

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO **WORK?**

A STUDY OF
**HEALTH DEVELOPMENT
COMMITTEES**

AND **COMMUNITY
ENGAGEMENT** IN

**WASH INTERVENTIONS
IN RURAL SIERRA LEONE**

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ABSTRACT – evt. vedlægges

The techno-anthropological research project presented herein comprises an exploration of the work of Health Development Committees (HDCs) in rural Sierra Leone and how the rural communities in which they are situated engage with Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) interventions that have been implemented in them through cooperating humanitarian NGOs, and local governments.

The research participates in a wider ongoing program of WASH interventions in 21 rural communities in the Nongowa Chiefdom of the country's Kenema District currently being undertaken by the Danish humanitarian engineering NGO - Engineers Without Borders Denmark (EWB-DK) and their Sierra Leonean counterpart (EWB-SL).

The approach to the research is inspired in part by the descriptive and explorative, context based case studies as described by Yin (2002) and Flyvbjerg (2006). The research however takes its theoretical and analytical point of departure in the sensibilities of Actor-Network Theory. In this sense the ethnography conducted too, is ANT-inflected, in that it pays attention to the relations that comprise the practices between heterogeneous sets of actors, human and non-human.

The product of the research is a map of practices that comprise these WASH interventions, which can be used in navigating and rearranging work practices. What it implies and in turn requires is that work of HDCs, NGOs, Local Governments, researchers and so forth work together in a broader sense of community.

Further brought into focus in this study is how this type of research might contribute to discussions in the broader development discourse.

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List of Abbreviations

AAU	Aalborg University - CPH
CLTS	Community Led Total Sanitation
DHMT	District Health Management Team
EWB-DK	Engineers Without Borders Denmark
EWB-SL	Engineers Without Borders Sierra Leone
HDC	Health Development Committee
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Implementing Partner
KCC	Kenema City Council
KDC	Kenema District Council
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoWR	Ministry of Water Resources
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
PHU	Peripheral Health Unit
ToR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WB	World Bank

Executive Summary

The techno-anthropological research project presented herein comprises an exploration of the work of Health Development Committees (HDCs) in rural Sierra Leone and how the rural communities in which they are situated engage with Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) interventions that have been implemented in them through cooperating humanitarian NGOs, and local governments.

The research participates in a wider ongoing program of WASH interventions in 21 rural communities in the Nongowa Chiefdom of the country's Kenema District currently being undertaken by the Danish humanitarian engineering NGO - Engineers Without Borders Denmark (EWB-DK) and their Sierra Leonean counterpart (EWB-SL).

The researchers have been engaged by the organisations in an effort to provide insights into what might make HDCs strong or weak in their engagement with the WASH interventions and therein undertook a month long (March 2016) field study in the Kenema District. Together with their hosts EWB-SL, and more specifically their Community Mobilizers, several communities were visited, as were numerous other stakeholders in the WASH program. These included the Kenema District Council (KDC) and Ministry of Water Resources (MoWR), among others. This being techno-anthropological research, it views the world as comprising socio-material assemblies, and further employs ethnographic techniques of interview and observation to explore how HDCs, communities and the broader range of stakeholders assemble around WASH interventions.

The approach to the research is inspired in part by the descriptive and explorative, context based case studies as described by Yin (2002) and Flyvbjerg (2006). The research however takes its theoretical and analytical point of departure in the sensibilities of Actor-Network Theory. In this sense the ethnography conducted too, is ANT-inflected, in that it pays attention to the relations that comprise the practices between heterogeneous sets of actors, human and non-human.

Analytically, the research draws on Latour's (2005) *work-net* and Law and Singleton's (2013) *care-full research* to explore, assemble and articulate the narratives of work that has been collected from the field. In the Analysis section *HDC work*, *Community Mobilizer work*, *the work of pumps*, *the work of water quality testing* and *the work of policy* are described.

Through the study of work, and in what emerges from the field, the research gains an understanding for how work done in different locations can shape the work done in others, and that the work of one set of actors can reveal what is otherwise invisible in that of another. In this, the research postulates that many forms of work must come together in the performance of HDCs and community engagement in WASH interventions, which re-arranges the question of what makes HDCs strong or weak in their work. The question of *what does it mean to work* in this context provides an opportunity for considering *what it is we want to work*.

The product of the research is a map of practices that comprise these WASH interventions which can be used in navigating and rearranging work practices. What it implies and in turn requires is that work of HDCs, NGOs, Local Governments, researchers and so forth work together in a broader sense of community.

Further brought into focus in this study is how this type of research might contribute to discussions in the broader development discourse.



Kenema is in the lower eastern area of Sierra Leone, West Africa (Google Maps, 2016)



Introduction

The research project contained herein participates in an ongoing Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) project conducted by two partnering humanitarian engineering NGOs, namely Engineers Without Borders Denmark and Engineers Without Borders Sierra Leone (EWB-DK and EWB-SL). These WASH interventions find place in the Nongowa Chiefdom of the Kenema District in Sierra Leone's Eastern Province and engage 21 rural communities in an effort to provide local people with access to clean water and sanitation. The first phase of the project targeted five communities as a pilot project in 2011, which later expanded to another 16 in the following phase, starting in 2014. It is in the final stages of this 2nd phase where this research project takes place.

The organizations' activities take a point of departure in the delivery of strategic services such as water and sanitation facilities, and community development work with a strong focus on leaving behind a sustainable change in the behaviour of targeted groups to improve their livelihoods, also after the immediate intervention is completed. The two organisations are united in their mission to *“partner with developing communities to improve their quality of life, through the implementation of environmentally sustainable, equitable, and economical engineering projects”* (EWB-DK & EWB-SL).

The organisations and the project at hand, being a WASH intervention, adhere to the July 2010 UN declaration that safe and clean water, and basic sanitation are a human right (UN, 2010). Further, the interventions align with the Water and Sanitation sub-component of UN Millennium Development Goal 7 on ensuring environmental sustainability (UN, 2010). The scope of the project involves the installation of hand-dug wells and pumps in the selected communities, implementing a Community Lead Total Sanitation (CLTS) ¹program, providing pump maintenance training, and training to promote hygiene awareness and sanitation practices. These projects are further executed in coordination with the local governments of the Kenema District who also arrange themselves under these UN operatives.

The project further includes the formation of Health Development Committees (HDCs) within the targeted communities. These committees are comprised of 12 community members, their role in the WASH intervention being to uphold the practices set up by EWB and disseminate information gained

¹ CLTS encourages communities to design and construct their own latrines in an effort to mitigate open defecation practices.

during training sessions to the people of their communities. It is the work of these committees that serves as the basis of this research project's participation in the WASH project described.

Following a mid-term evaluation of the WASH interventions by an independent consultant, the work of some community HDCs had been designated as 'strong' while others 'weak', but providing little information on what had been taken into consideration in making the distinction between *strong and weak work*.

In an effort to provide new insights into the work of HDCs, the researchers are engaged by EWB-DK to conduct a study of HDCs to determine what might make their work strong or weak in their engagement with the WASH interventions.

As Techno-Anthropologists, we see the world composed of socio-material assemblies in which the social and the technical shape and reshape each other in turn. With respect to the question posed, we might consider how these HDCs, communities, WASH technologies and the broader set of relations that contribute to these projects assemble in the WASH interventions. It is in the study of how things assemble, or don't, that we might be able to add some empirical flesh to what type of work is being done and how. We further consider how the work done in one part of the assembly shapes others and how work might be done differently, for it to be considered strong or weak. In more broad terms we might ask, what does it mean to work in a given context? It is here that the problem statement emerges:

With a point of departure in the exploration of work done by Health Development Committees, develop a context-based understanding of how communities engage with WASH interventions

In what follows, the theoretical foundation through which we undertake this exploration will be introduced as well as the various academic literature drawn upon in the study. Further, the methodology through which empirical data is collected will be described. This data will be presented in the analysis and through this analysis themes are identified that will become the basis for engaging in discussion.

Theoretical Background

As Techno-Anthropologists we are interested, as the name suggests, in studying the relations between humans and technology. By utilising methods of enquiry and analysis from the fields of anthropology and ethnography, we aim to assist users, designers and implementers of new technology in the processes of its development and operation. In this case, we are involved in a study of relations between people in rural communities of the Kenema District, Sierra Leone, and water and sanitation technologies that are being implemented there through a EWB.

If we set out to study *relations*, what then becomes the subject of our study and how do we study it? In the introduction to this study we raise the question: “*What does it mean to work?*” So is it ‘work’ then that lies in the focus of this research? And if yes, then what kind of work? Is it the work done by the people in the communities, or the NGO, or by the cylinders and levers of the water pump? It is safe to assume that all of this work is relevant in the context of WASH interventions, moreover the people, the NGOs, the water pump (and as you will see further on, many others) are all interconnected in the work that they do.

So here we can state that our aim is to study a heterogeneous mix of people, organisations and technological artefacts, all connected through the work that they do in regards to providing access to water, hygiene and sanitation in the rural communities. By providing an account of work being done, and how this work connects those involved in it, we would seek to develop an understanding of *what it mean to work*, in a given case.

Now that we have established what are we doing, and what are we aiming to achieve, we can begin to talk about how are we going to do it: what tools are we going to use? Which theories to apply? How to frame our research? Being part social scientists, part technical experts (in a given case the word ‘experts’ should be taken with a pinch of salt) we must surely rely on a theory or a framework of some sort, through which to explain our findings, allowing us to make generalisations (otherwise the same remark should also apply to the word ‘scientists’). This however, is not exactly the case here.

Our research is inspired by Actor-Network Theory, which is, one could say, a different way of doing social science. Described by Bruno Latour, ANT is a “...theory, and a strong one I think, but about how to study things, or rather how not to study them—or rather, how to let the actors have some room to express themselves.” (Latour, 2005 pp. 142). In other ANT literature it is referred to as an

'*approach*' (Law, 2007), or a '*sensibility*' (Law and Singleton, 2013), and perhaps other definitions could be found. What sets ANT apart from more 'traditional' social theories is that ANT does not aim to explain the world that it studies, rather it focuses on producing descriptions of processes in the world – processes through which the world is constructed. This allows us to study the world how it is, as opposed to how it may fit a presupposed framework.

An Actor-Network view of the world treats everything in it as a *continuously generated effect of web of relations* (Law, 2007). An actor here is someone (or something) able to act, being engaged in some sort of practice, and by doing so leaves a trace, which can be empirically observed and documented. By following actors and describing practices, or *work*, in which they are engaged, we are able to trace an Actor-Network of work, or, a *work-net* (Latour, 2005; Czarniawska 2004) of the studied phenomena. In our case, we consider a *work-net* of community engagement with WASH interventions.

One of the reasons to employ ANT in doing this research was to avoid assuming too much about the place we were going to. This being our first time in Africa, we chose to be cautious about what we decided to bring with us. Since we only had a vague notion about what we were going to find there, we decided to be open towards where our research could take us. Our aim was to do *care-full* research as J. Law and V. Singleton may put it.

"Slow research is research that doesn't always take the lead. Instead it often follows. In woodwork you sense the grain of the wood. Craft research is shaped by the patterns of interaction and practice that it's immersed in. You don't assume too much. You let the research unfold. You do care-full research."
(Law and Singleton, 2013 pp. 488)

Here we could say that by employing ANT in conducting this research we do not aim to make generalizations based on our findings, but rather to present *uniquely adequate* descriptions of the matters at hand. To *describe* what it means to work, rather than *explain* it. It is through the emphasis on the empirical groundings for producing these descriptions that gives our research its scientific weight (Latour, 2005).

Literature Study

Leading in from the Theoretical Background, we consider here the different ways in which one might study work in communities and development projects in Sierra Leone. Not having been to Sierra Leone before, the researchers draw on many different sources to build up an imagination of what it is like there: maps, movies, music, manuals, documentaries, even food. Similarly, the review of academic literature helps build an imagination of how work may be studied and helps open up ideas of how the research can be sensitive to the field in its approach. In this, we build further the relevance of using an ANT approach. Previously, we mentioned that we are cautious of what we bring with us to Africa in that we do not want to assume how things work. The literature study here explores how different themes, for example gender and power, may shape an understanding of work. This research being ANT-inflected however stays open to how work is enacted differently in different locations without taking these inequalities, for example, for granted, but providing space for such themes, amongst many others, to be raised.

With respect to understanding how development projects work in different ways, we explore for example, Jennifer Thompson's (2011) ethnographic study of how communities arrange themselves around water in rural Sierra Leone. Here she brings into focus *the gendered nature of water*. In this we are introduced to a tension that exists between the gendered nature of water and *the gender-neutral policies and planning* that facilitates improved water and sanitation projects. Similarly, through Maria Bergh's article *Embodiment and Emotion in Sierra Leone* (2011a) we are introduced to how development projects can contribute to *constructing new spaces in societies as well as new language and ideas* (Berghs, 2011a).

In these two examples, themes are applied to an analytical context. These articles draw on themes of *gender* (Thompson, 2011) and an image of the *local and global* (Berghs, 2011a), in a telling of how people negotiate and arrange themselves around WASH interventions and other development projects. Others further bring into focus how WASH interventions bring with them *Western ideas of health and illness* (McMahon, 2013), *Human Rights* (Archibald & Richards, 2002) and other *NGO language that contributes to the shaping of local understandings of everyday life* (Berghs, 2011a).

Similarly, Ferguson and Gupta (2002), through their metaphors of *verticality* and *encompassment*, provide an illustration of how structures of power may be enacted through development projects. Here they consider how *taken-for-granted bureaucratic practices such as* various forms of *self-monitoring, self-discipline, recording* (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002 pp 987) and so on, might produce an

imagined spatial order and scalar hierarchy, where the state, for example, might sit somewhere *above*, a society *on the ground* (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002).

Through an ANT approach, and what is explored further in the Discussion section, we approach these themes differently in that we see the world as ontologically flat (Latour, 2005) and performative (Law, 2007). Gender, the local, the state or the global for example are not assumed but can be performed and described. It is here that *contingencies of power* can be explored, and further provide space for *generating tools to undo the inevitability of that power...* (Law & Singleton 2013 pp 500)

In a similar way, this research also considers how development anthropology is presented in academic writings. An example can be found in Escobar's paper *Anthropology and the Development Encounter* (1991). Here he illustrates development anthropology as *the constructed meeting, of peasant and practitioners...* which, *...produces forms of consciousness that are more the property of organisations and ruling groups than a reflection of the concrete coming together of individuals* (Escobar, 1991 pp 668). In this, he notes that anthropology in this way is *shaped by development institutions...* and is *...the product of scholarly and political action...* (Escobar, 1991)

In understanding the work of HDCs and what might make communities strong or weak in their engagement in WASH interventions, an ANT sensibility is applied. In treating the world as a continuously generated web of relations, the research and the institutions that facilitate the research also become part of this web. It is not the aim of the research to unpack these institutions. The research however, and as will be discussed further in this report, aims to develop a map of practices in which this unpacking can take place and analytical contexts constructed in which these politics can be examined.

In the above paragraphs we have brought into focus different themes and issues that have emerged through an exploration of academic literature regarding development projects and development anthropology. This we have done in order to highlight how work can be done differently in different analytical contexts. The literature however, also provides accounts of how ethnographic research has been done in Sierra Leone by others and therein provides inspiration to how this ethnographic research is undertaken.

Berghs and Thompson have illustrated that the way people understand how to negotiate new spaces, for example, is *embodied* (Thompson, 2011) but also *spiritual* (Berghs, 2011a). Berghs further illustrates that *trauma*, in her study, could not always be understood through *...open talk*. Instead she notes, it would be described *metaphorically*. Similarly, concepts of *social recognition, action and justice*, we understand are also *spiritual*, in that they involve rituals that have *visible practices*, but also

invisible effects (Berghs, 2011b). Ethnography, in an effort to elicit the lived worlds of its informants, we understand *must work on several different layers of understanding respectful of an African ontology and epistemology* (Berghs, 2011b pp 1415), and even then as Owusu (1978) indicates, our *ignorance of language* can leave us *lacking*. Similarly, the research might also be sensitive to power in research relationships, for example, regarding historical associations between research and colonialism (Holland et al., 1999 in Berghs 2011). Further, in another article by Berghs, *Paying for stories of impairment - parasitic or ethical? Reflections undertaking anthropological research in post-conflict Sierra Leone* (2011), we gain an insight into the *commodification* of stories and interviews in Sierra Leone.

Bergh and Thompson, like ANT, are informed by feminist anthropology (Law & Singleton, 2013). In this way, understanding how communities arrange themselves around WASH interventions explores connections between the physical materiality of the spaces created through the intervention, the practices around these spaces and the tensions and negotiations that exist in these practices. Like, Bergh and Thompson, this research seeks to allow the informants to have their own voice. This is done through narrative collection, in-depth interview with groups and individuals, men and women, observation, and participation. Similarly, Escobar encourages, through Strathern, and further references to feminist anthropology, that *the character of the interaction between anthropologist and subject, and the subject matter of the conversation be altered in such a way that the other is allowed to speak* (Escobar, 1999 pp 677).

In what follows, the Methodology section provides an account of the work done by the research and further elaborates on the ethnographic approach employed. In this, we also acknowledge the limitations of the research.

Methodology

In accordance with the Theoretical Background chapter, our focus is on the relations that exist within socio-technical networks. In this, the fieldwork takes the form of an ANT-inflected ethnography, it however, also utilises the concept of the case study (Yin, 2002 and Flyvbjerg 2006) in its methodological approach in the collection of empirical material. The case study format here is *exploratory* and *descriptive* in nature (Yin, 2002) in that it seeks to describe *how* HDCs and communities engage in WASH interventions through a study of practices - in an effort to understand *what* might make them strong or weak in this engagement.

The initial research strategy was formulated as a study of three communities selected from a possible 21. The selection is *information-oriented* (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in that the research is informed by descriptions of community size, location and composition (whether they have HDCs, wells, pumps and have received community mobilization training), but also prior evaluations of communities which have been designated strong or weak. In light of this, case selection can be said to be based on exploring how communities *...can be especially problematic or especially good in a more closely defined sense* (Flyvbjerg, 2006 pp 230). Further, by exploring communities of particular size, for example, the intention can be to gain a deeper insight into *...the significance of various circumstances...* for these cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006 pp 230). The case study format encourages the exploration of *context-dependent knowledge* in each community, which can assist in the development of *...a metaphor or establish a school for the domain that the case concerns* (Flyvbjerg, 2006 pp 230).

Applying a case study framework, or framework in general, to the research is perhaps counter intuitive to the ANT approach. The Theoretical Background and Literature Study sections have been adamant about not assuming how things work, something of which may be tested, as may be implied by doing case studies. The case study format however helps to situate the research and researchers in an already complex heterogeneous network of actors. In this way, the communities selected do not become the centre of some WASH intervention universe but instead a starting point for the research in a network with no centre (Law, 2007).

In what follows the description of this research's methodology is separated into two parts. First the work done before entering the field in Sierra Leone is described. Second, the work that is done once in Sierra Leone and thereafter is described. The initial work done gives an account of how a research proposal was framed to the facilitating NGO. The research proposal in this sense acts as a communication device between the research and the NGO. Once in Sierra Leone however, the

research proposal acts more as a guide to the research which is otherwise opportunistic, and ANT-inflected, in its approach and the way that it follows different actors to different places as they emerged from the field. We note for example that the initial research comprising of three communities extends to a total of seven communities visited.

Initial work *done*

We were initially engaged by EWB-DK to investigate how HDCs and communities function and engage in WASH interventions that have been undertaken in 21 communities in the Kenema District. Meetings were held with EWB-DK to establish basic information about the WASH programs and HDCs and further communicate the Techno-Anthropological approach to the organisation.

The researchers further developed a fieldwork strategy including a schedule, research questions and interview questions. This strategy was agreed with EWB-DK and a Terms of Reference document was prepared. This document is the official agreement of work to be done for EWB-DK. The fieldwork strategy and scheduling were communicated to EWB-SL who also agreed on the project's premise, and further communicated the project to the local authorities and communities the research would be visiting. There were no objections from the local authorities or communities regarding this research.

In addition the above, we also undertook an online *in-field security training* course facilitated by the UN and sought various avenues for funding, namely, DANIDA and AAU. This further required the development of a budget for the fieldwork. (Funding conditions and terms of reference can be found as appendices to this report).

Developing the fieldwork strategy

Community Selection

The initial fieldwork strategy was based on visiting three communities. These communities were selected from a list of those who had previously been evaluated as strong or weak. One strong community was selected and a weak community was selected. Further, a community from outside the WASH intervention would be considered. As the field study was restricted to a duration of one month we felt that reaching these communities was feasible in this time. The selection took the following form:

1. Village in Nongowa chiefdom, deemed as having an effective HDC by the Mid-Term Evaluation

2. Village in Nongowa chiefdom, not deemed as having an effective HDC by the Mid-Term Evaluation
3. Third village is to be selected outside of the sampling scope of the mid-term evaluation in order to strengthen the methodological validity of our research, allowing the research to make a comparative analysis between the practices around WASH technologies in different socio-technical contexts. The possible criteria for the selection may be comprised by but is not limited to one or more of these factors:
 - a. Village in Nongowa chiefdom not engaged by the mid-term evaluation
 - b. Village in a different chiefdom
 - c. Village with significant difference in size/population
 - d. Village where a HDC has not been established (fx. future EWB-DK project)

Generating Questions

The interview questions had been designed to function as a guide during the interviews allowing the informants to tell stories, as they felt necessary, whilst trying to maintain a connection to the domain of HDCs and WASH interventions.

The initial research questions are inspired by the academic literature reviewed, an understanding of the WASH interventions provided by EWB-DK and an interview and narrative collection format known as the Most Significant Change technique (MSC) (Davis & Dart, 2005). MSC encourages respondents to allocate their stories to a domain they choose and describe why they think this to be significant to them. In this way, *unsolicited stories* are also heard and there is a focus on the *respondent's value system and social changes*, something that can be reviewed together and expanded upon. Interesting to the research is how these changes take place in practice.

The research, informed about how WASH interventions are facilitated in Sierra Leone, by virtue of EWB-DK and EWB-SL, understands that various local authorities are also stakeholders in these interventions. The research therefore sought to explore how these actors participate in the work of HDCs and communities and interview guides were also prepared for them.

These actors include: The Ministry of Water Resources (MoWR), The Ministry of Health and Sanitation (MoHS), The Kenema District Council (KDC), the WASH Core Group (Kenema), and Chiefs (Local and Paramount).

Work done in the field

The researchers undertook a field study in Kenema that lasted for the entire month of March 2016.

An important actor in the work of HDCs, is the Community Mobilizers, or Mobilizers, who form part of the EWB-SL Kenema Team. They are responsible for the training of HDC members in the various courses offered by the WASH intervention and have worked with the communities for as long as the WASH interventions have been implemented. They are also important in the collection of empirical material for this research project. In the study of HDC work, we follow the Mobilizers to the various communities as they conduct their work and in parallel, they enable us to do ours. They act as our guides, as our translators and interpreters.

Once in Kenema, the initial interview questions formulated in Copenhagen were coordinated with the EWB mobilizer team before the first interview session in the community Ngelahun. This enabled the researchers to convey the intention of the questions and allow the Community Mobilizers time to find appropriate translations, assess the quality/relevance of the questions and consider how follow up questions might be formulated ad hoc, in the field. Examples of the question guide can be found as an attachment to this report as well as the slides used in the discussion with the Community Mobilizers.

Following each interview session the interview format was reviewed, and questions reformulated, removed or new ones added based on the experiences from the interviews, together with the Mobilizers. The interviews (following Ngelahun), for example, were paired with an inquiry into the villages' history, either as the entrance into the interview or as a wind up to the interview. This helped the data collection in a number of ways, namely in creating a common story between interviewees, stimulate their discussions, there was a sense that interviewees had less feelings of being examined, and the possibility for follow up questions emerged as information about village dynamics appeared in their stories. It was also decided together with the Mobilizers that group interviews were more effective at stimulating dialogue as opposed to individual interviews.

