

12 December 2004

The COMMISSION FOR AFRICA 20 Victoria Street, London SW1H 0NF United Kingdom

Attention: Sue Mbaya

Director, Southern Africa Regional Poverty Network

Organiser, Southern Africa Consultations - Lusaka, Zambia

Regarding: WaterAid Submission to the Southern Africa Consultations

Dear Honourable Members of the Commission for Africa:

Greetings! WaterAid welcomes and appreciates the opportunity to participate in the Commission for Africa's consultations in Lusaka from 13-14 December, and to provide inputs on the report that will be used next year, during the UK's presidency of the European Union and the G8, to focus the global political agenda on the needs of Africa.

In principle, we are fully supportive of the *consultation document* that has been circulated. It provides a comprehensive starting point to focus priorities and test the relevance of ideas. In this regard, we would like to register our principal concern – *very little mention has been made on how water and sanitation provision can reduce poverty in Africa.*

Like many of the other problems that Africa faces, water supply and sanitation provision is a complex and difficult task. Our research in Zambia and Malawi reveal that:

- Simply increasing funding is unlikely to benefit the poor unless problems and inefficiencies in resource allocation and targeting are first addressed.
- Sectoral co-ordination is in disorder, compounded no less by a number of donor policies.
- Serious problems in the equity of distribution of projects within countries, along with the sustainability of investments, persist.

The improvement of domestic water supply, sanitation and hygiene behaviour produces immeasurable benefits far beyond those of reducing disease and the burden of long-distance water collection. It enables poor families to save time that can be allocated not only to improving livelihoods, but also spending more time with the family and attending to social and religious obligations. It improves mental as well as physical health, and evidence has shown that school attendance and the quality of teaching increases where communities take less time to collect domestic water. It dramatically enhances the self-esteem of communities. It increases the economic opportunities for women, as well the chances for girls to take part in formal education. Given such influence, there is a strong argument for water and sanitation provision to be cross-cutting theme in its own right.

Attached is a paper that provides a detailed explanation of these problems, along with a number of ways in which issues around better financing for water and sanitation provision can start to be addressed.

We hope that our concerns and recommendations for action can be carefully considered by the Commission. Lack of access to water and adequate sanitation is one of the clearest daily symptom of poverty. Water and sanitation provision needs to be accorded a greater priority in the global political agenda on the needs of Africa.

Once again, many thanks for being given this opportunity to express and contribute our position.

On behalf of WaterAid's country programmes in Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia,

Yours Sincerely,

ERIC GUTIERREZ
Regional Advocacy and Research Adviser
Southern Africa
WaterAid

FINANCING FOR DEVELOPMENT:

The Case for Better Financing of Domestic Water Supply and Sanitation in Southern Africa

A submission by WaterAid-Southern Africa to the Commission for Africa consultations in Lusaka, 13-14 December 2004

WaterAid (<u>www.wateraid.org</u>) is an international nongovernment organisation dedicated exclusively to the provision of safe domestic water, sanitation and hygiene education to the poorest people in the world¹. In Southern Africa, WaterAid has programmes in Malawi, Moçambique and Zambia. For queries and comments on this submission, please contact: <u>ericqutierrez</u> @africa-online.net

In late 2003, personnel and machinery at the Department of Water Affairs in Mongu, capital of Zambia's Western Province, lay idle with nothing to do. That year, they requested from the national government a budget of ZK 3 billion (approx. US\$ 670,000) for domestic water supply and sanitation projects submitted by the seven District Councils comprising the Province. As the year ended, only ZK 140 million (US\$ 29,200) or 4.6% was released. A third of this released amount, or ZK 50 million (US\$ 10,200), was spent within five days on the construction of two boreholes. The rest of the year was spent mainly waiting for the resources to arrive. "We have the personnel and machinery to do the work, but they are underutilised," said the Provincial Hydrogeologist. "Planning remains one-way, and we are not even told why central government fails to make those disbursements and releases," added the Provincial Deputy Permanent Secretary.

