



## **Motivational orientation of persons managing community water supply and sanitation programmes: An empirical study**

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### **Abstract**

This paper reports on an investigation into factors that determined the decisions of members of Water and Sanitation (Watsan) Committees to participate in and commit themselves to management activities that would ensure the sustainability of water supply and sanitation programs in their communities.

The major finding was that the motivational orientation of the Watsan members was gradually shifting from purely normative to remunerative values. It implies that their continued membership and willingness to perform their management tasks satisfactorily, in future, would depend on how much satisfaction they derived from being members. These motivational factors are essential if the participation and commitment of local organizations to the entire program management process is to be guaranteed.

**Key Words:** Water and Sanitation (Watsan) Committees, motivational orientation, incentive systems, decision- making systems, normative values, remunerative values, operational management, and maintenance management.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The Volta Region Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programme was launched in 1984 as a joint venture between the governments of Ghana and Denmark. Its development objective was to contribute towards better living conditions for the rural populations in the Volta Region of Ghana. This would be achieved through the provision of reliable and easily accessible sources of drinking water, managed by the communities, and a reduction in water and excreta related diseases through the adoption of hygienic practices and improved sanitary installations (Ghana, CWSA, 1996).

By the end of the second phase of the programme in 2003, 933 rural communities were reached serving a population of approximately 460,000 people. In terms of sanitation facilities, 9,490 household latrines and 717 institutional latrines were provided. For water supply facilities, 47 hand-dug wells, 830 boreholes (with or without hand-pumps), 98 piped systems and 35 rainwater-harvesting tanks were constructed. In addition, 249 abandoned boreholes were refurbished and fitted with hand-pumps (VRCWSP/CWSA, 2003a and 2003b).

Community ownership and management through a demand-driven approach was the strategy adopted for the implementation of the Programme. In order to operationalise this strategy, 1,022 Water and Sanitation (Watsan) Committees were formed and trained (VRCWSP/CWSA, 2003a and 2003b). Their task was to ensure effective operations and maintenance management of water supply facilities, promote hygienic knowledge and practices and facilitate the adoption of improved sanitary installations.

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors that shaped and continued to influence the decisions of members of the Watsan committees to continue membership, to participate in and be committed to ensuring an efficient management of the water supply facilities and promoting hygiene and sanitation practices in the communities.

## **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

For the purpose of this study, motivational orientation was conceptualized, basically, as the factors that determined the continued participation in and commitment of the Watsan Committees towards sustaining the Programme in the communities.

Membership commitment was perceived as the willingness of members of local organizations to give their energy and loyalty to the programme management process. Knocke and Wood (1981), however, provide a broader perspective of the concept of commitment. According to them, commitment is a process that makes people to identify their personal fate with the success or failure of a project or programme. Such identification process influences their decisions as to whether or not to exert some effort towards the attainment of communal goals, to continue membership of the organization, to accept its norms and values and to voluntarily accept responsibilities and perform assigned duties. Committed members are often willing to sacrifice their time, money and energy for the success of a programme or project. Membership commitment does not exist in a vacuum. Instead, it is the level of satisfaction that members derive from participating in the activities of the organization that determines their level of commitment to contributing meaningfully to its programmes.

Participation, in this regard, implies the opportunities open to the entire membership to contribute in diverse ways to the successful management of the programme. According to Pestoff (1979), the creation of an enabling environment for membership participation in collective policy decision making and implementation is essential for successful programme management. This is because, as concluded by Jentoft and Davis (1992), the participation of members in management decision-making and implementation processes nurture and reinforce their attachment and commitment to contributing effectively to the programme. The assumption is that if members make decisions on issues, they tend to be responsible and committed to it.

Aksnes (1982) provides a useful categorization of membership participation in the governance system, that is, in the organization's administration and decision-making processes. These are first, the willingness of members to seek information about the performance of their organization and about how the water and sanitation facility is been operated and maintained. The second is the willingness to attend meetings regularly and punctually for decision making. The third is the willingness to accept roles and responsibilities hold office and serve on sub-committees. Lastly, it involves having influence on decisions through voting, performance of special duties, open use of voice to express one's feelings at meetings, writing in newspapers and bulletins; informal meetings among

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members who are not leaders; grassroots contacts and having direct contact with leadership through suggestions, memos and discussions.