Interviews – Communities

The following list provides some details about the communities visited and interviewed:

Ngelahun Ngelahun, a fairly large community (500 people) was the first to be visited. The interviews that took place were done in a formal setting, individually with five (5) HDC members with a team of three (3) mobilisers. This format might have pressured the HDC members and conditioned their answers. In general, the HDC

were not explicit in their answers, and it seems that they felt examined for the knowledge they received during training. In addition, conducting the interviews individually meant that questions were repeated each time, and the interview session was quite lengthy. In the heat of the day, this proved to be a challenge for the HDC members, researchers and the Mobilizers who were all rather fatigued by the end.

Soweima Soweima, a small community (55 people), where only a few members of the HDC were present, since there were no possibility to announce our visit. The interview was held in a group format and as an informal discussion with two (2) HDC members, the village Chief and one (1) mobilizer.

Information collected through this discussion was richer than in the previous case, interviewees were more relaxed and interested in participating.

Nyandeyama Nyandeyama, a large community (800 people). Only the male wing of the HDC was present, due to a cultural event for women taking place in another village. The interview took place in a semi-formal setting with the entire male wing, the village Chief and one (1) mobilizer. Also present was the villages female leader and a number of village elders. The group format of the interviews, and the more informal setting appears to be more fruitful, following experiences from Soweima.

Malehun Malehun, a relatively small community (110 people), was also interviewed using the more informal group setting. This village is of particular interesting as it is deemed to be the 'success story' of all WASH interventions by EWB in the Nongowa Chiefdom. It would be reasonable to suggest that it lives up to this status. Nine (9) HDC members participated in this interview, an equal mix of men and women, plus the Chief and an elder. One (1) mobilizer was utilized in the translation.

Small Bo Town A town, close to Small Bo, was visited by the researchers and the EWB-SL Kenema Office Manager. This town has been placed on a short list to receive a WASH intervention by the KDC. The purpose of visiting the community was to gain an insight into what a community looks like outside of the EWB-SL scope. Here the researchers spoke with some community members and made some observations around the community. The Manager acted as translator.

Wallima In the town of Wallima, the researchers followed the EWB-SL team on a pump maintenance exercise where observations were made and informal discussions were had between the community, the researchers and the EWB-SL team.

Tahlia In the town of Tahlia, the researchers met with two medical staff from the areas PHU² located in the town, as well as the Chief of Tahlia. The PHU was visited and interviews with staff were made to investigate the relationships between communities, HDCs and PHUs.

The communities listed above are more numerous and different than those initially considered for the field study. This difference reflects the need of the research to be flexible and accommodating to the everyday work schedule of the EWB-SL Kenema Office. EWB-SL Kenema has one 4WD and one driver, which meant that the researchers needed to follow the work of the mobilizers in their community visits and wells tests. In this sense, the research is opportunistic in the following of actors and practices. By travelling with the mobilizers, the research gained a deeper insight into their work through observation and informal dialogue, which also contributed to developing an understanding for what was experienced in each community. Visiting Tahlia, Wallima and Small Bo was also opportunistic. Understanding the role of HDCs in health promotion and an underlying cooperation with the PHUs took the researchers to speak with the PHU, Wallima offered an insight into the practice of pump maintenance, and Small Bo Town gave an insight into what a community might look like prior to an intervention.

² A Peripheral Health Unit (PHU) is a medical facility shared by numerous closely located communities, while the PHU itself is located in community central to these communities. HDCs in their health promotion activities are responsible for encouraging the community members to attend the facility when they are sick or pregnant, for example.

Once all communities had been reached, the researchers sat together with the mobilizers and discussed the results of the interviews. This allowed for the mobilizers to further expand on their working practices with the communities, and clarify areas of the interviews that were unclear or misunderstood by the researchers. Generating an understanding for how communities and HDCs arrange themselves around WASH interventions is in this sense participatory.

Interviews – Authorities

In order to gain access to the field it is a requirement to visit the local authorities, namely the Kenema District Council, The Ministry of Water Resources, and The Ministry of Health. This is firstly considered a sign of respect, but also a point of coordination as each authority interacted with here is a stakeholder in the planning and execution of WASH interventions in the district. Each informant listed here is a member of the WASH Core Group (except the Paramount Chief) and could therefore provide insights into how WASH is done at policy and district level. We were initially introduced to these stakeholders, and provided a description of what the research should entail. Further, plans with each individual are made for a subsequent interview, at a later time. Prior to the formal interviews, informants also received a letter detailing the intentions of the project and a list of questions that would be asked, although it was noted that these questions would function as a guide. The interviews listed here had been done in order to establish how different community realities are constructed in different locations, through which practices these realities emerge and how different knowledge practices interfere. In a similar fashion to the interviews with the HDCs, these informants were allowed to tell stories about their experiences within the WASH context. The interviews also kept a focus on the practices of each individual through which WASH was enacted. In addition to these interviews, the research team also attended a WASH Core Group Meeting where each of the noted members were in attendance.

Kenema District Chairman	Dr. Mansaray Highest ranking official in the Kenema District Member of the WASH Core Group Formal Personal Interview
Kenema District Vice Chairman	Simeon Ngawjoia Second to the Chairman Member of the WASH Core Group Interview by Correspondence

Deputy Chief Administrator	<p>Bangali Marrah</p> <p>Non-political administrator for KDC</p> <p>Chairman of the WASH Core Group</p> <p>2 semi-formal interviews including providing feedback on behalf of the WASH Core Group</p>
District WASH Supervisor	<p>Kai Junisa</p> <p>Ministry of Water Resources</p> <p>Water Quality Testing and Well Construction</p> <p>Member of the WASH Core Group</p> <p>Formal Personal Interview</p>
District WASH Engineer	<p>Samuel Bengali</p> <p>Ministry of Water Resources</p> <p>WASH Planning</p> <p>Member of the WASH Core Group</p> <p>Semi-formal Conversation</p>
District Health Management Team	<p>Eric Moosa</p> <p>Health Superintendent</p> <p>Semi-formal Conversation</p> <p>Member of the WASH Core Group</p> <p>Mr. Nyally</p> <p>Medical Health Officer</p> <p>Deputy to Health Superintendent</p> <p>Formal Personal Interview</p>
Paramount Chief	<p>The research team met briefly with the Nongowa Chiefdom's Paramount Chief, together with some members of the EWB Team. The research was not able to fully engage with the Paramount Chief due to his busy schedule but a short chat was had with him nonetheless, his input was recorded as day notes.</p>

Observations

Being an ANT-inflected ethnography the research is sensitive to socio-material practices. As the interviews were conducted in situ, in each community, an opportunity to make observations was found (Yin 2002). In this, we observed as much as possible the socio-material practices of the WASH interventions which include the use of pumps, dishracks, clotheslines, latrines and so forth. We further participated in the use of water and latrines in the communities, namely, drinking the water from the well, and using the latrines.

These observations and experiences were detailed in day notes. The observations were discussed with the research's informants, and between the researchers. Similarly, at meetings notes and observations were made. In the case of a WASH Core Group meeting attended for example, the meeting itself becomes a practice through which WASH is enacted differently to the way it is in the communities.

We kept day notes regularly in order to keep track of experiences, schedules, important leads, observations, notes from meetings and so forth. The day notes are important to the analysis where they provided more details to that which is collected through the interviews.

Here Becker's (1990) *massive descriptions was also adopted* where an attempt was made to describe *everything* observed. The idea is to further understand how materials are used but also to generate empirical data of practices that aren't conveyed verbally. This is of course interpretive, but as Becker notes, there are no *pure* descriptions (Becker, 1990:79). We will arrive at different conclusions, but, he notes, *we have the data to arrive at that conclusion* (Becker, 1990:83)

Analysis

Whilst in the field, each evening we would discuss and analyse the day's activities and data collected within the themes of the projects. These discussion points and points of analysis were noted in the day journal and contributed to further analysis with the Mobilizers and the final analysis conducted once back in Copenhagen.

Once the initial interview material and observation notes were collected from the communities we discussed differences and similarities that emerged. Following this process the findings were presented to the Mobilisers. Together, we and the Mobilizers went through each community to

further add empirical data to what had been collected, allowing the Mobilisers to make corrections, and further describe their practices in working with the communities.

Once back in Copenhagen the narratives collected from each community, from the Mobilizers, and the authorities were reviewed individually. From this, key themes and stories emerged and further analysis was done to refine the connections, differences, similarities and tensions. Examples of the transcripts, as empirical material, can be found as an attachment to this report and audio files provided upon request.

The analysis of the cases is an iterative process but can be described in three phases. The first phase was a condensation (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009) of the information in order to make the large amount of data more manageable. The material was ordered into actors and groups of actors positioned in different locations. From this, various connections between actors and themes (Bernard 2006) that emerged could be explored, this is the second phase.

These themes included for example:

- *The Invisible and The Visible*: in which the work of others makes visible work that is invisible in other locations are considered.
- Space-Time: where the analysis considers how work might change through time and that the present has a past and an imagined future.
- Community and Committee: where the analysis considers how the distinctions between community and committee as initially described by the WASH intervention dissolve and expand to also include a broad range of actors and practices that participate in how communities engage in WASH interventions in different locations.

The last stage of the analysis was to refine the themes in the different material, and establish how they are to be presented. The narratives are arranged into the headings presented in the following Analysis section (HDCs and Communities, The Mobilisers, Converting a Swamp to a Pump, Water Quality Testing and Policy in Action). In this process we used a cooperative method that was executed both physically and dialogically, where copies of the narratives were laid out on a table, the themes discussed, key components of the narratives highlighted and their connections drawn, similar to a process of an affinity diagram as described by Bødker, Kensing and Simonsen (2008). This was done iteratively in the production of the Analysis section of this report.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations experienced by this project that can be taken into consideration for further research and analysis.

Not having a knowledge of the local language, translators were required when conducting interviews in the communities. The Community Mobilisers acted as translators, although this is not their official job. By reviewing the interviews with the Mobilizers and asking follow up questions during the interviews, it was to an extent possible to separate the Mobilizers' voice from the interviewees' but not completely. A consideration here is how the use of Mobilisers as translators might skew the responses given by the informants who have worked with the HDC members for a long time, or alternatively, highlight how the Mobilisers are intrinsically connected to the practices of HDCs and communities.

Similarly, the researchers acknowledge a limited understanding for how local life is practiced ritually or spiritually in the communities. These practices are not represented in this research and therefore remain invisible to a broader understanding of how communities engage in WASH interventions.

Planning in Kenema is different to planning in Copenhagen. Although scheduling is done monthly and weekly in Kenema, it is still necessary to plan how the day's activities will unfold. Schedules can change if the 4WD breaks down for example, other matters arise, or authorities are suddenly not available for scheduled meetings.

Ethics

During the research, informed consent, confidentiality and consequences were addressed (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). Each interviewee was informed on the purpose of the research, and whether or not the interview was recorded. All participants were informed of the extent to which this paper is to be used and were given the opportunity to remain anonymous. Considering observations made, attention was given to people in the photographs and they were not included without consent. Furthermore, no payment was requested or offered for the interviews obtained. The requirements of the research's financial supporters can be provided upon request.

Analysis

Introduction

The following analysis comprises a collection of narratives and descriptions sensitive to and illustrating the terrain of work done in connection with the work of Health Development Committees. They have been collected through an ANT inflected ethnography. The research in which this analysis exists has been initiated through a question of what makes a community strong or weak in their engagement with a WASH intervention. In an effort to address this question the research attends to the practices of HDCs and communities as they arrange themselves around these interventions.

What emerges however, is that whether or not a community is strong or weak is not obvious in these practices. Instead, it is through an exploration of the work of EWB-SL's community mobilizers that these concepts gain some empirical flesh. What emerges further is an understanding for how the exploring and unpacking of work by one set of actors can reveal the work of others. Furthermore, an understanding for how work in one location shapes the work of others in different locations is developed.

In addition to presenting the practices of HDCs, communities and mobilizers, the analysis considers the work of pumps, the work of water quality testing and the work of government policy. These descriptions are not random, they indeed exist within the socio-material network of relations that comprise HDCs and WASH interventions. Instead, they have been selected to illustrate how work *works* across time and space amongst many other combinations of work, in a *work-net*. It is in these stories of work that the analysis further seeks to establish and provide texture to a map of work that can be navigated and developed through the work of others in the future.

HDCs and Communities

This story of HDCs takes a point of departure in their function as a committee. Through exploring the terrain of the socio-material practices that comprise these functions we gain an insight into how WASH interventions are enacted through HDC work and how this relates to the communities in which they are situated. The research in this sense, seeks to establish what would make a community strong or weak in their engagement.

The committee, made up of people from within the given community, comprises of twelve members: a chairman, chairwoman, treasurer, secretary, various pump caretakers, sanitary reps, natural leaders

and an advisor (six men and six women). They have specific duties under each role, but their common activity revolves around promoting hygiene awareness and encouraging sanitation practices throughout their community. They describe this process quite unanimously as assessing community members' *personal hygiene and environmental cleanliness*. In line with this, they further explain how it is their job to speak with community members regularly about hygiene practices. It is not uncommon through the interviews for members to describe for example that *...when you come from the latrine you should wash your hands... or ...when you wash your dishes, put them on the dishrack... when you wash your belongings (clothes), put them on the rope, don't spread them on the ground.* (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)



Interviewing the HDC in Malehun 16MAR2016

The HDCs describe how each morning they walk around the community to see if people have *cleaned around their houses*, that they have *put their waste in the right place*. In addition to this, they will also *make sure that people are using the latrines*. Understanding how the community engages in this practice, one HDC member describes how it has taken time to *convince* some people in the community, which they attribute to *not being used to it*. Sometimes they would have to tell people *not to throw their garbage there, that is not the place to drop waste*. But now they say, *people are changing*. (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

One Sanitary Rep further describes how she walks around the community to make sure there is *no open defecation*, and makes sure that *there aren't any homes who have spread their washed belongings on the ground*, but placed on the dishrack or the clothesline. She further explains that to do this is to go against the rules and they would otherwise be taken to the Chief. (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

This illustrates another function of the HDC, namely the establishment and enforcement of WASH by-laws. These rules pertain to the use of the well, cleaning around the home and village, washing of hands, using latrines, using dishracks and clotheslines, and contributing money to a fund that is to be used for maintaining the pump and establishing permanent latrines. The punishment for an infringement of these by-laws is a fine of 5000SLL (*approximately 5kr, but a fairly significant amount of money in this context*).

Further, one pump caretaker describes how the community arrange themselves around these by-laws. She tells us that a child had once defecated out in the open, and left it there. The child's parents were taken to the chief and made to pay the 5000SLL fine.

Since this occasion, no one in this particular village had been caught doing the wrong thing *because they fear the rules*. She continues and describes some of the rules around the use of the pump:

The by-laws say that you are only allowed to take one container of water per person. You are not allowed to enter the pump area with shoes on. You are not allowed to enter the pump area without your head covered. You cannot allow children to get water. (Interview with HDC Pump Caretaker – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

In our short time we are able to capture a glimpse into water being collected and how various components of the WASH intervention are enacted in the different communities. We observe for example how the well is used by women who are collecting water:

The well is enclosed by a gated fence constructed of bamboo poles. There are two women each with a bucket. One woman is inside the enclosure, pumping water into her bucket. The other waits patiently at the gate. The woman inside the enclosure has removed her shoes, they stand too at the gate. Both women have covered their hair. Children look on curiously over the fence, they do not dare to go in. The first woman finishes collecting her water, walks out of the area, with the bucket on her head. She puts her shoes back on. The next woman, removes her shoes and enters. (Observations from Day Journal – Malehun 16MAR16)

The fence, the order around the collection of water, shoes off, heads covered, the children waiting outside the pump area are the by-laws and the WASH intervention enacted. This was a common scene in the communities where we observed water being collected.

We speak with the HDC members to further elicit how WASH is done in the community. We learn that prior to the introduction of dish racks and clotheslines, dishes and clothes, once washed, were allowed to dry on the ground, which puts them in close proximity to domesticated animals that roam freely throughout the villages - chickens, goats, cats, dogs and the like.

The HDCs instruct the community members to construct rope lines for hanging and drying clothes, dish racks for drying dishes and tippy taps for washing hands. Like the example of collecting water, the in-use dishracks and clotheslines, the apparent cleanliness of the community, the lack of evidence that would otherwise suggest open defecation, also indicate how WASH and HDCs are done in the community.



Tippy Taps used to wash hands after using the latrine

Another function and practice of the HDC is the collection of money from the community. Money is collected from community members in sums of 1000SLL to 2000SLL per person per week as a general rule across all the communities visited. We understand that this money is collected in preparation for conducting repairs on the pump which they understand will at some point require maintenance. We explore what the practice of collecting money *does*. We are told that *people want their town to be clean, they are happy to contribute* by one member of the HDC. This is representative of all the villages

we visited when enquiring into money collection. Money collection, we learn however, also works in different ways. (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

Interestingly, the collection of money is not a new concept. In Soweima, for example, they explain that money is also collected in case someone in the community gets sick. The pool of money in this instance can be used to pay for medical care and medicine. In Nyandeyama, we understand further that the town contributes money to the building of new houses. Here one might argue that the communities' align themselves around the practice of money collecting through an understanding of some common benefit. This was also echoed in the motivations given by the HDC members in their undertaking of the WASH intervention and their roles in the HDC. It was not uncommon for example to hear how hygiene and sanitation are linked to *long life* and what they phrased as *great benefit* in the future. (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

Here we might also begin to draw together the collective work of HDCs and their communities. That is, they work together to realise the WASH intervention. Another example of this coming together is through the concept of a *moneybox*. In the community of Malehun, the HDC bring out there money box to show us. They are very proud to be showing it to us as it contains all the money they have collected. In a sense, it is the symbol of their efficacy as a community. It is secured by three locks. The keys to the locks are held by three different people located in different positions in the village. The Chief is one of them. They must come together to open the box and the HDC must be present. The practice of coming together here is about ensuring their savings are safe, but also that the money is to be appropriately distributed to the community. As an example of this, they show us proudly the new permanent latrines being built adjacent each house by the community.



The construction of new permanent latrines

A less obvious but equally interesting materiality that exists in how HDCs and communities arrange themselves around the WASH intervention is the special T-shirts worn by the HDC members. The T-shirts are yellow, white or blue, the EWB-SL logo is printed on the breast pocket and on the sleeve, a quote is printed on the back – *WASH for life – Health is Wealth* – or something along those lines in Krio, a local language, and the T-shirt wearer's role is printed across the chest. In all, these T-shirts stand out amongst the everyday dress of the people in the community. You know who is in the HDC and you know what their role is. We are told that the T-shirts amongst other things help the HDC members exercise their authority. If they are wearing the T-shirt, *people listen* to them. They are very proud of these T-shirts. (Interview with HDC – Malehun 16MAR2016)

Similarly, the Sanitation Reps also have lanyards with identification cards issued to them by the Ministry of Health. They have attended training and are accredited to inspect and report the local state of sanitation and hygiene to the local authorities when necessary. This also plays a special role in *cross-visits* to other communities where they can issue fines to members of those communities if their hygiene practices are not kept up to standard. (Interview with HDC – Somweima 7MAR16)

The HDC members explain to us that *a successful HDC is the one that is unified, there is unity, there is oneness in what we do*. Such statements may remain fairly ambiguous to us as researchers and readers, but the HDC describe further that when they put on their T-shirts, their *uniforms*, it is a symbol of coming together in their activities and their meetings. They describe it as being *mobilised* and that this is *what they stand for*. (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

Holding meetings is another practice of the HDCs, this is where *oneness* is practiced. For some committees they are held once a week, for others every second week. They describe the meetings as a time where they can discuss the collection of money, gain an overview of how hygiene and sanitation are being practiced in the community, whether there are any issues that need to be attended to. They also consider how plans they have made are being realised and make further plans for the future - *we look at what we have planned and whatever has been implemented*. The minutes from these meetings are always kept in a journal by the Secretary. (Interview with HDC – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

The Chairman of Nyandeyama's HDC explains how they had previously planned out a system for managing solid waste in the community:

At one time we organised where to dump the solid waste. You don't just dump anywhere or anytime. There are specific places even when you see the village you can see the specific places where you dump. There are also protected compost and tippy-taps, for people to wash their hands. We have planned this and succeeded. (Interview with HDC – Nyandeyama 9MAR2016)

Another example of this planning comes in the form of how to manage contributions in the future:

...one thing we have done and succeeded in, is the contributions. We have this money now, we have planned that and we are collecting contributions every Thursday. We have a pump but we know that at some point it will break, so that is why we have started contributing money. (Interview with HDC – Nyandeyama 9MAR2016)

In the community of Malehun, the concept of planning has a slightly different dimension, which takes a step outside of the WASH program. Through the help of an agriculture oriented NGO, they have invested in a cassava plantation the proceeds of which are used to finance new latrines in the community, in addition to the funds collected from the community. In addition to this, however, they also discuss how they might re-appropriate another project, which comprises the installation of solar panels for mobile phone charging. They describe to us that by investing more money into the project saved from the cassava farm they may be able to extend the solar project to also include batteries for providing light in their houses so that the children can read after dark. (Interview with HDC – Malehun 16MAR2016)

What we might take from this, amongst other things, is how the future factors into the practices of the HDC. They all describe in one way or another how they plan to use money they have collected and how their community will be shaped in the future whether it be through multiple dumping sites for garbage, refurbishing an aging pump, or providing light for children to read. In all they agree that *hygiene and sanitation is about community health*. (Interview with HDC – Nyandeyama 9MAR2016)

As we have navigated through the narratives presented by the committees, the descriptions of their functions, we gain an understanding that although there might be slight differences in these practices the way they and the community arrange themselves around the WASH intervention are more or less the same. This is perhaps rather surprising to the research, which was expecting to find vast differences in the way the communities operated. In this analysis, the question of how a community can be designated strong or weak indeed remains unanswered. Here, we may consider perhaps, how context is constructed. The research and the interview questions devised are informed by a prior understanding of HDC roles and functions. The WASH intervention prescribes how the HDCs function in a form of checklist. This understanding is also paired with the researchers' knowledge of what technology and practices the WASH intervention entails. Together, this knowledge acts as a map helping to navigate and elicit the lived worlds of the communities visited. The context of HDC functionality is a construct which evokes the HDC realities described. An important sensitivity of the

ANT inflected ethnography is the unpacking of context to further uncover the realities that comprise it.

The communities visited are by no means isolated from the rest of the world. Within the previous description we hear how one community is connected to another through cross-visits. The Ministry of Health is also present in the communities in the form of lanyards, badges and Sanitary Reps. Indeed the Danish researchers partnered with EWB-SL are also present in the communities. The network that comprises the communities and HDCs is indeed vast, this perhaps is obvious. What is less obvious however, is how relations within this network shape each other. It is here that the work of EWB-SL comes into focus. The HDCs have not always been present in the communities, they have been facilitated by the community mobilizers of EWB-SL. This becomes clear as we enquire into how the HDCs came to be. In each community, the process is described as follows:

EWB came and told us about personal hygiene and environmental hygiene. How to clean ourselves and the environment around us. (Interview with Sanitary Rep – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

EWB told us about the project, so we came together and formed a group... they showed us how to organise ourselves to make sure that we practice hygiene and sanitation. (Interview with Sanitary Rep – Ngelahun 4MAR2016)

It is also understood that it is a requirement of the WASH intervention - to receive a pump and well and before training can commence - that a HDC is established. The work of the community mobilisers is intimately connected to the work of the HDCs and how communities arrange themselves around the WASH intervention. What is interesting in this and what will be developed in the following paragraphs is twofold. We are firstly introduced to how work in different locations shapes work in other locations. In this, we also explore how understanding what it means to work can be multiple in different locations. Second, we gain an insight into how an exploration of work in one location can make visible that which is invisible in other locations.

