to interpret capacity development at different levels (individual and community) and assess the extent to which it can bring about social change in poor communities. Two approaches can be used in this regard: to work deductively by analyzing the data at hand against relevant theories; the second approach is what Saunders *et al.* 2009 call a *hybrid approach* which means using an established theoretical construct to make sense of the findings. Before analyzing qualitative data, three main processes are critical according to Saunders *et al.* 2009:

- Summarizing (condensation) of meanings;
- Categorization (grouping) of meanings;
- Structuring (ordering) of meanings using narrative.

3. Background information on Uganda and the water and sanitation sector

According to current official data, the Uganda population is estimated at 22 million, of which only 13% live in the urban areas and the rest e.g. 87% live in rural areas which are subdivided into so-called Rural Growth Centers (2000-5000 people) and scattered homesteads (< 2000 people).

Uganda has one of the lowest access to and coverage for safe water in the world. The terms access and coverage refer to the percentage of people with access to an improved water source (i.e.: protected springs, deep boreholes and shallow wells fitted with handpumps, rain water harvesting facilities and piped water supplies). These are defined by the Government of the Republic of Uganda (GOU) as safe. By September 2008, the national water coverage figure for rural water supply was 63% in tune with the target of 63% for 2007/2008. Still there are many disparities between districts around the country with variation from 12% to 95%.

Indeed water as a key strategic resource, vital for sustaining life, promoting development and maintaining the environment, remains scarce for many rural dwellers of the Rural Growth Centers and scattered homesteads of Uganda. As stated in the Rural Water and Sanitation Implementation Strategy and Investment Plan, the average water use per capita is half the minimum recommended amount required for drinking, cooking and adequate hygiene.

Women and girls in rural areas travel long distances to collect water, exposing themselves to various threats. So water is not only a commodity, but also a gender issue. In addition to the above-mentioned shortcomings, problems related to the maintenance of the installed water infrastructure have been reported. It is estimated that 30% of the existing water supply systems are currently non-functional (Harvey, P.A. 2003).

Sanitation as a priority is also lagging behind. GOU acknowledges in its strategic plan that sanitation awareness remains low and the construction of excreta management and disposal

facilities at household and institutions (schools, health centres, offices etc.) and public places (market, eating places, parks, etc.) should be dealt with more effectively than the current policy. It is also argued that a proper utilization of latrine is hampered at household level because of prevailing taboos and beliefs. The water and sanitation sector performance report of September 2008 outlined in its findings some hygiene promotion activities carried out such as home and village improvement campaigns, follow up training of sanitation committees, hygiene education in RGCs (Rural Growth Centers) and areas with new water sources and the national hand washing campaign. The report nevertheless pointed out that some local governments spent all their funds on physical activities (i.e. hardware), leaving nothing for mobilization (software). Sanitation remains a core issue to be dealt with by GOU.

RWSS (Rural Water Supply and Sanitation) as a sector has witnessed since the 1990s a broad mobilization in Uganda. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), donors, Line Ministries and Local Governments have been pooling together their efforts to develop and revitalize the sector. This is part of a so-called **Sector-Wide Approach** which is “the mechanism for Government/donor collaboration to achieve improvement in sector performance, increase resource flows, more effective use of resources and leading to positive outcomes for the poor in society”. In this perspective, *Fontes Foundation* a Norwegian NGO based in Oslo started its first water and sanitation project in 2004 in the village of *Katunguru* in Bushenyi District, Western Uganda. In 2007, two other villages within the same district, namely *Kazinga* and *Kisenyi* joined the project and were provided with water system facilities and a system of distribution for communal use. All the three villages are situated within QENP (Queen Elizabeth National Park) and are considered as sanctuaries because of their close cohabitation with wild animals and some endangered species. Uganda Wild Life Authority (UWA) has the main responsibility of running the park and ensuring the prevailing biodiversity. In line with GOU’s guidelines pertaining to RWSS, these projects implemented by *Fontes Foundation* are geared towards sustainability i.e. “the capacity of the local community to look after the water system with minimum external assistance and to deliver a sufficient amount of water to a reasonable price” (Koestler, A. G. & Koestler, L. 2008). The capacity of the different stakeholders — CBOs, Local Governments, Water User Groups/Water Committees — to operate, maintain and sustain water system facilities, along with the motivation of local communities to adopt the appropriate attitude and behavior as far as water and sanitation are concerned, will bear on the extent to which sustainable social change can take place.

3.1 Fontes Foundation

Fontes Foundation is a Norwegian NGO located in Oslo with office in Kampala, Uganda. The work of *Fontes foundation* revolves around providing safe drinking water to communities

in low-income countries through the installation of water and sanitation facilities. The emphasis is laid on generating appropriate solutions in terms of technologies based on the needs of the local communities. In order to ascertain a sense of ownership and sustainability, *Fontes Foundation* collaborates with local actors at different levels, runs training sessions for water committees and carries out follow-up activities in the villages where the projects are implemented. The projects are based on a long-term perspective.

A number of small-scale community based projects pertaining to water and sanitation are implemented by *Fontes Foundation* in Western Uganda since 2004. In the autumn of 2009, I came in contact with Dr. Andreas G. Koestler, Director of *Fontes Foundation*. The focus of my research is in line with the work of the organization in Western Uganda with main focus on capacity building and social change in poor communities. The meeting with Koestler in Oslo constituted the start of my imbedding into the world of rural water and sanitation projects in Uganda. Later on November 2009, I visited Uganda and with the help of *Fontes'* local collaborators, I carried out field studies in three villages in the Western part of the country, namely *Katunguru, Kazinga* and *Kisenyi*. All the cases reviewed in the research are projects in Western Uganda implemented and run by *Fontes Foundation*. As the implementing NGO, *Fontes Foundation* will be one of the core references in my study.

3.2 Policy, Legal and Institutional Framework in Rural Water Supply and Sanitation

The Water Statute of 1995 constitutes a legal framework for the use, protection and management of water resources in Uganda. Amongst other objectives, the Water Statute is aiming at promoting the rational management and use of the waters, the provision of a clean, safe and sufficient supply of water for domestic purposes for all persons and the control and promotion of safe storage treatment, discharge and disposal of waste (Directorate for Water Development, undated).

Given the precarious state of affairs both in terms of coverage and effectiveness in service delivery GOU decided in 1997 to reform the water and sanitation sector. A rural water and sanitation (RWSS) strategy was crafted to open for the devolution of responsibilities to the district level with the allocation of resources under predetermined conditions in tune with the **Conditional Development Grant Scheme** which is supposed to encourage good management practices among local authorities.

3.3 The Local Government Act of 1997

The Local Government Act was assent by the president and the Ugandan parliament 19th March 1997 and entered into force 24th March 1997. It is an act to amend, consolidate and streamline the existing law on Local Governments in line with the constitution to give effect to the decentralization and devolution of functions, powers and services; and to provide for

decentralization at all levels of Local Governments to ensure good governance and democratic participation in, and control of decision making by the people (Local Government Act, 1997:9). Amongst the objectives outlined in the Act, can be retained the need and wish to establish a democratic, political and gender sensitive, administrative set-up in Local Governments and to provide for elections of Local councils (LCs).

According to the Act, the system of Local Government shall be based on the District as unit under which there shall be lower Local Governments and Administrative Units. The Local Governments in a District rural area shall be:

- The District Council.
- The Sub-county Councils.

As a result of the decentralization, District Local Governments are now responsible for the provision and maintenance of water supplies in liaison with the Ministry of Water and Environment (MWE).

It can be delineated five levels of Local Government that are involved in the management of water projects. These levels are called Local Councils and are outlined as follows:

- LC1 Village level;
- LC2 Parish level;
- LC3 Sub-County level;
- LC4 County level;
- LC5 District level.

Given their responsibilities in the administrative bureaucracy, LC1, LC3 and LC5 are important actors to reckon with prior to and under implementation of a water project. LC1 has the responsibility to inform communities on planning and implementation arrangements for water and sanitation activities; to facilitate the establishment of water committees; to enforce bylaws on water and sanitation and assist with the monitoring of construction work. LC3 has the responsibility to plan and budget for the provision of rural water and sanitation within the sub-county; to enact and enforce bylaws for water and sanitation; to inform local communities on water and sanitation issues and activities; to carry out health education and sensitize communities about sanitation and proper hygiene. LC5 is the overall planning authority for the District and has the general responsibility for the provision of services in the water and sanitation sector.

3.4 Water and sanitation committees

In the official strategy for RWSS, it is explicitly stated that community members may form a Water User Group (WUG) to collectively plan and manage a water (point source) facility. The WUG is referred to in my study as Water Committee which is the terminology used in the water projects. Drawing from a demand driven approach, the communities through Parish and Village Councils shall be informed, mobilized and taken onboard in decision-making processes. In addition, local water and sanitation committees shall have the responsibility to manage, operate and maintain the facility. Drawing verbatim from the strategy document, it is stated that “WUG will apply through Sub-county to District for support to rehabilitate a water source whose cost of rehabilitation is beyond their capacity”. Given the scarcity of economic resources in rural areas, this is an important dimension.

In the studied projects in *Katunguru*, *Kazinga* and *Kisenyi*, a Water Committee was established. According to the guidelines set by *Fontes Foundation* in collaboration with the local communities, the water committee should be democratically elected and composed of the following roles:

- Chairperson
- Vice chairperson (optional)
- Secretary
- Treasurer that should be held by a woman
- Technicians
- Committees members

The Water Committee which in theory is meant to be an arena for enactment of democratic values, gender sensitiveness and participation will be addressed more thoroughly in the chapter on capacity development. The mode of election, roles and mechanisms of functioning will be assessed drawing from the guidelines in the Local Government Act of 1997 and guiding principles agreed upon between *Fontes Foundation* and the local communities.

3.5 Strategy and guiding principles in the Rural Water and Sanitation sector

GOU has crafted a strategy for the provision and management of water and sanitation services which presents the following features:

- A demand responsive approach centered on the rationale that support is determined by demand. The users’ preferences are very important in this perspective. Through a consultative process, the users are taken onboard to decide on facilities, pay their share of the construction costs and manage the operation and the maintenance of the facilities.

- A decentralized approach where funds are directly channeled to districts as conditional grant drawing from prevailing guidelines and requirements set by central authorities.
- A Sector Wide Approach with the emphasis on multi-stakeholder collaboration where Government and donors can pool their resources together to improve the performance of the water and sanitation sector in rural areas.
- An integrated approach that lays the emphasis not only on *hardware* activities such as construction and installation of facilities, but also *software* activities aspects likely to strengthen water and sanitation projects such as mobilization, hygiene education (including maintaining a safe water chain and promotion of sanitation at household level), gender awareness and **capacity building** (my underline) at user level required for continued use and sustainable operation.
- Financial viability with the emphasis laid on user contribution for capital costs, plus full responsibility for operation and maintenance.
- Institutional reform aiming at strengthening local institutions, full involvement of user, developing a sense of ownership and promoting the participation of women at all levels.
- Private Sector participation.

The above-outlined strategic framework reveals a certain number of underlying guiding principles namely, i) the application of a Participatory Demand Driven Approach to planning and provision of water and sanitation facilities; ii) the importance of ascertaining local ownership of the water projects; iii) gender mainstreaming i.e. promotion of the full participation of women at all levels in sector institutions and in decision making; Sustainability at the core of water and sanitation interventions with importance given to capacity building initiatives at local levels.

The legal- and institutional framework outlined above, the water and sanitation strategic plan, along with the underlying guiding principles constitute a frame of reference for practitioners active in the sector in Uganda. Going through this institutional framework with its various ramifications shall hopefully shed light on the multiple forces at work in shaping the water and sanitation sector, and thereby delineate the recommended paths to operate with prevailing guidelines. After this legal and institutional contextualization, I shall review the literature about Social change, Empowerment and Capacity Development to shed light on the current state of knowledge as far as these subjects are concerned.

4. Review of the literature about Social Change, Empowerment and Capacity Development

Key words: social change, empowerment, power, capacity development.

Since the nineteenth century which witnessed the industrialization of Europe starting from England, social change as a subject of study has been at the core of social sciences. The considerable transformations that were taking place in Europe – accelerated urbanization, new forms of organization of the work force, mechanization of the work, transition from traditional agrarian society to capitalist society – called for lucid and elaborate understanding of the process and the driving forces of change. Although my unit of analysis regarding social change is the community – i.e. precise geographic location (county, sub-county, parish and village) with common cultural heritage, language, value-system and beliefs – I shall attempt a review of the literature on social change that draws from changes at the macro, the mezzo and the micro levels of human constituencies to better elucidate the underlying assumptions that might be held by actors involved in change process, particularly in the developing world. Since the concept of social change is subject to many interpretations, the task at hand is to delineate the relevant theories within the wealth of existing theories of social change to elucidate my research question which main focus is *the extent to which capacity development in small-scale community based water and sanitation projects can bring about sustainable social change in rural poor communities.*

4.1. Social change as modernization

Modernization as a distinctive trait of history has been interpreted by social scientists in different ways, depending on the perspectives being emphasized: industrialization, urbanization, science and technology, individualism versus collectivism, democracy versus aristocracy, progress, etc. In this literature review I shall draw the line and focus on ‘modernization’ referring to ‘[...] *underdeveloped societies and describing their efforts to catch up with the leading, most developed countries coexisting with them at the same historical period within the global society. In other words, it describes the movement from the peripheries to the core of modern society*’ (Sztompka 1993). Theories of modernization and convergence have been developed after the Second World War as a response to the “emerging division of human society into three distinct ‘worlds’” (Sztompka 1993): the First World of the developed industrial societies, including Europe, the US, and on a later stage Japan and the ‘newly industrialized countries of the Far East’; the Second World of the ‘socialist countries’ with the Soviet Union as the pole of convergence; the Third World of the post-colonial countries of the south and the east which were utterly underdeveloped compared to their counterparts in the First World. The theories of modernization and convergence reached

a high level of popularity in the 1950s and mid-1960s. Talcott Parsons (1966) with his so-called ‘pattern variables’, drew a conceptual scheme for analyzing traditional and modern society.

Walt Rostow (1960) considered change as a sequence of stages beginning with the preconditions for take-off, passing through sustained growth and leading to what he called “mass-consumption”. Rostow developed this economic theory to delineate the necessary steps for underdeveloped countries to catch up on the development ladder.

The underlying assumptions of modernization and convergence theories are the following: 1) changes are unilinear, and the only way out of the strains of underdevelopment and poverty for underdeveloped countries is to follow the same gradual path taken earlier by developed countries. This can mean among other things to prioritize access to knowledge, science and technology, development of technical skills, investing in economic infrastructures, etc. 2) ‘changes are irreversible, and move inevitably in the direction of modernity, the common final end of developmental processes [...]’. 3) Change is considered as progress in technology and knowledge leading ineluctably to improvement of social life and betterment of human condition.

For the purpose of my study, I’ll lay the emphasis not on a historical definition of modernization, but rather on an analytical definition proposed by Neil Smelser (1973: 747–8 in Sztompka 1993): according to the author, modernization embraces six areas: in the economic area it means (1) ‘rooting technologies in scientific knowledge’, (2) ‘moving from subsistence farming to commercial agriculture’, (3) ‘replacing human and animal power with inanimate energy and machine production’, (4) ‘spreading of urban forms of settlement and spatial concentration of the labour force’. In the political arena, modernization means ‘the transition from tribal authority to systems of suffrage, representation, political parties and democratic rule’. In the area of education, modernization consists of eliminating illiteracy and prioritizing knowledge, trained skills and competences. In the religious domain, modernization will rime with secularization. ‘In family life, it is marked by a diminished role of kinship ties and greater functional specialization of the family. ‘In the domain of stratification, modernization means emphasis on mobility and individual achievement rather than on ascription’. Notwithstanding the wealth of theories developed in the realm of modernization, it has been a number of criticisms of such an approach to human history. I) the gradual process proposed by Rostow stating a progressive evolution starting with preconditions – take off – drive to maturity – mass-consumption – has been questioned because of the possibility for different societies to “walk” different paths to social change/modernization; ii) the modernization approach to social change neglects the importance of external factors as drivers of change. Since society is influenced by events from the external environment, neglecting external factors constitute a shortcoming of this

approach; iii) modernization was solely drawing from the history of the West – Europe and North America – to explain and predict the course of human history. Cultures outside this scheme of representation were considered either as backward or underdeveloped. Such an approach to social change was criticized for being ethnocentric;

Both the classical evolutionism approach and modernization approach has been considered by many critics as forms of *developmentalism* i.e. ‘an approach postulating irreducible, emergent qualities and regularities of the historical process, endowing it with internal logic, sense and direction’ (Sztompka 1993). After having reviewed the theories of social change on a macro level where the driver of change was considered to be endogenous, immanent and gradual, I’ll introduce another approach that consider history as a human product, namely the *theory of agency*.

Anthony Giddens (1982, 1984) developed his *structuration theory or duality of structure* to ‘turn the static notion of *structure* into the dynamic category of *structuration* as the description of collective human conduct’ (Sztompka 1993). In other words, ‘on this theory, the social structure has neither primacy nor preference over the human agency, and vice versa. Social structure is the outcome of human action, and this action is made possible within the boundaries of the social structure in which it takes place’ (Elisheva Sadan 1997). Holding a distance from the rigidities of structural functionalism, Giddens proposes a theory of agency where the social system is shaped by human actions (agency) through the use of the rules and resources provided by the system. As Giddens (1979: 69) put it: ‘the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and the outcome of the practices that constitute those systems’.

The ‘structuration theory’ has at its core, human actors (agents) as main drivers of change through their practices and daily behaviour. History or for that matter change is consequently contingent to human agency. Individuals are no longer considered as objects of history, undergoing its gradual stages, strains and unilinearity, but are subjects, actors and agents that shape history and bring about change. From the structuration theory, can be formulate two assumptions, namely: society changes through purposive collective action; Social change at a community level can be further explored in light of the structuration theory through seeing how the actions of the individuals contribute in shaping the future of the local communities, and to what extent the rules and resources provided by the communities are drivers of change; the second assumption that can be drawn from Giddens’ theories is human agency as driving force of change, and will be further examined in the context of small scale water projects in rural communities.

4.2. Social change and dependency theory

Raul Prebisch then Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, was the forerunner of the dependency theory in the 1950s. Prebisch was concerned with the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries didn't lead to growth in the poorer countries. Contrary to the premises developed by the neoclassical economic theory, namely that economic growth is beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared, many countries in the south kept lagging behind the development ladder. This assumption stands against the premises developed by Rostow in his book, *the stages of Economic Growth* stating that growth policies are universally applicable.

In line with the work of Prebisch, two versions of dependency theory were developed: one pessimistic fronted by André Gunder Frank (1969). With the then prevailing situation in Latin America as a baseline, he claimed that historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continued economic exploitation and other relations between the *satellite* underdeveloped and now developed *metropolitan* countries. He criticized the international division of labour which, according to him is organized as a process whereby *the dependant states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labor, and serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies, and manufactured goods* (in Vincent ferraro, 1996). Gunder Frank assumes that this international division of labor is the main cause of poverty, but is regarded by capitalism as necessary for the preservation of its interests. The conclusion was then that under such conditions, no development was possible in the so-called *satellite* countries.

The other version was optimistic and fronted by Fernando Cardoso and E. Faletto in their theory of 'dependant development' (1969). They claimed that the main obstacles for poor countries are the lack of an autonomous technology and developed sector of capital goods. However, amid this dark picture of the condition of dependence, they saw a ray of hope: dependence produces some unintended side-effects or boomerang effects (Sztompka 1993). The rationale is that the inflow of investments contributes to the creation of highly developed and competitive enterprises. As possible results that can be outlined are the education of a skilled work force, a well-trained managerial elite, and incentives to imitate economic success (Sztompka 1993-89). The conclusion of Cardoso and Faletto is that these incremental, qualitative changes will lay the ground for indigenous growth and economic development thereby removing the strains of dependence.

4.3. Social change and theories of power

In this review of the theories of power, I shall not attempt a comprehensive outline of leading theories from Nicollò Machiavelli (*the prince*, early 16th century) and Thomas Hobbes (*leviathan*, mid-17th century) to our time, notwithstanding their importance in the later formulation of other theories of power. Rather, I'll draw from theories that were developed after the Second World War onwards to elucidate power as a concept related to empowerment. In this respect, I shall call for first and foremost Max Weber (1947) who developed a theory of power based on bureaucracy as a system of organization of human activity. Weber linked power with concepts of authority and rule. He defined power as *the probability that an actor within a social relationship would be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance to it* (Sadan 1997). In his attempts to assess the sources of the formal authorities that lay the ground for legitimate power, Weber distinguished three sources of legitimation for the activation of power: the charismatic, the traditional and the rational-legal.

Power as decision making: Robert Dahl (1961), it has been argued, has continued Weber's approach both in the definition of power and in the attribution of it to a concrete human factor (Sadan 1997). However, Dahl drew the line from Weber by placing the discussion of power within the framework of an actual community rather than an organization. Dahl's *theory of community power* lays the emphasis on democratic decision-making process within a pluralistic context. Power is in this perspective defined by Dahl (1961) as the ability to make somebody do something that otherwise he or she would not have done. In other words, A's power over B is manifested to the extent that A can make B do something which B would not have done had it not been for A. The central assumption of this theory is that *all groups and interests have the potential to organize and gain access to government, that they are internally responsive in the sense that leaders broadly articulate the interests or values of their members, and that their political influence is roughly in line with their size and the intensity of their support* (Heywood 2007). Dahl (1961 in Heywood 2007: 298) argues that *all the active and legitimate groups in the population can make themselves heard at some crucial stage in the process of decision-making*. The conclusion that can be drawn from such an assumption is that given the prevailing democratic and open system within which actors can discuss different problems, along with the possibility of actors to be represented by their leaders, the responsibility for inaction and lack of participation of citizens in local affairs shouldn't be placed on society. Rather, the responsibility for such an inaction or non-participation remains with the individuals. Drawing from the water projects in *Katunguru*, *Kishenyi* and *Kazinga* where the decisions that affect the livelihood of the people are being taken at different levels including the county, the sub-county, the parish and the village levels, I shall use the lenses from Dahl's theory of community power to assess the extent to which real participation, co-decision and influence are enacted in the decision-making process. Are

the voice of the people in general and the women, the elderly and the children in particular being heard? Is real empowerment taking place? These are questions among others that will be sought answered.

Dahl's highly optimistic view of group politics has been criticized for focusing solely on one dimension of power, namely power as it is exercised in decision-making process, letting aside other dimensions pertaining to the ownership of productive wealth for example (Ralph Miliband 1969).

Power as agenda setting: Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz (1962) developed a model called *the two faces of power* as a critique of Dahl's underlying assumptions in his theory of community power. Dahl assumes an open democratic process where the interests of community members are taken care of by chosen representatives. Bachrach and Baratz question such a premise in their theory. Hence, they distinguished two dimensions of power, namely the *overt face of power* i.e. the way decisions are made and *the covert face of power* i.e. the *ability to prevent decision making* or what has been called 'non-decision-making'. According to Bachrach and Baratz, non-decision-making happens through control of agenda and mobilization of bias to prevent the discussion of certain issues. Such a process, it has been argued will favor the vested interests of certain groups to the detriment of the voiceless and powerless people.

