

**Motivational Orientation of Persons Managing Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programmes in the Volta Region of Ghana: An Empirical Study.**

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**Abstract.**

This paper reports on an investigation into factors that determined the decisions of Watsan members to participate in and commit themselves to management activities that would ensure the sustainability of water supply and sanitation programmes in their communities. The particular management activities considered for this study were Watsan meetings, implementation of decisions and promotion of hygiene and sanitation practices. The major finding was that there were emerging shifts in the motivational orientations of the Watsan members to initially provide voluntary services to their communities, which was based purely on normative values. The current trend is that their decisions to continue membership and to participate in and commit themselves to Watsan activities are increasingly being shaped by remunerative values. It implies that their continued membership and willingness to perform their management tasks satisfactorily, in future, would depend on how much satisfaction they derived from being members. It is argued that, the absence of these motivational factors will eventually make the Watsan Committees incapable of holding scheduled meetings regularly and frequently, effectively implementing their decisions and efficiently promoting hygiene and sanitation practices in their communities.

**Introduction**

The Volta Region Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programme was launched in 1984 as a joint venture between the governments of Ghana and Denmark. Its development objective was to contribute towards better living and health conditions for rural populations in the Volta Region of Ghana. To achieve this goal, the Programme was to provide reliable and easily accessible sources of drinking water to be managed by the recipient communities. At the same time, water and excreta related diseases were to be reduced considerably through the adoption of hygienic practices and improved sanitary installations (Ghana, CWSA, 1996; GWSC/CWSD -DANIDA, 1996).

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

Community ownership and management through a demand-driven approach was the strategy adopted for the implementation of the Programme. In order to operationalise this strategy, the Programme formed and trained 1,022 Water and Sanitation (Watsan) Committees (VRCWSP/CWSA, 2003a and 2003b). These Watsan Committees were the local organizations charged with the responsibility of managing the water supply and sanitation programme at the community levels on sustainable basis. Their tasks were to facilitate programme implementation in terms of achieving effective operations management and maintenance of the facilities extended under the programme, promoting hygienic knowledge and practices and facilitating the adoption of improved sanitary installations.

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors that shape and continue to influence the decisions of members of the Watsan Committees to continue membership, to participate in and be committed to ensuring an efficient management of the water supply facilities and to effectively promote the adoption of hygiene and sanitation practices as well as improved sanitary installations in the communities.

**Conceptual Framework**

For the purpose of this study, motivational orientation is conceptualized as the major influences on the decisions of the membership of the Watsan Committees to be voluntarily committed to and participate in activities that would lead to the efficient operation and maintenance of water supply facilities and the promotion of hygiene and sanitation in their communities. Thus, the concept of motivational orientation is viewed, basically, as the factors that determined the continued participation in and commitment of the Watsan Committees to sustaining the water and sanitation programme in the communities.

In this study, membership commitment was perceived as the willingness of members of local organizations to give their energy and loyalty to the programme management process. Knocke and Wood (1981), however, provide a broader perspective of the concept of commitment. According to them, commitment is a process that makes people to identify their personal fate with the success or failure of a project or programme. Such identification process influences their decisions as to whether or not to exert some effort towards the attainment of communal goals, to continue membership of the organization, to accept its norms and values and to voluntarily accept responsibilities and perform assigned duties. Committed members are often willing to sacrifice their time, money and energy for the success of a programme or project.

Membership commitment does not exist in a vacuum. Instead, it is the level of satisfaction that members derive from participating in the activities of the organization that determines their level of commitment to contributing meaningfully to its programmes. Participation, in this regard, implies the opportunities open to the entire membership to contribute in diverse ways to the successful management of a programme. According to Pestoff (1979), the creation of an enabling environment for membership participation in collective policy decision-making and implementation is essential for successful programme management. This is because, as concluded by Jentoft and Davis (1992), the participation of members in management decision-making and implementation processes nurture and reinforce their attachment and commitment to contributing effectively to the programme. The basic assumption is that if members make decisions on issues, they tend to be responsible and committed to it.