Conceptually, we can take inspiration from Bruno Latour's *work-net* as we explore the practices of connected actors and unpack how work in one location is shaped by and re-shapes work in other locations.

Community Mobilizers³

Our hosts, the EWB-SL Kenema Office, is of course an important actor in the web of relations that we attempt to unravel. After all, it is to a great extent, through their words that we are able to construct the realities presented herein. They are the ones who were quite literally transporting us between different sites, acting as our translators, mediators and guides. Following this particular actor was as much of a physical necessity to get around (pretty much anywhere outside the walking distance from our hotel), as a conscious choice of research methodology.

The presence of the EWB-SL team is so great in both the work regarding WASH interventions, and the work of conducting this research, that it becomes difficult to talk about them without evoking the entirety of the network alongside with them. And although it is the aim of this analysis to do exactly that, we will limit this section by focusing on a group within the EWB Kenema Team, namely, the Community Mobilizers, in order to manage the amount of data collected.

In the previous section, Community Mobilizers were mentioned as the ones who facilitated the establishment of the HDCs in the villages visited. This captures only a small part of the work done by these Mobilisers. Establishing a HDC is an important part of the current WASH intervention as it is geared to uphold a certain set of practices within the communities after the project's completion. Not least important, however, is that during the execution of the project, HDC members become the focal point in communication between the community and EWB-SL.

A Pump Caretaker (interviewed in Malehun 16MAR2016) notes:

...they (the mobilisers) came to us and said that they had assessed this community, that there is a need here for water, but this need cannot be provided to us if there is no group formation. So they wanted the HDC to be formed for EWB to work directly with them, these 12 people, 6 women and 6 men.

One of the mobilisers, Helen, further adds:

When we entered the community we told them that we don't know anybody here, but we want to work with you and we want people, so you should select or elect people who can work with us on behalf of the community.

³ The citations noted herein (unless stated otherwise) have been collected from a meeting held with the Mobilizers on the 23rd of March 2016 in the EWB-SL Kenema Office, in which they assisted us in further developing the material collected from the communities and further gave accounts of their own practices.

Community mobilizers conduct training with the HDC members on the subject of pump maintenance, personal and environmental hygiene, resource management, conflict resolution, bookkeeping and so forth. Training sessions usually involve HDC members from several closely located villages. One of the villages hosts the training session, typically the one offering the most convenient travel distance to the trainees. Training session may last up to several day, in which case the mobilizers are offered accommodations in the hosting village. Activities of the training vary depending on the subject matter, ranging from the general hygiene principles, and learning songs about the dangers of open defecation and importance of handwashing, to the assembly and maintenance of a water pump head. The mobilizers are also responsible for compiling the material they use to train the HDCs. Helen, for example had written a song in Mende called *diahorrea go away* – a song that was actually performed for us when we were welcomed to the community of Ngelahun. The HDC members are then further instructed to share what they have learned during the sessions with the members of their communities. This is referred to as *sensitizing the communities towards hygiene and sanitation*.



Community Mobilizers John and Helen working with HDCs

Apart from conducting training, EWB community mobilizers also conduct monitoring and evaluation visits to the communities, where they register changes that have occurred there in regards to general cleanliness; use of dish racks and rope lines; number of usable latrines; whether the HDC is holding scheduled meetings. Well capacity tests are also conducted. Water is pumped out of the well, using a submersible pump (in cases where the well too deep for the lifting capacity of the pump, the test is done manually) and the time it takes for the well to replenish is measured. This allows the assessment of whether the well provides enough water to meet the needs of the community.

EWB mobilizers collect data from the communities, in order to measure the effects of the intervention, yet as we find out through our discussion with them, they do not rely solely on quantitative data in

their assessment. Due to the time mobilizers spend working with people, sharing a personal connection, knowledge of their language and cultural habits, they gain a deeper understanding of the state of things in the villages. For example mobilizers are aware of particular relations shared between people in the communities, as Helen notes:

The Chief came to us and told us that he appreciates the message we were sending to his community and promised to construct his own latrine. He bought cement, zinc and even paid the technicians to construct it. So that was a great impact and other stakeholders have also copied from him so the construction of the latrines is ongoing... But before we went there they were doing everything in their own way. They didn't even listen to the town Chief, when he called a meeting they didn't go there.

Being aware of such details, mobilizers develop and possess a more intricate understanding of the communities, their assessment goes deeper than whether the HDCs successfully manage their roles. In this, the mobilizers can further comment on how a community as a whole engages with the intervention.

One mobiliser, John, notes... *If you compare Ngelahun with Nyandeyama, Ngelahun is more native and traditional and Nyandeyama is social.* Musu, another mobiliser adds *...there are also more than 2 entrances⁴ from Kenema to Neandeyama, but from Ngelahun is only one... Only after our intervention are people going there, before, they lived by themselves...*

Helen further adds:

Nyandeyama is social, most of the boys in the community enter school, primary school. So there is understanding, they are very easy to understand, that is an advantage that made the work easier for us. The chairman is educated, the town Chief is educated and a few other as well. ... And they are also literate people there. And not as traditional as Ngelahun. They have a school, they have teachers. Some boys live in Kenema and mine in Nyandeyama, who are educated and love development so when they see someone from the development program they come closer and disseminate the information.

Here we can say that mobilizers possess, what can be called, a *tacit knowledge* of community engagement with WASH interventions. *This tacit knowledge doesn't simply reside in the person, but instead it is made in the relations between all the bits and pieces...* (Law, 1998). By working in collaboration with the mobilizers and following their practices, we can begin to draw these bits and pieces together in making our descriptions.

⁴ Roads leading into the community

More particularities are revealed too as we look closer at some of the practical aspects of the relation between the mobilizers and the communities. For instance something as basic as travel from Kenema to the villages. The Nongowa Chiefdom, where interventions take place, is the closest Chiefdom to Kenema, travel distances to the villages are ranging from 20 to 35 km, this however does not mean that all villages are easily accessible. After around 15 km, sealed roads convert to narrow unsealed dirt roads cut through the bush, trenched with pits and bumps formed during the last rainy season, this proves to be a challenge to the four wheel drive. The four wheel drive is however reserved for transporting heavy equipment like the power generator or bags of cement and things which cannot be trusted on a motorbike (the two researchers for instance). Mobilizers on the other hand can skilfully scale the country roads (sometimes referred to as ‘hills’, or even ‘walls’ when they make a particularly vertical incline) on their Honda’s. What is interesting in this is that just like a wall, some country roads are able to conceal the communities behind them.

The time we entered [Ngelahun] we were climbing the hills with the bikes, we walked, it was so terrible... Because their place is ‘up there’, because of the ‘wall’. They are very patient, very naive. If we wouldn’t have gone there nobody would have reached them, they have no contact with anybody.

We can see how a particular geographical location and landscape can shape certain dynamics within the work-net of the WASH intervention. Further, by following practices of the mobilizers, these dynamics are brought into focus. We begin to see how work in different communities is shaped by their relations to the mobilisers, surrounding environment, education, tradition and each other.

In the description of community mobiliser work, aspects of HDC work and community engagement are revealed. Similarly, through their engagement with communities, the mobilisers are able to add texture to the network that comprises these communities. In the examples of how external factors such as outsiders to the villages, or lack thereof, influence community engagement in the WASH intervention the concept of community expands to include these external factors also. The mobilizers through their descriptions have helped to unpack the community context and have made visible to the research what would otherwise have remained invisible.

In what follows, the analysis will unpack the work of converting a swamp to a pump, and explore the work of other actors that emerge in this unpacking.

Converting a swamp to pump

As has been stated previously, the research finds itself situated in a network of multiple actors that relate to and shape each other at multiple levels. This we have termed a *work-net*. In order for the research to gain access to the communities, the villages, for example, the researchers must first be introduced to the local authorities, the Kenema District Council and various Ministries. At each level, there is a new concept of work enacted in different knowledge practices. This analysis seeks to elucidate the socio-material nature of this network and how each actor contributes to the work of others, namely the work of the HDCs and how communities engage in WASH interventions. Through the modest storytelling of ANT we seek to put some empirical flesh on the taken for granted. In this, we consider what is invisible in the work of one set of actors and made visible by others. We have already heard how the work of the community mobilisers for example makes visible the work of HDCs and communities, which are otherwise invisible to the researchers. We acknowledge further how work can be intimately connected between HDCs, EWB-SL, and EWB-DK, - the work of the researchers, for example, is the result of the recursive relationship of working HDCs, the work of EWB-SL and the work of EWB-DK.

In the previous sections, we shifted our analytical focus from HDC functionality to the work of Mobilisers. The HDCs are indeed conceived through this work. In a similar way, we might shift our focus of water collection to how a pump comes to exist in a community. Consider for example the following statement from the Chairman of the HDC in Nyandeyama:

We used to get water from the swamp and the swamp is far away from here. People go there and cannot come back quickly. Particularly in the dry season there isn't much water there. We no longer drink from there. 2 years ago we were getting diahorrea, that is no longer the case. (Interview with HDC – Nyandeyama 9MAR2016)

We might ask then, what work converts a swamp into a pump?



An unprotected water source and well delivered under the WASH program

When focusing on the HDCs and community engagement in the WASH intervention, what remains invisible is the work that converted a swamp or a stream into a pump. Indeed, for a swamp or a stream to be converted into a pump, much work is required.

The community must fit into the program's criteria: they are visited by the EWB-SL team and the MoWR. Population, proximity to Kenema, existing wells, collection of water from unprotected water sources, open defecation practices, cleanliness of the town, are recorded and deliberated over. Eligible communities will be placed on a list to be reviewed by the KDC. The KDC will then green light which communities can receive an intervention based on their knowledge of communities in the district generated through *their* work of *visiting and politic-ing*⁵. The list is received by EWB-DK, reports are written, funding is generated, schedules for the intervention are laid out, project teams are organised. EWB-SL proceed in generating a dialogue with the communities in preparation for the construction of a well and the organisation of a HDC. Contractors are engaged for well construction, groundwater is uncovered through digging and testing, an appropriate site for the well is selected and the construction commences. The swamp has been converted into a pump.

In the same way, the work of pumps, groundwater, water testing and so forth also contribute to other work done in the *work-net*. This includes the work involved in pump maintenance, the work of water quality testing, and the work of government policy in action.

The invisible becomes visible through the description of practice. Here we consider the following scenario of pump maintenance set in contrast to the collection of water we have already been introduced to. We will seek to unpack the pump and further construct the terrain of the work-net in

⁵ The KDC Deputy Chief Administrator in a semi-formal interview 3rd MAR 2016 describes how councillors such as the KDC Chairman visit the communities to gain an insight into community life within the district and to further promote various plans and policies from the KDC.

which HDCs and community engagement exist. What emerges is how the *work-net*, work being done in other locations, can exist in one location, namely the pump enclosure. What this might evoke is a discussion of how practices that occupy the same location might come into tension and what this might mean for the work of HDCs and community engagement.

The story of pump maintenance in the village of Wallima:

The EWB team work together with the community including the two Danish interns. This must be a fairly good representative of how a pump is maintained in a community. There is another pump right next to the broken down pump. It is functioning properly. It is from 2002 and we are told its good condition shows that this community know how to look after a pump. The EWB pump has not officially been handed over to the community so EWB has a responsibility to fix the pump should anything be wrong, hence our assistance now.

One of the rods in the pump shaft has come loose and needs to be tightened. It is a precarious job. The rods are very long and the installation is heavy. Many must assist in order for the job to be complete. The EWB team are joined by the pump caretakers, the treasurer, the chief and the HDC chairman. You must be careful not to drop the rods into the well otherwise they will be lost under the concrete shell. We sneak a peek into the well, it is a long way down to the ground water, at least 20 metres. The rods are pulled out from the shaft, you should be careful not to impale someone, the researcher for example. It is tricky to get the rods to line up straight in their threads. You must concentrate and ignore the many people and children that have gathered to watch. There is a lot of noise. One connection doesn't look straight, the treasurer points it out, Pa Kallon isn't sure, so they must discuss adjusting it whilst holding the installation up. It is hot, the sun is pelting down on them and the installation is obviously very heavy. After some deliberation, they agree that Pa Kallon is the technician and that he knows best, but then Pa Kallon also changes his mind and they must pull the installation apart again.

The technology used here has been bought off-the-shelf and must be brought in from outside. The pump is cast, the rods are stainless steel, the shaft is PVC. None of this installation is made from locally available material. It is hard to imagine that lifting water from the well with anything else would be possible. I look around, the locally available materials here might be some wood, plastic bags, empty cigarette packets and some old car tires. This is the system they must have. What it requires however is a connection and cooperation to EWB or some sort of maintenance provider and materials supplier.

The whole commotion is a social event – the involvement of the Chief, the HDC, the children, gathering around the pump, the communication to get it all together.

Finally the cap is on 'kai goma' ['Praise be to God' in Mende - the local language]

The Danish volunteers tighten the last bolts and ceremoniously pose for a photo next to the pump holding up a spanner. This will be used for promotional material for the organisation back in Denmark.

The pump pumps and water comes out. We wait to see if there is any leakage. A little water leaks out of the casing but this is due to the pressure build up from the wellhead. You have to learn how to pump – not too fast.



Unpacking a pump and a view down the well

Much work takes place in this scenario. The work of many actors, human and non-human, must come together for water to come out of the spout. There is the physical process of dismantling and reconstructing the pump head, adjusting the riser pipes and pump rods. What also comes into focus is the work done previously that meant that the riser pipes are being adjusted now. Together with the HDC is the rest of the community looking on, the EWB members including those from Denmark. The knowledge and practices of the community, and EWB must come together in order for the pump to work, they are also negotiated. The components of the pump must line up in order for the community to be able to collect water. The practice of collecting water must also line up with the capacity and action of the pump mechanism. The components of the pump also come into focus, the lever, the axle, the chain, and watertight seals, the rods, concrete, the truck that delivered them, the supplier

they were purchased from. The contractors who dug and constructed the well also become visible as we peer down the well opening. Water too comes into focus. As does the promotional work done in Denmark, the reports and proposals compiled in the appeal to donors for funding.

The past and the future are also captured in this scenario. The old, well functioning, pump works as a symbol to EWB that this community is able to look after the equipment and the maintenance of the well now provides an image of how maintenance will be done in the future.

This research project aims to understand how communities engage in WASH interventions through looking at the work of HDCs. What is surprising here is that the concept of HDC or community are different now from what we started with. They are not isolated. What happens in the communities is intimately linked to the work that occurs elsewhere. The concept of community has expanded beyond the bounds of the village. In the context of WASH interventions and community engagement then, understanding what it means to work is less a question of how HDCs work but how they are shaped and reshaped by the *work-net* in which they are situated, as it moves through space and time.

Work revealed in Water Quality Testing⁶

WASH interventions, we understand, are not contained solely within villages and comprised only of those communities. By unpacking the socio-material assemblage of the WASH intervention, the concept of community spreads out to also include Kenema City, implementing partners, donors, local councils and ministries. By following actors, such as wells and pumps, the network of relations that hang together to constitute how communities arrange themselves around these interventions becomes texturally richer. In an interview with the District WASH Supervisor, more texture is added to how this engagement is shaped, and adds another layer to the concept of what it means to *work*. Through the description of the District WASH Supervisor's work, what would otherwise be invisible in the communities is made visible. Here the analysis explores the testing of water from wells, which provides an illustration of how water works in different ways, how pumps and wells can change form in the future and from this, helps develop an understanding for how work can change across time and space.

Kai Junisa is the District WASH Supervisor. He works for the Ministry of Water Resources. Kai specializes in the analysis of water quality and the quality of well construction. He and his laboratory

⁶ The citations noted herein have been collected in a formal interview with Kai Junisa, the District WASH Supervisor for the Kenema District from the MoWR – 14th March 2016 Kenema City.

are based in Kenema and he travels around to test and inspect water and wells implemented under the WASH programs within the district.

We monitor and supervise the activities of IPs (implementing partners) – materials, construction, wells, the quality of work itself and make sure things are done in the proper way... to make sure installations are durable. I also do water quality analysis. I go down before they start the work... when they first hit water. I collect a sample and do a chemical analysis to know the composition of the source water. See whether there are harmful chemicals, and if so they do not continue the work. Then after the completion of the well, I go back and I do a geological, physical and chemical assessment. Then I do a treatment before the community starts to use it.

Kai describes for us the process of testing water quality and chlorinating water. The testing is done in two parts. When the well is dug in the community, at some point the diggers will hit the first sign of groundwater. Kai will then visit the community and take a sample.

I test the water. The pH level, test for dissolved iron, clarity, chemical tests – sulphate, nitrate, magnesium, nitrogen, phosphate, sulphite. In particular cases, it can result in rejection of the well. In some areas of Sierra Leone, there is too much iron for example. It affects the taste and the colour and you cannot drink the water. You can't even use galvanised pipes as they will react in the water also giving colour and a bad taste to the water.

Once the well is complete, the second phase of the testing begins. He describes for us carefully the process of taking this test sample.

If you want to collect a sample you have to sterilize the mouth of the pump you have to use your cigarette lighter, you heat the mouth of the pump first, let it get hot – then you have to pump for some time and collect the sample. The bottle you use has to be sterilized and covered with foil. You clean the mouth with a tissue, then I heat it. I pump the water, collect the water, close it and take it to the lab.

What we find interesting in Kai's account is the practice of making what is otherwise invisible, visible. Through sterilizing, pumping, foiled bottles, testing and analysis, the properties of the water are revealed. Through this work a well might be rejected or accepted, which in turn affects what happens next. The following account of a well in Soweima, illustrates how Kai's work reveals an insufficient filter bed and results in the reconstruction of the well:

In Soweima, the iron content is high and the turbidity is high. When they prepared the filter bed, they did not pack the stones enough. They left it as mud and the more they used the pump the cylinder shakes up the water and the mud rises up and enters the cylinder and causes stoppage. The well was redone.

Alternatively, Kai's work may reveal that the well only requires chlorination. This in turn results in a different kind of work. Kai describes his practice of chlorinating a well:

I go around with my chlorine, I measure how much water is in the well and work out how many grams of chlorine I should apply and put in it. I leave it for about 30 minutes and do a residual test. 0.5% per litre or higher I do it again until it is 0.4 or 0.3%...

Chlorination of the well is also something that the HDC pump caretakers are trained to do. Here we see how the work of Kai is linked to the working of the HDC.

We train those people in the community who are going to take care of the water. We show them how to chlorinate the water. Like for instance, for every meter of water we take a rope with knots in it to measure the depth of the water, you tie at one meter and then another one. Then you tie a weight at the bottom. When it touches down you measure how many knots from the surface – that gives you the meters of water. From there you take a teaspoon levelled with chlorine mix it in a bucket – that is how we train the communities – to do the treatment for themselves – we also advise them that they should do it at night, after the people have fetched the water for the day to allow it to settle and the in the morning the process has taken place.

Here we understand how different concepts of work come together in a socio-technical arrangement. Testing and observation inform the way the well is constructed, the community and Kai work together in the treatment of water when the well is completed. Testing is done to reveal the content of the water, similarly the description of Kai's work reveals how it hangs together with community engagement in the WASH intervention.

What is also surprising however, is that the coming together of Kai and communities, testing and drinkable water can only become actual if Kai is engaged in the process. This is not always the case. Kai explains to us that what is invisible in the water may remain invisible through the work of certain implementing partners.

Some IPs they just come to a village, dig a well, complete it and leave it with the people... The problem is that people don't have much interest in the quality of the water. They only care if water is available.

They don't really care if it is good or not – especially when there is a shortage of water, particularly in the dry season.

Here we might consider how the work-net described in the unpacking of the pump is evoked differently. It is possible to convert a swamp to a pump in this instance without the work of testing, listing and deliberating and projecting. The *work-net* that comprises community engagement in the WASH intervention needs however to re-arrange itself around unsafe water, or no water at all.

We also understand, through Kai, that pit latrines are often constructed too deep and too close to wells meaning that human waste can mix with the ground water. Here the water does not travel far enough underground through the earth to be filtered effectively. This gives the opportunity for E.coli bacteria to thrive in the groundwater.

In the wet season there is an outbreak of cholera because of the pit latrines. In some cases there is only 80 feet between the wells and the toilets, it should be at least 150m so that the water reaching the well has been through proper filtration.

I can remember one time when I went out to take a sample the E.coli from human faeces was so high in the well... but I didn't discuss the results with the people. I put blue dye into the pit latrine, I left it, I didn't say what it was for. In the morning I asked, when they collected water, it was the colour blue.

For Kai, working is when the practice of well construction, spatial arrangement of wells and latrines, chemical composition, taste, colour, measuring with ropes, and chlorination come together to result in clean water from a pump spout. This, as he also describes can be different between dry season and wet season, if water is scarce, or if implementing partners do not share his concept of working. The transfer of water from toilet to well is only made visible by the blue dye, otherwise it remains invisible – until people start getting sick.

This description of how the technical practice of testing for chemical composition and chlorination hang together with the practices of pump caretakers further evokes an imagination of what work might look in the future. In the understanding of working HDCs and how communities arrange themselves around WASH interventions, this becomes interesting as it questions the extent to which we might want to describe *working*, that is, is *working* now the same as *working* later?

By now, we have a practical understanding how the pump *works* – water is lifted from the well through the mechanism of hand pumping until it is released from the spout. We understand through Kai's account that pumps can break down. There will be a point in time where the pump will not work.

The biggest challenges are about spare parts for the pumps – they are not available in the country – if the chain, axel, cylinder, non-return valve or bearings get worn out – then where will they get it? There are only a particular set of shops where these things are found and there you need to buy the whole pump. There is no way to fix it. This is the main problem.

We understand that people break down in time also. Kai explains that before being called HDCs, these committees were called Water Management Teams. Here we understand that, the pump caretakers would sometimes *leave the community* and that, in time, *people die*. He notes that *it can take a long time to get someone else to do it* – to take over the work of a pump caretaker. He also notes that *if nobody else comes to review these committees (HDCs), at the end of the day, they phase out...*

Unlike testing which can reveal the chemical composition of ground water, or blue dye that can reveal the hidden mixing of ground water and human waste, the future remains hidden. The future is uncertain, but it can be imagined. We may consider then a distinction between *working* now and *working* later. What happens when work is left unchecked? What is entailed in the practice of checking? This account of how working HDCs hang together in a larger *work-net*, illustrates that relations are not static. They shape and *continue* to re-shape each other. This shaping and reshaping is revealed through description. An interest in working community engagement through time, one might argue, requires a description of that engagement through time. How might this fit into WASH programs?

In the imagination of pumps, not only can they break down, but they can also change form. Kai explains to us how, for bigger communities, hand pumps are *no good*. We understand this as the amount of water required for these communities exceeds the capacity of the wells and the over use of the hand pump contributes to its quick deterioration.

The larger communities should have bore hole wells that don't get dry. Big tanks and solar pumps. Piped and tapped in the towns. This is the type of system we will see. In Ghana they don't have many hand dug wells they have distribution systems. This will change the way water is here... This is something that we are working on this year.

The future terrain of water distribution systems is imagined here. Kai is describing plans to begin transforming pumps in the bigger communities. We have previously unpacked a hand pump, and with only a glimpse into the network of this socio-material assembly we appreciate its complexity and the amount of work that is required for it to hang together. We consider then what a working HDC might look like as hand pumps transform into water distribution systems, or more generally as the *work-net* transforms over time. The planning of water distribution systems occurs at policy level. By looking at

policy in practice we can add further to the texture of the work-net and explore the relations that are generated and shaped within it.