Knoke and Wood's (1981) framework for explaining the motivational orientation of persons operating within the context of voluntary associations is instructive. According to them a member's commitment to and participation in a voluntary organization, such as Watsan Committees, depends upon the motivation induced by some particular attributes of the organization. The specific attribute that is of much significance to this study is the organization's incentive systems.

Within the context of the incentive theory, Clark and Wilson (1961/62) argued that members of an organization will only contribute their resources to it if they are sure of eventual material, purposive and solidarity gains. The two main types of incentive regimes that can be used as the basis for motivating members of volunteer-based organizations, especially those managing community water supply and sanitation programmes, are social and normative systems.

Social incentives refer to social benefits that can be enjoyed solely by members of a local organization. These include the satisfaction of social affiliation needs, the opportunity to use one's ability, a sense of challenge and achievement, receiving appreciation and positive recognition. Normative incentives refer to "public goods and services" that an organization provides to the community through the collective and voluntary efforts of its members. This is based on the satisfaction members derive from providing services or contribute towards the improvement of the conditions within their communities or seen to be promoting the common good. They are not, in most cases, primarily concerned with direct benefits to themselves. Instead, members derive their motivational orientation from some intrinsic values that relate to the nature of the work itself, the power associated with the position, the kind of support and recognition gained, interest in the job as well as personal growth and development. Similarly, members may be motivated by the ultimate desire to render voluntary service to society probably because they only wish to give back to society what they had gotten from it through education and the grant of other privileges. As pointed out by Etzioni (1975), the extent of membership commitment to and participation in management tasks is thus influenced by moral values.

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A third incentive regime, which was equally relevant to this study, was named by Etzioni (1975) as the remunerative system. This is based on the control of rewards and material resources such as allocation benefits that have monetary value. According to him, when management applies excessive remunerative power, the motivational orientation of members becomes calculative. Membership commitment to and participation in collective action is thus shaped by the extent to which they are meeting their utilitarian reasons for cooperation.

## **METHODOLOGY**

This research was conducted between July and September 2007. The population of the study covered all the 1,022 Water and Sanitation (Watsan) Committees that were formed and trained by the Programme. The sample was selected by a multi-stage sampling technique because the target population was large and spread over a wide geographical area.

At the first stage, one district was randomly chosen from each of the three zones as defined by the Programme (VRCWSP/CWSA, 2003a and 2003b). The districts so selected were Nkwanta from the northern zone, Hohoe from the central zone and North Tongu from the southern zone. Each zone was defined by similar socio-economic, geographic and political characteristics. At the second stage, approximately ten per cent of the total number of communities reached by the programme in each of the three selected districts was randomly chosen. This was to give a proportional representation to each of the districts. A total of 26 communities were thus selected for this study.

Lastly, all members of Watsan committees found in the sampled communities were considered automatically selected. However, the research instruments were administered on only those members who responded to an invitation and were therefore present at the scheduled meetings. In all, a total of 155 members attended the scheduled meetings held for 26 Watsan committees making an average of about six persons per committee.

The study adopted the survey research method of the descriptive type. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used for this research. These included focus group discussions, formal and informal interviews and observations. The emphasis of this research was on ensuring content and predictive validity of the instruments of measurement. In terms of achieving content validity, much effort was made to obtain a representative sample of items from the universe of the subject under study. In doing this, the items in the research

instruments were designed so that they contained, in a balanced way, almost all issues relating to the subject of study. Since content validity is a matter of judgment, these items were peer reviewed and subjected to thorough scrutiny and re-organization. To achieve some appreciable level of predictive validity, efforts were made to ensure that all the relevant social characteristics within the Watsan Committees were captured in the sample.

## **RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS**

### ***Introduction***

In an attempt to measure the motivational orientation of the Watsan committees, it was found necessary to determine their performance levels in terms of operational management efficiency, maintenance management efficiency and promotion of hygiene and sanitation in the communities. This provided the basis for determining the factors that

### ***Operational Management Efficiency***

Operational management was defined in terms of participation in Watsan activities, decision making and implementation and revenue mobilization. Although almost all the 26 Watsan Committees indicated, at the focus group meetings, that they had scheduled meeting days, about 61.5 per cent of them conceded that they were unable to meet as planned. The results also indicated that 15.3 per cent held no meetings at all between January and June 2007. Whereas 38.5 per cent met once, 15.3 per cent had two or three whilst 30.7 per cent met between four and six meetings. On average, they held approximately three meetings between January and June 2007.

