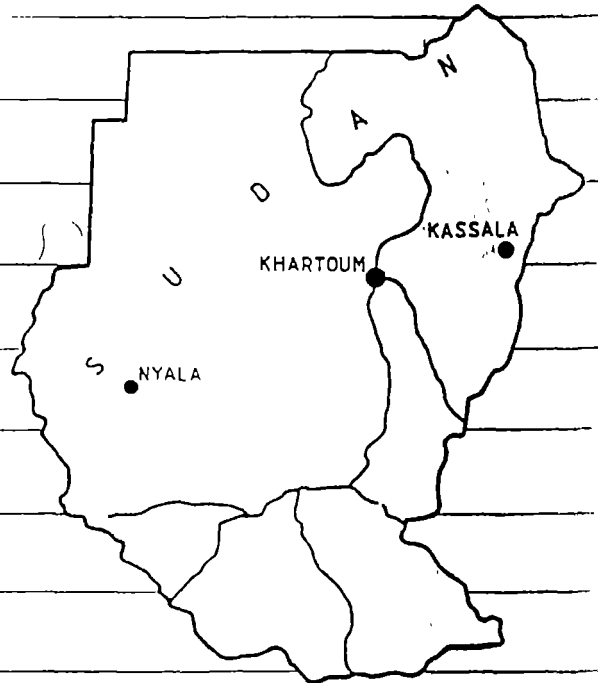


Water resources assessment and development project in the Sudan (WADS)

ACTIVE VILLAGE PARTICIPATION AND MAINTENANCE OF IMPROVED WATER SUPPLY SYSTEMS



REPORT ON A SURVEY IN THE RURAL COUNCIL KAS

Institute of applied geoscience

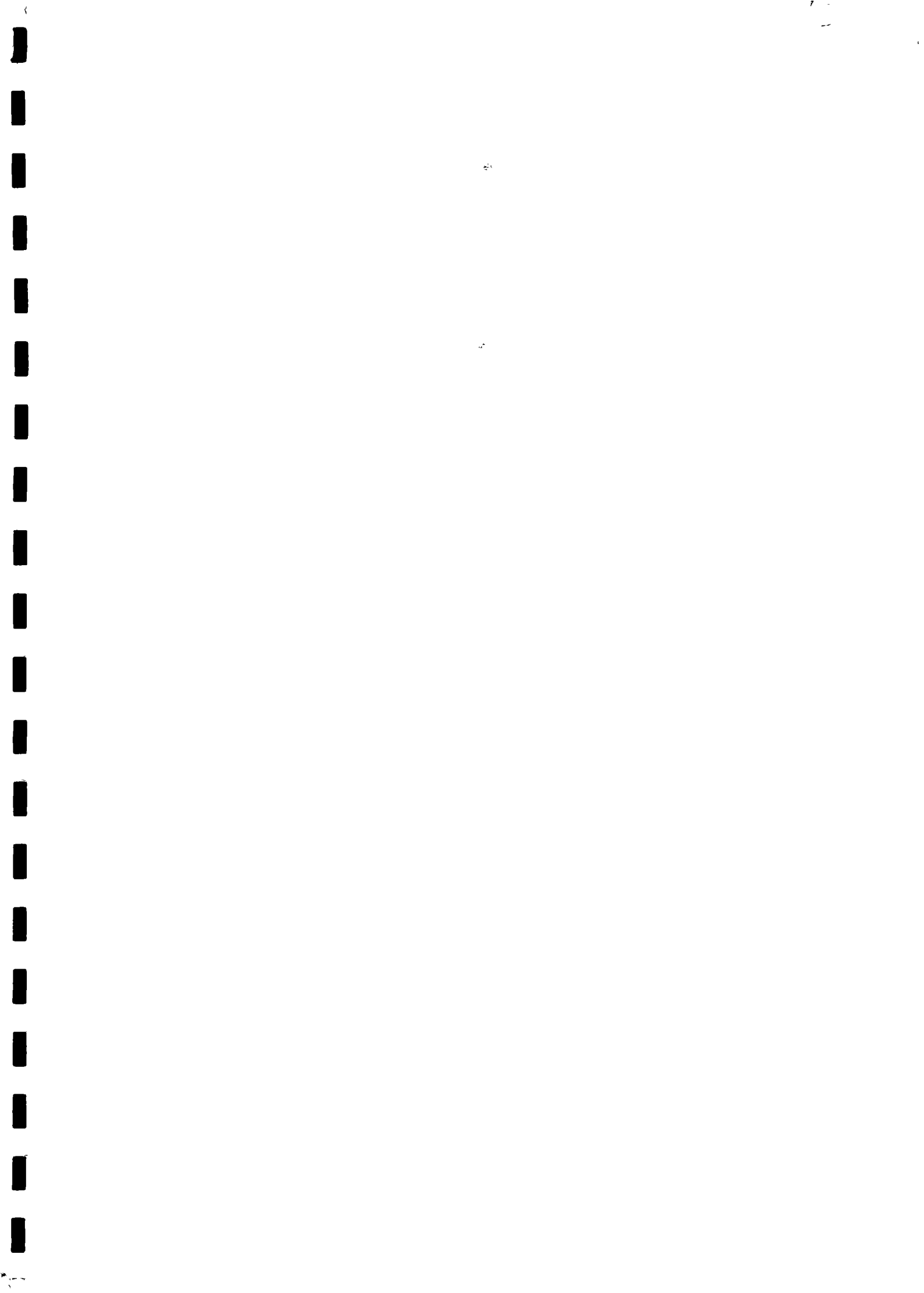
National Corporation for rural water supply

for development

TNO

NCRWD







W A D S

WATER RESOURCES ASSESSMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT  
IN THE SUDAN

Active Village Participation And Maintenance Of  
Improved Water Supply Systems

Report on a Survey in the Rural Council has  
held from 1.11.1987 to 15.11.1987

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Prepared for : WADS - Nyala

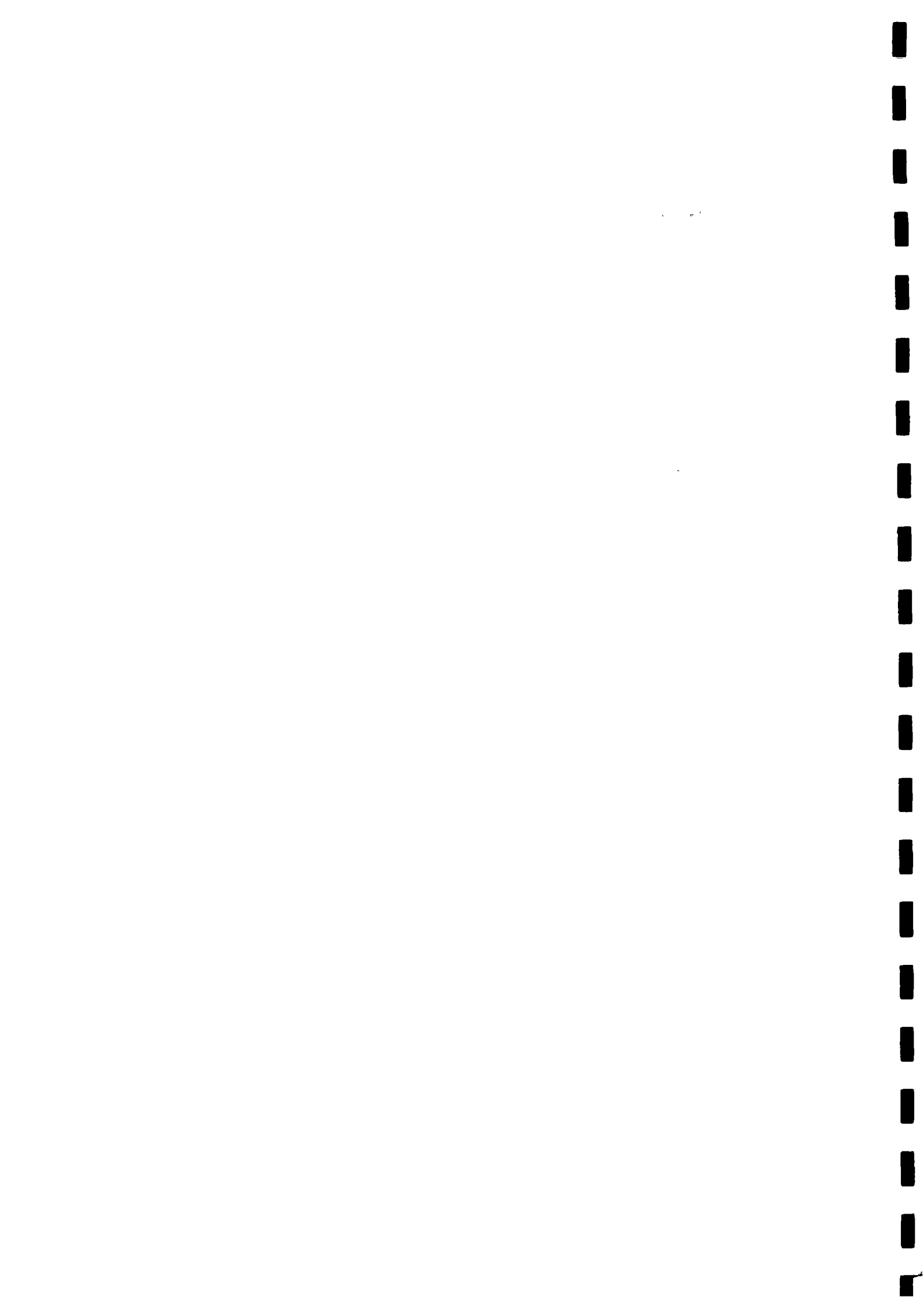
Prepared by : Wilfried Herrich  
Anthropological Adviser

Date : May 1988



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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms used

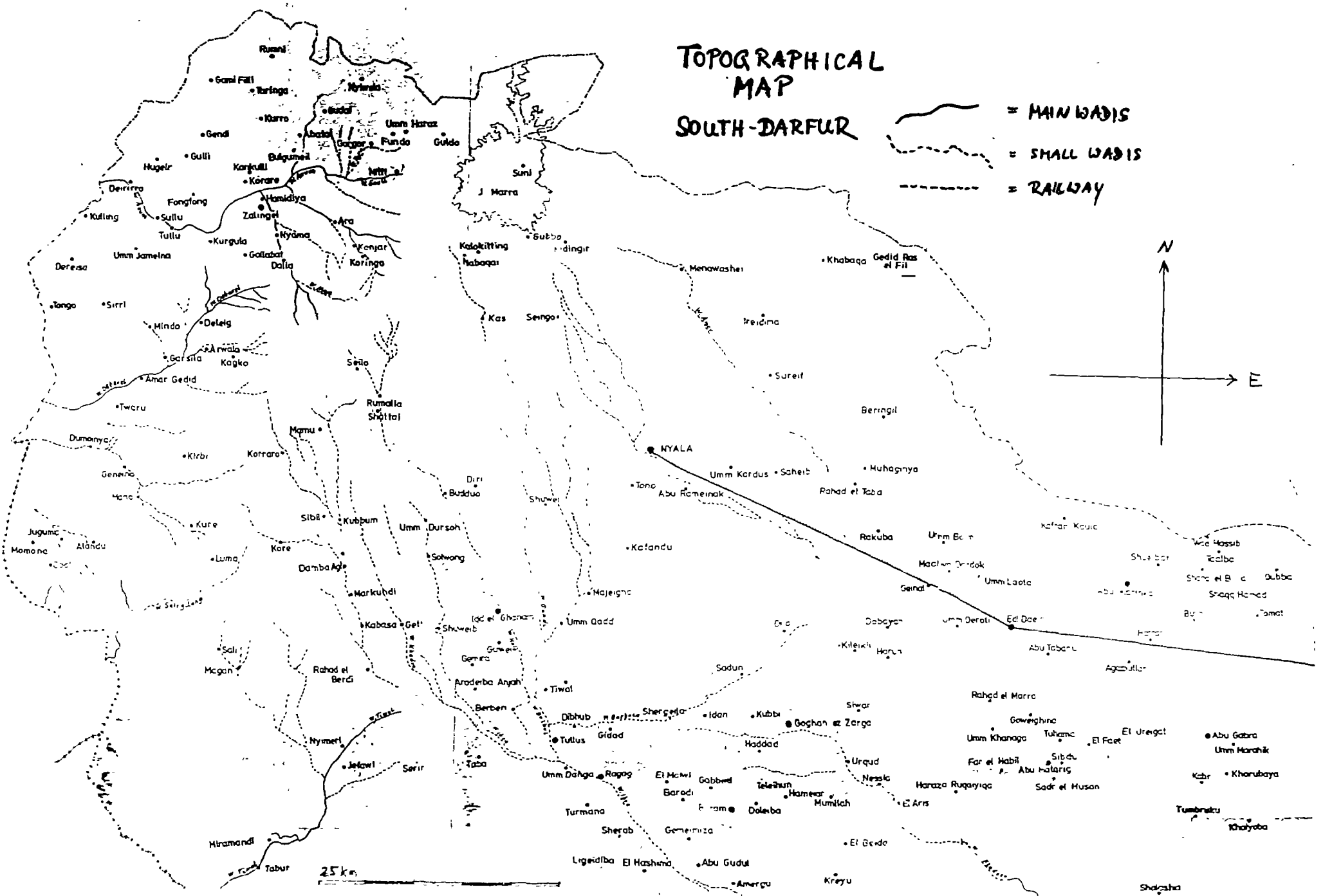
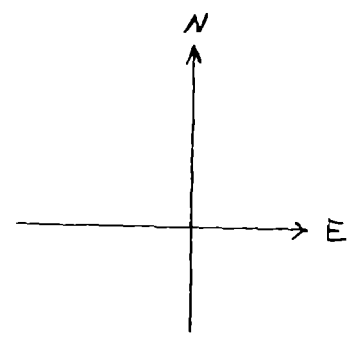
AVP	- Active Village Participation
CHW	- Community Health Worker
Cts	- Caretakers
f	- Feddan
HHQ	- Household Questionnaire
IWSS	- Improved Water Supply System
m	- Mukhames
MOH	- Ministry of Health
MSF	- Medecins sans Frontières
PHU	- Primary Health Care Unit
RC	- Rural Council
VHC	- Village Health Committee
VLOM	- Village Level Operation and Maintenance
VPS	- Village Project Section
VQ	- Village Questionnaire for Key-Informants
VWC	- Village Water Committee
WSP	- Village Water Supply Programme
WADS	- Water Resources Assessment and Development Project in the Sudan





# TOPOGRAPHICAL MAP SOUTH-DARFUR

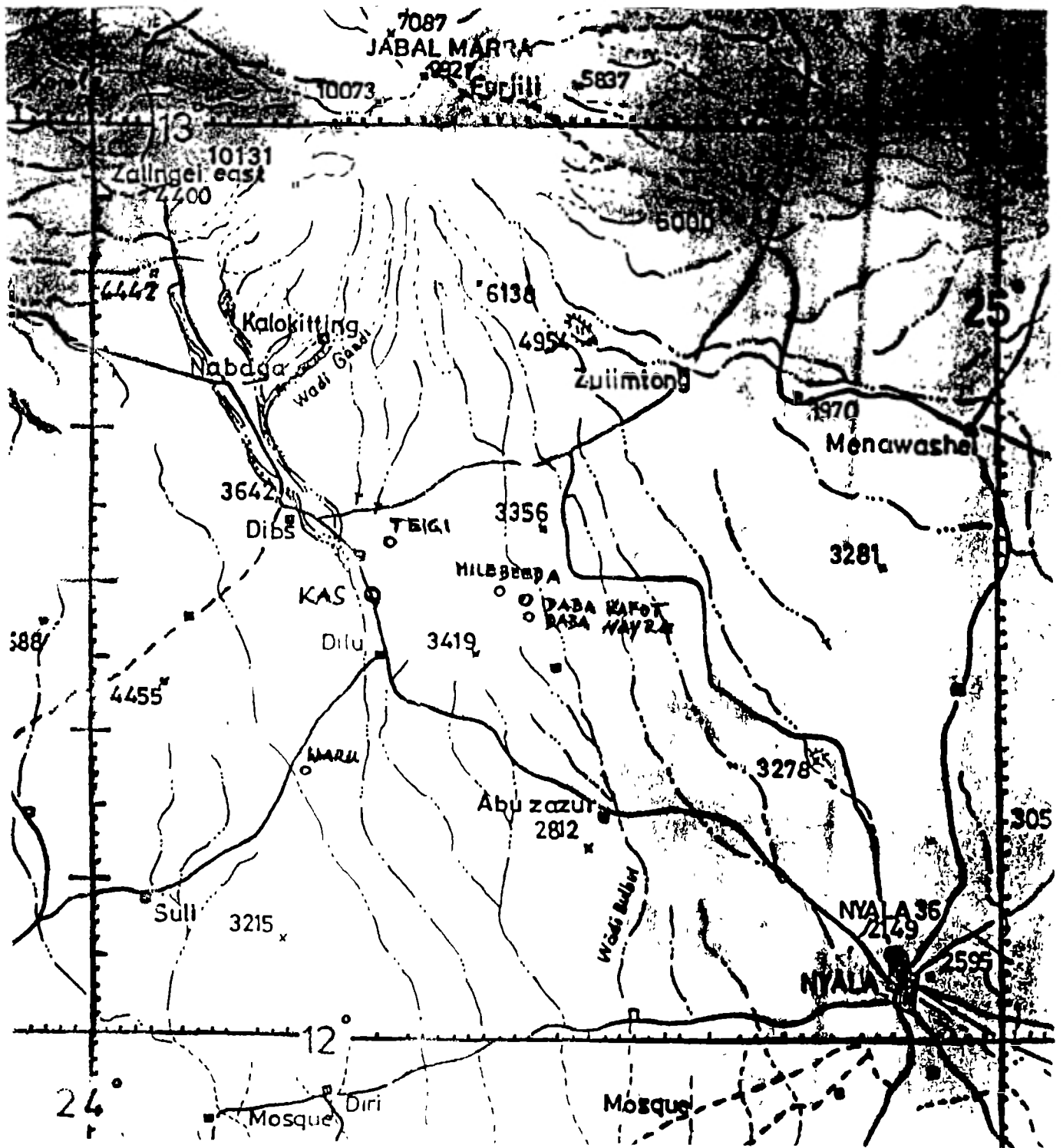
-  = MAIN WADIS
-  = SMALL WADIS
-  = RAILWAY



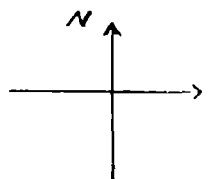
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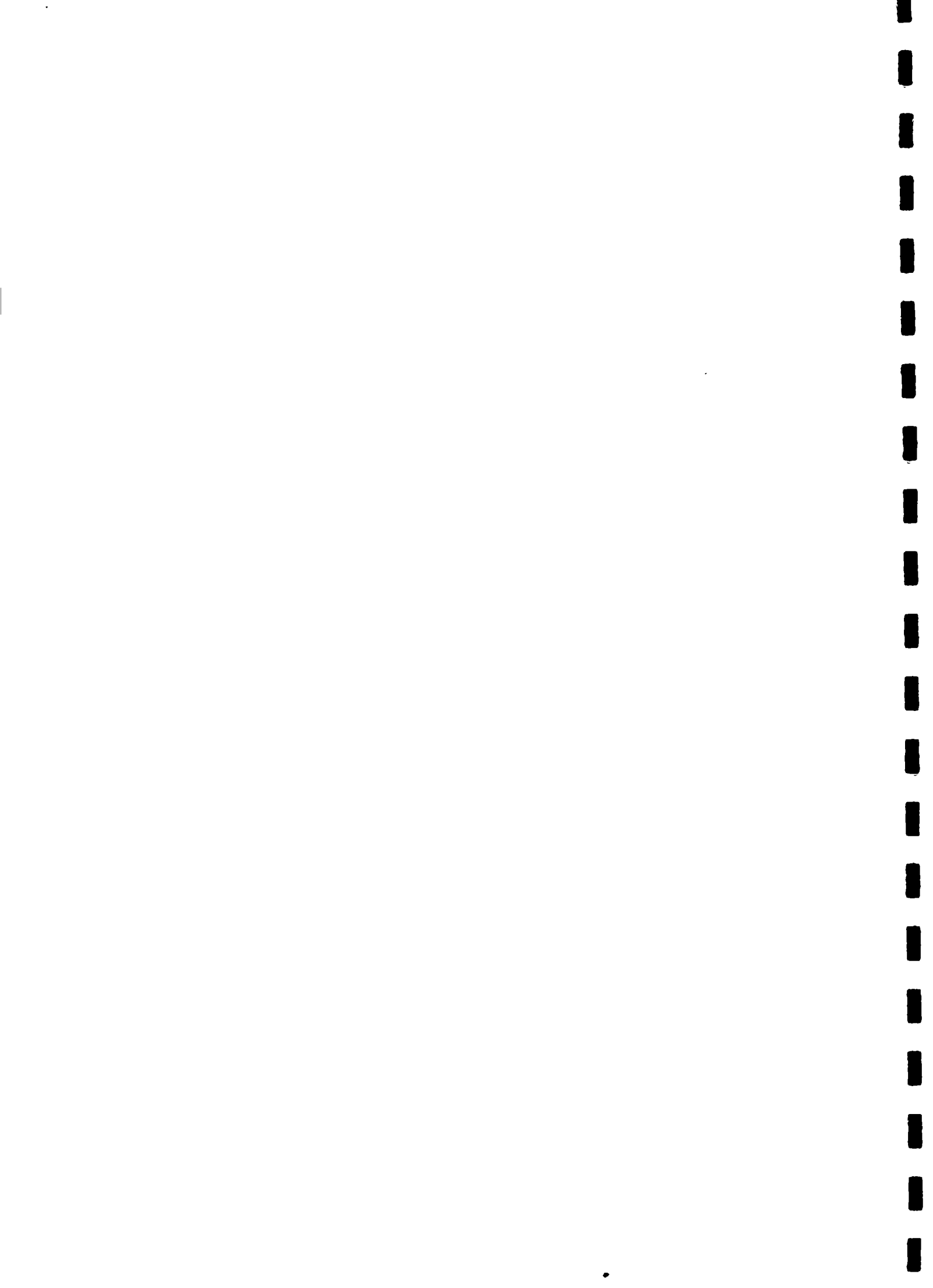


# MAP of KAS - AREA



Scale: 1: 800 000





## PREFACE

The aim of this village survey has been to provide WADS with guidelines for the very practical task to develop an effective maintenance-programme for approx. 70 Hand Dug Wells, which will be constructed in South Darfur and which the villagers should continue to run by themselves.

This should be achieved through activating their participation in as many aspects as possible relevant to the project.

It is argued that in this way the villagers will develop a sense of ownership for the WADS-well and a sense of responsibility to take preventive and corrective maintenance action in time.

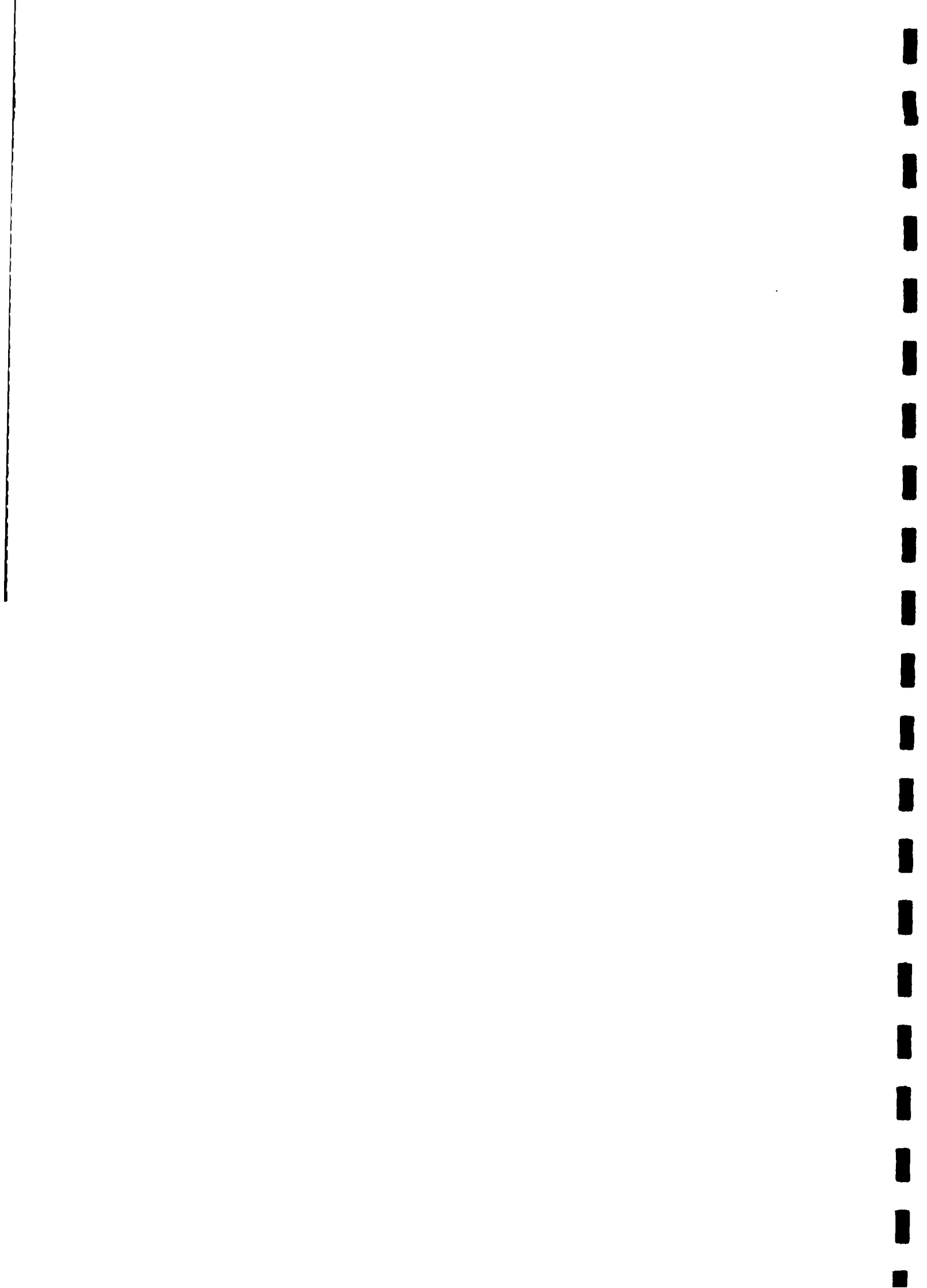
With this approach it is crucial to make realistic proposals to the villagers with respect to :

- Organization of the WADS-Village Water Supply Programme in the villages
- Financing of maintenance costs
- Incorporation of women into the organizational framework of the WADS-Village Water Supply Project in the villages.

An additional aim during carrying out the survey has been the training of WADS-extension workers on the job.

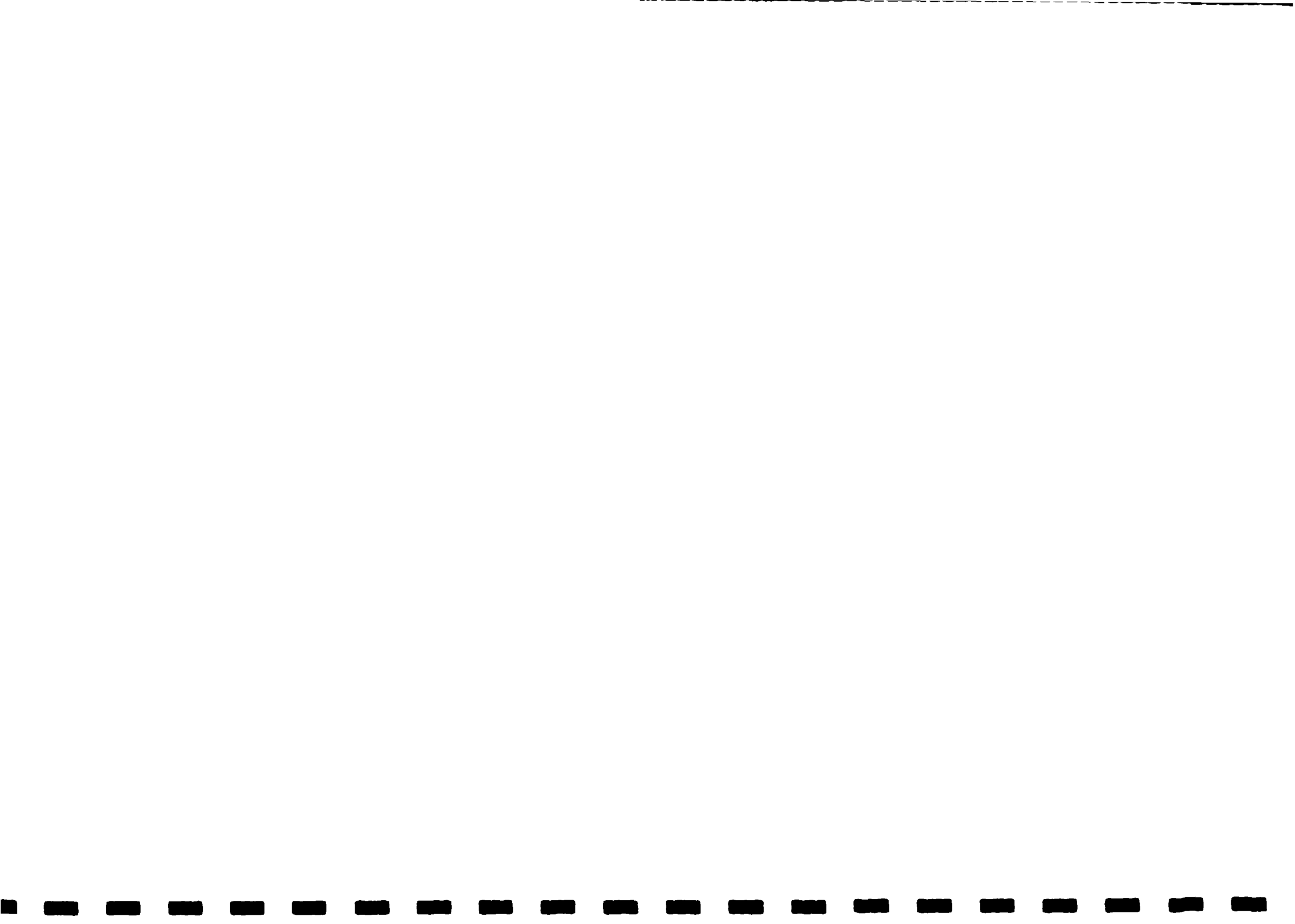
The Terms of Reference for the consultant were as follows:

1. The consultant will advise the management and the V.P.S. on the development of operational methods for the realization of an active village participation in the construction and future maintenance of village water supply systems.  
Within this framework, due attention should be paid to the direct or indirect improvement of the position of women in the villages.
2. For this purpose (1) he will carry out a limited literature study and field surveys in selected villages in order to investigate:
  - (a) existing formal and informal organizational structures in villages.
  - (b) communication channels for external and internal information.
  - (c) decision-making on community related issues, particularly where the role of women is concerned.



- (d) current practice of fund-collection in the villages (in cash and kind) for communal services.
- (f) the cultural and socio-economic factors governing the above points a) through e)
- (g) the effectiveness of the extension programme as currently carried out by WADS.

3. The consultant will submit to the management a report which will describe the activities carried out, the findings and (preliminary) conclusions of his research, recommendations for improvement of current procedures and policies in the WADS water supply programme, and recommendations for further applied research.





### Acknowledgements

The consultant wishes to express his appreciation for the support received from the WADS- management and from all staff-members of the Village Project Section (V.P.S.) during the preparation-phase of the survey.

Mabhooba A.Rahman, Farouk Hashim Omer and Yahya Sadig, who formed together with the consultant the survey-team, deserve to be mentioned by name. They carried out the survey in an excellent manner under hard working conditions, and their contribution to the content of this report is considerable.

Apart from that, they made the consultant understand within two weeks a good part more of their culture.

This is even more true of the villagers in Milebeeda, Dada Kafot, Daba Naira, Teigi, Waru and Nabagaya, who impressed with hospitality and generosity, and with their patience they were asked for when to so many questions should get responded.

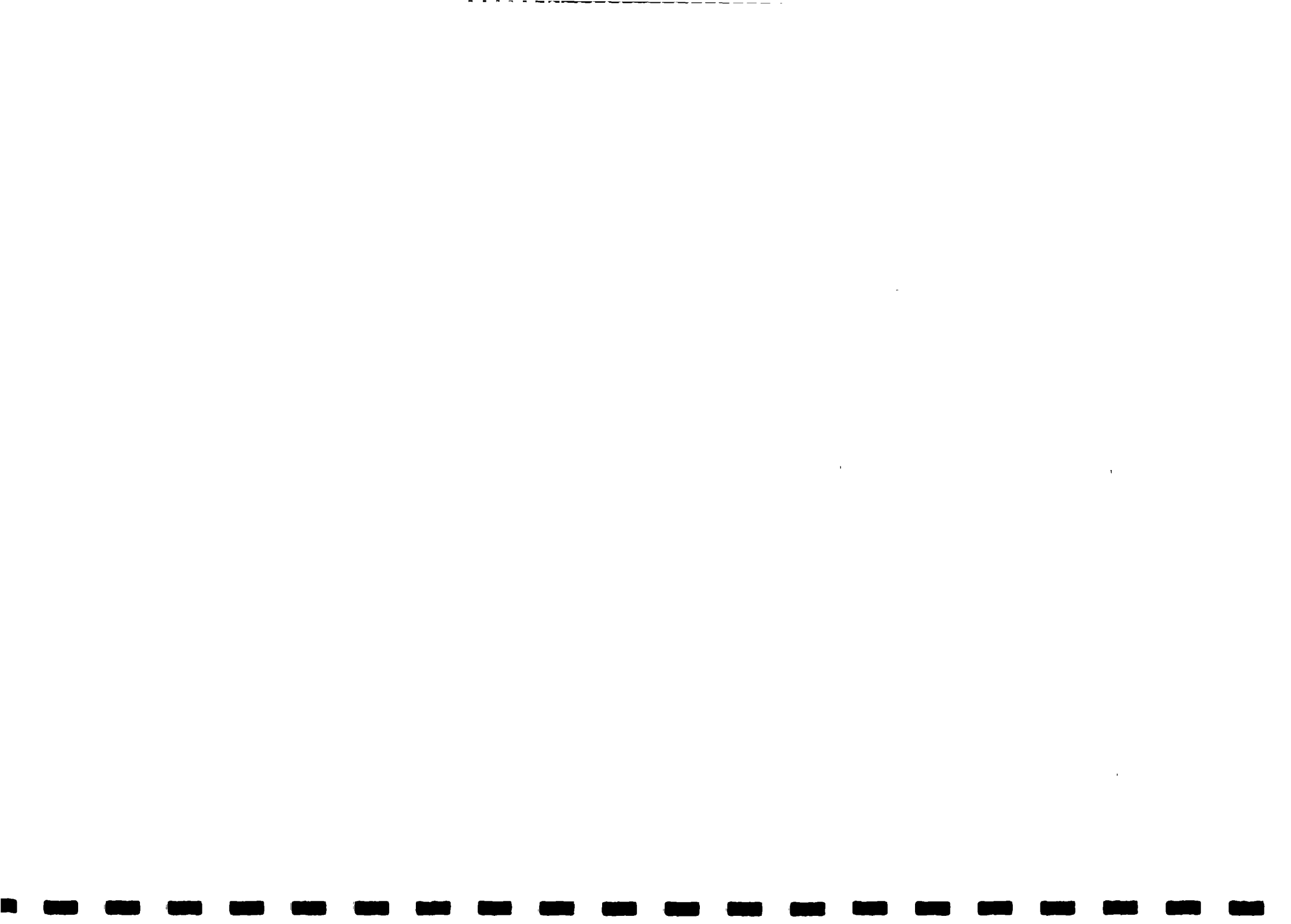
In return, hopefully, the findings of this survey help the villagers to gain the maximum benefit of the improved water supply system that WADS is implementing.