Power as thought control: Steven Lukes (1974) drew from the work of Bachrach and Baratz to add a *third face of power* which deals with the relations between political preferences and *real interests* (Sadan 1997). Power, according to Lukes is measured by the ability to influence another by shaping what he or she thinks and wants or needs. This is power expressed as ideological indoctrination or psychological control (Heywood 2007). In other words power is in this perspective a function of the ability to implant in people's minds interests that are contrary to their own good (Sadan 1997). It has been argued that this third, latent dimension is the most difficult to identify because it is hard for people who are themselves influenced by this dimension to discover its existence (Sadan 1997).

Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1979, 1980, 1996) was not concerned with identifying those who possess power or locating it within a given context. He rejects the belief in the existence of an ordered and regulating rational agency (Sadan 1997). The main premise of Foucault was the *decentralization of power*. According to Sadan (1997:57), some underlying assumptions can be drawn from Foucault's view of power:

A. Power is not a commodity, a position, a prize or a conspiracy. It is the activation of political technologies and is concomitant with the social body. Power permeates social life through the interaction between different actors and manifests itself in the everyday life.

B. Power relations shifts, are non-egalitarian and asymmetric. There is no stable logic in power.

C. Power is not a monopoly of political institutions as commonly thought. It is multi-directional and operates from the top down to the bottom-up.

Anthony Giddens (Giddens, 1982, 1984) developed an *inclusive social theory* he called *structuration* or *duality of structure*. According to Giddens, power is an important, if not exclusive, component of social structure. The rationale is that *power is exercised by human agents and is also created by them, influences them, and limits them* (Sadan 1997:38). In tune with the same line of thought, it is argued that *power is not a quality or a resource of people, or a position in the social structure, but a social factor which influences both these components of human society and is also created by them* (Sadan 1997:38). Giddens called this process *duality of structure*.

4.4. Social Change and Empowerment

At first glance one can assume the connection between the concepts of *empowerment* and *power*. In its original meaning empowerment refers to the *investment with legal power—permission to act for specific goal or purpose* (Rappaport 1987 in Sadan 1997).

The meaning of the concept of empowerment has in our time developed to refer to the process by which people gain control over their lives through their own abilities or with the help of others.

According to Elisheva Sadan (1997), since the eighties, four ideological approaches that have provided the framework of ideas for the discussion of empowerment have been developed: i) the first can be placed in the context of the Afro-Americans striving to get their voice heard in American society and their struggle for better social and living conditions. This approach to empowerment is called an *ethnocentric approach* given its focus on ethnic and other minorities (Solomon 1976); ii) the second is a *conservative liberal approach* which main aim is to consolidate the community as a social unit which has to care for its weak citizens (Berger & Neuhaus 1977 in Sadan 1997:74); iii) the third is a *socialist approach* which addresses the issues of equity and social responsibility in the treatment of social problems (Boyle 1984 in Sadan 1997); iv) the fourth approach, according to Sadan (1997), *wants to see empowerment as a profound and professional implementation of democracy—one that will contain every legitimate social ideological current in the democratic society. This is a progressive democratic world-view which resolves to live in harmony with the other approaches and attempts to create an integration of them*. The main proponent of this approach is Julian Rappaport (1981, 1985 & 1987). In my study of social change in the water projects I shall

take a look at the fourth approach to elucidate and elaborate on the connection between empowerment and change at an individual and community levels.

In my analysis of empowerment in the rural settlements and the mechanisms that bring it about or prevent it from occurring, I shall focus on three levels: *individual level* which lays the emphasis on what happens on the personal level in the individual life within the timeframe of the project; *community level* which addresses the collective process and the social change occurring as an outcome of the project or other related factors; and *professional level* which sees empowerment as *a means of professional intervention for the solution of social problems* (Sadan 1997). On the professional level, I shall put the emphasis on the project group and their efforts in empowering the rural communities, and the assumptions and guiding principles that shape their work and vision of change.

At an individual level, I shall see empowerment as an *interactive process which occurs between the individual and his environment, in the course of which the sense of the self as worthless changes into an acceptance of the self as an assertive citizen with socio-political ability. The outcome of the process is skills, based on insights and abilities, the essential features of which are a critical political consciousness, an ability to participate with others, a capacity to cope with frustrations and to struggle for influence over the environment* (Kieffer 1984 in Sadan 1997). At the core of such an approach is the belief in the importance of human agency in the direction of change from a passive state to an active one. In the same token, empowerment will be also seen as: first a process of internal change which refers to the person's sense or belief in her ability to make decisions and to solve her own problems; second, a process of external change which refers to the ability to act and to implement the practical knowledge, the information, the skills, the capabilities and the new resources acquired in the course of the process (Parsons 1988 in Sadan 1997).

In the literature, community empowerment has been apprehended in various ways depending on the underlying ideological or normative assumptions that are prevailing. In my study, I shall see community empowerment as the increased control of people as a collective over outcomes important to their lives (Sadan 1997). These outcomes can vary from access to clean water, eradication of water borne diseases, better health care, improvement of women's' living conditions to betterment of the livelihood of households. In this vein, community is seen as a social collective entity with common problems and generally a common dependence on service providers. The members of such communities share so-called *common critical characteristics* (Sadan & Peri, 1990) in terms of geographical place, traditions, norms, value-systems and the hardship and strains of life. This is true for the poor rural communities which constitute my unit of analysis.

As pointed out by Sadan (1997), the debate on community empowerment is being carried out in a number of professional disciplines ranging from: community psychology (Wandersman & Florin, 1988), community work (Rubin & Rubin, 1992), urban studies and planning (Friedmann, 1992; Brower & Taylor, 1998), social action (Boyte, 1984), and social policy (Page-Adams & Sherraden, 1997). The underlying assumption in this line of thought is that participation of residents in the affairs of their neighborhood is considered as encouraging individual empowerment which will contribute to community empowerment. It is argued that participation encourages perceived self-efficacy, expectations of successful group solutions, and increased civic commitment (Wandersman & Florin, 1988 in Sadan 1997).

The extent to which rural dwellers in the studied villages manage to cooperate in order to make group decisions, to solve common problems and to mobilize resources for the common good is a critical dimension in the assessment of community empowerment. Likewise, the participation of the people themselves— either directly or through the channel of democratically elected representatives in the decision making process that affect their community is an indication of community empowerment.

John Friedmann (1992) argues that community empowerment is the creation of access to social and economic resources. In this perspective poverty is seen as lack of access to essential resources i.e. economic, political and social resources. Such a claim gives the concept of community empowerment a political dimension. Since in community empowerment it is the community as an entity that undergoes an empowerment process, the important question that can be raised is to what extent the geographical community – with a common set of values, norms and similar living conditions – can act collectively for the common good. This perspective is very important in the context of the water projects given the scarcity of clean water as a resource critical for the well-being and livelihood of these rural communities. The mobilization of water committees and other Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) to better the conditions of their villages constitute an important factor.

Drawing from the work of Solomon (1976) on community empowerment of ethnic minorities in the USA, I shall call for another perspective in my study of social change in the three villages, namely *empowerment on the basis of a Common Critical Characteristic*. In this regard a specific emphasis will be laid on groups which constitute one of the most vulnerable in rural dwellings in the developing countries, namely, *women, the elderly, people with disabilities and children*. To what extent the access to clean water has contributed to the improvement of their livelihood and well-being will be further explored.

Another perspective that has been elaborated in the literature is *community empowerment as a political concept* because of its striving to social transformation. In this vein, empowerment means liberation of people from the oppression and deprivation they are subject to, and is

oriented to populations which do not obtain social justice (Sadan, 1997). The underlying assumption is that people's discovery that they have the right and the ability to control their destiny, their lives and their environment is the basis of political change. It has been argued that the political approach to community empowerment is part of the critique of conservative liberalism and its abandoning of the welfare state (Sadan 1997). Liberal thought, it has been argued, demands social equality of opportunities, in the belief that all the actors in the social game begin competing for all the social resources from an equal starting point, and that those who win probably deserve it more than others (Sadan 1997). Empowerment as an approach set the premises against such a line of thought.

The third approach to community empowerment that will be focused on in my analysis is *empowerment as a professional practice*. From a professional point of view, empowerment practice is guided by core professional values. It has been argued that empowerment represents an alternative ideology of intervention that differs from traditional approaches in that it provides a different experience to the person who needs help and to the professional as well (Sadan 1997).

Other authors have claimed that empowerment may not be seen as an intervention itself, but as a meta-practice i.e. thought about intervention (Russel-Erlich & Rivera, 1986). The rationale in this perspective is that meta-practical thinking is essential in all the human service professions, because the professional's thinking about the way he performs his role is one of the principal expressions of his professionalism. The main paradox that empowerment practice has to deal with according to Rappaport (1981 in Sadan 1997), is that *the person most lacking in ability to function, the person in the greatest distress, is the one who needs more, not less, control in his life*.

Another approach to empowerment practice is drawing from Paulo Freire's educational theory to propose a professional approach to empowerment. According to Paulo Freire (1985), the professional should believe in people's ability to learn and change, but at the same time recognize that oppressed people are liable to possess a distorted consciousness due to their life circumstances (Sadan, 1997). At the core of such approach, is dialogue as a means to gain mutual trust and respect.

4.5. Social change and Capacity Development

Despite improved quality of life of citizens around the world, solid economic growth in emergent economies the last decade and considerable progress in education and health, the sustainability and impact of foreign aid upon developing countries remain elusive. The effectiveness of aid as far as social change is concerned is being questioned by the World Bank (1998) which argues that "the past four decade's practices of delivering foreign aid are

being called in question for poor achievements in sustainable impact, national ownership and appropriate technologies.”

Within this context of redefinition of hitherto leading ideas in development thinking, the concept of *Capacity Development* which emerged in the 1980s, has gained actuality and momentum. However, it has been argued that because of its characteristic as an *umbrella concept* – that encompasses ideas to do with politics, culture, organizational development, finance, economics, sociology, and psychology – capacity development remains difficult to define and explain (Morgan 1996).

For the purpose of my study, I’ll not delve into this debate. Rather I shall attempt an outline of different definitions of the concepts of capacity development that reflect four approaches, namely the organizational, the institutional, the systemic and participatory (Adrien, Lusthaus and Perstinger 1999). In the following definitions *capacity development* and *capacity building* are used interchangeably. i) According to Peter Morgan (1996), *capacity building is the ability of individuals, groups, institutions and organizations to identify and solve development problems over time*. ii) In its approach to capacity development, UNDP suggest two definitions that embody both the organizational and the systemic approaches: “*capacity development is a concept which is broader than organizational development since it includes an emphasis on the overall system, environment or context within which individuals, organizations and societies operate and interact (and not simply a single organization)*.” (UNDP, 1998) The second definition from UNDP stresses the organizational dimension, namely “*capacity development is the process by which individuals, groups, organizations and societies increase their abilities: to perform functions, solve problems and achieve objectives; to understand and deal with their development need in a sustainable manner*” (UNDP, 1997)

The World Bank (1998) stresses the institutional dimension in its definition of capacity development: “... *capacity is the combination of people, institutions and practices that permits countries to reach their development goals... Capacity building is... investment in human capital, institutions and practices*”. Another definition of capacity development that lays the emphasis on different dimensions is the following developed by CIDA (1996): “*capacity building is a process by which individuals, groups, institutions, organizations and societies enhance their abilities to identify and meet development challenges in a sustainable way*”. The “best fit” approach to capacity development which is centered on concepts such as *participation, ownership and local knowledge* stems from OECD (2006) which defines capacity development as *an endogenous process whereby people, organizations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time*. Within the wealth of definitions of capacity development, there are aspects that are recurrent, namely: capacity development is concerned with the long-term perspective;

Capacity development should be demand-driven; capacity development should move away from the “right answers” approach that characterizes capacity/institution building initiatives to a “best fit” approach centered on ownership and participation of key stakeholders/beneficiaries in the formulation and implementation of policies that concern their living conditions.

This is a clear departure from the traditional concept of capacity building which presupposes a “process starting with a plain surface and involving the step-by-step erection of a new structure, based on a preconceived design (OECD, 2006)”. The current understanding of the concept of capacity development is based on the assumption that capacity exist everywhere, but the question is about mobilizing existing resources along with creating an enabling environment so that individuals and organizations can perform their tasks in a satisfactorily manner.

In this study, capacity is understood as the ability of people, organizations and society as a whole to manage their affairs successfully (OEC 2006:12). Such an approach to capacity is mainly concerned with the performance of a human system – e.g. the local communities involved in the water projects – in delivering goods and services, and providing the enabling environment for change to occur and to be sustained. In line with this perspective, capacity development is understood as an *endogenous process whereby people, organizations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time* (Ibid 2006). On the basis of this line of thought, capacity in the water projects in *Katunguru, Kazinga* and *Kisenyi* shall be defined as the ability of the technicians, water -committee members, local leaders and the local government to joint their efforts to manage the water projects successfully in partnership with *Fontes Foundation*.

At the individual level capacity refers to the competences i.e. the skills and abilities required to operate, maintain and sustain the technological facilities, along with deliver good services to the community; at the organizational level, capacity refers to the capabilities of the water committees to supply water to the community, mobilize the community for the common good, run a sound financial management of the water system, hold regular meetings and liaise with other bodies such as local leaders, Local Government, Uganda wild Life Authority, *Fontes Foundation*. At the institutional level, capacity shall refer to an enabling environment i.e. the prevailing institutions and power structures that influence the functioning of the local organizations such as Water Committees. In this perspective institutions refer to *the formal and informal rules of the game in society* (North 1990) that shape or constrain the work being carried out by the water-committees and other constituencies at Local Government level.

5. Theoretical underpinnings

In this chapter, I shall sum up the literature review by highlighting the approaches I'm going to make most use of in the analyses. Given the question at hand which is centered on capacity development and social change, the following theoretical perspectives will be espoused in the analyses:

Change theory will be addressed along different perspectives with attention given to changes at individual and community levels. At individual level, the emphasis shall be laid upon the knowledge, skills and competences gained as they affect behavior and attitude of the rural dwellers. In this perspective I shall analyze empirical material against *agency theory* (Anthony Giddens, 1982 & 1984) to highlight rural dwellers as acting units engaged in joint action to create change. In the same line, the work of Herbert Blumer (1969) on *human agency* will be introduced to highlight both individual and community aspects of agency. At community level, incremental changes that are unfolding in the communities will be addressed against an analytical definition of modernization proposed by Neil Smelser (1973:747-8 in Sztompka 1993) with emphasis on “the transition from tribal authority to system of suffrage, representation and democratic rule”, epitomized by the establishment and organization of water committees.

Given the context of poverty within which social change shall be addressed, the concept of “*developmental change*” and “*pro-poor change*” will be elaborated on based on the work of ASC (Assessing Social Change) group at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. In this regard the work of Irene Guijt (2007) and Veneklasen (2006) shall represent a reference. The work of another scholar from the University of Sussex, Roberts Chambers (1983, 1997) will offer theoretical perspective to address the issue of poverty as a *deprivation trap* with the interlinked aspects of *powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness* and *isolation*.

Amartya Sen's (1999:90) concept of *poverty capability* that addresses the access to social services – health care, education, better quality of life – as a means to increase a person's ability to earn an income and to be free from income poverty, will be addressed in the analysis.

Institutional theory shall constitute a baseline to shed light on rules, norms and beliefs that shape the conduct of the actors in the context of the water projects. Behavior and attitude change will be seen along this line. Based on the work of Olsen and March (1999) and Scott (1995) empirical material will be analyzed to see the extent to which the rural dwellers are carrying out their actions in tune with the norms and guiding principles that are established to create change. These guidelines may range from bylaws regulating the safe handling and

storing of water, guidelines for adequate sanitation and the organization of water committee work.

Based on *institutional rational choice*, I shall take an interpretive stance at the possible motivation of Local Councils or Districts officials and their engagement in the water projects. In this regard, the work of Joseph Schumpeter (1942, 1954) will be referred from.

In line with new-institutional theory, the perspective from Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) will be referred to elaborate on the social construction of institutions and their meaning in a process of change.

Learning theory centered on adult learning will be addressed based on David Kolb's learning cycle (1975). This theory will constitute a source from which to analyze the experience learning taking place during seminars and follow-up activities carried out by *Fontes foundation*. The type of learning which is referred to in the analysis is geared towards enabling local water committees to deliver good services to the communities, along with contribute to attitude and behavior change. Some reference will be made to the work of Argyris (1982) on single-loop learning and double-loop learning to address the assumptions and values that may impede change.

Empowerment theory will be dealt with along the lines of the interpretation of power as decision-making with reference to the theory of community power developed by Robert Dahl (1961) and power as agenda-setting based on the work of Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz (1962) on *two faces of power*. In addition *individual empowerment* and *community empowerment* will be addressed based on the work Elisheva Sadan (1997) with reference to different authors such as John Friedman (1992), Julian Rappaport (1981, 1985 & 1987), Parsons (1988) all outlined in her publication on empowerment.

6. Findings and analyses

6.1. Underlying theory of change and community mobilization

This part of the analysis shall deal with the question 1, namely “*Fontes’ theory of change and the impact of its approach to community mobilization on social change in the rural communities of Katunguru, Kisenyi and Kazinga*”.

Based on the empirical material, I shall start by briefly analyzing the theory of change at work in *Fontes Foundation*, and finally shed light on community mobilization, its mode of operation and the implications it has for social change.

6.1.1 The theory of change of Fontes Foundation

Any initiative of development is underpinned by a theory of change i.e. “the overarching assumptions and philosophies that influence individual visions and understandings. They shape how each person thinks change occurs in society” (Veneklasen, 2006). As outlined in the literature review, the line of thought about social change will determine the kind of actions that will be initiated to bring about that change. If change is perceived through the lenses of knowledge and technological development, the emphasis might be put on education, development of skills and competence enhancement. If change is believed to be related to prevailing values, norms and belief systems, efforts might be put on assessing cultural factors that are likely to hamper change, and initiate actions to curb their negative impact.

When elaborating on capacity building for social change in the water projects, it is critical to consider the theory of change that inform the action of *Fontes Foundation* as an implementing NGO.

Empirical evidence suggests that *Fontes* has an indigenous approach to social change centered on improvement of the living conditions, behavior change, poverty alleviation and the long term perspective. This is partly corroborated in the following contention from the project coordinator in *Fontes*:

“I think first of all, social change is something that comes from within. It can be affected by external factors, but it is something that comes from within. That is important. And then I think social change is very much linked to behavior change and to economic issues, especially in terms of development work. May be you can choose to not call it economic issues, but change in standard of living, for example better health. I think it is important to mention I don’t think it is only upwards, it should be also downwards. It can be for better or for worse and maybe within the community they can be social change for the better and social change for the worse going on at the same time” (page 118 in the interview transcript).

Through the definition of social change proposed by the project coordinator, important aspects can be retained: notwithstanding the influence of external factors, the drivers of change are indigenous; the joint action of the community and their interpretation of change become critical in this perspective. This line of thought can be put in line with Antony Giddens' agency theory (1982,1984) based on the assumptions that human actors can through their behavior and daily practices be critical drivers of change. In this perspective, communities change through the contribution of the individuals and through purposive collective action. Another question which is raised is that the term social change can be either positive or negative. As contended by Irene Guijt (2007), "the term social change is generic and neutral, hence opening up for co-option and the subject of confusion. Unless qualified with terms like 'developmental' or 'pro-poor' or 'people-centred', it can be either positive or negative". In the following Box the project coordinator from *Fontes* elaborates on "social change for better" and "social change for worse" with the emphasis on negative and positive aspects.

Box 1 social change for better and social change for worse

Let say for example external factors like new roads or electricity coming into the village that affect the way people live. For example the new road can bring many good things (supply of soaps for example); at the same time it can give access to alcohol. I was working with a project run by CARE in Mozambique and they work very hard to improve the livelihood of the fishermen. They give them boats, fishing nets and everything, but as the result of more money, domestic violence increased drastically because of better purchase power to buy alcohol. So the whole project had a very bad side effect even though the immediate result of increased income has been achieved. I think it is important to take into account all those factors, and in the end of the day look at maybe the standard of living if it has improved or not, and by standard of living I mean both better health, better domestic relations, harmony in the community, of course money to buy essential things, and not being threatened by animals, things like that. But it is a difficult question! I also think that social change... it has to be seen from the eyes of the people who live there because for us social change can be better income, like I said. For them they might want a better income, but they don't want it the same way we want them to have it (Pages 118 in the interview transcript).

The implications of such an approach to social change are amongst other things, capacity building initiatives built on a "best fit" approach" (OECD, 2006) and seen as "an endogenous process whereby people, organizations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create,

adapt and maintain capacity over time”. Social change is seen as “pro-poor” and “developmental” with the emphasis laid on betterment of standard of living, health and security. Such an approach to social change presupposes community empowerment seen as the creation of the conditions of access to social and economic resources (John Friedmann 1992). In this regard, poverty in the rural context is seen as lack of economic and social resources. Through its theory of change *Fontes Foundation* argues for the participation of people in the affairs of their communities and the taking into account of local people’s view of change when working for social change. Assuming that the participation of individuals in local affairs is likely to encourage perceived self-efficacy and increase civic commitment, such an approach to social change may contribute to community empowerment in the long run (Wandersman and Florin, 1988 in Sadan 1997).

6.1.2 Community mobilization and impact on social change

In this chapter, I shall analyze the second part of question 1 which is concerned with “*Fontes approach to community mobilization and its impact on sustainable social change in the rural communities of Katunguru, Kazinga and Kisenyi.*”

The community as a social entity shall be my unit of analysis in this chapter with the emphasis laid on community involvement as a multi-stakeholder approach to social mobilization, its main features and the implications it may have on social change.

Prior to the start of the water projects in QENP in 2004, the rural dwellers living in the sanctuaries e.g. villages situated within the park, used to fetch water from the lake or river. The water was not safe because of animal droppings and other impurities. Water-borne diseases as Malaria, Cholera, Bilharzias and diarrhea were then current in the villages and health was precarious.

When starting the projects, *Fontes Foundation* as an implementing NGO was concerned with assisting the communities in installing technological facilities with a treatment system so that the water is brought to a consumable standard. In addition to the water issue, sanitation was also to be dealt with. So the project has both a hardware dimension (the technical part) and a software dimension with emphasis on attitude and behavior change. The water projects were based on water treatment plants that use simple filter technology with a diesel driven pump, sedimentation with aluminium sulphate, a sand filter, a coal filter and disinfection with chlorine (Koestler, A. G. & Koestler, L. 2008). This describes the process involved to purify the water from the lake before consumption.

From this short contextual outline, it can be assumed that an important element of capacity building for social change is to start with involving the community at an early stage so that learning can take place both for beneficiaries and practitioners.

Such a process is continuous and is important for building trust and a sense of ownership. A central dimension of *Fontes*' approach to capacity building for social Change is that it is centered on the community as entry point. Although initiatives are geared towards strengthening local constituencies that work for the water projects (water committees), the focus is nonetheless on the betterment of the life conditions within the community as it appears through this firm position of the project coordinator:

“Our focus is always the community at large and we make it very clear. For example, many times we get request from people (Oh please! Can you help me with this and that?), and our answer is always: Fontes Foundation helps communities and not individuals. But then of course if we find dedicated individuals like Ibrahim – a dedicated technician in one of the studied villages (my underline) – obviously we’re going to give them a chance for them to help the community project. We rely on these catalyzing/motivating individuals and the main task we have is to find them in each community. If you find these people, then your project can run. So, that is the main work we do. We also work to keep them motivated. But other than that we really focus on the community” (page 118 in the interview transcript).