Government Policy in Action⁷

One of the mechanisms in the transformation of the HDCs, communities, pumps and water in the Kenema District, is the *WASH Core Group*. The WASH Core Group is responsible for coordinating all activities in the context of WASH in the district. The group comprises representatives from the Ministry of Water Resources, Kai Junisa for example, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the state owned water company SALWACO, implementing partners such as EWB-SL, and the Kenema District Council. They meet once a month where IPs present and discuss their projects and the ministries and the council present their plans in the coordination effort.

The WASH Core Group meeting, attended by the researchers, provides an illustration of how different knowledge practices come together to occupy the same location and can come into tension. Furthermore, it also adds texture to the terrain of the *work-net* by including the practice of government planning.

In the unpacking of the pump, government work emerged. Pumps also emerge in this meeting, they are the subject of an impending survey of water points in the district that is to be conducted by the Ministry of Water Resources and cooperating IPs. The project is described to the group by the District WASH Engineer who further describes the time and money that will be involved. It is here that controversy arises.

The Kenema District Council Chairman, also a member of the WASH core group, points out that the MoWR had conducted a water point survey in 2012 which wasn't used for anything other than to *collect dust*.

You people are responsible for water supply, you can't even do that... why are you adding this? You did a survey in 2012, you haven't used any of that data, it's just collecting dust... you have air conditioned offices, you make proposals, but you have no impact on the ground... you are just adding to your portfolios... (The KDC Chairman – statement noted in WASH Core Group Meeting 11MAR2016, Kenema)

⁷ The citations noted herein (unless otherwise stated) have been collected in a formal interview with the KDC Chairman in his office 14th March 2016 Kenema City.

To this the WASH Engineer explains further that *...the government is holistic, we are making an investment plan and we can't do that without an up to date survey...* the information will be sent for further coordination with the World Bank and UNICEF. (Mr. Samuel Bangali, MoWR WASH Engineer – statement noted in WASH Core Group Meeting 11MAR2016, Kenema)

The discussion deteriorates into details about what the survey should contain, who should help, who will be paid and who will not. What we can take from this however, is how planning and on-the-ground impact, conflict in the knowledge practices of the KDC Chairman and the WASH Engineer and these two concepts of work. Here there is government work that is holistic, strategic, impactful, or not. Work is done and actors arrange themselves around this work in different ways. In this, we explore with the Chairman how the *work-net* arranges itself as government work changes. Like Kai's *blue dye*, the work of the Chairman is able to reveal new terrain within this *work-net* and illustrates new relations in the shaping of HDCs and community engagement in WASH interventions.

The KDC Chairman tells us that his interest in WASH stems primarily from his time as a District Medical Officer, before moving into politics. He has worked extensively with communities, *on the ground*, as he puts it, as a gynaecologist and now as their representative at council level.

In terms of WASH – I have the view that if you have some problems with sanitation and hygiene – most of the cases that go to the hospital in terms of sickness will go down. The major problem we have, most of the time is to do with water supply or the environmental cleanliness – I thought that if you can get a hold on that, most of the problems we have, in terms of clinic attendance, in hospitals will be reduced – so this is why I am passionate about water supply and sanitation, particularly in rural areas.

In our discussion with the KDC Chairman, we are introduced to different realities of what it means for HDCs and community engagement to *work*. The HDCs also become situated in how government policy works. The description provided by the Chairman, like Kai, evoke concepts of the future but in a different way.

The problem with governments in 3rd world countries is that a new government comes in with a new agenda and they forget about what has been done – depending on whether it is beneficial to them – “this is something that has been done when someone else was in power – so we don't want to have anything to do with it.”

We understand from the Chairman that it is in this changing of agendas that *people get confused* and often work that has been previously done must *start all over again*.

He provides an illustration from his experience with the Government Hospital in Kenema City:

The DHMT and the hospitals have been devolved to the local councils. In the case of the Government Hospital, that has been devolved to the KCC because it is located in the city of Kenema. The previous minister in charge of health took back the administration of that hospital to central government and the government didn't even make a proposal about that and as of now that is the situation. When things go wrong in the hospital, they come and ask the city council – "why is this happening?" – how can they do that? – Didn't they hear that the ministry took back the administration to central government? Why are you asking the local council why they are not doing work?

He explains that this poses a *serious issue* and describes how government policy also shapes the way HDCs work and communities engage in WASH interventions. We understand that HDCs have existed in the past in different forms. They transform as policy transforms.

Decisions are created even in the case of the HDC that you are talking about. We have had a number of difficulties from committees with different names...

The HDCs as we have heard are a new incarnation of Water Management Committees. He continues, *...you could be in a committee that was formed some years ago with a different name. Then a new organisation comes and makes a new committee with the same function but you are not involved. All living in the same village. So there is confusion... who is doing what and for whom? The person has been in a position of power to do something – all of a sudden he is dropped – for no reason – and then you bring in another person who has to obey this man and not the other way round – there is going to be a conflict.*

Similarly, the Chairman makes visible how monthly cleaning in the communities has existed before but had died a *natural death*:

We used to have a situation in rural areas where people did cleaning every month. That died a natural death. We used to have cleaning every month, cleaning exercises – we had sanitary officers attached to the chiefdom – after the cleaning exercise in each chiefdom, the officers would go around the chiefdom – to every community – to ensure that the cleaning was done properly. If you failed to clean the areas you would be fined or taken to court if you refused. But we stopped that. That has not been happening for the last few years and that has contributed to high incidents of disease in the communities.

Here the Chairman refers to the town cleaning arrangement, which we have heard about already in the accounts from the HDCs. We have heard about sanitation representatives, most notably through their T-shirts and badges. We understand from the communities visited that village cleaning does in fact take place - we witnessed it, we talked to the sanitary reps. These things of course emerge in a description of *the present* concept of *work*, what it doesn't reveal however, is how *work* might be done in the future or how it was done in the past.

The Chairman describes further, how the cleaning arrangement died:

It changed because payment of the sanitary officers stopped... so they stopped their work... and then people stopped cleaning their areas.

This however was not the intention of the work. He explains that the idea was to incorporate the practice of cleaning *without any prodding from the central government – but since... the Sanitary Officers, went there to show them how it was being done and these people stopped being paid, stopped going to the communities – that was the end of the cleaning exercise – the original idea was to get the communities to create a habit of cleaning without anyone telling them to do it.*

He continues:

To change people's mentality needs a very long time – and if you pull out of the community but the mentality has not changed – they go back to what they were doing. These things have time frames. What happens is that communities are triggered to do some cleaning for a few months – but they pull out while the mentality has not changed – you attach the cleaning to your presence – and when you leave they stop doing it...

Here we might identify how the work of communities, money, policy, Sanitary Reps, and time hang together in the cleaning of villages. The *work-net* in the Chairman's description collapsed as policy changed and the work of the Sanitary Reps stopped, but also that the communities had not rallied around the concept of community cleaning. In this, we can further draw parallels to the Chairman's description and the work of mobilisers, HDCs and communities in the WASH interventions - how might a sensitivity to work assist the WASH intervention avoid this natural death?

Summary

The terrain of the *work-net* that comprises HDCs and community engagement is being developed in the collection of descriptions. We have been to many places and described many actors – it is indeed

vast, more so than has been present here. We have illustrated how work in different locations shapes work in others. The work of changing agendas can generate confusion and conflict in the work of HDCs. We have also illustrated that work can be multiple in the same location. In the case of the WASH Core Group, for example, there is a superposition of holistic, strategic, impactful and non-impactful work. What is also identified however is that work is always done, the work-net reshuffles as some work dies, or where new work is generated, it is not static.

We have shifted locations from villages and HDCs, to pump enclosures, followed actors across rough terrain in the form of hills and unsealed roads, to air-conditioned council offices, water-testing labs, and even into the soil and under the ground where water flows.

In the communities, the function of HDCs and the practices around WASH interventions have been described. It was not obvious to the research however, how these practices could indicate whether the community is strong or weak. It is the exploration of mobilizer work that reveals this. In the unpacking of mobilizer work as well as the work of converting a swamp into a pump, the vastness of the work-net is also revealed. Here we have identified work that occurs in different locations and comes together in the construction of a well and pump. We also identify how the concept of community expands as members of the villages are shaped by visitors from Kenema City or who themselves travel into Kenema. This we see can work against or in alignment with the work of the WASH intervention. Similarly, the description of water quality testing reveals different elements that contribute to the shaping of community engagement. The problematic spatial arrangement of latrines and wells for example can be revealed through blue dye or an outbreak of cholera.

Exploring the practices of HDCs and communities in WASH interventions and describing these provides an illustration of how things work and how they work between different locations in space. What also emerges though in the descriptions of government work is how the work-net can be shaped through time. We consider here, for example how community engagement might be shaped as hand-pumps transform into borehole wells, or as new government agendas shape a larger WASH program.

As the terrain of the work-net develops, so too does an understanding of what it means to work in the case of HDCs. Here we might recognise that *working* is less about the practices of the HDCs, but more about how these practices relate to other practices in the *work-net*. Here the analysis opens up the question space about how working is conceptualized at each level, indeed everyone wants the WASH intervention to work, what work is done however is always different and the ways it reshapes the work-net are also different.

The descriptions provided herein have been sensitive to work in an effort provide a map of different practices and their relations which can assist in navigating the work-net further. In this map, it may be possible to identify which how certain sets of actors rally around certain practices, which practices can be negotiated and which tensions and differences are to be lived with. This too, however also requires work. Through the descriptions provided it has also been illustrated how some work remains invisible until made visible by the work of others, the work-net is also dynamic through space and time. In the following discussion section, we will explore further the sensitivity to work and what this might mean for navigating WASH interventions.

Discussion

In an effort to understand how HDCs, communities, pumps, NGOs, Local Governments and many others, assemble in the socio-material network that comprise WASH interventions, a narrative of work has been developed and analysed. Here we will discuss further the describing of work, how this might inform us about strong or weak HDCs, but also how the practice of describing work might inform the broader development discourse in which this research is situated.

In entering into our discussion, we can say that it is difficult to *describe* what it means for WASH interventions to work. We made our best attempt in the previous chapter. However, knowing that networks do not have clearly defined boundaries, we understand that it is possible to continue following actors and adding more and more descriptions along the way. We have shown that it is possible to trace this network way beyond the confines of a HDC, or the of a community itself, or even the country for that matter, after all our presence in Kenema and the practice of conducting this inquiry can be traced back to the EWB office in Copenhagen and our project room at AAU. Yet we could not include everything, at some point we had to stop describing.

In order to communicate our research, we had to cut the reality of this WASH project in a particular way. The descriptions presented here are the ones we deemed the most relevant for what we aimed to achieve, and we acknowledge that a different story could have been told, where different concerns are addressed. As Law and Singleton would say: “*ANT tends to assume that the whole world may be discovered within any specific scene or set of practices. The issue, then, is what kind of context to create.*” (Law and Singleton, 2013 pp. 500)

Our research came to be in an attempt to determine what makes the work of HDCs, *strong* or *weak*. Therefore, the context we aimed to create was one where *strengths* and *weaknesses* of the HDCs are enacted, making them visible. We have described practices of the HDC members, and showed how their practices are connected to other actors, such as the EWB-SL Mobilizers and KDC officials. We followed materialities like badges and t-shirts, and unpacked the water pump, in order to bring into focus work which otherwise remains hidden. We also considered the work done by the environment and particular geographic locations, and the way they participate in the shaping of work done in the *work-net*.

However, we do not assume that our descriptions have captured the *work-net* of this particular WASH intervention in its entirety. There are areas on this map that are left blank, not everything has made it into the description. There is indeed still a suitcase of notes and observations from the field that have not been unpacked in this study. Not to mention all the work that has not been made visible through our inquiry. Yet we feel that our research manages to reach the targets it aimed to achieve. Our description may not provide an explicit answer to what makes a HDC strong or weak, what it does do however, is reveal relations through which some particular strengths and weaknesses can be addressed. By identifying important actors and elaborating on the connections that they share, we believe that our descriptions can serve as a useful navigational tool for anyone who finds himself or herself in this network. To which extent however, will depend entirely on his or her position, attachments and agendas within it.

To perhaps take this point a bit further we can draw on a model proposed by Torben Elgaard-Jensen in his article, "*Intervention by Invitation: New Concerns and New Versions of the User in STS*". Based on this model, depicting three types (or sub-types) of interfering in the world through doing research, we can position ourselves as taking part in, what Elgaard-Jensen terms, *intervention-as-availability*. Here we might consider how the map we have produced becomes available to concerned parties to use in the way they see as best serving their agendas at hand. We do not aim to offer concrete suggestions nor give proposals for ways WASH projects can be rearranged, in this paper. Nonetheless, drawing on the experience of being a part of this project, we can perhaps comment that such collaboration between the NGO and the researchers can serve as a basis for a performing a different, stronger type of interference in the future. Where researchers '*come between*' with the purpose of *creating new effects by mediating between previously unconnected actors*. What Elgaard-Jensen terms *intervention -as-composition*. (Elgaard-Jensen, 2012)

We also know from Law and Singleton that ANT not only works *in* the world, but also *on* the world:

“Academic work is performative. It is always an intervention. It’s just that often the intervention may be invisible, denied or unacknowledged. And, the difference it makes will always be unknowable in its entirety.” (Law and Singleton, 2013 pp. 486)

Although its effects are unknowable we find it interesting to discuss how such a study relates to other works within the discourse of development anthropology. Here we take a look at some examples from the academic works presented in the literature study we have conducted in preparation for our research. We are interested in discussing how some of the issues raised in these studies could be addressed from the standpoint of an ANT inflected ethnography, and comment on some of the differences between the approaches taken by the authors and ours.

In an article by Maxwell Owusu *“Ethnography of Africa: The Usefulness of the Useless”* (1978), the author draws on the works and debates from classical African ethnography, bringing forth a critical outlook on the research work that has been conducted in Africa, stating that: *The evidence for their claims is in most cases often unclear, imprecise, or simply lacking.* One of the reasons for this, as he claims, is a result of the researcher’s ignorance of the local language and thus overreliance on the work of the interpreter in conducting field work. The argument he makes is:

“...the validity and intrinsic merit of Western ethnographic “theories,” research data, accounts, and interpretations of African societies and cultures, however brilliant, prolific, imaginative, and suggestive, cannot be taken for granted and incorporated uncritically into the comparative generalizations on other cultures in the future if social science is to progress.” (Owusu, 1978 pp. 327)

Here we may say that an ANT inflected ethnography can be seen as offering a solution to the concerns raised by Owusu. ANT in its approach does not rely on theories or frameworks, in order to explain its findings. As Latour would argue: *“Only bad descriptions need an explanation”* (Latour, 2005). Or rather, as we have shown, theoretical work can be done through *carefully articulated description* of matters at hand, without aiming to make broader claims and generalisations. We do not disagree however, that knowledge of the local language serves to the great benefit of researcher regardless of his approach, and ANT research is no exception. It can make possible revealing connections that could otherwise be missed due to the way concerns are articulated, as well as speeding up the inquiry

process, allowing the researcher to cover more ground. However, ANT's notion of allowing actors to express their own realities, mitigates the risks concerned with the lack of such knowledge of language. We are not aiming to interpret the words of our informants, but rather allowing them to come up with their own interpretation. Following advice from Latour: *"What your own ideas are about your company [...or WASH Project] is of no interest whatsoever compared to how this bit of the company itself has managed to spread"* (Latour, 2005 pp. 150)

A critical view of development is presented to us in the texts by Ferguson and Gupta, (2002) and Escobar (1991). Here the authors are concerned with the implication of development projects on power relations between the 'state' and 'non-state' (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002), or 'ruling groups' (Escobar, 1991). In this, development projects and anthropology may be placed into the *service of power*, both in the local context, and more broadly as a 'Western' influence over developing countries. (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Escobar, 1991)

These are of course not the concerns we are addressing in our study, nonetheless we find it interesting to think about what ANT can contribute in such a discourse. ANT is indeed concerned with power, however contrary to Ferguson and Gupta, it treats power not as exercised through the *hierarchical structures and systems of control*, but rather as power or agency of individual actors to act, that what makes them actors in the first place. Although this has not been made explicit by this research, in doing ANT we may consider how the work of some actors can have a stronger impact on the network, than others, when making our descriptions. In order to criticise however, we would have to assume some sort of normative position of how development projects *should* work and that would be in direct opposition to our approach. Here we might say that our research takes a post-critical turn.

Alternatively, we consider how descriptions of work, might open the question space regarding the practices of communities, organisations, governments and many others. To ask what it means to work or what work is to be done, for example, an opportunity to consider more deeply how these practices might hang together in a larger network of relations can be found.

To sum up, we can say that we believe that our descriptions can find practical application in the ongoing development project. Perhaps more broadly we can comment that we find such descriptive ethnography to be useful as a communication tool between partnering organisations, in a context where parties share little knowledge about each other's work culture and environment. We also see how this way of doing research could be an interesting alternative to more traditional 'framework'

oriented approaches, as it does not require for making assumptions about the world, thus minimising possible biases that could stem from them.

Conclusion

This study has assembled narratives of actors and practices that comprise the *work-net* of WASH interventions in rural communities of the Kenema District. In the exploration of work done by HDCs we bring into focus how this work hangs together with the work of others in other locations, how this work can change and be different between different actors, across time and space. In understanding how communities engage with WASH interventions this *work-net* reveals a new concept of *community* that extends beyond the bounds of a given rural village.

In this way, we can say a map of work has been created as a product of this research. This maybe useful for EWB-DK and EWB-SL as it reveals, not why HDCs are strong or weak, but potential strengths and weaknesses that are enacted in a broader set of relations that comprise their interventions. These can be navigated and through a questions of *what do we want to work*, new work can be negotiated and WASH programs arranged in new ways within the *work-net*.

In a broader sense, we may also consider how this map and the relations it comprises have been articulated through the descriptive and analytical sensibilities of ANT and its modest stories. In considering how this type of exploration might be useful in the understanding of how communities arrange themselves in WASH interventions, it might be reasonable to argue that ANT can also contribute to research and analysis of work being done in the broader development discourse.

A map of practices that comprise WASH interventions has been created, but there is still much work to be done. There are blank spots, things remain invisible, and those that aren't, may have already changed. The work of HDCs does not stand alone in shaping the way communities engage in WASH interventions, nor does the work of researchers in describing it, indeed there are some things that need to be done together.

Acknowledgements

Aleks and George would like to thank, wholeheartedly, the EWB-SL team in Kenema for their cooperation and friendship. We would also like to thank EWB-DK and AAU for their support and in particular our supervisors, Torben Elgaard-Jensen and Morten Krogh Petersen, for their friendship and guidance through what has been an incredible journey.



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WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO WORK?

A STUDY OF HEALTH
DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEES
AND COMMUNITY
ENGAGEMENT IN
WASH INTERVENTIONS
IN RURAL SIERRA LEONE

APPENDIX

QUESTION GUIDE (TOR)

SLIDES FROM MOBILIZER COORDINATION

REVISED QUESTION GUIDE

DAY JOURNAL

TRANSCRIPT SAMPLES

Date: 05FEB16

Terms of Reference – Health Development Committees: 056 – WATSAN Phase II – Kenema District, Sierra Leone

The proposed mission to the Kenema District, Sierra Leone is planned to be conducted through the month of March 2016 (1st March – 1st April).

The mission will seek to illuminate how Health Development Committees function in their communal contexts with the aim of providing insight to EWB-SL and EWB-DK into how a HDC can facilitate and strengthen community engagement with WASH interventions.

The team for this mission will comprise two Techno-Anthropology Master's Students:

George Garbutt

M.Sc in Techno-Anthropology (*student*)
B. Eng (Mechanical)/B. Finance
Engineers Without Borders Denmark
Aalborg University (AAU-CPH)

Aleks Jakovlev

M.Sc in Techno-Anthropology (*student*)
B. Architectural Technology
Aalborg University (AAU-CPH)
NB: Aleks will join the research mission but funding will be provided externally to EWB-DK

The foundation for the mission and subsequent research is the following statement:

With a point of departure in the working practices of Health Development Committees develop a context-based understanding of community engagement with WASH interventions

The primary aims of the mission and research are as follows and will be expanded upon further in the sections below.

- Utilising techno-anthropological techniques and analysis, undertake an investigation into the working practices of three (3) Health Development Committees established in connection with WASH interventions in the Kenema District.
- Utilising techno-anthropological techniques and analysis, undertake an investigation into the working practices of the Health Development Committees around WASH technologies (including maintenance, use, payment).
- Utilising techno-anthropological techniques and analysis, undertake an investigation into the working practices shared between members of the Health Development Committees and other actors, including EWB-SL, EWB-DK, GOAL, community mobilisers and local authorities.
- Through an understanding of Health Development Committee practices, provide EWB-DK and EWB-SL an insight and guidance regarding community engagement around WASH interventions.

Background

In November 2015, EWB-DK received a mid-term evaluation report for Project 056. In this evaluation, HDCs for six (6) communities were described, three (3) as *working*, while the rest, not. Following a discussion with Project 056's Project Leader (Bauke van Weringh), this mission was composed in order to uncover why this is the case and develop ways of improving the functionality of HDCs. The idea of using techno-anthropologists to conduct this research is based on the Thesis research ambitions of the two project members, in connection with Aalborg University (AAU-CPH), and an opportunity to strengthen the technical approach of EWB-DK with the inclusion of a social sciences insight.

The Health Development Committees (HDCs)

HDC's are established in each of the 21 communities where EWB-SL/DK have installed a hand pump. The HDCs are comprised of regular people from the specific community. The HDC comprises of 12 community members, of whom only one is required to both read and write. This is always the secretary.

The HDC's are built up in the following way:

Four (4) Executive leaders: Chairperson, vice chair, secretary and treasurer.

Two (2) Natural leaders: responsible for latrines

Five (5) Wash representatives: 2 sanitation, 3 Water/pump caretakers

One (1) Advisor/ Whip

The HDCs are trained in a variety of subjects by the community mobilizers from the Kenema Office.

- Leadership
- CLTS
- Hygiene
- Resource mobilization
- Conflict resolution
- Basic finance and record keeping
- Advocacy and lobbying
- Operation and maintenance
- Safe Water treatment

The HDCs usually have meetings once a month and most HDCs have introduced a monthly cleaning of the community. The HDCs are also responsible for collecting funds for the pump repair fund. This varies between communities, from 1000SLL, once week for every person over 18 or by household, or once every two weeks or just when the pump breaks down.

Another area of responsibility is to make by-laws, concerning water usage these of which are enforced by the HDC.

Furthermore, the HDCs link the community to the District Council through a council representative, known as *Council Men*. It is his job to connect to the local authorities and to be the voice of his constituents.

In connection with local capacity building, Community Mobilizers conduct training and refresher training for the HDCs in each of the 21 communities, regarding the fore mentioned themes.

Approach and Methodology

The Techno-Anthropological approach comprises an ethics and sustainability oriented reflexivity, considering the socio-technical world as a continuously generated web of relations that shape and reshape each other. The approach is particularly interested in inter-disciplinarity, modes of expertise,

and participatory and user driven design – specifically in the context of technology and knowledge production.

Methodologically, empirical data collection will be inspired by praxiography (the study of practices) and ethnographic techniques of interview and observation. The interviews will be both formal and informal in design, that is, although interviews will be planned in advance the data collection will also utilise an opportunistic approach as data emerges from the field. The idea is to collect narratives of how HDC's are practiced which requires that interviews are shaped in a way which allows the participant to tell this story. The approach will be to listen as opposed to pry into the participants lived worlds.

Based on the mid-term evaluation received, it is understood that six (6) villages were visited each with HDCs some of which are considered to be '*working*', while some not. These villages are located in the Nongowa Chiefdom.