Similarly, although 88.5 per cent of them stated that they had scheduled monthly meetings, 69.3 per cent held less than three and 30.7 per cent were able to hold between four to six meetings. A study of the results on how recent the meetings were also revealed that whilst approximately 50 per cent had theirs between May and June 2007, 34.6 per cent did so between January and March and 15.4 per cent before the end of December 2006.

Individual responses on attendances agreed with the information obtained on the meeting patterns of most Watsan Committees. The results indicated that 53.5 per cent of the 155 respondents did not attend any meetings at all between January and June 2007. Whilst 24 per cent attended meetings about three or four times, 19 per cent did so about one or two times and only 3.2 per cent stated that they attended meetings five or more times during the

period under review. On average, members attended only about two meetings in six months and approximately 50 per cent of them did so more or less than ones during the period.

Thus, the results as presented so far seem to suggest that most Watsan Committees were unable to hold scheduled and frequent meetings. Similarly, attendances by a majority of individual members were generally low. A summary of the information obtained at the focus group discussion sessions showed that the causes of this trend in Watsan meetings were:

- i. lack of commitment by members and their preference for other social and economic engagements such as going to funerals, farms and markets
- ii. Poor attendance at meetings that had discouraged the executives to convene meetings subsequently.
- iii. Long absence of some chairmen and secretaries from their communities that led to situations in which no meetings were convened for long periods of time.
- iv. Inaction by the executives and inability of other members to put pressure on them to call meetings.

The results of the research also indicated marked differences between the number of decisions taken by the Watsan Committees and those that they actually implemented. This is indicated by a chi-square value of 14.5, found to be significant at the 0.05 confidence level with nine degrees of freedom, as shown in the table 3.

Table 3: Values for Decisions Taken and Implemented

Number of Decisions Taken	Number of Decisions Implemented					
	No ne	Thr ee	Tw o	One	Tot als	
No ne	6	0	0	0	6	
Thr ee	3	5	2	3	16	
Tw o	1	0	0	1	2	
One	4	0	0	1	5	
<b>Tot als</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>26</b>	

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This means that, a majority of Watsan Committees were unable to implement most of the decisions taken at their meetings. The reasons provided for their inability to implement most or all of their decisions were:

- i. inability to organize frequent meetings to develop action plans
- ii. lack of team spirit among members which had led to much difficulty in mobilizing communities to implement plans
- iii. lack of funds to purchase spare parts for the repair and maintenance of water supply systems and to meaningfully remunerate vendors and committee members.
- iv. lack of community support

At the time of this research, the bank and cash balance position of the communities are summarized in table 1.

Table 1: Bank and Cash Balance Positions

<b>Position</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Not Aware	6	23.1
Less or equal to ¢1m.	7	26.9
¢1.001m - ¢2m	4	15.4
¢2.001m - ¢3m	3	11.5
¢3.001m - ¢4m	1	3.8
¢6.001m - ¢7m	2	7.7
10.001m - ¢11m	1	3.8
35.001m - ¢36m	1	3.8
36.001m – 37m	1	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>

As can be seen from the table, all the members of 23.1 per cent of Watsan Committees present at the focus group discussions were not aware of their cash and bank balances. Those of 57.6 per cent others were found to be about GH¢400 and below and only 19.2 per cent of Watsan Committees had values of between GH¢601 and ¢3,700.

It seems clear from the data presented so far, that the bank and cash reserve position of a significant majority of Watsan Committees was extremely low. The reasons given for this situation were low levels of revenue from the sale of water (52.3 per cent) and high costs

of operation, repairs and maintenance that often eroded much of the revenues generated (36.2 per cent). High operational costs were reflected in the use of electricity and fuel to operate, especially, mechanized systems and the increasing prices of spare parts needed for repairs and maintenance of all kinds of water supply systems.

Members of Watsan committees were asked to state what they considered to be the possible reasons for the low level of revenue generation from the sale of water. The first major factor they identified was their inability to enforce payment for the use of water especially in the cases of monthly or annual contributions and household metered piped systems. The second was low patronage of, especially, the boreholes and the third was their inability to control their vendors. The fourth was their inability to induce the willingness of a significant majority of the people to pay for the use of water. The fifth major constraint was their inability to obtain economic but realistic rates for the sale of water. This is probably because approximately 78.3 per cent of them did not have any clear criteria in mind when fixing their rates.