Sustainability requires that intervention strategies are first and foremost geared towards creating trust not only between the community and the implementing NGO, but also within the community itself. Trust can be built and ascertained through collective actions that transcend the individual realm to encompass *the common good* i.e. “the idea that individuals might, under some circumstances, act not only in the name of individual or group interest but in the name of the good of the community (Johan P. Olsen in March 1999). This perspective brings into light the concept of *community involvement*.

In the three studied villages, the community has been involved from the very beginning to assess local needs, be informed about the project being planned and participate in laying the ground work. As it has been contended by the project coordinator:

“[...] many of these communities have been exposed to other NGOs that work in such a way that it never happens anything. So it is important to have a quick base of the work and also during the installation process we require that the community mobilize themselves to dig trenches and do quite a lot of practical work. Also there, it is important to keep a pace so that people can be involved. If you let it go for a long time, people very quickly lose interest, but if you can work hard together, it will be a team feeling and everyone is working in time” (Number 2 page 116 in the interview transcript).

In opening a window of opportunity for rural dwellers to participate in community and urging them to be onboard, *Fontes Foundation* is embodying an interesting dimension of *empowerment as a professional practice* (Sadan, 1997). The rationale is that through the core values that guide its intervention and the way it carries out its work, *Fontes* is facilitating change when acknowledging the power and ability of the beneficiaries to contribute to the change being created. In so doing, the implementing NGO is providing to rural dwellers an experience of empowerment, capability, and ownership without which collective action is likely to fail.

In Katunguru contacts were taken by *Fontes Foundation* at different levels during the implementation process of the water project:

At Local Government Level for spreading the word and mobilizing for collective action.

The chairman of the Sub-county whose role – as stated by him – “*consists of mobilizing for any action, persuading, giving advice, monitoring the government projects, along with initiate income generating business in the community*” (page 93 in the interview transcript) played an important role in the implementation phase. He called upon the community and organized the election of the local Water committee. The Sub-county chief whose role is to supervise the Local Government work in the Sub-county, along with NGO programmes was also onboard to identify and mobilize through the CDO (Community Development Officer) the different stakeholders —schools, health units and the community at large – to arrange meeting to select the Water and Sanitation Committee.

Why are mobilization and involvement of such stakeholders important? Drawing from *Fontes Foundation*’ mission statement towards rural communities centered on core principles as self-reliance, ownership and sustainability, I can assume the two following goals as critical in community capacity building for social change: to strengthen the community by promoting self-help actions as *Fontes* is already doing through community involvement; to persuade the local authorities (political and informal) and bureaucrats from being “providers” to becoming “facilitators of self help by the communities” (John Chikati 2009).

In tune with rational choice theory which is an approach to politics based on the assumption that individuals are rationally self-interested actors (Joseph Schumpeter 1942, 1954), it can be argued that politicians may be inclined to remain “providers” instead of “facilitators or enablers” because when they can claim providing any communal facility, it will impact positively on their popularity and attract vote.

In this perspective, Schumpeter interprets democracy as “that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” (1954:299 in Østerud, Ø. 2007). For the

bureaucrats the position as “providers” of public communal goods may be critical for professional mobility.

These are incentives that may hinder any attempt to create an enabling environment with self-reliant actors shaping their future. Hence liaising with these actors and involving them from the beginning is critical if *Fontes Foundation* is to create an enabling environment.

At the Community level, many interviewees conceded their involvement in the project through the implementation phase and onwards. They take part in the assessment activities carried out by the project team in matters such as where to place the tap stand so that the safe water is available for most people, appraising the water quality, the topography, and so forth. In addition the community was active in helping the team assess the existing organizations in the community. Aspects related to sanitation coverage, health situation and other socio-economic factors are also assessed with members of the community and local leaders as information providers. Most of the interviewees conceded that the very prospect of having access to safe water was a strong incentive and motivation factor for them to take part in digging the trench up to the village so that the facilities could be installed. An interview argued in the same line by saying the following “*since I was longing for clean water, I was motivated. We cooperate with Fontes in making the trench to the village*” (Page 91 in the interview transcript). Since there was no prerequisite in terms of competence and skills, both women and men were part of the process of digging the trench and laying the ground work as it has been corroborated by a woman in the village of Katunguru (Page 91 in the interview transcript): “*there was no need for technical skills as far as digging the trench is concerned. The plumbers nonetheless need skills*”.

Except some resilience in Katunguru where some members of the community were not ready to take voluntary work, there has been a collective mobilization in the implementation process of the project and the momentum is kept. Assuming that community development cannot be sustained without the active and on-going participation of community members, the process which consists of involving the community from the start is critical as far as creating ownership and a sense of purpose are concerned. Through involving and urging people to volunteer for the common good, Fontes Foundation as implementing institution is addressing a *best-fit approach* to capacity building for social change geared towards “an endogenous process whereby people, organizations and society as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt and maintain capacity over time” (OECD, 2006). I’ll argue that this endogenous approach is likely to create a collective work ethic and mobilization to lay the ground for incremental change.

6.1.3 Indicators and implications for social change

With the social indicators matrix (Stephanie Clohesy of Clohesy Consulting, undated) as baseline, I shall based on the results stemming from the interviews carried out with local rural dwellers in *Katunguru*, *Kazinga* and *Kisenyi*, elaborate on the various shifts that are taking place in the course of the water projects as they relate to community mobilization. These shifts represent indicators of changes that have occurred in the course of the project.

Shift in definitions: In this part of the analysis, I'm concerned with seeing the social action being studied from the perspective of the actor who is engage in action. The actor is engaged in a process of interpretation and assessment of his life situation as he deals with it. The underlying assumption in such a methodological position is that "social acts, whether individual or collective, are constructed through a process in which the actors note, interpret, and assess the situation confronting them" (Blumer, 1969). The way rural dwellers see their life-world and the meaning they ascribe to the impact of the project in their life shall inform my analysis of the empirical world being studied. Is there any shift in definitions in the studied villages as far as water and sanitation issues are concerned? If so how does such a shift manifest?

Empirical facts suggest that the issue of water and sanitation is being addressed in the villages not solely as a commodity, but as an important factor for sustaining good health and contributing to good living conditions. Sensitization sessions, community mobilization and regular follow-up seem to yield a certain degree of awareness in the communities. The correlation between water-borne diseases and unsafe water consumption is established by many of my informants. Responding to the question related to social change an informant in *Katunguru* (page 89 in the interview transcript) contended:

"Reduction of water-borne diseases as Malaria and Cholera is noticed in the community. Reduction of water costs related to water is an indicator of change: 20 l of water used to cost 200 UGS (Ugandan Shillings) and now it can be purchased (with clean water) for 75 UGS. The community is relieved from long distances to fetch water, creating more time to do other work. The teachers of other parts of the district are finding the school attractive because of access to clean water".

As it appears through these lines, the emphasis is not solely being put on the access to safe water, but all the value that can be added and generated as a result of such access to basic services. The interviewee addresses core intertwined issues that are likely to contribute to the relief of what Robert Chambers (1983) called the 'deprivation trap' i.e. the vicious cycle of *poverty* with connected constitutive parts as *powerlessness*, *vulnerability*, *physical weakness*, *isolation*. Better health improves the productivity of households and reduces their

vulnerability; safe water creates an environment attractive to human resources thereby releasing the strains of *isolation* that affect many rural communities; *poverty* is alleviated through reduction of costs. The underlying assumption that can be read in such a perspective is that poverty is not solely a question of lack of income commonly called *income poverty*, but also lack of capability to get out of the hardship of life to make a living.

Amartya Sen (1999:90) called it *poverty capability*. In defining the concept of poverty capability, Sen argues that “it is not only the case that, say, better basic education and health care improve the quality of life directly; they also increase a person’s ability to earn an income and be free of income poverty as well. The more inclusive the reach of basic education and health care, the more likely it is that even the potentially poor would have a better chance of overcoming penury”. The access to safe water creates spin-offs in the local community in terms of health, education with teachers moving in from other parts of the District and capability to cope with life.

A female interviewee corroborates the connection between poor health and unsafe water from the lake in her following saying (page 92 in the interview transcript): “*people used to fall sick very easily because of bad water. Diarrhea was frequent. There have been improvements as far as cleanness is concerned. There are no stomach problems in the family anymore*”.

Another shift in definitions that can be noticed is related to how the rural dwellers conceive water that is treated with Chlorine and Aluminium Sulphate compared to prior held beliefs on eventual health threats related to such chemicals. Empirical findings suggest that

“*there was skepticism among people in the beginning because they were not used to chemicals in the water. They would pay the money required from them, but they would continue to fetch water from the lake. Through education and sensitization of the people about the goodness of the water — drawing from the expected health benefits — the situation got better*” (Page 95 of the interview transcript).

A held belief in some of the studied villages was that the lake water – despite animal droppings and other impurities – has healing properties for those who bath in it. The correlation between the poor quality of the water and the ill-being of the community was not well-established among certain people. The contentions above shed light on an interesting dimension with the informants, namely their engaging in a process of interpretation of their environment by dissecting its main features, defining it, appraising it and attaching meaning to it from their own perspectives. In doing so, they position their life within the current framework compared to before to assess change. Indeed in so doing they ascertain an important aspect of agency theory, namely that “the human being is not swept along as a neutral and indifferent unit by the operation of a system. As an organism capable of self

interaction he forges his action out of a process of definition involving choice, appraisal and decision” (Blumer, 1969).

Empirical findings from *Kazinga*, the second village in my field study follow the same line of definition. The chairman of the water community (page 105 in the interview transcript), conceded in the interview I had with him that “*the situation has changed considerably as far as the occurrence of sicknesses as Malaria and Cholera are concerned. There is no more Cholera in the community. The only health challenge we’re facing is AIDS. The community is enjoying the clean water*”. Based on the recurrence of the health issue in the definitions presented by the interviewees, I can assume a connection between *well-being* i.e. the experience of good quality of life as it is defined by actors themselves, *livelihood* – in terms of basic services such as health and safe water – and *capabilities* i.e. what people are able of doing and being, given the right conditions (Chambers, 1997). To paraphrase Chambers, I shall argue that the objective of development is *well-being* although it is subject to different interpretations; *livelihood security* in terms of basic services is basic to well-being; *capabilities* can be seen as means to well-being and livelihood.

The feeling of well-being for a rural dweller in the remote villages of Uganda is first and foremost related to access to basic services to cater for the most basal needs as it is referred to in the following contention (page 99, interview transcript): “*This water has actually reduced some diseases from the use of dirty water. Before, my body used to itch after every bath because of the bad quality of the water. Now with clean water and well-balanced chemicals (Chlorine and Aluminium Sulphate), the symptoms have disappeared overnight*”. Clearly there is a shift in definitions as far as the importance of safe water for the betterment of the quality of life and of the livelihood of the rural communities are concerned.

Shift in behavior: The concern in this part is to elaborate on the extent to which individuals (and or the community at large) do things differently and for the better and the sense of ownership that accompany their actions. The shift in behavior will be analyzed in an integrated perspective with the emphasis laid on water and sanitation, along with the sense of ownership and empowerment.

More focus on adequate sanitation: The access to safe water has propelled the need to address the issue of sanitation in the villages. Indeed access to clean water without proper sanitation and good hygienic habits will jeopardize all efforts in eradicating preventable diseases and creating sustainable change. According to the project coordinator from *Fontes foundation* (Interview transcript, page 119), the software dimension – information, education, communication, attitude and behavior change – is equivalent to more than 70% of the budget *Fontes Foundation* operate with as far as sanitation is concerned . So the focus on learning and behavior change is critical if good health can continue to prevail in the community. The

different transmission routes of water-borne diseases are being addressed in seminars, follow-up activities and community meetings. A bylaw has been introduced by the Water Committees in collaboration with the Sub-county to ban any use of water from the lake or of a dirty jerry-can at the tap stand when fetching water: an informant in Kazinga (in the interview transcript page 105) contended *“First, people are not allowed to fetch water from the lake and the committee has decided that. The consequences of failing to abide by the rule will lead to penalties. The second thing we’ve done is to choose someone to take care of the tap”*. In Katunguru efforts are also being made to enforce bylaws as explained by one of the volunteers in the water project (Page 95 in the interview transcript): *“you cannot drink safe water and use dirty container; the jerry-can has to be clean, if not they risk to get it confiscated. “No dirty jerry-can!” Bad hygiene can block change. Both Fontes’ emphasis on the software dimension and the introduction of bylaws are in line with institutional theory (Cyert and March 1963, Selznick 1992) that calls for an analysis of change along institutional arrangements such as rules, norms, and beliefs. For change to happen and be sustained the rural dwellers of Katunguru, Kazinga and Kisenyi should carry out their actions in tune with the rules, norms and guiding principles established by the water committees and the project group.*

Clearly hygiene which used to be a challenge when dealing with water and sanitation in poor communities is being addressed not only through sensitization and awareness-raising, but also through law enforcement by using the guidelines in the Local Government Act of 1997 to empower local constituencies as water committees. Since it is their livelihood which is at stake, there is a strong willingness among people in the communities to organize in order to sustain the added value. By initiating and enforcing these bylaws, the community is sending an important message, namely that the faith of the community can be changed to the better if the people take responsibility and abide by the rules to build sustainable future. Indeed, this is an act of community empowerment i.e. “increased control of people as a collective over outcomes important to their lives” (Sadan, 1997). Clearly the extent to which the community at large is enabled to organize itself, mobilize resources to deal with common challenges constitutes a critical aspect in assessing community empowerment. These outcomes will range from access to safe water, eradication of water-borne diseases to better health care, improvements of women’s living conditions and betterment of the livelihood of households. These are targets that require collective and well-organized action.

Gender sensitiveness: another shift in behavior is the place endowed to women in decision-making forum. Thanks to the policy of the Government of Uganda pertaining to *gender mainstreaming* specified in the Local Government Act of 1997, women in rural areas are taken onboard in many issues concerning their community. Gender mainstreaming is in this perspective a policy which consists of ensuring that women are not discriminated because of

their being women so that they can be represented in all positions in society and have same opportunities than men as far as participating in local government is concerned.

Elaborating on the gender issue, a male informant posits that “*women are members of the water committee and they have all the rights of taking decisions like any other member of the community*” (Interview transcript, page 98).

They are reckoned with as members of water committees and participate in meetings to air their views. Such a power enjoyed by women can be related to the view of Dahl (1961) of power as decision-making. The central tenet of such a perspective is that *all the active and legitimate groups in the population can make themselves heard at some crucial stage in the process of decision-making*. By virtue of their status as elected members of water-committees, women have the required legitimacy to participate in decision-making processes. A woman, member of a local water committee contended:

“*Women are in the water committee and are also elected. There are four women in the water committee out of ten members. [...] A law to be observed during the election is that the water committee should be gender balanced. First the community elect men and after women*” (interview transcript, pages 90, 91).

Clearly, women are participating in water committee work and to a certain extent in decision making.

Power dynamics as blocking factor for empowerment of women: However observing the power dynamics unfolding in the communities, although I may acknowledge the fact of women being onboard, it is not easy a task to assess the impact of such a participation on real empowerment. All local leaders I’ve met are men with power in agenda setting (Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, 1962) and are likely to influence the course of issues being dealt with and prioritized. Despite a pronounced wish to interview women, I manage to talk with four women including the project manager and fourteen men in position of responsibility in the communities. Among the four women interviewed, only three were in position of responsibility, the remaining one was a community member who is not engaged in the work of the water committee.

Notwithstanding the progress made by women in the studied communities in participating in the management of community affairs, there is no empirical evidence of empowerment in terms of voice and capacity to impact decisions making in a significant manner. Empirical evidence suggest that the influence of women in decision making is contingent to norms, values and belief systems as it appears through the following contentions that reflect the relative power of women in decision-making processes:

“if a woman stands up and presents her problems and a man presents his problems, if what she presents is worth, they will take it into account” (from a woman in Katunguru, page 91 in the interview transcript); *“Our representatives within the water committee help us carrying through our views”* (from a woman in Katunguru, page 101 in the interview transcript”;

“Age is important for power. The government of Uganda has urged for gender mainstreaming in various sectors of society. Therefore gender is a critical value in terms of influence and power” (Sub-county chief, page 103 in the interview guide); *“The chairman of the committee has the first influence. We engage local leaders in every action. Decisions are taken democratically”* – my underline – (From man in Kazinga, page 107 in the interview transcript); *“to be heard, the following is critical i.e. the way you’re treating people, the way you’re yourself and to be good to people”* (Woman in Kisenyi, page 110 in the interview transcript).

Indicators of Social Change

The Social Change Indicators Matrix

Indicator of social change Impact	Definition of shift	Typical strategies/activities linked to the shift	Scale of influence/resources required (time and money)
Shift in definitions The issue is defined differently in the community or larger society	The issue of water and sanitation is given new meaning. The community or society sees the issue differently as the result of the water project.	Research, documentation of actual experiences, articulating concepts through writing and/or presentation	Potential to be large and profound– locally and globally. Sometimes small resources can spark a change. Combining #shift 1 and #shift 3 can be effective for accomplishing “buy-in” of new definitions.
Shift in behaviors People are behaving differently in the community or larger society	Individuals (and/or the community) do things differently and for the better, usually building a sense of personal empowerment. People individually act	Immediate support for individuals and families in need and/or for organizations serving immediate needs (i.e. clinics, health services, health education,	Usually smaller-scale, changing people one-by-one. Many one-by-one efforts can result in large numbers in a community being served

	differently and/or the community acts differently (i.e. people prefer safe water to lake water, proper handling and storage of water...).	tutoring, training and building of skills).	
Shift in engagement People in the community or larger society are more engaged	More people are engaged in the project or action as a result of the efforts made. Ideally, enough people get involved that they are noticed, heard, i.e. a critical mass of “tipping point” is reached.	Community-based organizing and public education through meetings; networking; supporting a group to find collective strength or identity, etc.	Potential to be large and profound, especially when “critical mass” is defined more explicitly to match the vision or goal.
Shift in policies An institutional, organizational or legislative policy or practice has changed	Organizational, local, regional, state, national or international policy or practice has changed to better serve social change (i.e. specific laws change and/or institutional systems change or practices change).	Public policy reform, education and interaction with policy and system-level decision makers.	Potential to be large-scale if change occurs at state or national policy levels; local systemic change (schools, courts, etc.) can also be important.
Current position maintained Past gains have been maintained (sustained)	Earlier progress on issues is maintained in the face of opposition (i.e. drop in water borne diseases and ill-being is sought maintained and consolidated).	Strengthen organizations and leaders and their ability to withstand backlash and resistance to change.	Often the work is complex and requires the interactions of people from many levels, including community-based.

Through the outline of the above-mentioned contentions from different informants, one might question the extent to which women, albeit being members of water committees, are empowered in terms of socio-political ability to influence their environment (Sadan, 1997). Assuming that men by virtue of their rational-legal authority (Max Weber, 1947), position in the community or socio-economic status are enjoying power, it can be argued that the process of decision making can be biased by the very fact that those with “real power” control the agenda in water committee meetings (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962) and can therefore prevent

decision-making. Indeed such a claim could be corroborated by the following elaboration on the source of power made by a high-ranking official in *Katunguru* (page 87 in the interview transcript):

“As a LC (Local Council), one has power of influence by virtue of his social position and responsibility. The extent to which you know about an issue will determine your power of influence. The level of education is yet another critical factor for power or influence in the community. Socio-economic status as being a boat owner in a community where fishing constitutes the main source of income is a critical factor for gaining power or influence in the community”.

The extent to which the women in those communities fulfill these above-mentioned requirements is likely to be narrow given the conditions of deprivation most of them are confronted with. Clearly, the source of influence is contingent to many indigenous aspects. The “*covert face of power*” is to be addressed if real democratic decision-making processes are to take place. Although there is a shift in behavior as far as gender is concerned, there are many shortcomings imbedded in the power dynamics that might prevent women from exercising real influence and gaining control over their lives.

Norms and belief-systems as blocking factors for change: Despite the widespread awareness within the communities on the connection between water borne diseases, poor hygiene and inadequate sanitation, feedback from seminars and studies carried out by *Fontes Foundation* reveal nonetheless some shortcomings that might hamper sustainable change as far as health is concerned. These blocking factors are pertaining to the norms, belief-systems that are at work in the communities and to poverty. The following examples can be outlined: “*pregnant women can lose their unborn children while using latrines*”; “*people in general and especially women should not use the same latrines as their in-laws*”; (page 113 in the interview transcript). Since these beliefs are related to the prevailing cultural framework, entrenched and taken for granted by the individuals who claimed their legitimacy, any initiative aiming at attitude and behavior change would be likely to succeed if these issues are addressed diligently. This perspective can be put in line with the work of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966:83) who argued that “what is taken for granted as knowledge in the society comes to be coextensive with the knowable or at any rate provides the framework within which anything not yet known will come to be known in the future”. Richard S. Scott (1995) delineated three “pillars of institutions” – normative, regulative and cognitive – and proposes the following definition: “*institutions consist of cognitive, normative and regulative structures and activities that provide stability and meaning to social behavior. Institutions are*

transported by various carriers – cultures, structures and routines – and they operate at multiple levels of jurisdiction”.

These cultural issues outlined above correspond to the “cognitive pillar” which is critical because it represents a frame of reference for the individuals when shaping a line of action or adopting a certain behavior.

Misbehavior as blocking factors for change: despite access to clean water, the health situation risks to be jeopardized by the problem of *open defecation* whereby certain people prefer going to toilet into the nature instead of using pit latrine which is the most widespread type of latrine in the villages. As it has been explained by *Fontes* project coordinator in our informal talks:

“open defecation is still a problem. [...] People might fail to wash their hands after defecating in the nature and when they return home, they might use water containers and transmit bacteria to the clean water. The problem is related to both poverty (lack of enough means to build proper latrines) and education/awareness-raising (people don’t know much about the consequences of their misbehavior). Another aspect is priority: people may have money to buy cigarettes, alcohol and other commodities as bicycle for example, but latrine remains a lower priority” (page 113 in the interview transcript).

Based on the situation described above, it can be argued that “capabilities” should be addressed broadly i.e. with the emphasis laid on information, education and communication, along with the poverty issue. An approach to empowerment based on Paulo Freire’s educational theory may open a line of action. Central to this theory is the belief in people’s ability to learn and change, along with dialogue as a means to create mutual trust and respect. There is empirical evidence that the above-mentioned challenges are being dealt with in the seminars and follow-up sessions carried out by the project group.

Shift in engagement: The shift in engagement will be analyzed with the emphasis laid on the extent to which people in the community and other stakeholders are more engaged. Some of the findings give an indication of an improved inclination among people in the villages to participate in community meetings: As pointed out by an interviewee in *Katunguru* (page 91 in the interview transcript), *“generally, people are not used to community work. When it benefits the community, we use the LCs to mobilize them. This is typical of fishermen”*. In a context of poverty and resource scarcity, people are more inclined to use their time for income generating activities to cater for the needs of their families instead of attending community meetings.