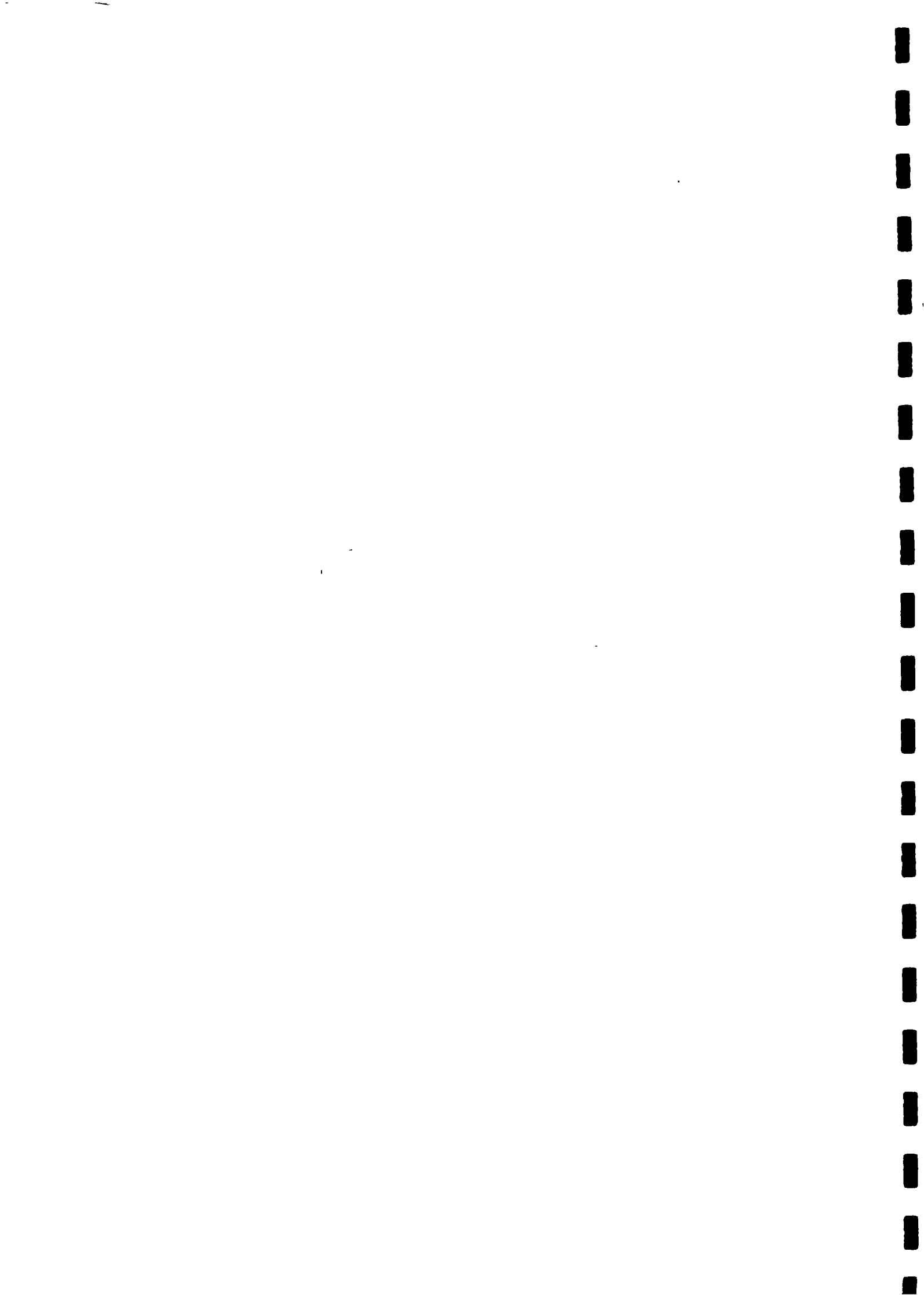
## Summary of Findings and Recommendations

### 1. Findings

1. The physical infrastructure of the study-area is judged as poor. Only few examples were found where villagers started to improve their living conditions through self-help projects.
2. Villages in Rural Council has are plural villages. They are composed of various tribal groups (arabs and non-arabs) all with Islamic religious affiliations.
3. It is characteristic for the villages studied that they consist of various localities which are situated up to 5 km away from the main village (compound of the shaykh of usually the numerically strongest tribal segment in the village).
4. Different localities of a village are inhabited by different kinship groups, who's members regard themselves as standing in opposition towards other such groups of similar size and who's members interact among themselves more intense than with others (hospitality, nafirs, marriage relations).
5. The main village itself may be divided into different localities not easily visible in the first instance and these are inhabited by different branches of one bigger kinship group or by tribal segments all its own. At least a dual division of the main village into village-centre and village-periphery is significant.
6. The opposition among kinship groups within one village is more emphasized when these groups differ with respect to tribal identity and over all in respect of belonging to arab-or non arab tribes.
7. There are only few occasions like religious ceremonies, village defense, school-and mosque building, in which the villagers act as a unit. Otherwise: opposition and competition outweigh cooperation.
8. Kinship groups have no competition in enforcing solidarity. On village level "unity" (active participation of all villagers in a community project) can only be achieved in diversity.



9. As the most important dividing lines that cut across a village were identified:
- tribal differentiation
  - unequal distribution of wealth (creation of dependency)
  - division between women and men with the corresponding role-and task division in the private-and public sphere.
  - spatial distribution of kinship groups within the village boundary: widespread localities hinder flow of information.
10. With respect to "social integration" two patterns (ideal types) have been found:
- (a) "Structural" plural villages: kinship groups and/or tribal segments have structural unequal access to the public sphere, where power in village politics is actualized.  
Usually one dominant tribal segment monopolizes power. Dominance, dependency and privileges form part of the institutionalized system (differential incorporation).
- (b) "Social" plural villages: integrated kinship groups of similar size coexist, which differ in respect of cultural properties and which form an own system of "distribution of power" and "commitment towards loyalty".  
Social integration is institutionalized as such, that all groups exercise equal or complementary rights in decision-making (consociational incorporation).
11. For organizing community affairs, villagers form a vast number of committees and cooperatives.
12. The most powerful persons in the villages studied are those who
- occupy offices (shaykh; shaykha; imman; schoolteacher)
  - are regarded as possessing religious qualities (imman; fakhr; local doctors).
13. Political factions play no significant role in the daily affairs of village life. Only during election party-loyalties are actualized.
14. Formal communication channels are controlled by families, into which offices are invested and by committee members. In "structural" plural villages committee members are selected within the dominant group.



15. Information exchange functions best in those areas of social interaction, where exchange in general is institutionalized: kinship relations.
16. Communal investment has no tradition in the villages studied.  
Economic units are individuals with their children, whereby a husband contributes to the household of each of his wives in cash and kind.
17. In village economy money plays a minor role, but prestige does not. In for traditional societies typical economic exchange systems like sual and nafiirs prestige is even of crucial importance and may be transformed into power and wealth.
18. The inequality of wealth in the villages studied is considerable, especially when a comparison is made between women and men (only agriculture, the main source of income, has been considered):
  - men gain up to 9 times more cash income from their agricultural activities than women do.
  - men cultivate approx. 3 times as much land as women do.
19. With respect to the household-budget the main burden is put on women.
20. Women's responsibilities are exclusively related to the household. In the public sphere of village life (management and decision making) women have no say.
21. Women act in the "backstage" of village life. They are not considered to be fully responsible members of the community.
22. All women interviewed are illiterate (men: 50% are literate)
23. Water and Health are considered from men and women alike as belonging to the women's sphere.
24. For curing diseases villagers spend on an average 300-400 L.S. per year. Women contribute most.
25. As main obstacle on part of the villagers to keep the WADS-I.W.S.S. running (especially payment of two caretakers for hygiene at the well site) has been identified: due to belief in traditional concepts of Health and Disease the modern view of how Water and Health are related is not visualized. Thus "better health through safe water" is not appreciated as benefit which is worth to pay for.





26. In the case that a cluster of villages is participating in the WADS-V.W.S.F., the pattern of social integration as it has been described for "social" plural villages is a must. Because a village actualizes despite internal divisions a strong sense for unity when it is addressed so in contact with other villages, it will not easily accept to be dominated or even neglected in decision-making.

27. Villages usually have nomads as "Guests" for at least four months a year. Villagers and nomades enter into small scale economic relations and their contact was judged as good by all villagers interviewed.

28. With respect to "population size" and "amount of livestock owned by the villagers", a striking difference appeared between the data collected during the first visit of the WADS-extension team in the villages and the data collected during this survey.

Population size: The figures of the survey team make up 25% to 45% of the figures collected by the extension team some months earlier.

Livestock: The figures of the survey team make up 4% to 12% of the figures received earlier.

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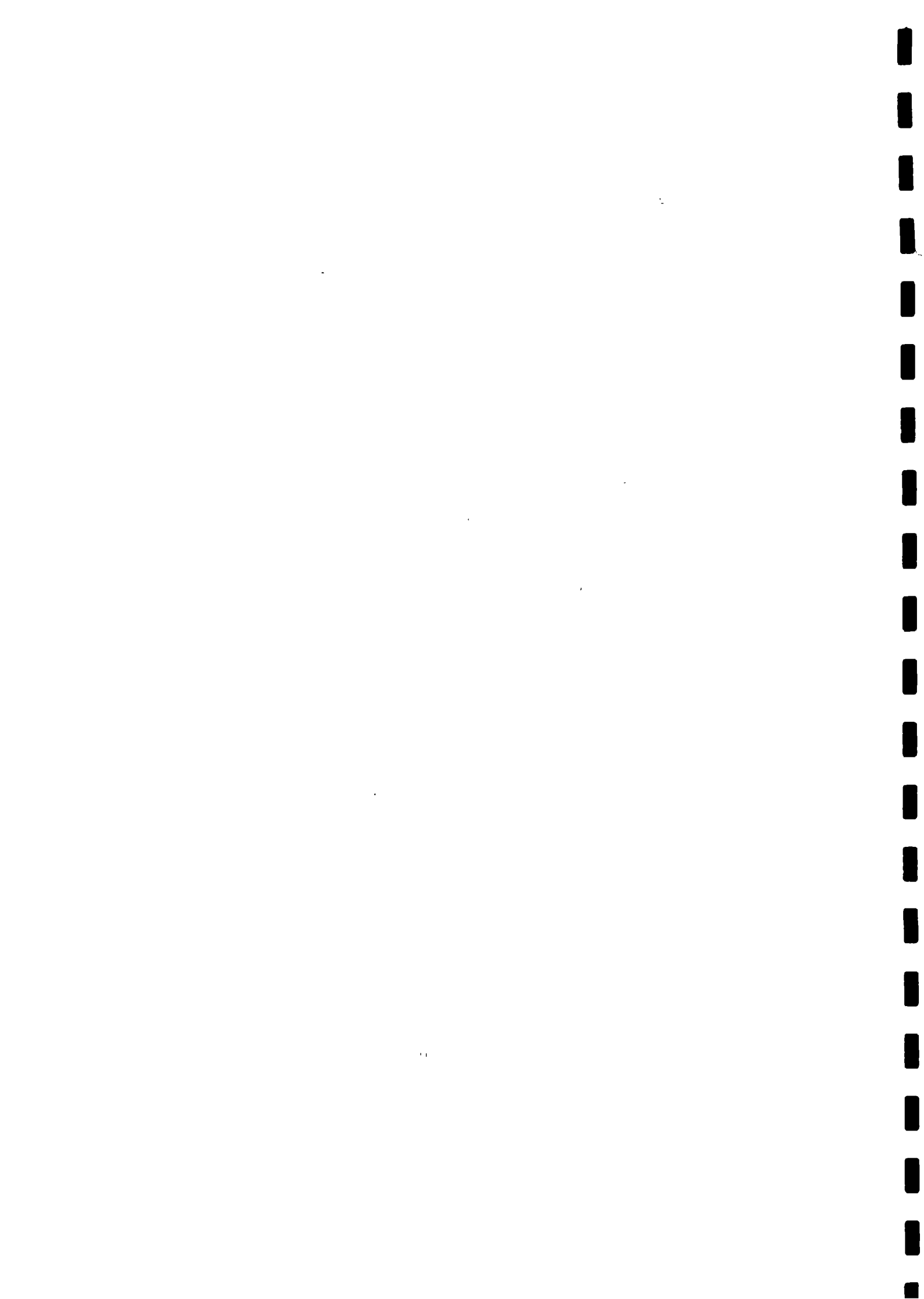


## 2. Recommendations

For the WADS - policy "Active Village Participation and Maintenance of I.W.S.S." the following proposals are made:

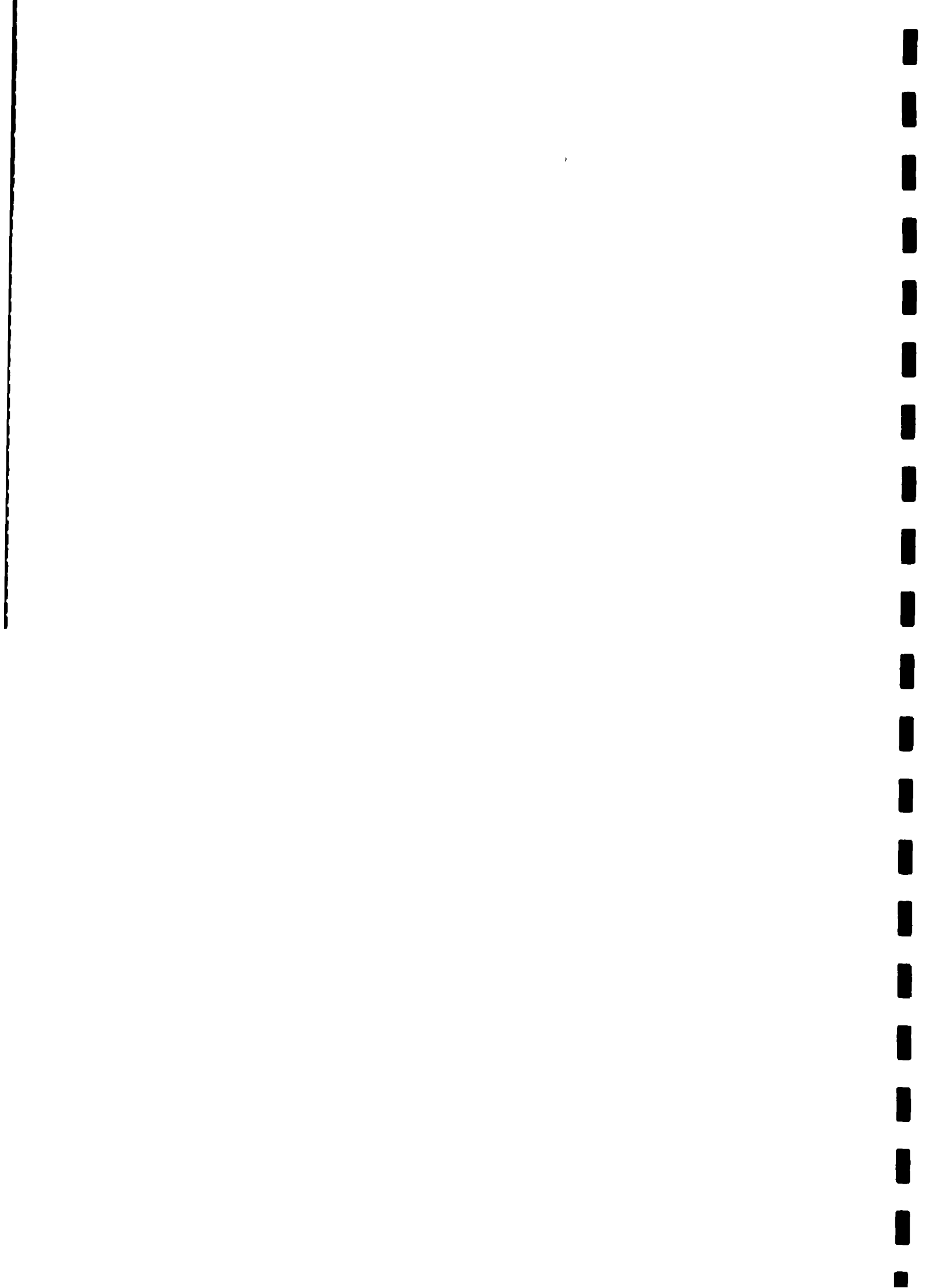
1. During a "Consultative Process" the villagers should get asked to devise together with the WADS-extension team (V.P.S.) a concept for community participation and maintenance by making own proposals with respect to the various topics of the WADS-V.W.S.P.  
Agreements reached should be signed by the villagers in form of a side-contract.
2. The organizational framework for "Active Village Participation" should consist of
  - Village water committee : management
  - Village health committee: Health and Sanitation Programme focused on water related diseases.
  - Two caretakers: Operation and maintenance of the implemented I.W.S.S.
3. All localities that make up a village and all tribal segments inhabiting a village should be represented in the two committees.  
The committee members help to organize the activities of the WADS-V.W.S.P. within their localities /kinship group/tribal segments and come to agreements and decisions on village level within the committees.
4. Before the committee members and the caretakers get appointed, their tasks and responsibilities must be well defined and understood by all villagers.
5. A reporting relationship between the V.W.C./Cts. and WADS/R.C./M.O.H. on forms with specified questions provided by WADS should be institutionalized.
6. The Village Health Committee (V.H.C.) should be composed mainly of women, because Water and Health belong to the household sphere and matters of hygiene are part of women talk.
7. A Health and Sanitation Programme is crucial for realizing the benefit of "better health through safe water".  
Because a change in behaviour patterns related to Hygiene will be asked for from the villagers, only with longer term programmes in close cooperation with the M.O.H. and NGOs

*Do they share water source?*



the aim of improving the health condition of the villagers with a WADS-well will be reached.

8. Lectures on water and health could be prepared and influence on the curricula for training of CHW could be taken.
9. The existing health-infrastructure (C.H.W./P.H.U.) should be considered for village selection (priority ranking) and priority in selection of C.H.W. should be asked for the "WADS-villages" from the R.C./M.O.H.
10. Additional facilities at the well-site (like bathing-and washing places, animal trough) could be supplied to the villagers and intergrated as topics into the Health-and Sanitation Programme. 4-
11. Traditionnal concepts of disease form an integrated part of a wider cultural-and social system. They should be viewed thus from a holistic perspective. Field studies in the "WADS-villages" are needed in order to gain an understanding of the forces which may support or hinder a Health and Sanitation Programme and these findings should form part of a "health-manual" for WADS-extension workers. 0  
Otherwise a necessary change in behaviour patterns on part of the villagers will not take place. Through a paternalistic approach by just propogating modern views about how water and health are related villagers will neither feel addressed nor motivated to bring a sacrifice of tradition for unpredictable change. 3
12. Health is an important aspect of the V.W.S.P. Because "better health through safe water" is not yet experienced by the villagers and the need for paying two caretakers not understood, an additional benefit, which is appreciated by the villagers, could be provided (e.g. financial contribution of the Rural Councils for a profitable community-project; improvement of the health-infrastructure by the M.O.H.).  
  
These additional benefits should be exclusively related to the villagers commitment towards maintenance of the WADS-village well as it is introduced and agreed upon by the village in the side-contract.
13. For carrying out the extension programme of the WADS-V.P.S effectively, the training of extension workers should be of continuous concern. This should be the task of an



- experienced field worker who is well acquainted with the culture of South Darfur.
14. Didactical material for community participation and a Health-and Sanitation Programme could get developed: slide show, photos, flip-chart.
  15. The organization of the WADS-V.P.S should be thought over. The existing organizational structure is poorly conceptualized.
    - (a) An effective work needs motivation on part of the participants.  
This could be achieved by
      - defining the various tasks of the V.P.S. according to its objectives.
      - distributing responsibilities among the V.P.S.-staff (stress on independent work within a team).
      - organizing information exchange (field experiences)
      - emphasizing training in extension work skills.
    - (b) Detailed job descriptions should be prepared.
    - (c) Qualified sudanese senior staff trained in the basics of sociology are needed. Otherwise the quality of work will hardly improve and the transfer of knowledge from the dutch-to the sudanese side will not be realized.
  16. The existing technical design of the WADS-well is still under discussion.  
For an alternative design the villagers (especially women) should be consulted.
  17. Regular checks of the water quality of the WADS-wells should be made; up to now no differentiated data about "contamination of the well" are available.  
Also about the effect of the windlass system on the water quality data should get collected and utilized, e.g. for an improvement of the technical design of the WADS-well.  
For stratifying the sample at least five variables should be considered:
    - (a) technical design
    - (b) data of water quality test (season)
    - (c) data of well construction
    - (d) proper usage of the water lifting system.
    - (e) pressure on the well

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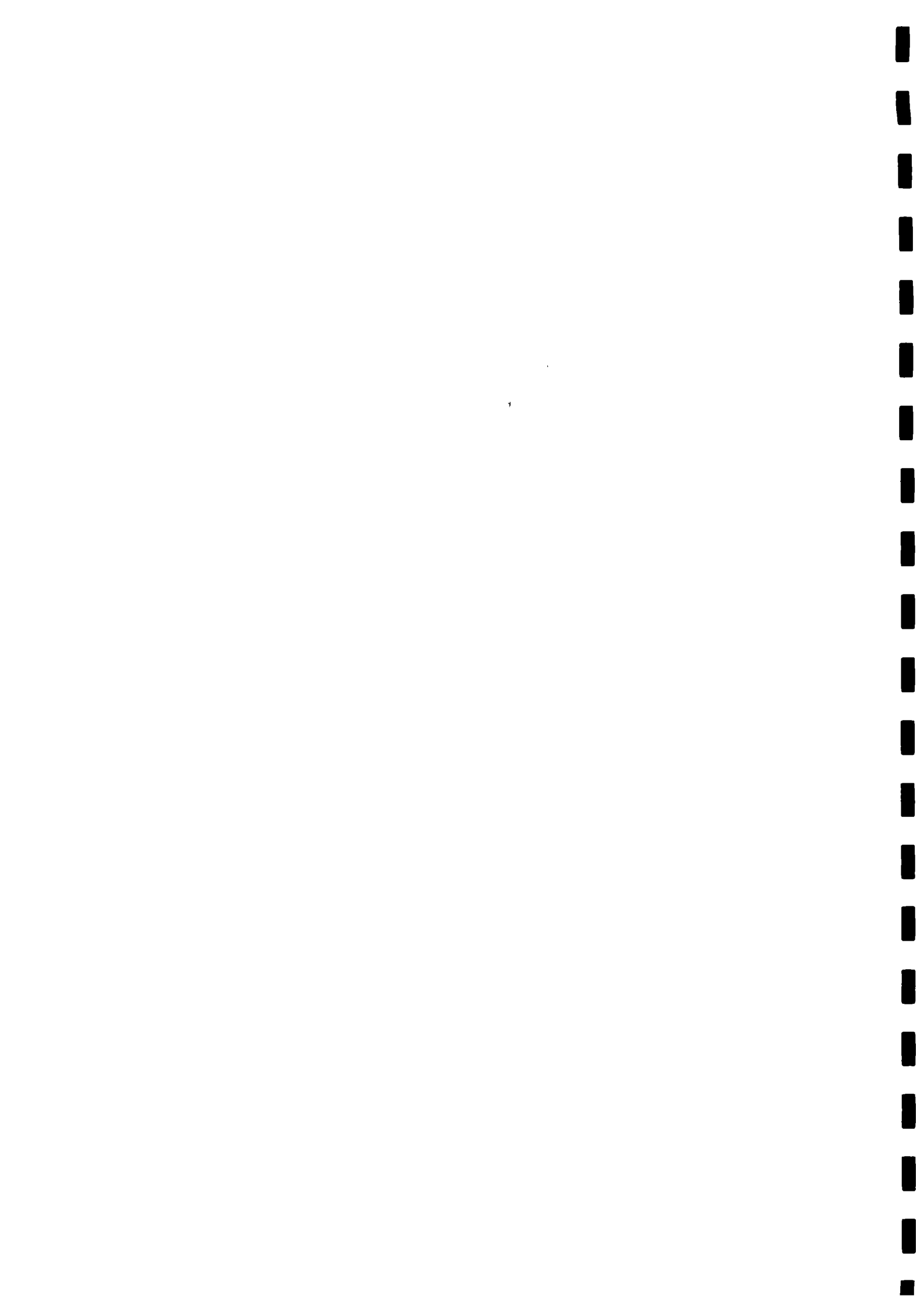
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18. When villagers collect money for the WADS-V.W.S.P., payment categories should be proposed in order to match inequality of wealth among the villagers, which jeopardizes active village participation.
19. The introduction of by-laws should be proposed to the villagers in order to enforce commitment of all villagers towards the WADS-V.W.S.P.
20. For evaluating the experiences made in the different Rural Councils where WADS is active, follow-up surveys concerning A.V.P. and the Health and Sanitation Programme are proposed.  
These comparative studies should be carried out by an expert and the results translated into operational tools for the extension workers:  
manual, reporting forms, questionnaires, topics of a training programme.
21. Data received from the villagers have to be cross-checked (see Summary of Findings Nr. 28).  
Only verified data can be intergrated into operational tools, e.g. for a Health-and Sanitation Programme, for an estimation of water-consumption or for decisions to be made when villager apply for a second well.



## I. Introduction

### 1. Active Village Participation and Maintenance

The fact, that the need for social studies, which should precede the implementation of Improved Water Supply System (I.W.S.S.), gets more and more emphasized by the agencies concerned, reflects a learning-process out of experience: the figures and statistics about success and failure of water supply projects do not promise optimism. In the worst examples the time for construction superated the time needed to leave the system abandoned. This is true especially for technologically more sophisticated systems like motor-driven water pumps and handpumps and less true for hand-dug wells, -at least there will be water in the well, if no basic technical mistakes had been made.

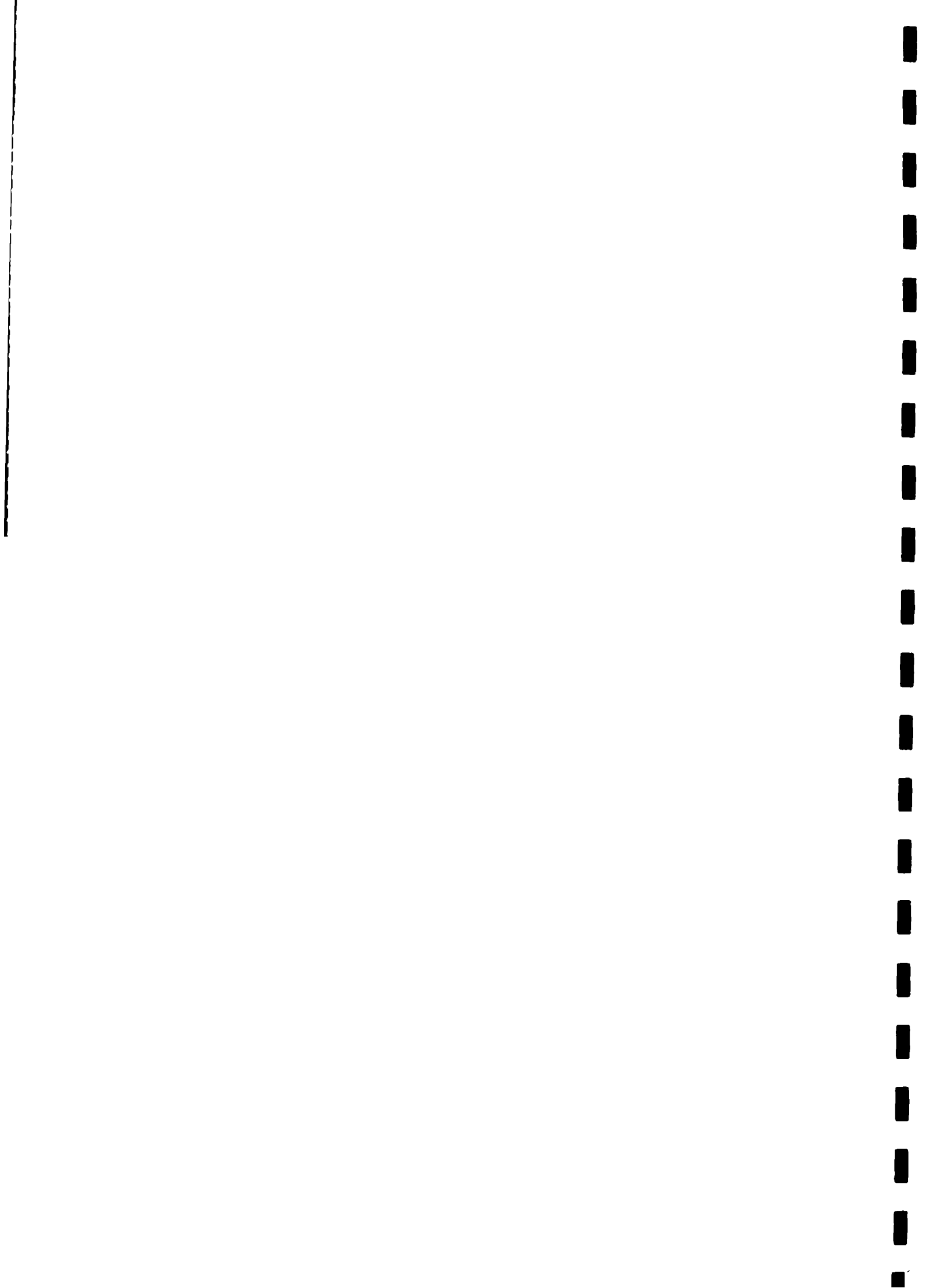
In general, the main obstacles for a proper maintenance of I.W.S.S. got identified as:

- lack of money, especially hard currency, for import of spare-parts
- insufficient follow-up programmes on part of the implementing agencies due to lack of logistic support and motivation
- lack of reliable communication-channels between the communities and responsible external agencies or offices for purpose of preventive and corrective maintenance.

Recommendations made in order to improve the success rate of future projects have been:

technical approach: sturdy and robust systems or simply hand-dug wells

organizational approach: decentralized maintenance systems. Communities and governmental agencies should share responsibilities, whereby the choice of technology should be related to the resources available to the communities in order to do repairing as much as possible by themselves (V.L.O.M.).



systematic approach: taken into consideration are affordability of maintaining an I.W.S.S., environmental aspects, organizational aspects, based on the availability of governmental capacities and local resources, technology. (1)

The main lesson learned is: the users of the I.W.S.S. should get involved in planning, construction and maintenance as much as possible, so that it becomes their own well and its them who directly benefit from it. Thus they will be strongest motivated to care for it.

This idea finds support in another experience made, a negative one: the more administrative or other external institutions are involved in maintenance of I.W.S.S., the higher the breakdown rate. (2)

The choice of technology is crucial with this approach and the decision for an easy technical design, as it is realized in the case of WADS, points already towards: active participation of villagers, who are not hindered in taking maintenance actions by forces they cannot influence (logistics, money, bureaucracy).

But technology alone is not a striking argument, because experiences in Darfuriian villages also show, that diesel-motors used for grainmills are well maintained and spare-part problems get solved in a short time (few days).

With an intelligent planning with respect to

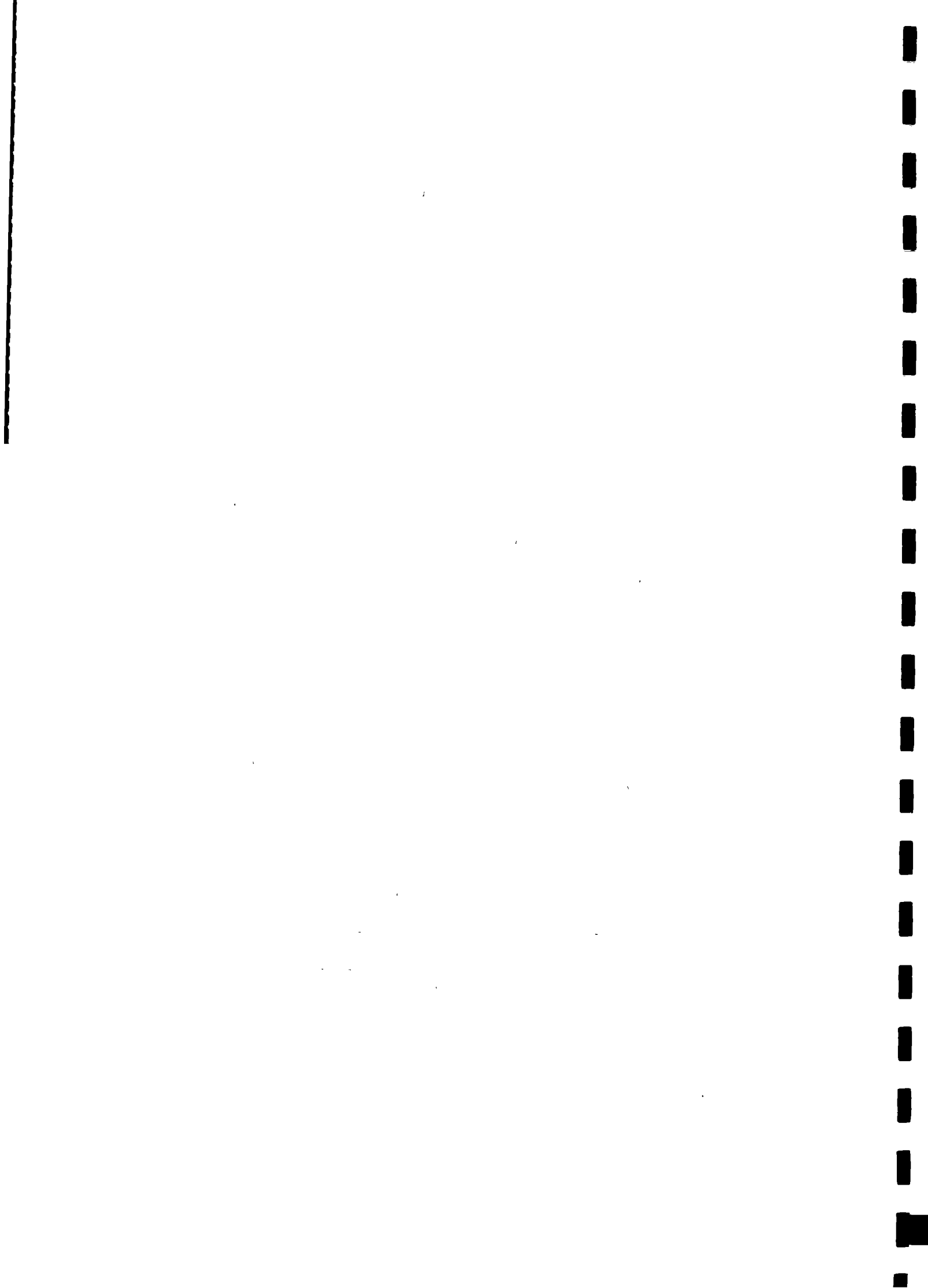
- technical standardization
- emphasis on local production; the quality-level of local manufacturing in the south is sufficient  
and: more effort can be put in stimulating small-scale village industry

The main bottleneck for a proper maintenance of an I.W.S.S. like the WADS-well is rather: motivation to keep the introduced system running.

A grainmill is a profitable undertaking in terms of cash. The benefit can be measured and counted.

Similarly a school: there is no direct cash output, but all villages can provide examples, that a higher education opens doors for salaried governmental jobs as a usually highly valued aim to reach.

But no such direct benefit as motivation for maintenance can be provided for a WADS-well. Suggestions like irrigation-schemes, connected with an I.W.S.S. are not realistic (3), and they don't really touch the point as it will be argued later.



The benefits of time-gain and energy-sparing (especially for women and children) will not get automatically turned into economic productivity, which could stimulate the maintenance-consciousness of the villagers, for reason of:

- lack of possibilities; there is a high pressure on fertile land and beside agriculture the local infrastructure cannot offer much in respect of profitable economic activity.
- cultural constraints; women are independent property-holders, but any activity or decisions they intend to do are controlled by men and, most important: higher income for women could lead to less cash-contribution for the household-budget on part of the husband.

→ important

These are not really optimistic signs to build programmes on. The villagers expect from their new well sufficient water for use in the household and for livestock, with the well-site at a reasonable distance from the village. For this benefit the villagers pay 1000 L.S. (1250 L.S.) once.

If WADS would agree with the villagers on that, and only on that, there is no need for a windlass, a tank, a fence or caretakers, and there is no need for women-participation, also not for a specific committee or even a more sophisticated organizational framework.

} 0

Existing village-committees could easily organize maintenance-actions, which will occur once a year or less. Any skilled person, who is appointed for that task by the villagers during a village-meeting, and who gets compensated for the work done, can take action in corrective maintenance when the users inform the village-authorities about breaks in the slab or the tank, which could endanger the functioning of the well under purely technical aspects.

An elaborated organizational system would be inadequate to the little work which actually has to be done.

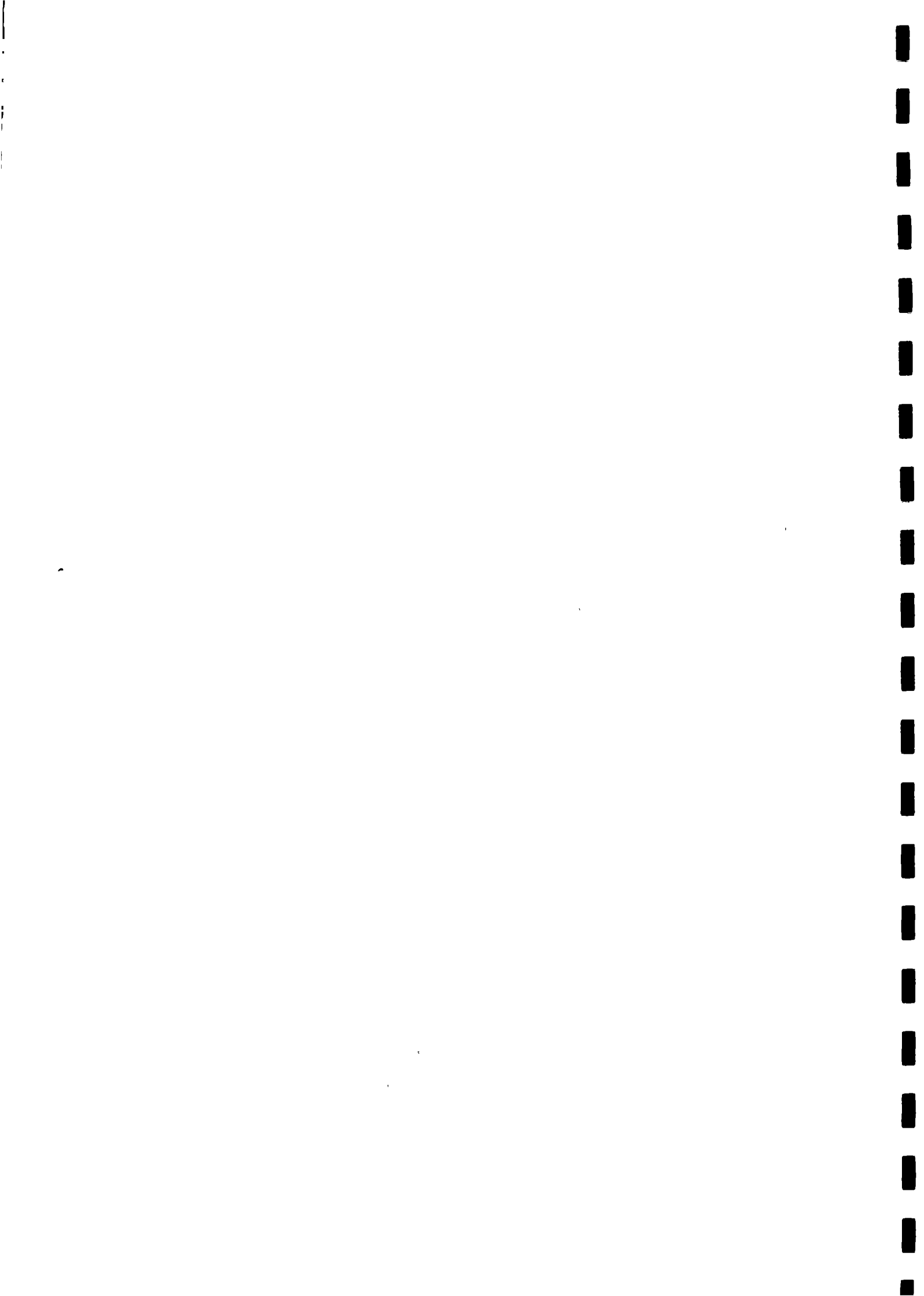
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Even with a windlass only a stock of spare-parts could be ensured, which is easily accessible to the villagers. But if there is motivation to go on to use the windlass, which is doubtful, the villagers would also find their way to the south in order to get repaired a handle.

Meant is: the ability of the villagers to manage these technical aspects of maintenance should not be underestimated. The villagers appreciate their benefits mentioned because they experience severe water-problems.