An attempt was also made to find out what plans the Watsan Committees had to raise funds from other sources to support their maintenance management efforts. The result indicated that 69.2 per cent of them had no immediate plans in that direction. Whilst 19.2 per cent said they intended imposing special levies, 7.7 per cent intended seeking support from outside and 3.8 per cent planned organizing fund raising activities.

### ***Maintenance Management Efficiency***

Maintenance management efficiency, in the context of this research, was measured in terms of the frequency of breakdown of water supply facilities, response to breakdowns, and the proportion of water supply facilities that were in good condition and were therefore functioning.

In view of this, respondents were asked to state the number of times their facilities broke down completely due to major faults in the past six months, prior to this research. The results of the analysis of the data shows that about 24 per cent of the respondents were either not aware or did not experience any major disruptions in water supply due to breakdown of their systems. Whereas 36.6 per cent stated that their facilities broke down only once, 29.4 per cent said they were down two or more times, and 16.5 per cent observed that they had

had three or more of such experiences. The data seems to suggest that the frequency of breakdown of water supply facilities in the study communities was quite high.

Respondents, who indicated that their water supply facilities became non-functional certain times within the past six months, were asked to state how long it usually took for their systems to be restored. Whilst about 43.2 per cent stated that it usually took less than two weeks, some 16.2 per cent said it could take between two weeks and one month and about 27.9 per cent claimed it usually took between one month and six months. Approximately, 12.7 per cent observed that it took from six months to over a year. On average, it took not less than one month for most communities to get their broken down water supply systems fixed. The results thus show that communities were becoming incapable of promptly repairing their water supply facilities when they break down. This is confirmed by the proportion of water supply facilities that were either not functioning properly or had broken down completely in the various communities at the time of this research.

Field observations revealed that, on average, at least two of the water supply facilities installed were either not functioning well or had broken down completely in not less than 61.5 per cent of the communities. Again, out of the 64 boreholes fitted with hand pumps in 16 communities, at least 43.8 per cent of them had either broken down completely or were not functioning properly at the time of this research. A significant discovery from the data was that majority of the non-functioning water supply systems were boreholes fitted with hand pumps.

It can be argued therefore that, firstly, majority of the communities were unable to achieve an appreciable level of maintenance efficiency especially in the case of boreholes fitted with hand-pumps. Secondly, the proportion of water supply facilities provided in the communities studied that were either not functioning properly or had broken down completely was becoming generally high.

Lack of adequate funding and the subsequent inability of most communities to meet rising costs of spare parts were identified by the Watsan Committees as the major challenges to efficient maintenance management of the water supply facilities. These factors were further exacerbated by technical problems created by faulty installations and the fixing of sub-standard parts by contractors and area mechanics which often led to frequent breakdown

of the water systems. Communities also found it difficult getting area mechanics to carry out major repair works on time because their coverage areas were too large.

### ***Promotion of Hygiene and Sanitation***

With regard to the promotion of hygiene and sanitation, it was observed that whereas almost all the Watsan committees were able to promote increased knowledge about hygiene and sanitation issues through the organization of educational programmes, they were incapacitated in bringing about desired behavioral and action changes in terms of the adoption of hygiene and sanitation practices by the residents of their communities. Observations had revealed that conditions of toilet facilities in most communities visited were unacceptable to the extent that most people practiced “free range”, that is, they used nearby bushes and road-sides as toilet. Public toilets were not particularly usable being characterized by collapsed roofs, caved in walls and stands and bushy surroundings with tissue paper scattered about and institutional latrines which were opened to the public were not being maintained well and were found to be generally unclean, especially during the school holiday periods.

Similarly, although hygienic and sanitary conditions were satisfactory in some communities, much was required to bring them to acceptable standards in most of them. For example, water collection points in six communities were observed to be neglected and characterized by bushy surroundings, moldy platforms and with domestic animals having field day on them. Control of refuse dump sites was observed to be problematic in almost all communities. Refuse could be found scattered along paths leading to the dump-hills and, in most cases, very close to houses at the outskirts of towns. In some communities they were being used as toilets and it was normal to find faces competing with refuse along paths leading to refuse dumping grounds.