Aksnes (1982) provides a useful categorization of membership participation in the governance system, that is, in the organization's administration and decision-making process. These are first, the willingness of members to seek information about the performance of their and about how the water and sanitation facility is been operated and maintained. The second is the willingness to attend meetings regularly and punctually for decision-making. The third is the willingness to accept roles and responsibilities, readiness to hold office and a disposition to serve on sub-committees. Lastly, it involves having influence on decisions through voting, performance of special duties, open use of voice to express one's feelings at meetings, writing in newspapers and bulletins; informal meetings among members who are not leaders; grassroots contacts and having direct contact with leadership through suggestions, memos and discussions.

However, the commitment and willingness of individuals to continue to participate in voluntary activities of a collectivity are determined by the extent to which one is motivated. The theoretical perspectives adopted for this study are Knoke and Wood's (1981) framework for explaining the motivational orientation of persons operating in voluntary associations and the typology of motivational sources proposed by Leonard, Beauvais, and Scholl (1999).

According to Knoke and Wood (1981), a member's commitment to and participation in voluntary organizations depend upon the motivation induced by some particular attributes of the organization. The specific attribute that is of much significance to this study is the organization's incentive systems. The two main types of incentive regimes that constitute useful constructs for explaining the motivational orientation of members of volunteer-based organizations, especially those managing community water supply and sanitation programmes, are social and normative systems. This is because Watsan Committees are engaged primarily in prosocial behaviours to the extent that they perform "voluntary actions that are intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals" (Elsenberg and Mussen, 1989: 3). In this case, the patterned activities or actions of the Watsan Committees are intended to help the communities to efficiently manage their water and sanitation programmes to the benefit of all.

Social incentives refer to social benefits that can be enjoyed solely by members of a local organization. These include the satisfaction of social affiliation needs, receiving appreciation and positive recognition as well as being treated in a caring, lovely and considerate manner. This type of motivation is described by Leonard, Beauvais, and Scholl (1999) as self-concept-external motivation because the source tends to be externally based as the individual is basically other-directed and seeking affirmation of their traits, competencies and values. This source of motivation is similar to Etzioni's (1961) social moral involvement, extrinsic interpersonal motivation described by Deci (1975) and Staw (1976) and Bernard's (1938) social inducements, conformity to group attitudes, and communion and the social identity theory, where the focus is on establishing and maintaining social reference and standing (Ashford and Mael, 1989). The general position is that, in these sources of motivation, the ideal self is adopted from role expectations of reference groups being directed by a need to believe their reputation or image will be enhanced if they comply. To the extent that individuals are motivated by activities that reaffirm their traits, competencies and values, they pursue tasks and demonstrate behaviours that earn them social acceptance and status in reference groups.

The normative incentive system refers to "public goods and services" that an organization provides to the community through the collective and voluntary efforts of its members. These are purely altruistic motives as identified by Barker's (1993: 28) as one of the motivational forces which explain why people volunteer. Altruistic motives, in terms of volunteer behaviour, can be understood as moral, voluntary, tendentious and giving behaviour, without any expectations of reward (Chapman & Morley, 1999; Clary & Snyder, 1999). The motivational orientation here is based on the satisfaction members derive from providing services or contributing toward the improvement of the conditions within their communities or seen to be promoting the common good and are not, in most cases, concerned with direct benefits to themselves. Altruistic motives direct behaviours that demonstrate solidarity for the poor, compassion for those in need, identifying with poor people and giving hope and dignity to the disadvantaged.

This source of motivation also integrates Leonard, Beauvais, and Scholl's (1999) conceptualization of intrinsic process motivation. As explained by Barbutor and Scholl (1998), persons activated to perform certain kinds of work or to engage in certain types of behaviour for the sheer fun of it are driven by intrinsic process motivation. In this case, the work itself not the task outcome, provides the incentive because participants just enjoy what they are doing. The emphasis is thus on immediate enjoyment or pleasure during the activity, for example social rewards and relations gained during the process of work. Subsequently, individuals are motivated to participate in activities they enjoy and therefore exhibit behaviours that create a pleasant working environment for the themselves and their colleagues (see also Barbutor, Brown, Wilhite, and Wheeler, 2001). Similarly, members may be motivated by the ultimate desire to render voluntary service to society probably because they only wish to give back to society what they had gotten from it through education and the grant of other privileges. This is described by Barker (1993: 28) as obligation motives; the dimensions of which are moral and religious duty, to contribute to local community, to repay debt and political duty to bring about change.