↙ ↘

Villagers in Darfur are as clever-minded and down-to-earth as any other people in the world with respect to their very own interests. This is at least the author's opinion.





It is only if an additional element enters, which is "Health", that proposals and effort made in the V.P.S. in organizing "active village participation" make sense.

Diseases are a true hazzle for the villagers, and it is known, that the most frequent diseases found in the rural area of South Darfur are water-related diseases. (4)

It would be irresponsible to neglect this fact by refusing to figure out possibilities to make the relation between Water and Health part of the consciousness of the villagers and thus add it to the list of benefits: the WADS - well has this potential.

Otherwise the agency sticks to a comfortable position: if the villagers are that ignorant that they do not insist on Health, then let them do so.

U 20 disease  
of the has been  
but I must  
... 9

To the quality of "better health through safe water" the cost-aspect has to be added as benefit. For the cure of diseases in general villagers spend between 300 to 400 L.S. per year per household. (5)

If Health is part of the WADS-package, then the WADS-village well is not any more simply an improved water source, which principally can be used in the same way like a traditional one. It becomes a more elaborate system, which has to be supervised, until the villagers are prepared and conscious enough to run it by themselves.

This point is reached, when especially women and livestock-owners as main users know about the dangerous points, where water can get contaminated, and they take counteractions by themselves, because they understand.

***Only then, when the villagers grasp the idea how Water and Health are related and integrate it into their world-view, the WADS - well is not anymore a complex system, but again a traditional water-source, used with "developed" consciousness. This should be the aim.***

Up to this point water will carry the stigma of being a "good", and not a "right", because to organize that safe water arrives from the well up to the hut, and to ensure the actual health-benefit through education and training towards change of behaviour patterns, has its price.

It will only be paid by the villagers, if the benefit received is understood as such, and over all experienced and thus appreciated.

No quick results will bring a Health-Programme, which, if it should be effective, will ask the villagers to sacrifice a good part of their traditional beliefs. This is a painful process.

Diseases are also related by the villagers to mystical forces, to religious, magical and moral concepts and are thus related to social life and culture. (6)



The local traditional concept of Sickness and Health is a function of certain social and psychological realities, with which each society has to deal. It is part of the system of belief and behaviour, which is well adapted to the strategy of survival of the villagers' culture.

In order to develop a didactic for an effective Health-Programme, the complex setting of disease and health in Darfurian culture has first to be understood, at least efforts have to be made. Otherwise there will be misunderstanding for lack of common meaning in the words used, even if the same language (arabic) is spoken.

The field-study was not planned to collect information about this topic, but one extension-worker (Farouk Hashim Omer) did a research on it beside carrying out the survey. ←  
The start for the work to be done in this direction is made.

What makes the WADS - well a complex system and what does the project have to know in order to organize it and keep it functioning?

What benefits can WADS offer in order to keep the spirit of the villagers high when asked to participate, also financially, in something, for what they do not see yet the reason?

Those villagers, who are interested in "better health through safe water" should have the chance to gain this benefit.

One of the hottest point, where this is endangered, is the well-site. (7)

Somebody must take care that Hygiene is taken serious, that women do not use their their own buckets for fetching water but WADS-buckets, that a fence is built and recognized in its function to keep away animals from the well and to demarcate the distance, where laundry can be done.

Caretakers have to organize all over the day, that here nothing goes wrong, and they want to be paid for.

The women should be the main target-group as direct user of the well. As mentioned, the earlier they grasp the idea of Hygiene, the less 'system' will be necessary.

But what is the situation of women in villages?

How can WADS approach them, and what responsibilities can women take over, and how to organize that?

When there is money involved, there is need of collecting it and of keeping it (treasurer).

Flow of information and responsibilities must be defined and a representative village-body has to be formed for decision-making



and for external contact with WADS and the Rural Councils, which should remain active during the follow-up.

Immediate benefits, related to the WADS - well in one way or another must be offered to and discussed with the villagers, and hopefully also with governmental authorities.

WADS should know about the history of community-projects in the villages, what financial resources the villagers have and what is the social and cultural setting, in which the WADS - village well project should function.

WADS should get an idea about the spectrum of choices the villagers have and about the rational behind the choices they actually make. It will be significant with regard to the values they live with and belief in, and it can never be neglected, if the proposals made by WADS should be realistic. Otherwise there will be form without content, and thus no success.

The survey in Kas Rural Council was planned to get some answers to these questions.

The findings of this survey should provide WADS with guidelines for a maintenance-programme, which the extension-workers should implement together with the villagers during a "consultative process".

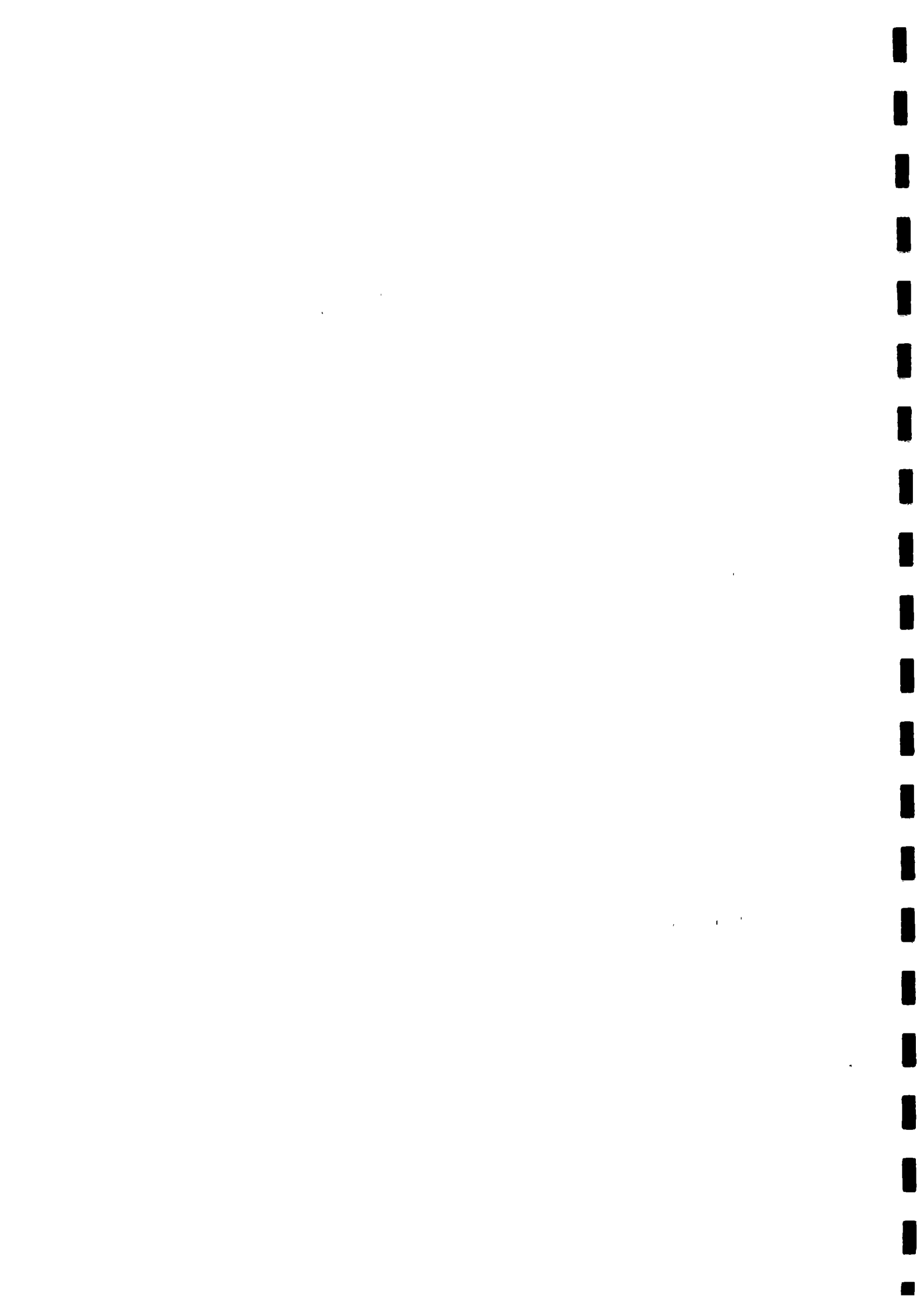
Active Village Participation should not be reduced to labour-provision and cash-contribution, but should be understood as a learning-process, through which the villagers gain the maximum benefit from the WADS - well.

WADS should from the beginning evaluate the experiences made and draw consequences for the further approach.

## 2. Methodology

Decisions about the methodology for this field-study had to take into consideration the following factors:

- Time limit. For preparing and carrying out this survey, for processing and analysing the data and for presentation of the results maximum 3 months were planned.



- Combined with the aim of this study (to provide operational tools for a maintenance-programme with active village participation) has been the training of extension-workers on the job. The present qualifications of the V.P.S.-members are not sufficient to carry out research independently. Practical guidelines were needed.

Two questionnaires got designed, one for key-informants (shaykh and other village-authorities), from which the survey-team expected information about village-organization, socio-structural patterns, census-data and data about financing, decision-making and communal activities.

The second questionnaire was meant for households. Here the team asked about the financial standing of the informants, informal communication-channels, distribution of authority, decision-making and participation especially with respect to the WADS-V.W.S.P., use of traditional water-sources, attitudes and values that govern village-life and data about economic activities and income of the villagers (see Annexes A,B and C).

"Household" is defined as a group of people, who share property-rights in eachother (marriage, inheritance, contribution to a common budget) and who share one kitchen.

In South Darfurian culture a household comprises the husband, his wife and their common unmarried children. Sometimes they form together with a close relative an "extended family".

7/ With each co-wife a husband forms a separate household. Usually all live within one compound.

In one compound therefore are found several households, and attached compounds form the core of the marriage-circle: brothers and cousins arrange for their sons' and daughters' marriage (bit'am and bit'chala marriage forms).

From the beginning it was expected, that the information given by women would differ from that received from men, because of the emphasis of islamic culture to keep the privat- and the public sphere separate, accompanied by a strict role-division between men and women.

For this reason the household-questionnaire got divided into two, one for men and one for women, identical in design, but some questions were confined to women only.





Before the selection of villages to be studied took place, the questions of stratification had to be solved.

On what kind of pre-selection of villages or village-clusters should be insisted in order to integrate all significant characteristics of the study-area?

And what strata in a village should be considered as relevant for an independent random-sample?

It is suggested, that in the time between the application for- and the actual construction of the well discussions among the villagers concerning the WADS - village project will be most intense and the willingness to cooperate in a village-survey strongest.

In Kas Rural Council 16 villages fit into this category.

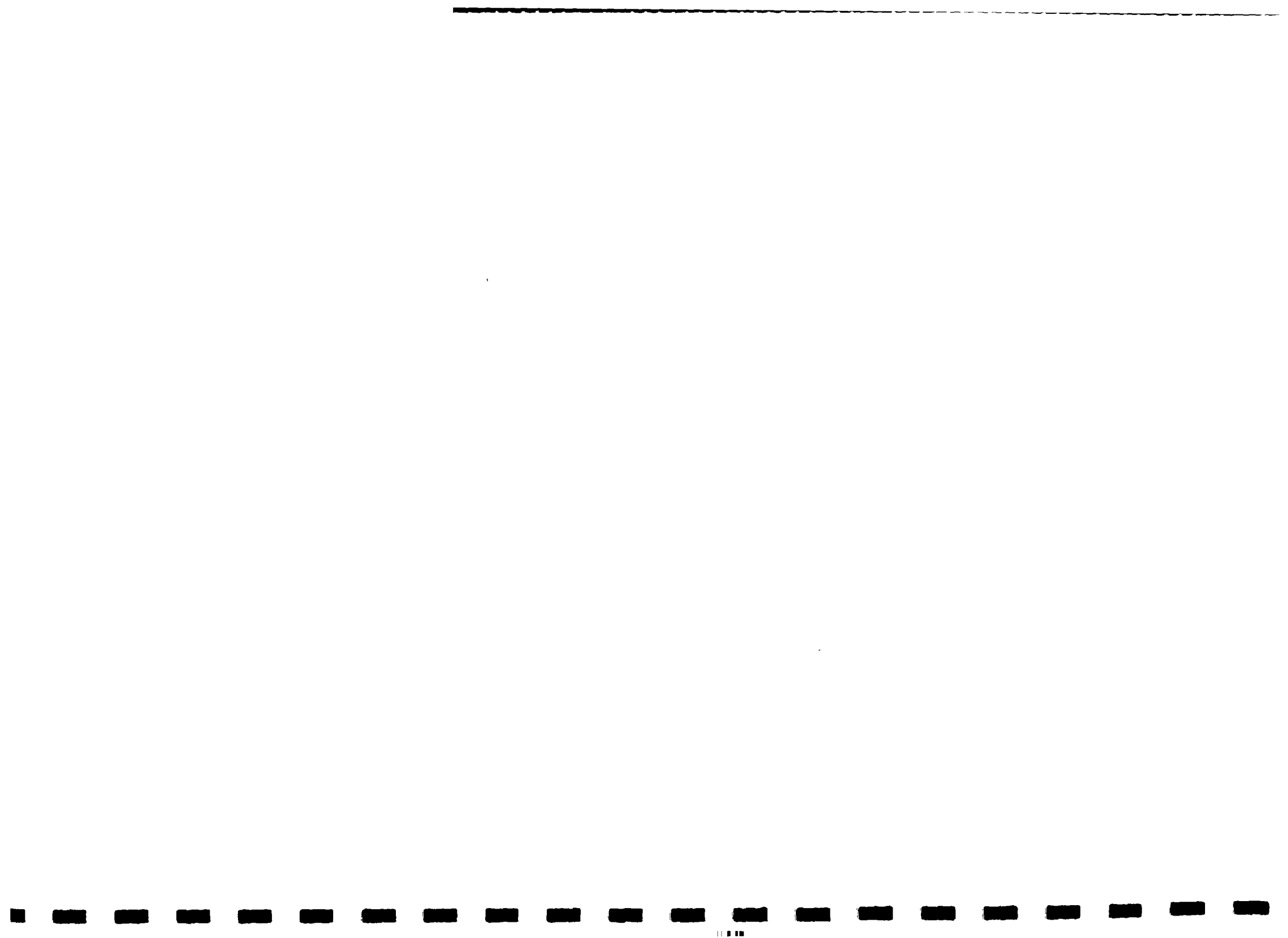
The preferred criterion for stratification would have been: ethnical differentiation among the inhabitants of a village. It is expected, that in this case different value- and behaviour patterns towards water-use exist and that significant variations in the way how village-activities get organized and decided will be found.

The impact on village-solidarity in general is of importance too. Village-sections always compete, and if the division works along ethnical lines, there might arise situations where commonly accepted means of conflict-solving are not spontaneously to actualize. Ethnical conflicts are existential in character and tend towards secession.

Unfortunately data about ethnical differentiation have not been available in the WADS - file, only the vague size of village-population had been regarded as being indicative for this criterion. But the survey-team succeeded to integrate ethnical differentiation into the sample by incidence.

There should have been considered other criterions, like distance to the next town or market-centre, road-connections and type of local infrastructure. But at the planning-phase of the survey it had to be admitted, that not one information to rely upon was available and the survey-team was left with the hope, that these differences will roughly correspond to the village-size.

This varies among the 16 villages between 250 and 3500 inhabitants. Consequently essential differences in resources and capacities with regard to management and financing of the V.W.S.S. were expected.



The 16 villages in Kas Rural Council got grouped into three clusters:

- 1 - villages with 400 inhabitants and less
- 2 - villages with 2500 inhabitants and more
- 3 - the remaining villages

At random one village out of group 1 and 2, and two villages out of group 3 were chosen.

The selected villages have been:

Milebeeda  
Daba Kafot  
Teigi  
Waru

Daba Kafot since ever formed one village together with Daba Naira, called Ardeeba. 15 years ago an administrative line got drawn straight through the village, so there are two, belonging to two village-councils. But for the purpose of the survey, the team did what the villagers go on to do: they behave like one village.

For reasons of time and health-problems of the team-members it was decided to skip Waru for the household-interviews. This decision the survey-team agreed upon, because the partly already analysed data from the other villages showed convincing similarities. Nevertheless, Waru turned out to be an interesting case concerning village-structure and decision-making.

On the day of arrival in the village the team started to draw a sketch-map, where each compound with the number of huts and the tribal identity of its inhabitants got signed.

The size of the village, the tribal structure and the number of localities, that make up a village, got recognized for stratifying the sample.

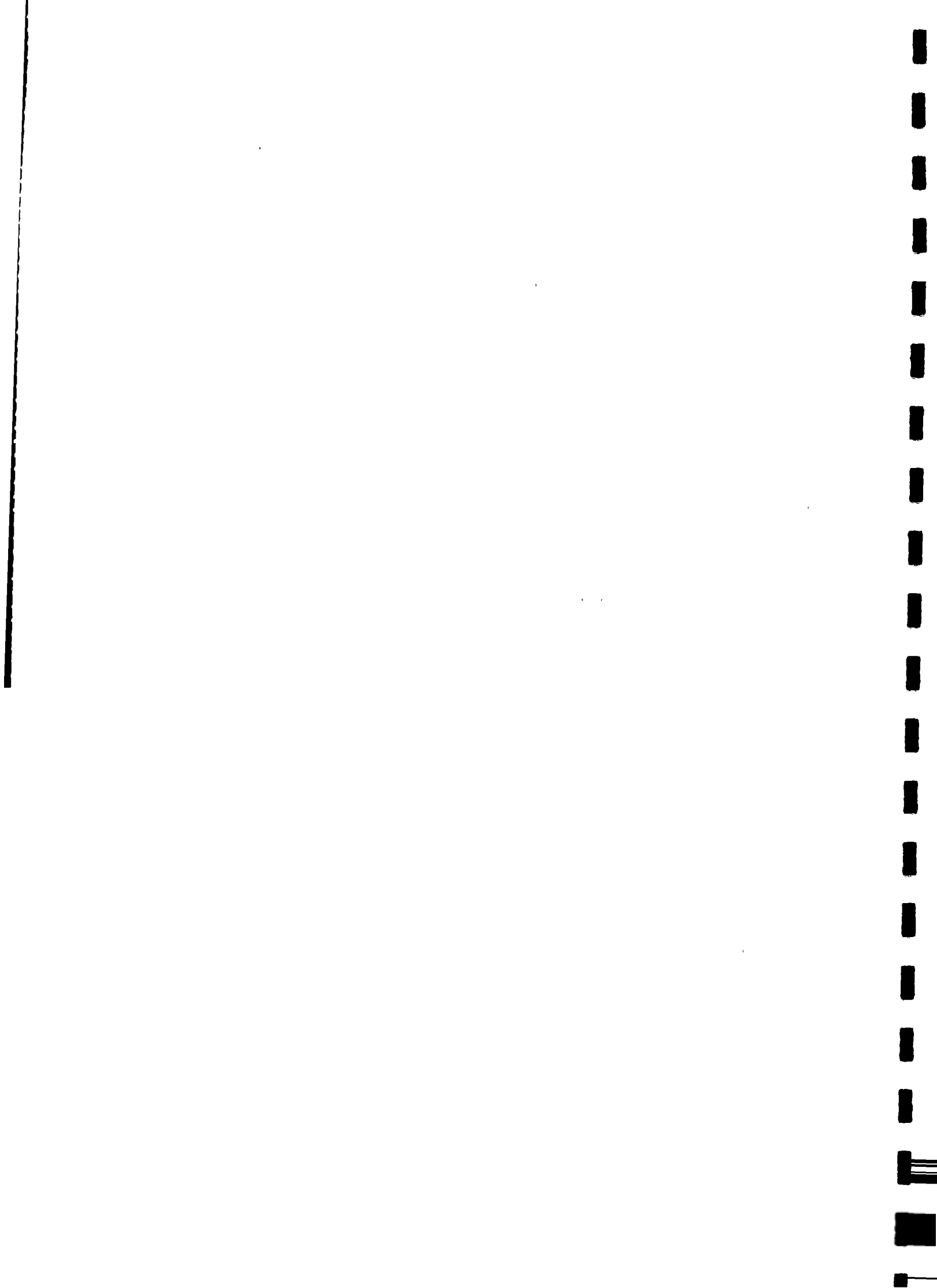
In Milebeeda 5.7% of the 105 compounds were selected (6 Q. for men, 6 Q. for women), in Ardeeba 7.4% of 107 compounds (8 + 8), in Teigi 12.1% of 33 compounds (4 + 4).

In each selected compound the head of the household and one of his wives were interviewed.

In all, during 14 days 36 persons were interviewed plus key-informants for the village-questionnaire.

In addition there was enough time and opportunity for informal talking and for small researches the extension-workers did on project-related topics of own choice:

2 1/2 p. day  
10



Mabhooba A.Rahman on Village Participation (case-study)  
Farouk Hashim Omer on Water and Health  
Yahya Sadig on Rights in Water

*Leila*

The information collected will be evaluated and presented to the V.P.S., like the results of the whole survey will be.

A short visit was done also in Nabagaya in order to collect information concerning a second well the villagers would like to have.

Still, it has to be mentioned, that in the relatively short period, in which the survey has been carried out, the survey-team could not get a very deep insight and understanding of Darfurian village-life.

Also, other Rural Councils may differ from Kas. Rural Council has area is not expected to represent fully cultural and socio-structural patterns of all villages in South-Darfur. With surveys carried out in other areas variations can be discovered, validated and integrated into a scheme, which presents a spectrum of organizational and financial capacities and of values and cultural idioms found in the total area, where WADS is and will become active.

For the approach towards a maintenance-programme this might ask only slight variations, but to check this, short-term studies will certainly be in need.

Anyway, the range of questions asked was wide enough (H.H.Q.: 68, V.Q.: 43) and about all topics of interest enough information got collected to formulate a first draft of a maintenance-programme.

### 3. Presentation of the Survey

Each village studied will be discussed separately. Certain topics, like traditional power-structure or collective work-activities, will get evaluated more in one village and only shortly mentioned in another, when no new features appear.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

The structure of presentation is equal in the three villages, where the household-survey has been carried out:

- village structure, including historical information and census-data
- village organization: committees and cooperatives
- collective work-activities
- decision-making and information channels
- financing of village-affairs
- the WADS - village well
- men and women: social roles and values; distribution of authority; radius of social interaction
- economic data

For Waru the village-questionnaire has been evaluated, and for Nabagaya a summary of the informal interviews made and recommendations for the question of a second well given.

The last two chapters summarize the main results of this field-study, conclusions get drawn and recommendations made for the WADS - maintenance programme.

#### 4. Training of WADS - Village Project Section Staff

An underlying theme during the whole period of the survey has been the training of extension-workers.

Generally, attention has been given to independent work, which is crucial for field-studies of this type, but especially important for the tasks of the extension-workers later on. They will have to cover a wide range of villages for reasons of selection and discussion of project relevant topics.

They have to be in an active position when discussing with the villagers the topics of the WADS - V.W.S.P., and they have to be aware of the consequences of proposals the villagers make and judge them adequately according to its value for the WADS-policy.

This asks for a qualitative jump regarding preparation and project-consciousness on part of the extension-workers.

Up to now the factor 'independent work' has not been recognized and trained on sufficiently. But along with recommendations for an

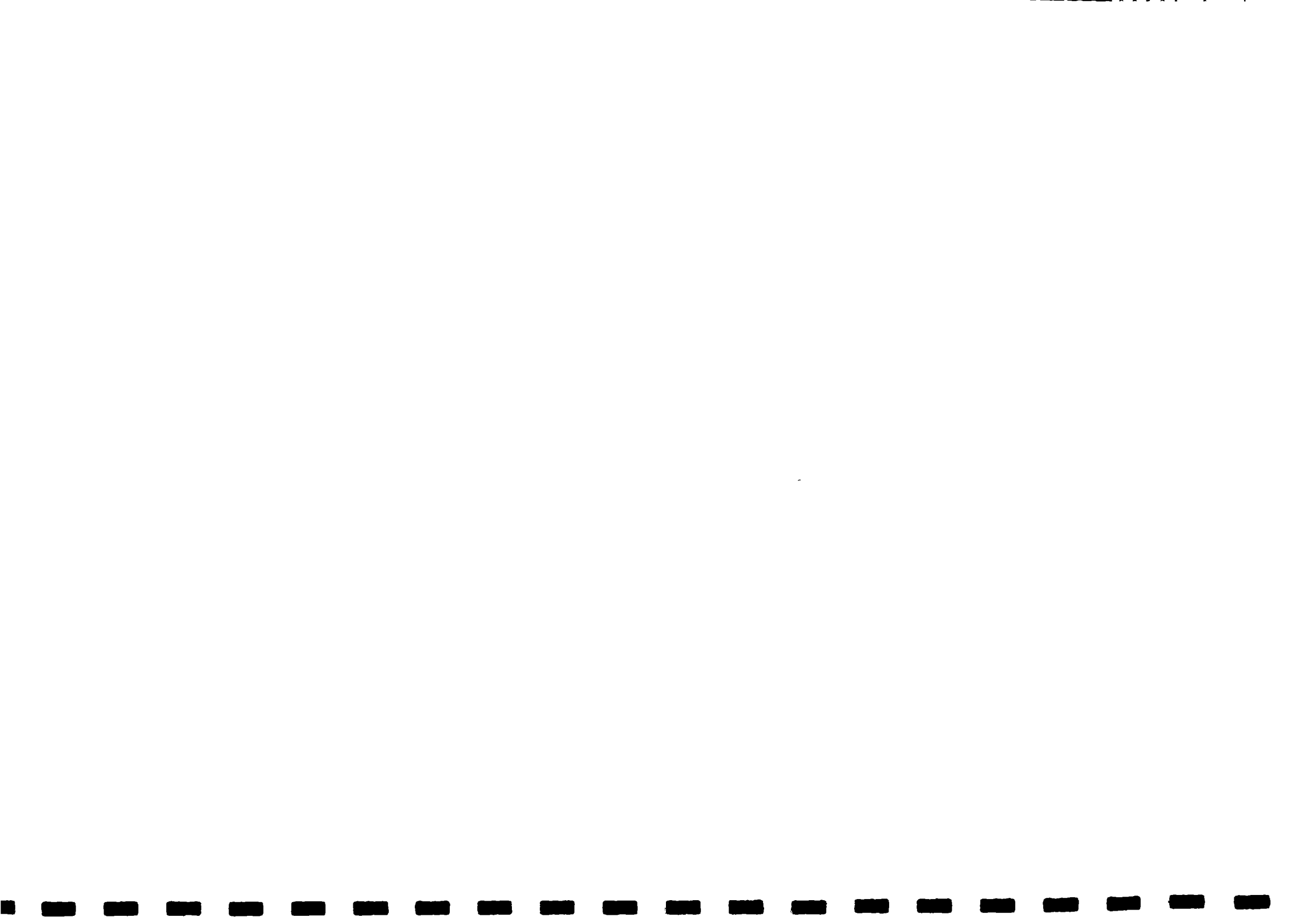




improvement of the extension-programme this should get integrated into a curriculum for training-courses and a feedback into the work-practice of the V.P.S. should be allowed.

The training of the extension-workers during the field-study consisted of:

- applying the learned technique of sampling in the field
- drawing accurate village-sketch maps, where each hut with the tribal identity of its inhabitants is indicated and can be found later on for the selection of the household to be interviewed.
- filling questionnaires
- leading informal interviews
- observation techniques (see Annex D)
- collecting data about a project-related topic of own choice independently
- processing of these data in order to present them later on to the V.P.S.
- learning about the significance of background information in order to give meaning to received answers



## II. The Survey

### 1. Milebeeda

#### 1.1. The Village. Inhabitants and socio-structural Characteristics.

The village Milebeeda is situated about 5 km north-east of Kas, east of the Wadi OmLauLau.

The first settlers arrived 60 years ago. They decided for the site for two reasons: water and fertile land.

North of Milebeeda (3 km) there is the village Dawis, a place where plenty of water of relatively good quality is available. In the South do the villagers have their fields, where they grow mainly millet, sorghum, groundnuts and simsim.

Agriculture is the main source of income for the villagers. They are properly peasants, who feel attached to their land as means to make their livelihood, of course, but also as a source of prestige of being successful planters.

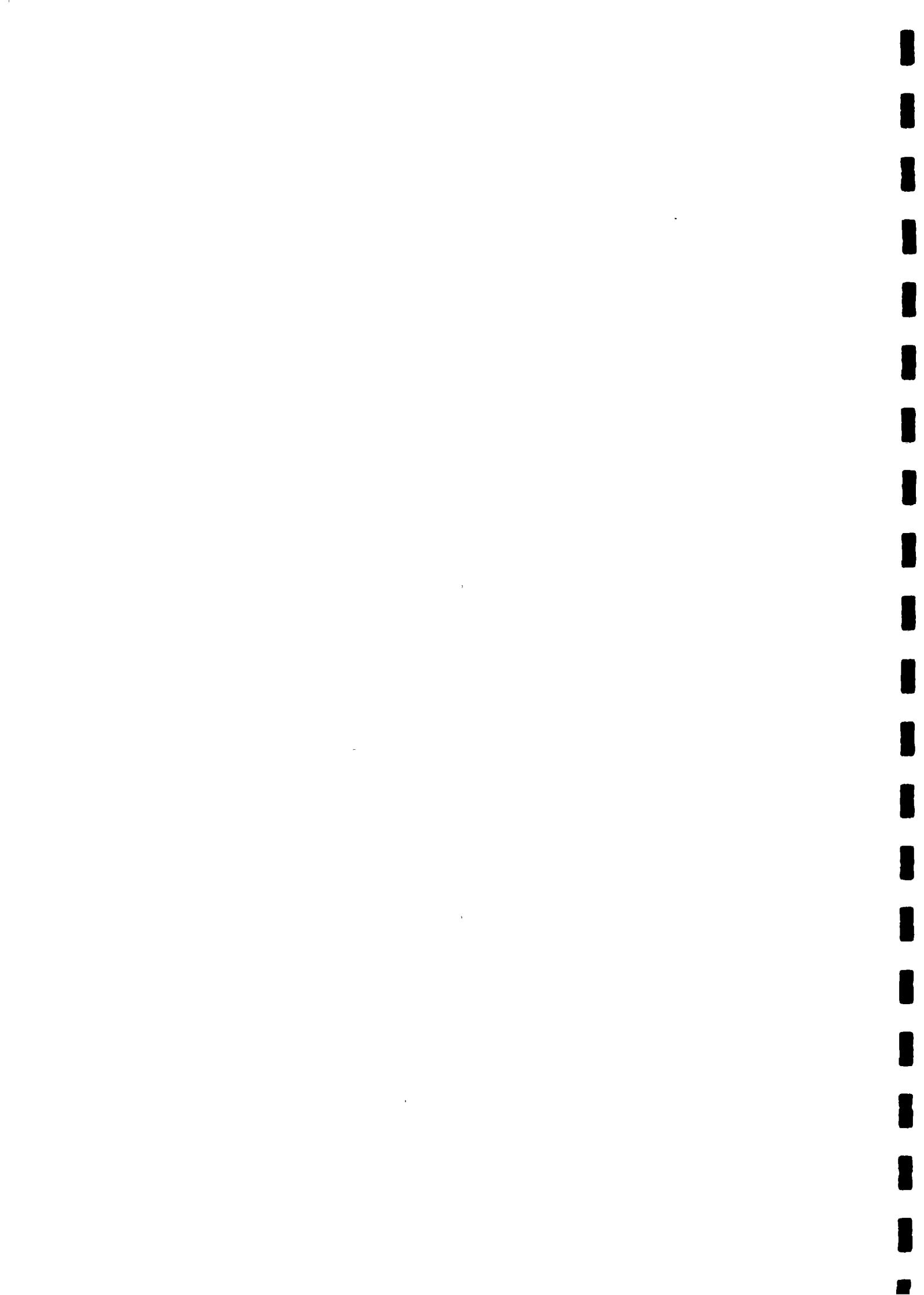
And: the land is a link to their ancestors, from whom they inherited it. Most villagers belong to the Misseria-tribe, and the recognition of the exact kinship-relation of the tribesmen towards their ancestors plays a decisive part in village-structure and village-life.

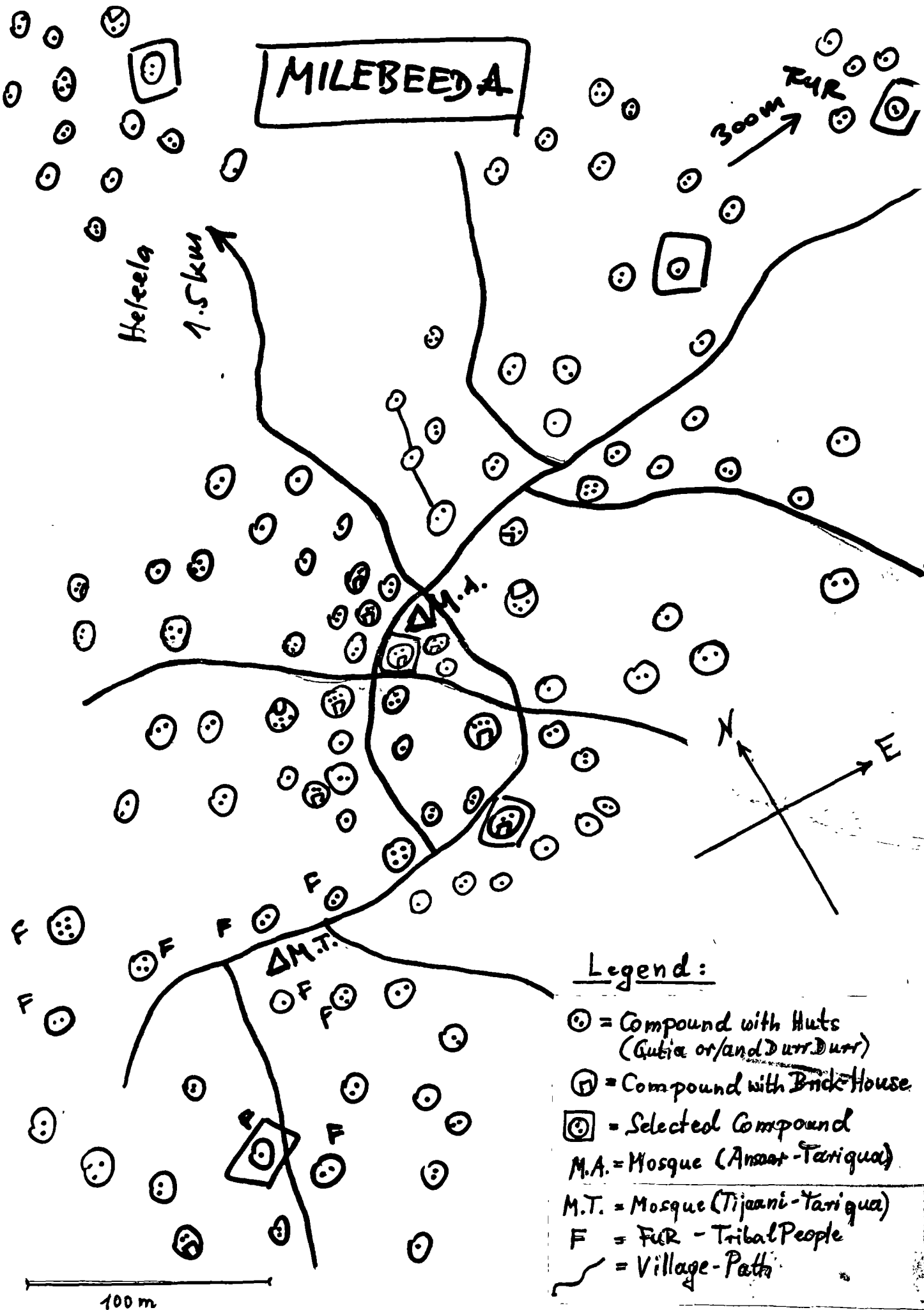
Today there are four branches of one big kinship-group, which have common ancestors. The recognized geneological depth is four generations.

The time-dimension involved (geneological time) and the division of space the villagers occupy in the village are interrelated: those villagers, who can trace their relationship to the founding ancestor through father - and mother line alike, occupy the centre of the village. It's them who keep rights in the most fertile land, and in their families important offices are invested (semi-hereditary offices of shayh/a, imman).

Those villagers, who recognize their kin-relation to the founding ancestor either through father - or mother line only, or just through a later descendent of them, those who share at best half of the geneological time with the above mentioned branch, live at the periphery of the village: less influential, less rich and complaining "they don't call me for a meeting".

Those villagers, who have not any significant kinship-relation with the main-branch, live at the outpart of the village, like 5





Legend:

- ⊙ = Compound with Huts (Gubia or/and Durr Durr)
- ⊞ = Compound with Brick House
- ⊠ = Selected Compound
- M.A. = Mosque (Ansar-Tariqua)
- M.T. = Mosque (Tijaani-Tariqua)
- F = Fur - Tribal People
- ~ = Village-Path



Fur -households (300 m) or a Misseria -tribal segment, which arrived at Milebeeda only 25 years ago and settled at a distance of 1.5 km from the main-village. Since short time this group succeeded to establish two marriage-relations with the 'old' Milebeeda-villagers.

Talked about these structural characteristics with beduine tongue, then there are "persons of noble descent (ahl asl), persons of low descent (ahl asl watı) and those without descent (ahl asl mush ma'ruf)".

All inhabitants of Milebeeda are Muslim; the big majority belongs to the Ansaar-Tariqua, few are followers of the 'Tijaani Way'.

The Fur speak their own language, but Arabic is understood from all and used in inter-ethnic communication.

Most villagers are farmers. There are few artisans (5 masons, 1 shoe-maker, 1 taylor, 1 potter) and merchants. Many villagers work in addition to their own agricultural activities for bigger landlords or for merchants.

During the last three years 11 households, all from the Misseria tribe, left the village in order to find salaried work in Kas. The population-size remained stable over the last 3 years.

Population-size:

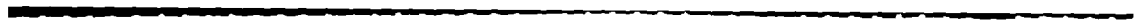
688 inhabitants form 105 compounds  
6 to 7 persons live in one compound  
4 persons make up one household

Fur - 14 compounds  
Misseria - 91 compounds

Livestock is of minor importance in Milebeeda.

Approx. 500 cattle  
600 sheep  
2000 goats  
20 camels  
20 horses  
500 donkeys are owned by the villagers.