The intention is to visit two (2) of these villages, one considered as *working* and another which is not considered functional. In addition a third village with a functional HDC (either within this Chiefdom or another previously unvisited by the previous evaluation – see *Village Selection Criteria*) will be visited.

In doing so a narrative of what it means for the HDCs to be functional or dysfunctional in each context can be built up.

This can provide insight into how HDCs can be arranged in different ways to become functional, and highlight some elements of why they are not functional.

In line with the ethical implications of the research, interviews and visits should be done on an invitational basis. The researchers would like to be invited to each village, and by the HDCs to conduct our research which will require the Project Leader (SL) to ask permission on the researchers' behalf.

It is understood that the local language is Mende, which will require the assistance of a translator at each site.

In general, the following activities are expected to take place:

- Interviews with committee members in three (3) villages – twelve (12) members in each committee (It is acknowledged that 12 interviews in each village may not be feasible for logistical reasons but will be the basis for scheduling and planning)
- Attend water committee meetings in each of the three (3) villages
- Observe 'WASH' activities in the each of the three (3) villages – observe how villages practice water and hygiene practices

Questions to the committee members will be something like the following: The idea is to listen to and document their HDC/WASH story.

- *How does HDC come about - how do you become involved? What is your motivation?*
- *What does the HDC do? (Water, Health, Maintenance, Payment?)*
- *What does a successful HDC look like? What is it that makes this HDC successful?*
- *How do you function in the HDC? What is your role? How do you interact with other committee members?*
- *What is life like for someone in the HDC? How do you interact with the community as a HDC member?*
- *What does a day look like for you regarding WASH interventions (how do you use water/latrines fx)?*
- *What does a HDC member's life look like? (Before/During/After meetings)*

- *What does the future of WASH development look like to you?*
- *What advice do you have for other communities that are developing WASH interventions and HDCs?*

In addition to the above, the research will also seek an audience with the following groups to document stories of how they interact with HDCs:

- The Ministry of Water Resources
- The District Council
- GOAL
- EWB-SL
- EWB-DK
- Mobilisers
- If possible, Village Chiefs

Village Selection Criteria

Research will be conducted in three (3) villages with the following criteria:

1. Village in Nongowa chiefdom, deemed as having an effective HDC by the Mid-Term Evaluation
2. Village in Nongowa chiefdom, deemed as not having an effective HDC by the Mid-Term Evaluation
3. Third village is to be selected outside of the sampling scope of the mid-term evaluation in order to strengthen the methodological validity of our research, allowing the research to make a comparative analysis between the practices of WASH technologies in different socio-technical contexts. The possible criteria for the selection may be comprised by but is not limited to one or more of these factors:
 - Village in Nongowa chiefdom not engaged by the mid-term evaluation
 - Village in a different chiefdom
 - Village with significant difference in size/population
 - Village where a HDC has not been established (fx. future EWB-DK project)

Mission Schedule

01MAR16 – Departure from CPH and Arrival in Freetown

02MAR16 – Freetown to Kenema

03-07MAR16 – Acclimatization to the Kenema Office greeting EWB-SL Staff, Audience with Ministry and District Council, Preparation

08-27MAR16 – Visiting villages (1, 2 and 3), Attending HDC Meetings, Interviewing Members, conducting Village Observations, Meeting with other identified actors

28-30MAR16 - Fieldwork finalization (Kenema Office) and return Freetown for departure to CPH (depart 31MAR16, arrive 01APR16)

The exact villages, meetings to attend, scheduling of interviews with all actors to take place in the coming weeks (FEB16) together with EWB-SL.

Mission Return and Report Writing Schedule

Mission Report (EWB-DK) – Early APR16 (2 weeks from return date)

Thesis related report writing – APR16 - 10JUN16

Mission related presentation – mid-MAY

Budget

Personal costs for George Garbutt, not including project related costs such as transport, translators and EWB-SL billable time.

ITEM	QTY	DKK/QTY	DKK
Insurance (days)	32	85	2720
Plane Ticket	1	10000	10000
Visa	1	600	600
Vaccination	1	1000	1000
Malaria Pills	1	400	400
Taxi	2	125	250
Sea Coach	2	250	500
Accommodation in Freetown (Hotel Barmoi)	1	700	700
Accommodation in Kenema (Hotel Ericson)	30	325	9750
Per diem (days)	31	471	14130
Total			40.050,- DKK

HDC – RESEARCH QUESTIONS

HDCs - What does it mean to work?

In this sense the research seeks to elicit the lived worlds of the informants through DETAILED and EXAMPLE BASED narratives of day-to-day PRACTICES oriented around WASH interventions.

Of particular focus is the day-to-day practices of HDCs.

Focusing on HDCs will further seek to uncover the ways in which they function, or not, as a device for community engagement in WASH initiatives, collaborate with NGOs, local and naturel authorities, and other actors.

Interview and observation.

The idea is to listen, learn and co-develop the local realities with our informants.

We do not assume how things work.

The interview questions take inspiration from the Most Significant Change (MSC) Technique. We want informants to identify and reflect on what has changed in their context since the implementation of the WASH initiative.

In this line of questioning, we want to develop how the concept of working or not working is practiced in each village context and highlight what this does in each context concerning the impact of WASH initiatives

*How does HDC come about - how do you become involved?
What is your motivation?*

What does the HDC do?

*What does a successful HDC look like? What is it that makes
this HDC successful?*

*How do you function in the HDC? What is your role? How do
you interact with other committee members?*

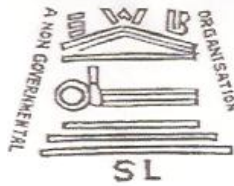
What is life like for someone in the HDC? How do you interact with the community as a HDC member?

What does a day look like for you regarding WASH interventions (how do you use water/latrines fx)?

What does a HDC member's life look like? (Before/During/After meetings)

What does the future of WASH development look like to you?

What advice do you have for other communities that are developing WASH interventions and HDCs?



EWB-SL, EWB-DK and Aalborg University HDC Research – Kenema District

10MAR16

To whom it may concern,

This month (MARCH2016) two Techno-Anthropology Master's students, Aleks Jakovlev and George Garbutt, from Aalborg University, Copenhagen, Denmark are conducting research into the functionality of Health Development Committees in the Nongowa Chiefdom in connection with EWB-SL and EWB-DK WASH development projects.

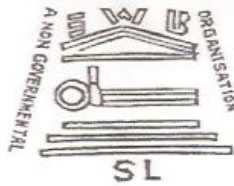
The research utilises interview as a key source of empirical data collection, to be conducted together with selected HDCs as well as the authorities of the KDC and the relevant ministries, namely the MoHS and MoWR, as components of the KDC WASH Committee.

In this, the following questions have been compiled to inquire into the practices and relations within the HDCs, and the practices and relations between the KDC WASH Committee and HDCs.

The main objective of this line of questioning is to establish an understanding of how HDCs work in practice and what it might mean for them to be *Strong* or *Weak*. The information collected and the subsequent analysis should be able to provide some guidelines and methodology for enquiring into the performance of HDCs which can be used for further HDC development.

The questions to the HDCs are as follows:

1. Can you please tell us a little about yourself?
2. Can you tell us how you became involved in the HDC? What is your motivation?
3. Can you tell us a little about what the HDC does in your community?
4. How do you function in the HDC? What is your role? (Please give an example of your work and how you interact with the community)
 - a. What happens when people break the rules? (example)
 - b. Can you describe for us what it is like to collect money from the community? (example)
5. When do you have meetings? What happens at the meetings? Can you tell us what you planned at the last meeting and how those plans are put into action for the next meeting?
6. What makes your HDC successful? How could it be better?
7. What do you see for the future of your community?
8. What advice do you have for other HDCs?
 - a. Do you meet with other HDCs to discuss any of these points?



- b. Can you describe how this has worked for you, has your advice helped?
9. What do you like the most about the HDC training? What could be better? Why?
10. Do you have any other committees similar to the HDC in your community? (How do these work?)

Questions to the authorities are as follows:

1. Can you tell us a little about yourself?
2. What is your WASH Story?
 - a. Explain your role within WASH
 - b. Explain how you got involved in WASH
 - c. Explain why you got involved
3. What is your dream for WASH? Where is WASH going in the future?
 - a. How would this dream look in practice?
 - b. How would people organize or arrange themselves around this idea?
4. How do you interact with the HDCs?
 - a. Last time you planned something regarding WASH or HDCs, how was it put into action?
Please give some examples
 - b. Are there examples where plans could not be put into action?
 - c. What were the outcomes of each example?
5. Can you please give some examples and details about the biggest challenges regarding community engagement in WASH? How might this be resolved? Can you give some details about how this might look in practice?
6. Can you give some examples of the biggest successes regarding community engagement in WASH?
Can you describe which mechanisms (how it worked) that made it successful?
7. What has changed the most since the implementation of HDCs? Why is this important?

Any input to the above questions is of course welcome.

Kind Regards,

George Garbutt

B. Engineering (Mechanical)

B. Finance

M.Sc Techno-Anthropology (student)

Aleks Jakovlev

B. Architectural Technology

M.Sc Techno-Anthropology

Day Journal – Sierra Leone MARCH 2016

Tuesday 1st

It is a long flight from Copenhagen, to Brussels and finally to Freetown. The passengers represent a good mix of different levels of wealth and position, which we assume by the flashiness of their clothes or at least by eavesdropping on their conversations. Ministers, religious and political, sons and daughters of the well-to-do returning after the semester abroad or people that have simply been away to visit their families in Europe.

Getting off the plane, you are walk down the stairs to the tarmac; you are met with an intense heat and humidity. In addition, there are a serious number of ground crew, more than you might think necessary, but maybe some are there to welcome VIP arrivals, cars waiting on the tarmac to collect them. Not us.

Before entering the terminal you must clean your hands with disinfectant, you leave behind the ground crew and are met with an equal number of men and women dressed in white doctors' coats. You are requested to show your yellow vaccinations register, it is sufficient to show that you have one, no one looks inside.

Immigration appears loosely controlled and ordered. It is difficult for the inexperienced to tell who is official amongst the uniforms, badges, suits and colourful African shirts. For the well versed, there is more flow, an implicit understanding of who is who. Our fingerprints are taken and our photos too. The equipment and the set up seem rather advanced, in strong contrast to the way everything else seems to work.

We collect our bags from the conveyor belt. I spot the hind legs of a goat poking through the rubber flaps that separate the terminal from the tarmac. They are the hind legs of a sniffer dog – it seems that I have let my imagination and my preconceived notions about this place run wild already – I need to get it together.

You are jumped by enthusiastic young men leaving the airport, they are hoping to assist you with your bags and arranging tickets for the ferry in exchange for a tip – everyone wants a chance to help, there is no space to even have a cigarette before you are whisked away and 100USD lighter. I hand over the money, it is intimidating to peel through the US dollars to pick out the right denomination for the transaction. I am shaking and a bit embarrassed, the young men can sense it too, they say, *take it easy*, as they take the money from my hand.

We pile into the transport bus, which takes us to the ferry terminal.

We wait, a bit unsure of when the ferry will arrive, it is still light, but not for long. We talk to Michael, a young doctor from the UK after over hearing that he may have done this before. *You'll do a lot of waiting... but I love living here – lobsters, beaches, it's beautiful – but it is also nice to go home, to do the things that you don't normally get to do here, and just relax...* He paints the expat picture of Sierra Leone for us, a mix of paradise and hardship and an ever present feeling of being away from what you know. Normality. We will have to find this out for ourselves.

On the ferry, we are given a bottle of water – *only drink pure water* – it says on the label.

Santos, our driver, collects us from Aberdeen ferry terminal on the other side. He doesn't say much. We take in as much of the city as we can as we drive through towards our residence for the night. There is a lot to take in – you are overloaded – it is hectic, there is lots of noise and traffic – a far cry from Copenhagen – you will notice some billboards that tell you to cover your food when preparing it or to only drink water from protected sources – not everyone can drink *pure water*. But these signs are overshadowed by the bright neon lights of the mobile network company signs and promotions, the 'casinos' and bars, blearing hip-hop music, and endless stalls of counterfeit basketball jerseys and football strips.

I close my eyes and notice the smell of grilling corn and barbequed meats – it is pleasant – I had expected raw sewage.

We arrive at Jon's house. He is an American, living with his Swedish wife Linea in Freetown, together with their son Ingvar of 2 years. Linea is working for the UN, hence their residency here. Jon and Santos are friends. They speak a little, but Santos isn't too confident in English. This leads to a conversation about how literacy and the ability to speak English are loose concepts in Sierra Leone, once Santos departs. Somehow this also leads to a

conversation about illness in dogs, statistics, pathogens and doctors – and how these too can be loose concepts. Elisbeth, a Swedish gynaecologist, who is also living with Jon and Linea, illustrates this when she recounts a story of a local friend who asked her to help with some malaria medicine. *I am a gynaecologist – I don't know anything about malaria or the patient, I couldn't help... they think a doctor is a doctor.*

Jon and Linea have been living in Sierra Leone for two months now – they are *still finding their feet* – they are getting there they tell us but you have to learn how to live in Sierra Leone. They miss some creature comforts of home. *I wish things would just work, water, fuel, power... internet.* The power shuts down at 10.30pm.

Before the lights go out, we enjoy some palm wine, a local alcoholic delicacy, the first bottle explodes from the pressure that has built up inside from the fermentation process. It takes us all by surprise; it must be Jon's first time too. He tells us not to smell it before we taste it... it doesn't matter though – it taste like shit anyway.

Wednesday 2nd

We eat cheese and bread and drink coffee for breakfast.

Santos drives us to buy cigarettes, toothpaste, water and some salt crackers for the journey. Cigarettes cost 5000SLL (about 5DKK) while the toothpaste and the crackers cost about 25000SLL each.

We start our journey towards Kenema from Freetown. I joke with Aleks that the meal on the aeroplane would be the last truly ordered thing we will see for a while.

Jon told us that driving and the traffic is the most dangerous thing in Sierra Leone, even more dangerous than yellow fever and malaria. This seems reasonable as Santos paces out of the city in our four wheel drive. There are no traffic lights, or traffic signs, everyone drives aggressively, the bigger your car the more rights you seem to have. We see one sign 'Order: Police, Stop' – no one stops. The drivers however seem to have their own system of hand signals and honking horns – and it appears to work. Order exists here but it is more implicit than we are used to, perhaps.

Large billboards protrude over small houses and unfinished buildings – beer, washing detergent, cheese, internet and mobile phone services. They are all things that exist outside of what would normally be affordable to the local people, but paint a picture of what you should strive to be able to afford perhaps. As we leave the outskirts of Freetown the billboards paint a different picture of the country. *Malaria is curable, I live with HIV, No stigma for Ebola survivors, Kick Ebola out* - are the most common tag lines.

We begin to notice too that the cars we pass are all decorated with hand painted slogans: Don't be an enemy to progress, Allah is great, In God we trust, God is good, Believe in prayer, Why worry, Don't worry, God bless Sierra Leone, God bless Islam, Honesty is the best policy...

We also pass convoys of four wheel drives bearing the MSF logo.

Another big billboard reads: National Health – Monitor Your Rights – we can change the world through education – Stop Teenage Pregnancy.

A free HIV test saved my life.

Stop Ebola – Wash your hands with soap and water

Along the road we notice that somethings are more visibly ordered – fruit, wood, concrete blocks, bundles of palm leaves line the highway to be sold to passers-by. In Freetown, toilets, electronic goods and computers were displayed in this way. You wonder how these things are used when there is no infrastructure to support them.

We arrive in Kenema, it has been about four hours.

The main road is unpaved. Red dirt. But the town is the largest we have seen since Freetown. We are too excited and tired to focus on the commotion of this place, but it is flatter, with less hills and lower buildings than the capital. It smells like it might rain – it doesn't.

We meet the EWB-SL team in the Kenema office. They are friendly and seems like a family.

After introductions and a short meeting it is time to check into the hotel for the night – it is hectic, confusing and Aleks and I are hungry and thirsty. We discuss hotel options and plans for the coming days with the staff – everyone is helpful but the communication is a bit strenuous – everyone needs to be involved but no one can make any concrete decisions – there is no real leader as it would appear.

We leave the office with the other Danish interns, Marco and Gro. They have been in country for a month and a half so far so we talk with them about their experiences. They have been enjoying their visits to the surrounding villages and tell us which chiefs they liked and which they don't – the Paramount Chief, for example. They explain that we will meet with the Ministry of Water Resources and that they are pretty relaxed people, which they contrast with the more formal Kenema District Council who we will also meet.

Marco isn't so comfortable in Africa. Gro seems a little better off. Aleks and I talk about how all the expats we have met so far seem a little 'off' – a little nervous or suspicious. We wonder if this is the SL effect and make joking parallels to Conrad's Capt. Kurtz in the Heart of Darkness. George, the manager of the Capitol Hotel, a Lebanese businessman, seems a little unhinged too which adds to our theory – *I fix everything but nothing works...*

As night falls, we drink a beer quietly at the hotel and discuss between ourselves what 'poor' means. We find it hard to quantify outside of comparison – to the western concept of wealth at least... we eat some crackers and try to email our loved ones while the power blinks in and out.

Thursday 3rd

We are awoken at 5am by chants of Morning Prayer and what sounds like maintenance on a truck. I had a strange dream about boiling a snake with a knife and going bald. We eat our breakfast of coffee, bread, and an omelette.

We meet in at the office and after the morning meeting travel by motorbike to be introduced to the KDC and the MoWR.

We also receive our EWB-SL polo shirts – we feel a little more integrated and little more identifiable.

There is a distinct difference in stature between the older members of the KDC and their younger counterparts of the MoWR. The KDC are more authoritarian – we draw strange parallels to African overlord type characters you might see in bad eighties action films. With this reference point the council offices are also unsurprising. Large wooden doors, big oak desks, some officials wear sunglasses inside which adds to the stereotype. You enter the office of a councilman, shake hands, refer to people as mr. or sir. We are a little off from the centre of town but the area is still loud and full of activity. It is often difficult to hear the low spoken officials. People are congregated outside, discussing business or just hanging out. Music plays from one of the common areas. There is a jovial vibe about the place. One official is drinking a Guinness when we meet him. He sits with his wife you is large, staunch and colourful. Symbols of the well-to-do. She only nods and otherwise sits silently.

The day is spent meeting the authorities and writing notes. The heat makes it difficult to think though. Everyone, even our local office mates, seem sleepy. The extra beers at lunch were a mistake. In the late afternoon we prepare for and meet with the Mobilizers. We are agitated by the mix of heat and residual beer in our system. We pull it together though and the meeting to run through our research approach and interview questions with the HDCs is productive.

The meeting with the mobilizers ends on time which is good because it is time to eat. We eat cassava leaf with beef and chicken and gravy – all on local spiced rice – it is delicious, although I avoid the meat, being a vegetarian – this is a funny concept to the local staff. We (the Danish group) eat together using spoons seated at the table, the men stand next to us and eat with their hands from a common bowl and the women eat in a separate room in a similar fashion. One of the younger female staff, the volunteer accountant, Mammi, plays with the younger guys, teases them while they eat and steals from their bowl in a sense of play.

We notice that breaks for eating are fairly regimented at least with respect to time. When there is time designated to eating, lunch and dinner for example, everything else stops – if our meeting hadn't finished on time it would have stopped anyway, because it was time to eat.

Friday 4th

Today we go out to the village of Ngelahun. The idea was to leave early, as agreed the day before with the mobilizers, who act as our guides and translators, 8.30 or 9.00am. We leave for the village at 10.30am. Schedules are fairly symbolic here. Things just happen when they happen. The EWB-SL team seems to be fairly well organised too, so you might be able to imagine how things work when they are less organised.

Aleks and I wait, we drink some coffee and smoke some cigarettes, we even try some of the local street food from a passing vendor – a woman carrying a bucket of bread rolls, dried fish, grilled sausages, onions, chillies and bean fritters on her head – it all looks fairly suspect considering our western stomachs but the office team all buy something, so we do too. We survive the encounter. The pepper mix is warm and aromatic, and gives a distinct flavour of Sierra Leone.

It is interesting to watch as she prepares the food for us. She cuts the bread open like a hot dog, squirts it with oil from an old soda bottle, as well as some pepper mix from a ketchup bottle, slices the onions from her hand, breaks up the filling you ask for and then wraps it all up in an old newspaper. She is swift and dexterous.

Money exchanges hands, she says her farewell and leaves with the bucket on her head – it is an effective and efficient project. The crowd that has gathered disperses.

We are waiting because the four-wheel drive has gone to collect a diesel generator, which is needed to do the well flow tests in the village we are visiting. Marco has gone along with Santos and the technical mobiliser Pa Kallon. They said that it would take 5 minutes, but then whilst there, the oil and a gasket on the generator needs changing, each taking an additional 5 minutes. We learn quickly that 5 minutes can represent anywhere up to an hour.

But, they do arrive in the end and we make our way out to the village. We squish ourselves into the car, 4 in the back, 2 in the front and a diesel generator in the boot compartment. We dodge through traffic, motorbikes and pedestrians, trucks and farm animals as is the normal procedure for driving anywhere.

We are stopped at a police checkpoint. They need Santos' details, license, phone number, reason for travelling etc. Vandi (the office manager, also in the back seat) is suspicious – enquiring why they should need that type of information but only mentions it to Santos – out of ear shot of the officer. Marco jokes with another officer on the other side of the car. They are more jovial and relaxed making for an interesting contrast. The barrier that blocks the traffic from passing is merely a string with some coloured ribbon on it – all the officers have different uniforms and seem happy to have control over the flow of traffic. They can be relaxed but also intimidating at the same time. No one drives through the sting.

It is a good thing that we are in a 4x4 as we come off the main road and head into the scrub towards the village. The terrain is very rough and difficult to negotiate. We drive slowly but we make it in the end. Two other mobilizers, Pa Kallon and Musu, are also able to arrive safely on a scooter, which carries them both, though.

The village is neat and tidy, the well and pump stand at the entrance to the village. We understand that the village is much bigger than what we can see immediately. It comprises mud houses, a communal shelter called a barray where meetings are held, latrine facilities, the Chief's residence which is plastered and painted stone. Each house has a washing line, and a dish rack. An old, broken down hand pump and well stands next to the new one that has been installed by EWB.

Everyone is excited to see us. We say hello to all sorts of people, children, elders, leaders, young and old. Seats are set out in the barray, this is where the formal introductions and eventually our interviews will take place. A chair placed in the middle of the other chairs looks suspiciously like it is reserved for the Chief. The villagers invite me to sit in it, but I refuse, I feel like they are testing me or making a bit of a joke – trying to get me in trouble with the Chief. After some negotiation one of the mobilizers sits there – it doesn't seem to be an issue – turns out it was just a chair after all.

The manager Vandi and Helen, another mobilizer, introduce us to the people in their local language, Mende. We are then officially welcomed and presented with a dance performance by some of the local women.

Something that stands out in the performance is that the women are strong, proud and confident in their delivery. It is infectious even Aleks and I clap along and stamp our feet disregarding our shyness. One woman is playing a percussive instrument, made of a dried cassava fruit. She is powerful, it is amazing to see. Suddenly,

the soweï emerges from within the group of dancing, singing women. The soweï is the female spirit of the village embodied or enacted by a woman in costume, covering her from head to toe in mask and coloured feathers, hair and other materials. You might liken here image to that of a witch doctor. We are taken aback by here sudden appearance. We know our place. We know where we are and where we are not.

We begin our interviews. The soweï sits behind the first interviewee to oversee the process and to ensure our intentions are pure. She leaves without a fuss after a time which we take as a good sign. It was incredibly intimidating having her sit there, pointing here wand at us, keeping us honest.