A third incentive system, equally relevant to this study, is instrumental motivation which is derived from the perception that behaviour will lead to certain extrinsic tangible outcomes, such as pay, promotions and bonuses (Leonard, Beauvais, and Scholl, 1999). This source of motivation is similar to Etzioni's (1961/1975) remunerative power regime that induces calculative involvement, Bernard's (1938) exchange theory and Katz and Khan's (1978) legal compliance and external rewards. In this situation, members require some incentives or guaranteed self-benefits to perform the work and are therefore only motivated to participate in formally rewarded activities. Their task performance and demonstrated behaviours are thus contingent on gaining some self-benefits and or tangible rewards such as pay increases, promotions and added benefits.

## **Methodology**

This research was conducted between July 26 and September 12, 2006. The population of the study covered all the 1,022 Water and Sanitation (Watsan) Committees that were formed and trained by the Programme (VRCWSP/CWSA, 2003a and 2003b). The sample study was selected by a multi-stage sampling technique. At the first stage, three districts, namely the Nkwanta, Hohoe and North Tongu Districts, were randomly selected from three zones defined by geographical, socio-cultural and economic differences. The northern zone comprised the Krachi, Nkwanta, Jasikan and Kadjebi-Asato districts. The central zone was made up of Hohoe, Kpando, Ho and Ketu districts while the southern zone covered North Tongu, South Tongu, Akatsi and Keta districts. By a simple random method, one district was chosen from each of the zones for the study.

At the second stage, approximately ten per cent of the total number of communities reached by the programme in each of the three selected districts was randomly selected. This was to give a proportional representation to each of the districts. A total of 26 communities were thus selected for this study. This represented about 10.3 per cent of the total number of communities reached by the programme in the sampled districts. Lastly, all members of Watsan committees found in the sampled communities were considered automatically selected. However, the research instruments were administered on only those members who responded to the invitation and were therefore present at the scheduled meetings. In all, a total of 155 members attended the scheduled meetings held for 26 the Watsan committees making an average of about six persons per committee.

The study adopted the survey research method of the descriptive type. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used for this research. These included focus group discussions, formal and informal interviews and observations. The emphasis of this research was on ensuring content and predictive validity of the instruments of measurement. In terms of achieving content validity, much effort was made to obtain a representative sample of items from the universe of the subject under study. In doing this, the items in the research instruments were designed so that they contained, in a balanced way, almost all issues relating to the subject of study. Since content validity is a matter of judgment, these items were peer reviewed and subjected to thorough scrutiny and re-organization. To achieve some appreciable level of predictive validity, efforts were made to ensure that all the relevant social characteristics within the Watsan Committees were captured in the sample.

## **Results of the Analysis of Data.**

### ***Motivational orientation to membership***

An attempt was made to find out why members had initially accepted to serve on the Watsan Committees and the summary of their responses is as follows:

- The desire to contribute to the development of the community (38.7%).
- To help sustain the water supply system so as to ensure regular supply of good drinking water (21.1%).
- To promote healthy living through the adoption of hygienic practices in the community (20.5%).
- The pride to be chosen by the chiefs and elders and or the community to serve them (15.3%).
- Enthusiasm about the whole programme because it had the potential of eradicating guinea worm in the community and the desire to be part of its sustainability (4.4%).

The results indicated that majority, making approximately 75.5 percent, would want to continue their membership of the Watsan Committees. Whereas 1.9 percent of them were undecided, some 22.6 percent would want to withdraw their membership of the Committees. The decisions of those who desired to withdraw their membership were based on the facts that:

- They either had health problems or thought they were old enough to retire from active community service (31.4%).
- Their sacrifices were not being recognized by the community (20%).
- Lack of respect and too many insults, harassments and accusations (17.2%).
- They were engaged in too many voluntary assignments and needed to shed off some of their commitments in the community (17.1%).
- They were being frustrated by the attitude of the community in terms of refusal to comply with operational rules and regulations and failing to pay for the use of water as well as lack of support from local governance structures (14.3%).

### ***Whether or not to be remunerated***

An analysis of the responses of members as to whether they would want to be remunerated showed that whereas a majority making some 62.6 percent thought they should, 32.9 percent felt otherwise and 4.5 percent were undecided. In terms of district distributions, whilst majority of members, constituting approximately 80 percent (of 55), from the Hohoe District would want to be remunerated, 50.9 percent in North Tongu (of 44) and only 44.6 percent (of 56) in the

Nkwanta stated so. This means that it was only in the Nkwanta District that more than half of the respondents said that they would not want to be remunerated.