End of december some villagers move with their livestock to





Introduction

dec - 1/1982 part away

Korole, about 50 km north-west from Milebeeda for reason of shortage of grazing land. They return in June.

In a way they make place to 200 fariq (tent cluster) of the Gallol - nomads (sub-tribe of the Rizeigat).

They arrive from North-Darfur and settle in the surrounding of Milebeeda till July.

They move with approx.

- 5000 cattle
- 5000 camels
- 15000 goats
- 2000 sheep

الفريق

In Febr./March the villagers receive a letter from the Rural Council, where they are asked to clear their fields in order not to provoke conflicts with the nomads, who use this land 'since ever' for purpose of grazing their livestock. They keep "traditional rights" on this land.

For watering their animals they move to Dawis and Sigey.

### 1.2. Village Organization

Villagers in Milebeeda have a tradition in establishing an elaborate local administrative structure for handling community-affairs.

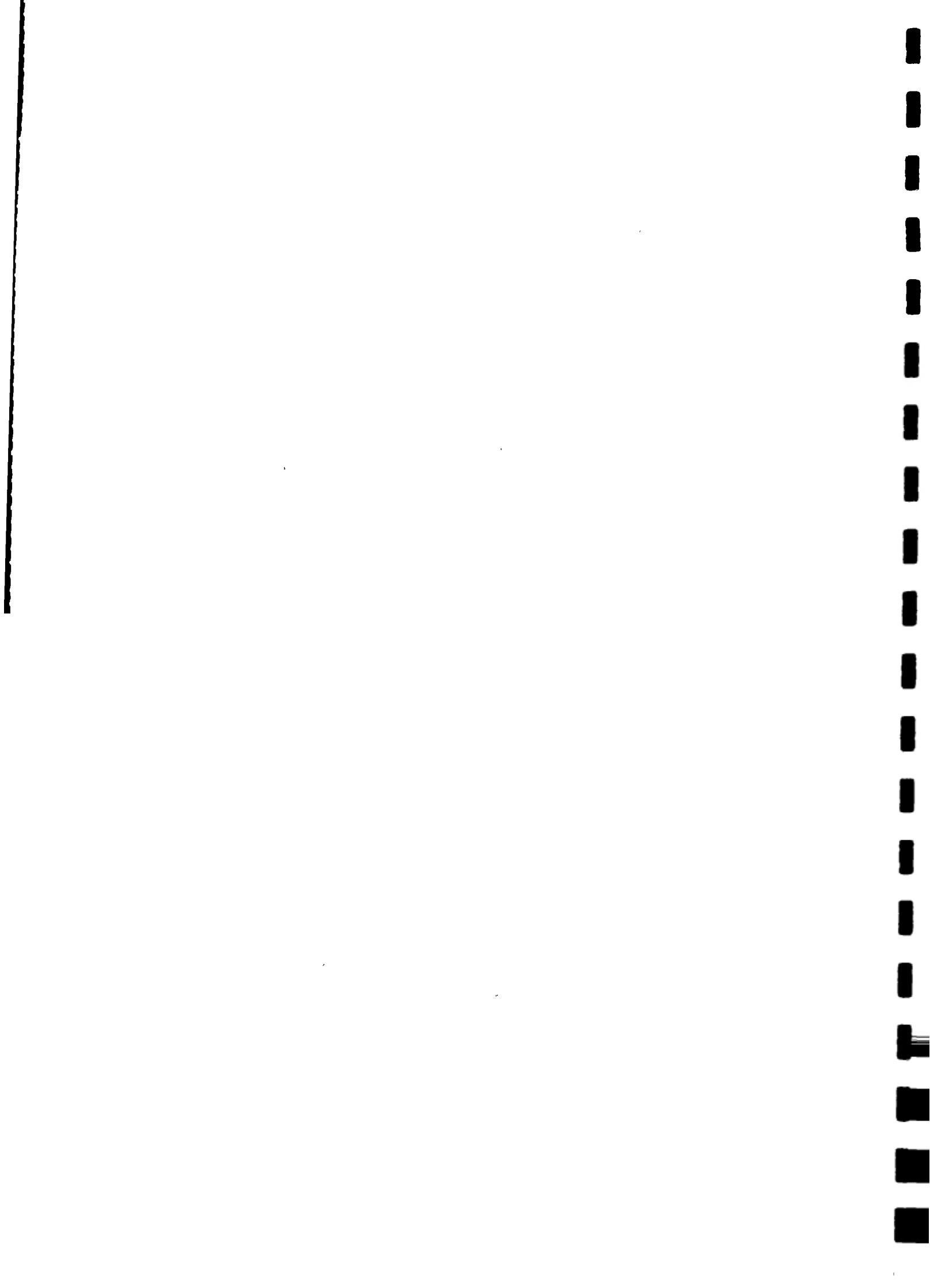
There have to be distinguished "committees", representative bodies of the whole village, from "cooperatives", where villagers participate voluntary.

الفريق

#### 1.2.1. Committees

The members of committees get appointed during a village-meeting (men and women meet separately).

The promoters of village-activities (those who are descendants of the first settlers) will present candidates and make suggestions, which are well thought over before, because open confrontation of candidates should be avoided. It's unpolite to question opinions of others, and when respected persons do proposals, opposing arguments become just unacceptable for the only reason of arguing.



- Administration-Committee,

represents Milebeeda in the Village-Council Irly.

Members are the Shaykh and the Imnam.

The Shaykh functions as representative of the village towards the outside. He contacts officials in Kas or Nyala, collects and pays tax, distributes land. He is asked to articulate the villagers interest when conflicts between tribal groups appear (payment of compensation-money -diyya- in inter-tribal conflicts, for example), but he is also the mediator between villagers, who are in trouble with each other.

His decisions will be accepted not only for the outstanding authority of his person or generally acknowledged superiority of his office, but also for the forces that support and influence him.

Mostly elders and close kinsmen share power and responsibility with the Shaykh, which is for his convenience, because if something goes wrong, it's not his blame alone not to have found a suitable compromise for both contrahents involved.

The task of the Imnam is more limited to the village proper in his function as religious leader. He will intervene, when "amity", the willingness to cooperate, the ethic of generosity, is endangered. He reminds the villagers to their commitment to the Islam.

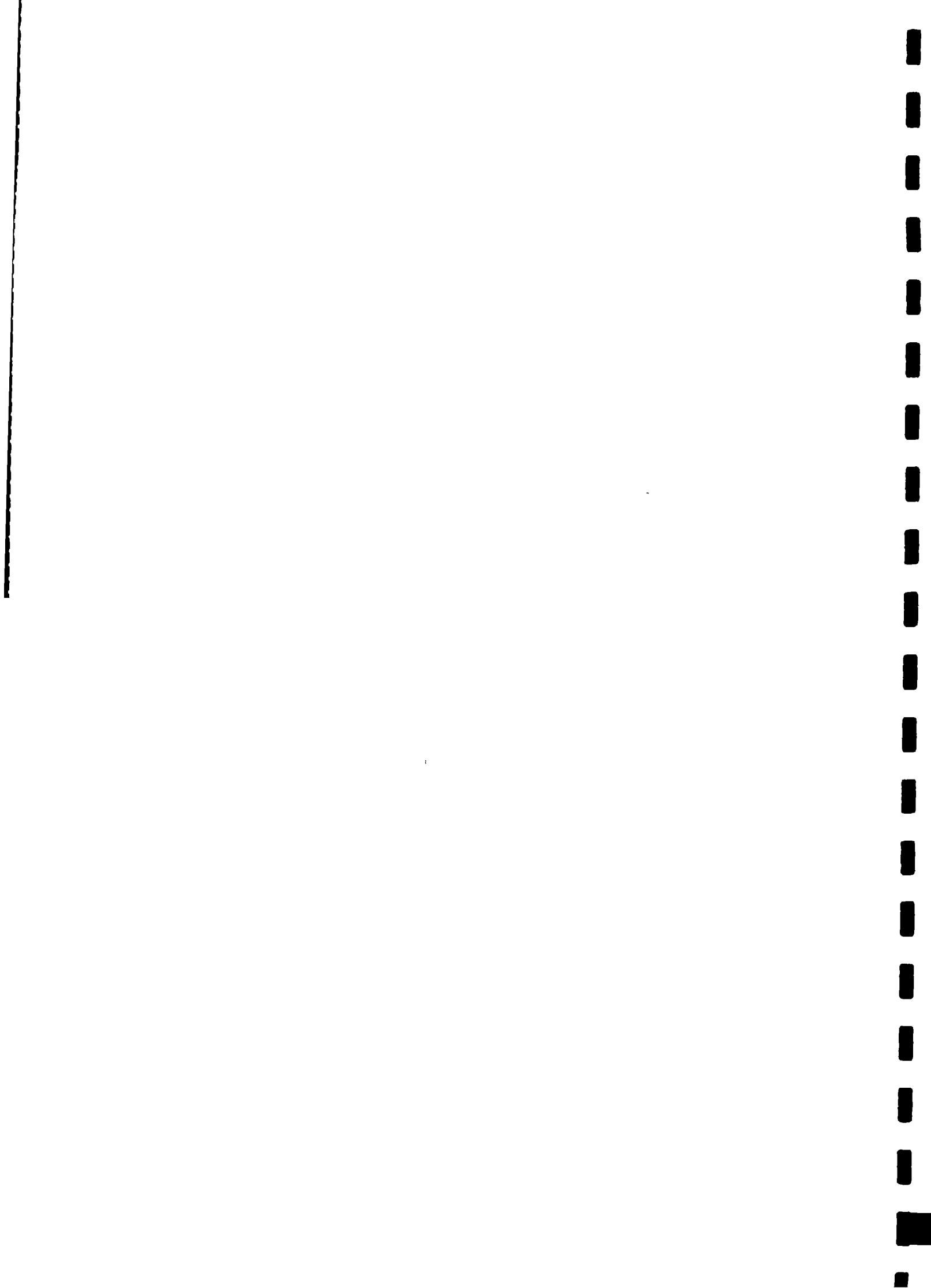
The ideals of behaviour and the values, that govern social interaction, are well defined in the Qur'an and any quarrel that arises brings the Imnam into the game. " He takes the heat away" by speaking from a moralistically superior position. He does not judge or decide for this or that part, but he insists, that the persons involved must adhere to the rules of the social game, as they are layed down in the message of the prophet.

The Imnam thus clears the way for a rational solution, which serves positive social aims, according to the circumstances and the political and economic realities.

It will always be looked for an agreement, which is acceptable for all contrahents. The "modern way" is to bring wrong-doers to the court in Kas. But villagers emphasize that this never happened up to now. They always succeeded in finding a solution through agreement.

- Village-Committee or Baramka-Committee

It has four members, only men, who get appointed:  
one secretary & assistant and one treasurer & assistant.



They become active in purchasing household- utensils and organizing village-hospitality during the four religious festivals the villagers celebrate:

- id ramadan or id fattur: after the fasting month.
- id tahia: 10th day of hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca)
- karama: birthday of the Prophet Mohamed
- doha or istisga: (rain-making ceremony)

#### - Water-Committee

Since years the villagers have water-problems and continuously they had to look for solutions to ensure sufficient quantity of water during the year. For this reason, long before WADS, they established a water-committee (only men are members), which organizes the digging of wells after the rainy-season and money-collection, and cares for maintenance (danger of collaps). Women participate in providing food for the labourers and in money-collection.

When the choice of WADS fall on Milebeeda, the villagers, for formal reasons, appointed new members for the Village Water Committee.

#### - WADS-Village Water Committee (men)

Five members of this committee belong to the "village-centre", where the "movers" of village-activities are living. Only one member is Fur.

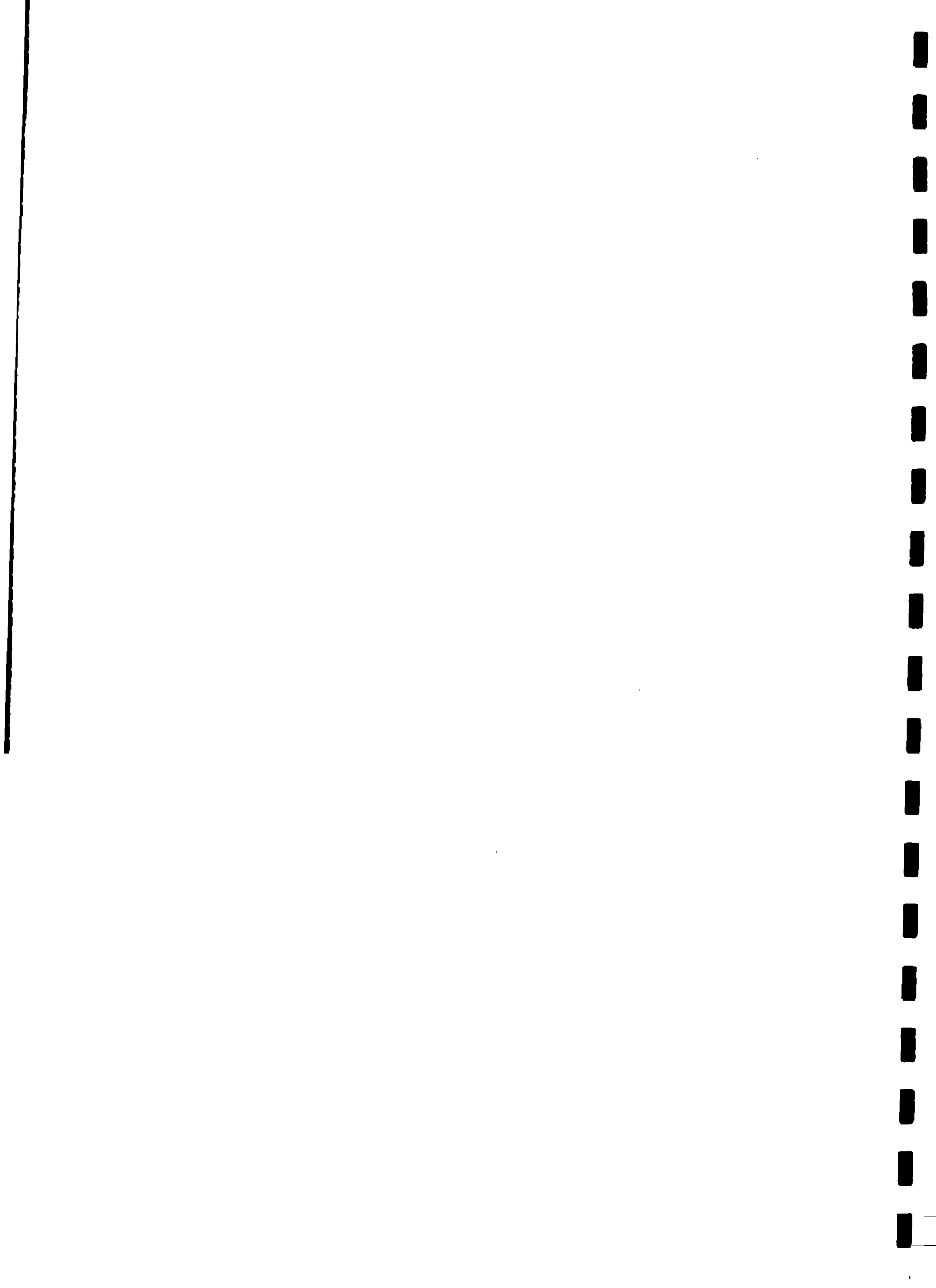
The V.W.C will function till the end of the construction, as the villagers pointed out. Upto October the committee met four times discussing labour-provision: its members expressed preoccupation not to be able to meet the WADS-demands.

#### - WADS-Village Water Committee (women)

It didn't meet yet; women point out it doesn't exist at all. But men say, that it is only after the construction of the well that the women-committee will become active.

Tasks mentioned by the villagers (men) for the WADS-Women V.W.C.:

- to keep the well-site clean
- to organize the water-collection during the rush-hours
- to propagate the use of clean pots and the hygienic needs of the well
- to convince all women to use the WADS-village well also



during the rainy-season, when several traditional water sources like rahads, turdas and mashish, are available.

Wahiyin dit  
uom water  
bunneh

#### - Agiid-Committee

It's a well known fact, that with the increase of the geographical distance of a community to the central political power of a country the influence of the administration and the ability to protect these communities decreases.

Khartoum is far, and the villagers in Darfur react by organizing self-help.

A central figure in this respect is the "agiid". This is usually a man "in his best years"; he is courageous and physically fit and for these qualities accepted as a leader from all (if he does belong to the right family).

He functions as a sort of local policeman and becomes active over all in cases of robbery. But usually the Shaykh will contact him in any case of village-internal trouble too.

And also when heavy work has to be done in the village, like opening paths or building wells, he is asked to help to organize and appoint the suitable people.

Livestock-robbery is a continuous preoccupation of the villagers. At least two times a year they are victims of robbers. For this reason they organized two years ago mainly along their livestock-routes to Koroile an intergrated security-system. As soon as villagers pass the village-border, they fall under protection of the next village.

There are about 100 agiids in the Rural Council Kas, and their Head & Assistant are authorized from the police-authorities in Kas in form of a document to take legal actions in own responsibilities.

The agiid-committee consists of one head (agiid) and his assistant.

#### 1.2.2. Cooperatives

There are 4 sugar-cooperatives in Milebeeda. Each of them gets officially run from at least 11 members (demand from the Rural Council Kas). The number of participating villagers in these cooperatives varies from all villagers including children up to 53 villagers only.





As a general rule not more than five cooperatives are allowed by the Rural Council (as, and in the case that not all villagers do participate, each member can buy as much shares till the total amount of shares is covered.

One of the sugar-cooperatives is for women only. But beside the obligatory 11 members the villagers added 4 men: "men must train women in management."

De facto 75 % of the participating villagers in this women-cooperative are men. They just register names of women to meet the formal demands and go on to do the business by themselves.

If a women, who finds her name registered, often without knowing it, asks to participate, men might well offer her to buy her share for an unreasonable price, which she will refuse.

This case is typical for the situation of women in the village.

### 1.3. Collective Work Activities

#### 1.3.1. Communal Work

In community-activities, which concerne the welfare and the security of the whole village, like following robbers, building a mosque, fabrication of bricks for well-construction, the WADS-village well, participation of all adult villagers is obligatory. If somebody does not show up, he/she will be fined 5 L.S.

If the person refuses to pay, the shaykh and the agiid should bring him/her to the court in Fas. In minor cases the villagers will visit the "delinquent" and force hospitality for all, just by remaining present without touching the point in question. 4

Women will not do the heavy work and they will not follow robbers, but the hakama (shaykha) will call them to prepare food and "to encourage" the men.

The same seems true of the labour-provision for the construction of the WADS-village well.

#### 1.3.2. Nafiirs

Nafiirs are organized and participation is voluntary.

A farmer calls villagers during harvesting, for example, to help him in threshing and cutting. There is no compensation beside providing food and usually there is wine.

In calling for nafiirs a person starts to actualize loyalty-bonds created throughout the whole year among villagers and



especially among kinsmen. In kinship-relations obligations of mutual help are structured.

Only persons, who's reputation is not questioned and who have trust in their firm and accepted standing in at least their neighbourhood or kingroup will call for nafiir.

Participation is understood as reciprocal.

Nafiirs have a very partical aspect; they should guarantee, that for farmers in certain periods of the year, when in a limited time much work has to be done (like transplanting, ploughing, harvesting, threshing), labour-supply is ensured without that cash-payment or other fixed compensations become a burdon for the farmers. But equally important is, that nafiirs provide opportunities to strengthen relationships among community-members and counterbalance the dividing factors found in the village.

In nafiirs the "ethic of generosity" gets expressed. The very fact of sharing risk and pleasure of social life, by living in the same locality, creates and needs "amity", a sort of psychological precondition on part of the community-members in order to function as a group, in order to keep up and keep alive the spirit of community-life.

Only to a certain extend can social life be organized and the willingness to cooperate be enforced by means of law.

The commitment towards the welfare of the neighbours or the whole village must be decided upon always anew by each villager.

There is support through the islamic ideology of muslim-brotherhood, but the roots are not to be found here. In fact nafiirs are also "beer-parties", they have feast-character, where social optimism is expressed, and sometimes they turn out to become sport, where several working-groups compete, -just for fun.

Somebody, who does not join nafiirs cannot be fined or sued, but disrespect will be expressed and the quality of the relationship will get measured anew.

### 1.3.3. Neighbourhood-help

In emergency-situations especially, when a hut is in fire or the crop is damaged, or in cases of sickness, villagers organize support spontaneously.



## 1.4. Decision-Making

### 1.4.1. Household

On the household-level things look easy: the unquestioned decision-maker is the head of the household, usually the oldest man in the kin-group of a compound.

Women are followers, they have to obey. If they don't, the imam and the shaykha remember to them one of the highest values of Islamic culture: the man has to control the women, because she is physically and psychologically weak, emotional and treacherous.

### 1.4.2. Kinship and Marriage

On village-level decision-making is a more complex affair.

Rights and obligations, organized through and structured in kinship-relations, are of crucial importance. The size of the cooperating kin-group and the offices invested into its families (shaykh, imam, agiud, shaykha) give the main branch of the Misseria-segment in Milebeeda, those who occupy the centre of the village, a sure base of authority and influence, which enables its members to move village-affairs according to their interests. This functions, because power and prestige is accompanied by economic wealth. As mentioned, the 'oldest' families occupy the most fertile land and they keep rights over it, as long as they cultivate it.

The Islamic "bit'am" marriage-rule (preferred Father-Brother-daughter marriage, FBd), which leads to endogamy within the marriage-circle, in addition supports and enforces their power-position, because it guarantees, that property (livestock and land) is kept if not together (there are no corporations in form of "joint families") then at least within the cooperating kin-group.

"Bit'am" has political implications too. It forces political loyalty among agnates who are consanguines and affines in the same time. First on these relatives villagers have to rely, if they are ambitious to start a political career within the boundary of the village, -and beyond.

"Bit'am", practiced through several generations, easily integrates variations. The collected data about marriage-practice in Milebeeda show, that out of 12 families 5 decided for the traditional parallel-cousin-marriage (Father-Brother-daughter/son, Father-Brother-Son's daughter) and 7 for cross-



cousin-marriage "bit'chala" (Father-Sister-daughter/son, Mother-Brother-daughter/son).

But a MBd (cross-cousin 1.degree) may in the same time be the FFISd (parallel-cousin 2.degree), if only the necessary genealogical depth is recognized in organizing marriage-alliances.

This type of marriage-policy keeps the marriage-circle large and ensures loyalty on a wider base.

A further explanation might be, that those villagers, who are related to the founding subgroup-ancestor through the father- or mother line only, take any chance to attach themselves to the main branch of the tribal segment in order to participate in prestige and decision-making power.

#### 1.4.3. Influential Persons

Asked about the more and less influential persons in the village, the maximum points collected the imam and the local doctors. Their authority is unquestioned; villagers depend heavily on them.

Both, the imam and the local doctors, are regarded as being more close to super-human forces and thus taking part in their imagined qualities, more than ordinary people.

In situations of moral disruption or disease (villagers do not relate sickness to hygiene and pathogenic causes only, but give in addition religious interpretations), there is no space left for doubt or critical distance. There is only a demand for help from power which is believed in.

Next to them follow the schoolteacher (who is working outside the village), the shayḥa, the shaykh and the aḡiūd. All these persons live in the centre of the village.

No man and no woman interviewed questioned the influence of the shayḥa, the only woman, who is accepted as a leader from men and women alike. She is thought to have these highly valued qualities like patience, intellectual capacity and the ability to speak with officials, which generally are acknowledged only among men.

No power seem to have the 'big livestock owners', which in reality are not that big. The amount of animals owned by the villagers is relatively small (see page 22).

The fact, that the 'mover' of the village, the promoters of village activities, are at the same time those who own most land is not recognized from the persons interviewed. Only one man, who is a member of the 'strong families', emphasized this fact, and one woman. The majority (6) is indifferent, 4 are not convinced about that.





#### 1.4.4. Summary

Decision-making may be summarized like this:

- men do the decisions. All men and all women interviewed agree, that "men solve the problems and men are the leaders in village-life".
- decisions are not made in village-meetings, where a sort of base-democratic process in forming and exchanging opinions would be going on. This view fails to recognize the social realities in a village: marriage practice, tribal structure, distribution of space, prestige and privileges invested into offices, hard facts of unequal wealth, position of women.

A village cannot easily be established as a unit with respect to politics and decision-making. Decisions are made 'at home' within the cooperating kintroups, and proposals are made in the public, when the alliances in the 'backstage' of village life are already checked and confirmed.

- the distribution of offices like imam, shaykh/a, agiid, among 'old families' and the distribution of wealth go together.
- key-persons with influence are those, who occupy offices and who are regarded as possessing religious qualities.

About power-groups like merchants or an intellectual elite, which are competing with the traditional village-leaders, no information could get collected. Known is only, that two political factions do exist, who's members emphasize opposition especially during election.

#### 1.5. Financing of Community Projects

The usual way of financing community projects is: each adult man



(from about 17 years onwards) has to pay the same amount of money.

In reality the villagers leave space for persons, who want to invest in prestige and who are willing to pay a higher amount voluntarily.

In the case of the WADS - well up to 50 L.S. got offered. The obligatory amount has been 15 L.S., and not all villagers paid.

Women give money on a voluntary base, and much less. For the WADS - well they collected separately from men 1 - 2 L.S. from each adult woman.

The contribution in cash from villagers, who live and work outside the village, is insignificant, -one person only.

Villagers practice also money-collection according to means and status, in emergency situations for example, when a house burns down, or in cases of sickness, when hospital costs have to be covered, or when a persons suffers severe loss in agriculture.

Who has more gives more and gains prestige, which again creates reciprocity and lasting and reliable social bonds, which are also useful in village politics.

For example, a typical sequence is: Hospitality . Followers ` Prestige ` Power ` Wealth ` Hospitality :

#### 1.6. The WADS - Well

Asked about what the villagers know about their new village-well, we note that out of 6 men interviewed 5 "heard about it" and were asked from the protagonists of the project to participate with a minimum amount of 15 L.S. Only one man, member of the V.W.C., was fully informed about the contract and the programme of WADS in Milebeeda.

4 women out of 6 only heard from other persons that a new well should get dug, but they never got contacted or took part in a meeting. Only one woman was active in inviting other women in order to collect some money for the well-costs.

In fact, not one woman took part in discussions about the WADS-village well. 5 out of 6 women didn't even speak with their household-members, including their husbands, about WADS.

These findings support the already expressed idea, that 'the village' is a rather useless abstraction for the WADS purpose to know about the social and cultural setting, within which the WADS-project should work.

There are few power groups, which are more demanding than consulting and informing the villagers in order to convince them to participate.

The WADS - village well got presented to the majority of the villagers as an already established community-project, where participation ( that means over all money-contribution) was



understood as obligatory. Only 50 % of the men interviewed had the impression, that they had something to decide about. The women got left properly aside: men decide what is reasonable for women.

Taking into account this information, it is not surprising that the members of the V.W.C. expressed doubt if they could organize the labour-provision agreed upon in the contract and they asked carefully about the consequences this could have if they would fail to do so. They will have to enforce solidarity.

Women do not see the necessity to invest into Health, men do: before marriage of their children and before going to pilgrimage to Mecca (hajj) they would spend money on Health. The average amount of money, which the persons interviewed would pay for healthy and clean water every day was estimated with:

men	0.75 L.S. each
women	0.60 L.S. each

Counting approx. 400 adult persons in the village, this would mean the proud sum of 270 L.S. every day, and 98550 L.S. per year.

Only a small part of it would be sufficient to cover the maintenance-costs.

But these figures cannot be regarded as being realistic, because it would mean, that men spend 25 %, and women even 68 %, of their agricultural surplus on water (see below).

About the question how to compensate the caretakers the villagers didn't take yet any decision. Actually they asked WADS to pay.

Also the 200 fariq of nomads as potential users of the well did not yet get problemized by the villagers. During a discussion about 'rights in water' they insisted, that they will not prevent anybody from using the well.

The pressure on the WADS-village well can thus be estimated like this:

- 120 compounds from Milebeeda
- 200 fariq (nomads), who de facto have the choice of using 3 WADS-wells: Milebeeda, Daba Kafot and Daba Naira.

About near-by villages as user of the well the villagers couldn't give any information.



## 1.7. Women in Milebeeda

### 1.7.1. Men are responsible of Women

In any aspect of social life women are controlled by men. They have not one sphere, where they could successfully voice and force demands towards their husbands. They have to obey.

When asked the women about the activities less appreciated by men, 5 out of 6 women answered, they should not do anything, which is not controlled and thus accepted by their husbands, like "leaving the house without telling them, because its them who are responsible".

The meaning of the arabic word AARID may exemplify one possible way to understand what is behind: 'aarid' means obstacle, disturbance, anomalous condition, demonstrator. But it is also used in the sense that a woman or a girl is her husband's or her brother's 'aarid'. It is her good reputation, which ensures, that her male-relatives are respected from other men in the public of village life. If her reputation can be questioned, her kinsmen loose face, her 'anomalous condition' becomes an obstacle for them, a demonstrator of their inability to keep her under control, a challenge against their masculinity. Men are more safe when their women stay at home.

### 1.7.2. Strict Role - Division

The sex-role-division in Milebeeda is strictly realized. Any activities concerning the household like cleaning, washing, collection of firewood and water, cooking, are purely women's affair. All men and 80 % of the women add 'health' to women's concern. But in carrying out these activities, they are supervised by their husbands.

When a woman moves outside her hut, she should have a generally accepted reason to do so. There should arise no doubt that her appearance in the public is a means to fulfill her household- and family duties.

It seems to be of extreme importance for the villagers (and possibly for strong male-dominated societies in general), that a





confusion between male- and female roles, and sex properly (circumcision), is anxiously avoided, tabooed, and met with harsh response.

### 1.7.3. Separation of the Public - from the Privat Sphere

Women are not regarded and do not regard themselves as political personalities. Women get discouraged to act in the public as soon as they move from childhood to adulthood.

Problem-solving, informal gathering and running the village-affairs are men's tasks. Women do not discuss about village-politics nor do they see themselves in an active position in decision-making.

The radius of social interaction for them is very limited. When women appear in village life as a group, they function in their women's roles:

- providing food, when men build a mosque or gather for ID
- festivals or karama
- collecting money (on a voluntary base) to support the men's money-fund for community projects
- encouraging men, when they prepare for hunting robbers
- meeting with other women for affairs

Milebeeda has not one successful case in its history, where women could organize own interests separate from men.

Here are three negative examples:

- the women sugar cooperative: formally names of women are presented to the officials in k.s, but de facto the whole cooperative is managed by men.
- the women village water committee: formally names were presented to WADS, and more than names there isn't.
- union of sudanese women: during Numei-rule the official policy has been to integrate into one administrative and political system all segments of sudanese society up to the lowest level of villages (decentralization). The organization of women has been emphasized in the sectors of education, health, midwifery. But in reality the committee formed for this purpose had been



inactive, a purely formal appearance, as women pointed out.

The men of Milebeeda foughted to get their own wives elected into that committee in order to use the linkage between this local committee and the officials in Kas.

In election-time the villagers find themselves divided into two competing factions, and along this line of political division the women in Milebeeda got divided too when trying to organize their tasks.

1985 this political adventure was finished; the women of Milebeeda didn't gain anything from it.

#### 1.7.4. Practice of Polygyny

In Milebeeda approx. 20 % of the men have one wife only, 80 % have between 2 and 4 wives.

There exists a great ideal in Islam written down in the Qur'an: a man should have only more than one wife, if he is able to treat them as equals. (8)

Every man will agree to be able to realize this highly valued aim, but: how to explain the apparent gap between what people say and what they actually are able to do?

Women in Milebeeda give the following version of the story:

if a woman gathers with other women, there is an immediate negative response, first of all from her co-wives. They regard her and the whole group she is sitting with as potential enemies, who are engaged in gossiping and spreading rumors.

Men use women's feelings of competition in order to gain advantage by playing one woman against the other:

- men succeed to 'convince' their wives and children to help them in their fields
- men succeed to sell a maximum of their agricultural products in the south, while their wives are asked to spend their income on the household-budget.

It cannot be established, that this is a common practice found all over the area, but those women interviewed (by a woman) give this version of how they experience polygynous marriage practice, how they judge being a co-wife.

According to women-interpretation, social interaction for women is from the very beginning limited and discouraged by constraints, which are anchored in the social structure and fixed in the mind in form of beliefs and values, which give meaning to social action.

If in addition a woman has no children as a proof for the public to be valueable and productive, she has a rather hard standing in the village and the talking about treating wives as equals becomes a tale, if not only the time spend in her hut is meant.



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Women keep about 1/3 of the property in Milebeeda and, compared with men, gain about 1/3 of cash out of it. This put them in a sort of bargain-position towards their husbands and it could provide an economic base for a more independent social standing. But to build on that own world-view and life-orientation clashes with islamic values as they are believed in, and with socio-structural realities: distribution of offices; exclusion of women from public activities, which easily gets rationalized with an objective obstacle: all women (interviewed) are illiterate, among men 50 % are illiterate; polygyny; role-division.

### 1.8. Data on Village Economy

As mentioned, Milebeeda-villagers first of all are farmers. Agricultural products provide them with the base-food and with cash.

Women are independent property-holders (rights in land, livestock), but the difference between men and women with respect to the size of the land cultivated and consequently with respect to the possibility to turn agricultural products into cash, is considerable.

Women, on an average, cultivate 1.75 mukhames (1 m. = 0.54 ha = 1.25 feddan), and this enables them to gain about 300 L.S. per year (gross)

Men, on an average, cultivate 5 mukhames and gain about 1000 L.S. per year.

Women own between 0 and 3.5 mukhames and gain between 0 and 1155 L.S. per year (gross).

Men own between 1.5 and 10 mukhames and gain from 220 to 2675 L.S. per year. (9)

Men and women usually contribute together to the household-budget, but there are certain constraints, which relativate the picture of the household as a cooperative unit.

If women, for example, would start to go into more productive activities, as a possible result of time-gains through an I.W.S.S., 60 % of the women interviewed in Milebeeda expect that their husbands simply would give them less economic support for the household.

The relationship between husband and wife cannot be understood without considering the fact that she has co-wives, who are competing for the attention of a common husband.

This social and psychological setting puts the husband in an advantageous position with respect to services he asks for, like ensuring sufficient labour-provision for the work in his fields. Women may complain that they have a right too to make their



children work on their own fields. But precedence has the husband and he has the means to enforce it.

If women ~~do~~ not obey, the Imam will lead the right way. And this happens not only in theory, as women in Milebeeda insist. If there is any doubt left the husband will not hesitate to point out, that "it is only the left ear of a child that belongs to a mother, but the rest of the ~~body~~ is the husband's property".

This is certainly a metaphor to emphasize the overwhelming significance of patrilinear descent for social organization and Islamic culture, but in certain situations metaphors undergo a mysterious process of mutation and turn into signs, and if it's only for reason of convenience, or profit.

Beyond the family, clusters of households (close relatives) share expenses in hospitality and usually cooperate during intense agricultural periods.





## 2. Ardeeba - Daba Kafot/Daba Naira

### 2.1. The Village: Structural Pattern

Ardeeba is located 1.5 km east of Milebeeda. The first Fur-settlers came to Ardeeba about 100 years ago. Later on, some 50 years ago, a segment of the Rizeigat-tribe arrived, which chose a site opposite to the Fur, at some 2 km distance (north).

The 'new-comers', Tunjur, Gelabi and Mahadi households, occupied the space left between the two bigger tribal segments, so that today Ardeeba is one locality, beside a small Fur-segment, which lives at a distance of 500 m from the village-periphery.

The village counts about 500 inhabitants.

One household, on an average, consists of 4 to 5 members. The tribal landscape is quite colourful:

- Fur	73 compounds	
- Rizeigat	14 c.	(arabs)
- Daju	8 c.	
- Tunjur	7 c.	
- Gelabi	2 c.	(arabs)
- Mahadi	2 c.	(arabs)
- Misseria	1 c.	(arabs)

107 compounds

Three languages are spoken: Fur, Arabic and Daju. Fur and Arabic is understood by all villagers.

50 % of the villagers are followers of the 'tijaani-tariqa, 50 % are 'ansaar'. There is one mosque only in the village.

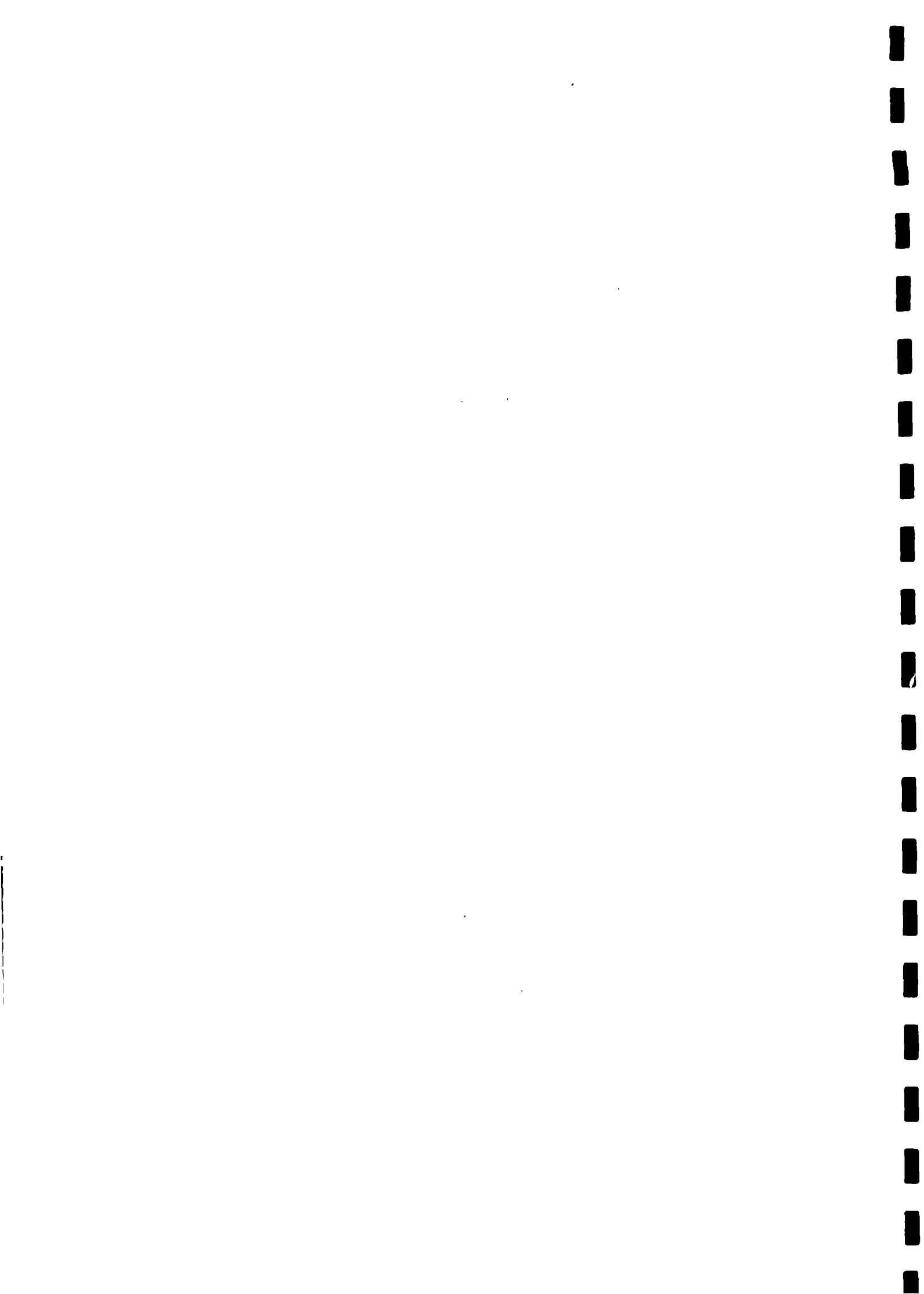
The next school (primary), south and grainmill are found in Dawis, about 1 km distance, the next dispensary is located in Irly (2 km).