It is a challenge to conduct interviews through a translator and in the heat of the afternoon. We last about 3 hours in the end. It is time to eat and we are thinking about heading back to Kenema.

Under the interviews, Aleks and I notice in particular how imagination factors into their answers, or to be more precise, how it doesn't. In addition to this we also notice the idiosyncrasy around the WASH mandate – the repetition of material learnt and the way WASH terminology emerges from the local language in English.

We eat a stew of chicken and fish over spiced rice. We eat under the audience of the village, they seem very proud to be able to host us.

The process of leaving is much like that of coming. We wait for many five minute jobs to be completed before we can actually leave. We wait.

Before leaving Marco needs to collect some action videos of the well and one of the Chief talking about how important water is and how grateful they are for the well – we understand this is to send back to the donors in Denmark. The people are or course grateful but this is a cringe worthy process – staged and forced.

Back at the hotel. We watch some of the videos of the so

wei dancing with the women from the village. We are in the hotel restaurant and so some of the waiting staff are interested in what we are watching. One of the staff is Temne, another ethnicity in Sierra Leone, she looks on inquisitively – this is our culture – she exclaims. She seems happy to be reconnected to what is being shown through the camera. There is a contrast between what we saw in the village and her surroundings here at the hotel and her life in Kenema.

We discuss the concept of poverty again in our group. Even after visiting the village, we still find it difficult to pin down – it is hard to see these people as poor in their own context. I feel a bit uncomfortable about why we should be intervening here. This, mixed with the staged performances of the day passed, make me a little irritated – I try to focus on the reduction of diarrhoea and improved child mortality rates – something I will just have to take for granted.

Saturday 5th

Out in the market today with Aleks. It is really an overwhelming experience, we weren't even brave enough to venture into the guts of it, we just walk around the perimeter. For us it is chaotic, but it somehow seems to function – we feel a bit disoriented.

In Sierra Leone, if you see something you want, you better just go for it, chances are that it won't be there later – pineapples will have to wait for another day.

There is plenty of garbage here lining the streets. There is also a lot of plastic, cheap, Chinese made goods, clothes, shoes etc. there isn't anything locally manufactured being sold here. Everything seems like one time use, amongst the garbage there are plenty of broken sandals, for example.

There is a party at the hotel tonight. Kenema's cool and hip are invited. It costs about 10,000SLL to get in. There is apparently an affluent middle class here. It is interesting to see these people dressed in incredible colours and styles inspired by pop music and hip hop rather than anything distinctly African like one might assume. They all pose for each other, taking photos with their smart phones for Facebook. You sense a really expression of identity in the way they dress. This is a different Kenema than the one we saw in the market.

The music is terrible.

Sunday 6th

We took a walk up into the surrounding hills today, away from the city. The view is beautiful despite the dusty haze of the dry season.

At a certain point we realise we have entered a different part of Kenema. It is hard to tell if we are in people's gardens or on the path. This place is representative of a suburbia. We find a mango tree but we don't dare to take any.

We visit the house where Gro and Marco stayed for their first month in Kenema, before they moved to the Capitol Hotel. We meet their old landlady, Aunty P (P for Princess). It is a multi-story complex. Cinderblock and run down but homely. There are a lot of photos on the walls inside her living quarters. Her dead husband, various photos of children, other ancestors stare blankly at us. The first clock I have seen hangs amongst them all. The furniture is glass and decorated wood in an Asian and Polynesian fashion – it gives an illusion of travel.

In the afternoon we go to Kilondo Beach, that is, the banks of the river outside of the city. This is a party here too. It is a similar crowd to that we saw the night before. People are swimming, playing football and different skill based games, like seeing who can jump the highest over a stick. The clothes are the same, but it is interesting to see that people don't change out of them to swim or play, even keeping their shoes on. I wonder how much more important the image is than the practicality – but perhaps it is more of a logistical issue, where would they keep the clothes whilst they were in the water, who is to say they would still be there when they got back? People drink a little, you can smell weed in the air. It is a pretty typical beach scene.

I smoke a cigarette with a young guy called Sufjan. He is happy that I noticed his style and that I thought it was cool, we talk football and hip-hop, and then it is time to go.

Monday 7th

Today Aleks and I went to meet the Vice Chairman of the Kenema District Council (KDC). It was a fascinating experience. The meeting is scheduled at 10.00am, we meet him at 11.00am. Images of the African overlord emerge again with full force. The man sits in front of us, lounged on the sofa, arms spread across its back. He is wearing a safari suit open three buttons from the top, gold medallion exposed. You can't see his eyes behind his dark gold rimmed shades. He is expressionless through the meeting although he appears supportive of our research intentions as we describe them to him. He has two advisors in the room, they too seem supportive. We talk further, but all seem to be getting a little lost in all the acronyms, committees, officials, teams, councils, districts and wards – it somehow doesn't seem to matter though, it doesn't appear they have too much meaning in this context, they seem to be symbolic, like, by seeing who can list the most without letting on that you don't know what they mean.

Stacks of paper line the office, brown and discoloured by the sun and dust. It feels odd that such a high ranking official has time to see us. There is an air of paper shuffling and talk – there is so much going on in this sector, so many actors it would be impossible for anyone to have an overview of it all. One might even be so bald as to say that they have no idea what is going on – it is all just about appearances.

Prior to this meeting, we got stuck chatting with another counsellor. He uses a lot of buzzwords in his talk – on-the-ground, knowing the people, context – he is not shy about his political aspirations and as he talks of being a politician at state level his contextualization quickly turns to generalization. *We must arrange development committees – a committee for all forms of village development – you have to know why, how, where and who* – his is not specific about what he is talking about. We feel like this is fairly representative of the political system here, not too dissimilar from what we are used to everywhere else.

In the afternoon we head out to the village of Soweima, a small village of about 55 people. There is a cosy, relaxed vibe there. A relief to get out of the city. We talk with the villagers under a tree, smoke some cigarettes, drink coconuts and play with the children.

Back at the hotel we have dinner with a Danish project manager from MSF. It is through him that we get a first hand taste of how condescending non-SL people can be towards the local staff. We all decide to have pizza, but

we are informed that there isn't any cheese to make them. After a long discussion and negotiation facilitated by our MSF counterpart, including the hotel manager and the chef, it is agreed that someone will go and get some cheese. The conversation is as ridiculous as it sounds. Why we couldn't order something else is beyond me. To follow up, the Mr. MSF taps his watch to indicate that we shouldn't have to wait too long for the pizza either... it is embarrassing, but no body says anything. It is all in jest, but you could feel the tense undertones. We order drinks and he taps his watch each time the waiting staff walks by. It is disgusting.

Later in the evening I over hear the chef talking with some of the Lebanese residents. They are business men running the bottled water and juice factory next to the hotel. They eat at the hotel every night, they eat a lot – they're not too healthy looking – after dinner they sit and stare into their mobile phones, smoking hookah pipes. Something is wrong with their food and they are complaining to the chef. I hear the chef apologize – it is heart breaking to hear how pathetic and broken he sounds. It is all a bit much.

The internet is down and I miss my girlfriend.

Tuesday 8th

Today is International Women's Day, which is a public holiday here in Sierra Leone. That being said, the office is closed. Spending the day at the hotel is not ideal but we are nonetheless busy with our work so that is what the day consists of. Nothing particularly interesting to report here.

I dreamt that I had a daughter who was murdered. I never met her or saw her body, I knew as soon as I opened the envelope from which white butterflies flew out – the malaria pills are really kicking in.

Wednesday 9th

The day starts with the Morning Prayer and meeting. The prayer always has the same structure. Its order can be contrasted to the meeting itself which doesn't have any obvious structure.

We discuss planning for the rest of the week. Aleks and I are asked what our plans are in a rather direct way which infers that we should know what we are doing. We have some options but ultimately they can only be decided once we know what everyone else has planned in order to coordinate. This causes a little bit of confusion. No one really knows with certainty what they are doing. This is not because our Sierra Leonean counterparts are bad at planning, it is because it is difficult to plan when everything can change suddenly. Even plans to send emails, something we might be able to take for granted, can be disrupted by a lack of electricity or internet connection. The car might suddenly need maintenance or a scheduled meeting with a minister might be cancelled after he decides something else is more important.

Day-to-day planning will have to do.

We decide to take the opportunity to follow Pa Kallon and Marco out to Nyandeyama.

First, we stop at the 'Norway' school. The kids lose their minds when we arrive and it all descends into chaos when Aleks and I start to play with them. The school is modest with 3 or 4 classrooms and about 100 students aged five to nine. There is a headmaster but it is a little unclear who the teachers are. Our primary purpose of being there is to look at the computer which has been donated to the school, it is set to Danish as the default language and the internet is too unstable to download an English language package.

After a time we wave goodbye, the kids chasing the car as we drive off. We head towards the village. It is the biggest village yet, about 800 people. It is divided into 7 sections. We meet the chief, the different section chiefs and some elders. We meet in the barray. The stage is set, tables and chairs are put out and we are introduced. One teacher from the village is annoyed that he didn't get introduced to us. He wasn't present from the beginning and hadn't realised that everyone was introducing themselves but this didn't stop him from sulking.

We arrange to speak with the HDC.

It all goes relatively well – although our translator and mobilizer, Helen appears a bit exhausted by it all and the vibe of the meeting is a little tense. We all seem a little uncomfortable.

The interview finally ends and the formality drops. We ask questions about the town's history and the atmosphere becomes a little more cosy. The story of the town seems to spark a small controversy amongst those present regarding details of the history which generates some good discussion which was distinctly absent from the interview.

We eat together, play with the children and talk jokingly with the elders. One asks if he could live with me and if I could take him to Australia. I explain that we would have to live with my parents and that my mother would require he get a job, find a girlfriend and have children – we laugh together and he respectfully declines. Perhaps he can see some all too familiar resemblances in the family structure.

We drink some palm wine and even get to take some home.

Before we leave the disgruntled teacher emerges again to speak privately with Aleks and I as we smoke some cigarettes. He accuses us of checking up on EWB-SL – we assure him that we are not, but this might be representative of the discomfort that was felt under the interview.

It has been a productive day.

Thursday 10th

Working in the office today.

The internet is on and off.

I talk to Vandi the project manager:

We discuss politics in Sierra Leone and the government and the district council are set up. We agree that it is very similar to the Australian model which makes sense given the historical connections shared with England.

We talk about land rights disputes across the Guinea-Sierra Leone border, religious tolerance and closeness to Liberia, that is, how easy it is to move around. He thinks Liberians are lazy.

We talk about Nigeria and Ghana and how most specialist jobs tend to go to skilled migrants from these countries. He explains that the infrastructure for education in Sierra Leone is not strong enough to compete.

At some point he starts to talk about his son and how he would like him to obtain a scholarship that will allow him to study in another country, Australia, the US or somewhere in Europe. He doesn't care so much where. It is more opportunistic than that – *I don't get a choice* – this is the first dream of the future I have heard here.

Back on the topic of distance and isolation of some villages he tells a story of a past colleague who was offered a job in the Kono District close to the border to Guinea. He describes how she was told she had been awarded the position and that she would need to relocate in the coming days – not knowing where she would be relocated. Nevertheless, she was happy to have been given a job. She left with her driver at 6am on one of the following days finally to arrive after everyone had gone to bed. Post-conflict policy of many villages says that no one is welcome in the village after dark, which meant that she would not be welcomed into the village until the following morning – they were turned away by the chief.

She slept in the car with the driver to awake in the morning to a rather small village in the middle of nowhere. She informed the chief that she would not be staying. Not because of how he had turned her away the previous evening but because she was just so far away from everything – *this was not a place for her*.

[We can use this story in the discussion of community mobilization and community selection. Sierra Leone is a small country when you hold it up on a world map and think about how it might compare to Denmark for example. The reality is however that the terrain and infrastructure present challenges to movement around the country, making a short journey comparatively long, and isolation inevitable.]

EWB-SL need to be connected to their project villages under the current intervention model. The staff are people with families and lives. They don't want to have to move far away, they don't want to work on weekends – *we have kids* – a joke is made about Pa Kallon being relocated to the middle of nowhere to start a new EWB office.

In the evening, we watch an Easter celebration going on outside the Church next to our hotel. We can see it from our table in the restaurant. There is a large congregation, a band is playing and there is singing and preaching through an incredibly loud PA system which cracks with every line. It penetrates; it isn't an enjoyable listening experience. We watch nonetheless. The congregation is ordered and seemingly unified in the celebration. They sing in unison and praise in unison. We identify similarities between this act and those we have seen from the HDCs – repeating tag lines and slogans from the WASH interventions and singing songs about diarrhoea and unsafe drinking water.

Is this culture?

We consider further the shared idea of being saved or salvation – giving up some will or destiny to something higher up which is a rhetoric common to both the HDCs and the celebration we are now watching.

Friday 11th

Some stomach problems.

It is hot in the office and we even leave early in the afternoon – transcribing in these conditions is beyond our abilities.

The heat is also evident outside the office window. People are gathering around a plastic water pipe lying in a ditch. It is responsible for reticulating water to the house in the surrounding area. There are also many buckets visible amongst the people. They have detached the pipe and are filling them with water directly from the line. There is tension between the up stream group and the down stream group who have the same idea. Frustrations emerge as down stream runs dry.

The groups yell at each other for a while. They are of mixed gender, but the climax of the argument takes place between an up-stream woman and a down-stream man. We can't understand what they are saying but the up stream prevails. The down-stream must wait their turn. The conflict is settled without much fuss, just some disgruntled sounds and furrowed brows.

Saturday 12th

Transcribing at the hotel

Sunday 13th

Transcribing at the hotel

Monday 14th

Meeting with the KDC Wash Core Group:

The meeting is scheduled for 10.00am, it starts 10.45am.

This is an emergency WASH committee coordination meeting.

Different stakeholders arrive. People are smiling, shaking hands and conducting small talk. Everyone writes their name and details on a list with the meeting's title at the top.

The meeting room is in the office of the MoWR in Kenema. White walls, tiled floors, hardwood table and cushioned chairs. There are framed posters on the walls. Each poster is a different map of Kenema detailing different water points.

- KD water resources database
- CLTS (UNICEF/GOAL)
- Primary Schools

- Water availability in Primary Schools
- KD Communities
- PHUs in KD
- Water Availability in the Kenema District

You can't help but think about how static these images are compared to the always changing terrain of what happens outside this office's walls.

The tables and chairs are re-arranged into a long table.

The meeting is mostly men about 20 to the two women. One of which is Gro, the Danish intern. This is pointed out in the introductions.

Photos are taken at the meeting. These are for the WASH Media Network

Brief personal prayer commences.

We learn that water point mapping was done in 2012, this is now obsolete. I look back around at the posters of the wall. The NGOs can't use this anymore. A new survey must be done in connection with the government and Statistics SL.

The budget cannot be reached. The IPs have therefore been invited to this meeting to offer their support: field staff, logistics, funds, and a way forward. We should sit down as a team...

The survey should include WASH indicators from the LFA and Sustainable Development Goals – WASH facilities – health facilities and latrines. Types of pumps, functionality etc...

Smart phones, laptop computers and transport – There are some field staff and mappers – an external consultant has been brought on board. The budget is short by 170,000USD – What will be your support for this survey? The idea is that IPs find funding from international donors for them to complete the works.

GOAL is to lead the project (they contacted us first)...

In 2010, we did an in depth survey – from then it should have been done every year to keep it up to date? How will this information be reliable? Is the DHMT here? (they are running late – in the end they don't come at all)

WASH is also about health – The DHMT should be here. They need to be involved in the training if we are talking about latrines.

I went the DHMT myself – I don't just send letters – he should have sent a rep. This is about coordination.

You people are responsible for water supply, you can't even do that... why are you adding this?

You did a survey in 2012, you haven't used any of that data... you have air conditioned offices, you make proposals, but you have no impact on the ground... you are just adding to your portfolios...

We are making an investment plan and we can't do that without an up to date survey...

Words like holistic, integrated, coordination are used – the survey involves the government, the districts, the World Bank, Unicef and so on... - they keep mentioning *the way forward*

There will be some training involved – someone asks about provisions for lunch, transport and accommodation etc... They decide to print the budget so everyone can have a look what allowances have been made.

We drink bottled water, canned cola and eat butter crackers. The printing takes about 15 minutes until they run out of paper.

The meeting restarts.

This data will be used by everyone – this activity is crucial – we are pleading.

It will be difficult for the NGOs to make a decision. You have to give us some time.

Talk to your bosses...

This will be a 3-4 month exercise. The money in the budget appears to be for the government participants only, meaning that all the IPs will have to finance themselves. This is obvious from the budget outline but it is still talked around for a while until it is finally settled that, no, there is no money for the IPs.

This will make it difficult for IPs to commit.

Then don't commit...

GOAL is the lead, how many people can you commit? 4 people... they have done it again, GOAL has kicked another goal...

There is some confusion about how long it should all take... MoWR are not sure either, they will have to get back to everyone.

The when, where, how and who is mentioned – it is remenicient of the politician...

People talk on their phones and amongst themselves through out the meeting, it is hard to take it all seriously.

The way that this survey is discussed seems so confused and unclear even to those who are presenting. It seems like it should be a highly coordinated activity and it is noted that the ministry of education and health should be involved.

It is a young crowd at this meeting. There is an attitude of a boys club – like old school friends. Some of them are. They joke, tease and play aggressive amongst themselves.

World Water Day is also discussed.

EWB-SL always celebrates it in a community and this year the MoWR also wants to participate – they have a big imagination about how it should be. A band, a PA, banners, the military, T-Shirts.

The details of the banners and t-shirts are discussed at length – given even more attention and coordination than the water survey that was just debated.

What about a cultural presentation? There should be a convoy, a procession...

More people at the meeting are engaged in this discussion than the last...

Meeting with the Chairman of the KDC

Meeting with the Deputy Chief Adm.

Tuesday 15th

Transcribing at the office

Wednesday 16th

Visit to Malehun

We establish that there aren't too many working days left in the calendar so Aleks and I try to fill out the schedule as optimally as possible in order to collect the final material we need. We agree to meet with the officials accordingly and agree with Vandi and Elkanah about making the appropriate contacts. Vandi says he will make the arrangements – returning from Malehun we learn that a letter to the officials has been drafted and they will be delivered individually the following day.

Thursday 17th

The world water day celebration seems uncertain

Aleks and I discuss the concept of *'destroying with one hand what you build with the other...'*

We can't say much about the mechanisms that comprise and give life to the way things hang together in Sierra Leone. We are only here to understand how HDCs work and hang together in their relational networks. It is difficult however to ignore a couple of things... things that have perhaps been said before but remain present nonetheless.

Sierra Leone is rich in natural resources.

The conditions in which people live – not necessarily in the villages, but in Kenema itself are not representative of this. We can't say much about the lived worlds of people in Kenema but we understand an imagined world with hospitals and sealed roads – something that is expected of a good life and something that should be delivered by the government and the international community.

We notice all too clearly how business runs, how there are those who control resources and means of production, and how owners treat and control their workers.

The theatre of the authorities does not produce anything. Nothing seems to happen despite the hectic arrangement around meetings, letter sending and long-winded discussions.

The civil war and the Ebola crisis exist in the countries memory and they pop up in discussion every now and then, but not as much as one might think. Connections to stories and places don't seem as prevalent as one might be led to believe in academic literature, and even less so when you consider the position of the new generations who are interested in a broader globalised world.

Friday 18th

Transcribing in the office.

Letters are being delivered, we bank on meetings early the coming week.

The letters turn out to be a formality. We must still go to the KDC offices to arrange when meetings will be held.

We are unable to take a meeting with the KDC Deputy Chief Administrator. He is angry at EWB-SL and refuses to cooperate due to a conflict he has had with the organisations Director from Freetown.

Saturday 19th

Quiet day in the hotel

Sunday 20th

Quiet day in the hotel

Monday 21st

Day in the office with one visit to the KDC to interview the Chairman.

A quiet evening although I am getting tired of being called *white man* – plus everything else.

Tuesday 22nd

Morning meeting and prayer – *'wisdom will add years to our life'*

Today is World Water Day – the planned celebration has been cancelled due to funding restraints. Everyone is very disappointed as it is something they do every year, but it is a message that has been handed down from the Director so, *'there is nothing you can say...'*

We can't go to the KDC today – they will chase you out (joking about how the KDC was relying on EWB-SL to facilitate the WWD celebrations – but now have to be notified it won't be happening)

We try our luck and pay a visit to the Paramount Chief, who is normally difficult to see.

On the way back from this meeting we discuss with Vandi how/why the Chiedom and KDC don't communicate with each other and work together. The discussion revolves around the chief's dislike of the CLTS program. We note that this is a government and local council initiative – not necessarily an initiative of the IPs. The chief had told us to voice his concerns to the KDC – we were wondering why he doesn't do it himself.

How is it that the IPs have become the channel of communication for this type of discussion?

Vandi tells us that responsibility is pushed on them by the authorities who don't want to take responsibility for themselves. We reflect on today's WWD example. *If the ministry thought it was so important why didn't they take responsibility for it... instead they push it on us – and when it doesn't work we take responsibility for that...*

When you put these people in office all they do is buy cars and build mansions... and they want the IPs to pay for it... it is corrupt.

Vandi notes further that although the chief is the voice of the communities he doesn't really know what is happening out there.

It has rained heavily over night and the Kenema roads are heavily eroded from the flow of water. There are large puddles and deep crevasses everywhere. Traffic of all forms must navigate and negotiate – slowly.

It is the dry season. It doesn't take too much imagination to think what it might be like in the wet season.

Wednesday 23rd

Morning meeting and prayer.

Out to a community (Wallima) to help fix a well.

The EWB team work together with the community including the two Danish interns. This must be a fairly good representative of how a pump is maintained in a community. There is another pump right next to the broken down pump. It is functioning properly. It is from 2002 and we are told its good condition shows that this community know how to look after a pump. The EWB pump has not officially been handed over to the community so EWB has a responsibility to fix the pump should anything be wrong, hence our assistance now.

One of the rods in the pump shaft has come loose and needs to be tightened. It is a precarious job. The rods are very long and the installation is heavy. Many must assist in order for the job to be complete. The EWB team are joined by the pump caretakers, the treasurer, the chief and the HDC chairman. You must be careful not to drop the rods into the well otherwise they will be lost under the concrete shell. Also as the rods are pulled out from the shaft you should be careful not to impale someone, like the researcher for example. It is tricky to get the rods to line up straight in their threads. You must concentrate and ignore the many people and children that have gathered to watch. There is a lot of noise. One connection doesn't look straight, the treasurer points it out, Pa Kallon isn't sure, so they must discuss adjusting it whilst holding the installation up. It is hot, the sun is pelting down on them and the installation is obviously very heavy. After some deliberation, they agree that Pa Kallon is the technician and that he knows best, but then Pa Kallon also changes his mind and they must pull the installation apart again.

Whilst this is all happening I reflect on what I had heard about appropriate technologies for developing communities. The idea is to design and develop technology for communities utilising only locally available materials, that is, things that are readily available in the village so as to generate a more sustainable solution to technology that is off the shelf or must be brought in from outside. The pump is cast, the rods are stainless steel, the shaft is PVC. None of this installation is made from locally available material, and I find it hard to imagine that lifting water from the well with anything else would be impossible. I look around, the locally available materials here might be some wood, plastic bags, empty cigarette packets and some old car tires. This is the

system they must have. What it requires however is a connection and cooperation to EWB or some sort of maintenance provider and materials supplier.

The whole commotion is a social event – the involvement of the chief, the HDC, the children, gathering around the pump the communication to get it all together.

Finally the cap is on ‘kai goma’

The Danish interns tighten the last bolts and symbolically pose for a photo next to the pump holding up a spanner.