The Western Province's woes turn out to be just the 'tip of the iceberg.' As WaterAid concluded its research on the status of water supply and sanitation (WSS) in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) of Zambia and Malawi in February 2004, a litany of woes has emerged. In summary, these two studies have found that:

- Simply increasing funding is unlikely to benefit the poor unless problems and inefficiencies in resource allocation and targeting are first addressed.
- Sectoral co-ordination is a mess, with a large proportion of funds flowing into the sector remaining 'off-budget' and beyond the control of government.
- Serious problems in the equity of distribution of projects particularly to poor communities, along with the sustainability of current investments, persist.

This submission presents a summary of the findings of these two studies. It also proposes a number of ways in which these issues around better financing for WSS can start to be addressed. The problems uncovered by the studies are serious and complicated, but not insurmountable. It is WaterAid's hope that not only greater attention is paid to the details of these problems, but also that the international community and the Commission for Africa accords a greater prioritisation to the water supply and sanitation requirements of poor countries in its aid and development financing.

¹ WaterAid operates in the following countries: Burkina Faso, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and India.

Prioritising WSS provision: its links to poverty reduction

The links of water supply and sanitation provision to poverty reduction are obvious but often need to be emphasized. Impact assessments undertaken by WaterAid show that water and sanitation projects:

- Produce immeasurable benefits far beyond those of reducing disease and the burden of long-distance water collection.
- Enable poor families to save time that can be allocated not only to improving livelihoods, but also to spending more time with the family and attending to social and religious obligations.
- Provide an environment where traditional birth attendants can deliver babies more safely.
- Improve mental as well as physical health, along with school attendance and the quality of teaching.
- Dramatically enhance the self-esteem of communities.
- Increase economic opportunities for women, as are the chances for girls to take part in formal education. (WaterAid, Looking Back, 2001: 27)²

Despite such clear links and benefits, water and sanitation provision has *not* been given its due priority. In Malawi's PRSP, water and sanitation was prominent; but despite this, the sector has not been given the same priority in subsequent budget allocations (WaterAid and ODI, 2004: 18). In provincial consultations for the Zambian PRSP, water and sanitation was not structured as a priority for the discussions (see Table A.2, pages 145-50 of the Zambian PRSP, May 2002)³. Also, the PRSP itself did not identify water and sanitation as a priority for expenditure (see pages 127-130 of the PRSP: May 2002)⁴. This under-prioritisation has taken place despite findings by a range of studies⁵ showing that poor people identified water supply issues as the most important problem of all.

Water and sanitation is mentioned in only one line in the Commission for Africa's Consultation Document (page 11). Given the extent of water's influence, there is a strong argument for it being a cross-cutting theme in its own right. WaterAid would like to ask the Commission for Africa to include additional text in the document reflecting *that* improvements in water, sanitation and hygiene behaviour:

- Together constitute the greatest single advance in preventive health care;
- Underpin the history of economic development.
- Were made possible in the developed world by political will and public resources.

Access to water and sanitation are at the centre of the quality of life. Economic development across Africa as a whole requires prioritisation and funding for water.

WaterAid - Southern Africa

2

² WaterAid's "Looking Back" study was a programme evaluation report of WSS projects implemented in India, Ghana, Tanzania and Ethiopia. It is available for downloading at www.wateraid.org.

³ Nevertheless, water and sanitation still emerged under the heading of "Health" in the Luapula and Northern Province consultations; and under the heading "Infrastructure Development in the Eastern Province consultations, thus underscoring its importance.

⁴ The PRSP notes however that the level of expenditure or size of the resource envelope allocated to a particular sector does not necessarily reflect importance.

⁵ For example, the 1994 Participatory Poverty Assessment, the 1996 Participatory Poverty Monitoring and the 1999 Consultations with the Poor Studies undertaken by the Poverty Assessment Group (PAG) Lusaka.