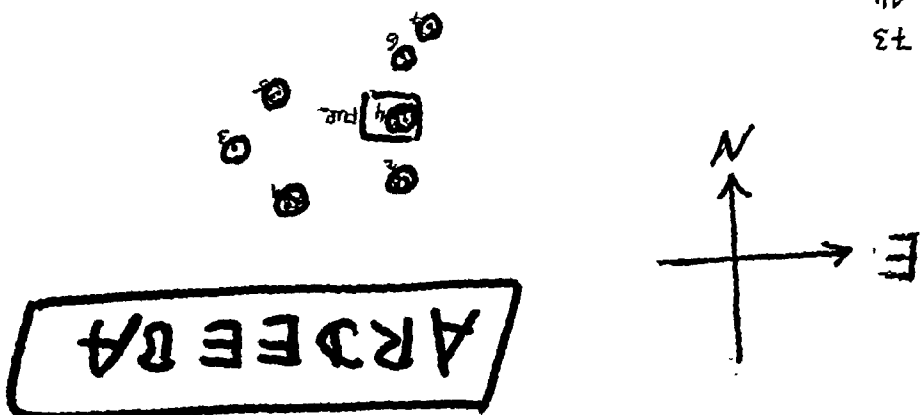
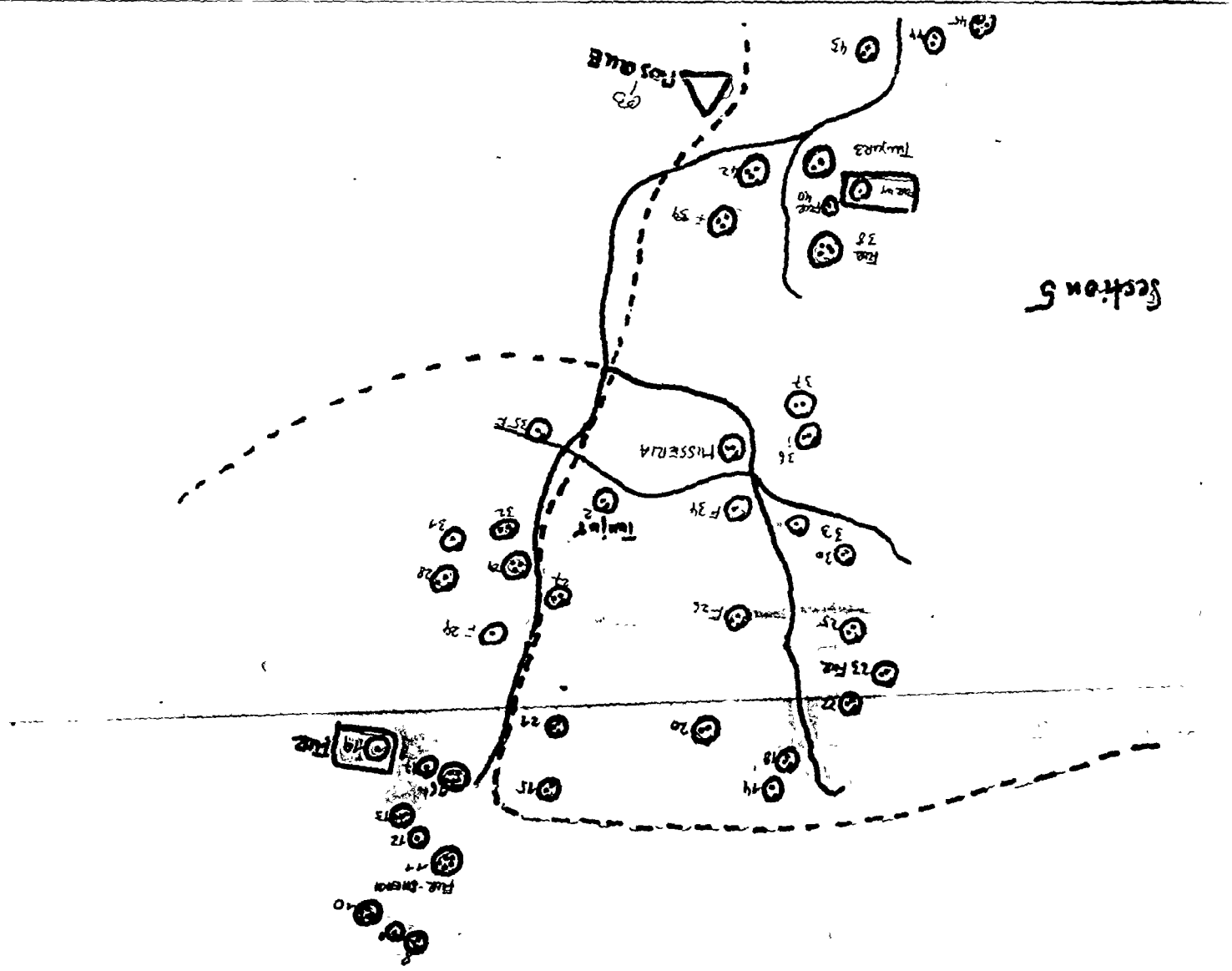
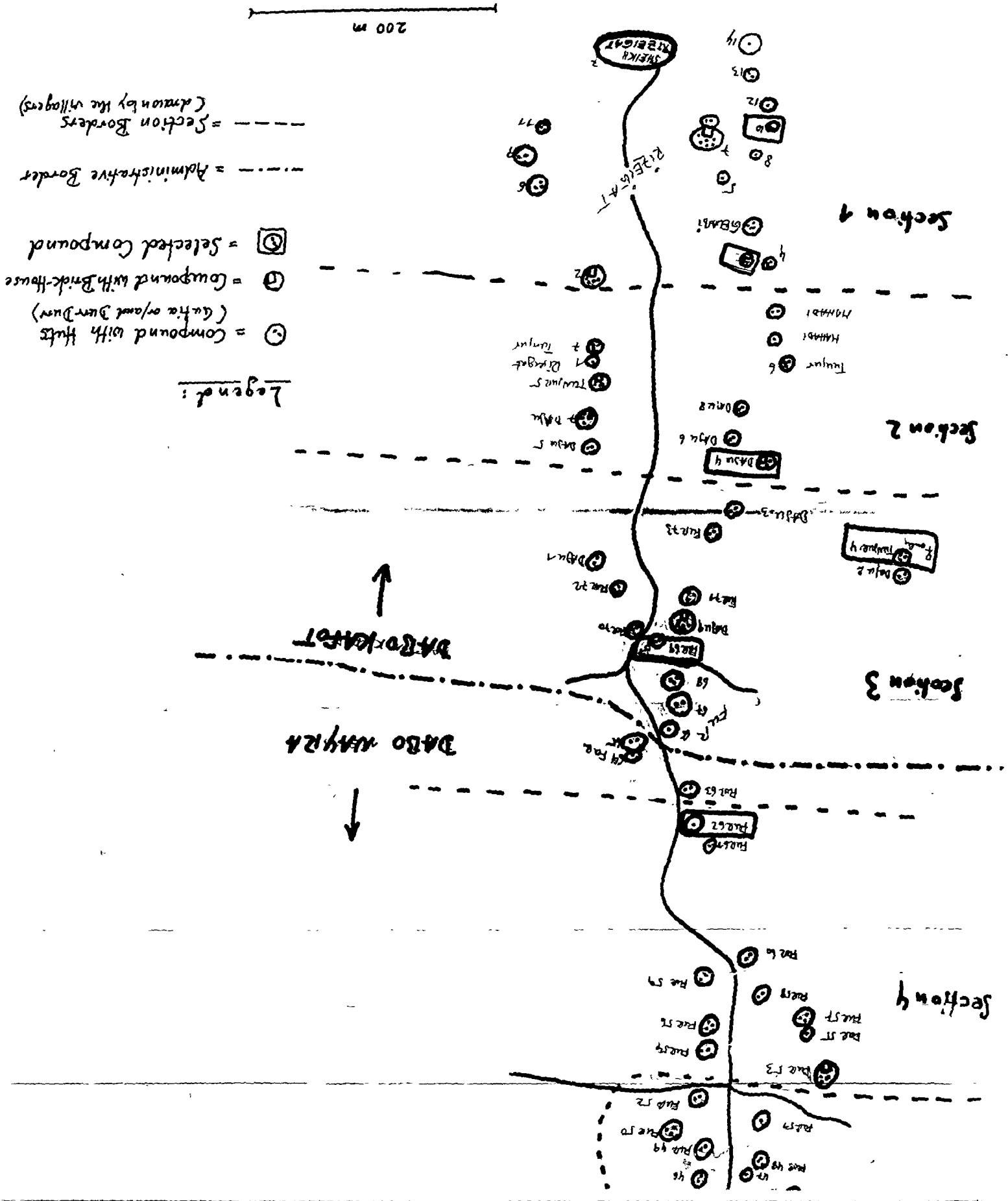
Ardeeba is a relatively lucky village regarding the vicinity of facilities, the fertile land and the water-sources available.

The population figure remained stable over the last three years.

Data about nomads are identical with those of Milebeeda (see page 22/23).

Since 1973 Ardeeba is divided into two parts (Daba Kafot and Daba Naira) for administrative reasons, and each part belongs to a different village-council (Dawis/Irly).







This doesn't disturb the villagers that much, on the contrary, they succeeded even to get chosen for two WADS-wells (WADS-policy: one well per village-council).

But when interior politics is concerned both village parts cooperate as one village.

For purpose of village-management the villagers 'invented' a quite interesting variant, not to be found in some, and less sophisticated in other villages studied: a formal modus of village-organization and community-participation.

The village-geography got divided into 6 sections, whereby the tribal differentiation, the relative size of the 7 ethnic groups and their spatial distribution got recognized (see village sketch map). Committee-members get appointed out of all 6 sections.

For its formal character this type of organization is usually called 'modern', because it was consequently developed in the historical process of politically organized societies (which acknowledge the concept of a formalized nature) with the accompanying process of institution-building, bureaucracy, political programmes and systemized social interaction.

Traditionally, and different from Ardeeba, controll of village-affairs is property of the locally dominant group (tribal segment, kin-group or a branch of it) but not within a formal organizational structure.

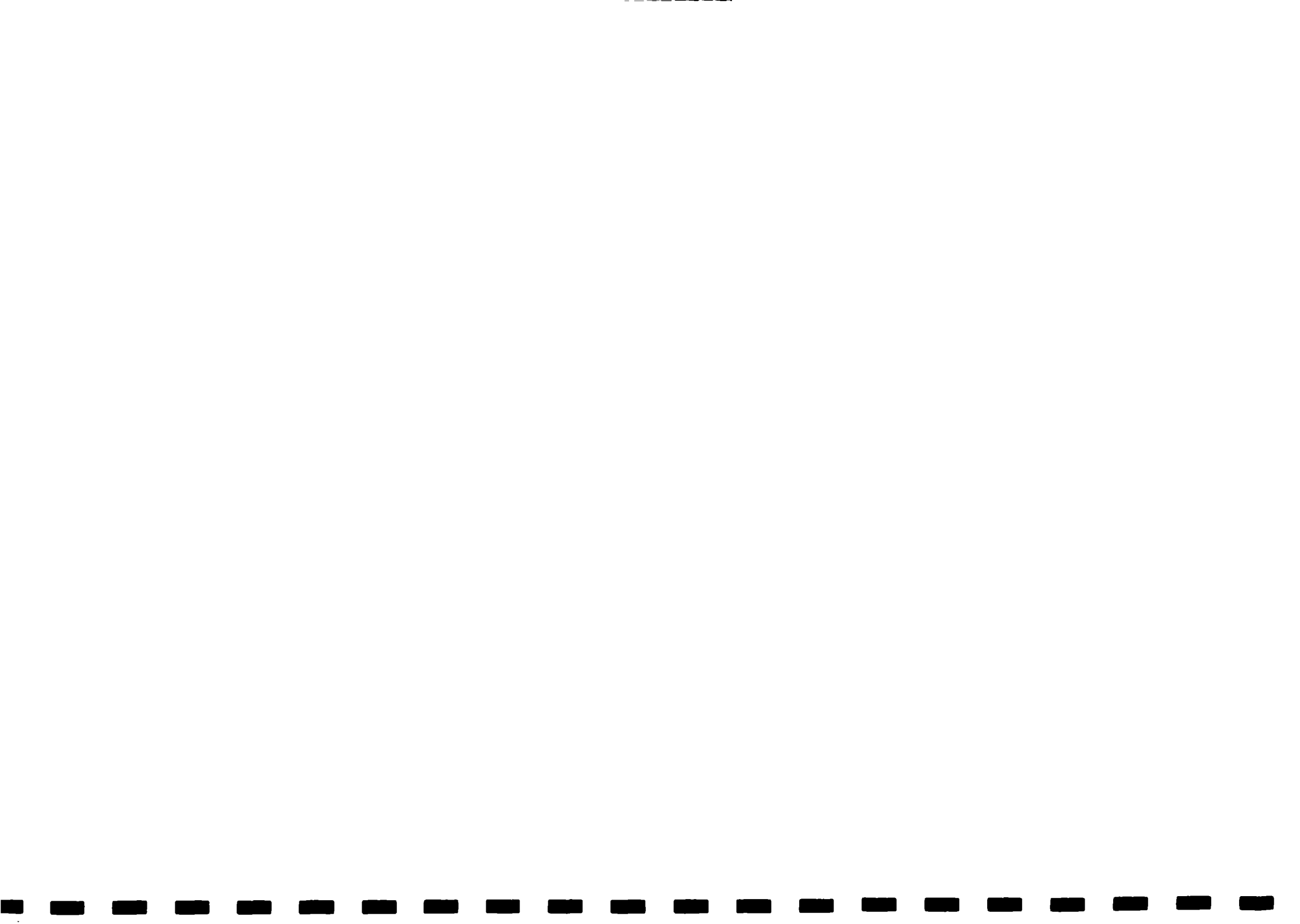
Rather, the qualification for having access to power depends on

- the relative size of the groups
- the economic standing of individuals and groups, who may form pressure-groups
- the relative intensity of social interaction the villagers have, based on common interests in the spheres of kinship, economic cooperation and common residence.

Here prestige is competed for through exchange and turned into power-positions and wealth.

There is not a formal structure, which guides decision-making and participation; these social functions are realized during the ongoing process of social interaction and are thus 'floating', as the structural elements involved (kin-groups, neighbourhood, distribution of offices) are not static but flexible in character.

When discussing the position of the Shayh, for example, his function as mediator got pointed out, who will not succeed in problem-solving only by the clear defined authority he has as office-holder, but through alliance-building along those lines, which provide access to power.



Those individuals and groups, who are eager to invest in prestige and are pushing to offer 'exchange' in order to strengthen social relations and to gain more influence (marriage-alliances, nafiirs, cash-contribution, promoting village-activities), will meet obstacles, provided by competing power-groups.

There is no formal political institution to calculate with, there is no voting, electing or open discussion: there is appointment and presentation of ready-made programmes.

A considerable number of villagers is thus excluded from the flow of information and from decision-making on village-level.

It is presumed, that the tribal structure of Ardeeba has encouraged the villagers to choose the 'modern way' in order to ensure cooperation mainly between the two dominant groups, which are in addition put in opposition as non-arabs and arabs.

Fur and Rizeigat actually provide one shayh and one shayha each, as symbol of tribal- and village unity alike.

To emphasize the willingness to cooperate, the Rizeigat shayh chose two of his four wives from the Fur-tribe.

In how far this modern village-organization works out in reality is not investigated sufficiently, but it should be considered as a topic of future studies, when first experiences with the maintenance-programme have to be evaluated.

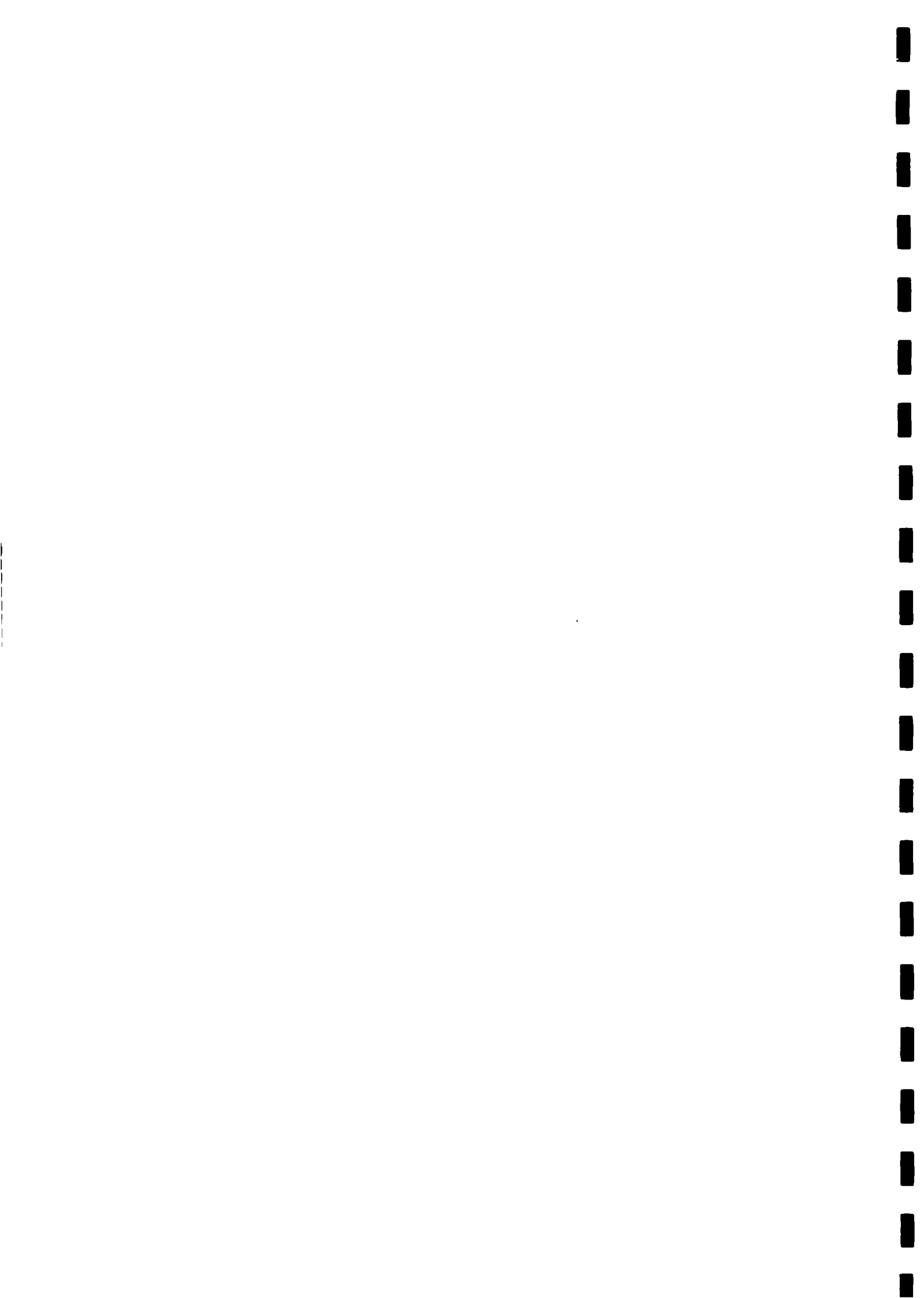
Health-programmes, which should reach all villagers, and the proposed type of active village participation for the WADS-village well are in need of such village-organizations, that are planned from the beginning to integrate all villagers in decision-making and information-exchange.

## 2.2. Village Organizations

In Ardeeba the appointment of committee-members follows the formal organizational structure of the village: tribes and kin-groups, their size and their spatial distribution are taken into account when proposals are made.

The committee-members do not get compensated for the work done.

Decisions made by the committees do not necessarily get communicated in village-meetings but by personal visits made to the compounds and through informal communication-channels: kinsmen, neighbours.





### 2.2.1. Committees

#### - Agiid committee

Organization: head (agiid, Fur) & assistant (Rizeigat)  
secretary (Gelabi) & assistant  
treasurer (Tunjur) & assistant  
All men-committees follow this organizational pattern.

Functions: conflict-solving in the village (thefts, quarrels)  
robbery (usually livestock); village-defense.

#### - Doha committee

The chairman is the Imam, who is leading the annual rain-making ceremony.

For organization, purchase of items needed, fund-raising and book-keeping, a secretary and a treasurer are appointed.

#### - Women village committee

This committee organizes all collective activities concerning women.

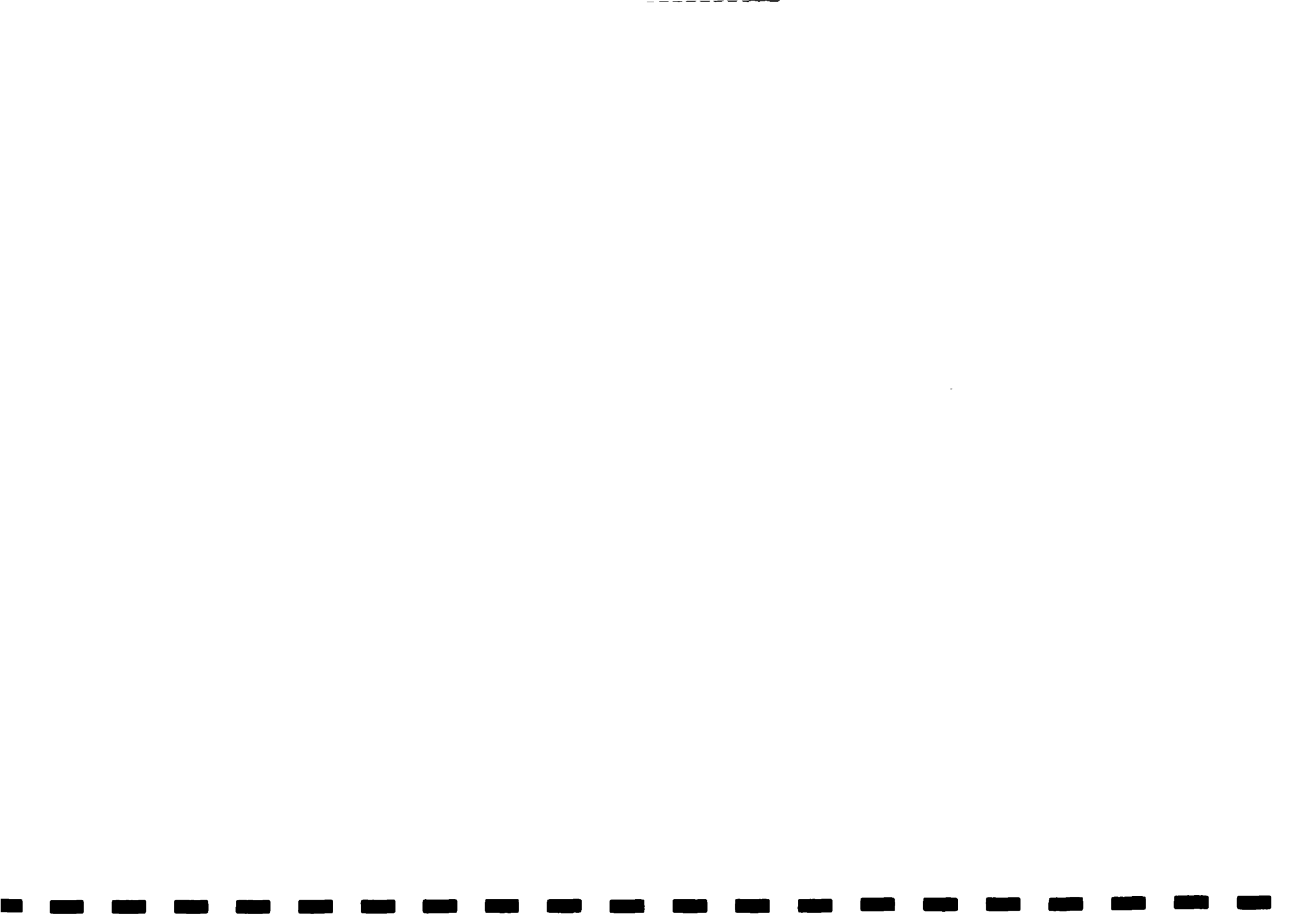
Organization:

head (Fur, shayhs, section 4)  
assistant (Rizeigat, section 1)  
treasurer (Mahadi, section 2)  
there is no secretary, all women interviewed are illiterate.

Each of the three by women appointed members is responsible for organizing the women out of two village-sections for purpose of:

- money-collection (voluntary) for neighbourhood-help, community-projects
- nafir
- food-preparation during religious ceremonies
- participation in funerals, marriages and circumcision
- communication of conflicts to the men-village committee ✓

The women-village committee is not meant to put in action a own sort of policy significant for decisions concerning the whole village. The committee organizes women according to their traditional roles and men can intervene whenever they want.




87 % of the women interviewed are not motivated to take active part in their committee, even if 60 % of the women follow the invitation to attend meetings.

- Men village committee

Organization: 2 shaykhs (Rizeigat and Fur) as  
chairmen  
1 treasurer & assistant  
1 secretary & assistant

Each village-section is represented.

Tasks: Village-administration and external politics

- Water committee 

Tasks: to dig wells, work-organization, money-  
collection (there are no fixed occasions for  
collecting money)

- WADS village water committee: men

Organization: 6 members, one out of each village-  
section  
Chairman, secretary, treasurer plus  
one assistant each.

Tasks: labour-provision for augering and  
well-construction  
contact with WADS-office  
money-collection  
maintenance: cleaning the well-site,  
repairing

- WADS village water committee: women

This committee is identical with the women village committee. Only, when asked from WADS' extension-workers to present 6 committee-members, the women appointed three more out of the remaining three village-sections. When asked about the tasks they believe to have, the women mentioned:



preparing food for labourers during construction of the well  
hospitality-functions, again related to food-preparation

The women- and the men village water committees met once and discussed the distribution of tasks concerning the village- well project.

A specific function of the V.W.C. for women is not understood by the villagers. If no clear proposals get made, they will remain passive.

### 2.2.2. Cooperatives

The villagers formed 4 sugar cooperatives. Each one is allowed to get about 50 kg of sugar per month for 75 P per rottle (= 0.45 kg) from the Rural Council kas.

Following an official suggestion one cooperative got established for women.

The treasurer and the chairman are both men.

The arguments given for this arrangement: women are not used to act responsibly and independently; men have to train them, and over all women are not in the position to travel to kas and meet officials, beside that they are illiterate.

### 2.3. Collective Work Activities

#### 2.3.1. Nafiirs

In this year the villagers called for 18 nafiirs, all beside one concerned with agricultural activities.

Usually men call for nafiirs, women take part with less time and their participation is not 'registrated' as significant as that of men.

#### 2.3.2. Village Projects

In community-projects like digging wells, building a school (Dawis) or a mosque participation of all villagers is obligatory. Who refuses will get fined with 10 L.S. or brought to the court in kas, if he is a man.

In case of women the women- village committee reports the case to the men- village committee, which will approach the husband of the woman in question, then other relatives of her.



If social pressure brings no results, the Imam will intervene. If even he should be unsuccessful, what never happened, the woman could get sued in the court, -if she is not poor and unable: inequality of wealth and inability are acknowledged as a social problem.

#### 2.4. Decision - Making

On the household-level, again like in Milebeeda, the head of the household is unquestioned in decision-making.

On village-level decision-making has a relative formal character. In a multi-tribal village structure the significance of informal communication-channels, where decisions are prepared through kinship-relations, is limited. Village meetings become an inter-tribal affair, where agreements have to be realized in the public, and arguments have to be presented and outlayed clearly.

In a structural setting like in Ardeeba there is more need for information-exchange on village-level and there is more space for the villagers to take influence in decision-making.

Still, kinship as a principle in organizing social relations usually within one tribal segment is valid in Ardeeba too and thus has to be considered in decision-making processes:

Kinship-relations function as a sort of general blueprint for the distribution of rights and duties and for actualizing loyalty.

The marriage-pattern in Ardeeba shows the neat integration of kin-groups defined as the most important cooperating unit: out of 14 families 9 decided for the bit'am marriage (parallel-cousin marriage), 3 for bit'chala (cross-cousin marriage) and 2 for inter-tribal marriage (Rizeigat/Misseria).

Unquestioned in taking decisive influence in village-affairs for men are the imam and the schoolteacher (100 %), followed by local doctors (85 %), shaykha, agiid and landlords (all 50 %); the two shaykhs are placed rather low in the power-hierarchy: only 35 % emphasize their role in decision-making.

Merchants (25 %) and livestock-owners (12 %) are judged in this matter poorly.

Women stress the authority of the imam, the shaykha and the schoolteacher (75 %); local doctors and the shaykhs (60 %) follow. Less influence have merchants (25 %), the landlords and the livestock-owners (12 %).





## 2.5. Financing

The cash-amounts collected in this year by the villagers have been:

- 100 L.S. for the karama-celebration
- 160 L.S. for 'karamat', payment to the court to get a villager out of prison

Never they collected that much money like for the WADS - village wells (2000 L.S.). Therefore the men village committee decided to oblige each villager (including children) to pay 5 L.S. each. Approx. 50 persons did not contribute for lack of cash. No enforcement for payment was decided for.

*total 450 persons*

Only two villagers living outside their home-village contribute for community-projects.

Women usually contribute on a voluntary base, because

- men manage community-affairs
- men have a considerable higher cash-income than women (9:1)

## 2.6. The WADS - Village Well

Ardeeba, as mentioned above, will have two WADS-wells constructed. This will be quite an annual burden for the villagers, if maintenance is taken serious (approx. 5000 L.S.).

But Ardeeba is also a relatively rich village, and survey-data show that a good water-supply is estimated high: before to spend money "for karama" or "for building a brick-house", villagers, men and women alike, would invest in water.

But in the same time 'Health' is regarded as less important: first villagers would spend money "on pilgrimage (hajj)" and "on marriage". 'Health' ranges by far at the end of the scale.

*Health*

What then to think of the following figures?

Daily, on an average, each adult man would spend 27 P., each adult woman 37 P., for having clean and healthy water.

As a yearly budget the villagers would have about 35000 L.S. With little phantasy this fund could become a firm base for further self-help projects.

When asked about the advantages the villagers expect from their new well, most emphasized the quantity of water and the reduced walking-distance to the water-source. (10)



Only one man out of eight interviewed, but no woman, regards the WADS - well as an element in a chain for improving the village-infrastructure.

Concerning decision-making in the pre-stage of the village well project again, like in Milebeeda, the survey-team got contradicting answers: all men, when asked if they spoke with their household members and especially with their wives about the village-well, gave positive answers. All men but one took part in the decision for the well (village-meeting).

This finding corresponds to the point already stressed, that participation in village-meetings in order to take influence in village-affairs, is more realized in Ardeeba than in other villages studied.

But for women, at least in the case of WADS, this cannot be confirmed. First, village-meetings are attended by men only, but then only 2 women agreed with the answers given by their husbands: they talked with their household-members about the well-project. But only 1 woman talked with her husband about WADS; 7 out of 8 women interviewed are not informed about the WADS -village well.

As activities of the Caretakers were mentioned:

- to watch the well-site (cleaning from plants, keeping away animals)
- to organize the water-collection
- to communicate with the V.W.C. about incidents at the well-site

No decisions have been made yet with respect to 'compensation of caretakers'.

The pressure on the two wells in Ardeeba can be estimated like:

- 107 compounds from Ardeeba
- 200 fariq (tent-cluster) of nomads (see page 23)

## 2.7. Men and Women in Ardeeba

Also in Ardeeba the tasks and social roles of men and women are well defined and differentiated.

Women stress their importance in organizing the household and express their dependence on men in terms of responsibility.

Men see their main-roles as household-members in contributing to family-affairs by means of their productive work.



All persons interviewed emphasize, that education and caretaking of children is purely women's task. All women add Water and Health and Livestock-keeping, and 85 % of men agree on the first two points mentioned (Water and Health).

Similar conformity in opinion is expressed in the fields of religion, political activities and money-collection, which are men's tasks only.

Again, there is no doubt that "to solve problems" is men's business, because "men are the leaders". But contrary to men, women believe that they cooperate as well as men, if not better, because women are less competing.

Little room is left in social life for women to prove that. Actually 7 out of 8 women asked said, they did not talk about the WADS - village well with other women.

Women have few opportunities to come together if not for attending marriages or other ceremonies, where they usually provide food for the guests.

The majority of women (75%) meet once or twice a year, 25 % say they have no opportunity at all to meet other women.

Only the clear definition of a woman's task legitimizes her appearance in the public. Without that there is no reason for women to do so and thus it is not sanctioned by men.

For most women the only possibility for social contact is to visit neighbour-relatives. But here women's interaction is less determined by constraints of the polygynous marriage-practice as it has been expressed by their village-neighbours in Milebeeda (see page 36).

If this is the result of a higher consciousness on part of the women, or of an effort made by men to realize more consequent social ideals and thus minimizing competition among women, has not been studied and it is not of immediate interest for the purpose of this survey.

With respect to the values expressed there are no significant differences between men and women.

The ideals of community-life are emphasized: to offer hospitality and to work for the welfare of the village. Men in addition stress the appreciation they have for persons who work for the government and who have been for hajj.

In terms of behaviour men-villagers value high persons who are

- patient
- helpful
- religious
- able to treat others as equals



Women, in order to remain respected, have to

- be polite
- respect others
- be patient
- be obedient

Any behaviour regarded as 'loss of control' is judged low by the villagers.

Men: to insult, to quarrel, to be jealous, to drink

Women: to insult, to make problems, not to respect the husband

#### 2.8. Economic Data

Agriculture is the main source of income for the villagers.

Cash-crops are tomatoes, tumbac and ground-nuts.

Livestock is of minor economic importance and income from this economic activity has not been investigated in.

The villagers own:

- cattle	105
- goats	1000
- sheep	100
- camels	10
- horses	10
- donkeys	100

There are 14 artisans in the village (5 shoemakers, 4 masons, 5 carpenters), 5 merchants and 5 labourers proper, but many villagers, more than 50%, do labour-work beside cultivating their own fields.

Artisans, especially masons, would be the right candidates for 'caretakers', but their income has at least to match their income as artisans: only the villagers can decide about 'appointment of caretakers'.





The productivity of the soil was estimated by the villagers as follows:

	per mukhames:	market-price:
millet	- 1200 rottle	.... 700 L.S.
sorghum	- 1500 r.	.... 525 L.S.
tumbac	- 1500 r.	.... 750 L.S.
tomatoes	- 1000 r.	.... 1500 L.S.
okhra	- 1000 r.	.... 1650 L.S.
groundnut	- 2000 r.	.... 800 L.S.
simsim	- 700 r.	.... 420 L.S.

The average size of land under cultivation (8 men and 8 women interviewed) is:

for men 8.5 mukhames (= 10.6 feddan)

for women 2.6 mukhames (= 3.25 feddan)

Men work 76% of the land, women 24%, but men gain 91 % of cash (3400 L.S. per year gross), women only 9 % (approx. 320 L.S. per year gross)

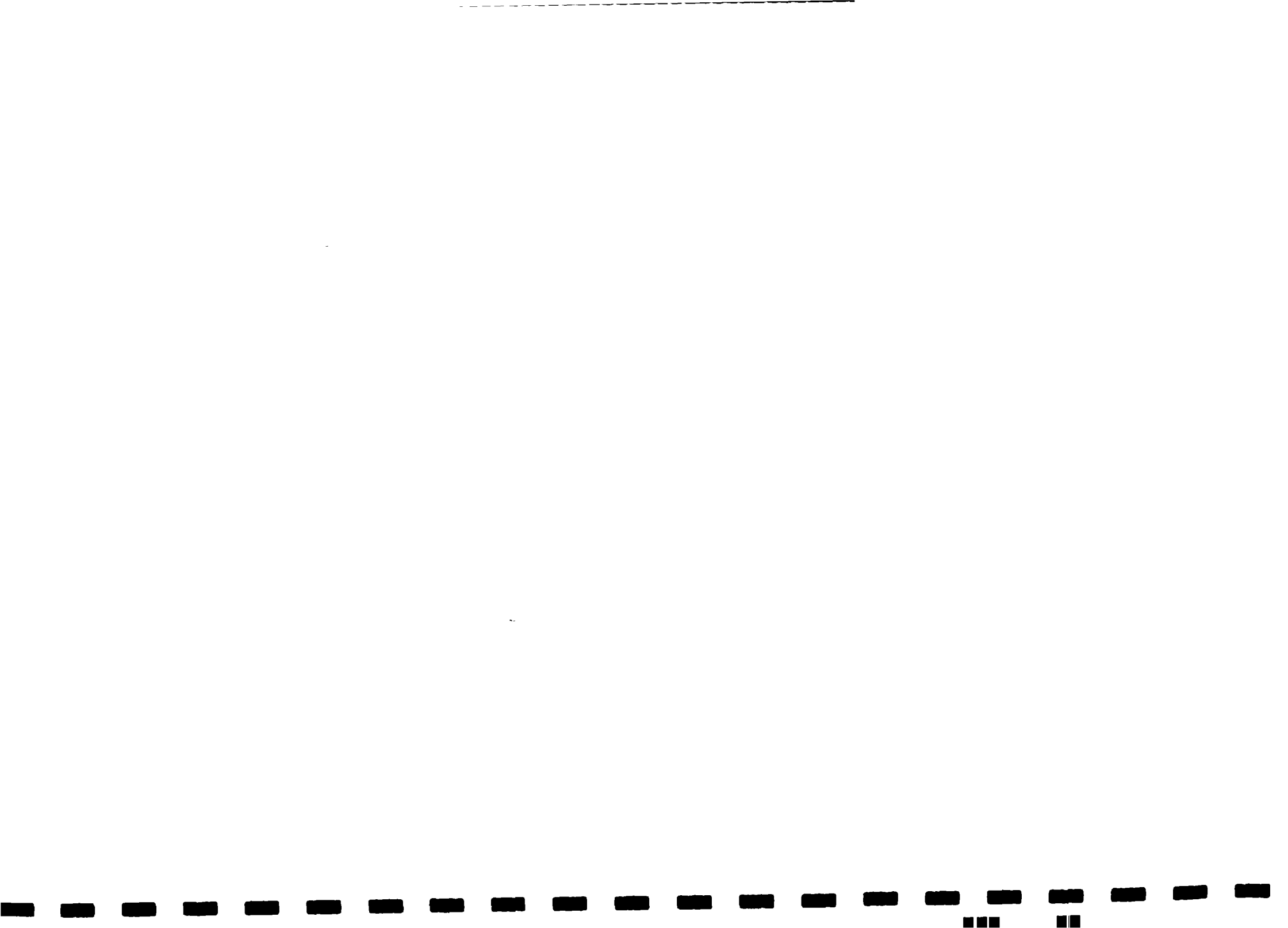
Men cultivate between 1.25 and 16.6 mukhames and gain from 60 L.S. to 6755 L.S.