Elaborating on the strains of poverty and its impact on change, a local leader contended: *“fishing as a source of income is deteriorating because of the depletion of the resources. There is lack of alternative income-generating activities. There is a need to teach people what create poverty”* (page 97 in the interview transcript). The strains of the deprivation trap can prevent people from participating in community meetings. However, there have been some improvements since the start of the project as pointed out by one of the local leaders in *Katunguru* (page 94 in the interview transcript): *“people were not used to attend meetings, but now the trend has reversed and most part of the people attend meeting”*.

Joint action: In this coming together it can be argued that an important shift in engagement is unfolding, namely what is called *joint action* by Herbert Blumer (1969:70) i.e. *“the larger collective form of action that is constituted by the fitting together of the lines of behaviors of the separate participants”*.

Given the nature of community meetings with the focus on issues that transcend the individual realm to the favor of the common good, it can be argued that a step forward is reached for the rural dwellers to join their forces and initiate actions aiming at dealing with the challenges they encounter in their life. These community meetings are critical in that they constitute arenas where core issues can be discussed, agreement reached or declined and voices heard and reckoned with. As known from sociological analysis *“a society is seen as people meeting the varieties of situations that are thrust on them by their conditions of life. These situations are met by working out joint actions in which participants have to align their acts to one another. Each participant does so by interpreting the acts of others and, in turn, by making indications to others as to how they should act”* (Blumer, 1969:72).

Clearly this process of dialogue and consultation through community meeting constitutes a step forward towards more awareness around the common challenges the rural dwellers are facing, along with the lines of actions they might initiate to deal with them.

Through these meetings the community is mobilized to share costs in case of breakdown of the system, to engage in co-decision as for the use of the money raised from water sales, to learn to have good hygienic habits like washing hands after latrines, cleaning clothes and homes, etc.

Strategic alliance: This growing engagement can be partly explained by a systematic approach to strategic alliance initiated by *Fontes Foundation* from the very beginning of the project. It consisted of liaising with key stakeholders like local leaders, Local Government officials and civil servants to mobilize local communities and create sustainable resource base for problem solving. This is explained in the following Box by the project coordinator (Page 25 in the interview transcript):

Box 2 Community involvement and stakeholder contacts

One of the concerns is to involve the community from the very beginning. A second part of it is involving the local leaders as much as possible because they have the power to mobilize, but also to push the community. We very often use the local leaders to help us motivate the communities if they are not active enough and things like that. The third issue is that the project has to be imbedded in the local stakeholder environment. So make sure that District governments are brought onboard, even National Government, Sub-County government of course, also those working in the park like UWA and if there are any NGOs active in other communities, there has to be a communication with them. For example if something happens, we try to involve the back-up structures of the existing stakeholders. For example if something broke down; in Katunguru, the pump got stolen for example and we told them that we don't have money to replace the pump. They have to find another way to mobilize the other stakeholders. In the end, UWA/District paid a lot of money actually and also the community has to pay. They went house to house and collect money, and we pay the rest. If we hadn't involved the District and UWA from the start, they would not have stepped in such a situation (page 115 in the interview transcript).

This strategy has yielded a good deal of good-will although the process of getting help from local bureaucracies can be daunting given the various formal requirements that are to be met. From a strategic perspective *stakeholder mapping* (Johnson, Scholes and Whittington, 2008) – which consists of identifying the expectations and power of key stakeholders in order to plan and implement appropriate actions – is critical to enhance community capacity and establish sustainable networks. The sub-county is also active in following up the projects locally and making sure that they are in tune with the guidelines from National Government. The Sub-county chief explained (Page 103 in the interview transcript): “*we have in the Sub-county, sanitation weeks to help measure latrine coverage, water coverage and general hygiene*”.

This collaboration is proved to be important, particularly in a context of resource scarcity as it has been already mentioned in Box 2 with the case in *Katunguru*. According to the project coordinator, the chains of solidarity worked in the case of *Katunguru* because the collaboration with local authorities was already established and institutionalized. However, such collaboration is important not only because it is likely to yield positive outcomes for the project, but also should be considered from “logic of appropriateness” (Cyert & March, 1963). Assuming that Fontes foundation and the Local Government, albeit having different missions, are concerned with a well-functioning water and sanitation sector in the District, their actions

should be coordinated and carried out within the prevailing institutional context i.e. “the rules of the game” (North 1990) or the standards operating procedures (Cyert & March, 1963) that regulate the water and sanitation sector. Such actions correspond to the “regulative and normative pillars” delineated by Scott (1995). They are likely to contribute to the legitimacy of the project within the prevailing institutional context. As pointed out by Johan P. Olsen (in March, 1999) “within an institutional framework, “choice”, if it can be called that, is based more on a logic of appropriateness than on the logic of consequence that underlies conceptions of rational choice. Institutionalized rules, duties, rights, and roles define acts as appropriate (normal, natural, right, good) or inappropriate (uncharacteristic, unnatural, wrong, bad)”. Indeed, a prerequisite for the creation of an enabling environment is the mobilization of existing capacity at different institutional levels to build and sustain capacity of communities to manage their affairs successfully.

Clearly there is a growing engagement pertaining to the issue of water and sanitation within the rural communities that are objects of my study. However both feedback from seminars and empirical evidence stemming from my interviews suggest that there have been some opposition of some community members to pay for water and unwillingness of certain local leaders to back-up the projects. However, it is important to underscore that the lack of support from local leaders is not widespread. Most of my informants in position of leadership expressed their support to the project. The point of discordance has been the way affairs are managed by the water-committee as it has been contented by a local leader in *Katunguru* “*it is important to empower the leaders of the area to know how the project is working. It is important to produce reports on the project. Corruption is happening without being noticed*” (page 97 in the interview transcript). Amidst the positive feedback from many informants, this is a serious charge which calls for more transparency and accountability in the management of the water projects. The aspects related to prices of a jerry-can of water and the willingness of community members to pay is a question which will be dealt with in the chapter on capacity development. This question does not only concern community members, but also Sub-county officials who demand free water.

Conclusion:

The first part of research question 1 dealt with the theory of change of *Fontes Foundation* as an implementing NGO. Based on the empirical material, *Fontes*’ theory of change was analyzed and its main features outlined. The central tenets of the theory are: change is an indigenous process although external factors may play a role; Change should be geared towards the improvement of the living conditions of the rural dwellers; change should contribute to poverty alleviation; the vision of change held by local communities should be integrated in the project of social change. The implication of such a theory of change is

amongst other things, a “best-fit approach” to capacity building instead of a “right-answers approach”.

When elaborating on community mobilization and its impact on social change two levels of mobilization have been considered and discussed, namely the Local-government level and the community levels. By liaising with officials at Local-government level, *Fontes Foundation* has embedded the water projects within the existing institutional framework. This has provided the project with a firm ground and a platform from which broad mobilization has been launched to get community members onboard. Local leaders, Sub-county chief, UWA and other District officials are activated as key-stakeholders to give the project regulative legitimacy and a sound resource base to achieve sustainability although different challenges remain to be dealt with. At a community level, rural dwellers have been mobilized to dig trenches, share indigenous knowledge on topography, on local CBOs and NGOs and other kind of information deemed critical for the success of the project. Joint action has been launched to collaborate on the common good. After a thorough analysis of community involvement, the emphasis was put on the social indicators of social change to further explore the extent to which it has been yielded and the pertaining main features. In line with the social indicators matrix, I focus on three shifts to elaborate on the different changes that have taken place: *shift in definitions*, *shift in behavior* and *shift in engagement*. The units of analysis has been the acting unit – community member, local leader, project member, Local-government officials – and specific emphasis was put on the way they interpret their environment, the solutions they propose and the challenges they face. In addition, I attempt to establish the correlation between the issue of water and sanitation and *capability poverty*.

6.2. Capacity building through seminars and follow-up activities

This chapter will deal with question 2 i.e. *the extent to which capacity building through seminars run by Fontes and the follow-up activities contribute to social change for water-committee members and the rural communities*.

First I shall analyze the seminars with emphasis on the objectives, the content and other main features. Second, the follow-up activities or field visits carried out by *Fontes* collaborators in Uganda will be analyzed from a capacity building perspective. Third, based on the methodology of Outcome Mapping (OM), a certain number of indicators of social change will be outlined.

To improve the performance in the delivery of services related to water and Sanitation, *Fontes Foundation* organizes once a year a seminar to gather Water Committees from different villages to find common ground to deal with issues of concern, nurture learning and facilitate exchange of experiences between the participants. In addition to the seminars, the project group carries out field- and follow-up visits to assess the situation on the ground,

monitor the functioning of the water facilities, along with get abreast of the state of affairs within local Water Committees. Apart from the M&E (Monitoring and Evaluation) dimension of such activities, they are designed and carried out with the emphasis laid on capacity building. Issues pertaining to better problem solving, better recording and accounting are dealt with during the field- and follow-up visits. For *Fontes Foundation* capacity building shall be a continuous endeavor with the emphasis on intensive seminar and training, along with follow up activities.

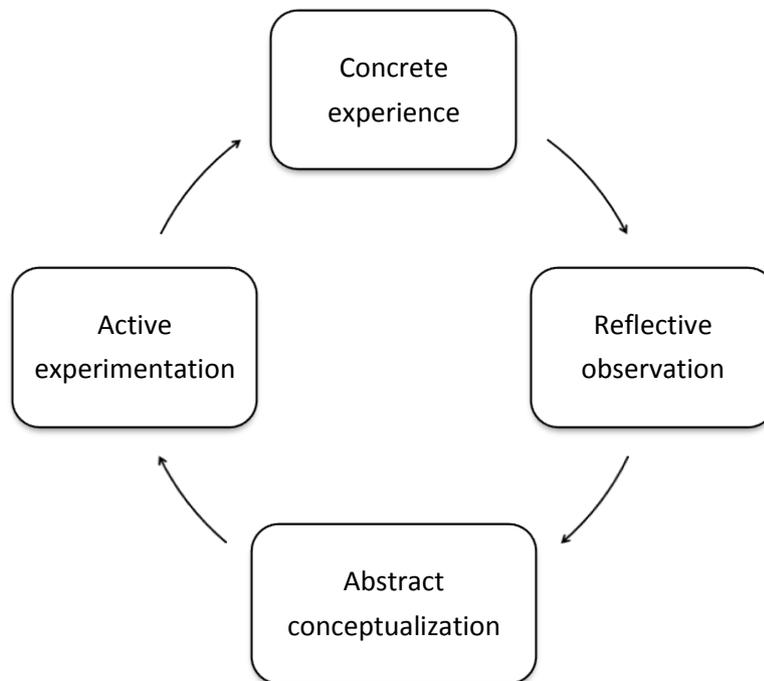
Box 3 Training and follow-up activities

When we install a new water system, there is always an element of training of the new water committee. Normally we do it once the system has already been built because if they have not seen what they are going to manage, it is very difficult for them to understand what they are going to do and they cannot ask questions. We normally wait until the last day of installation when they have already seen the technical items coming into place. We give them normally half a day intensive training, then...normally...we have about one seminar per year where committees from all villages come together and receive two days intensive training course, but I have also to mention that every time we go there, we normally have water committee meetings and we guide them in problem solving and better recording and accounting and that has to be regarded as training even though it is not called training course or seminar (Project coordinator, page 114 in the interview transcript).

The seminar and training constitute an arena where the Water Committees, technicians, Local leaders, representatives from Local Government and Fontes Foundation joined together to deal with issues directly relevant in the water projects. Based on a seminar held in March 2008, the following objectives were outlined: i) motivate new and old water committee members to continue the work (the water committee's work is voluntary); increase the understanding of the systems for the technicians; familiarize water committee members with the technical aspects of the systems; improve accounting and management procedures in committees; answer possible questions from the committee members; hygiene promotion and awareness raising; exchange experience between old and new committees and create a network of communication.

Since the type of learning taking place can be defined as experiential learning i.e. "using real-life experiences to change behaviour or attitudes (Alan Mumford, 1998), I shall draw from David Kolb model of experiential learning (1975) called The Learning Cycle to analyze the main features of the seminars run by *Fontes Foundation*.

Figure 1: Kolb Learning Cycle



From theory of adult learning –**andragogy** – developed by Malcolm Knowles (1985), the following assumptions can be retained:

- The learner comes with experience which means that adult in a learning setting can benefit from one another.
- Their motivation for learning increases in line with their needs to perform more effectively.
- In most cases, adults don't learn for the sake of learning. Rather they learn to perform a task, to solve problems or deal with some strains in their lives.

Concrete Experience: the questions raised in the seminars are induced from real situations the different stakeholders – Water Committees, technicians, caretakers, local leaders, project team – are facing in their working with the water projects, liaising with communities or attempting to solve problems as they arise. These issues can be related to fixing the price of a jerry-can of water within the framework of the average purchasing power of community members, drawing from one's experience to define good practices of accounting, etc. Since the projects have been running for a while the participants have a resource base of experiences they can draw from to discuss concrete issues, as this example from Katunguru shows:

“When there was an increase in fuel and chemicals prices in Uganda, the community was called upon to discuss an eventual increase of the price of the jerry-can of water (20l). People responded positively and the price was thus set to 75 UGX” (page 95 in the interview transcript).

Although it worked with *Katunguru*, feedback from seminars suggests that it might be some people in the villages who are reluctant to buy treated water, partly because of the unusual taste and partly because the price is considered to be prohibitive for them. The question is addressed in seminars by comparing current water prices with “the cost of sending someone to hospital with a water-related disease” (Koestler, L., *Report on water seminar, August 6-7th 2009*). Awareness is raised by highlighting real-life problems through real-life experiences.

In addition to the above-mentioned aspects, Technical Training and Hygiene and Sanitation are also dealt with. The provision of clean water constitutes only one barrier to the transmission of faecal-oral diseases; there exists other routes of transmission that should be considered, hence the importance of proper hygiene and adequate sanitation. As for technical aspects, the attendants learned through demonstration of chlorine testing, the recommended dosage into water for consumption, etc. The opportunity is also taken to explain and discuss the effect of Aluminium Sulphate and Chlorine on human beings given the skepticism of many rural dwellers to consume water treated with such chemicals. These practical issues are dealt with so that the delegates can upon return spread the word and mobilize their communities for an effective management of the water projects.

Observation and Reflection: At this level, the facilitator of the training creates an environment conducive to reflection through questioning, challenging some held assumptions and presenting scenario. The learning will happen as awareness is being raised and assumptions revisited. This form for learning can be related to double-loop learning, which consists of challenging held beliefs and current state of affairs to create change (Argyris, 1982). For example in the seminar, a scenario has been raised, namely the case of the reluctance of the community to buy water (Koestler, 2008). Given the fact that the money from water sales is critical to buy chemicals (Chlorine and Aluminium Sulphate) to treat the water and purchase fuel to run the power generator, such a situation would create shortcomings in the project. By raising such a scenario, the facilitator gave the opportunity to the participants to reflect on their past experiences –for those who have encountered such a situation – and on different alternatives to solve problems likely to occur. Other scenarios and cases are pertaining to financial issues – issues of transparency and accountability in the management and use of money from water sales, benefits of banking the money regularly and auditing –, technical issues and Hygiene and Sanitation (Koestler, 2009).

Abstract conceptualization: At this phase, the participants engage in an interpretation process which will hopefully culminate in defining a general picture of the problem which will lay the ground for future problem solving. Past experiences are revisited, conclusions are reached and generalizations made. For example pertaining to the question of good practices of accounting the participants reached conclusions and institutionalized solutions such as: auditing of the chairman and the treasurer by committee members, meter book where the amount of water pumped can be kept, taking minutes, holding monthly committee meetings, reasonable spending, etc (L. Koestler, *Water Committee training 29.03.2008*). As it appears through this outline, the level of conceptualization is important in the learning cycle because the actors are not solely defining problems, but shaping the framework for solutions.

Active experimentation: Upon completion of the seminar, the delegates will return to their respective areas and enact the guidelines and good practices the group has decided. These guidelines will be tested on the ground, in the “real world” either to confirm the learning already achieved or to generate more evidence. As new experiences are gained, the cycle is set into motion.

Follow-up activities: In addition to the yearly seminars, follow-up activities are carried out through the year by *Fontes Foundation* representatives to monitor progress and milestones, facilitate problem solving – technical constrains related to the water facilities or organizational challenges within water committees or other conflicts – and to urge the communities to keep the momentum and pace of change. *Fontes Foundation* has developed an elaborated system of monitoring and follow-up which aim is to track critical information to keep the project on track, sustain existing capacity, along with nurture networks of stakeholders like Local Government in *Bushenyi District* and *UWA*. Reviewed reports on field visits from 2006 onwards addressed a range of critical issues encompassing *water installations, water quality, community health, liaising with Local Government and UWA, water community work, conflict resolution, community mobilization and financial issues* (Field visit September 2006, August 2009). These monitoring and follow-up sessions have become an integrated and institutionalized part of the management of the water projects.

Apart from the management dimension of the follow-up activities, *Fontes Foundation* is also concerned with the motivation factor of the field visits; answering to the question on the measures taken to ensure efficient and sustainable services, the project coordinator argued:

“[...] *I think it is important to have a long-term perspective always work with the thought in your head that you’re going to be around for long time. It is also important with a continuous follow-up and as part of what I said earlier with continuous capacity building. It is not only about capacity building, it is also about motivation. If they know we’re coming, they get motivated. If they know someone care about them, they get motivated. If they know if they*

have a problem, there is always someone to call in Kampala and they will be able to help us out, that also motivate them. And then as you said capacity building through intensive seminar and training, but also through the follow-up we do every time we're there” (Page 115 in the interview transcript).

A certain number of factors can be outlined as principles and assumptions underlying this approach to monitoring and follow-up used by *Fontes Foundation*: A specific emphasis on working in *partnership* with different stakeholders – local leaders, water committees and CBOs, Local Government and strategic allies as UWA – to foster ownership and commitment. In so doing, the likelihood of sustainable change is increased. Another dimension is the means by which capacity building is monitored; given the complexity of the capacity building process and the difficulties of attributing outcomes to any particular initiative, tracking progressive changes in attitude, behavior and relationships of the actors involved might shed light on the development of the project, along with foster learning for all the stakeholders. This form of learning is a double-loop learning (Argyris, 1982) in that it is reflexive and geared towards critical reflection on the way the work is being done by different actors.

6.2.1 Outcome Mapping

Demonstrating lasting impact of capacity development programmes on social change has proven to be difficult for many organizations working within the development sector. PME (Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation) methods like the logical framework approach are geared towards drawing from inputs i.e. resource allocation and outputs to assess outcomes and impact. There is a growing consensus about the limitations of mainstream PME to give appropriate answers to the questions raised by developmental social change. It has been argued that the following features of social change make assessment of outcomes and impact based on mainstream PME difficult (Irene Guijt, 2007):

- non-linear and unpredictable;
- multiple efforts on multiple fronts;
- the fuzzy boundaries of social change;
- the difficulty of recognizing ‘valid’ results.
- The long-term nature of social change.

With these limitations in perspective I chose to use an alternative approach called *Outcome Mapping* (OM) to assess capacity outcomes. The rationale in this methodology is ‘instead of assessing the products of a programme the method focuses on outcomes, understood as changes in behavior, relationships and/or activities of direct programme activities, although not necessarily directly caused by them. The approach takes a learning-based view of

evaluation, grounded in participation and iterative learning, and encourages evaluative thinking throughout the programme cycle by all teams members” (Earle, S., F. & Smutylo, T. 2001 in Guijt 2007). This alternative approach has been developed by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada as a tool to planning, monitoring and evaluating social change initiatives. Empirical evidence suggest that some of the guiding principles that shape OM as a methodology are imbedded in the way *Fontes Foundation* relate to its partners and carries out its follow-up activities as it has been discussed previously. Since the water projects are based on a long-term perspective and involve many actors both direct beneficiaries and other stakeholders, cyclical, iterative and reflexive learning become critical.

Learning outcomes: at this level my unit of analysis shall be the attendants of the yearly seminars run by *Fontes foundation*. These groups are ranging from members of water committees, technicians to local leaders from the respective villages. As pointed out earlier, the type of learning that is taking place in the seminar and training sessions are based on real-life experiences and are therefore aiming at increasing knowledge for attitude and behavior change. In this perspective the following questions can be raised: what has changed as the result of the training? Does the person feels different, does he or she know something new, has he or she acquired new skills, has it resulted in changed relationships within the communities? I’m concerned here with the knowledge, skills and abilities generated upon completion of the seminars and the extent to which they manifest in the daily life of the actors. Knowledge is referred here as system of concepts, beliefs, and way of learning; skills and abilities refer to the transformation of knowledge into performance. The interpretation of the actors shall be the thread through which the analysis will be done. Later in the analysis I shall also look at *shift in behavior* and *shift in definitions* as generated outcomes.

Cognitive and instrumental knowledge: empirical evidence suggests that learning has taken place and knowledge has been generated; as far as learning outcomes are concerned, a chairperson of the water committee argued: “*I’ve learned how to manage the water committee as its chairperson. I’ve learned about my responsibility areas as committee member. I’ve learned how to take care of the community people as far as fetching water is concerned*” (page 86 in the interview transcript).

As it appears through the answer outlined above, the outcomes are cognitive and revolve around issues of responsibilities and roles of the informant as member of the local water committee. As far as carrying out the task at hand according to predefined scheme and standard procedures are concerned, this is a valuable knowledge. Clearly if the water committee as a constituency set by the people and for the people is to carry out its mandate effectively, the roles and responsibilities of its members should be delineated, understood and

diligently enacted. However the extent to which such knowledge is translated into skills remains elusive. This dimension will be further explored when addressing the shifts in behavior.

Elaborating on the kind of knowledge that is important for the development of water and sanitation systems in his community, the same informant could nonetheless contend the following: *“knowledge related to how we use water properly at home is important. Knowledge about how we fetch water properly at home is important. Knowledge about how we can mobilize through LCs (Local Councils), elderly and chiefs, church leaders is important”* (page 86 in the interview transcript).

This outline reveals a certain degree of awareness of the informant around the core issues at hand in the project. The type of knowledge that is referred to here is instrumental knowledge likely to be translated in behavior and accomplishment of tasks. Assuming that access to safe water would solely be sustained through adequate sanitation this form for knowledge that might affect attitude and behavior is proven to be critical in the context of the water projects. This is one of the core items addressed during seminars and training sessions run by *Fontes*. The other dimension addressed by the actor is the importance of community mobilization through key stakeholders. Local leaders as it has been argued previously by the project coordinator under ‘community mobilization’ constitute important strategic partners because of their position within the community and their power of influence. This constitutes an important learning outcome for a water committee member who is supposed to mobilize the community for the common good.

Skills and abilities: other learning outcomes are pertaining to more practical skills and abilities related to both the tasks at hand, but also sanitation issues. Outlining his learning outcomes, another member of the local water committee argued: *“I learned about accounting and filling the book with negatives and positives. When drawing water from a container for drinking, one should have to cups: one for the container and one to drink from so that transmission of diseases is prevented. It is important to use a piece of soap after latrines instead of liquid soap”* (page 88 in the interview transcript). The informant has achieved knowledge in two areas that are critical for the success of the project, namely transparency and accountability in the management of the money from water sales and good hygienic practices to sustain health and well-being. Clearly, there is a good understanding of the transmission routes of faecal-oral diseases. In the seminars this question is addressed by using a tool called the ‘safe water chain’. In line with expected outcomes, “the objective of the tool is to show good hygiene practices from the tap to the home and how to keep water properly in the home” (Water Seminar August 6-7th 2009, Kazinga, Uganda). Based on the conception of capacity as “the ability of people, organizations and society as a whole to manage their affairs

successfully” (OECD), these gained skills and abilities constitute a critical added-value for the community.