Issues in Resource Allocation

In Malawi and Zambia, WaterAid's research reveals that there are serious problems in resource allocation for water supply and sanitation provision under the PRSPs. For example:

WSS allocations in Zambia are typically greater than the resource envelope defined in the PRSP. Firstly, this shows that the budget ceilings laid out in the PRSP are being disregarded (see Table 1) and raises a question as to the capacity of the Finance Ministry to exert control over different government spending bodies and effectively monitor expenditure. Secondly, this reveals a problem in donor behaviour. Donor conditions are a key factor in determining the availability and flexibility of the resource envelope. However, a large proportion of donor money is already 'earmarked' for specific sectors or projects, making it difficult for the government, heavily dependent on external support, to ensure that budgetary allocations match those laid out in the PRSP

Table 1: Comparison of total authorised provision and actual spending on WSS line items in the Zambia national budget, 1999-2003 (in Zambian kwachas)

Year	Authorised provision for WSS (as approved by the Parliament)	Actual expenditure for WSS	Percentage of expenditure compared with the provision			
1999	35,974,179,010	3,473,308,922	9.65%			
	(\$7.19 m)	(\$0.64 m)				
2000	52,213,690,709	8,176,348,001	15.65%			
	(\$10.4 m)	(\$1.63 m)				
2001	197,587,575,884	48,787,082,154	24.70%			
	(\$39.5 m)	(\$9.76 m)				
2002	135,696,095,997	No figures available	-			
	(\$27.1 m)					
2003	152,107,960,726	No figures available	-			
	(\$30.4 m)					
Source: Consolidated from 1999, 2000, 2001 Financial Reports & 2002, 2003 Estimates of Expenditures						

Note: The PRSP allocated \$42.4 million for WSS for three years – 2002 to 2004. The table shows that for 2002 and 2003, this allocation has already been exceeded.

- There is great variance between authorised provision and actual spending. Table 1 shows that from 1999 to 2001, the entire government machinery spent between 9.65% and 24.7% of the total approved and authorised budget by the Zambian Parliament for WSS line items. At first glance, one might assume that there is insufficient capacity to spend the money allocated. But interviews with officials at national and local government level suggest that existing capacity is in fact underutilised. Firstly, this reflects a lack of accountability in decision-making at central government level. Local officials in fact complain that they know little about how allocations are made, released and monitored. Secondly, there appears a certain element of political discretion in actual funding releases that at the moment remains unclear. Thirdly, as explained by the Finance Ministry, they are unable to capture donor disbursements in government accounting systems, making it difficult to plan and monitor overall expenditure.
- In Malawi, the water and sanitation sector is effectively losing ground and appears to be increasingly deprioritised. Mechanisms, such as budget items

being classified as "Pro-Poor Expenditures" (PPEs), have been developed to ring-fence items against budget cuts in order to avoid fluctuations in the flow of resources to priority areas. The share of water and sanitation expenditures in Malawi's PPE has gone down from 5% in budget year 2001-02, to 2% in 2002-03, and to 1% in 2003-04. Table 2 shows that the water sector underwent a 20% cut from budget year 2002-03 to 2003-04. There are a number of reasons why this is happening. Firstly, the strategies of major donors are a key factor. The European Union, for example, has recently become a major investor in the agriculture sector; hence, more resources are flowing into agriculture. Other factors include a general lack of confidence and support for the Ministry of Water Development (vis-à-vis other channels such as the President's Office or NGOs), a lack of major donor interest in water, and ineffectual lobbying by the ministry.

Table 2: Malawi Actual PPE in 2002/03 against budgeted amounts for PPE in 2003/04

Sector	Actual expenditure 2002/03 (MK million)	Budget 2003/04	Actual Change	Change as %	
Agriculture	856.8 (\$7.79)	1,543.6 (\$14.03)	677.83 (\$6.15)	+ 78%	
Water	216.1 (\$1.96)	173.0 (\$1.57)	- 43.14 (\$0.39)	<mark>- 20%</mark>	
Education	5,909.8 (\$53.72)	6,727.2 (\$61.16)	817.40 (\$7.43)	+ 14%	
Health	2,865.1 (\$26.04)	3,064.7 (\$27.86)	199.55 (\$1.81)	+ 7%	
Gender, youth & community services	151.8 (\$1.38)	139.9 (\$1.27)	-11.86 (\$0.108)	- 8%	
Police	356.9 (\$3.24)	434.0 (\$3.94)	77.07 (\$0.70)	+ 22%	
Others, i.e. feeder roads, mining, tourism	768.9 (\$6.99)	766.4 (\$6.96)	-2.51 (\$0.023)	0 %	
Total	11,134.4 (\$101.22)	12,848.7 (\$116.80)	1,714.35 (\$15.58)	+ 15%	
Source: Ministry of Finance, Monitoring Unit					