Women cultivate between 1.75 and 5.5 mukhames and gain from 0 (there is no agricultural surplus to be sold in the market) to 740 L.S.

The difference in agricultural productivity between men (400 L.S. per mukhames) and women (124 L.S. per mukhames) may be due to a higher input of land-products into the household consumption on part of the women. But another fact is to consider: in case of a higher cash-income, 62% of the women expect, that their husbands would participate less in household-expenses.

This finding is significant for the assumption, that time savings through an I.W.S.S. leads to increased productive activity, when only suitable economic programmes get proposed.

But other data collected give also reason for optimism: 50% of the women would increase their production of tumbac or would do handicraft-work, if they only would have more time, even if 75% of these women expect less household-support on part of their husbands.



50% of women express the urgent need for more rest, compared with 25% of men.

The majority of men (70 %) would read more the Qur'an and would not concentrate on higher production, if they had more time available.

Ardeeba-villagers have no history in forming cooperatives with the aim of higher economic output.

Sugar-cooperatives do not fit into this category, they are meant to reduce the burden on the private household budgets.

The economically calculating unit is composed of individuals with their children; sometimes close relatives (core of the marriage circle) are included.

An economic system exists in all villages studied beyond the individual- or household level: Sual

At harvest-time villagers exchange a certain amount of millet with their partners (usually 20 rattles = 13 kg). Exchange-partners are poor villagers, friends and kinsmen. No definite rule seems to exist, tribal identity plays no role and profit is not expected.

A villager (only men) has between 10 and 15 Sual-partners.

Sual deals with the risk in agricultural activity. Some villagers may be unlucky and become sick in unsuitable times and thus cannot do the necessary work in the fields, or the seeds prove to be of bad quality, or crop-damage by animals, robbery etc.

In these cases 'Sual' guarantees, that the villagers get the minimum of crop needed for surviving, also if they should not be able to provide an immediate equivalent.

Of course, in 'Sual', like in any exchange practice, there is prestige involved and loyalties are formed and confirmed and actualized in village-politics. Somebody who fails to fulfill his obligations towards his sual-partners will never be pushed or even asked, but it will be registered as a fact, and in one way or another this favours dependency.

Money or profit plays no part in 'Sual', but security and prestige.



### 3. Teiqi

#### 3.1. The Village and its socio-structural Characteristics.

The first Tama-settlers arrived in Teiqi 90 years ago; they came from Geneina, escaping tribal fighting.

The village is divided into 3 localities, 500m and 1 km separated from each other. In each one Tama kin-group is living, in the third locality in addition one Misseria tribal-segment (see village sketch map).

Tribal structure:

Tama	10 compounds	1. Locality
Tama	8 c.	2.L.
Tama	7 c.	3.L.
Misseria	8 c.	3.L.
<hr/>		
33 compounds		

Teiqi has 288 inhabitants (approx. 9 persons per compound and 3 to 4 persons per household).

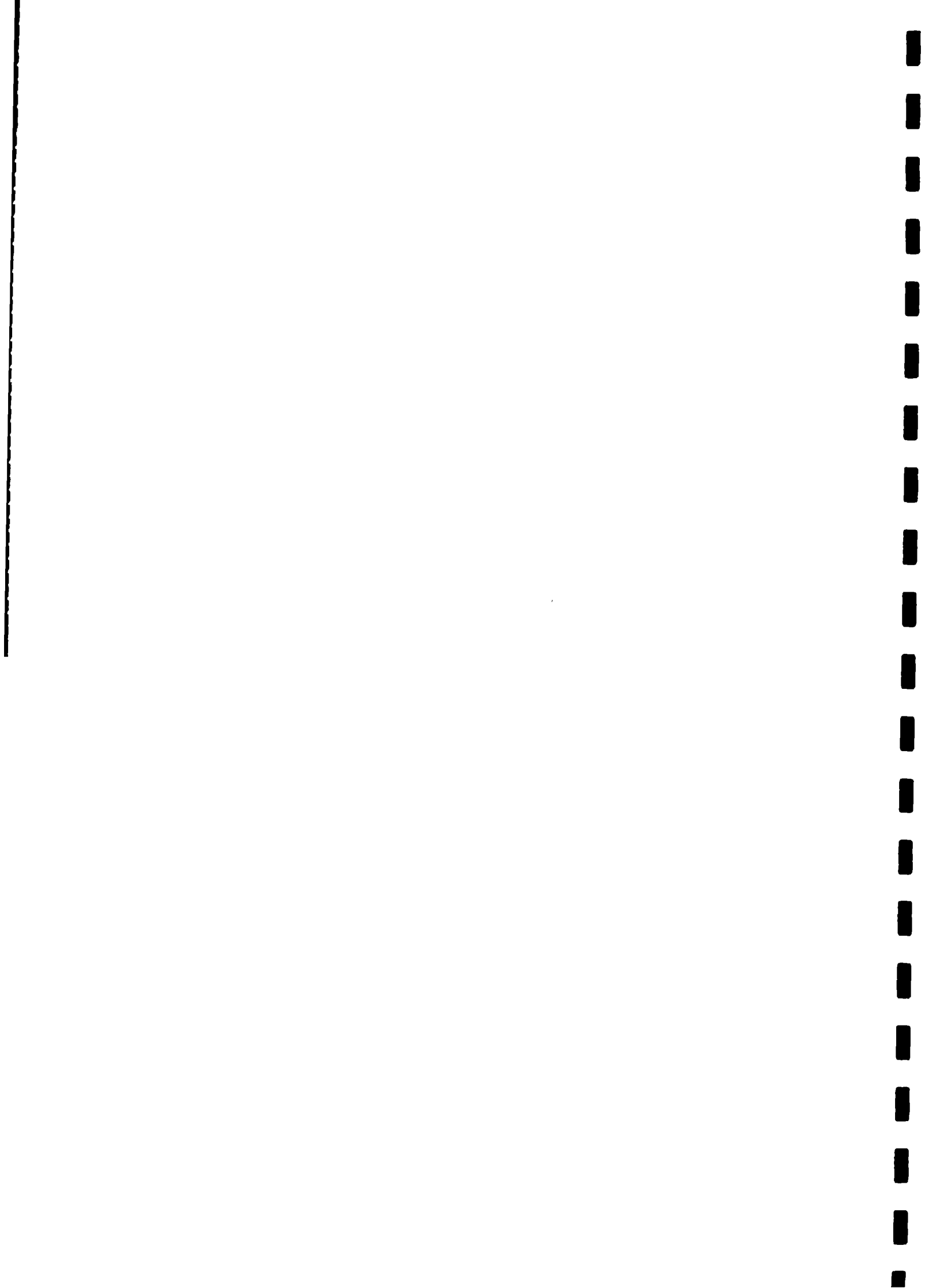
There is only one language spoken (arabic) and there are two tariqas represented: 75% Ansaar and 25% Tijaani.

Teiqi has a grainmill, but no mosque. The next soukh is 7 km away, and so are the school and the dispensary/hospital (bas).

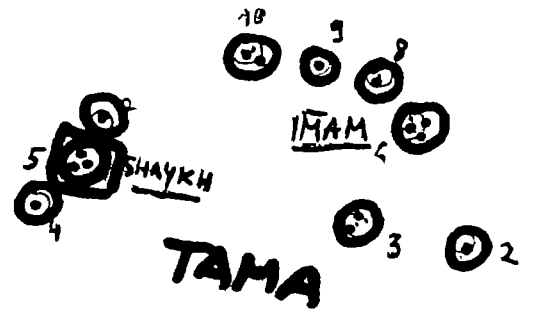
The infrastructure promises nothing extraordinary, but the potential of this tiny village, which is cooperating in improving its village-facilities with eight neighbour-villages (Village Council Teiqi), is estimated here as high, because of its organizational ability and its consciousness of the need to improve the local infrastructure.

Teiqi-villagers have a positive experience and attitude towards self-help projects. After a grainmill and the WADS - village well they plan to construct a bakery and a school with the profit they make from the grainmill-cooperative.

In Teiqi, like in the other villages studied, the migration- and mobility patterns are stable.



TELGI



1 GRAINMILL

1 km

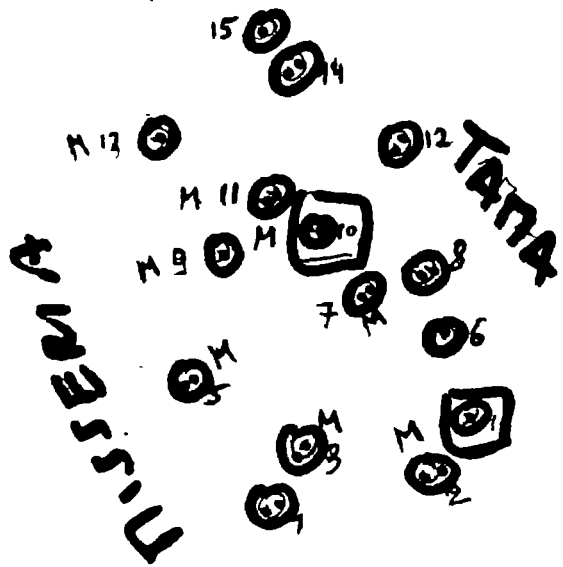
500 m

TAMA

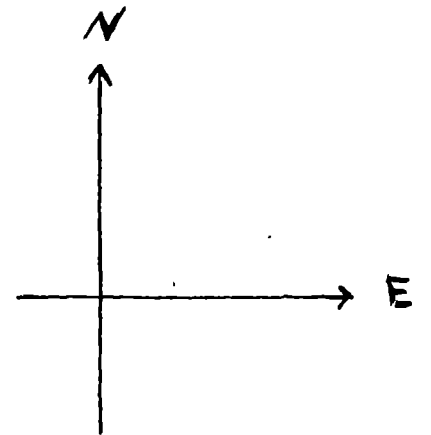
Legend:

⊙ = Compound with huts  
(Gutia or Durr Durr)

⊠ = selected compound



100 m







Between January and June about 150 fariq of nomads settle in the vicinity of the village. They belong to the tribes: Tama, Misseria, Rizeigat and Mahadi.

They move with approx.:

- cattle	10000
- goats	6000
- sheep	5000
- camels	500
- horses	300
- donkeys	4000

### 3.2. Village Organizations: Committees

The division of a village into different localities is not done arbitrarily, but it is an expression of existing social facts, which are recognized by the villagers when decisions are made about how to choose members for the village-committees.

On village-level committee-members are chosen out of the three localities in Teigi.

In the case of the V.W.C. (Village Council Level) only 6 villages out of the 8 contributing villages are formally represented (WADS asked to name 6 V.W.C.-members); the two remaining villages (Grimso and Hashaaba) are integrated through informal channels. Marriage-relations with formally represented villages are used to ensure participation and information-exchange.

?  
o *referred*

In locality 1 lives the dominating kin-group. Here the offices of the shaykh and the imam are found, the grainmill is located here and the planned bakery will be in this locality as well. The more active villagers come from this part of Teigi.

General attitude towards 'participation in committees':

Approx. 50% of the women and approx. 75% of the men interviewed would like to take active part in village-committees.



- Grainmill committee

6 villages participate:

Teigi  
Hashaaba  
Grimso  
Ardeeba (Massalit)  
Himeeda  
Higalit

Members are only men, appointed by men.

Mode of selection: from each village one committee-member

- Administration committee

This committee functions on Village Council level and Teigi is represented with 3 members (only men).

- Agiid committee

The agiid as the chairman and the shaykh appointed 3 members (men), who take action in cases of robbery and criminal offences in the village.

- WADS - village water committee

6 men and one woman are active in this committee.

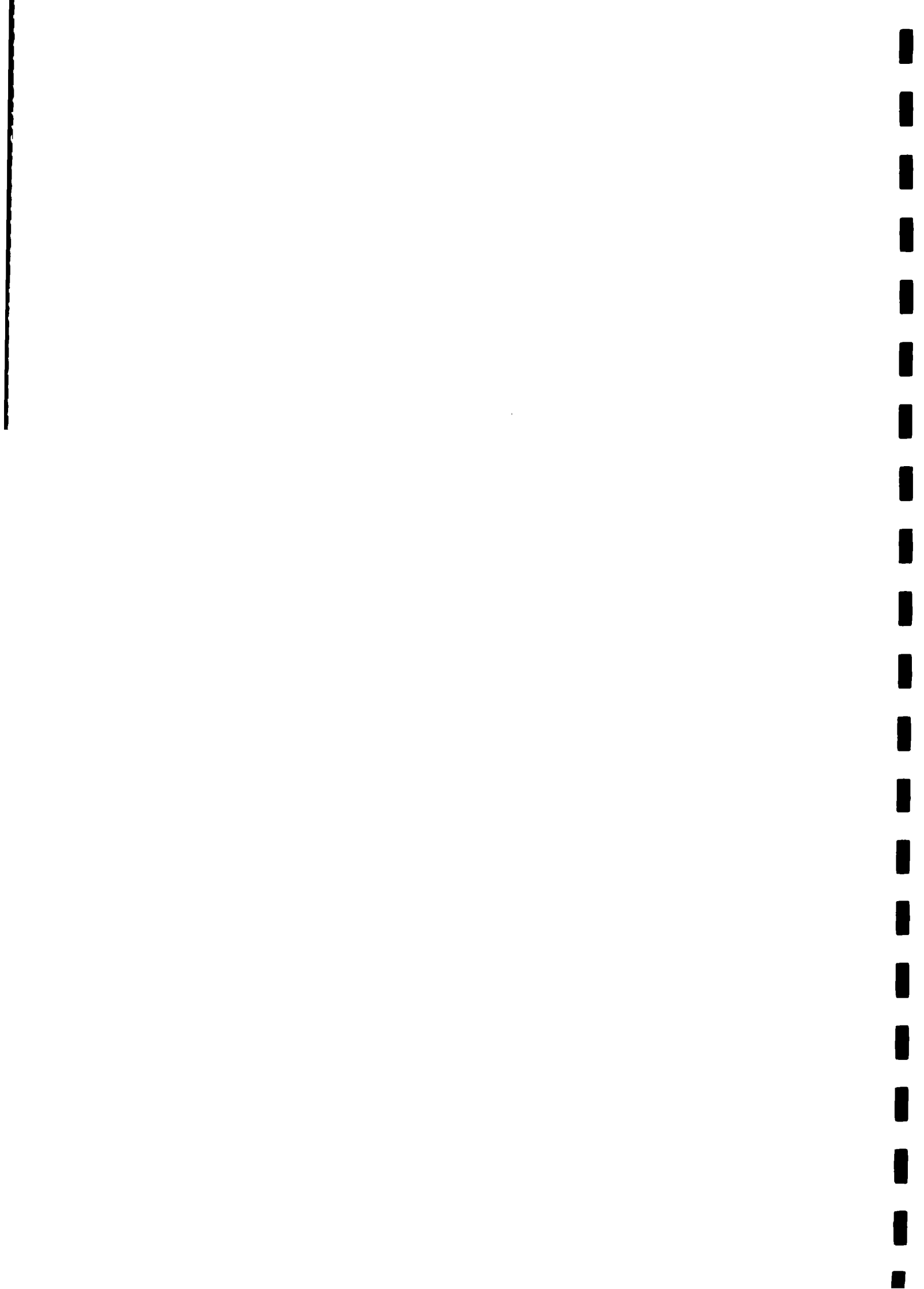
Organization: Chairman  
Secretary  
Treasurer  
& one assistant each

- Women village committee

Task: organizing women-activities (food preparation) in occasions of festivals and ceremonies.

Since this committee cooperated with the grainmill committee, but being different from it did not get compensation for the work done, its members refused to go on to work.

This committee will be in a crisis until the women get paid like their men-counterparts.



### 3.3. Collective Work Activities

#### 3.3.1. Community Projects

In community-projects participation is obligatory first of all for men. Also from women and children it is expected that they contribute, but in accordance with their physical capacities and their social roles.

Women prepare food and carry water, the same pattern as found already in Milebeeda and Ardeeba.

History of community-activities:

- 2 to 3 times a year cases of livestock-robbery
- building the grainmill
- attending the islamic ceremonies (Id ramadan, Id tahiija, Iarama)
- attending the rain-making ceremony (doha)

#### 3.3.2. Means to enforce Solidarity

If a man does not participate in community-projects, the villagers react first with social pressure (isolation tactics). Then they consider to activate the agiid-committee and the shaykh, who will take the person to the court in Ias and, if the usual fine of 10 L.S. is considered as a too mild punishment, the villagers think to force hospitality by showing up in the compound of the delinquent. This could become a quite costly affair but exists, as the villagers say, only as idea. Up to now there was no need in Teigi to enforce community-participation.

In case of women the shaykha will communicate the name to the village-authorities, but it is understood from the beginning, that no punishment will be carried out.

#### 3.3.3. Nafiirs

In this year the villagers called for more than 20 nafiirs, most of them in the field of agriculture.



### 3.4. Decision - Making

The authority of the head of the household, who in all households interviewed has been a man, is unquestioned.

The distribution of authority in the village follows traditional lines. Highest rank the shaykh, the shayha, the imam, the local doctors and the schoolteacher.

The women also emphasize the influence of the merchant in decision-making (75 %), but this may be due to the fact, that the imam and the merchant are one person.

Livestock-owners play a minor role in decision-making, but landlords do not. 75 % (men and women) stress their power.

Participation in village-meetings is more realized among men (75 %) than among women, but also in Teigi there is no exclusive relation between taking part in village-meetings and decision-making.

Again, without taking into account informal communication-channels, this process cannot be understood. With the example of the WADS - V.W.C. the villagers demonstrate how reliable kinship-relations are regarded (see page 53). Group-loyalty is formed before any committee is organized, and the functioning of the WADS - V.W.C may easily depend on that, as the Teigi - villagers see it.

The information collected about marriage-practice and neighbourhood-relations confirm, that it is the core of the marriage-circle which is the strongest cooperating group, where help in agricultural activities and in livestock-keeping can be actualized first and where marriage- and hospitality expenses get shared.

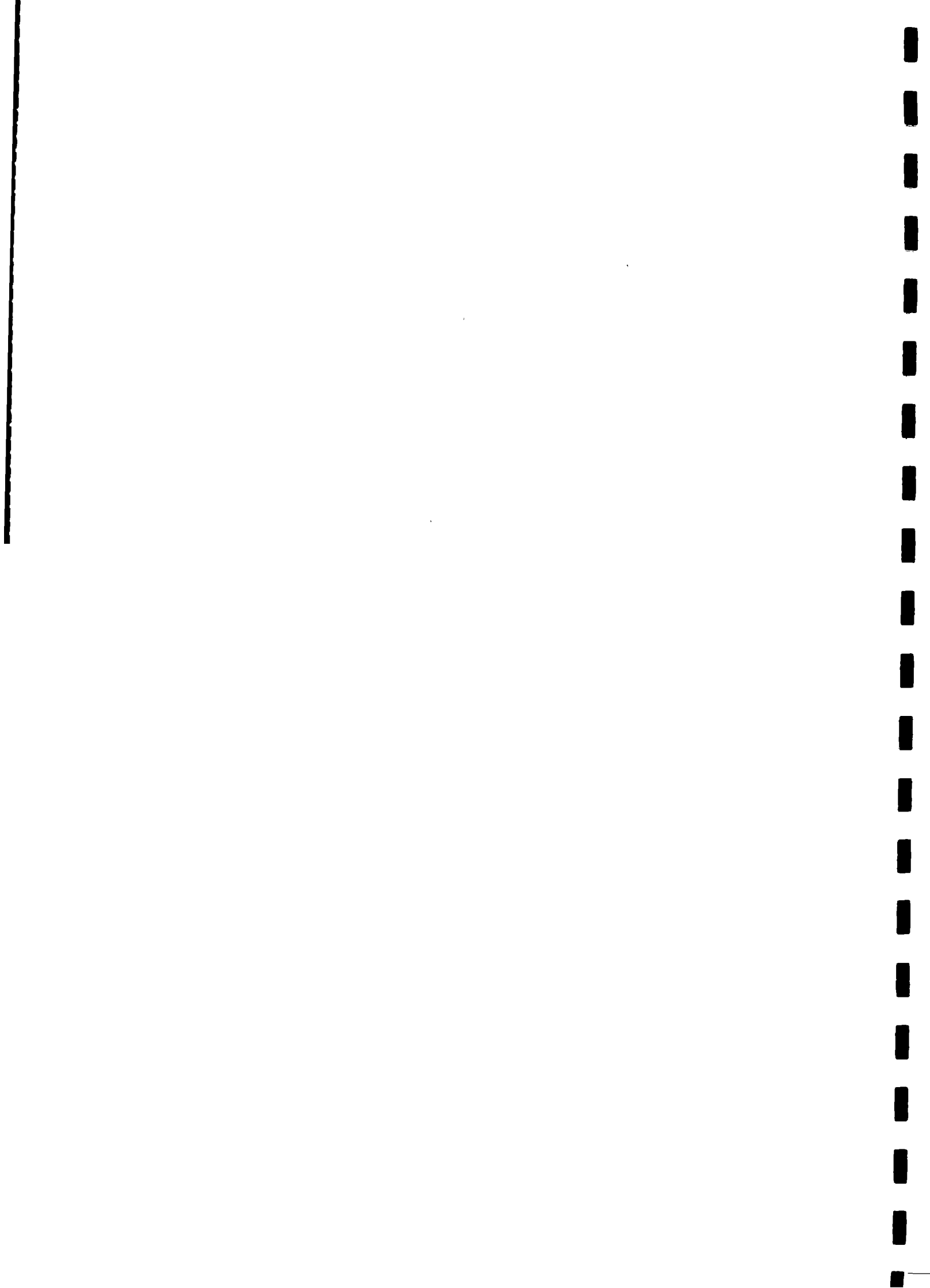
Out of 8 families 50 % decided for the "Bit'am" (parallel-cousin marriage), 25 % for "Bit'chala" (cross-cousin marriage), and 25 % didn't specify the kin-relation they have towards their spouses more than 'belonging to the same tribe'.

### 3.5. Financing

In Teigi the villagers started to make economic calculations on village- and inter-villages level.

The grainmill, their first community-project, was financed by asking each head (men, women and children) from 6 villages of the Village Council Teigi to contribute.

For the second project, the WADS - village well, all villages ( 8 ) from the Village Council Teigi followed Teigi's initiative. Each villager paid 1 L.S. They collected 700 L.S., the rest was borrowed from the grainmill-cooperative, which is also economically a success.





Teigi-villagers will go on like this. As mentioned, they will invest into a school and a bakery, which again will be a profitable undertaking.

The economic strength of Teigi and the whole Village Council for 'self-help projects' and thus for improvement of the local infrastructure can grow relatively quickly, and over all a first positive experience gives the necessary optimism to proceed.

### 3.6. The WADS - Village Well

Teigi's water-problems are serious. Water can only be collected by donkeys from Sigey (about 5 km). Since 10 years Teigi-villagers tried to get an I.W.S.S.

8 villages (Village Council Teigi) take part in financing and organizing the WADS - village well:

- Teigi
- Hashaaba
- Grimso
- Ardeeba (Massalit)
- Himeeda Mahali (Rizeigat)
- Higalit
- Ardeeba (Mahadi)
- Heleela

6 villages are formally represented in the WADS - V.W.C., 2 villages use kinship-relations in order to take influence and to ensure information-exchange.

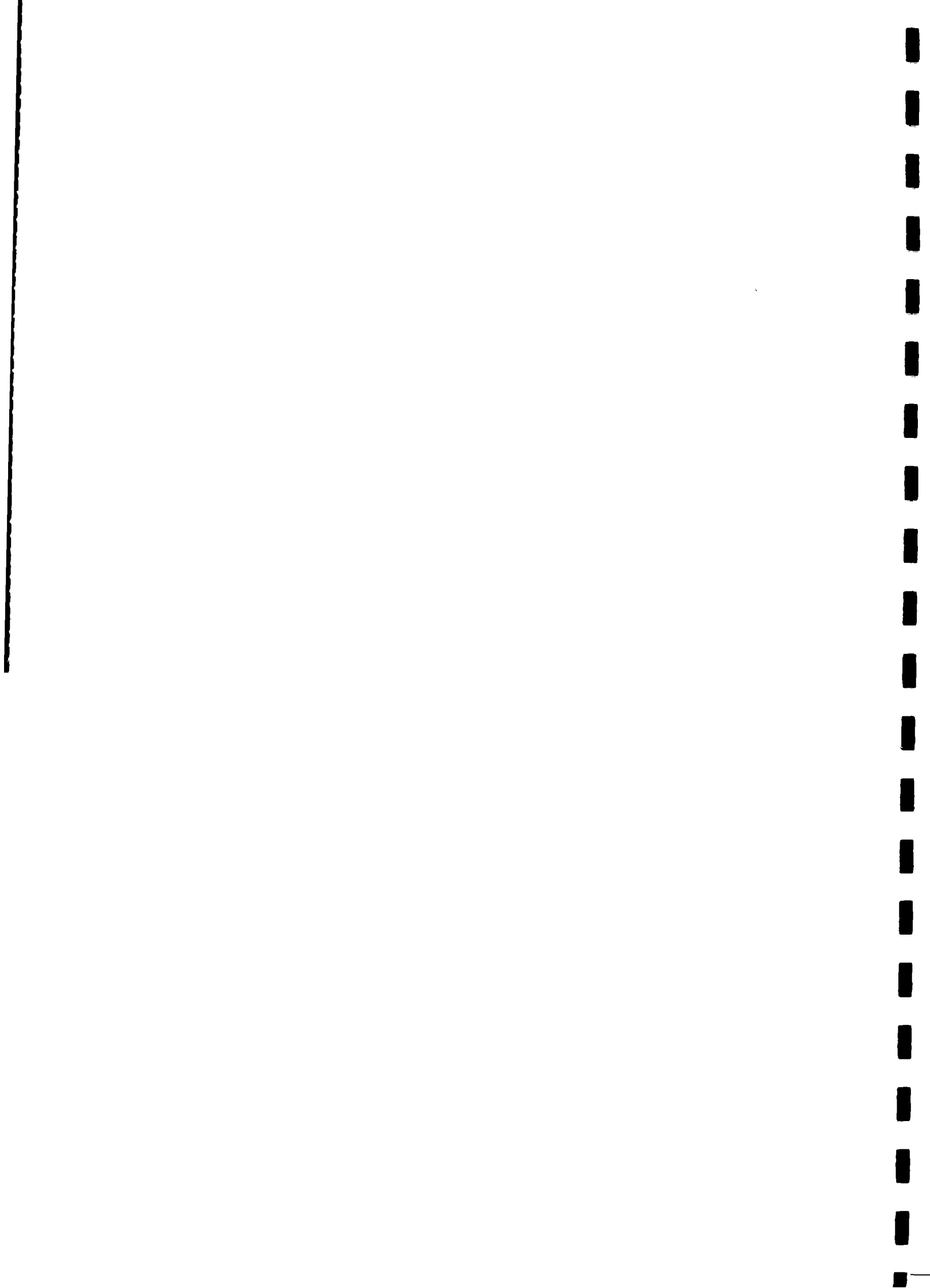
If this is working out like in Teigi-village proper, then we are taught that these information-channels are open for men only, and even not for all: 75 % of men and no woman interviewed have been informed about the WADS - village well, and no woman interviewed took part in the decision for this project.

Among men, 50 % expressed that they had at least something to say in the meetings held for this purpose and they got asked about their opinions.

No woman spoke with her household-members about the WADS-project, only one woman talked with her husband.

The men, their husbands, deny that: all men asked spoke with their wives and other household-members. The same contradiction that already appeared in Milebeeda and Ardeeba.

The hygienic need of the well, which gives the chance to have clean and safe water in the household, is not recognized from the villagers; they did not speak about it yet.



The role of the Caretakers is not understood and no decisions have been made regarding their compensation. If no proposals are made, this situation will not change.

Water first, there is no discussion, but it is the quantity and the distance to the water-source which are judged as benefits, and not the health aspect. As soon as water is not brownish or salty the villagers are satisfied.

Before investing into Health men would spend money first on marriage, and women on Hajj.

The use of Health for a higher maintenance consciousness is not promising a quick success, and also the data collected about "how much would you spend daily for clean and healthy water?" cannot immediately get interpreted as a commitment towards health:

men	25 P.
women	100 P.

Estimating 50 % adults the villagers would have a yearly fund of 24000 L.S.

The villagers will use the well for household and animals alike.

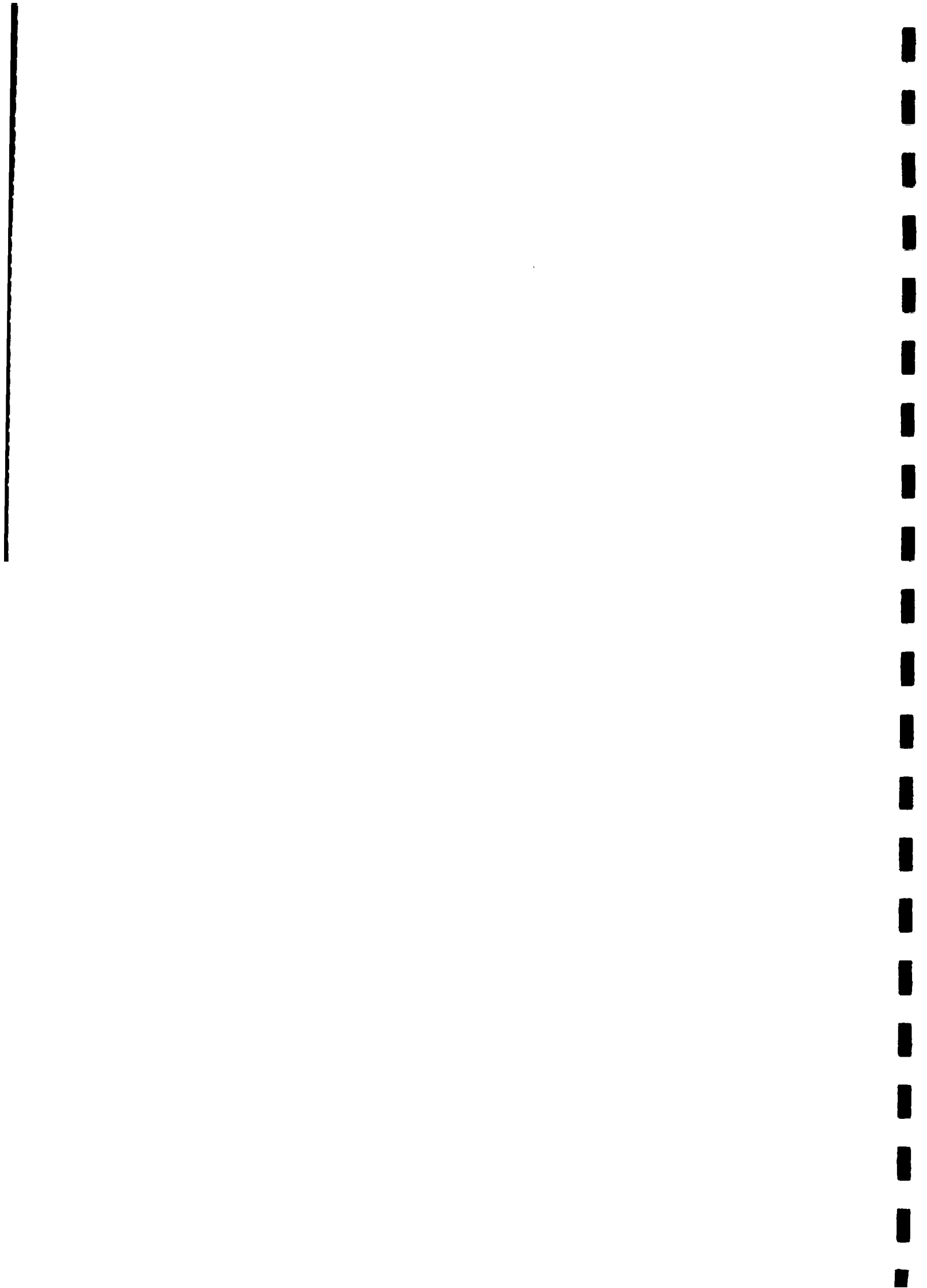
The nomads will be asked not to use the new well, if there are signs of water-shortage.

### 3.7. Men and Women in Teigi

Men and women share the basic values that govern darfurian village-life, but which are actually recognized in most traditional societies: 'hospitality' and 'to work for the welfare of the village' rank unquestioned on the top.

Also 'going for hajj' is a highly regarded aim by both men and women, and those people who would do so would be well respected villagers. In fact only one man out of a sample of 36 persons interviewed in 3 villages has been for Hajj, and to spend money for Hajj is still something else: first for marriage, then for health and only then for Hajj, say the men in Teigi, whereas the women would spend money first for Hajj, then for marriage of their children and at last for health.

*men 25 P.  
women 100 P.  
66 P. 53*



When asked for 'respectful and unrespectful behaviour',

- to be hospital, polite and cooperative got emphasized by men,
- to respect people, to be polite and to obey by women

Both, men and women, stress the importance not to be unpolite and insulting.

Then, the relationship between husband and wives seems to have a strong materialistic component (this counts as well for Milebeeda and Ardeeba): the men-activity most appreciated by women, as men think, is their 'agricultural support the household-budget of their wives.

Also the women believe that men appreciate most their productive activities including housework.

They will get in trouble with their husbands, "if they are lazy" and "if they leave the house without explaining for what reason they are doing so".

Men are the leaders, there is no doubt, because: "by nature" and "God made them like that". So, of course, it's them who will solve the problems wherever they arise. Only about their ability to cooperate the women have strong doubts (100 %): men are too competitive.

Women meet regularly in festival-occasions and family-affairs: to prepare food.

But 75 % of the women interviewed didn't meet other women to talk about the WADS - village well. When they have nothing to decide anyway, there seems to be no reason to talk about.

The negative statistics concerning literacy is confirmed by the interview done in Teigi: not a woman is literate, whereas 50 % of the men are.

### 3.8. Economic Data

The main source of income for the villagers is 'agriculture'.

The productivity of the soil in Teigi is similar to that in Milebeeda and Ardeeba (see page 50).

The men in Teigi cultivate about 62 % of the land. On an average one man works 8.5 mukhames.

Women cultivate 38 % of the village-land: for each economically independent woman 5.3 mukhames; but women reach a higher productivity: they earn 1633 L.S. per year (gross), that means 47

$$\frac{365}{460} \cdot 1633 \approx 1275 \text{ per day}$$



% of the total cash-income the villagers gain from agricultural activities.

Men on an average earn 1800 L.S. per year gross (= 53 %).

The size of the land owned by the women interviewed differs between 2.75 and 8 mulhames.

Men cultivate between 6.5 and 11.5 mulhames.

The women's gross cash-income varies from 900 L.S. to 2400 L.S.

Men: from 1375 L.S. to 2500 L.S.

The firm economic base does not provide the women in Teiga with decision-making power and more independence in general. The cultural blueprints determine their place in social life and the strict role-division is not challenged by the relative wealth of the women.

50 % of their husbands would give them less money for the household-budget in case they (the women) would earn more cash.