Discussions at the focus group meetings indicated that the critical challenges facing most of the Watsan Committees in their attempt to promote hygiene and sanitation in their communities were, first, their inability to continue regular inspection of homes and communities to ensure compliance to acceptable hygiene and sanitation standards. The second was their inability to mobilize communities for clean-up activities and the third was identified as weak leadership to the extent that they were unable to implement decisions taken at meetings and enforce rules and regulations regarding hygiene and sanitation. The

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last, was low morale and lack of team spirit which continued to thwart their efforts at taking collective decisions and actions.

### ***Motivational Orientation to Watsan Membership***

In an attempt to find out why members initially accepted to serve on the Watsan Committees they asked to state two reasons and the summary of their responses is summarized in table 1.

Table 1 Reasons for initially accepting to serve on the Watsan committee

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
When we did not have water we had to walk long distances and we suffered from so many diseases. The new water supply system has the potential of eradicating guinea worm in the community and we want to ensure that it is sustained	71	27.2
The desire to contribute to the development of the community by helping to sustain the water supply facilities and promote	63	24.1
In order to contribute towards healthy living by helping to promote hygiene and sanitation in the community	52	19.9
The pride to be chosen by the chiefs and elders and or the community to serve	43	16.5
Happy about the whole programme and wanted to be part of those who will help sustain it	32	12.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>100</b>

The data also indicated that majority, making approximately 75.5 per cent, would want to continue their membership of the Watsan Committees. Whereas 1.9 per cent of them were undecided, some 22.6 per cent would want to withdraw their membership of the Committees. Those who wanted to withdraw their membership were asked to state two reasons for their decisions and their responses are summarized in table 2.

Table 2: Reasons for withdrawing membership

Reasons	Frequency	Per cent
Served the community for too long and it was about time to give other people the chance to do so	19	30.6
Their sacrifices were not being recognized by the community	15	24.2
Lack of respect and too many insults, harassments and accusations	11	17.7
They were engaged in too many voluntary assignments and needed to shed off some of their commitments in the community	7	11.3
They were being frustrated by the attitude of the community in terms of refusal to comply with operational rules and regulations and failing to pay for the use of water as well as lack of support from local governance structures	6	9.7
They had health problems or thought they were too old to continue	4	6.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100</b>

In terms of whether or not members would want to be remunerated the results of the analysis of data showed that whereas a majority making some 62.6 per cent thought they should, 32.9 per cent felt otherwise and 4.5 per cent were undecided. The decisions of those who wanted to be remunerated were informed by the following considerations:

- i. As a morale booster or incentive to enhance their performance and to make other people willing to serve on the Watsan committee (46.3 per cent)
- ii. The work is demanding in terms of time, energy and, in most cases, they had to sacrifice their jobs to participate in Watsan activities (37.1 per cent)
- iii. As appreciation and recognition for their contributions to the development of the community since money is being generated from the sale of water (9.4 per cent)
- iv. To compensate for the insults, threats, harassments and other inconveniences (7.2 per cent).

When questioned about the kinds of remuneration they wanted, the respondents mentioned packages that would include monthly or annual cash benefits, free use of water, re-imbursment of transport and traveling expenses (in the case of Watsan Boards), payment of sitting allowances, refreshments at meetings and awards during the celebration of annual festivals.

Of the 50 members who did not want to be remunerated, their reasons were that:

- i. they understood that the job was sacrificial and so they were ready to continue to serve to sustain the programme (51 per cent)
- ii. returns from the sale of water were not encouraging and at the moment there was much difficulty in finding adequate funds to repair and maintain some of the water supply facilities. So monies collected should rather be used to sustain the system and for other development projects (23.5 per cent)
- iii. successful reduction in the rate of guinea worm infestation was already satisfying (15.7 per cent)
- iv. they would be insulted more if remunerated (9.8 per cent)

## **DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND FINDINGS**

The results of the analysis of data so far provided seem to suggest that the performance of the Watsan committees in the areas of operational management, maintenance management, and the promotion of hygiene and sanitation in the communities was generally low.

Generally, almost all the communities were facing various kinds and degrees of challenges in ensuring high levels of maintenance efficiency. These range from high costs and non-availability of spare parts to inability to stockpile spare parts for future use due to lack of adequate maintenance funding to difficulty in getting the area mechanics promptly to carry out repair works because their coverage areas were too large and to technical problems such as faulty installations and the fixing of sub-standard spare parts by contractors and area mechanics.