The decisions of those who desired to be remunerated were informed by the following considerations:

- As a morale booster or incentive to enhance their performance and to make other people willing to serve on the Watsan committee (46.3%).
- The work is demanding in terms of time, energy and, in most cases, they had to sacrifice their jobs to participate in Watsan activities (37.1%).
- As appreciation and recognition for their contributions to the development of the community since money is being generated from the sale of water (9.3%).
- To compensate for the insults, threats, harassments and other inconveniences (7.2%).

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

For those who did not want to be remunerated, their reasons were that:

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

**Participation in Watsan activities.**

Although almost all Watsan Communities indicated, at the focus group meetings, that they had scheduled meeting days, about 61.5 percent (16 of 26) of them conceded that they were unable to follow these meeting schedules. The results also indicated that 15.3 percent held no meetings at all between January and June 2004. Whereas 38.5 percent of them held only one, 15.3 percent had two or three whilst 30.7 percent held between four and six meetings during the period. On average, the Watsan Committees held approximately three meetings within the period of six months. Similarly, although 88.5 percent (23 of 26) of the Watsan Committees stated that they had scheduled monthly meetings, 69.3 percent held less than three and 30.7 percent were able to hold between four to six meetings. A study of the results on how recent the meetings were also revealed that whilst approximately 50 percent had theirs between May and June 2004; 34.6 percent did so between January and March and 15.4 percent before the end of December 2003.

Individual responses on attendances agreed with the information obtained on the meeting patterns of most Watsan Committees. The results indicated that 53.5 percent (83 of 155) did not attend any meetings at all between January and June 2004. Whilst 24 percent attended meetings about three or four times, 19 percent did so about one or two times and only 3.2 percent stated that they attended meetings five or more times during the period under review. On average, members attended only about two meetings and approximately 50 percent of them did so more or less than ones during the period.

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

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

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

**Values for Decisions Taken and Implemented**

	Number of Decisions Implemented					Totals
	None	Three	Two	One		
Number of Decisions Taken	None	6	0	0	0	6
	Three	3	5	2	3	16
	Two	1	0	0	1	2
	One	4	0	0	1	5
	Totals	14	5	2	5	26

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

- Inability to organize frequent meetings to develop action plans (35%).
- Lack of team spirit among members which had led to much difficulty in mobilizing communities to implement plans (24%).
- Lack of funds to purchase spare parts for the repair and maintenance of water supply systems and to meaningfully remunerate vendors and committee members (18%).
- Lack of community support (12%).

With regard to the promotion of hygiene and sanitation, it was observed that whereas almost all the Watsan Committees were able to promote increased knowledge about hygiene and sanitation issues through the organization of educational programmes, they were incapacitated in bringing about desired behavioural and action changes in terms of the adoption of hygiene and sanitation practices by the residents of their communities. Observations had revealed that conditions of toilet facilities in most communities visited were unacceptable to the extent that:

- Most people practiced "free range", that is, they used nearby bushes and road-sides as toilet.
- Most public toilets were not particularly usable being characterized by collapsed roofs, caved in walls and stands and bushy surroundings with tissue paper scattered about.
- Institutional latrines which were opened to the public were not being maintained well and were found to be generally unclean, especially during the school holiday periods.

Similarly, although hygienic and sanitary conditions were generally satisfactory, much needed to be done in a significant number of communities to bring them to acceptable standards. For example:

- Water collection points in six communities were observed to be neglected and characterized by bushy surroundings, mouldy platforms and with domestic animals having field day on them.
- The level of cleanliness in eight communities was unsatisfactory to the extent that there were bushes in between buildings, domestic animals loitering around as well as littering the grounds with their droppings and solid waste scattered about.
- Control of refuse dump sites was observed to be problematic in almost all communities. Refuse could be found scattered along paths leading to the dump-hills and, in most cases, very close to houses at the outskirts of towns. In some communities they were being used as toilets and it was normal to find faeces competing with refuse along paths leading to refuse dumping grounds.