It is almost always assumed that the lack of financial resources is the biggest obstacle to providing water supply to the world's poorest people. The lack of resources is indeed an ubiquitous problem. In Zambia, WaterAid estimates that about US\$ 11 million is needed each year for rural water supply projects in order to meet the country's Millennium Development Goal commitments. In Malawi, there is a need to reverse the cuts in the budget for WSS provision. However, it should be emphasized that to focus simply and solely on lack of financing while paying little attention to problems and inefficiencies in resource allocation may result in even less delivery. The two researches show that problems and inefficiencies in resource allocation to WSS are a government and a donor issue at the same time. The perennial problems in the government's budget process are only one side of the equation. The other equally important side is the set of problems associated with donor behaviour, where individual decisions on financing specific projects typically by-pass or undermine PRSP objectives. There also appears the problem of weak donor accountability to the national government.

Issues in Sectoral Co-ordination

The water and sanitation sector in both Malawi and Zambia has been traditionally donor-led, i.e. expenditure in the sector has come mainly from a wide range of donor grants and loans directed towards water resources development, urban and rural water supply and sanitation, capacity-building at all levels, water quality monitoring and environmental protection. The existence of multiple projects with different objectives and planning horizons makes it very difficult to develop a sector-wide plan or programme. In Malawi, this results in water sector investments being highly fragmented. In Zambia, donor activities remain poorly aligned with PRSP objectives.

Domestic, bilateral and multilateral financial support for WSS in Malawi in 2003/04 amounted to MK 1,613 million (\$14.66 million). This translates into projects with varying degrees of control by the Malawi government (see Table 3). Type 1 projects are those implemented by the MoWD directly, such as drilling of boreholes and rehabilitation of rural piped schemes using HIPC money. Where the provider is the World Bank/Malawi government, this implies that costs are shared⁶, and are considered as Type 2 projects. An example of Type 3 projects are those funded by the Japanese government, where the Ministry of Water Development (MoWD) suggests and agrees areas where water points are needed, but then has virtually no control over any other aspect of the project⁷.

Type 1 – MoWD in full control

Type 2 – MoWD w/ partial control & some influence

MK 1,396,443,210
(\$12,694,938)

Type 3 – MoWD w/ little control or influence

MK 30,953,346
(\$281,394)

Total

MK 1,613,199,741
(\$14,665,452)

Table 3: The Malawi MoWD development budget by degree of control

The lack of a sectoral investment plan, combined with weak capacity within Malawi's MoWD for planning and implementation, discourages donors from engaging in programmatic support. But the point here is that this situation is not in line with the new scheme of aid delivery under PRSPs, which aim to empower by working through the government's own budget and allocation process. This vicious cycle is difficult to break, based it seems on a low degree of trust which donors have in the capacity of the Ministry to effectively manage its responsibilities.

In Zambia, the low level of actual expenditure (as compared to authorised provisions, see Table 1) can be attributed to a budget process that is unsystematic and unclear. It is not clear whether the tools for the annual budget (i.e. the PRSP, the TNDP and the Public Investment Programme) are actually being used as tools that structure estimates and allocations. But donors as well contribute significantly to the muddle. They are much in the driver's seat, but have not paid sufficient attention to the lack of planning, decentralisation and sectoral coordination. Furthermore, donors themselves

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⁶ A normal ratio of funding would be 90:10

An interest finding of research in Zambia is that Japanese-government funded borehole construction is up to five times more expensive than similar projects implemented by local Departments of Water Affairs. This is because Japanese-funded projects above a certain amount can only be contracted to Japanese companies, and these companies use more expensive equipments and carry out more geological and hydrological studies. Japanese-funded projects are generally found to be of excellent quality, but some thought needs to be put into the costs.

do not always deliver funds to match their pledges for one reason or another. Then, they may have made appropriate releases of funds, but these are not channelled through the Government of Zambia's accounting system, and are therefore not captured in the Financial Reports.