Technicians are members of water committees by virtue of their skills and abilities to operate and maintain the system. Their role is critical in the water project. As a technician from *Katunguru* said “*we were sent to course where we learned how we can change, how we can mix chemicals and how can clean water tanks. We learned to carry out practical work, thus gained practical skills*” (page 92 in the interview transcript). Elaborating on his role in the community he further contended “[...] *I teach and advice people on how to use clean water, use clean utensils when fetching and storing water and stand from drinking water from the lake that is not treated*” (page 93 in the interview transcript).

Given the skepticism of people in the communities to consume water treated with chemicals and their propensity to fetch unsafe water from the lake despite availability of clean water, the role of the technician can be considered as a driver of change if properly enacted. They have the necessary expertise to mix chemicals, operate and maintain the system. They can play a catalyst role in spreading the word on the quality of the treated water and thereby reducing fear and skepticism. “A catalyst for community development is an individual or group who believes change is possible and is willing to take the first steps that are needed to create interest and support” (Chikati, 2009:35). One of the technicians who has been active in the project since its inception in 2004, has gained considerable expertise in operation and maintenance of the water systems that he is now hired by *Fontes Foundation* to provide services to the communities in *Katunguru*, *Kazinga*, and *Kisenyi*; As he contended himself “*I train my fellow technicians and encourage them to be duty bound so that people has water all the time*” (page 97 in the interview guide). This is an indication of individual empowerment in that it refers to “the ability to act and to implement the practical knowledge, the information, the skills, the capabilities and the new resources acquired in the course of the process” (Parsons in Sadan 1997). Technicians with a body of knowledge and skills to operate and maintain the installed system will bear on the sustainability of the project.

In this chapter I’ve outlined some learning outcomes to shed light on acquired knowledge, skills and abilities of people that constitute a target group for the seminars and training courses run by *Fontes Foundation*. However it remains to see the extent to which the learning outcomes are translated in “real-life” situations. In line with the OM approach I shall further explore the extent to which behavior has been altered and the mode of expression of such a change. Has this body of knowledge lead to shifts in behavior or raised awareness? I shall further delve into these questions.

Changes in behavior of the actors: In line with the rationale that underpins OM, I'm concerned here with the changes of behavior of the actors involved in the project. Drawing from their roles and mode of enactment, their relationships, mindsets and motivations, attempt shall be made to assess whether changes have occurred.

System of representation: all the communities that are object of my research have moved towards a system of representation by electing a water committee which is accountable to the people. According to the guidelines both those deriving from the Local Government Act of 1997 and the ones set by the water projects, Water Committees should be democratically elected by local communities. Both in *Kazinga* and *Kisenyi* the Water communities were elected through a General Assembly under the supervision of local leaders. As said by an interviewee in Kazinga, the method used there was “*lining behind your person*” (page 106 in the interview guide). Given the fact that the Water Committees are democratically elected by and accountable to the local communities, an important political principle in democracy is enacted, namely the principle of representation. As a political principle, representation is a relationship through which an individual or group stands for, or acts on behalf of, or larger body of people (Heywood 2007). This mode of organization adopted by the communities can be considered as a distinctive trait of modernization seen as ‘the transition from tribal authority to systems of suffrage, representation, [...], democratic rule’ (Smelser 1973:747-8 in Sztompka 1993). As the model of representation enacted through the Water Committee, it can be argued that it is the “mandate model” which is based on “the idea that, in winning an election, a party gains a popular mandate that authorizes it to carry out outlined policies and programmes” (Heywood, 2007:251). The water committee has a mandate which can be outlined as follows drawing from the interpretation of the interviewees:

- Manage, coordinate and provide water service to the community.
- Help community members use safe water in a clean way when collecting and storing it at home.
- Ensure that people – particularly uneducated people – have good hygienic habits like washing hands after latrines, washing hands before and after meals, cleaning homes, washing clothes.
- Raise money from water sales to maintain the system.
- Urge the community to share cost when a breakdown of the system occurs and the money from water sales is not sufficient to cover the costs.
- Look after the sanitation and make sure the tap and container are clean.
- Solve problems when they occur, along with carry out the accounting.
- Supply safe water to the community
- Organize Committee meetings and General meetings when necessary.

In addition, a so-called “caretaker” is also hired to look after the taps and collect money thereof. This is a well-organized set-up with clear division of labour. There is a clear tendency to enact organizational skills gained through seminars, meetings and follow-up activities into standards operating systems and “rules of the game” (North, 1990). In so far as rural dwellers in the villages manage to cooperate to make group decisions, to solve common problems and mobilize resources for the interest of the community, it can be argued that *community empowerment* is unfolding.

Notwithstanding the observance of principles of popular sovereignty when electing the Water Committees in *Kisenyi* and *Kazinga*, our findings in *Katunguru* depict another type of process during the establishment of the Water Committee. Words such as “*appointed*” and “*elected*” were used interchangeably by different interviewees to describe the establishment process of the Water Committee. It has been said that under the guidance of the parish chief, the sub-county chief and other high-ranking stakeholders within the community, people were called upon in General Assembly to “*choose*”, “*elect*” or “*appoint*” the Water Committee. An interviewee said the following pertaining to the Water Committee in Katunguru: “*we don’t know how they are chosen. This is a permanent committee*” (page 96 in the interview transcript). Assuming that the very meaning of establishing a Water Committee is to create an enabling environment and open the possibility for the community as a whole – including the disabled, the elderly, the children and other underprivileged – to channel their voice and get things done for the common good, any critics raised on the Water Committee should be dealt with diligently. Since the guidelines open for the principle of recall i.e. “a process whereby the electorate can call unsatisfactory public officials to account and ultimately remove them”, the communities have the necessary system of checks and balances to find appropriate solutions.

Box 4 election of water committees

“There is always a distinction between how it is supposed to be done in theory and how it is afterwards done in practice. In theory the water committee is supposed to be elected democratically. So it means that you have community meetings with so many people as possible attending, and then candidates for the different positions will stand up and introduce themselves. The community will elect them and the candidate with the most votes becomes the chairman or whatever. The treasurer should always be a woman, and recently we’ve been emphasizing the fact that the local leaders should not be in the committee, but this has been done in the past. In the beginning of the project, it is good to have a local leader in the committee because they can be very proactive because of political reasons, but again in the long term they have seen that it can create problems. They are now moving away from that. However like in practice, many times especially when we’re not around it happens that the committee is not really elected democratically for many reasons, but rather appointed by certain people with power in the community. But in principle they should be elected and we always encourage the participation of women” (project coordinator, page 114 in the interview transcript).

Shortcomings from an empowerment perspective: although the system of representation outlined above, to a certain extent indicates that organizational skills are being enacted in concrete modes of organization with clear coordination mechanisms, division of labour and delineated roles and responsibilities, some shortcomings can be noticed from an empowerment perspective; since I'm addressing the issue of "pro-poor change" or "developmental change", it is paramount to explore the extent to which the most vulnerable groups – the disabled, the elderly, the poor, children – are empowered in terms of participation in and influence over their environment; There is empirical evidence that members of water committees in the three studied villages are resourceful people both in terms of knowledge, educational background or position in the community. Indeed, their being onboard in the management of local affairs is critical to ascertain normative and regulative legitimacy. However, is it so that education or position in the community is the only viable criteria to participate in and influence community affairs? Can it be that also people with high integrity and sense of responsibility, albeit analphabets can make a difference if there are given the opportunities? Whose knowledge and concerns shall weight when decisions are to be taken? These are important concerns in line with the empirical findings.

One informant in one of the villages said pertaining to membership in the local water committee: *"That one who can manage to do the work in the committee can be member. However there are exceptions: if you're LC member you can't be member of the water committee. When you're not educated you can't be member of the committee"* (page 109 in the interview transcript).

Clearly it is not difficult to understand the reluctance of the community for having LCs as members of water committees because of their presumed political bias that might affect work to be done. However, I shall argue that the supposed correlation between lack of education and ability to participate in water committee is diffuse and not based on a firm ground. This is problematic seen from an individual empowerment perspective based on the definition of empowerment as an *"interactive process which occurs between the individual and his environment, in the course of which the sense of the self as worthless changes into an acceptance of the self as an assertive citizen with socio-political ability. The outcome of the process is skills, based on insights and abilities, the essential features of which are a critical political consciousness, an ability to participate with others, a capacity to cope with frustrations and to struggle for influence over the environment"* (Kieffer 1984 in Sadan 1997). "Pro-poor" change is concerned with human agency and active citizenry. The example mentioned above is a guiding principle for membership in water committee work in one of the three villages, and cannot therefore be generalized to encompass the two other villages.

However, my observations during the field studies indicate that many of my interlocutors in the interviews are not among the underprivileged people i.e. the disabled, the elderly and poor. One of the informants gave the following definition of being poor in his community: *“the categories of poor that can be identified are orphans, porters/laborers, craftsmen, peasant who don’t own enough land and the disabled”* (page 90 in the interview transcript).

Obviously working for “pro-poor social change” should be based on the assumption that “the person most lacking in ability to function, the person in the greatest distress, is the one who needs more, not less, control in his life” (Rappaport 1981 in Sadan 1997). Notwithstanding that representation as a mode of collective action is an indicator of community empowerment, it doesn’t guarantee proper channeling of the voices of the underprivileged. Indeed, my claim is that milestones towards sustainable change are being crossed, the studied communities are making incremental changes and democratic decision-making processes are being tried. However, some assumptions pertaining to who should and should not participate are to be challenged to increase the likelihood of sustainable change.

Improvement in sanitation and heightened awareness on hygiene: Despite the challenges outlined previously under the chapter on community mobilization referring to sanitation, empirical evidence suggests that there is improvement both at household and school levels. In *Katunguru* for example, the situation for the children has improved considerably since the installation of the water systems. One responsible at the local school contended:

“The situation was bad at the beginning. A poor latrine was the only available solution before. Now the water system has been extended to the school and the compound has been cleaned. A new latrine has been installed with the initiative of Fontes. Children looked dirty before because they were using one garment for several days without washing it. Now there are provided with uniforms. Hygiene has become an integrated part of the curriculum at the school and practical lessons pertaining to for example how to wash hands are given to the children. Every three days, the floor of the latrine is cleaned” (Page 100 in the interview transcript).

This positive tendency towards proper hygiene is corroborated by a mother in the same village who, when answering to the question related to change in the community said: *“there is change especially with children. They would go before with the same clothes for weeks, but now they can get their clothes washed every now and then. The community has been relieved of preventable diseases”* (page 101 in the interview transcript). Assuming that children in rural areas of the developing world constitute one of the most underprivileged groups partly because of their vulnerability in terms of young age (sometimes orphans) and partly because of their inability to voice their concerns in decision-making arenas, their well-being is a critical indicator of change. Such a well-being might impact on their motivation to go to

school, enjoy a better health thereby increasing their chance to achieve sustainable future. There is clear indication in the communities that the well-being of the family as a social unit is correlated to the well-being of the children as revealed in the following contentions:

Box 5 well-being defined with emphasis on children and education

*“One important factor is to have enough money to cater for medication and **school fees** for my **children**. To provide the needs for the **children**. To have access to health care is also critical. Access to food is also important”* (woman, pages 92 in the interview transcript); *“I’ll be comfortable if I continue to get clean water and if the current security continue to prevail. I also need **education** for my **children** so that in the future they can become government servants. Another important thing for my well-being and that of my family is access to medicines. Last but not least, food is critical for my well-being and that of my family”* (man, page 99 in the interview transcript); *“Our well-being will depend on a sustainable earning, free medication and sponsorship for the **children**, food and **education**”* (woman, page 102 in the interview transcript); *“The **children** and their **education** represent the first priority”* (man, page 108 in the interview transcript); *“the critical factors are food, **education**, good health, improved water and good environment i.e. green with fresh air (man, 111 in the interview transcript).*

As it appears through the contentions outlined in Box 5, the well-being of the children and their education constitute a higher priority for the informants. Clearly, the improvement in sanitation has contributed to the well-being of the children. Empirical data generated by Ugandan Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) from a census in 2002 suggest that children below 18 years constituted 57% of the population in Bushenyi District where the three villages are located. The same data suggest that children below 15 years constituted 50% of the population. Based on these data, it can be argued that improved health of the children represent a critical factor of developmental or pro-poor social change.

Spread use of pit latrine: Most of the informants have pit latrine at home and consider sanitation as an important issue in their communities: *“with sanitation diseases like Cholera, Typhoid and Diarrhea reduce. The occurrence of fever decreases if the compound is clean (absence of mosquitoes). Sanitation helps to have healthier life”* (man, page 100 in the interview transcript). According the same informant, *“sanitation has improved in the community except some cases of the poorest people. The government has sent a health inspector at every Sub-county to advice the community. In extreme cases, the poor who can’t*

afford a pit latrine move to their friends to release themselves. In some villages, the chains of solidarity can be mobilized to help poor people build their own pit latrine". The concept of pit latrine will be further explored. Clearly, efforts are being made at Local- Government level and community to prevent oral-faecal diseases through creating a clean environment.

Steps to be made up the sanitation ladder: Despite the improvements outlined above, I shall elaborate on the concept of *sanitation ladder* to address the shortcomings the rural dwellers in the studied villages are confronted with as far as adequate sanitation is concerned. According to Africa Infrastructure Country Diagnostic (AICD) in its 2008 report on the state of sanitation in Sub-Saharan Africa, the following features can be retained on the sanitation ladder: Sanitation can be provided at different levels that may be represented as rungs on a ladder: At the bottom of the ladder are those who lack any kind of sanitation facility and chose open defecation as alternative. The first rung of the ladder is provided by the *traditional latrine* which refers to *pit latrine* with a squat slab cover to stop contact with excreta by humans, animals and insects and a shelter around it for privacy and protection. Pit latrines are the most used toilets in the studied villages. They are cheap and easy to build, but require proper use and should be moved or emptied regularly. Moving up the ladder, can be distinguished what is technically called *improved latrine* which is referred to as *ventilated improved pit latrines* (VIP) which ensure more hygienic separation of excreta from the immediate living environment. The final rung of the ladder is the *flush toilet*, which may be connected either to a septic tank or to water-borne sewer network.

As pointed out previously in my analysis, the practice of open defecation is still happening in the villages and people who have access to toilets are using pit latrine which is the only existing sanitation facility at use. Although the rural dwellers in the studied villages are not at the bottom of the sanitation ladder, efforts should be made to move up the ladder if the health benefits already generated in the water projects are to be sustained.

Although acknowledging the importance of proper hygienic behavior – *"I wash hands when I'm going to eat, when I come from latrine and when I wake up to wash my face"* – a member of a local water committee nonetheless contended the following: *"There is also a lack of improved latrines"* (page 112 in the interview guide). Clearly this is a shortcoming that should be addressed on a National Government and Local-Government levels through the **Conditional Development Grant Scheme** established by the Government of Uganda. Significant progress is already made with the access to clean water along with community mobilization and a clear shift in behavior as far as sanitation and hygiene are concerned. To ascertain the sustainability of the progress more efforts should be put on the access to improved latrines. However, this is not solely a question of building latrines, but the situation should also be seen along the line of equitable resource allocation, power dynamics and prevailing norms and beliefs systems in the communities. The more the people gain insight in

their situation and the underlying factors that determine it, the more they will be able to take appropriate actions to deal with the constraints that prevent them from moving up the development ladder. This is a long process that includes learning, frustrations, collective consciousness and relentless commitment.

Change in definitions

Articulation of an indigenous theory of change and factors that can block such a change:

One interesting finding is that the rural dwellers have a clear picture of the change that could benefit their communities, the factors that are likely to constrain such a change and the actions to be taken to bring about change. In other words they have a “theory of change” i.e. the assumptions, visions and understandings that shape their view of change, a clear “theory of action” i.e. the means by which social change can be brought about in their communities based on the assessment of local conditions and indigenous preferences, and a clear “understanding of change” i.e. the specific methodologies and approaches that are appropriate given their contexts (Veneklasen cited in Guijt 2007). Pro-poor social change is not something that emerges out of nothing, but is the outcome of a conscious, collective process that draws from the meanings and interpretations of the direct beneficiaries to inform and guide actions. In so doing, critical questions in pro-poor social change can be dealt with: change for whom? Change for what? What constrains should be tackled? What are the drivers of change?

To craft appropriate strategies for sustainable change in poor communities, the indigenous theory of change that underpins the visions local people have of change is critical.

As pointed out by Doug Reeler (2007:2 cited in Guijt 2007), “*we need good theories of social change for building the thinking of all involved in processes of development, as individuals as communities, organizations, social movements and donors. The conventional division in the world today between policy-makers (and their theorizing) and practitioners is deeply dysfunctional, leaving the former ungrounded and the latter unthinking*”. Indeed the more we know about those in whose life we intervene, the more we are able to initiate and carry out actions that are congruent with their visions of change and expectations of better living conditions. In the following Box 6, I shall in line with empirical evidence outline the theories of change and theories of actions that shape the visions of the actors in the three villages *Katunguru, Kazinga and Kisenyi*.

Box 6 Indigenous theories of change and action (excerpts from interviews)

“At a macro level, the government should put the poor in the national budget i.e. poverty alleviation should be a national priority. People are given a piece of land to produce their own food. Access to free medication should be a priority. The hiring of Community Development Officer who is supposed to hold community meetings, advice the community on how to use micro-finance units, write proposals, contribute to behaviour change and settle marital disputes (through education of the masses on how they can live their life” (man, page 90 in the interview transcript);

“Access to funding from government to assist poor people in starting income generating activities can be a driver of change. Similar projects have already started where 30 people are chosen to run poultry farms; they are provided with 200 chickens with feeding. When the chickens start laying eggs, this can constitute a source of income that will enable them help other people with start capital” (man, page 94 in the interview transcript).

“Fishing as a source of income is deteriorating because of the depletion of the resources. There is a lack of alternative income-generating activities. There is a need to teach people what create poverty” (man, page 97 in the interview transcript).

“Poor people should be helped by the government in provision of the needs like education of the children. The government should give free medication and help the poor like the programme NAOS (National Agricultural Advisory Service) which is an arrangement for the government to help the poor to start simple income generating projects” (man, page 99 in the interview transcript).

“We use water for drinking, washing, bathing, constructing, cooking and toilets. If I had money, I would buy a fridge so that I could sell iced or cold water in the community. We can also use the water to make tea we can sell in the community” (woman, page 92 in the interview transcript).

“The following factors are critical for the poor and marginalized i.e. education, shelter, clothes, food, improved water and sanitation” (man, page 111 in the interview transcript).

“Electricity and the improvement of the level of education are important factors” (man, page 108 in the interview transcript).

Based on the excerpts, I shall argue that a shift in definitions has taken place moving social change from the realm of water and sanitation to encompass issues ranging from income poverty, education, safety nets, environment and health to social harmony in households, popular education and sustainable livelihood. Rural dwellers address the factors that hold them back in the deprivation trap and propose clear solutions to curb the negative impact of poverty on their life. In so doing they are enacting agency and taking responsibilities over their lives (Giddens 1982, 1984). They address the structural aspects of such a change as well the human action needed to bring it about.

For the rural dwellers to be able to make a difference in their lives be it in terms of improved latrines, access to services or sustainable sources of income, policy makers should assist them in shaping the adequate enabling environment for their agency to unfold; such a perspective is in tune with Anthony Giddens (1982, 1984) *structuration theory* or *duality of structure* which is based on the assumption that social system is shaped by human actions (agency) through the use of the rules and resources provided by the system. The rural dwellers need the system to provide the resources and the appropriate institutions for them to enact agency and take the driving-seat in bringing about change. Clearly, there is indication that the informants do not want to find solace in continuous assistance, but would rather be self-reliant through establishing income generating activities, access to food and basic services.

Factors impeding change: given the fact that pro-poor change is not a given, but the result of human agency, the rural dwellers of the three sanctuaries that constitute my case-studies are aware of the factors that might impede efforts to bring about change. There is empirical evidence that those factors are not merely exogenous, but also endogenous. Drawing from the context within which they live, my informants were concerned with attitude, behavior, norms and beliefs systems that can jeopardize any effort to bring about change. In so doing they enact important features of empowerment, namely *critical reflection* and *reflexivity*.

In line with work in the field of sociology, I can argue that “*this reflexive process takes the form of the person making indications to himself, that is to say, noting things and determining their significance for his line of action. To indicate something is to stand over against it and to put oneself in the position of acting toward it instead of automatically responding to it. In the face of something which one indicates, one can withhold action toward it, inspect it, judge it, ascertain its meaning, determine its possibilities, and direct one’s action with regard to it*” (Blumer, 1969:62).

An important dimension in this perspective is that the actors are defining their situation in tune with their line of action. In the following Box 7, I shall outline the factors listed by the informants and that are likely to impede efforts for change:

Box7 Factors likely to impede efforts for change (excerpts from the interviews)

“Ignorance in terms of education and skills, along with laziness can hamper change. Bad habits like overdrinking can prevent change from happening. Beliefs such as ‘there is no other good work other than fishing’, ‘what can one do with education if lacking fishing skills?’ are examples of hampering beliefs” (man, page 90 in the interview transcript).

“Laziness can hamper social change. Overdrinking of local brand can also hamper change” (woman, page 92 in the interview transcript).

“If someone doesn’t hear what he is told to do, it can hinder change from happening. If someone doesn’t want to learn, it will affect the pace and degree of change. If there is lack of social mobilization, it will impede social change” (man, page 94 in the interview transcript).

“There is a widespread belief in the community that the only work worth doing is fishing. This has to change in a context of resource scarcity” (man, page 97 in the interview transcript).

“Good governance is important in providing security and creating an environment conducive to investment and funding from different donors. Hard work is important and laziness can prevent real change from happening” (man, page 99 in the interview transcript). “Lack of assistance to deal with daily challenges can be an obstacle to change” (woman, page 102 in the interview transcript).

“Bad leadership and lack of clear direction can impede change. Poverty is also a blocking factor” (man, page 103 in the interview transcript). “The following factors can impede on change: if the services are not available; if water is not pumped due to lack of fuel; if the generator got spoiled; if the water pump fails to work; if the community fails to buy water” (man, page 111 in the interview transcript).