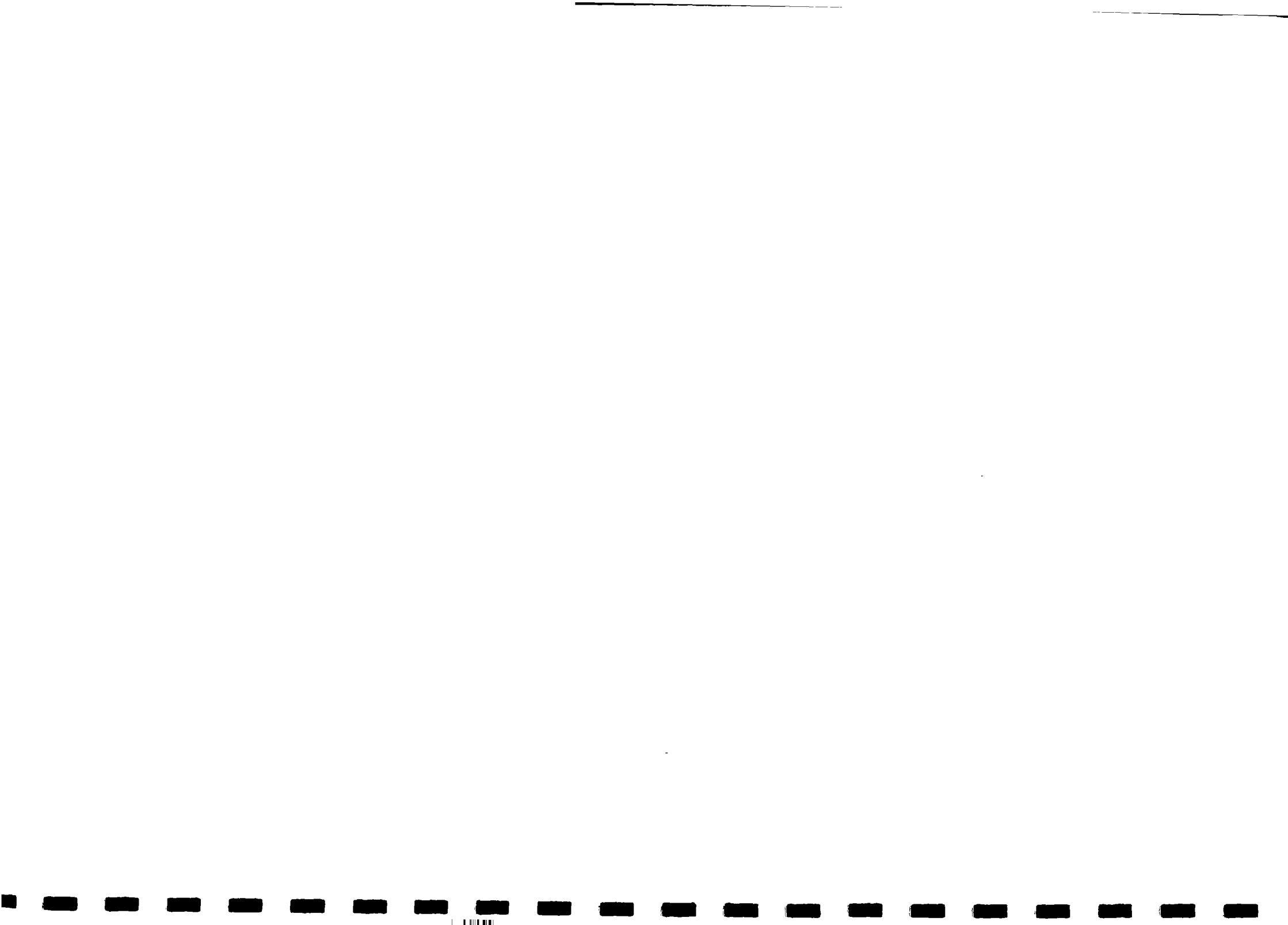
No woman interviewed would invest the benefit of time saving through an I.W.S.S. in productive activity. Rather they would take the chance to do what they most urgently need: to rest; some would go more into housework.

Not much livestock is owned by the villagers:

cattle	200
sheep	150
goats	200
camels	4
horses	5
donkeys	75

*Income  
figures*

*2400  
1633  
4033*





#### 4. Waru

##### 4.1. The Village

The village consists of five localities situated at a distance between 500 m and 5 km from each other. This division corresponds to the tribal structure of Waru:

Mahadi	17 compounds
Borgu	7 c.
Fur (1)	33 c.
Fur (2)	32 c.
Zachaua	16 c.

In all there are 105 compounds; the total population-size of Waru is 484 inhabitants (approx. 5 persons per compound).

All Waru-villagers are followers of the 'Tijaani-Tariqua'.

The two major kinship-groups (Fur) settled in this area about 100 years ago and decided to split, geographically, but went on to create kinship-bonds through mutual marriage-arrangements.

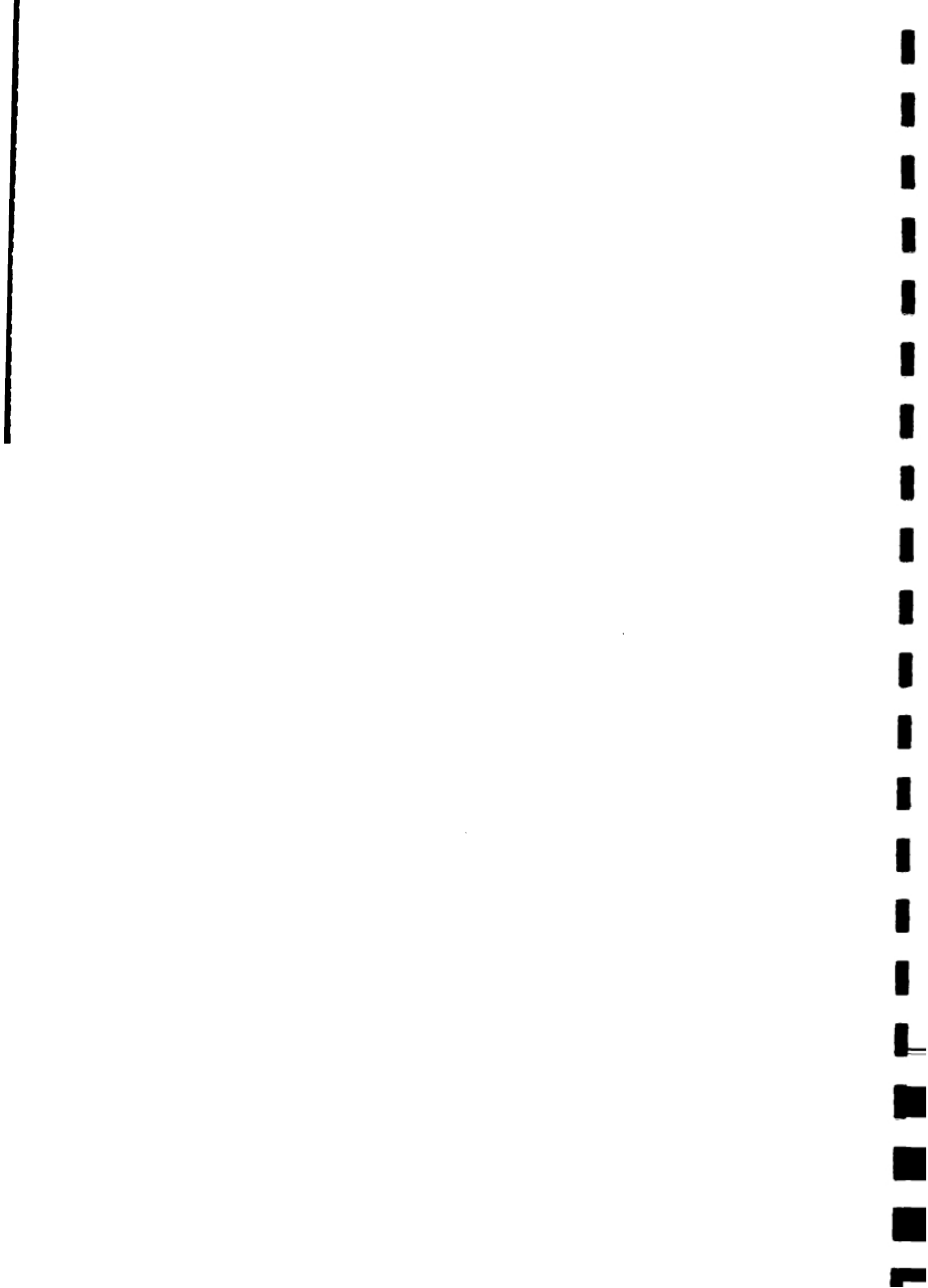
The other tribal groups do not intermarry.  
The dominant Fur consider them as 'guests'.

'Dar - Fur' determines essentially the organizational- and financial patterns for which the villagers decide when managing village-affairs. The two Fur-sections have one shaykh, who is superior to the shaykhs of the Borgu, Zachaua and Mahadi tribes. The same is true for the shaykha.

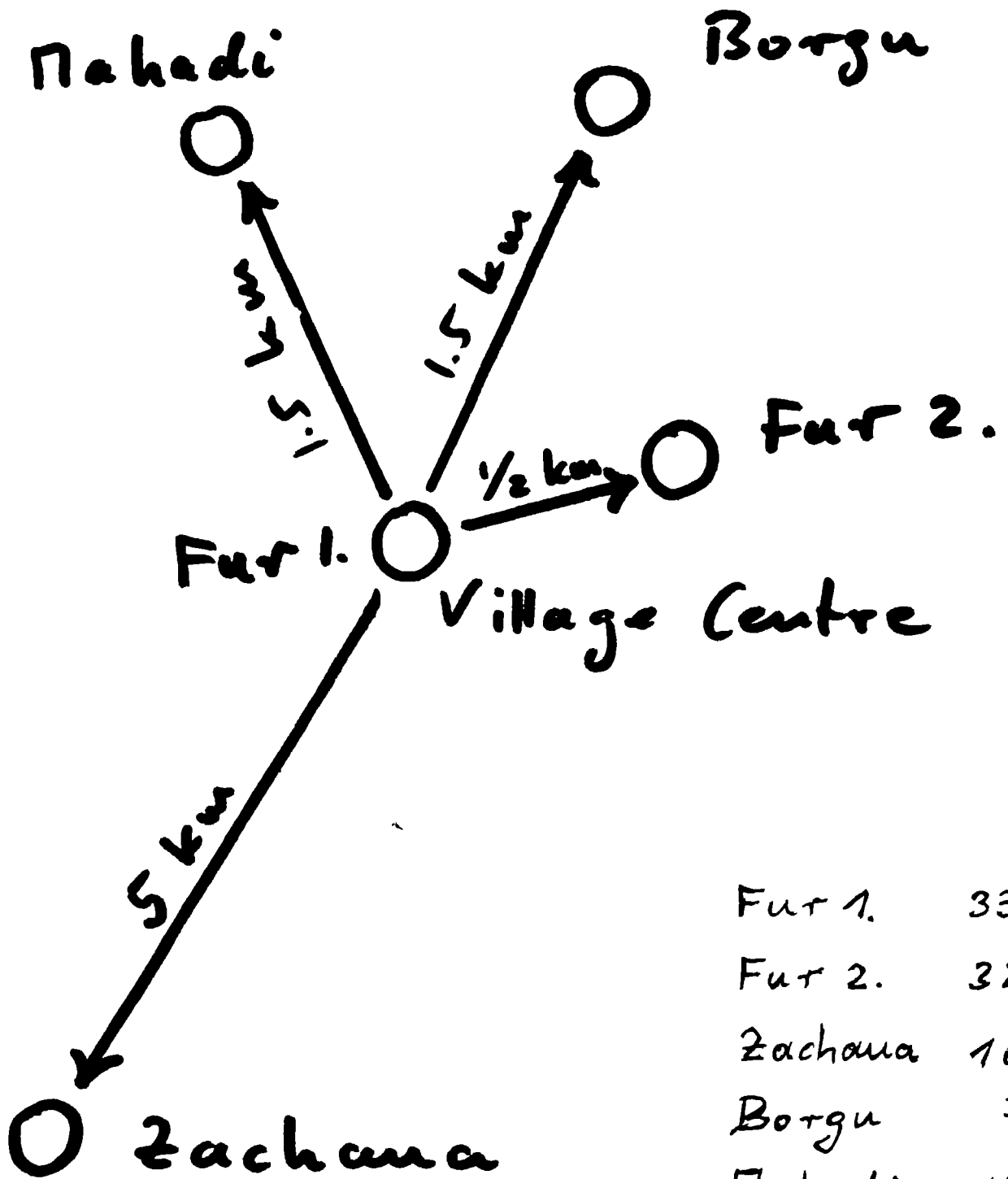
The shaykh and his circle of consultants (close relatives) take the decisions; if messages have to be communicated there is seldom need to call for a meeting: the shaykh/a visits the households concerned individually.

The two committees formed in Waru:

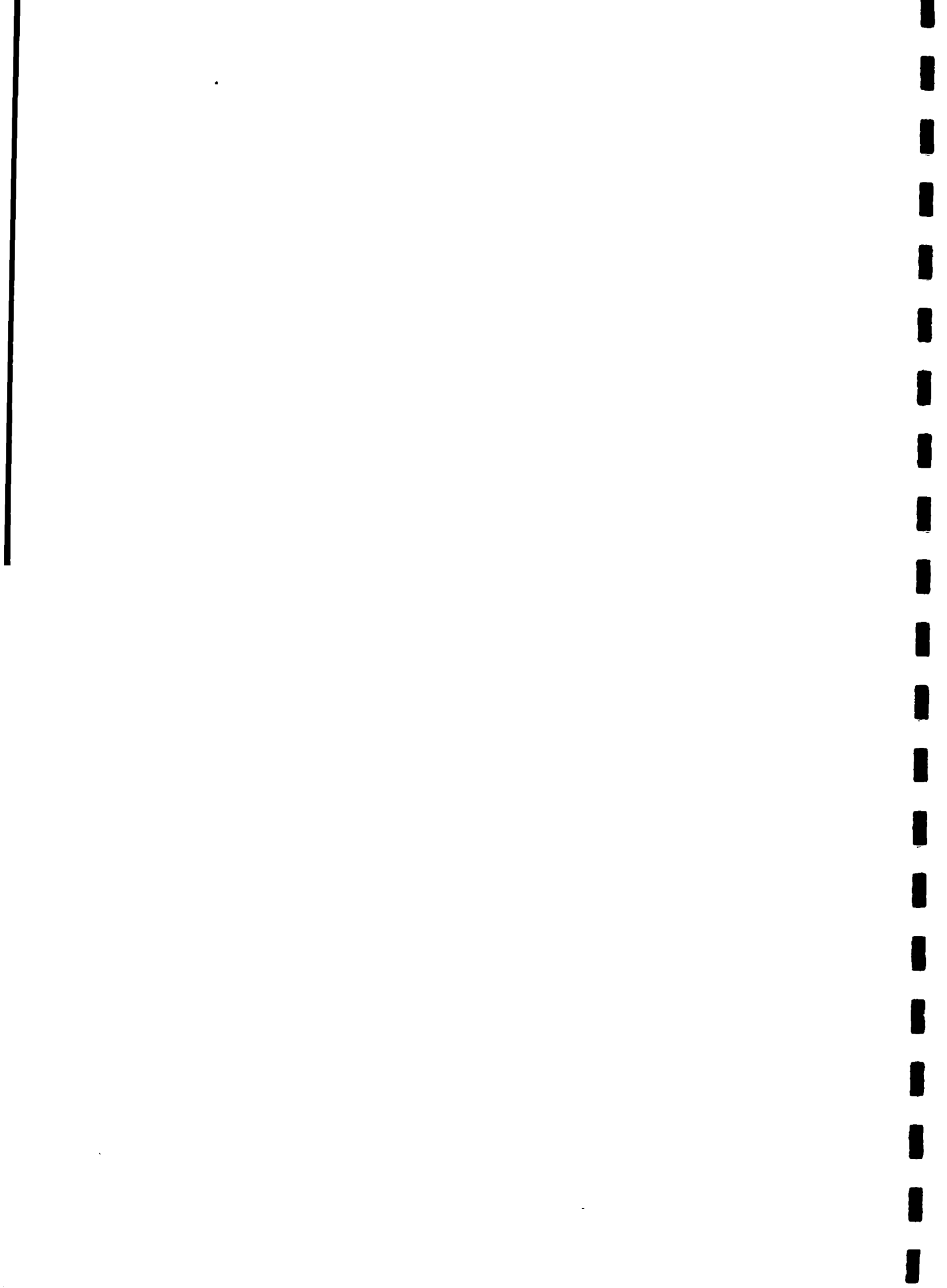
- committee for services  
5 plus 3 Fur-members, 1 Borgu, 1 Mahadi, 1 Zachaua
- WADS - village water committee  
3 plus 3 Fur (only men)  
They do not inform the villagers about their activities.



# WARU



Fur 1.	33 cp
Fur 2.	32 cp
Zachana	16 cp
Borgu	7 cp
Pahadi (arabs)	17 cp



A sense for 'village participation' seems poorly developed. Waru has no history as one community and there are no balanced competing factions (like in Ardeeba), which could force common agreements in decision-making.

Beside the two committees, Waru has a negative experience with an agricultural cooperative. 30 Fur-men cultivated 3 mukhames, but a crop-failure and the subsequent loss of 400 L.S. invested took away any initiative to start from anew.

There is in Waru also one sugar-cooperative with 11 members (the minimum figure demanded by the Rural Council Kas). All members are men and Fur.

Most successful with respect to 'community participation' in Waru seems to be the practice of 'mussada' (nafirs without beer-provisions). Only members of the Mahadi-tribe do not take part.

The infrastructure of Waru is poor. There are three mosques, but the nearest dispensary is 6 km away, a grainmill 3 km and schools are available only in Kas (25 km).

Waru lies relatively isolated, especially during the rainy season severe difficulties of communication and transport occur.

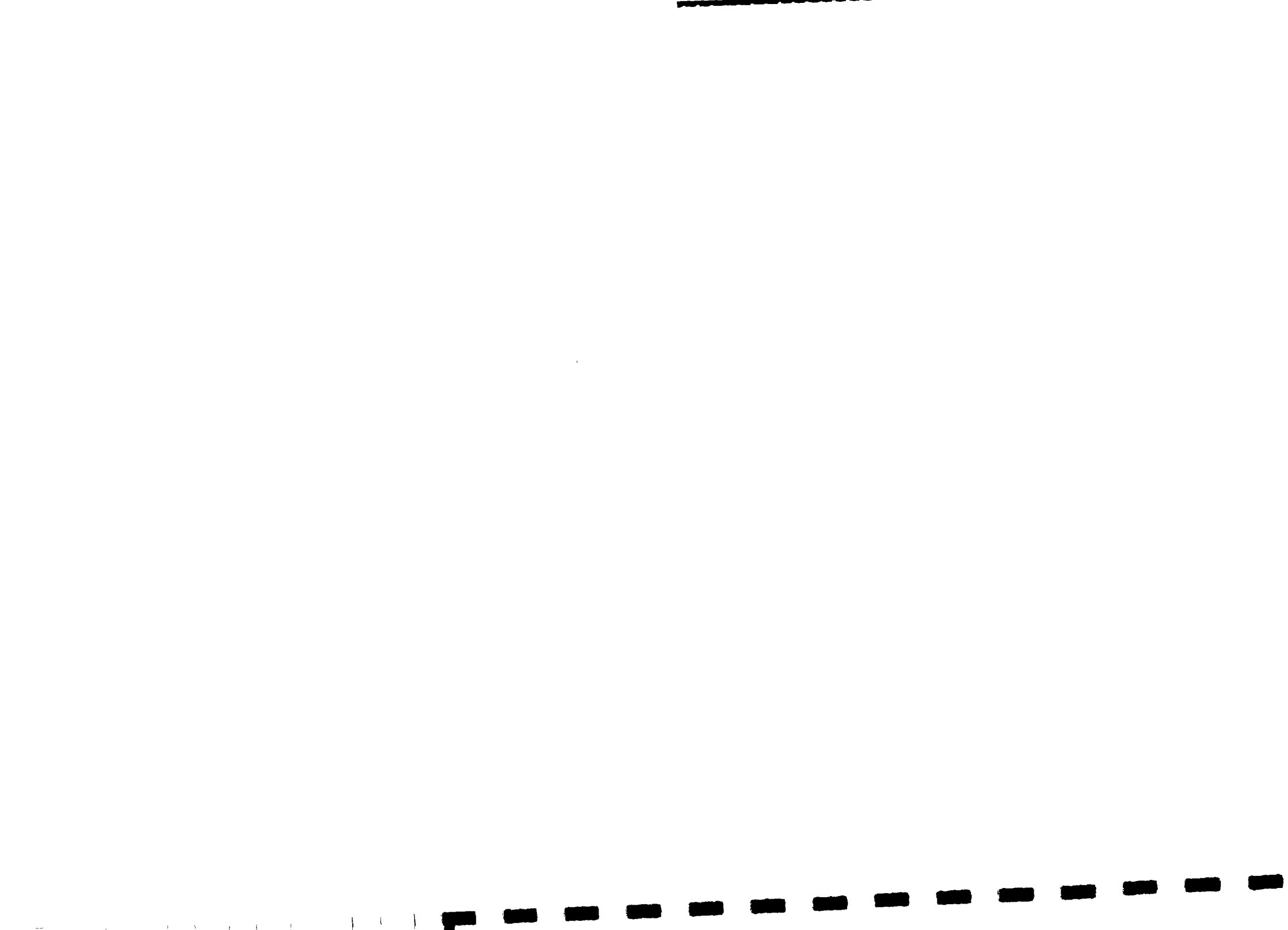
The mobility-pattern of Waru (the last three years considered) is stable; only three households settled down, no households emigrated.

The more important feature concerning mobility is the considerable size of arab-nomad-groups, which camp in the vicinity of Waru (2 km) from Jan. to May/June:

Tarijaani	100 fariq
Rizeigat	120 f.
Misseria	110 f.
Bani Halba	30 f.

They move with:

cattle	10000
camels	2000
goats	5000
sheep	4000
horses	100
donkeys	200



#### 4.2. Financing

The villagers know the practice of 'taborro': obligatory cash-contribution for village-projects for adult men only.

In the case of the WADS - village well the population of Waru got divided into three categories and was asked to pay 20, 15 or 10 L.S. respectively. (4

All non-Fur adult men were asked to pay 10 L.S. each, but not all paid, even not all have been informed.

Only among Fur 'taborro' is taken seriously: the shaykh took 15 Fur-men to the court in Fas in order to enforce contribution for the village-well project. a

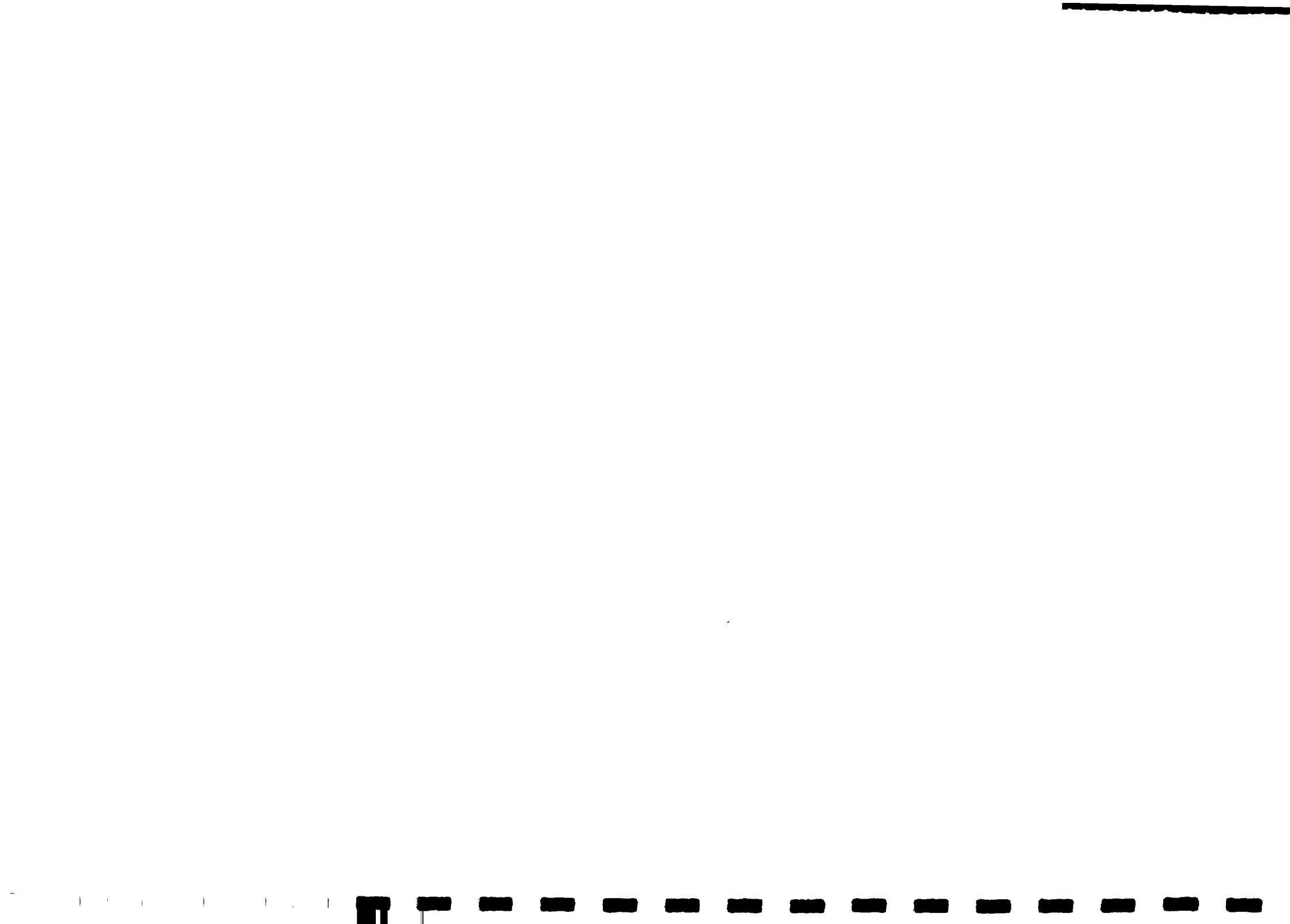
#### 4.3. Women Participation

In the 'committee for services' the shaykha and two of her women-consultants are appointed to organize and supervise women-activities. But women are only loosely integrated into community-work and not at all into financing.

When called for 'mussada', women mainly provide the men with food and carry water.

The WADS - V.W.C. for women does not function. They do not properly know what to do, what possible tasks they could have. "A child who has no name you cannot call", as the Fur-shaykh pointed out. (

The same is true for the well-caretakers.





## 5. Nabagaya

Nabagaya applied for a second well. This is not possible according to the existing WADS-guidelines (one well per Village Council), but a rigid handling of this principle is not insisted on by the WADS-management, so there was reason enough to collect some background information in order to provide data for a final decision, which has to be made on this issue.

Up to 1985 Nabagaya did not have something which could be called a village-well. The wells nearer to the village were all dug by one or another of the five big livestock-owners of Nabagaya. They put rights of first use on this water-sources, and even during the extremely dry year of 1984 the inhabitants of Nabagaya had to wait till the animals had been watered.

After this experience the villagers started to organize village water supply.

Nabagaya-Diima started to dig a village-well. Also the people of Nabagaya-Turdi, who in fact form one locality with Nabagaya-Diima, began to use this well. But soon the village-well turned out to become a katalysator for already existing conflicts between the inhabitants of the two Nabagayas.

They are formed of one Fur kinship-group, but they split and today they do not trace their descent back to a common ancestor. There seem to exist no significant marriage-relations among them anymore, opposition is even emphasized.

As men-informants say: women quarreled at the well-site, because Nabagaya-Diima women insisted on having priority in using the well, while Nabagaya-Turdi women pointed out, that over water-sources such regulations do not exist.

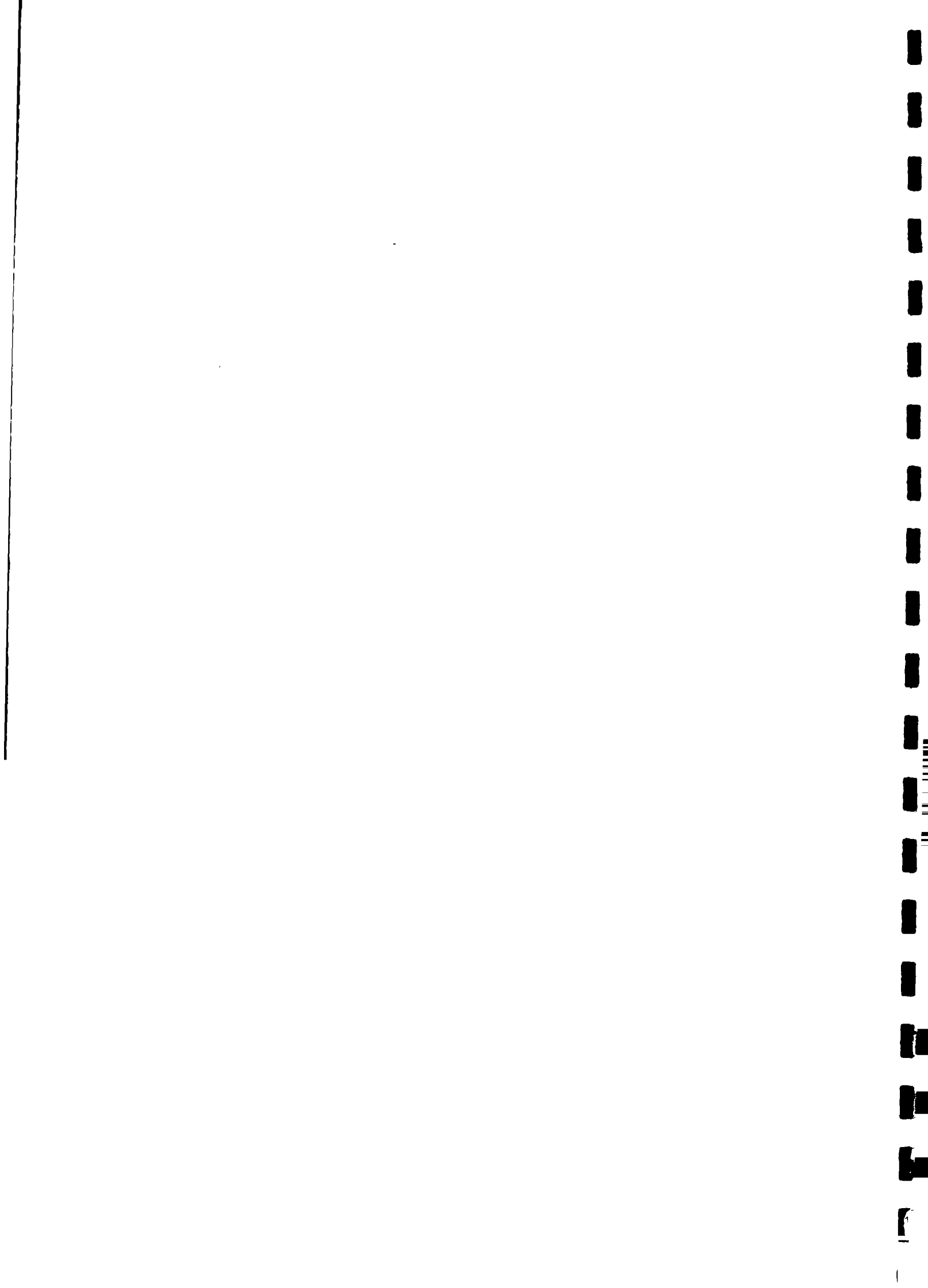
To avoid a further heating up and a possible shift of that conflict to the men of Nabagaya, also Nabagaya-Turdi built its own well.

4 villages decided to apply for a WADS - well:

Nabagaya - Diima  
Nabagaya - Turdi  
Sane  
Dschiringa

The potential pressure on the recently constructed WADS - well is:

- 2500 people from the villages mentioned
- 100 fariq of nomads, who will arrive at Nabagaya in Febr. and stay until June



The livestock owned by the villagers and the nomads:

	400	cattle	1000	
	60	camels	500	
Villagers	5000	goats/sheep	12000	Nomads
	400	donkeys		
	30	horses	60	

The nomads usually dig wells in the wadi about 100 m away from the WADS - village well.

At the moment only 60 % of the inhabitants of those villages, which financed the existing WADS - well, use it; the others continue to rely on their traditional water-sources. (1)

The villagers say it is a problem of water-shortage, but another reason will be the above mentioned conflict-situation between the two Nabagayas. In fact, the preferred site for the second WADS-well is a location near Nabagay-Diima, because the existing WADS-well is situated nearer to Nabagay-Turdi.

This village-conflict may become a topic of uneasy discussions later on, when the villagers put into practice their ideas about how to finance the construction of a second well, and the maintenance-costs of both wells.

The existing men-V.W.C., which is composed of members of all 4 participating villages, held 4 meetings up to now, but did not arrive yet at the stage of decisions.

The first well got financed by

- the villagers sold part of their sugar, distributed per Village Council from tax (75 %)
- villagers collected money on a voluntary base (25 %)

For financing

- a pump, which the villagers are looking for (about 8000 L.S.)
- the second WADS - well
- the maintenance-costs of the two wells

the villagers visualize at present two possibilities:

- the 5 families, who own most of the livestock in Nabagaya, are asked to finance the project. They will have the right to water their animals at the well-site. If there is further need of cash, the nomads will be approached with similar suggestions.
- 2 or 3 persons lift the water, and the users will have to pay per bucket. ←



#### Efforts in Hygiene:


The schoolteacher of Nabagaya, who personally applied for the WADS - well, is very eager about propagating Hygiene and taking action against wrong-doers. He established a 'student-committee', composed of pupils from all 4 villages, which participate in the project. This committee has supervising-functions at the well-site. Any child, who takes with the same bucket water for the household and the donkey alike, will be punished in public in the school-yard.

The schoolteacher also convinced the villagers to build a fence around the well, "otherwise WADS will not construct a second one".

#### Recommendations:

If the principle followed up to now (to stick to one well per Village Council) could be changed, and if the pressure on the existing well concerning water-quantity is too high, the construction of a second well should be considered, but only upon condition, that a community-solution for financing this project can be realized.

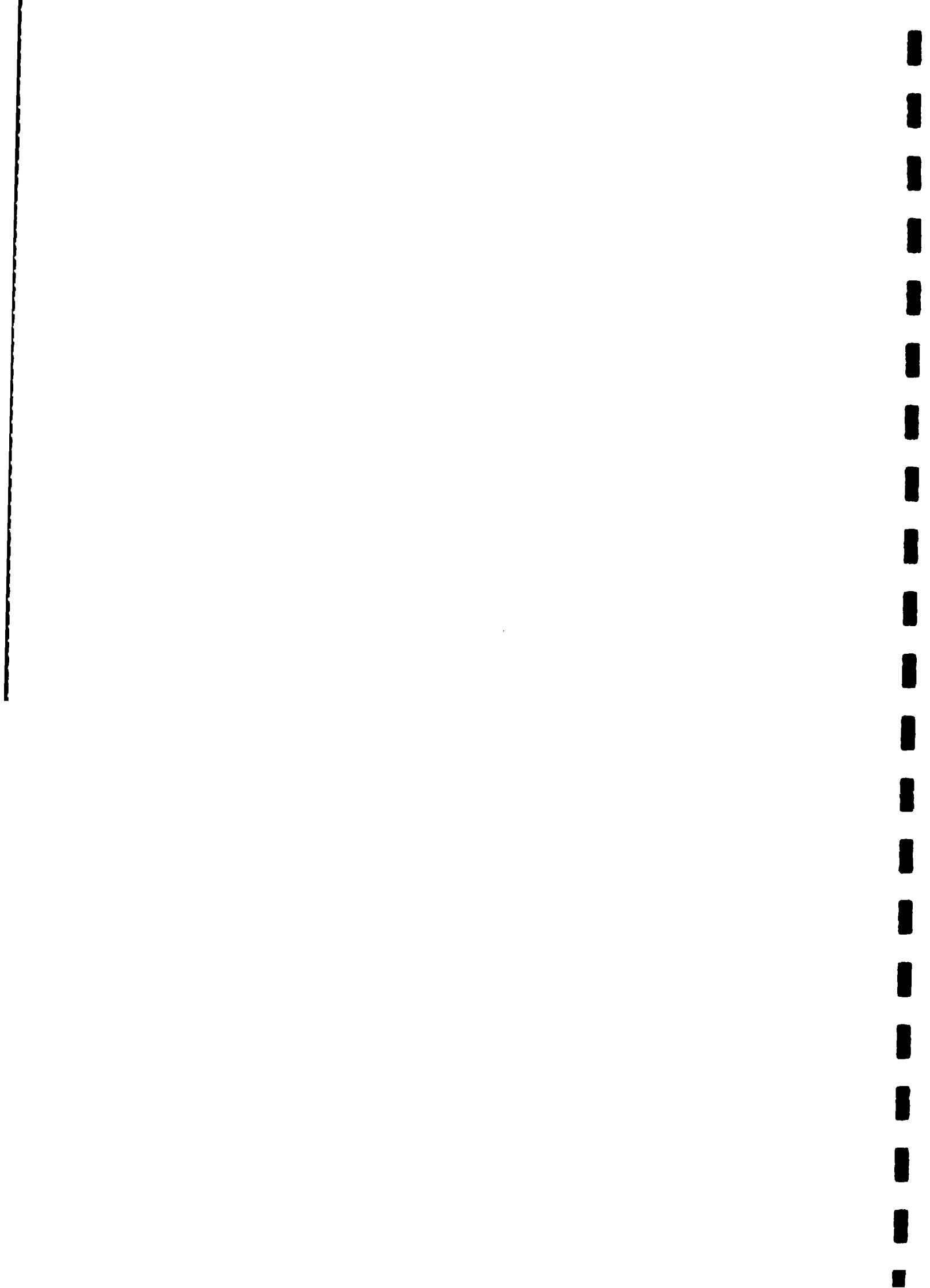
Any proposal, which encourages privatization of the WADS - well, would clash with the aim of providing village water supply. The history of Nabagaya itself presents a striking example of how a village water supply should not be organized.

Apparently in periods of water-shortage human beings do not have a 'natural' priority over cattle in using the water-source, but such priority should be institutionalized and thus assured from the very beginning. 

The fact, that Nabagaya-villagers come again with the proposal of livestock-owners financing the project, may be reason for pessimism on the chances that all villagers will contribute to a common project.

Means to enforce this cooperation, like in Waru for example, may be counteracted by a commitment towards divergent interests and loyalties located within the competing kin-groups of Nabagaya. These may outweigh the 'unit of the villages'; in such a game the village can hardly win.

How the competing forces are distributed in Nabagaya and how much space is left for common village-action has to be found out by the extension-workers of the V.P.S.



### III. Summary and Conclusions: The Village - a Unit?

WADS offers and implements Village Water Supply. This is a village-project and especially when maintenance is concerned, active participation of all villagers is needed. The topics in question are therefore discussed from the village-perspective.

#### 1. Need for Unity

The villagers act as a unit for purpose of defense and other few village-activities considered as fundamental for survival by the villagers, like digging a well, mosque- and school-building, and attending the rainmaking-ceremony (doha).

Here participation is obligatory for those, who are considered to be fully responsible members of the community. Women and children do not fall into this category, even if they are asked to contribute according to their defined roles and status.

Also poor and sick persons, or tribal groups, which live in the vicinity of the main-village, but are treated as 'guests' from the dominant local power-groups, stay aside.