A key issue that emerges is whether donor decisions on the allocation of finances (for poverty reduction in general and WSS in particular) are in fact supporting and aligned with PRSP objectives. In Zambia, the projects that the big donors (e.g. AfDB, AFD, IDA, KfW) tend to finance are those that have better chances of being paid back, and not necessarily those that can provide the greatest poverty-reduction impact. Thus, while donors make general commitments of support to poverty reduction, it is not clear whether their individual decisions on the grants or releases of finances for specific programmes and projects are still guided by the same commitment.

Another issue is that in addition to 'off-budget' expenditure being significantly greater than the money coming through the ministries, it is also 'off-plan' i.e. outside of government planning procedures and therefore beyond its control. This further compounds the problem of co-ordination within the sector and indicates that reforms to the budgetary process initiated under the PRSPs are likely to have only limited impact on sectoral performance.

Donors can make a big difference in creating the proper environment for sectoral coordination to emerge. They can remove economic policy conditionality on loans and aid contributions to the water and sanitation sector and make a certain level of sectoral co-ordination a fiduciary and process requirement for subsequent grants and releases.

Issues in the Equity of Distribution and Sustainability of Projects

In general, to achieve poverty reduction through the PRSP process, it is essential that a system exists whereby those not served with water supply and sanitation services can be targeted. The Zambia and Malawi studies observed that no systematic criteria are used to guide investment planning and finance. The sector currently does not have such a system or in fact any system to monitor the progress the sector is making in achieving targets such as the PRSPs and the Millennium Development Goals.

With this in mind, WaterAid-Malawi in 2002 started developing a mapping process of water points which enables unserved communities to be identified. This offers a real opportunity for improving local and national planning and monitoring procedures. It has also led to a process that quantifies the equity with which water points have been distributed.

Using a combination of basic GPS (global positioning system) units and a simple 2-page questionnaire, a database was developed. This was then combined with population data and disaggregated by Enumeration Area (EA). For each water point visited, enumerators took a reading from the hand-held GPS devices, plotted them onto maps, and then filled out a questionnaire on the condition of the water point, the technology type, and whether a village water committee managed the water point. If the water point was not working, some explanations were provided. Also included was the date of construction, and the institution, government agency, donor or individual that built it. The results were then put into digital maps where water points were plotted, as well as a spreadsheet database with information from the questionnaire.

The resulting maps produced Improved Community Water Point (ICWP) *densities*, showing the number of water points per 1000 thousand people. Figure 1 below illustrates the results graphically. It shows that there is little equity in the distribution of water points: some areas have more than eight water points per thousand people, while some have less than two per thousand.

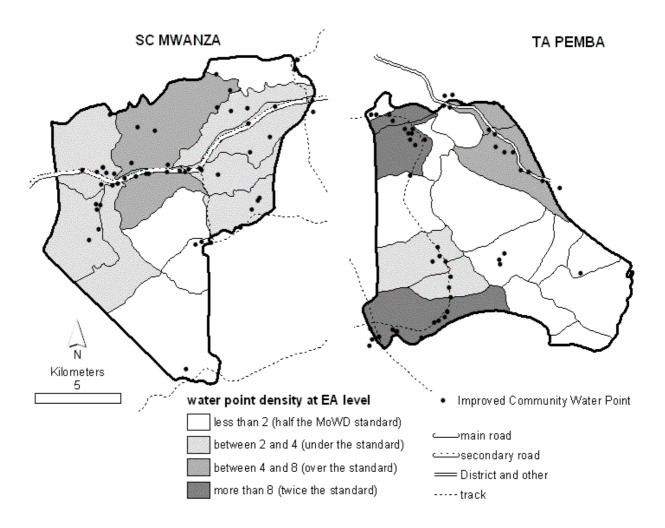


Figure 1: Mapping results in SC Mwanza and TA Pemba in Malawi

A similar mapping exercise took place in Zambia from 1993 to 1997. It produced a *Rural Water Point Inventory* for the whole of Zambia. The results of the Malawi and Zambia mapping processes are very similar – there is a lack of equity in the distribution of water points. A number of reasons were identified in the study to explain the lack of equity in the distribution of projects:

- Inadequate extension information. Government extension workers are the
 interface between government and communities. Extension information is
 often inadequate. Communities with access to such information can get not
 just more water points, but other public services as well.
- Absence of water point inventories. Central government workers looking for
 probable sites for water points are often blind on where to put them, and rely
 on those individuals in communities who are more educated and articulate in
 identifying sites. It is not unusual for these individuals to conceal the location
 of other water points to these government workers, so they can get more.