In line with a “best fit” approach to capacity development which is mainly based on aspects as participation of beneficiaries in identifying development challenges, ownership of the process and the local knowledge required to shape appropriate strategies and launch right actions, I shall argue that this proven ability of the rural dwellers to determine factors constraining change is a milestone toward social change indeed. In interpreting and defining their socio-economic environment, they are not being passive and undergoing the strains of history – as argued in Rostow’s modernization and convergence theory –, but making sense of the factors that determine their living conditions. They enact in so doing an act of empowerment in the sense of *“increased control of people as a collective over outcomes important to their lives”* (Sadan, 1997). Another dimension that can be read from this outline is that rural dwellers are addressing the importance of enabling institutions in bringing about change. In this respect institutions are seen as a set norms, rules, procedures and standards that define the right way of handling within a given context. Based on the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966:78), it

can be argued that institutions are socially constructed through interaction between different actors. By addressing these issues, the rural dwellers are engaging in a process of shaping an institutional framework that might contribute in creating and sustaining change. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966:80) “[...] it is more likely that one will deviate from programmes set up for one by others than from programmes that one has helped establish oneself. [...] The institutions must and do claim authority over the individual, independently of subjective meanings he may attach to any particular situation”. Further “scanning” of the empirical data gives indication that there is to some extent congruence – with some differences in perspective – between the obstacles to change listed by the informants and those outlined by the project coordinator. Outlining the drivers of and obstacles to change, the project coordinator contended:

Box 8 drivers of change and aspects impeding change (excerpts from interviews)

Good leadership! Bad leadership is a big constrain. So leadership is very important, then access to basic services; the more educated people you have, the faster social change. The less educated people you have, the less social change, I think. You have cultural aspects like religion. We notice for example in Mozambique that there is less social change taking place in the Muslim community than in the Christian community. They tell us it is linked to education because instead of taking basic education, the children go to Koran schools and they don't learn how to read and write. I don't know if it is the only factor. There are probably other factors, but I think it is important. The access of basic services like health, clean water and sanitation is also critical. If you have a more healthy population with access to energy, it is more likely to have social change. I think also the coherence in the community is important. We have seen it, if you have a coherent community which means you have people from the same tribe, the same religion, or from the same background, it is easier to mobilize for social change than if you have communities with migrants or seasonal workers. Then of course the political environment is important too, but that is on a macro level (pages 119 in the interview transcript).

As far as “developmental-change” or “pro-poor change” is concerned, there is a noticeable congruence with the emphasis laid on access to basic services, education and an enabling environment. However there is no empirical evidence of congruence as for religion and “coherence in the community” as determinant factors of social change. These aspects have not been named a single moment by the rural dwellers in the interviews carried out. Neither ethnic belonging nor difference in religion has been pointed out as critical factors for social change.

7. Concluding remarks and lessons learned

The main concern of my research has been to elaborate on *the extent to which capacity development in small-scale community based water projects can bring about sustainable social change in poor rural communities*, based on the projects run by *Fontes Foundation* in Western Uganda. With the aforementioned research question as a baseline, the first part of my analysis dealt with the *Theory of change of Fontes Foundation and the impact of its community mobilization approach on sustainable social change in the studied rural communities of Katunguru, Kazinga and Kisenyi*.

Assuming that any development initiative is underpinned by a theory of change which reflects the assumptions, philosophies and values that guide the actions being taken, the gathered empirical material were looked upon to highlight *Fontes' theory of change*. In its endeavors to create social change in the rural communities of Uganda, *Fontes* as the implementing NGO is concerned with “social change from within” i.e. an endogenous process whereby individuals and communities participate to bring about change for the betterment of their living conditions. Notwithstanding the importance of external factors in creating an enabling environment, *Fontes* argues that internal forces within the rural communities are critical drivers and agents of change. Behavior change, better access to basic social services and poverty alleviation were also outlined as important objectives of social change. This line of thought was set into perspective through the introduction of the concept “developmental social change” or “pro-poor social change” which addresses not solely the issues of income poverty, but also aspects related to capabilities in terms of access to social opportunities.

From *Fontes' theory of change* can be retained the following: first, in order to avoid negative side-effects of development initiatives on the poor, a clear theory of change based on the assessment of local needs, is paramount. Local people’s vision of change and their expressed needs should inform the actions being taken to create change. Second, change is not a unilinear process based only on a transfer of skills and competence from the North to the South as argued by proponents of modernization and convergence theory, but rather an indigenous process whereby different communities may choose different paths to better their living conditions. Third, the more there is congruence between the vision of change of the implementing NGO and the needs of the people, the easier it is to mobilize the communities.

The next part of question 1 dealt with *community mobilization and its impact on social change*. The analysis shed light on the strategic means by which *Fontes Foundation* mobilizes community members and other key stakeholders to create a resource base for the sustainability of the project. In line with *Fontes' theory of change*, the rationale was to engage the rural dwellers in laying the ground work and shaping a course of actions likely to impact their living conditions. Community members and representatives from Local Government

were mobilized to contribute in terms of local knowledge, labor and good-will. Empirical findings indicate that there has been involvement of people from different socio-economic background, regardless skills, competence or gender. This seems to have created the firm ground for the *shifts in definitions, behavior and engagement* that later occurred in the course of the project. The following remarks can be drawn from the empirical findings pertaining to *community mobilization*:

First, to prevent the dependency syndrome, it is important to activate the community in the project from the very beginning to create a feeling of *self-worth* and *ownership* of the project being launched in the community. Second, a criterion of success in community mobilization is to imbed the project within the prevailing *institutional framework* through sound partnership with Local Government, local leaders and other important stakeholders. Third, *trust* in terms of good relationships with community members is critical given the long-term perspective of social change initiatives and the need for a firm ground. Fourth, although incremental changes are being created, factors related to *power dynamics* and *norms and beliefs* may impede the course of change, and should therefore be addressed as an integrative part of the project. Fifth, community mobilization is a *continuous process* and it is important to keep rural dwellers motivated in order to sustain the momentum created in the course of the project.

What are the implications of the findings related to question 1 for the current state of knowledge? As far as theory of change is concerned, I shall argue that actors in the development sector can benefit from making their theories of change more explicit when launching initiatives of social change in the developing world. Awareness around the assumptions and values that underlie one's vision of change will help prevent unintended side-effects on the beneficiaries. The extent to which the theory of change is made explicit will determine whether it can be qualified as "developmental" or "pro-poor" which ultimately, is what benefits the poor in the rural areas of the developing world. Given that social change can be "for better" or "for worse", the premises of modernization and convergence theory stating change as a unilinear process whereby the poor countries have to follow the same gradual path taken by developed countries do not apply to social change at a rural community level. In such a context, the vision of change of the implementing NGO should be streamlined with the needs of the people in terms of betterment of their living conditions.

In line with empirical findings, it can be argued that *community mobilization* geared towards empowering the community to act as a collective to manage their affairs is a critical dimension of community capacity building for social change. The question is: how through community mobilization, can the existing resources in a community be used for the benefit of the entire community? Empirical evidence suggests that even poor communities have resources and catalyzing forces that can be used to bring about change. The "best fit"

approach to capacity development centered on *participation, ownership and the use of local knowledge* is a viable route as indicated by the empirical findings.

The second part of the analysis dealt with question 2 i.e. *the extent to which capacity building through seminars animated by Fontes Foundation and follow-up activities contribute to social change for water committees and the rural communities*. The objective of the analysis was to shed light on the intensive seminars and follow-up activities as means of capacity building for social change. In tune with empirical findings, it was argued in the analysis that the seminars were based on an experiential learning approach centered on an iterative process of *Concrete experience, Reflexive observation, Abstract conceptualization and Active experimentation*. Such an approach to learning is in line with *Fontes'* view of capacity as a continuous mutual learning process between the implementation NGO and the communities.

The learning outcomes outlined were *cognitive and instrumental knowledge, skills and abilities* critical to run the water project and sustain the added-value in terms of better health and well-being. The yearly intensive seminars combined with the follow-up activities seem to have contributed to capacity building and change in many aspects of community life in *Katunguru, Kazinga and Kisenyi*. Some of the most salient findings are *the move from system of traditional authority to system of suffrage and democratic rule* exemplified in the organization of the water committees; *the articulation of an indigenous theory of change and factors impeding change, by the rural dwellers themselves; the correlation between the well-being of the family as a social unit and the well-being of the children; congruence –to some extent – between the Fontes theory of change and the vision of change held by many community members*.

What are the implications of the aforementioned findings for the current state of knowledge on capacity development for social change? Based on the empirical material, the following arguments can be outlined: First, although the community constitutes the entry point in building capacity, one can reckon with catalyzing forces such as resource persons or local leaders as vehicles and agents of change. Second, an integrative approach to capacity building with the interconnected levels of the individual, organizational and community is likely to yield change in the long term. Third, empowerment of women should not only be assessed in terms of participation in instances of decision-making, but also in terms of voice and abilities to influence the course of actions in the community. Robert Dahl's (1961) theory of community power centered on democratic decision-making presupposes a democratic fair-play. Given the various sources of power in rural poor communities, empowerment should be studied in light of the existing power dynamics at play in the communities and not solely based on participation. Fourth, more attention should be given to the ability of rural communities to articulate their theory of change and action in capacity building initiatives.

Fifth, social change is not about the Big-Bang, but those incremental changes that enable individuals and communities to move forward while keeping the momentum of change.

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9. List of Annexes

Annex 1: Interview guide

Semi-structured interviews with group 1

Interviewees: 2-3 members of the water committees in each of the 3 villages

Theme: Establishment of local water committees

1. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?
2. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?
3. Who can be member of the water committee? Please explain.
4. What measures have been taken to ensure that the water committee delivers good and sustainable services?
5. What is the role of the water committee?

Theme: Learning

1. What have you learnt to enable you to do your work properly in the water committee?
2. Are there other kinds of knowledge that are important for the development of your community?
3. What are you doing to get other members of the community engaged in community work?

Theme: Power relations

1. Who are the stakeholders of the water, sanitation and hygiene projects?
2. How are decisions related to the management of the water being made?
3. To what extent was there any consultation, dialogue or negotiation process within the community prior to implementation of the project?
4. What can make your voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Group 2: community members in each of the 3 villages

Interviewees: 2-3 members of the local community in the 3 villages

Theme: Establishment of local water committees

1. To what extent do women have the possibilities to be members of the water committee?
2. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?
3. Who were involved in the decision process and why were they chosen to participate in such a process?

Theme: Community involvement in the development of Water and Sanitation Systems

1. Were you contacted in the planning and implementation phases of the project?

Probing question: At what phase in the process were you contacted?

2. To what extent were the poor and the underprivileged involved in the process?

3. To what extent did you feel motivated and engaged to get involved in the development of Water and Sanitation Systems?

4. To what extent were you ready in terms of knowledge and capacity to participate in the development of Water and Sanitation Systems?

Theme: Power relations within the community/the actors who have influence in the community

1. To what extent can members of the community, regardless of background participate in community work?

2. Whose needs in the community count? Please explain.

3. What can make your voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Theme: Social change

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed?

2. Have you observed any change within the community since the start of the project? If yes, what kinds of change?

3. What are the factors that are meaningful for your well-being and your family's?

4. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and marginalized?

5. For what purpose do you use water?

6. What can prevent change from happening?

Theme: Hygiene

1. How are the sanitation facilities at the household level in your community?

2. How important is sanitation in the community?

Probing question: Can you if possible give some examples?

3. What is the current situation in the community as far as sanitation is concerned?

4. What is the present situation in the schools as far as sanitation and hygiene are concerned?

Group 3: local leaders in each of the 3 villages

Interviewee: 1 in each village

Theme: Establishment of local water committees

1. To what extent were you involved in the process of establishing the local water committee?
2. What measures have you taken as local leader to ensure good and sustainable services to your community?

Theme: Power relations/the actors who have influence in the community

1. What have you done as local leader to ensure that different voices are heard and different concerns taken into account in the planning and implementation of the water projects?
2. To what extent the needs of the community have been considered when planning and implementing the project?
3. What is your role as local leader in the community?
4. To what extent can members of the community, regardless of background participate in community work?

Theme: Social change

1. To what extent have the living conditions in the community changed?
2. To what extent does the community need to change?
3. What can prevent change from happening? Please explain if possible.
4. Who will ultimately benefit from social in the community?

Theme: Norms, values and beliefs

1. What role do the norms, values and beliefs play in the community? Please outline some examples.
2. To what extent are you satisfied with the way affairs are being run and managed in the community?
3. Do you think that the norms, values and beliefs in the community are supportive for the kinds of change you wish to happen? Please explain.

Group 4: Technicians in each of the 3 villages

Interviewee: 1 in each village

Theme: Learning

1. To what extent are you spreading knowledge and information within the community?
2. How does learning take place?

3. To what extent is your technical knowledge useful for you and the community?
4. To what extent are other types of knowledge important? Please give some examples.
5. What have been done to make sure that the community can benefit from your competence?

Group 5: Practitioners (project members in *Fontes*)

Interviewee: to members of the project group

Theme: Establishment of the local water committees

1. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?
2. What were the methods used to select the members of the water committees in the different villages?
3. Have the members of the water committees received any training prior to taking function?
4. What measures have been taken to ensure efficient and sustainable services?

Theme: Community involvement in the development of Water and Sanitation Systems

1. How were the stakeholders within the community identified?
2. To what extent were the stakeholders equipped with enough knowledge and information to participate in the development of water and sanitation systems? Please explain.
3. What have been done to motivate and engage people in the project at local level?

Theme: Power relations/the actors who have influence in the community

1. To what extent is there any exit strategy for the funding institution (i.e. *Fontes*)?
2. To what extent is your position as fund-raiser and project coordinator affecting the power relations within the community?
3. How are decisions related to the management of the projects at local level made?

Theme: Social change

1. How do you perceive social change?
2. Is your focus on the individual, the organization or the community at large in your work for social change?
3. To what extent is knowledge and technological development critical for the kind of social change you work for?
4. Can you outline some drivers for change and aspects impeding social change in the communities you are operating?
5. What motivates you and constitutes the driving for working for social change in Africa?

6. What are your perspectives of the future in your focus areas drawing from your experiences in the water and sanitation sector?

Group 6: Civil servant at sub county level in each of the 3 villages

Interviewees: 1-2 civil servants in each village

Theme: Community involvement in the Water and Sanitation Systems

1. To what extent did you participate in the planning and the implementation of the water projects?
2. What was your role in the process?
3. What have been done to identify the stakeholders and incorporate them in the process?
4. What is your role in the community?

Theme: Power relations within the community

1. To what extent were there any consultation, dialogue or negotiation process within the community prior to the implementation of the water project?
2. How are decisions made in the management of water projects within the community?
3. To what extent can members of the community, regardless of background participate in community work?
4. What are the sources of power in your community? Please explain.

Theme: Social change

1. To what extent have the living conditions within the community changed?
2. To what extent needs the community to change?
3. What can be the entry point for change in the community?

Probing question: should the emphasis be on the individual, the organization or the society at large?

4. What can prevent change from happening?
5. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and marginalized?
6. Who will ultimately benefit from social change?

	Establishment of local water committees	Community involvement in the dev of water and sanitation systems	Learning	Power relations within the community	Social change	Norms, values and beliefs	Hygiene	Time frame
Water committee members	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	40 mn
Community members	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	45 mn
Local leaders	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	30 mn
Technicians	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	20 mn
Practitioners								
Civil servants at county level		+	-	+	+	+	-	

+ = relevant

- = not relevant

mn= minutes

Annex II: Data on Bushenyi (page 85) and Interview transcripts (onwards)

Data and information retrieval from the field work carried out in Katunguru, Kisenyi and Kazinga, Bushenyi District, Uganda 21st November to 1st December.

Highlights on Bushenyi District

- Total Population in 2002 was 731,392.
- The average annual population growth between 1992 and 2002 was 2 %.
- Population density was 191 persons per square kilometer.
- Only 5 % of the population was living in urban areas
- The sex ratio was 92 males per 100 females.
- Children below 18 years constituted 57 % of the population.
- Children below 15 years constituted 50 % of the population.
- The literacy rate was 77 % (of the population aged 10 years and above).
- 3 % had a disability.
- The mean household size was 5.1 persons.
- 54 % of the households had access to safe water.
- 2 % had no access to a toilet facility.
- Only 2, 8 % of the households had access to electricity.
- 79 % of the households depend mainly on subsistence farming.
- Almost all the households (98 %) used firewood and charcoal for cooking.
- Only 9 % of the dwelling units were constructed with permanent roof, wall and floor materials.
- 36 % of the households use “word of mouth” as their main source of information.
- 61 % of households owned a radio.
- 25 % of households owned a bicycle.

Source: 2002 Ugandan Population and Housing Census, Census Atlas.

Mapping Socio-Economic Indicators for National Development, February 2007.

Ugandan Bureau of Statistics (UBOS).

Interview Transcripts

Interview with the chairperson of the water committee of Katunguru

First village

Fontes is the NGO responsible of the project

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. What is the role of the water committee?

Answer: To manage and to see how the project is working. Coordinate and provide service (water) to the community.

2. Who can be member of the water committee? Please explain.

Answer: Anybody within the community can be member of the water committee if he or she was chosen by the community. Through election, the community as a whole selects and chooses members of the water committee.

3. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?

Answer: A delegation from Fontes was received in Katunguru by community members and the authorities of QENP (Queen Elizabeth National Park). A need-assessment was carried out by Fontes; the community sat together and guided by the local council, they decide.

4. What measures have been taken to ensure that the water committee delivers good services?

Answer: The water should be always available i.e. accessibility.

The community seats and solves the problems quickly.

Dialogue is considered as a method of reaching solutions within the water committee.

Theme: Learning

1. What have you learned to enable you to do your work properly in the water committee?

Answer: I've learned how to manage the water committee as its chairperson.

I've learned about my responsibility areas as committee member.

I've learned how to take care of the community people as far as fetching water is concerned.

2. Are there other kinds of knowledge that are important for the development of water and sanitation systems in your community?

Answer: Knowledge related to how we use water properly at home is important.

Knowledge about how we fetch water properly is important.

Knowledge about how we can mobilize through LCs (Local councils), elderly and chiefs, Church leaders is important.

Power relations

1. Who are the stakeholders of the water, sanitation and hygiene projects?

Answer: The stakeholders are composed of community members and water users at large.

2. How are decisions related to the management of the water being made?

Answer: A possibility is given to any member of the community to discuss an issue.

After discussing thoroughly the issue between community members, the water committee chooses on behalf of the community, the issue which is good for the project.

3. To what extent was there any consultation, dialogue or negotiation process within the community prior to implementation of the project?

Answer: Contacts were taken by government officials to create ownership of the project (water of the community) and stress the importance of good services to the community.

Fontes had talks with the community at district and sub-county levels to assess the needs for local communities.

Direct contacts between project members and community members were taken.

4. What can make your voice heard and ensure that your concerns are taken seriously in the community?

Answer: As an LC (local leader), one has power of influence by virtue of his social position and responsibility.

The extent to which you know about an issue will determine your power of influence.

The level of education is yet another critical factor for power or influence in the community.

The body of knowledge one has will also determine one's power of influence within the community.

Socio-economic status as being a boat owner in a community where fishing constitutes the main source of income is a critical factor for gaining power or influence in the community.

Interview carried out with a member of the local water committee in Katunguru

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. What is the role of the local water committee?

Answer: One of the roles is to mobilize the community for using safe water.

Help community members use water in a clean way: when they are collecting water; when they are storing it at home.

Another is to explain to the community the importance of clean water, particularly to uneducated people and make sure that they have good hygienic habits like: washing hands after latrines, washing hands before and after meals, cleaning homes, washing clothes.

The committee involves the community in different activities such as constructing the shades for the water tanks, cleaning the water tap every now and then.

The committee raises money from water sales to maintain the system.

The committee urges the community to share cost when a breakdown of the system occurs and the money from water sales is not sufficient to cover the costs.

The committee contacts the local administration for help in case of serious problems that demand extra resources, be they financial (replacement of a stolen pump) or normative/juridical (people refuse to use clean water because of skepticism or complacency to change).

2. Who can be member of the water committee?

Answer: The community appoints the committee representatives from different institutions like schools, health centre, sub-county administration and from within the community.

3. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?

Answer: The method used was vote through showing hands i.e. a democratic method. The parish – under the supervision of the parish chief – sits and votes.

4. What measures have been taken to ensure that the water committee delivers good and sustainable services?

Answer: Workshops carried out by Fontes (twice) and the main topics which were dealt with range from election of water committee members and roles, budgeting, work plans, finance management in terms of accountability and water cleanness.

Theme: Learning

1. What have you learned to enable you to do your work properly in the water committee?

Answer: I learned about accounting and filling the book with negatives and positives. When drawing water from a container for drinking, one should have to cups: one for the container and one to drink from so that transmission of diseases is prevented. It is important to use a piece of soap after latrines instead of liquid soap.

2. Are there other kinds of knowledge that are important for the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: Important to boil water and put in a safe container before consumption. However few people are using it.

3. What are you doing to get other members of the community engaged in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: We normally have sensitization meetings. They (community members) are the beneficiaries of the water sales and this constitutes an incentive. Each year, the community is called upon, the balance sheet is read and the community decides how to use the money.

As a source of motivation to participate, community members have a power of decision on how to use the generated money from water sales.

Theme: power relations

1. Who are the stakeholders of the water, sanitation and hygiene projects?

Answer: The beach management unit which is responsible for the water, fishing and the lack is an important stakeholder.

Institution leaders as the parish chief, LC2, chairman and sub-county chief, along with the community at large constitute critical stakeholders.

2. How are decisions related to the management of the water being made?

Answer: General community meetings are held where water committee and community members meet to discuss.

Discussions are forwarded to the committee for approval.

Whatever is discussed require prior knowledge of national parks officials, the administration officials and the committee before any decision can be taken. This can be explained by the fact that the community is under the management of the park and the local administration.

3. What can make your voice heard and ensure that your concerns are taken seriously in the community?

Answer: Individuals air their views through the chairman and administrative leaders.

If you raise a point and it is substantial, the committee responds.

Everybody has the possibility to get heard through general and mobilization meetings.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed since the start of the water project?

Answer: Change in terms of improvement of hygiene/cleanness because it has been exhibited to the community and the school.

Reduction of water borne diseases as Malaria and Cholera is noticed in the community.

Reduction of costs related to water for the community is an indicator of change: 20 L of water used to cost before the project 200 Ugandan Shillings (USh) and now it can be purchased (with clean water) for 75 USh.

The community is relieved from long distances to fetch water, creating more time to do other work.

The teachers from other parts of the district are finding the schools attractive because of access to clean water.

2. What are the factors that are important for your well-being and your family's?

Answer: It is important to eat in order to live.

The level of wages is important: the average income today for a Ugandan civil servant is 150.000 US\$ for 15.000 US\$ a day in a household.

The food shortages due to wilt diseases attacking source of food like bananas should be dealt with swiftly by government.

Access to clean water, energy (firewood) and improved system of education is also important.

Good governance is important. Access to land is also important.

3. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and the marginalized?

Answer: At a macro level, the government should put the poor in the national budget i.e. poverty alleviation should be a national priority.

People are given a piece of land to produce their own food.

Access to free medication should be a priority.

The hiring of a Community Development Officer who is supposed to hold community meetings, advice the community on how to use micro-finance units, write proposals, contribute to behaviour change and settle marital disputes (through education of the masses on how they can live their life).

The categories of poor that can be identified are; Orphans, Porters/laborers, craftsmen, Peasants who don't own enough land and the disabled.

4. For what purpose do you use water?

Answer: I use water for irrigation to raise seedlings.

I use water for bathing and cooking.

I use water for drinking.

I use water for washing, cleaning and construction.

4. What can prevent change from happening in your community?

Answer: Ignorance in terms of education and skills, along with laziness can hamper change.

Bad habits like overdrinking can prevent change from happening.

Belief such as "there is no other good work other than fishing", "what can one do with education if lacking fishing skills?" are examples of hampering beliefs.

Interview with one community member at Katunguru

Theme: Establishment of the water committee

1. To what extent do women have the possibilities to be members of the water committee?

Answer: Women are in the water committee and are also elected.

There are 4 women in the water committee out of 10 members.

2. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?

Answer: A law to be observed during the election is that the water committee should be gender balanced.

First the community elect men and after women.

3. Who were involved in the decision process and why were they chosen to participate in such a process?

Answer: Directives from above (government level) are that women have to be members of the water committee.

Theme: Community involvement in the development of water and sanitation systems

1. Were you contacted in the planning and implementation phases of the project?

Answer: Yes! At the initial phase there were contacts with Fontes.

2. To what extent did you feel motivated and engaged to get involved in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: Since I was longing for clean water, I was motivated.

We cooperate with Fontes in making the trench up to the village.

I was happy.

3. To what extent were you ready in terms of knowledge and experience to participate in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: There was no need for technical skills as far as the digging of the trench is concerned.

The plumbers nonetheless need skills.

Theme: power relations

1. To what extent can members of the community, regardless of background participate in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: Generally, people are not used to community work. When it benefits the community, we use the LCs to mobilize them. This is typical of fishermen.

2. Whose needs in the community counts? Please explain.

Answer: First priority will be vulnerable groups because they don't have the ability. They have representatives in every council.

After, the community as a whole should be prioritized.

3. What can make your voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Answer: If a woman stands up and presents her problems and a man presents his problems, if what presents is worth, they will take it into account.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed?

Answer: People used to fall sick very easily because of bad water. Diarrhea was frequent.

There have been improvements as far as cleanness is concerned.

There are no stomach problems in the family anymore.

We know now how to handle drinking water, clean utensils and containers.

2. What are the factors that are important for your well-being and your family's?

Answer: One important factor is to have enough money to cater for medication and school fees for my children.

To provide the needs for the children

To have access to health care is also critical.

Access to food is also important.

3. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and marginalized?

Answer: We no longer suffer from water-borne diseases which is a relief since we don't have money for treatment.

The charges for water access are low.

Disabled have easier access to water compared to previously when they were supposed to fetch water from the lake with the risk of being attacked by animals.

4. For what purpose do you use water in the community?

Answer: We use water for drinking, washing, bathing, constructing, cooking and toilets.

If I had money, I would buy a fridge so that I could sell iced or cold water in the community.

We can also use the water to make tea we can sell in the community.

5. What can prevent change from happening in your community?

Answer: Laziness can hamper social change.

Overdrinking of local brand can also hamper change.

Interview with a technician in Katunguru**Theme: Learning**

1. How does learning take place?

Answer: Dr Andreas (Project initiator from Norway) came and sent us to course where we learned how we can change, how we can mix chemicals and how we can clean water tanks.

We learned to carry out practical work, thus gain practical skills.

2. To what extent is your technical knowledge useful for you and the community as far as water and sanitation is concerned?

Answer: I've tried to earn a living through getting a salary from water sales.

I teach and advise people on how to use clean water, use clean utensils when fetching and storing water and stand from drinking water from the lake that is not treated.

3. To what extent are other kinds of knowledge important in water and sanitation work? Please give some examples.

For me, no other knowledge is important apart from being a technician.

Interview with the chairman of the sub-county in Katunguru

Theme: Community involvement in the water and sanitation systems

1. What is your role in the community?

Answer: My role as local leader consists of mobilizing for any action, persuading, giving advice, monitoring the government projects and initiate income generating business in the community.

2. To what extent did you participate in the planning and implementation of the water project?

Answer: I met with Fontes for the presentation of the project and mobilize the local community to dig the trench.

I organize the meeting to settle the water committee as its chairman.

I called upon the community for a meeting to elect the committee.

Theme: power relations

1. To what extent were there any consultation, dialogue or negotiation process within the community prior to the implementation of the water project?

Answer: There were dialogue and consultation within the community prior to implementation.

2. How are decisions made in the management of water projects within the community?

Answer: Meetings are held between the water committee, the chairman and the sub-county chief to raise issues of concern which is followed by a vote.

3. What are the sources of power in your community? Please explain.

Answer: The sources of power are seriousness, toughness balanced with a good dose of courtesy, education i.e. how to write and read, social capital (and to be social with locals) and demonstration of exemplarity through standing away from overdrinking.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent needs the community to change?

Answer: Change in terms of poverty alleviation is critical.

Overfishing should be sought prevented and more sustainable fishing championed.

Change in attitude is also important.

2. To what extent have the living conditions within the community changed the last five years?

Answer: People were not used to attend meetings, but now the trend has reversed and most part of the people attends meetings.

There is more engagement within the community and things are moving on.

3. How is the present health situation compared with the situation five years ago?

Answer: Apart from Aids, the health situation is better.

Aids patients have access to medicine.

4. What can be the entry point for change in the community?

Probing question: should it be the individual, the organization or the society at large?

Answer: The entry point should be the community.

5. What can prevent change from happening?

Answer: If someone doesn't hear what he is told to do, it can hinder change from happening.

If someone doesn't want to learn, it will affect the pace and degree of change.

If there is lack of social mobilization, it will impede social change.

6. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and marginalized?

Answer: Access to funding from government to assist poor people in starting income generating activities can be a driver for change.

Similar projects have already started where 30 people are chosen to run poultry farms: They are provided with 200 chickens with feeding. When the chicken start laying egg, this can constitute a source of income that will enable them to buy new ones and enable them help other poor people with start capital.

Interview in Katunguru with another community member and now student

Theme: Community involvement in the water project

1. What was your role in the water project?

Answer: I help the engineers in their daily endeavors.

I was responsible of making sure that people get water in time.

I was responsible for collecting money from water sales.

I was also involved in holding account for the amount of money collected.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have the living conditions in the community changed?

Answer: We have witnessed a great change with reduction of water-borne diseases as Malaria and Cholera.

Few are admitted to the hospital because of Cholera.

Sanitation has also improved.

“We’re blessed for having Fontes; people would have been brought to their knees”.

Because of the access to scholarship provided by Fontes, young students are motivated.

People don’t want to drink water from the lake because of access to clean water.

When there was an increase in fuel and chemicals prices in Uganda, the community was called upon to discuss an eventual increase of the price of the jerry can of water (20 l).

People responded positively. The price was thus set to 75 USh.

Women are grateful because of the relief created through the access to clean water. Before the project, they were engaged in hard labor.

Surrounding communities are buying water in Katunguru to take back to their villages.

Domino effect: other communities start addressing the issue of clean water in their villages.

“I was taken to Kazinga (another village within the National Park) to teach them. They want to have same opportunities”.

2. What can prevent change from happening in the community? Please explain.

Answer: You cannot drink safe water and use dirty container; the jerry can should be clean, if not they risk to get it confiscated. “No dirty jerry can!”

Bad hygiene can block change.

Theme: Norms, Values and beliefs

1. What role do the norms, values and beliefs related to water and sanitation play in the community? Please outline some examples.

Answer: There was skepticism among people in the beginning because they were not used to chemicals in the water (Chlorine and Aluminum Sulphate). They would pay the money required from them, but they would continue to fetch water from the lake.

Through education and sensitization of the people about the goodness of the water – drawing from the improvements in the expected health benefits – the situation got better.

Theme: power relations

1. What is the source of power in your community?

Answer: Education and knowledge are important sources of power because they enable you to discuss with high-ranking officials.

Interview in Katunguru with the LC2 chairperson

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. To what extent were you involved in the process of establishing the local water committee?

Answer: We don't know how they are chosen. This is a permanent committee.

2. What measures have you taken as local leader to ensure good and sustainable services to your community as far as the water and sanitation sector is concerned?

Answer: We welcomed the project.

As local leader, I'm happy about the water project and I try to sensitize the community, to convince them to buy water so that the money can be used to solve practical things.

Theme: power relations

1. What is your role as local leader in the community?

Answer: My role is to tell people to go and fetch water at the pump and not to go to the lake and fetch bad water.

2. To what extent can members of the community regardless of background participate in water and sanitation work?

Answer: Local leaders don't have inside information.

Answer: The water was tendered in the beginning to external actors, but because of bad collection of water, the tender left: the workers pump 60 % instead of 100 %. The tenders lost money.

People work for money.

3. What have you done as local leader to ensure that different voices are heard and different concerns taken into account in the planning and implementation of the water project?

Answer: When problems occur, people have the possibility to contact me and I'll try to help.

Theme: social change

1. To what exchange have the living conditions in the community changed?

Answer: I can't see that anything has changed; the committee was chosen in a non transparent way. This is a committee of friends.

The committee wasn't chosen in a democratic way and hasn't changed since established, we have the same members.

The access to clean water is good. I have no power to say anything on water.

2. To what extent needs the community to change?

Answer: It is important to empower the leaders of the area to know how the project is working.

It is important to produce reports on the project.

Corruption is happening without being noticed.

3. What can prevent change from happening in the community? Please explain.

Answer: Fishing as a source of income is deteriorating because of the depletion of the resources.

There is a lack of alternative income-generating activities.

There is a need to teach people what create poverty.

4. Who will ultimately benefit from social change in the community?

Answer: The community at large will be the main beneficiary.

The sources of income in the parish are fishing and firewood. Many people don't afford more than a meal a day.

Theme: norms, values and beliefs

1. What role do the norms, values and beliefs related to water and sanitation play in the community?

Answer: There is a widespread belief in the community that the only work worth doing is fishing. This has to change in a context a resource scarcity.

Interview with a technician in Katunguru

Theme: Learning

1. What is your role as technician?

Answer: My biggest responsibility is to serve the community with treated water and to repair the pumps.

I train my fellow technicians and encourage them to be duty bound so that people have water all the time.

2. How did you learn to do your job as a technician?

Answer: I happen to be a skilled man when it comes to motor mechanics and this even before the project.

I joined the project because of interest in mechanics and it is therefore easier for me to catch up.

Interview in Katunguru with a community member

Theme: establishment of the local water committee

1. To what extent do women have the possibilities to be members of the local committee?

Answer: Women are members of the water committee and they have all the rights of taking decisions like any other member of the community.

Normally the community is called upon and they choose the members among whom women should be part.

3. Who were involved in the decision process and why were they chosen to participate in such a process?

Answer: First of all it is compulsory that the committee is appointed or elected. The main intention of having committees is to make sure that the project serves the community by providing water and the water committee then continues to educate the community about the importance of water and the importance of keeping it clean, and to discourage the use of unclean water through mobilization.

Theme: Community involvement in the development of water and sanitation systems

1. Were you contacted in the planning and implementation phases of the project?

Answer: We were contacted before the start of the project and the community participated largely in making a trench for the pipe leading to the reserve tank. We normally contribute when there is a breakdown; the community is gathered and is asked to contribute in replacing the parts. We also contribute in cleaning the tap standing.

2. To what extent did you feel motivated and engaged to get involved in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: The current water replaces the dirty water; the lake water is full of animal droppings and green contains.

Given the fact that water-borne diseases as Cholera, Malaria and Bilharzias were common before the access to clean water, my motivation was strong.

3. To what extent were you ready in terms of knowledge and experience to participate in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: There was no necessity of prior knowledge because everyone in the community will enjoy using clean water just as he participates.

Theme: power relations

1. Whose needs in the community counts? Please explain.

Answer: The first group will be the disabled, children, women and the aged (elderly) because of the difficulty of fetching water from remote areas with the risks of encountering wild animals.

2. What can make your voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Answer: If I see any fault or problems, hear any complaints in the community, I take the responsibility of informing the water committee so that they rectify the situation where it is possible, and where it is not possible, they take it further to Fontes for assistance.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed?

Answer: This water has actually reduced some diseases from the use of dirty water.

Before, my body used to itch after every bath because of the bad quality of the water. Now with the clean and well-balanced chemicals (Chlorine and Aluminum Sulphate), the symptoms have disappeared overnight.

With the reduction of the expenses on water, I can now use water freely for washing clothes and utensils).

2. What are the factors that are important for your well-being and your family's?

Answer: I'll be comfortable if I continue to get clean water and if the current security continue to prevail.

I also need education for my children so that in the future they can become government servants.

Another important thing for my well-being and that of my family is access to medicines.

Last but not least, food is critical for my well-being and that of my family.

3. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and marginalized?

Answer: Poor people should be helped by the government in provision of the needs like education of the children.

The government should give free medication and help the poor like the programme NAOS (National Agricultural Advisory Service) which is an arrangement for the government to help the poor to start simple income generating projects.

4. For what purpose do you use water in the community?

Answer: For cooking, washing, cleaning home and bathing.

5. What can prevent change from happening?

Answer: Good governance is important in providing security and creating an environment conducive to investment and funding from different donors.

Hard work is important and laziness can prevent real change from happening.

Education is also important because it helps deal with some of the hindrances.

Theme: Sanitation and hygiene

1. Do you have a latrine at home?

Answer: Yes I have one.

Probing question: what kind of latrine?

I have a pit latrine.

2. How important is sanitation in the community?

Answer: With sanitation diseases like Cholera, Typhoid and Diarrhea reduce.

The occurrence of fever reduces if the compound is clean (absence of mosquitoes).

Sanitation helps to have healthier life.

3. What is the current situation of the sanitation in the community?

Answer: Sanitation has improved in the community except some cases of the poorest people.

The government has sent a health inspector at every sub-county to advice the community.

In extreme cases, the poor who can't afford a pit latrine move to their friends to release themselves.

In some villages, the chains of solidarity can be mobilized to help poor people build their own pit latrine.

4. What is the present situation of the sanitation in the schools? (Headmaster)

Answer: The situation was bad at the beginning.

A poor latrine was the only available solution before.

Now the water system has been extended to the school and the compound has been cleaned.

A new latrine has been installed with the initiative of Fontes.

Children looked dirty before because they were using one garment for several days without washing it. Now they are provided with uniforms.

Hygiene has become an integrated part of the curriculum at the school and practical lessons pertaining to for example how to wash hands are given to the children.

Every three days, the floor of the latrine is cleaned.

Interview in Katunguru with a community member

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. To what extent do women have the possibilities to be members of the water committee?

Answer: Women are free to be members of the water committee and if they are educated they can be chairman of the committee.

2. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?

Answer: They called upon the community to vote and the committee has to have both females and males.

Theme: community involvement in the development of water and sanitation systems

1. Were you contacted in the planning and implementation phases of the project?

Answer: The community was assembled and we're told that Fontes will assist us with clean water, treated for consumption.

2. To what extent did you feel motivated and engaged to get involved in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: The biggest motivation was based on the fact that we were expecting reduction of water-borne diseases, worms and were therefore ready to participate.

3. To what extent were you ready in terms of knowledge and experience to participate in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: I didn't need prior knowledge because I knew that if the clean water comes, the situation would be better and there will be shorter distance to fetch water.

Theme: power relations within the community/the actors who have influence in the community

1. To what extent can members of the community, regardless of background participate in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: We like to participate because we have been suffering from water-borne diseases for years.

2. Whose needs in the community count? Please explain.

Answer: It will be important to consider the disabled, orphans and poor because of their incapacity to cater for their own needs.

3. What can make your own voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Answer: Our representatives within the water committee help us in carrying through our views.

Theme: social change (drawing from the situation before the project)

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed?

Answer: Because of the availability of the water nearby and the reasonable price it is easier for me now to wash, clean, use after latrine and even bath three times a day.

2. Have you observed any change within the community since the start of the project? If yes, what kinds of changes?

Answer: There is change especially with children. They would go before with the same clothes for weeks, but now they can get their clothes washed every now and then.

The community has been relieved of preventable diseases.

3. What are the factors that are important for your well-being and your family's?

Answer: Our well-being will depend on a sustainable earning, free medication and sponsorship for the children, food and education.

NB: the woman has 10 children (she said). Closer inquiry within the community indicates that some of the kids might be orphans who are taken care of her. Because of AIDS, many children have lost their parents and can only count on the help from nearest relatives.

4. For what purpose do you use water?

Answer: I use water for washing, cleaning and bathing, cooking, drinking.

We can use water also for house construction.

5. What can prevent change from happening in your community?

Answer: Lack of assistance to deal with the daily challenges can be an obstacle to change.

Theme: sanitation/hygiene

1. Do you have latrine at home? If yes, what kind of latrine?

Answer: Yes, I have latrine at home. It is a pit latrine.

2. How important is sanitation in the community?

Answer: We're trying because we're given courses at mobilization meetings for change for the better.

Interview in Katunguru with the sub-county chief

Theme: community involvement in the water and sanitation systems

1. What is your role in the community?

Answer: My role is to supervise the local government work in the sub-county, along with NGO programmes.

2. To what extent did you participate in the planning and the implementation of the water projects?

Answer: We collect data on water use and mentor the water committee on how to manage finances, resolve conflicts and bring about proper hygiene.

3. What have been done to identify the stakeholders and incorporate them in the process?

Answer: The secretariat for social services is technically represented by the CDO (Community Development Officer). The community Development officer identifies the stakeholders – schools, health units and the community at large – and through interaction they arrange meeting to select the water and sanitation committee.

Moreover, we have in the sub-county sanitation weeks to help measure latrine coverage, water coverage and general hygiene.

Theme: power relations within the community

1. To what extent were there any consultation, dialogue or negotiation process within the community prior to the implementation of the water project?

Answer: The sub-county council puts bylaws, the “dos” and the “dones”.

The water committee is independent and selected by the community.

2. What are the sources of power in your community? Please explain.

Answer: Age is also important.

The government of Uganda has urged for gender mainstreaming in various sectors of society. Therefore gender is a critical value in terms of influence/power.

Last but not least, social status is important in terms of degree of influence/power. As sub-county chief being appointed by the government, I have much influence in the community.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent needs the community to change?

Answer: The community needs to change and much empowerment is needed.

The local community should be trained and educated to deal with what that comes from outside.

2. To what extent have the living conditions within the community changed the last five years?

Answer: The living conditions have changed to a larger extent with a drop in cases of water-borne diseases.

3. What can be the entry point for change in the community?

Probing question: should the emphasis be on the individual, the organization or the society at large?

Answer: The emphasis should be on the society at large because traditionally people want to work together. Through focusing on the larger populace, one can create a major impact.

4. What can prevent change from happening?

Answer: Bad leadership and lack of clear direction can impede change. Poverty is also a blocking factor.

5. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and the marginalized?

Answer: An important change will be that that considers their desires, needs and aspirations.

6. Who will ultimately benefit from social change?

Answer: The whole society will benefit from social change because of the general good it creates. As an eventual result of social change, expenditures on problems will be reduced and the community will be developed.

Kazinga: Interview with LC2, chairman of the water committee

Second village

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. To What extent were you involved in the process of establishing the local water committee?

Answer: Weeks, months ago there were problems with the treasurer because the committee failed to make its duties. We have been told that the treasurer should be a woman, but people didn't understand how they can work. We want to choose a new treasurer.

2. What measures have you taken as local leader to ensure good and sustainable services to your community as far as the water and sanitation sector is concerned?

Answer: In the beginning, the community was skeptical. We explained them that the water was good and that it will improve the health of the entire community.

Theme: power relations

1. What is your role as a local leader in the community?

Answer: My role as local leader is to discuss with other local leaders issues affecting the community and convince people of the necessity of the project. However the generator breaks every now and then and people are asking why they are not having water. People like the water very much.

It costs 1 million shillings to repair the generator. The jerry cane (20 l) costs now 75 shilling and 150 shilling for 40 l. If the generator cannot work, people will be obliged to pay 300 shilling for a jerry cane if they buy water from elsewhere.

2. To what extent can members of the community regardless of background participate in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: Anybody can participate.

3. What have you done as local leader to ensure that different voices are heard and different concerns taken into account in the planning and implementation of the water projects?

Answer: If there is some misunderstanding people can contact the LC2 who call the LC3, and they arrange a meeting with the community to find appropriate solutions to different issues. Similar meetings are scheduled every month.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have the living conditions in the community changed?

Answer: The situation has changed considerably as far as the occurrence of sicknesses as Malaria and Cholera are concerned. There is no more cholera in the community. The only health challenge we're facing now is AIDS. The community is enjoying the clean water.

2. To what extent does the community need to change?

Answer: If the water committee works very hard, the community will change, but the generator should be functional. If we fail to solve the problem, people will suffer of bad health because of bad water quality. However the situation is being improved.

3. Who will ultimately benefit from social change in the community?

Answer: Young people and children will benefit more because they will start their life with clean water.

We have as an objective to supply everyone who wants it connection of the water system at home.

Interview with a water committee member in Kazinga (second village)**Theme: Establishment of the local water committee**

1. What is the role of the water committee?

Answer: The role of the water committee is to take care of equipment, gather people if necessary through meetings, make sure water go to the people, solve problems related to water when they occur, along with carry out the accounting. The water committee has also the responsibility to set the favorable prices so that they are enough cash to deal with unexpected problems in the project. The water committee looks after the sanitation and makes sure the taps and the container are clean.

2. Who can be member of the water committee?

Answer: Any member of the community chosen by the community through vote can be member of the committee.

3. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?

Answer: A community meeting was called upon and the committee was chosen to be responsible of the project. The committee is composed of three ladies and four gentlemen. "The ladies are best fitted to the sanitation issue".

4. What measures have been taken to ensure that the water committee delivers good and sustainable services?

First, people are not allowed to fetch water from the lake and the committee has decided that. The consequence of failing to abide by the rule will lead to penalties. The second thing we've done is to choose someone to take care of the tap.

Theme: Learning

1. What have you learned to enable you to do your work properly in the water committee?

Answer: Fontes organized a seminar to sensitize the community about the project and we were sent to Katunguru to learn more from their experience.

2. What are you doing to get other members of the community engaged in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: We call upon the community and sensitize them about the good of the water project. To be member of the water project, one has to contribute with 10.000 shillings.

Theme: power relations

1. How are decisions related to the management of the water being made?

Whatever decision should be community decision.

2. What can make your voice heard and ensure that your concerns are taken seriously in the community?

Answer: Regardless of who he/she is, we listen, evaluate (as long as you stud up), and get advices from the LCs or call Ibrahim if there are technical matters to be dealt with.

Interview with a member of the water committee in Kazinga (Second village)

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. What is the role of the local water committee?

Answer: The role of the local water committee is to run the water and give to the community on a daily basis.

2. Who can be member of the water committee?

Answer: All members of the community who are above 18 years can be members of the water committee?

3. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?

Answer: When the chairman brought the project to us, we were engaged in digging the trench and afterwards electing the water committee.

4. What are the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?

Answer: The method used was lining behind your person (vote).

5. What measures have been taken to ensure that the water committee delivers good and sustainable services?

Answer: Each member of the committee has a role to play. The technicians can give advice, but they cannot vote. In addition to that, the technicians should make sure that the water is available at the tank. The chairman should make sure fuel, chemicals... are available.

Theme: Learning

1. What have you learned to enable you to do your work properly in the water committee?

Answer: I attended three seminars: one in Katunguru and two in Kazinga. The focus in the seminars was sanitation.

2. What are you doing to get other members of the community engaged in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: We organize general meetings on a monthly basis to motivate the community to get involved.

Theme: power relations

1. How are decisions related to the management of the water being made?

Answer: The monthly meetings represent an arena to discuss community issues and if there is need to raise money, we talk to the LCs.

2. What can make your voice heard and ensure that your concerns are taken seriously in the community?

Answer: The chairman of the committee has the first influence. We engage local leaders in every action. Decisions are taken democratically.

Interview with a community member in Kazinga (second village)

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. To what extent do women have the possibilities to be members of the water committee?