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

## **Discussion of Results**

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

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

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

From all indications, it had not been possible for most Watsan Committees to maintain efficient and effective management systems that would enhance the contribution of their broad membership towards the formulation and implementation of policy decisions regarding the management of the water supply and sanitation programme. And, as similarly observed by Knoke (1981), the likely consequences were that other members of the organization had the feeling of alienation and were therefore becoming apathetic and passive. This is because, according to the intimations of Kwadzokpo (1994), local organizations in which members have weak control over decision-making and

implementation would experience reduction in membership commitment and participation. It is argued that Watsan Committees can improve upon their corporate performance if they are capable of maintaining organizational structures that are characterized by the principles of democratic participation and mutual co-operation

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

Much education went on in the communities for the people to appreciate the benefits of using improved water supply facilities and promoting hygiene and sanitation. It is sufficiently clear from the study that the personal values that members of Watsan Committees derived from the use of these improved systems and their desire to ensure that these values are sustained for the community as a whole made many of them to decide to continue their membership. It is fair to infer, therefore, that the decision of most of them to continue membership was basically defined by their moral attachment to the water and sanitation programmes in their communities. Thus their orientation to continued membership can be described, in the context of Etzioni's (1975) constructs as purely normative.

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

The research results have also shown that although most Watsan Committees were successful in increasing awareness and knowledge through hygiene and sanitation education in their communities they were unable to effect changes in critical hygiene behaviours and actions within their communities. The reason being that they were not committed to continuing their regular inspection of homes and communities to ensure compliance to acceptable hygiene and sanitation standards. Indeed, discussions at the focus group levels revealed that morale was low within most of the Watsan committees due to lack of motivation. They argued that although their job was sacrificial and demanding in terms of time and the use of other personal resources to ensure the sustainability of the programme, no incentive packages were designed for them. Most residents in the communities that they were serving did not even appreciate the great sacrifices that they were making towards improving their conditions. Instead they were constantly bombarded with insults, threats and accusations of embezzlements.

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

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

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

The thesis therefore is that if some effort is spent on making the leadership of the Watsan Committees stronger and more innovative, they can attain collectively determined purposes by continuously maintaining membership interests and participation in as well as their commitment to the decision-making and problem-solving processes necessary to sustain the water and sanitation programme in their communities. Leadership, thus, becomes the single most important factor that can make Watsan Committees to attain enhanced performance at the levels of decision-making and implementation and, subsequently, ensure programme sustainability in the communities. The leadership of the Watsan can also do well to enhance the participation of their members in the decision making and implementation process if they are able to sustain the existing level of moral attachment and normative orientation of the members to the entire water and sanitation programme. Indeed, one obvious means to achieving this is to open up significant opportunities for all of members to participate meaningfully in the entire programme management process. This is because, as pointed out by van Heck (1977), collective participation in the process of decision- making enhances

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

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

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

It is significant, therefore, to note that a majority of approximately 67.1 percent of Watsan members interviewed indicated that they would want to be remunerated because they needed to be compensated for a work that was demanding and full of insults and inconveniences. This, according to them would serve as an incentive and a demonstration of the communities' appreciation for the work they were doing for them. These statements were at sharp variance with their initial motivational orientation towards membership which was defined by moral considerations. These included the pride to be chosen by the community to promote their development, satisfaction derived from serving ones community and the desire to help sustain the water and sanitation programme so as to promote the health status of their people. Thus, although membership involvement was initially normative in nature, that is, based on the desire to promote the welfare of people living in their communities through rendering voluntary services, the current and emerging orientation of the members is materialistic and or calculative based on remunerative values.

## **Conclusions**

It is possible to conclude from the discussions made so far that the initial desire of the membership of the Watsan Committees to provide voluntary services to their communities is gradually fading off. This means that continued membership of members of these local management committees and their willingness to perform their tasks satisfactorily will eventually depend on how much satisfaction they derive from being members. This transformation in their orientation was orchestrated and being maintained by the experiences gained from managing water and sanitation programmes in their communities over the years. Disrespect, abuses and other kinds of assaults, the demanding nature of their tasks in terms of time, energy in which, in most cases, they had to sacrifice their jobs to participate in Watsan activities, desire for their efforts to be appreciated and recognized and the perception that enough money was being generated from the sale of water, have made them to request for adequate compensation for their contribution to the development of their communities.

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

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

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