The pump pumps and water comes out. We wait to see if there is any leakages. A little water leaks out of the casing but this is due to the pressure build up from the well head. *You have to learn how to pump – not to fast.*

Now we are done. Two hours have passed. Bika Wai.

In the car on the way home:

Pa Kallon tells us that in order to learn something about pumps and pump maintenance you must do it over and over again, many time so that you remember.

Santos makes a joke about the difference between Danish cars and African cars. Danish cars only have 2 or 3 people in them whilst African cars are exploding with people and things. He adds, in reflection of Pa Kallon’s comment about learning, that he has learned you should only have 3 people in the back seat (we are currently 4 squashed in tightly) so Pa Kallon has to stay behind – we laugh.

We noticed that there was a lot of children at Wallima. Pa Kallon jokes that it is because people there go to bed very early.

Thursday 24th

Transcribing in the office.

Collecting water from the street:

Joshua, the office assistant, is collecting water from the plastic water pipe that is running through the street, in the same way the rest of the street were the previous week. A ‘quarry’ breaks out also similar to the one last week, but somehow the dynamics are different this time. This time there is less water and less pressure – there is more tension. We understand that water must be collected in this way because there isn’t enough pressure to push the water up into the buildings. The reservoirs are low and there is a claim on this water. It belongs to the street but other streets are trying to get it on it. There isn’t enough to satisfy everyone. Some ‘big men’ from the street, those that own buildings for example, also get in on the tension, but it only adds to it. SALWACO representatives are also there. These men are from the Sierra Leonean Water Company. It seems strange, coming from the West, that this type of dispute can occur, but more so that such authorities are also involved. The tension is not dissolved by their presence, people just want some water.

Friday 25th

Good Friday – we visit a village not connected to EWB-SL to see what its WASH activities are like.

Saturday 26th

Quiet day in the hotel

Sunday 27th

Easter Sunday

Monday 28th

Easter Monday

Tuesday 29th

Final day in the office – meeting with KDC WASH Core Group does not eventuate. We meet instead with the Groups Chairman (the Deputy Chief Adm.)

We say our goodbyes.

Wednesday 30th

Leaving for Freetown – flight is delayed due to terrorist attack in Brussels – we must stay the night in Freetown

Thursday 31st

Freetown – Return to Copenhagen

Interviews in Ngelahun – Kenema, Sierra Leone 4 MARCH 2016

A: Aleks G: George Translator – Vandi and Helen

Interview 1 – Chairlady

A: Can you tell us what HDC mean for you?

I1: It stands for sanitation and hygiene

A: How did HDC come about in your village?

I1: They were here for a long time, then people came to them and told them about organising themselves to make sure that they go into sanitation and hygiene

A: How did you get involved in the HDC?

I1: When this group came and told them about hygiene and sanitation, they accepted the idea. She has been in this community for some time, so they selected her as a member of the HDC.

A: And what is your motivation for being in this committee?

I1: What is more motivating is the cleanliness that is involved, the hygiene aspect of it. That has motivated her. And the way the workers are talking to them and are handling them.

G: Workers?

I1: Yes workers, mobilisers

A: So what is that HDC does in the community? What are their roles?

V: ...We don't want them talking about the same, so that is why we are sending them out...

I1: One of the roles is to organise themselves along hygiene and also to contribute a little amount of money towards their own hygiene and sanitation

A: And how does a successful HDC look like?

I1: A successful HDC is the one capable of organising them, bringing them together to work in line with the sanitation rules. ...They are also trained how to talk to them.

A: And what is your personal function in the HDC?

I1: She as the chairlady is the one assisting the chairman, she is the one who brings everyone together, particularly the women wing of the HDC. She bring them together to see what hygiene and sanitation is. Mobilising the community, that is her main role.

A: and how do you interact with other members of the committee?

I1: Every Thursday they meet, and put together their cash contributions. They discuss what they have done and plan what they will do next.

A: And what is the life on someone who is a member of the HDC in the village? What is your daily life?

I1: When she gets up she goes to the bathroom and they whatever cleaning she does on her own she tells the children to do it. She always makes sure that they wash their hands, particularly at critical times, after the latrine and touching other things, and to wash their personal belongings. That is what she does every day.

A: And how do you interact with other members of your community?

I1: There is a very good relationship between the entire community and the HDC

A: What is the life of an HDC member look before meetings, during and after meetings?

I1: Before meetings they always plan, during the other meeting they look at what they have planned and whatever they implemented. And once they have implemented they know why.... and how far they have come. Then they discuss another activity.

G: Can you give us an example of what they have planned, implemented and discussed?

I1: one thing they have done and succeeded is the contributions. They have this money now, they have planned that and they are contributing every Thursday. We have given them ... , will break, so that is why they have started contributing money.

G: Can you tell us wat is like to go and collect money from the people in the community? And how people feel about you working in the community?

I1: People want their town to be clean. They are always happy to contribute.

A: How does the future of WASH development look like to you? And you own future as a member of the HDC?

I1: There should be development for them in the future.

G: Could you tell us maybe...

V: Would you like her to break that down?

G: Just what you dream is? What would she like to see?

V: When you talk about development there are a whole lot of things you had not specified yet.

G: She can specify whatever she wants.

I1: She says they want to bring development particularly for the they have. That will bring them a very long life. (*some parts missing*)

A: Do you enjoy being a member of the HDC? Would you like to continue being a member for longer time?

I1: She would like to bring development for them, forever.

A: What advice would you give to other communities with WASH interventions and their HDC

I1: Those communities that are practicing WASH, she advises that the more you teach yourselves the more you continue to be healthy and then that would give you long life. Another advice is whatever you go to latrine you should wash your hands, and wash your belongings.

A: Now that you have received training, what did you like the most from it? What do you think could be better?

I1: Thing she liked most about the training is the hygiene promotion training, but she wants to have more time for the training. That would made them comfortable. To spend days in the training. She want more time to be added to the training.

Interview 2 – Sanitary Rep

G: When we ask the questions it is about creating a story. So if you feel like there are any details or examples that you want to add, feel free.

A: Can you tell us what does HDC mean for you?

I2: HDC stands for sanitation and hygiene. It is very good for them as well as their communities.

A:

I2: They (EWB) came first and talked to us about sanitation and hygiene. Personal hygiene and environmental hygiene. How to clean the environment and how to clean ourselves. EWB came then and told them about the project. So they came together and formed a group, about 12 of them were selected from the community.

A:

I2: What is motivating us is the way we are taught by EWB, directing us to hygiene. Hygiene is good for us.

A:

I2: What they should do is to tell community members about the following: first when you come from the latrine you should wash your hands. Second you wash your dishes, put them on a plate rack. And then also make rope, so when you wash your belongings put them on the rope, don't spread them on the ground. Those are the main functions of HDC.

A:

Successful HDC is the one that is unified, there is unity, there is oneness in what they do. When there is a meeting, all of them mobilise themselves, they wear their uniforms to do their activities. That is what they stand for.

A: If I can go back to the previous question. You mentioned rope. Do they make ropes themselves in the community?

H: We tell the community people to construct clothe racks, rope lines, tipitaps so they can wash their hands. They facilitate this in the community.

A: And it is the HDC's who tell them how to do it?

H: Yes

A: And they learn about it in the trainings?

H: Yes they learn from us, then the community learns from them.

A: What is your function in the HDC?

I2: She is a sanitary representative in the HDC, she goes around the town and makes sure there is no open defecation, and make sure that there are no homes where they spread their washed belongings on the ground, but on the rope. And not to put dishes on the ground but use racks. To do this is to go against the rules and they would be taken to the chief.

G: Can you give us an example when someone has broken the rules? What happened?

I2: There was somebody who did not sweep the ground around the house. And she was taken to the chief.

A: And after being taken to the chief, did she start following the rules?

I2: Yes she went home and swept the ground around the house, due to the intervention of the chief. That was the one example of what happened.

A: How do you interact with other committee members?

I2: They interact very well, they are strongly united. When there is a meeting all of them go together, they wear their t-shirts and then go to the meeting. They all make decisions at the same time, nobody is left out.

G: Can you tell us if you are perceived differently, now that you have a t-shirt?

I2: Now people see here, they work more. Because they fear if they break the law, she will take them to the chief. And that is the difference.

A: And what is the life of someone who is the member of the HDC? How did it changed before and after you became a member?

I2: In the morning they clean around the house they will make sure that their personal belongings are taken care of and that they wash their dishes. And they ensure that this is done even by the children.

A: And before the HDC this was not happening?

I2: They were doing it but now it intensified because of the HDC. Because of the knowledge they now put in more effort. They serve as an example, the HDC, if they won't do it themselves, they cannot tell others to do it, because they are representing the community.

A: How do you interact with other members of you community?

I2: When she gets the message, she passes it on to them and they do it.

G: Which message?

I2: Any message. They go to the training, they come back and they tell the community. Their called generalities...

A: What does your day look like regarding WASH interventions?

I2: In the morning they clean around the pump, they close it after some time. Then they go to the latrines they wash their hands after using them.

G: Do you clean around the pump yourself?

I2: The pump caretakers, they clean around the pump.

A:

I2: They plan. They have to tell people something so they plan that. Then they go to the meeting and make sure that it is done. And when they are doing it, they are there to supervise them, to monitor. Like cleaning the town. After they meeting they... *(missing transcript 20:23)*

G: Does it always work properly? Can you give us a story when you had to change your plan or try a new strategy to make it work?

I2: There was a time they organised the cleaning of the whole town. It failed. Simply because they did not inform everyone and not everybody was involved. But later when they came back all the community members got involved so they were ready for that, and they succeeded. That is the only time she could remember.

A: How often do they have the cleaning of the town?

I2: Once a month. Last Saturday of the month.

A: What is does the future of the WASH look like in your community?

I2: Our dreams are that HDC would help them have long lives

G: Does she think that if HDC continues to work as it does now they will have long lives? Do they need to be better? How should they improve?

I2: Now they have a water well, that is very good, but there is one thing they still lack, although they have a CLTS latrines, so please let us assist them with a permanent latrines, not CLTS. That would allow them to be well and good in the future.

A: Do you have any advice for other HDCs?

I2: The only advice she could give to others is to make sure that they clean their environment, then the personal hygiene is also very important. So both of them can go side by side. You need to clean yourself and you need to clean your environment.

A: If I can go back to the previous question. You said you want to have a permanent latrine. So they don't have any permanent ones in the village?

I2: They have, but they are very limited.

A: What did you think about the training? What did you like?

I2: All training she received was good. What she liked was the hygiene promotions, the CLTS. To push away open defecation, wash their hands, use the toilet, use the clothe line, a plate rack. This is the part of the training that she loved. And one thing she would like us to add is the latrine.

G: What was the best part about the CLTS training?

I2: The way the facilitators were teaching them, the CLTS mobilisers. That made her like the training more.

G: Was there anything that was difficult to understand?

I2: She cannot identify an aspect that was difficult to understand.

Interview 3 - Secretary

A:

I3: Health development committee. Stand for good health and progress for the people.

G: What does he mean by progress?

H: Development, he is talking about development.

A:

I3: We were here at one time. EWB mobilisers came to the town authorities. All of us sat together and said it would be nice to practice hygiene and sanitation in the communities.

A:

I3: When the mobilizers sat down with the towns authorities. Town is divided into 6 sections, each section gave 2 people. He is representing his own section together with one other person. That was development for the whole town, not just one section. And that is how it came about.

A: How were the people selected from these sections? Volunteered or appointed?

I3: Each section selected their own people. They were selected. Who were selected depends on how they work with other people in the town.

A:

I3: What motivated me is that when people came and taught about sanitation. When they came some people volunteered. Because sanitation is very important. That is what motivated me.

A: What does the HDC do in the community?

I3: They made sure that all of them go in the morning and walk around the town and see if people ... around the houses and that they put their waste in right place, not just everywhere. They also make sure people are using the latrines. Of course latrines are not everywhere, but where there is a latrine.

G: Are people always happy to see you in the morning and talk with you about hygiene and this practice?

I3: At one time when they started to go around in the mornings, there were some problems, because it has not been a part of them. We are just introducing these ideas. But now people are gradually changing their attitudes. So there are not much problems. But of course when they are moving around in the community there are used to be some problems.

A: How much time has passed since there were problems? How much time did it took you to solve these problems?

I3: It almost took a month to convince them, because people where not used to that. To tell them: "why is this place not clean?", "don't throw garbage there, that is not a place to drop waste". But now people are changing a little bit.

A:

I3: Successful HDC is the one that is doing the work; looking at existing CLTS; rope lines in the communities are many more there, and people use the plate racks.

A:

I3: He is a secretary of the HDC. Before the meeting he writes the plan for what to discuss in the meeting. After the meeting he writes what they have discussed. He prepares by-laws, sanitation laws they plan it then all of them come together and they write it.

V: We are now asking him if he has those documents.

V: They are with the chairman. We will ask the chairman later about these documents, about design making

V: He is showing us the minutes of some of the meetings.

G: Can you tell us a story or an example of these by-laws?

I3: There was a law that in case the meet a case of OD by children in the chambers, without dropping it into the latrine, if it is left open, their elders would have to pay a sum of 5000 LE.

G: Has it happened?

I3: Somebody was arrested so now nobody has been caught. Since the person was fined 5000 nobody has been caught in the community.

A: And does the 5000 fine goes to the community?

I3: That 5000 is kept by the HDC committee, it is kept by them as a pat of contributions that they are making.

A:

I3: if they put their hands on HDC, in the long run there would be more development for them. To learn more that is there dream.

A:

I3: He would advise them to put their hopes on the HDC, because HDC brings healthy environment. And healthy environment brings development to the community.

A:

I3: Training he likes most is the resource mobilisation. One aspect that he likes about that is the ability to plan. What he wants to be better, he was talking about mobile phone charging, talking about the school, they don't have water, they don't have a hospital. He talks about the school that does not have a water source. The well is their only water source they have in the community, it's a large community over 500 people.

G: So you are saying that the best part about the training is learning how to plan. But you need to be able to plan for more things?

V: Yes. But he is making a lot of request.

G: But we want to know what can be better about the training.

V: I think he has deviated from that. Because the community has no water source in the school. So it is the community request that he is putting forward.

I3: He would like to have more training, so they could understand it better.

A: And can you give us an example of how he uses the planning that he learned in his training? The resource mobilising?

I3: EWB mobilizers taught them what we call cross visit. And they have to do it on their own, to move from one community to the other weaker community goes to the weaker one. They have to organise it by themselves, but they have not been able to do it because they don't have enough materials, like plastic buckets.

H: He is talking about the facilities for hand washing.

H: They have learned from us, and they told their community how to do it, but they don't have enough water.

V: EWB have taught them how to make the community stronger, but they don't have the equipment to do it all by themselves.

I3: What they have succeeded in doing is that all houses in the village have plate racks.

G: Does he think that this is a strong united HDC?

I3: We are united in our own way. But because it is a farming city people go to their farms very early in the morning. So not everybody meets together.

Interview 4 – Pump Caretaker

PC: I am very happy to be in front of you, I will tell you everything...

A: Can you tell us what HDC means to you?

PC: HDC stands for cleanliness...

A: How did the HDC come about?

PC: EWB came here with the program and then we were selected. We were taken to the Bari and the community appointed us.

G: Did you volunteer or were you selected? Was it because you have some special skills or qualities that people asked you to do it?

PC: Two things, 1) I volunteered and 2) people know that I am a joker in this community. I know everybody – they call me 'police'. They said I must be part of the committee.

G: Was there a committee before the HDC (for health and sanitation)?

PC: No. There wasn't any committee before the HDC

A: What motivates you to be in the HDC?

PC: It is the point of view of the HDC to preach hygiene and sanitation. This is important and my motivation.

A: What does the HDC do?

PC: It teaches cleanliness – hygiene and sanitation. We assess the personal hygiene and environmental cleanliness. We talk to people about how to take care of everything within the HDC as well as the community. We talk to people about the use of latrines, and how to wash their hands at critical times.

A: Can you tell us a little about how people react when you talk to them about hygiene and sanitation?

PC: They accept what comes from us. There hasn't been anyone who objects.

A: What does a successful HDC look like?

PC: A successful HDC is one that looks after the water well and looks after the town. A successful HDC is one that takes care of everybody, not just themselves.

G: Would you say that your committee is a successful strong committee?

PC: Thanks be to god, we haven't done much but we have tried to tell people to use latrines.

A: What can you tell us about your role?

PC: I am the pump caretaker. I did the pump training. I'm the one in charge. There were three of us sent to the training. We inspect the pump and put it together. I have the knowledge of this.

G: Have you ever tried it before?

PC: We did it at the training on Bandama with Mr. Kallon.

G: You mentioned that you are also like the police, is this the job of the pump caretaker?

PC: I take care of the pump – that is when I am like the police. I have not caught anyone doing the wrong thing because they fear the rules. All the time I ask people to clean around their homes and there are by-laws around the use of the pump. The by-laws say that you are only allowed to take one container of water per person. You are not allowed to enter the pump area with shoes on. You are not allowed to enter the pump area without your head covered. You cannot allow children to get water.

G: Are these by-laws based on the training manual? Or are they discussed together in the HDC and created at meetings?

PC: The committee makes the by-laws – but you get the knowledge from the town – we sit together with the community and discuss the by-laws.

G: is there a process with community around the by-laws were people disapprove and then you have to adjust to make it work?

PC: There hasn't been any instances of rejection. The town has six sections and each section has two representatives.

G: Why is the town separated into six sections?

PC: It is a system of the traditional people, from our fore fathers. The original people. They have different traditional backgrounds. From our great grandfathers.

Now the village is so big that each section has a chief there to manage the section. They report to the village chief.

A: How do you interact with the other committee members?

PC: We interact very well, there hasn't been any instances of drama or disagreement.

A: How do you interact with the community?

PC: There hasn't been any problems between the HDC and the community. We have been living amicably.

A: Can you tell us what your day looks like regarding WASH interventions – around the water and the latrines?

PC: In the morning I clean around the house and then straight after that I go to check on the pump to make sure that the pump area is clean and then I go around the town to see if everyone is doing things correctly.

A: What does the future look like for you?

PC: We will start to benefit more through the HDC in the future. Through the HDC I haven't identified how far we have benefited or what will happen in the future – but I want to see what does happen. It is hard to identify what is in the future.

G: Is it difficult to imagine the future?

PC: Yes, you can only talk generally about things.

A: What advice do you have for other HDCs?

PC: Communities need to put their hands under the HDCs. We can be an example for other HDCs.

A: What did you like most from the training? What could be better?

PC: I like the pump caretaker training. Now that I have been exposed to that I want to know more – I want it to be added more and more. I want to be exposed to more practical training.

G: Is there anything that could be better about the training?

PC: They should add more training... more training.

I also want personal protection equipment – gloves, helmets, boots, goggles, I need to protect my body.

G: Where did you learn about this type of equipment?

PC: It came from the training.

A: Anything else?

PC: They must make it possible to learn more.

Interview 5 – Chairman

A: What does HDC meant to you?

CM: Health Development Committee (in English)

A: How did the HDC come about in this community?

SM: The program came (EWB) which arranged for the organisation of the HDC – which led to the construction of the water activities.

A: How did you get involved?

CM: When the program came to this town, I was appointed the chairman.

A: What was your motivation?

CM: We have been taught so many things in the HDC and that has given the motivation to continue to be a member.

A: Like what?

CM: We have been taught about the well, about how to clean ourselves, and to take care of the solid waste. We also learnt how to construct clothes lines and dish racks.

G: You were appointed by your area to be in the committee, but you are also the chairman, how did you become executive chairman?

CM: The committee appointed me as chairman.

A: What does the HDC do?

CM: Many things – make the by-laws about sanitation and hygiene. Water is life, and we take care of the water. HDC makes sure that the community is clean, we clean the Bari. We make sure that the community dumps their waste, make sure they have clothes lines and dish racks.

G: What is the most important thing that has changed in your community since the start of the HDC?

CM: We used to get water from the stream and the stream is far away from here. People go there and cannot come back quickly. Particularly in the dry season there isn't much water there. We no longer drink from there. 2 years ago we were getting diahorrea, that is no longer the case.

A: What is your role in the HDC?

CM: As the chairman of the HDC I was put in charge of making sure that information is passed on to the committee and transferred to the community – if we are taught anything new – that is my responsibility.

A: How do you interact with other members?

CM: We interact through meetings, Thursday every week.

G: Are there any challenges you have in the committee?

CM: Attendance at the meetings in this committee is very poor people have to go to work. If we want to have the meetings we really have to do a proper arrangement because 50% of the members don't come.

G: What would you say a successful HDC looks like then?

CM: A successful HDC is one that works well together. As a group. I don't know much about the future but working together is important.

A: What happens at the HDC meetings?

CM: The plan for the meeting is my responsibility, to make sure that everyone in the committee knows what it is. After discussion we agree on the plans, take note of those plans and make sure it is implemented before the next week's meeting.

G: Do you have an example of this?

CM: At one time we organised where to dump the solid waste. You don't just dump anywhere or any time. There are specific places even when you see the village you can see the specific places where you dump. There are also protected compost and tippy taps, for people to wash their hands. We have planned this and succeeded.

A: Do you have any plans that never worked?

CM: Cleaning exercise (it is difficult to get everyone to do their part)

A: What about the future?

CM: This has been a great benefit to us (the WASH intervention) and in the future we want more and more of this type of benefit. The town is very large and there is only one water source. The school doesn't have water. We want water for the school.

A: What advice do you have for other committees?

CM: My advice for other committees is to listen to EWB. They will get more benefit from EWB. The only way to benefit is to listen to what the authorities tell them what to do.

G: You have a meeting every Thursday, you have a meeting yesterday?

CM: The meeting was cancelled because we lost a member of the community (they died) so we didn't make a meeting out of respect.

G: By-laws have been created in the HDC – how are these policed? What is your responsibility?

CM: One by-law is that the pump is not accessible for children – sometimes they will defecate in the chamber.

If you don't defecate

in the latrine, you will be fined 5000L.

G: How do people know about these by-laws?

CM: The whole community came together – and agreed that this is the law. There was a whole town meeting and the chief signed...

A: What did you like the most about the training?

CM: Pump training and hygiene promotion (CLTS), but we need more training.

G: Was there anything difficult to understand?

CM: Everything was understood

A: Do you have anything to add?

CM: The pump we were given cannot support the whole town. We need more.

Interview in Soweima - Kenema, Sierra Leone 7 MARCH 2016

A: Aleks G: George P: Pa Kallon C: Chief Ch: Chairman - Translator: Pa Kallon

C: The name of this village is Suwema. The origin of Suwema is his great great grandfather. He is the one who established this village. His name Amadu Bundu. The father of this man was an ex-solder fighting in 1939-1945. So after that time he came to this village and was able to get all of them. Even though the father had died ... now taking over the town. It was a big town. But there was a war in his country 1991-1999 20XX. The war caused this town to go to 0, all houses were empty. After the war he went and collected his brothers and said "come on let's go and rebuild the town."

A: How long after the conflict have they rebuild it?

C: When the war ended, they came back here. It is above 10 years now since they are back. Year 2000 I think.

G: How big is the community now?

C: At the moment there are 10 sleeping houses.

When they returned into the village here, there was no water or them to drink. They lived far away from where they used to get drinking water. So when they were in this trouble they were so lucky that IWB came round this area, made an assessment in order to know their needs and to give them water. So they thank the almighty god that they received water.

G: Before the conflict the town was much bigger?

C: Yes.

G: And where did the water come from then?

C: Even before the war that was the water they were using.

G: Has there been any changes in the village since the well has come?

C: After they have been positive changes. They had no troubles of getting water.

G: Is it easy to distribute the water amongst everybody?

C: They have easy access to the water here. Any time anyone of them wants to get, even in midnight, they can get water here.

G: Is the HDC useful?