Answer: Having women as members of the water committee is a very high priority. It is a natural task for women to be active in the water committee.

2. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?

Answer: The community itself picks out the committee members.

Theme: community involvement in the development of water and sanitation systems

1. Were you contacted in the planning and implementation phases of the project?

Answer: They (the project group, my underlining) started at the county level and the chairman finally informs us.

2. To what extent did you feel motivated and engaged to get involved in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: I felt motivated to a large extent partly because the situation was bad before. After getting information from the chairman, I was more boosted and motivated. We started digging the trench.

3. To what extent were you ready in terms of knowledge and experience to participate in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: Yes, I need knowledge prior to that, mainly the technical part of the project in case any defection.

Theme: power relations

1. Whose needs count?

Answer: The children and their education represent the first priority.

2. What can make your voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Answer: It will depend on what you've brought on the table and the way you bring it out.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed?

Answer: First we've been able to get clean water and consequently the level of disease has reduced within the community. There is also a sense of togetherness because people are working together.

2. What are the factors that are important for your well-being and your family's?

Answer: Electricity and the improvement of the level of education are important factors.

3. For what purpose do you use water?

Answer: I use water for drinking, cooking and washing.

Theme: Sanitation

1. Do you have a latrine at home?

Answer: Yes, I have a pit latrine at home.

2. How important is sanitation in the community?

Answer: Sanitation is a higher priority in the community.

3. What is the current situation in the community as far as sanitation is concerned?

Answer: The situation has greatly improved. The land is not getting contaminated.

Visiting Kisenyi with the Fontes group

Notes: We arrive at the village at 10:30 and were received some members of the local water committee. We went around taking a closer look at the water facilities which have been installed. It could be noticed that the tap was not held clean by the caretaker. The technician called upon two responsible and explained them about the necessity to keep it clean. The caretaker is responsible of the tap, collecting money from people who have come to fetch water and giving them the needed services.

Interview with a member of the local water committee in Kisenyi (third village)

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. What is the role of the local water committee?

Answer: The role of the local water committee is to supply safe water to the community.

2. Who can be member of the water committee? Please explain.

Answer: That one who can manage to do the work in the committee can be member. However there are exceptions: if you're LC member you can't be member of the water committee. When you're not educated you can't be member of the water committee either.

3. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?

Answer: When Fontes came, we were very lucky. We had lots of diseases like Dysentery, Cholera... People are healthier now.

Through a General Assembly we elect people who were supposed to work in the water committee.

4. What measures have been taken to ensure that the water committee delivers good and sustainable services?

Answer: As member of the water committee, we sensitize people on the goodness of the water and how to use water.

Theme: Learning

1. What have you learned to enable you to do your work properly in the water committee?

Answer: During seminars in Katunguru and Kazinga, Fontes teach us how to handle the water and how to set a water committee.

2. What are you doing to get other members of the community engaged in the water and sanitation work?

Answer: We do it by teaching them through general assembly and we make sure that we forward what we've learned during the seminars.

Theme: power relations

1. How are decisions related to the management of the water being made?

Answer: Decisions are taken together with LCS, LC3 chairperson, the district and the water committee

2. To what extent was there any consultation, dialogue or negotiation process within the community prior to implementation of the project?

Answer: We welcome Fontes to the village. They told us why they are here and what they have thought to do. We allow them. The project was in phase with our needs because of poor sanitation.

3. What can make your voice heard and ensure that your concerns are taken seriously in the community?

Answer: For that to happen, the following is critical i.e. the way you're treating people, the way you're yourself and to be good to people.

Interview with a community member in Kisenyi (third village)

Theme: Establishment of the local water committee

1. To what extent do women have the possibilities to be members of the water committee?

Answer: Women are members of the water committee. We are working with women.

2. What were the methods used to choose the members of the water committee?

Answer: We decide as a community through a General Assembly who should lead the committee i.e. chairman and who should be vice-chairman, treasurer and technicians.

Theme: community involvement in the development of the water and sanitation systems

1. Were you contacted in the planning and implementation phases of the project?

Answer: We were contacted to raise views about the water project during all phases of the project.

2. To what extent did you feel motivated and engaged to get involved in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: We felt well because we receive the good water compared to the bad water – with jams and dirt – we had before. Sickness has reduced.

3. To what extent were you ready in terms of knowledge and experience to participate in the development of water and sanitation systems?

Answer: We needed knowledge and to be sensitized about water and how to operate it.

Theme: power relations

1. Whose needs in the community count? Please explain.

Answer: The core needs: medicine (i.e. chemicals used to clean the water from the lake), Fuel and maintenance costs for the generator.

2. What can make your voice heard and your concerns taken seriously in the community?

Answer: As a local leader (chairperson), I use legal means to enforce guidelines. There are established by laws forbidding fetching water from the river. Failing to abide by the rules will lead to penalties or fine. This is communicated through general meetings.

Theme: social change

1. To what extent have your living conditions changed?

Answer: My living conditions have changed in terms of good health.

2. Have you observed any change within the community since the start of the project? If yes, what kinds of change?

Answer: Because of the good water, health has improved within the community.

3. What are the factors that are important for your well-being and your family's?

Answer: The critical factors are food, education, good health, improved water and good environment i.e. green with fresh air.

4. What kind of change do you think will benefit the poor and marginalized?

Answer: The following factors are critical for the poor and marginalized i.e. education, shelter, clothes, food, improved water and sanitation.

5. For what purpose do you use water in the community?

Answer: Water is life. We need to use water for cooking, washing clothes, bathing and drinking.

6. What can prevent change from happening?

Answer: The following factors impede on change: if the services are not available; if water is not pumped due to lack of fuel; if the generator got spoiled; if the water pump fail to work; if the community fails to buy water.

Theme: sanitation

1. Do you have a latrine at home?

Answer: I have a local latrine at home. We need improved pit latrine at the village level.

2. How important is sanitation at the village level?

Probing question: can you give some examples?

Answer: Sanitation is important for good health. Sickness reduces.

3. When do you wash hands?

Answer: I wash hands when I'm going to eat, when I come from the latrine and when I wake up to wash my face.

4. What is the current situation in the community as far as sanitation is concerned?

Answer: There is poor sanitation. There is also a lack of improved latrines.

5. What is the present situation in schools as far as sanitation and hygiene are concerned?

Answer: Sanitation at school is not good because water is still lacking.

Interview with a local leader in Kisenyi, third village

1. To what extent were you involved in the process of establishing the local water committee?

Answer: I was involved as a local leader to look for the community, to look for water pipes, work with Fontes, look for the landing site and start the project (2007).

2. What measures have you taken as local leader to ensure good and sustainable services to your community as far as the water and sanitation sector is concerned?

Answer: We call meetings to inform about water and get feedback from the community and dig the trench for water.

Theme: power relations

1. What is your role as local leader in the community?

Answer: My role is threefold i.e. to look after the community, to follow up the project and to supervise it in my community.

2. To what extent have the needs of the community been considered when planning and implementing the project?

Answer: The community needs good water, scholarships for their children and needs all NGOs to help them.

3. What have you done as local leader to ensure that different voices are heard and different concerns taken into account in the planning and implementation of the water projects?

Answer: If problems arise, we sit down, discuss and find solutions together.

Theme: social change

1. To what exchange have the living conditions in the community changed?

Answer: Because of good water, some people have no longer Diarrhea. We have healthier children because of clean water.

2. What can prevent change from happening?

Answer: The following factors can block change i.e. if the community doesn't buy water and prefer water for free and if the generator is not functioning. We get the chemicals (Chlorine and Aluminum Sulphate) from Kampala, and the transport is very expensive.

Norms, values and beliefs

1. What role do the norms, values and beliefs related to water and sanitation play in the community? Please outline some examples.

Answer: There are no good latrines in the place because water is near. (Question misunderstood and because of time constraints I choose to move on and not elaborate on that)

2. To what extent are you satisfied with the way affairs related to water and sanitation are being managed in the community?

I'm satisfied of the water, but not with toilets.

3. Do you think that the norms, values and beliefs in the community are supportive for the kinds of change you wish to happen? Please explain.

Answer: Beliefs: bathing in the river can have a healing effect on oneself. Despite the impurities in the water, people still hold these beliefs.

There is skepticism related to the chemicals used to purify the water: According to some villagers they can cause sicknesses. They also react negatively to the unusual taste.

Excerpts from informal talks with the project coordinator

Pregnant women can lose their children while using the latrines.

People in general and specially women should not use the same latrines as their in-laws. Open defecation is still a problem. Despite access to clean water, other problems might occur. People might fail to wash their hands after defecating in the nature and when they returned home, they might use water containers and transmit bacteria to the clean water. The problem is related to both poverty (lack of enough means to build proper latrines) and education/awareness-raising (people don't know much about the consequences of their misbehavior).

Another aspect is priority. People may have money to buy cigarettes, alcohol and other commodities as bicycle for example, but latrine remains a lower priority.

Interview with Fontes representative and project coordinator

Fontes is the Norwegian Funding Organization and umbrella organization of the project

1. Can you give a short description of the process by which the water committee was established?

Answer: Ok. There is always a distinction between how it is supposed to be done in theory and how it is afterwards done in practice. In theory the water committee is supposed to be elected democratically. So it means that you have community meetings with so many people as possible attending, and then candidates for the different positions will stand up and introduce themselves. The community will elect them and the candidate with the most votes becomes the chairman or whatever. The treasurer should always be a woman, and recently we've been emphasizing the fact that the local leaders should not be in the committee, but this has been done in the past. In the beginning of the project it is good to have a local leader in the committee because they can be very proactive because of political reasons, but again in the long term they have seen that it can create problems. They are now moving away from that. However like in practice, many times especially when we're not around it happens that the committee is not really elected democratically for many reasons, but rather appointed by certain people with power in the community. But in principle they should be elected and we always encourage the participation of women.

2. Have the members of the water committees received any training prior to taking function?

Answer: When we install a new water system, there is always an element of training of the new water committee. Normally we do it once the system has already been built because if they have not seen what they are going to manage, it is very difficult for them to understand what they are going to do and they cannot ask questions. We normally wait until the last day of installation when they have already seen the technical items coming into place. We give them normally half a day intensive training, then... normally... we have about one seminar per year where committees from all villages come together and receive two days intensive training course, but... I have also to mention that every time we go there, we normally have water committee meetings and we guide them in problem solving and better recording and accounting and that has to be regarded as training even though it is not called training course or seminar. This is reinforced by our local representative Ibrahim who does the same job as that we do while visiting the local water committees. So it is in a way a continuous training process.

3. What measures have been taken to ensure efficient and sustainable services?

Answer: Wow! That's a very big question!

So are you thinking about technically or management wise of in terms of?

Further elaboration from my side.

Answer: Ok! There are many aspects of that! I think if we take it from the beginning, we have to make sure that the technology and the technical part of the system is appropriate and it delivers what they want. So appropriate both in terms of adaptation to the local context, water quality, topography and other things, and also that it will give the community what they want. For example that the taps standings are in places that they agree, very basic things. One of the concerns is to involve the community from the very beginning. A second part of it is involving the local leaders as much as possible because they have the power to mobilize, but also to push the community. We very often use the local leaders to help us motivate the committees if they are not active enough and things like that. The third issue is that the project has to be imbedded in the local stakeholder environment. So make sure that district governments are brought onboard, even national government, sub-county government of course, also those working in the park like UWA and if there are any other NGOs active in other communities, there has to be a communication with them. For example, if something happens, we try to involve the back-up structures of the existing stakeholders. For example, if something broke down (in Katunguru the pump got stolen for example and we told them that we don't have money to replace the pump. They have to find another way to mobilize the other stakeholders. In the end, UWA /district paid a lot of money actually and also the community has to pay. They went to house to house and collect money, and we pay the rest. If we hadn't involved the district and UWA from the start, they would have not step in such a situation. Then in addition to that, that is more of like general project design, I think it is important to have a long term perspective always work with the thought in your head that you're going to be around for long time. It is also important with a continuous follow-up and as part of what I said earlier with continuous capacity building. It is not only about capacity building, it is also about motivation. If they know we're coming, they get motivated. If they know someone care about them, they get motivated. If they know if they have a problem, there is always someone to call in Kampala and they will be able to help us out, that also motivate them. And then as you said capacity building through intensive seminar and training, but also through the follow-up we do every time we're there.

Community involvement in the development of water and sanitation systems

1. How were the stakeholders within the community identified?

Answer: One of the activities we do when we come to the community for the first time is to assess to community organizations that exist in the community. So we actually ask the local leaders what are the existing community groups like the women group, the beach management unit and then try to see whether there exist a group that manage water and sanitation. Of course then they can be involved. We ask also the people in the community if

they are other NGOs active there; go to talk to the institutions like the schools and health centers, churches and, mosque, basically through asking people in the community.

2. What have been done to motivate and engage people in the project at local level?

Answer: An important thing is to not compete with other projects, not to let go long time between the time to do assessment and the time of installation because, like I told you before, they have been lot of NGOs around and they constantly carry out assessment, but then nothing happens. So that's why it is important to give to the community something concrete, something they can see that you're actually serious. Many of these communities have been exposed to other NGOs that work in such a way that it never happens anything. So it is important to have a quick base of the work and also during the installation process we require that the community mobilize themselves to dig trenches and do quite a lot of practical work. Also there, it is important to keep a pace so that people can be involved. If you let it go for a long time, people very quickly lose interest, but if you can work hard together, it will be a team feeling and everyone is working in time. It creates a kind of dynamic that makes it easier to mobilize people after the third you have already water coming out of the pipe in the village. Those are very, very strategic measures. And since these communities have already been exposed to a lot of talk, these are stronger motivators than talking through meetings and so on. Also it is important to explain to them from the beginning that this is a project which is theirs and we're going to contribute; UWA is going to contribute... so that they get that idea from the very beginning.

Theme: power relations

1. To what extent is there any exit strategy for Fontes as a funding institution?

Answer: Fontes Foundation explicitly does not have an exit strategy and this is against traditional ways of working for many NGOs. It is also against the guidelines of for example NORAD. We want to get involved in the communities where we know that we can do a work and stay for a long time. Since we work with a lot of private donors, we will keep on looking for private donors to carry on. It is not very expensive to carry out follow-up of a project. It only requires some communication, and it requires follow-up visits and seminars once in a while. We're talking about even for several communities we can use less than 50.000 NOK a year. So, that money, we can always try to get it from private donors even in future. We don't believe in exit strategies. We believe however that at one point in future these (communities) have to reach a point where they have to sustain themselves. If we take the example of education, education is a process that takes many, many years. If we start educating someone now, in maybe five years he can have a Masters, and maybe in eight years he can be able to educate the new generation. In some of the projects, we are only in the second year and we want to be able to capacitate people so much that they can actually capacitate the new generation. That is going to take a long time, maybe 10 years, but we believe that at one point the community will be able to stand alone, but we are willing to stay there for a long time.

2. To what extent is your position as fund- raiser and project coordinator affecting the power relations within the community?

Answer: I think it depends a lot on how you do it and there are positive aspects and negative aspects: the positive aspects are of course that you have leverage. You can say if you don't do this, we won't fund you, but on the other hand the community, local leaders and other stakeholders, because NGOs have been working in Uganda for a long time, they are much aware of the whole NGO dynamic and they know that once you get funding for something you have to pay it out and give a report to a donor. They can use that knowledge against you because they know you're entitled to give a report on the use of the funding. I mean your leverage in the end is not big as you think because they know very well how the NGO business works by now. So they know that if we have raised funds for example to carry out a seminar, if they fail to organize themselves and I refuse to support the seminar, they know that I'm in a very tricky position because I have to report to my donor. If I tell to my donor that I didn't organize the seminar because the community failed to organize itself, the donor won't believe me. So they can use it against you as well. It is very rare that an NGO threatens to withdraw funding because of that reason. Once they get funding for some purpose, they have to pay it out and carry out the planned activities no matter the circumstances. In the end, I don't have that much power as you might believe. The other thing is that it can be a bit negative because they think that you have unlimited funds and they think you get money from trees and from sky, also there is a misconception that the money come from Fontes and not from our donors. They can constantly ask for things and that can be very difficult. Like I said, it is very much about how you do it and how you educate the community and I think you've seen that these communities know how things work because we've been there for a long time. They know if they want something, they need to make a request. They need to make a budget and only then we're going to assist them. They also understand/know we don't give out money unless it is for a good course. Like we don't give people money like that, never! It has to be for a purpose such as uniforms..... So it is very much about how you educate the community you work with.

3. How are decisions related to the management of the projects at local level made?

Answer: Normally we get a report from Ibrahim, that something has broken down and he will communicate it to ... (Logistics officer) and he will pass it on to the coordinator of that specific project. If it is a water project in Katunguru, it is ... (Norwegian project member) who is in charge. He will take a decision or if not he will involve the rest of the staff for example, ask for advice from me or from my dad or someone else in the team, and if it is a question that requires local knowledge, he will involve ... (local staff member). So the project member will carry out a small consultation process about that particular project and ask feedback from the team. We also have weekly conferences call meetings where such a question could be discussed and those meetings are between us and in the core group of the project. For example, you can put the question on the agenda for conference call meetings

and we can actually discuss this altogether and when the decision is made, we communicate it back to the logistics officer and he communicate it back to the local level. Very seldom decisions are taken alone, I can say that. At least they are discussed with one other person in Fontes.

Theme: social change

1. How do you perceive social change?

Answer: This is a big question!

I think first of all, social change is something that comes from within. It can be affected by external factors, but it is something that comes from within. That is important. And then I think social change is very much linked to behavior change and to economic issues, especially in terms of development work. May be you can choose to not call it economic issues, but change in standard of living, for example better health. I think it is important to mention that I don't think it is only upwards, it should be also downwards. It can be for better or for worse and maybe within the community they can be social change for the better and social change for the worse going on at the same time.

Probing question: Can you elaborate on that?

Answer: Let say for example external factors like new roads or electricity coming into the village that affect the way people live. For example the new road can bring many good things (supply of soaps for example) at the same time it can give access to alcohol. I was working with a project run by CARE in Mozambique and they work very hard to improve the livelihood of the fishermen. They give them boats, fishing nets and everything, but as the result of more money, domestic violence increased drastically because of better purchase power to buy alcohol. So the whole project had a very bad side effect even though the immediate result of increased income has been achieved. I think it is important to take into account all those factors, and in the end of the day look at maybe the standard of living if it has improved or not and by standard of living I mean both better health, better domestic relations, harmony in the community, of course money to buy essential things, and not being threatened by wild animals, things like that. But it is a difficult question! I also think that social change....it has to be seen from the eyes of the people who live there because for us social change can be better income, like I said. For them they might want a better income, but they don't want it the same way we want them to have it.

2. When you're working with communities for social change, is your focus on the individual, the organization or the community at large?

Answer: Our focus is always the community at large and we make it very clear. For example, many times we get request from people (Oh please! Can you help with this and that?), and our answer is always: Fontes Foundation helps communities and not individuals. But then of course if we find dedicated individuals like Ibrahim -a dedicated technician in one of the studied villages - obviously we're going to give them a chance for them to help the community

project. We rely on these catalyzing/motivating individuals and the main task we have is to find them in each community. If you find these people, then your project can run. So that is one of the main work we do. We also work to keep them motivated. But other than that we really focus on the community.

3. To what extent is knowledge and technological development critical for the kind of social change you work for? (A distinction is made here between the hardware i.e. Technical dimension of the water and sanitation system and the Software i.e. attitude and behavior change, norms and values...)

Answer: 50-50. Always and you can see it in our budget. Most of our budgets are 50-50. Our idea is if you can keep people motivated to sustain a technology, any project can be sustainable. Even something as complicated as a car (quite complicated compared to a hand pump), if someone is motivated to keep it going, even in the most remote villages of Uganda, he will manage. So a strong focus on software, but also appropriate hardware. But that is for water. For sanitation, the software component is even higher. In Sanitation and Hygiene, the component software can be more than 70 % and that is reflected in our budget.

4. Can you outline some drivers for change and aspects impeding social change in the communities?

Answer: Good leadership! Bad leadership is a big constraint. So leadership is very important, then access to basic services, the more educated people you have the faster social change. The less educated people you have, the less social change, I think. You have cultural aspects like religion. We notice for example in Mozambique that there is less social change taking place in the Muslim community than in the Christian community. They tell us it is linked to education because instead of taking basic education, the children go to Koran schools and they don't learn how to read and write. I don't know if it is the only factor. They are probably other factors, but I think it is important. The access of basic services like health, clean water and sanitation is also critical. If you have a more healthy population with access to energy, it is more likely to have social change. I think also the coherence in the community is important. We have seen it, if you have a coherent community which means you have people from the same tribe, the same religion, or from the same background, it is easier to mobilize for social change than if you have communities with migrants or seasonal workers. Then of course the political environment is important too, but that is on a macro level.

5. What motivate you and constitute the driving force for working for social change in Africa?

Answer: I'm not one of those people that want to save the world and I very often tell to people that and they look at me and they are completely.... They don't know what to say. In principle I also do not believe in Aid. If I could decide on a higher level, I wouldn't support the Aid business very much. I think my motivation is because of the adventure and also because of the amount of field work. It is very interesting to work in the field, much more interesting than in an office. I like to work with people and we do a little bit of that and I think

this work has a very good mixture of theory and practice, technical knowledge, cultural sensitivity, there are many aspects and that makes it very interesting. It is a place where you can always learn and always improve. I can say that seeing for example these scholarship students how they have developed.... Yes it makes me feel good in a way, but that is not the main motivation of my work, not at this stage, maybe when I'm 40 or 50 years old. At this point it is because it is interesting, challenges me, and gives me a lot of experience. When I was doing International Relations in Geneva, I saw all these people working in International Organizations, taking big decisions and all that, and most of my fellow students would go to one of those jobs. I always wanted that if once in my life I'm going to be in a position like that, I want to have worked on the ground and I want to know what is going on before I sit in a place like that. Maybe that can be my contribution to the world in future, that before I sit in one of those important jobs in the UN or somewhere like that, I've actually been in the communities, been on the ground, I know what matters and doesn't matter, and then maybe I can do a better job than other people that are around.

6. What are your perspectives of the future in your focus areas drawing from your experiences in the water and sanitation sector?

Answer: The main focus is how we can carry out development work that has a long term perspective, and that has main focus on operation and maintenance. Because of the way water and sanitation projects are carried out today and because of the fact that the millennium Development goals lay a strong focus on the development of new infrastructures, the emphasis should further be on maintenance. You have a scary amount of water systems that break down every year. Of course since these are not recorded in official statistics, very few people know what is going on in the ground. We need a change in attitude for donors, governments, NGOs, in the way we work so that money can not only be allocated. Like donors now, if you tell them I want money to run a system for two years, No one is going to give you money. However if you ask money to build a new water system, of course they are going to give money even if it is ten times as much as you ask for the two years project. You need to be able to get money to run systems as well. In also the light of what I said, building capacity over time, because obviously you cannot build capacity in one year to run a system for twenty years. There need also to be a shift in the policy of government (the policies of governments are very much affected by donors and the donors need to understand this). It is very funny that they haven't understand it because at the rate water systems are breaking down, it is very strange that no one has yet blown the whistle. Anyway we will continue to advocate for this, to focus on operation and maintenance and long term projects, and efficient and appropriate government work. That is in our mission statement.