Like similar observations made by Harvey and Reed (2003), it was not likely that most communities, especially those operating boreholes with hand-pumps, would be capable of sustaining their water supply systems all by themselves in future without some institutional support. The fact that majority of them had weak financial reserves, were without clear plans to look for funding beyond their traditional sources and obtained low revenues from the sale of water meant that most of them are not likely to attain self-sustainability sooner or later. Again, as stated by Harvey and Reed (2003), it was not likely that most of the communities would be able to fund major rehabilitation costs in future since they were failing grossly to finance simple forms of repairs.

Indeed, unlike the Yacupaj Project in Bolivia, water committees managing the Tegucigalpa systems in Honduras and local managing organizations in Guatemala (Evans and Appleton, 1993), a considerably large proportion of Watsan Committees were unable to achieve any appreciable levels of revenue management efficiency. In fact, a large majority of them hardly made any substantial savings through the collection of water user fees. This was indicated by the significantly low cash and bank reserve positions of the majority of Watsan Committees.

Informal discussions have also revealed that some Watsan Committees were already heavily indebted to their creditors to the tune of approximately between 160 US Dollars to 2,000 US Dollars. The main explanations given for this low level of revenue generation from the sale of water was that, first, the fees being charged were considerably low. This had been the case for many community managed water systems. As observed by Evans (1992:7), low levels of cost-recovery in the water and sanitation sector “remain the rule” and financial self-sufficiency of communities managing their systems is “generally ineffective” and remains a “distant goal”. According to him, it had never been possible to establish the real costs of water and sanitation usage in any system. This is because it has often been considered that basic water and sanitation services can be delivered at relatively moderate costs which could easily be determined by rough estimates. He observed that though the need for accurate cost estimates was clear, a methodology for making such estimates had not yet been developed.

Secondly, it was learned that almost all the Watsan Committees could not regularly revise their user fees to reflect the periodic changes in operation and maintenance costs. Yet, as argued by Briscoe and de Ferranti (1988), effective financial and technical planning and management can only be achieved if changing patterns in operation and maintenance costs over time is recognized.

Thirdly, majority of the Watsan Committees were unable to enforce payment for use of water especially in the cases of monthly or annual contributions and household metered piped systems. A large majority of the people interviewed had expressed both their willingness and ability to pay, at least the existing rates, for the use of water. Ironically, however, there were high default rates of the existing low rates in most communities, especially in those that had adopted monthly and annual levy systems. Even in the cases of public boreholes and stand pipes where payments were made at the points of collection, there were cases of low patronage as a result of the availability of other water sources. It is

therefore unlikely that they would be willing or able to pay fees beyond the rates being charged for the use of water.

The reasons for the high default rates and low patronage were found not to be different from those obtained from other studies. Research findings made by the International Water and Sanitation Centre (IRC, 1997) provided three main causes for high default rates in the payment for use of water by local peoples which were similar to those obtained in the study regime.

The first was that there were often no institutionalized and regular procedures for following up on funds collection. The second was that action against defaulters had never been taken whilst, at the same time, those not paying for the use of water continued to enjoy regular service. The third was that most Watsan Committees never had the courage, authority and legitimacy to prosecute defaulters. Results obtained from this study indicate that those who failed to pay the initial contributions towards the installation of the systems and those who continuously defaulted in the payment of water rates were not sanctioned and this had caused many other people to stop subsequent payments.

Watsan meetings were the means by which members could participate in the process of decision making and their subsequent commitment to all programme management efforts induced. However, the results of the study show that majority of Watsan committees were not able to hold regular and frequent meetings as scheduled and attendance by individual members was found to be unsatisfactory. The result of the absence of frequent and regular meetings was found to be an emerging trend of centralized management systems in which decisions were being made either unilaterally by an influential chairman or by an executive committee made up of the chairman, secretary and treasurer.

In some cases, this concentration of authority in one person or a few people was, in itself, responsible for the high level of apathy, low enthusiasm and absenteeism by a majority of members towards Watsan meetings. This agrees with Knoke's (1981) observation that concentration of decision making in the leadership of organizations often makes other members feel alienated and therefore become apathetic and passive. This is because, as explained by Etzioni (1975), they often have a sense of personal remoteness from the organization and experience a feeling of inability to influence organizational activities and policies.