C: They are really getting benefit from HDC. Actually by fulfilling the conditions of having an HDC, they were able to get a waypoint. So this is one of the benefits that came from HDC.

G: And the HDC is meeting every week?

C: They have regular meetings.

G: You are the chairman? And have your responsibilities changed since you started in HDC?

Ch: They are getting benefit from the formation of the HDC

G: But what do you do in the HDC?

Ch: One of the most important things is sensitizing the people in the community on how they can practice hygiene in the town. By cleaning around the town.

G: So what types of sensitization? Is it some things like clothe lines...?

Ch: One of the most important things – handwashing. How they are sensitizing is: washing hands, cleaning the town, rope lines, also washing dishes, eating bowls, and not to spread them on the ground but to use plate racks.

G: And how do you make sure people are washing their hands?

Ch: Tipitaps, see there is one there, if you come from a critical area you are going to wash your hands. Before eating, after toilet.

G: So everybody in a village comes here after toilet?

Ch: Yes, the village is very small. There is one tipitap here and another one there.

G: if the village was much bigger do you think it would be difficult to make sure people are washing their hands and using rope lines, dish racks?

C: Charity begins at home, bit by bit, they believe if the town gets larger they will get used to that system.

G: And what happens if the people do not want to wash their hands or not help clean?

C: If you don't practice handwashing you will get disease, like diarea or dysentery.

G: And everybody believes the same thing?

G: And do you have town meeting where you talk about this belief or is it HDC members who talk to everybody individually?

C: 12:28

G: I understand it works very well, the system that you have, is that right?

C: They really believe that. The activities that were put on are really beneficial to them. They really know it is something good.

G: How would you like it to be better?

C: They maybe have an idea. But the principle ideas have been given to them. They can improve by continuously talking about it.

G: What about other health development committees in other villages? Are you talking to them?

C: They have met others on several occasions. If someone comes to the village and is not practicing they can put fine on have to be on the right way. I met on several occasions

G: Between the HDC?

P: 15:00

G: Whose job it is talk to the Chief

C: The Chief

P: Whenever you enter into any town, they come directly to the chairman, the chairman would take you to the town Chief. Any mistakes, any errors they have done in the time here, they will report this man to the town Chief. If the town Chief is not here, they will take you to assistant Chief.

G: Have this ever happened before?

P: Yes is has

G: Can you tell us why?

C: They have been to some villages. These mistakes have been occurring in some villages. So they have been opposing fines on them. And the fines that have been opposed to them, they have complied. Then they give them money. They will give them 1-2 days, or even a week.

Interview in Nyandeyama - Kenema, Sierra Leone 9 MARCH 2016

G: George A: Aleks C: Chief ADV: Advisor SR: Sanitary Rep PC: Pump Caretaker - Translator: Helen

G: Thank you... Chief can you tell us a little bit about the history of the town?

C: The town is called Nyandeyama – it is a good, nice town. Our 4th great grandfathers started this town. By then I was not on this earth. The past chiefs, and myself after I took over have been fighting to bring development to this place. We are very happy to be working with EWB and that is the first time we came across Madam Helen and we are grateful for all her efforts. We accepted everything successfully. Presently, we are still on the move, on the way ahead, ready for whatever development that she proposes to bring to us, in this particular area, we lack some facilities, in fact we are in need of latrines. For the past years, we have only had that old well with dirty water in the dry season. Then she came along and developed the well. We are really happy over her behaviour and her support and the support you are giving us through your country. We heard that you were coming a long time ago and now we are happy to you are here now. We need a health post and also more water – the health facility is very poor. From here to the next village, where the health post is, it is 3-4 miles off. So anyone getting sick they must be put in a hammock and carried to the health centre and it is a big distance. So, this is our Barray. We built it for ourselves. The community development organisers organised it and we put up this structure. There were no other donors than ourselves. You can see where we started, now we are having problems because of a lack of finances. Those are our constraints, and you see even this piece of road is very bad. We hope that you people can afford to give us part of your help.

G: How many people are living here in Nyandeyama?

C: over 1000

G: They are divided into sections?

C: There are 7 quarters, but we do everything together.

G: You mentioned medical help and health, we understand that there is a PHU connected to the HDC, is that the case?

C: Well that is why we put our own program across to you people. If you can make an effort to offer us one that would be very nice (laughs).

G: The HDC members are here, can you tell us a little about what you do?

SR: Everyday I go around and check if people are using washing lines, dishracks, I look at the use.

A: it must take a long time, it's a big town...

SR: It takes an hour – oh and I am a farmer.

CM: I am also a farmer. I own a cocoa, coffee and rice farm (the rest jump in: He has a lot of money in this town)

ADV: I am a farmer and I am the advisor for the use of the community, I am an elder.

PC: I am the pump caretaker (others jump in: he is one of the best!)

G: How did the HDC Start?

CM: The first time Helen entered here, we gathered the town people – the people recommended that we represent them in sanitation. EWB wanted to work with us, but not the whole community – they said give us some people, and we made the HDC – the community selected us to be part of the HDC.

A: What is the selection process?

GR: There are 7 quarters in this community, so there are 2 members from each quarter. Members of the quarter selected us and we are very happy. We have worked in the HDC for 2 years.

G: Can you tell us how you function in your day-to-day?

CM: As Chairman, I make sure that we have meetings, and if any problems come between us I will deal with that.

G: Do you have any examples of these problems and their solutions?

CM: I organise the meetings.

ADV: As the advisor, whenever there is a conflict in the HDC, I resolve the problem.

G: Can you tell us a story about a conflict you had?

ADV: Sometimes women quarrel at the well. I go and talk to the women, but I do not take them to the chief.

G: (to the Sanitary Rep.) Do you talk with the community?

SR: I always talk against open defecation.

G: Is that something you have to do continuously?

SR: Every morning

G: What happens if people don't follow the rules?

SR: We report them to the Chairman and sometimes the town Chief

G: Can you tell us an example of when this happened?

SR: We have by-laws, when ever you break the law, you pay a fine.

G: Has anyone paid the fine?

SR: 3,4,5 times...

G: is it difficult to make people pay the fines, what happens?

SR: Most times we don't take them to the chief unless they are difficult to deal with – but most of the time we talk it out amongst ourselves.

G: (To the Advisor) when you advised the women down at the well not to quarry, was there any difficulties in that? How did that work?

ADV: Sometimes it gets difficult so I call over the committee ladies and they go down to the women and talk to them. Sometimes they close the well and then they go.

A: What is the job of the pump care taker? What are your daily practices, do you have any problems?

PC: We have passion for the work and we have the experience to work with everything.

G: Does anyone collect money for the maintenance?

PC: We have a fund in the community, we raise money every week, so if anything breaks we just buy the parts and replace them.

So we have money!

A: Has this happened?

PC: Not yet...

A: Can we hear from the 'Chairlady'?

CL: This woman gave us pump and brought development to this area. We had dirty water and diahorrea, now we have clean water. Before two people could enter the well area, now only one can enter. I was the one who advocated for the school (she is very active in this town). She brought latrines and now we are free of diseases.

G: Have there been any changes in the HDC over the last 2 years?

It is because of the mobilisers that we are stronger. We have organised ourselves and we have meetings. Before, we didn't have meetings. We discuss things about the community. Now we can see that the community is healthy, we are not suffering from diseases like diahorrea.

G: When was the last meeting?

CM: It is at the end of the month every month.

G: do you have any actions or plans from the last meeting?

CM: We have action plans. Before we had contributions of 1000 SLL but now we changed it to 2000SLL

G: How do you discuss this with the community?

CM: Whenever we plan something in the committee we take it to the town chief and the chief reaches out to the community. For example, the fence around the pump was not good, so we planned to make it and we told the town chief.

G: This is a strong HDC and a big town. Other towns are not so strong. What is it that makes your town special?

CM: We are nice together.

G: You seem to have a good relationship to your chief, do you think this is an important thing?

CM: Yes. Important.

G: What do you talk about when you meet other HDCs?

CM: In Komende we told them to be in good relation to the chief and work in coordination with each other.

G: Are they getting better?

CM: They are getting stronger.

G: The women are away today? Are they involved in another committee? Are there other committees in the town?

CM: No, only the HDC

A: What about before the HDC?

CM: we had one for the contribution to the construction of houses

A: Is it still here?

CM: Yes

A: How is it organised?

CM: It is different, the HDC is about health

Health is different to construction

We put up structures every year. Every month the community contributes 2000SLL it is the same money for the construction... each house should have a latrine.

But they don't

They wait for EWB to give the latrines

(pointing to the chairman's house – he has built his own latrine, not everyone can afford to have a latrine)

A: Now that you have had training, what did you like the most? What would you like more of?

CM: Hygiene, we need refresher training.

G: Is there anything difficult?

CM: No it is easy

A: Anything to add? G: (To the Chairlady) How could the HDC be better?

CL: We need more help from you, we need a hospital, we have to put people in hammocks, we are very far, the road is very terrible.

G: Is the HDC about helping sick and pregnant people?

CM: The contribution is a megaphone to tell people to clear the path

G: Is there communication between the HDC and the PHU?

CM: We have the numbers so if there is an emergency we call. We haven't called the PHU but we called the hospital when someone died.

G: What about when someone needs medical attention?

CM: then we go to the PHU

G: Do you have communication with the KDC?

CM: We talk to the Ward Development Committee – our counsellor is the head (???)

PC: I am in the ward development committee

G: What was the last communication you had with the KDC?

CM: It was the assessment they did before the EWB intervention about 2 years ago.

The story of Nyandeyama as told by a village elder:

I don't know much but that I do know I will tell you...

Our great grandfathers deserted their original community. It was a small community next to a stream called Nyandeya. They used this stream for their drinking water. They deserted because of a civil war that was happening at the time in the area. They were frightened so they moved – but I wasn't born then. It was many years ago (some time before WWI), people fought with bows and arrows, whole communities. They were warriors, fighting to gain more land and to find slaves.

They moved the community to this place and called it Nyandeyama.

G: Is this story important for your community? Is it told to the children?

Yes it is important but the kids do not ask – they do not have time, they are only interested in football.

A joke is made about slavery: Not all slaves made it to America, some of them stayed to run the country...

Further notes about WWII are made: people lost family members, there was famine and people had to desert their areas – the British took men to fight against Hitler.

What is interesting in this is that the village superiors could not tell the story... they had to get the oldest man to tell it, whose memory of it all was fairly weak.

We notice here also the way communities can move. We understand this is also the case today. For example, one community was paid by a diamond miner to move their village away from where he would mine. The payment was some new houses for the community (i.e. to replace the ones that would be destroyed). Similarly we see how communities have moved from more remote locations to the road side to be closer to the road and also the business opportunities it brings.

We might begin to ask about how or if culture is physically tied to place. It appears to be at best tied to traditional practices and in dialogue of those practices in groups of men and women. There is dance and song as we saw in Ngelahun, but no place... even the Barray is not a must in each village. Although it is convenient and nice to hold meetings in the shade.

In the context of preserving culture of local people, and how this hangs together with development discourse, we might ask, which culture are we trying to preserve or be sensitive to? That which is described in academic articles or that which is practiced?

It doesn't take a much to notice the intertwined practices of Islam, Christianity and Traditional Beliefs in Sierra Leone, let alone the most remote villages we visited. The point might be that a) it is important to understand what life is like in these rural communities – they are not static and not isolated from the rest of the world and b) a focus on some western construct of culture might marginalise the ambitions of some communities. (Why do we think about culture in the IUG context?)

Interviews in Malehun - Kenema, Sierra Leone 16 MARCH 2016

A: Aleks G: George Ch: Chairman P: Pump Caretaker - Translator: Pa Kallon

A: Can we hear a little bit about the history of this village? How it got established?

P: The origin of the town here are all of their great grandfathers. The translation of the name in Mende – I meet you. So the origin of this town is that they met at this place. Malehun – the place of meeting.

So during those days our forefathers were warriors. So they used to go all around looking for their enemies or making an ambush on a settlement. So what happened during this thing, there in a place not far from here, “the original village”. So after they came they met .. settlement. So they thought their enemy might be hidden. So they made an ambush. And where did they made an ambush? – Inside the huts. There was a fire blazing inside. They waited the whole day in the ambush, but they could not see anyone. So they left. After, they came again and made the same ambush and couldn’t see anybody. So they advanced, they went there and didn’t find anyone. So this is when they were people have met, this is a place for living. And they have taken the place as their own. This is how Malehun came to be. They met it.

G: Is the story told a lot to children?

P: None of them were living at the time. So by telling is how they got aware of the story.

Ch: There is another story, and it is very interesting, about the chieftaincy. So white people were controlling the entire country. One time they were moving around and they met this village. It was already occupied by the founder. They looked at the place and gave a paper document to a person who was the great grandfather of these people. He was illiterate, but his niece who lived at ... and was in love with a ‘big man’ of the white people at the time. So when she visited he uncle, he gave her the document. So she could find out what I written in it. After the boyfriend of the lady read the letter he realised that it was a letter of chieftaincy. So this place long time ago was a place, one of headquarters of the paramount Chief. Like one in Kenama [right now].

A: Can you tell us about the life in the village right now? How many people live here? What do you do? We saw a very nice palm plantation on the way here. So maybe you can tell us about your work?

P: Living here, nothing else they can do except agriculture.

A: Do you go to work early in the morning? How long do you stay in the fields?

P: They don’t have the energy [electricity] or machines to do the work, so when the day breaks they go to the bush and they do the brushing.

G: What is brushing?

P: Brushing – they brush the farm. First thing you have to do is to select the site, then you begin brushing. After that because they work in groups, group work is one of the most important thing in Malehun. If you get about 30 farmers here, they form a committee amongst themselves. They have to sit down and take care of the balance. “There is an old man where we are going to work today” So all that 30 men power will go and work there. They schedule another day for ... Musa.

A: Is this way of working special for Malehun? Or does it also happen in other places?

P: What is happening here is also in Levuma and other nearby villages. Other villages also have the same formation.

A: Now that you have a pump, you get your water from the pump. What were your water practices before you had it?

P: There streams around. They had water in the streams and the swamp that what they ad for drinking.

A: What are you daily practice around water? Do you gather it in the morning? (16:50)

Interview with Community Mobilizers - Kenema, Sierra Leone 23 MARCH 2016

G: George A: Aleks H: Helen J: John M: Musu

G: So the idea with this get together now is to revisit the communities we have be to: Ngelahun, Neandeyama, Suwema, Maleyhun. We have gone through the interviews and looked through the information we have collected. So now the priority is to build up the story of those communities together with you. Then we want to talk a little bit about the assessment criteria of the HDC that you guys use, and how you do your monitoring and evaluation. All of you have been present at least during some of the interviews, and we would like to talk about how we have done this process, and maybe you have some input about those things. So we thought it would be interesting to start talking about these 4 villages themselves. You have all interacted with them in some way or another from the very beginning of the intervention. So what we would like to know is what did this villages looked like before the EWB came or when you first came there. So maybe we can take them one by one and have a short discussion about each village, how did it look befor and how does it looks now, and what has changed the most and why. So maybe we can start with Ngelahun.

H: Ngelahun as you saw is hard to reach community so the only NGO that went there was CORD to do CLTS in the community but they never succeeded so they left. As you have seen the community is hilly so the well that the have does not have enough water so they left the well. So by the time we got there they didn't have water, they had no proper sanitation, no household latrines. They just had one communal latrine. There were no sanitation by-law, they did everything on their own. But after we entered the community with all the training, especially CLTS and hygiene training, after the intervention we can see that they have household latrines in the community, now they have by-laws. And we can see that the town Chief gives support to the HDC members in the community, just because of our intervention. Before we entered the Chief had nothing to lose, there was no HDC, so they were doing everything on their own. So the Chief gave support to form an HDC in this community. Now they have sanitation by-laws, that do more general cleaning, households that have latrines and others are digging latrines. I want to stop here, I don't want to say everything, so another person should say something

M: In Ngelahun even the town Chief was without a latrine, but after our intervention he has constructed one. He told us thanks of enlightening them about CLTS.

G: You said that CORD was there. How long ago was it?

H: Just a year before (us) I think

A: And they have not established any committees there? HDC?

H: They did not succeed, because even the well they build had dried up. They had no household latrines. Because of where the community is located they said they will not construct temporary latrines because it would not work there, it is very hilly. When we went to this community to facilitate CLTS, the town Chief came to us and told that he appreciates so much the massage to his community and promised to construct his own latrine. He bought cement, zinc and even paid the technicians to construct it. So that was a great impact and other stakeholders have also copied from him so the construction of the latrines is ongoing. HDC chailady, they are

constructing their own latrine. Without us giving them slabs, they are doing it on their own. So we can really see the the trainings like CLTS and leadership training had really made an impact. We cannot say that the were 0, but really the community had poor hygiene. And even the leadership structure, they were not regarding the town Chief at the time we entered there. But now they call meetings, they discuss thing about the community they do more general cleaning.

A: How long ago was this intervention? 2 years ago, or more recent?

H: 2 years

G: But CORD has not set up any water committee?

H: No, they just triggered them on CLTS. Told them to construct household latrines, but they never did. They tried to give them water, but they did not work because of the location of the community.

G: We have a list of the 21 communities from yourselves. I'm pretty sure that Ngelahun is one of the strong HDC's, am I right?

H: No, not too strong...

G: oh, sorry. It's a weak one. But do you know why it is not so strong?

H: The community is bigger, that is one of the reasons. Whenever we work in bigger communities most of the times we have problems.

M: And once again it is a hard to reach area. Road is very poor.

G: We also noticed that in the bigger communities, Neandeyama and Ngelahun vs Suwema and Malehun. The smaller communities seem to be doing much better. Is it only because it is so big and there are so many people to organise. Or is it something to do with the section Chiefs?

H: Like Ngelahun they are closer to the junction, closer to Kenama. So most of the community members think they know much. So when the Chief tells them to do something they feel they know much, but they don't know nothing when it comes to sanitation and hygiene. So most times that is a problem that happened in these communities. Especially when you have those who enter primary school.

G: So it is the youth who are not doing the things...

H: Yes, but now thanks to the sensitization and our presence in the community they are coming on board. It is much better now. But before we went there they were doing everything in their own way. They didn't even listen to the town Chief, when he called a meeting they don't go there. But since we entered event the road... The time we entered we were climbing the hills with the bikes, we walked, it was so terrible. But since the intervention they got people together and worked on that road themselves.

G: Did you expect something like that to happen?

H: When we entered there we were grumbling about the road. And that is also one of the reasons why no NGO had entered that community. So we said that we are humanitarians, we are supposed to enter the poorest of the poor, and we can expect that the road work will also be poor. So we sensitized them, because they are waiting on the government, to go and work on the road together. And they did it.

G: When you did the HDC group formation, how did that work? It was hard to understand from the community exactly how it worked. It sounded like they got selected from their sections. How do you do this group formation

H: When we entered the community we told them that we don't know anybody here, but we want to work with you and we want people, so you should select or elect people who can work with us on behalf of the community.

So they selected these people. They have 4 sections, so they brought people from each section. So we told them that if there is any message they should go to their quarters (sections) and educate the people.

A: Do you know how the sections selected people? What qualities were they looking for?

H: First they have to know that people are hardworking, they love their community, they want their community to be developed and they need to stay in that community.

G: Can you tell us about this 'police' woman?

H: She is a sanitary rep. She was a sanitary rep before we went there...

G: From the ministry of health?

H: Yes, she was representing the ministry of health, they call them sanitary reps. She was in that position when we entered. She is so active, so they selected her to be a part of the HDC, and she is doing so well.

G: The position of a sanitary rep, is it the same position she has now?

H: It's the same. Only at that time people were not listening to her compared to now, when we are working with them.

G: Do you know why?

H: We have given them a hand pump, safe drinking water. And the monitoring that she does every morning.

A: Are the sanitary reps present in all the villages? And how did they get there?

H: In every community they supposed to have sanitary reps, even though they are not recognised much by the government or the district council. But they have the name, they are the sanitary reps. So when people don't listen to them, they just relax because they have nowhere to complain. But since we got there at least they have people to complain to. And also now they have official by-laws and fines, so now they listen and respect them.

G: So now we go to Neandeyama. Is it a weak or strong community?

H: It is strong

G: Do you know what is the difference between the 2, because they are both very big. Can you think why Neandeyama is better than Ngelahun in WASH program?

J: So far what we know, is Neandeyama is very active, they carry out their activities. When they go to trainings they are active and they are implementing. Even though the village is big, you can see that they are abiding the sanitary law. And they are also literate people there. And not as traditional as Ngelahun. They have a school, they have teachers.

G: Are the young people who are causing trouble in Ngelahun, are they better at listening to elders in Neandeyama.

J: Yes. In Neandeyama even the town Chief was a teacher, he is a literate man. And the HDC chairman went to school.

G: Do you think it is helpful when HDC members are educated for them to be successful.

H: Especially the leader, the chairman

G: We didn't really get to talk to the women of the HDC in Nyandeyama, can you tell us a little bit about what they are like to work with?

J: e have one at Neandeyama, she is very versatile, very efficient, very hardworking woman...

G: Like the police woman?

J: More than the police woman... she is younger.

H: Even though she is illiterate.

G: Is she the one who came at the end?

H: Yes

J: She is a pump caretaker, she can even maintain the pump now. She is also moving from village to village, sensitizing people, even in our absence.

M: And again Neandeyama has more active youth than Ngelahun.

G: Is it because they have a school there?

H: Yes

J: Ngelahun is more traditional. Because their place is 'up there', because of the 'wall'. They are very patient, very naive. If we wouldn't have gone there nobody would have reached them they have no contact with anybody

M: Also there are more than 2 entrances from Kenama to Neandeyama, but form Ngelahun is only one

J: If you compare Ngelahun with Neandeyama, Ngelahun is more native and traditional and Neandeyama is social. Only after our intervention are people getting there, before they lived between themselves, loved to stay within their village more, because of their habits.

A: How did Neandeyama looked when you first came there?

H: We were the first NGO to enter the community, well actualy CORD went there, but only to implement CLTS, briefly. But as we said Neandeyama is social, most of the boys in the community enter school, primary school. So there is understanding, they are very easy to understand, that is an advantage that made the work easier for us. The chairman is educated, the town Chief is educated and a few other as well.

J: Some boys live in Kenama and mine in Neandeyama, who are educated and love development so when they see someone from the development program they come closer and disseminate the information.

H: If you remember the teacher when he told the old stories, the history. That is the type of people we are talking about in Neandeyama. So Neandeyama is not that remote really.

G: The son of the man who told us the history of Neandeayma, also a teacher, in the beginning of the meeting he got very angry because he didn't get introduced.

J: He wanted to be seen and to be recognised.

H: But really we went to the HDC's, and at the time we called the meeting he was not around, so we forgot about him and he got angry. But he is a teacher and he is important to the community

G: Do they have a connection. If he is running the school and the school has sanitation. Is this also the job of the HDC to monitor their health and sanitation there?

J: The children who are going to school are from the households. So when the parents are taught, they disseminate information to their kids, and they take it to school, and the school teacher also talks about it. HDC members help cleaning around the school...

H: HDC really by right.. If we say we are going to be involved with children, we call it SSHE, it should not be CLTS it should be SSHE (school sanitation hygiene education). When we are involved with school and children, they are supposed to facilitate CLTS in their own school. But with this HDC they call a community meeting and the school teachers will be present and even some school children. But we are not sending anyone to school, we are hoping to have SSHE maybe in the future.

G: Like a new project?

H: Yes

G: And would that be something that is organised by the Ministry of education or does it come through this core WASH group?

J: Some NGO's are doing it. In collaboration with the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, through the implementing partner

H: One of the NGO's who are doing this, they train the children and they send them to the community. They say they should train their relatives. Each child trains their own family when they get back home. Because whatever the children say to the parents from school they take it as very important.



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