- Lack of access roads. The installation of water points will most often depend
 on drillers or contractors being able to access the villages. Poorer and more
 remote areas with less infrastructure therefore tend to get less water points.
- Centralised decision-making. Oftentimes, the identification of sites for the construction of water points is dependent on decision-makers in central offices, or on elected politicians from various areas. It is not clear what criteria they use when making such decisions.
- Community's educational level. There are certain villages where retirees from the civil service reside. They are quicker in understanding bureaucratic processes, and are consequently more adept in accessing resources.
- Lack of monitoring. No verification is made if drillers and contractors have actually installed water points where they should. Drillers and contractors tend to install in areas that are more easily accessible, or where ground water is closer to the surface.
- Failures in reporting. Monitors checking the quality of contracted projects sometimes submit wrong reports (e.g. that a borehole is 45 meters deep, as stipulated in the project contract, when it may actually be only 20 meters) due to mistakes, but possibly also due to bribery or collusion with contractors.
- Lack of collaboration by different implementers. Government and NGO implementers of projects do not collaborate, resulting in duplication.

The maps also provide useful information with which to evaluate the sustainability of WSS projects. It shows technologies that last longer, rates at which water points fall into disrepair or are abandoned, and a wide range of different factors that contribute to the non-functionality of water points – i.e. a) availability of easily accessible funds at the community level to maintain a water point; b) access to technical skills; c) access to spare parts.

In sum, the mapping process reveal the urgent need for reliable tools that can be used to improve the equity in the distribution of projects.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The two researches uncovered a range of policy issues that need to be resolved. Foremost among these is the need to structure aid and public finance for WSS in ways that encourage sector co-ordination. WaterAid submits to both governments and donors that the following may need to be implemented:

- Build sector-wide planning and coordination through a process of annual sector reviews.
- Define sector investment plan and policies to guide investments in a participatory and consultative way.
- Define a clear set of performance indicators for the WSS sector that will be monitored regularly through participatory and consultative ways.

To donors, WaterAid urges:

- The harmonisation of donor allocations to the WSS sector (as agreed at the 2003 Rome donor harmonisation conference) by contributing towards the development of sector co-ordination plans and mechanisms; and by financing a sector investment plan in each recipient country.
- Allocate aid through sector budget support in countries where there is a clear sector development plan that prioritises the water and sanitation needs of the

poor and where sector performance is monitored in a robust and participatory way.

A second policy step is to target aid and other public finance for water and sanitation on the least developed countries and towards achieving sustainable access for the urban and rural poor. Governments and donors, and even the Commission for Africa, can explicitly commit to making access to water and sanitation by the urban and rural poor the priority for sector investment plans at both national and levels. This could also include investing in low-cost technologies that the poor can afford, access and maintain.

Corruption and patronage within the sector can be reduced by improving the transparency of allocation and disbursements to service providers and local governments. Governments and donors can make it a policy to make allocations for WSS accessible to the public; to localise MDG targets for water and sanitation; and to support and monitor local government performance against the achievements of targets.

Strengthening local governments, who are at the frontlines of water and sanitation services provisions, is also a key policy step. With the help of such resources as the maps, local level planning can be undertaken and then consolidated at district level. Financial allocations can be decentralised, and decision-making from national to local government level can be made through the practice of conditional grants that has been successfully implemented in other countries.

Removing economic policy conditionality on loans and aid contributions may be necessary. Fiduciary and procedural conditions should be the only ones attached to aid contributions.

Finally, it is important that aid allocations and disbursements to the sector are made timely and predictable. Donors can commit to three-year aid agreements to ensure predictability and timeliness of aid to the sector. Governments can make disbursements to local governments timely, transparent and with clear rules.

Overall, the quantity of aid is not the only issue, especially as far as the water and sanitation is concerned, as shown by the two researches. More and better financing is what is needed.

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