In this study, there was no indication that the alienative, apathetic and passive orientations of members towards meetings were due to some coercive power being exercised by their executives. Instead, evidence from the field shows that some kind of democratic participation characterized the meetings of most committees. It is argued, therefore, that a majority of members of the committees felt as they did because no significant opportunities were being opened for them to participate meaningfully in the policy decision-making and implementation process as suggested by Knoke (1981).

From all indications, it had not been possible for most committees to maintain efficient and effective management systems that would enhance the contribution of their broad membership towards the formulation and implementation of policy decisions regarding the management of the water supply and sanitation programme. And, as similarly observed by Knoke (1981), the likely consequences were that other members of the organisation had the feeling of alienation and were therefore becoming apathetic and passive. This is because, according to the intimations of Kwadzokpo (1994), local organizations in which members have weak control over decision making and implementation would experience reduction in membership commitment and participation. It is argued that Watsan committees can improve upon their corporate performance if they are capable of maintaining organizational structures that are characterized by the principles of democratic participation and mutual co-operation

Although members expressed their dissatisfaction with this management system, by the use of the tools of absenteeism, apathy and passivity, there was no evidence of massive withdrawals yet from any of the Watsan committees in terms of Hirschman's (1970) conceptualization. Indeed, at least a majority of those interviewed had indicated their desire to continue their membership.

Much education went on in the communities for the people to appreciate the benefits of using improved water supply facilities and promoting hygiene and sanitation. It is sufficiently clear from the study that the personal values that members derived from the use of these improved systems and their desire to ensure that these values are sustained for the community as a whole made many of them to decide to continue their membership. It is fair to infer, therefore, that the decision of most of them to continue membership was basically defined by their moral attachment to the water and sanitation programmes in their

communities. Thus their orientation to continued membership can be described, in the context of Etzioni's (1975) constructs as purely normative.

It seems, however, that this kind of motivational orientation by the majority cannot be sustained considering the facts that, already, about 75.5 per cent would want to be remunerated and 4.5 per cent undecided as well as 22.6 per cent deciding to withdraw their membership with 1.9 per cent not sure on the issue. Similarly, it was clear from the study that majority of the committees were unable to implement most of the decisions that they took at their meetings. This was not surprising because in the absence of frequent and regular meetings to develop action plans and allocate tasks and the current high level of apathy, low morale and lack of team spirit among members of some committees, there was no way decisions could be effectively implemented.

The research results have also shown that although most Watsan committees were successful in increasing awareness and knowledge through hygiene and sanitation education in their communities they were unable to effect changes in critical hygiene behaviours and actions within their communities. The reason was that they were not committed to continuing their regular inspection of homes and communities to ensure compliance to acceptable hygiene and sanitation standards.

Indeed, discussions at the focus group levels revealed that morale was low within most of the committees due to lack of motivation. They argued that although their job was sacrificial and demanding in terms of time and the use of other personal resources to ensure the sustainability of the programme, no incentive packages were designed for them. Most residents in the communities that they were serving did not even appreciate the great sacrifices that they were making towards improving their conditions. Instead they were constantly bombarded with insults, threats and accusations of embezzlements.

The incapability of most committees to promote hygiene and sanitation also relates to their inability to hold regular meetings, implement decisions taken at meetings and enforce rules and regulations regarding hygiene and sanitation as well as their inability and unwillingness to mobilize communities for clean-up activities. According to them, they were unable to make people clean their homes, toilets and to properly dispose of solid and liquid waste because, as natives, it was difficult for many people to imagine their right to correct or instruct them to adhere to acceptable hygiene and sanitation behaviours.

The inability of Watsan Committees to hold regular and frequent meetings, low attendance at meetings, inability to implement decisions and to efficiently promote hygiene and sanitation in their communities were all found to be mainly caused by two main factors. The first was weak leadership. All the available literature on the subject had established a positively close relationship between strong leadership and enhanced performance by local organizations.

Cases cited by Briscoe and Ferranti (1988), Evans and Appleton (1993), Kendie (1994) and the UNDP-World Bank (1998), for example, have clearly shown that successful community managed water supply and sanitation projects were those in which local committees had strong and innovative leaders who were able to enforce usage control rules and regulations, implemented their decisions, ensured transparency in handling community finances and adopted prudent administrative and financial management practices. Lammerink and Bolt (2002), in particular, observed that where projects had made deliberate efforts to build strong and innovative leadership or where there existed legitimate authority, the interest and enthusiasm of members were often sustained and galvanized towards effective operation and maintenance management. This is because, according to them, the influence of strong leaders are required to mobilize and sustain membership enthusiasm in undertaking the critical management tasks of participating in the decision-making and implementation processes.

The thesis therefore is that if some effort is spent on making the leadership of the committees stronger and more innovative, they can attain collectively determined purposes by continuously maintaining membership interests and participation in as well as their commitment to the decision-making and problem-solving processes necessary to sustain the water and sanitation programme in their communities. The leadership of the committees can also do well to enhance the participation of their members in the decision making and implementation process if they are able to sustain the existing level of moral attachment and normative orientation of the members to the entire water and sanitation programme.

Indeed, one obvious means to achieving this is to open up significant opportunities for all members to participate meaningfully in the entire programme management process. This is because, as pointed out by van Heck (1977), collective participation in the process of decision making enhances cross fertilization of ideas, formulation and assessment of

strategic options, making informed choices based on knowledge and experiences of all and the formulation of plans for putting selected options into effect.

The second was the general lack of commitment of members to participate in Watsan activities and their preference for other socio-economic engagements such as attending funerals, going to the farm or selling in the markets. This suggests that most Watsan members were not willing to exert much effort and give their total loyalty to the activities of the organization to which they belonged. The fact that they preferred other social engagements to Watsan activities also seem to imply that it was not possible for them to subsume their personality values under the organizational ones or putting communal objectives and interests above their personal ones as postulated by Kanter (1969).

It is suggested that contrary to the assertions of Wallace and Wolf (1991), the internalization and identification processes that members went through during their initial training was not a strong enough condition for them to be exceptionally willing to sacrifice their time, effort and personal gains to the activities of the collectivity. This proposition, like similar other research findings, thus questions the viability of the management of community-based development efforts by committees that work purely on voluntary basis. For example, research reports provided by Katakweba (2001) on the Arumeru West Water and Sanitation Programme in Tanzania concluded that most projects based solely on voluntarism were not sustainable. Scott (2001) also observed that such projects were often characterized by non-functional committees, unable to collect fees, meetings hardly held either regularly or frequently and records not properly kept and maintained. The reasons, as noted from the results of this research, being that the morale, performance and functionality of the committees were often marred by lack of adequate remuneration for their contributions to the community although they were often virtually tortured by harassment and abuses, especially, when collecting fees and enforcing behavior control measures.

It is significant, therefore, to note that a majority of approximately 67.1 percent of Watsan members interviewed indicated that they would want to be remunerated because they needed to be compensated for a work that was demanding and full of insults and inconveniences. These statements were at sharp variance with their initial motivational orientation towards membership which was defined by moral considerations. Thus, although membership involvement was initially normative in nature, that is, based on the desire to promote the welfare of people living in their communities through rendering voluntary

services, the current and emerging orientation of the members is materialistic and or calculative based on remunerative values.

## CONCLUSIONS

It is possible to conclude from the discussions made so far that the initial desire of the membership of the Watsan Committees to provide voluntary services to their communities is gradually fading off. This means that continued membership of members of these local management committees and their willingness to perform their tasks satisfactorily will eventually depend on how much satisfaction they derived from being members.

This transformation in their orientation was orchestrated and being maintained by the experiences gained from managing water and sanitation programmes in their communities over the years. Disrespect, abuses and other kinds of assaults, the demanding nature of their tasks in terms of time, energy in which, in most cases, they had to sacrifice their jobs to participate in Watsan activities, desire for their efforts to be appreciated and recognized and the perception that enough money was being generated from the sale of water, have made them to request for adequate compensation for their contribution to the development of their communities.

Watsan Committees can, therefore, no longer be considered as groups made up of devoted volunteers working for the benefit of the community as a whole. This supposition lends support to Scott's (2001) contention that without adequate motivation for members of community water and sanitation management committees, their commitment to the entire operational management and maintenance process and efficient promotion of hygiene and sanitation can neither be guaranteed nor maintained.

It is concluded, therefore, that within the Watsan Committees, strong and inspirational leadership as well as well-motivated membership is crucial to members' continued participation in and commitment to the entire programme management process. The absence of these will make the Watsan Committees incapable of holding scheduled meetings regularly and frequently, effectively implementing their decisions, and efficiently promoting hygiene and sanitation practices in their communities.

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