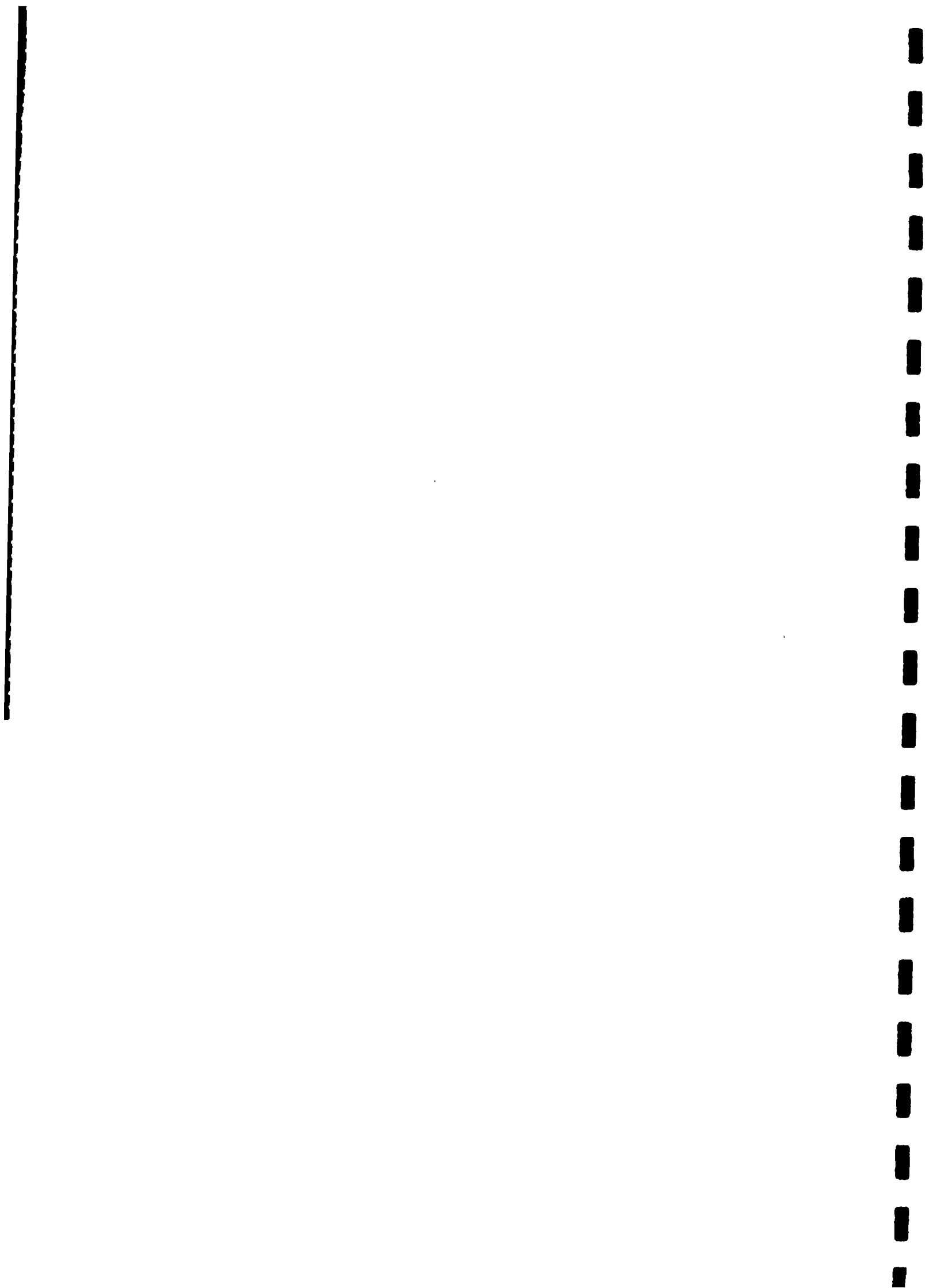
Non-participation will not be punished in these cases, but consequently, their status of being 'second hand citizen' will be confirmed and they will be only loosely integrated into the social life of the village.

For organizing these proper village-activities, vast numbers of committees are formed with well defined tasks and responsibilities. But women are usually excluded.

The village is divided into tribal segments, kinship-groups, neighbourhood-clusters and localities, which are up to 5 km away from the village-centre. Each of these groups again forms a unit and stands in opposition to similar units. This segmentary pattern is significant for appointing members for committees and for the usage of informal communication-channels in decision-making.

The distribution of power in local politics in form of offices, wealth, 'old' families and size of kinship-groups indicate who has access to decision-making on village-level, and who has not.

The starting point are not liberal, democratic ideals.





## 2. Stress in Cultural Unity

A village is a unit concerning the ~~common~~ belief in basic values, mainly expressed in religious terms, that govern or should govern social interaction.

In this respect there is a high conformity in the villages studied among all inhabitants, beyond all lines that cut across a village.

These are: tribal differentiation; inequality in wealth and status; different tariquas; men and women; dominant- and dependent kinship-groups; different generations; arab- and non-arab tribes; office-holders and non-holders.

These dividing lines cut deep and put stress on village-harmony and unity, which as ideals are unquestioned.

Villagers therefore are in need of a common belief, which tells them that they form one congregation. The ideology of muslim-brotherhood (sisters are excluded) is interpreted thus in its function to provide the ideal of solidarity, which in fact is not structured in the way how the communities are organized.

The continuous public reaffirmations that one shares the high ideals of harmonious community life with others (sophisticated greeting rituals, strict avoidance of conflict and confrontation, but emphasis on being polite and controlled, the must to offer hospitality, no admission of problems, etc.) are interpreted as rituals, which aim at 'how the world should be', rather than reflecting social realities by communicating 'how the world in reality is'. ←

Rituals prevent that the hard and nasty economic, political and cultural facts, which permanently challenge solidarity and village-unity, are talked about in a public discourse.

Rituals are part of the cultural strategy to survive as a community.

For the villagers this is part of the sacred message; it is belief, this is not questioned here. But for our purpose we would run into the trap of idealism, if we would accept things as they are presented.

For example, it took the survey-team 20 minutes of uneasy talk till it found out that Waru consists not of one locality only (dominant Fur) but of five (guests). And these findings are of crucial importance, when decision-making and active village participation are discussed in the WADS - project.

What does it mean in terms of us??



### 3. Cooperation and Competition

When reviewing the data collected about village-economy, they reveal that on village-level there is no common economic planning realized. Only individuals are property-holders and do financial calculations, and even in Teigi, which is more 'advanced' (one grainmill), women are excluded from management, profit and decision-making.

The economic potential of a village, not to speak of village-clusters or a Village Council, concerning improvement of village-facilities is estimated much higher than the data collected about the local infrastructure promise.

These in fact are poor.

Quite realistically, under purely financial considerations, a considerable fund could be raised from all villagers together, which could be used to construct grainmills, bakeries, etc. or to invest in health and education and in maintenance of the WADS-village well.

But this is not done, partly because it is seen as government's responsibility, and partly because the villagers have no tradition in communal public investment.

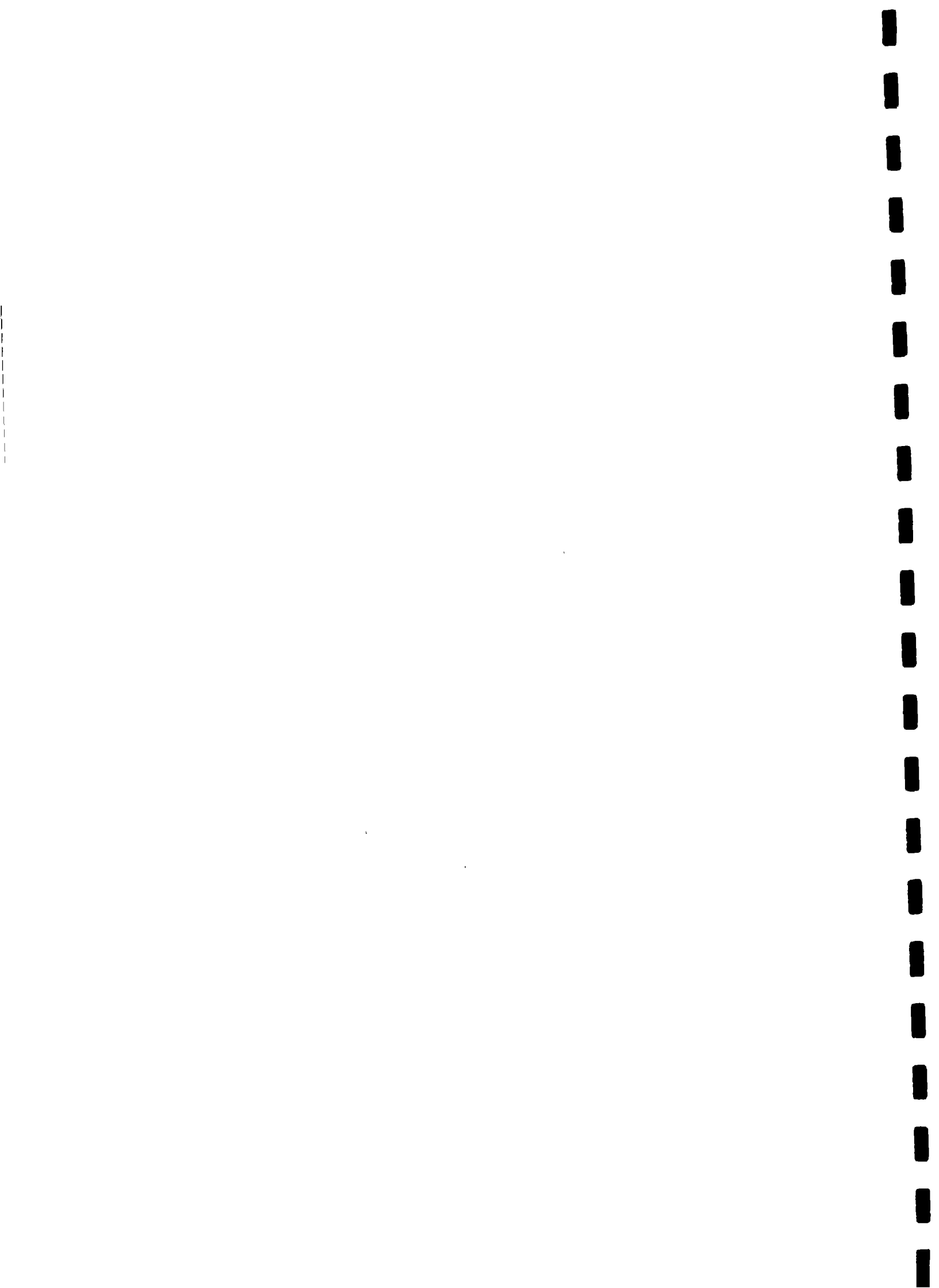
On village-level they invest in prestige, where no direct profit is expected, but only through the quality of social relations created and strengthened in this way.

From the complex social process, where prestige is transformed into influence, political power and wealth, usually only those will profit, who already occupy central positions in the prestige-power structure of the village. Prestige is an item too rare to be shared by all. It is less a property of the village and of individuals but of kinship-groups. Offices, for example, are semi-hereditary, they are invested into families.

Economic exchange beyond the family or the marriage-circle is practiced on a voluntary base, like in nafirs and sual, but these activities again are not aimed at 'the village'. They rather serve to strengthen existing cooperating units, to express 'ethic of generosity' towards neighbours and friends, and to meet the risks of agricultural production, which in the end is the concern of individuals.

This is also true for the various sugar-cooperatives.

Interesting and significant to note: no village studied celebrates a harvest-festival, which, for peasant-communities, is somehow rare.



The social and cultural realities, which cut across the communities, are 'obstacles', when proposals will be made for a mixed economic planning, and for a type of organization for the WADS - village water supply programme, which requires integration of all villagers alike.

#### 4. Loyalty and Decision - Making

The above observations, of course, have nothing to do with 'ignorance', or with missing motivation to care for the welfare of the village. The opposite is true.

The villagers are very rational with respect to the cultural and socio-structural realities, into which they were born.

Most important, villagers are not in the same way individuals like citizens of modern societies pretend to be. In their world-view and life-orientation villagers are bound to their kinship-groups. Here they find support, solidarity, marriage-partners and a ready-made lifepath to proceed on.

Here they have a clear defined status in social life, expressed in kinship terms, which gives them rights and duties. Mainly here exchange takes place and thus strengthening of social bonds: meeting obligations among kinsfolk is a must.

Kinship-groups share most strong common interests and they have no competitors in insisting on loyalty towards its members.

In general: the closer the relationship expressed in terms of kinship in association with common residence and economic cooperation, the greater the need to abide to accepted modes of behaviour, and the greater the demand to accept group-decisions.

Members of kin-groups also share most important religious beliefs, especially beliefs in the power of their ancestor-spirits. These protect them, or punish them, and they function as fixed points through which a certain number of people define themselves as belonging to one group, because they are decedents of a common founding ancestor.

Ancestor-cult is a collective religion of the concerned kin-groups. Its members are not, as it is the case in Islam and the other world-religions, 'alone in front of God'. The ruling code of social ethic is limited to the biggest recognized kin-group (tribe), because it has meaning only with respect to the actual and (at least potentially) 'touchable' social relations. They are organized as kinship-relations and talked about in kinship-terms. There is no allembracing universal love.



Villagers are also muslim, but it is no secret, that the process of islamization, which proceeds in several stages, has been, and is, only in so far successful, that it is capable to conquer prevailing tribal clan-systems, by which the neatly integrated kin-groups into one tribe is meant.

When there is need to emphasize the corporative character of a group (for political reason or for keeping property together), there will also be competition between loyalty towards the own kinsfolk with the corresponding belief in spirits that protect or harm them, and loyalty towards the village and the islamic congregation.

It is argued here, that the 'belief in the own kin-group' can be regarded as the most determining factor for the failure on part of the villagers to act as a strong village-unit. The spatial division of all villages studied reflects that too: kinsmen live in close neighbourhood.

Functioning communication-channels will be found along those lines, where the duty to exchange in general is structured: kinship-relations

Authority is recognized first within the kin-group. For this reason there is some ambiguity when the authority of the village-shaykh is asked for. Of course he has authority, but first he is mediator between competing villagers, who find immediate and unquestioned support among their kinsmen.

The village-shaykh is asked to stand apart from his own kin-group in conflict situations in order to be objective. To express his willingness to function as mediator, he will not hesitate to choose his spouses from another tribe. By doing so he will reduce the physical and psychological distance between competing major tribal segments in a village (and beyond), and thus minimize resentments. Ardeeba gives a good example.

The more integrated kinship-groups of similar size are found in a village (the tribal structure and the spatial pattern of a village give hints to identify them), the more there is need for a formal organization of village-affairs, otherwise the village would fall in pieces, because competition would outweigh common interest and no common channels for exchange and decision-making would exist.

If there is one dominant kin-group found in a village, power will be monopolized and the minor village-segments have to adopt themselves to a situation, which anyway seems unchangable (Milebeeda). Or, like in Waru, the tribes attached to the village, are just not regarded as belonging properly to the community: they are guests and thus strangers.





## 5. Women in Darfurian Villages

Women have not much to say in village-affairs. The facts presented in the previous chapters show that clearly. The only exception is the shaykha; her outstanding abilities as leader and organizer are due to male qualities, with which she gets implemented from men and women alike.

Women do not succeed to build on a relatively independent economic base perspectives on village-level, which are of women's concern only, where they can voice demands in order to get something done.

The domestic and economic labour of women is not valued sufficiently to be reflected in decision-making. The WADS - well was not an idea of the women, and if it was, it only would be a proposal made in the backstage of village-life, i.e. in privacy.

Women in the Sudan are not political personalities. They may function as consultants of their male-kinsfolk in the backstage of village-life, they may be the true specialists and authorities in most questions and decisions made concerning water, but as soon as things turn into politics, where people compete for power, prestige, resources and influence in the public, - and the WADS -village well might be also useful in this game -, the set of rules in question does not include women.

There is not one positive example found, where women formed a representative body where only they are responsible and free to make decisions. Decision-making usually is a men's affair only, even on issues, which are purely women's concern. )

Women have a very limited radius of social interaction. Cultural pressure and socio-structural realities give them no chance to integrate themselves as fully responsible community-members. The only social sphere, where their authority is acknowledged by men (and women) is Health and Water.



#### IV. Recommendations

The WADS - well is a system; it means more than bigger water-quantity and shorter water-journeys.

Decisions have to be made concerning:

- organization of the WADS - village well project on village-level, where all village-segments are represented and asked to take part in decision-making
- financing of the system and its maintenance
- communication and responsibilities towards WADS and the Rural Councils
- participation of all villagers, but especially of women, in a health-programme
- access of women to formal communication-channels and decision-making
- integration of the WADS - system into the perspective for further improvement of the local infrastructure; framework for cooperation, which is subsequently used for other community-projects

To make this operational cannot be ensured by a once made programme, which should fit all variations found among the 'WADS -villages'.

WADS should approach the villagers with realistic proposals, based on an understanding of the basic features of village-organization and financial and cultural resources. However, active village-participation in keeping the system running requires the willingness to cooperate on part of the villagers. This is best guaranteed, when they take active part in working out the WADS -proposals in detail, or change them in a more suitable way together with the extension-workers (consultative process), without questioning that: private interests cannot prevail; those, who are interested to use clean and healthy water in their households, should have the chance to get it.

The details of the WADS - V.W.S.P. concerning operation and maintenance of the implemented I.W.S.S. should become part of a 'maintenance-contract', which will get signed by the villagers simultaneously with the proper 'contract for construction of a dug well'.



## 1. Organization

All villagers should be actively involved. But 'all villagers' form separate communities in the sense of common identity and common interest. Whereas cooperation may be more easily achieved within each of these, any cooperation between them will be based on a clear calculation of advantage made separately by each group.

Within kin-groups villagers get informed, influence the course of discussions and make up their mind through the usage of informal communication-channels. This counts especially for women, who have limited access to the public sphere.

The selected members of the Village Water Committee and the Village Health Committee, which could be the two formal bodies where tasks and responsibilities are clearly defined and balanced, will represent the opinions and decisions worked out within these sub-units of the village.

The representatives should also be responsible towards the V.W.C. for financial matters and for labour-provision, which the various village-segments have to care for.

For the mode of selection of committee-members the size of the groups concerned has to be recognized, otherwise it would be judged as a challenge by the villagers against the local power-structure as it exists.

In Ardeeba, for example, where 68 % of the population are Fur, it would not be understood if their numerical strength would not be reflected in the composition of the committee.

Proposed organizational structure:

Village Water Committee

Village Health Committee

Two Caretakers

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1111111111

### 1.1. Village Water Committee

Before the members of the V.W.C. are elected or appointed, the villagers, especially the village-authorities and the promoters of village-activities, should get informed about the qualifications needed and the tasks, which have to be performed in this committee.

There is need of

- a secretary, who keeps records about activities concerning the WADS - village well, like preventive and corrective maintenance, health-improvement activities, minutes of meetings
- a treasurer for book-keeping
- a chairman, who is leading the meetings and who reports to WADS, the Rural Council and the Ministry of Health
- a representative of the V.H.C., to give expression to the direct relation between maintenance-tasks and health, and to ensure that through reports WADS remains informed about the progress in health and hygiene.

To these four members with well defined tasks any number of assistants, or just members, can be added, responsible for organizing maintenance-activities like building or repairing a fence, cleaning the well-site, cleaning the village, provision for a rhakooba for the caretakers, etc.

The actual number of V.W.C. - members depends on the structural patterns of the village concerned.

Meetings should be held periodically (every two months at least), and the caretakers should be consulted before, but even better during a common meeting at the well-site.

### 1.2. Village Health Committee

A functioning V.H.C. is essential for project-success, and in the reports made by the V.W.C. to WADS and to the governmental officials it should be asked for about its progress.

Local women-doctors or the shayha herself would be the right persons to represent the V.H.C. in the men-dominated V.W.C.,





where they will do proposals about how and where men can make relevant contributions to hygiene and about any matter concerning the well-site.

A modern water-supply should not take 'water' out of the women's into the men's sphere. This would lead to a decline of motivation to cooperate on part of the women.

Health, hygiene and sanitation are personal matters, and over all household-matters. Only women can take over the task to propagate health and change in behaviour-patterns in an informal and easy atmosphere. Neighbourhood discussions in selected compounds can be a useful supplement to village meetings in order to reach those who rarely attend them.

At least two women from each village sub-unit should form the V.H.C., which holds meetings and makes decisions concerning the health-programme separate from the V.W.C.

But a constructive push towards health-consciousness may also come from other sides:

- Individuals or groups as promoters are essential to get things moved. Key-persons in the village, like local doctors, midwives, schoolteacher, imam and the shaykh/a or any active villager should be approached separately. Villagers listen to them and accept their authority. If they are convinced, an important step has been made towards cooperation by all villagers.
- Health-programmes cannot be done overnight, they have to be planned in longer terms and changed with the time, according to the feed-back received, - if one insists on positive results.

WADS cannot do that on its own due to bottlenecks of logistics and human resources. Experiences are made in health-education and several agencies are active. They could be contacted for discussions and possibly for joint steps in implementing a Health-Programme.

- Community-Health-workers (C.H.W.) could emphasize 'better health through safe water'. They could function as adviser for the villagers with regard to hygiene, and they could keep an eye on the proper functioning of the village-well.

But not all CHW are active.



- Lectures could be given about 'Water and Health' in the seminar, where C.H.W. are trained.
- For Radio Nyala: transmission about 'Water and Health'.
- Possibilities should get checked to rely on an already existing Health-Infrastructure with respect to Village-Selection for the WADS-V.W.S.P.

### 1.3. Caretakers

Two caretakers should be appointed during a village-meeting, after the V.W.C. made clear the need for them and their tasks to all villagers. If women or any other villagers are not present, it should be organized through house-visits, so that all know about it.

In a second meeting a generally accepted agreement about the compensation of caretakers should be reached. This will be most probably in cash, but other forms of compensation are possible, like provision of an agricultural plot at the well-site

Only the villagers themselves can decide about this matter.

The caretakers should inform the V.W.C. about incidents at the well-site, which jeopardize maintenance. A checklist could be designed to facilitate this task, and regular meetings at the well-site with the V.W.C., at least once before every meeting, should be held.

The caretakers should be trained during construction of the well in order to be sufficiently skilled to repair breaks in the slap and the tank, or a windlass.



## 2. Financing

In general, it is said, that at least 5% (at most 10 %) of a person's cash income can be regarded as available for domestic water. (11)

In the villages studied we would get the following figures (whereby only the main income source -agriculture- has been considered):

Milebeeda .....	13400 L.S.	
Ardeeba .....	27900 L.S.	
Teigi .....	15570 L.S.	
plus 7 participating villages .....	108990 L.S.	per year

Compared with the data received from the villagers when asked about: how much would you spend for clean and healthy water? (see chapter II), these figures seem to be much more realistic.

The problem is not that the revenue-base of the villagers is too low, but rather how to realize the economic potential for a village-project.

Financing of the WADS - village well project is not so much an economic than a social problem.

It is not by accident that villages do not have a significant history in collecting huge amounts of money, even if they could. And: the Rural Council is not emphasizing on that. For money-collections a permission is required from governmental authorities; when the proposed amount is reached, the villagers have to stop. Self-initiative is blocked in this way.

It is expected, that regular money-collection for something, which may not yet be recognized as benefit, will fail. It is quite a job to look after tiny amounts of money, which villagers 'forgot' to pay. And who will do that nasty job, where nothing is to win?

Money-collection on household-level also is not advisable. This practice could turn out to become an additional burden for women.

Money-collection in advance for covering estimated maintenance-costs may hinder future collections and may lead to a decline in the awareness, that maintenance and health are something to be cared for and to be worked on continuously.



The approx. amount of money for maintenance per year and per well with a windlass will be:

- material, travel costs, reporting costs	..... 200 L.S.
- payment of two caretakers	..... 4800 L.S.
	<hr/>
	5000 L.S.

The proposals to be made for financing should provide the villagers with a bigger amount of money than the figure mentioned above, because the surplus can be invested into a profitable village-project. In this way indirectly the village-well will profit from a recognized benefit. But it should be checked, if payment of maintenance-costs does not get disconnected from profitable economic activities and thus forgotten: book-keeping and reports by the V.W.C. towards WADS and the Rural Councils.

Two proposals get made, but only the villagers themselves will know what kind of profitable community-project fit the local circumstances best:

- 1 - Cultivation of two village-fields, one for men and one for women : Health for Work.

The profit should be booked separately and the women will have something to say about what to do with it.

Labour-provision should be organized from the sub-units of a village through their representatives in the V.W.C. and the V.H.C..

If something goes wrong, individuals will not get blamed first but groups, which are not able to actualize loyalty among their kinsmen concerning the welfare of the village.

Not among individuals but among groups politics is made, and if a group lacks behind in something agreed upon, the group will loose prestige and respect and therefore influence and power.

It is proposed, that women cultivate at most half the size of land men do.

If several villages cooperate, or even the whole village-council life in Teigi, a more than sufficient cash-income for covering the maintenance-costs can be expected.





Example: Milebeeda                      men -        3 mukhames (1.62 ha)  
   women -        1 mukhames (0.54 ha)

Market-price for 1000 rotel of o'hra (=1 mukhames): 1650 L.S.

This will provide the villagers with a community-fund of approx. 6000 L.S. per year.

Example: Village Council Teigi ( 8 villages):  
approx. 52000 L.S. per year.

It is also expected, that villagers, who work with their own hands for a community-project will be more motivated to participate in this projects, than if they would only be asked to contribute with cash.

In case of crop-failure the Rural Council could offer compensation.

2 - Fund-raising in occasion of the four main festivals celebrated.

A base amount for each adult ( for example men: 1.50 L.S.; women: 0.50 L.S.) could be fixed and collected in each village-segment from men and women separately. The money should also be booked separately. Larger households, and thus usually richer households, will pay proportionally more in this way.

Again the example of Milebeeda:

200 adult men : 300 L.S.  
200 adult women: 100 L.S.  
-----  
400 L.S. X 4 =1600 L.S.  
per year.

Money should be kept on a bank-account with at least two signatories.

If the whole system shifts towards the Village Council, which is regarded as a preferable solution, the administration-committee will be added to the segmentary pattern of the project-organization.



### 3. The Rural Council

It is necessary to cooperate with the Rural Councils at least, if not with higher administrative units. These authorities plan on Village-Council level, there is no other recognized administrative unit on a lower level.

If several villages in one Village-Council apply for two or three wells, this should not be neglected (as it is done up to now) from the point of view of maintenance:

- it will be easier to ask the Rural Council for a community health worker or a schoolteacher when a whole Village Council as a pressure group is active.

And: it is the policy of the Rural Council to supply Village Councils with further facilities when the village water supply is ensured.

- the financing of construction and maintenance costs will be more easy to solve.
- on Village Council level there is no escape from a formal organizational pattern, which is regarded as more effective for 'active village participation'.

If self-help is suggested, the Rural Councils should give optimistic signs towards those Village-Councils or Villages, which are active in that. They should be given priority concerning improvement of the local infrastructure.

Financial support for a community-fund, which serves to match the maintenance-costs of the WADS-village well, and which serves to establish profitable community-projects, would be an adequate response from the Rural Councils towards the villagers' self-help initiatives.

If the Rural Councils offer to pay caretakers and maintenance costs directly, an unfortunate cut would be made into the communication-line between villagers, V.W.C., V.H.C. and the caretakers. They form one integrated system, where tasks and responsibilities are distributed and balanced for a common aim: to ensure the village water supply and to arrive at a higher standard of health for all villagers.



The caretakers supervise and will be supervised mainly by the women at the well-site. They are paid by the villagers and the social pressure will put the caretakers up to do their job well. If the Rural Council takes these costs over, loyalty gets divided. A delay in payment for example would bring unnecessary trouble at the well-site.

Also, the physical and the psychological distance between the villagers and their Rural Council is regarded as too far to ensure common interest and quick action concerning the caretakers tasks and responsibilities.

But: it would not be understood, neither from the villagers nor from the Rural Councils, if WADS would try to bypass the offers made by the Rural Council as for example. Principally it is positive to see governmental offices active in providing facilities to their villagers. Further discussions in order to define common and divergent interests are necessary.



#### 4. Proposals for further Studies

- a - As soon as a new Rural Council is selected for implementing WADS-wells, short surveys in few villages will provide data about differences and similarities in social structure and cultural patterns between these villages and those studied in the Rural Council has.
- b - When 'active village participation' meets obstacles, the V.P.S. should immediately become active and find out the reasons: short field trips, informal interviews with villagers selected at random, meetings with the V.W.C., the V.H.C., the caretakers and key persons of the village. The information collected should be discussed for possible changes in the maintenance-approach; it should be recorded and filed as well.
- c - The extension-workers should be encouraged to do small researches by themselves, to evaluate the data collected and to present the results to the V.P.S. This type of training is essential for the aim to make the extension-workers independent from their adviser.

Suggestions:

- evaluation of the first experiences made with the WADS maintenance programme
- the village: competition and unity
- villagers view of health and disease
- study of selected literature about village water supply and extension work

- d - Together with the Ministry of Health and MSF a study in rural health-conditions and in constraints for change in behaviour patterns in respect to hygiene is advised. A mechanistic and paternalistic approach cannot lead to success but just would reflect an inability to make ourselves understood, the lack of a common language and over all of motivation.
- e - Follow-up studies:  
After a WADS village well has been constructed, WADS needs data about how the introduced system actually works out. This should be a comparative study, e.g. differences in socio-structural characteristics of the various 'WADS-villages' and differences in the design of the side-contract, in which maintenance responsibilities on part of the villagers and on





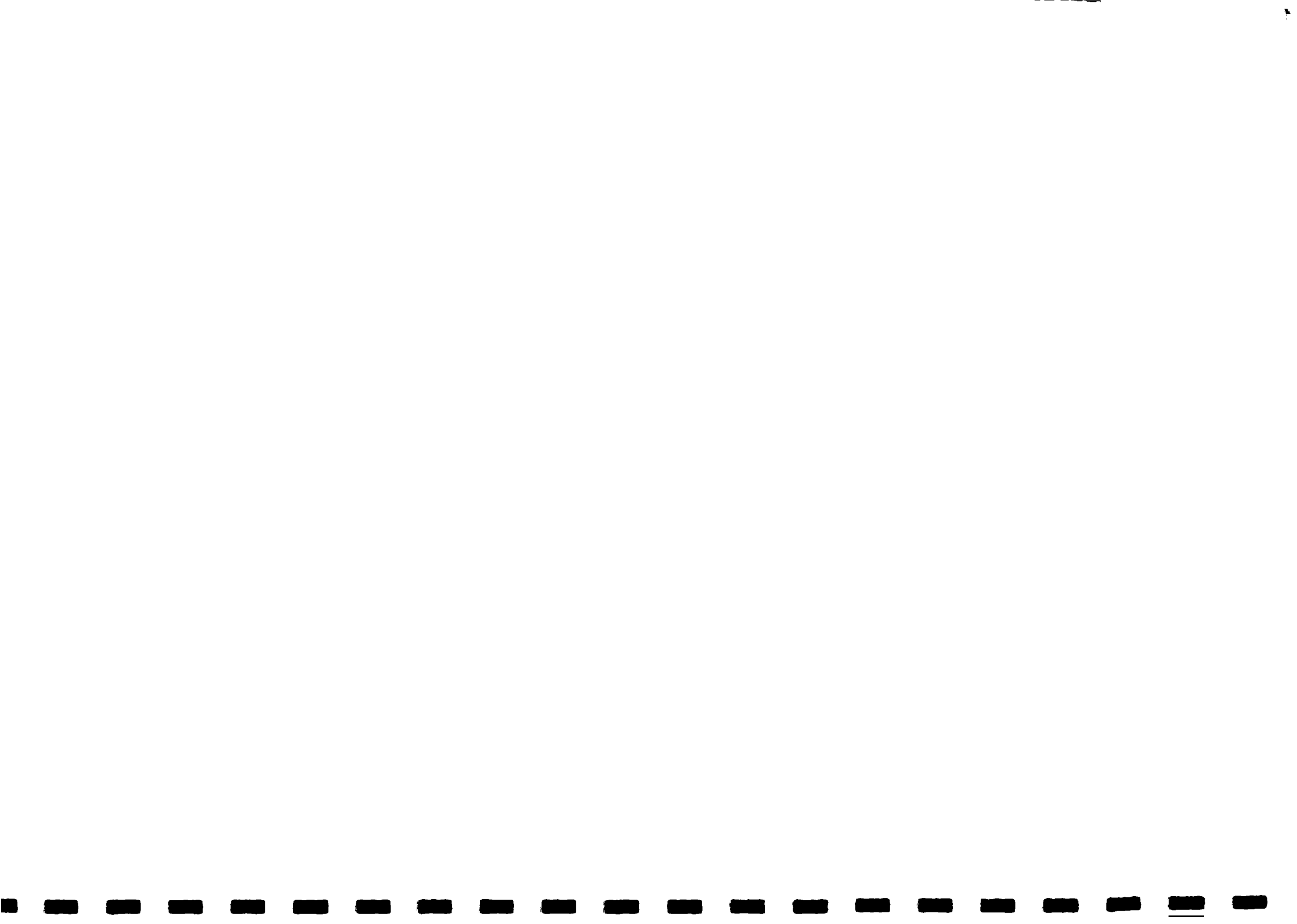
part of WADS will be specified during a consultative process, should be considered as relevant for the evaluation of the first experiences with respect to operation and maintenance of the WADS village wells.

These surveys can be done at any time and more than one time after the construction of the well has been completed. But during the rainy season follow-up studies are of special importance, because the villagers have a wider spectrum of choices with respect to available water sources.



Footnotes:

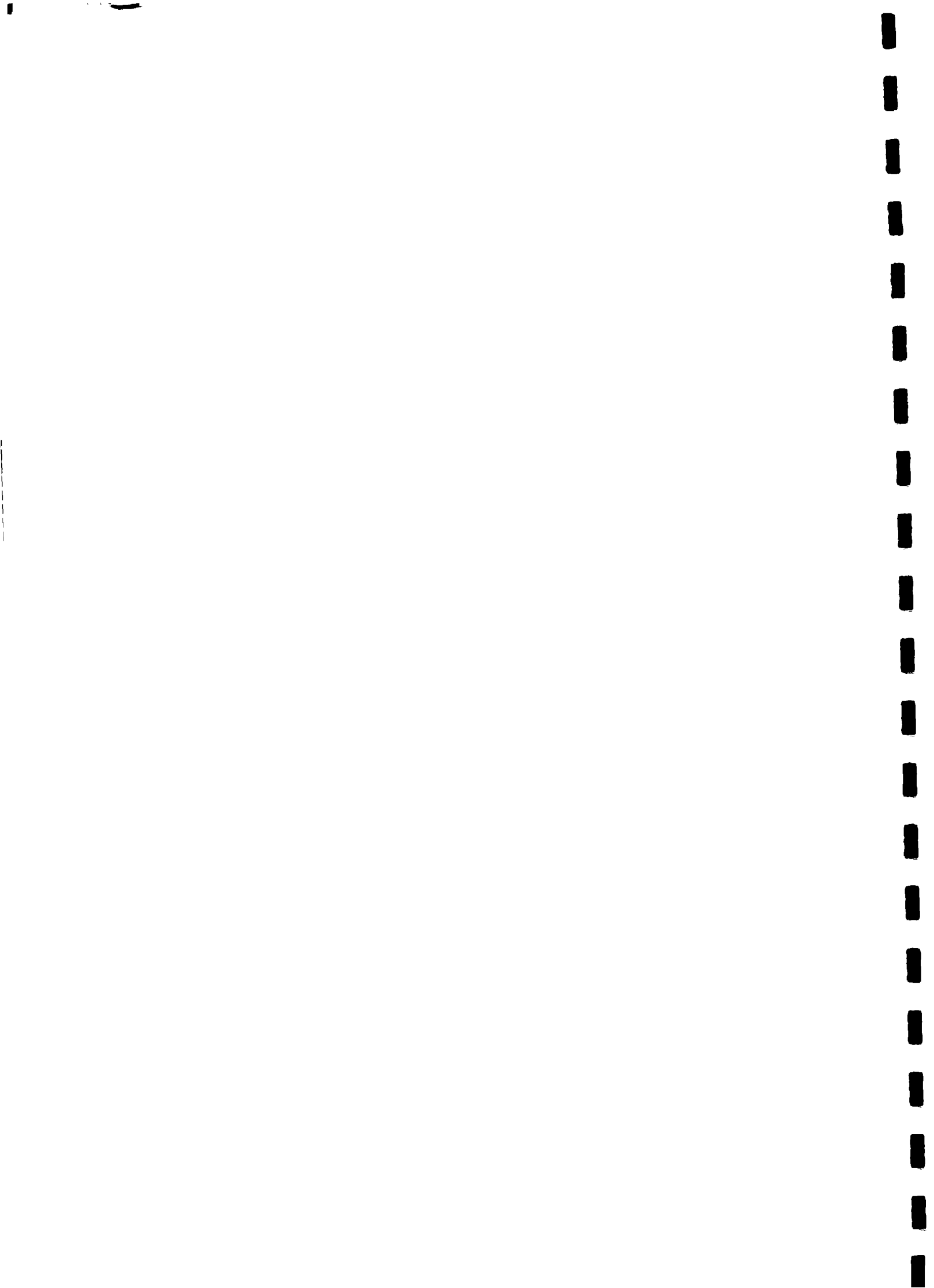
1. T.Bastemeijer/J.T.Visscher, 'Maintenance Systems for Rural Water Supply'  
In: Occasional Paper Series, p. 6-10  
IRC Water- and Sanitation Centre, The Hague, Dec. 1986
2. C. van Wijk-Sijbesma, 'Participation and Education in Community Water Supply and Sanitation Programmes'  
In: Technical Paper Series 12, The Hague 1984
3. L.H.Spey, Summary of 'WADS-Mission Report, 14.3.1986-4.4.1986', Sept. 1986  
"The step to irrigated agriculture even on a small scale is still utopic."
4. Figures received from MSF-Belgium, Nyala.
5. Figures are based on own findings and on data received from MSF-Belgium (Nyala) and the MDH.
6. E.g. 'hajabbs' are little leather bags carried around the neck or on the arm, in which a well selected natural object like a stone or a piece of wood are enclosed, or a "charm" from the Qur'an, which a fa'kir writes down on a piece of paper. This should ensure that no harm is done to the person, including sickness.  
Hajabbs function also against evil-eye, which, from a sociological point of view, originate in competition and jealousy, for example among women.  
If one woman has no children and her co-wife has five, this gives enough reason to fear witchcraft and evil-eye.  
No woman in this situation would admit how jealous she is, because the ruling ethical code of village life strongly forbids this. But still, the value of a woman is measured in her 'productivity' as a mother, and the social disapproval of not having children is felt and reacted on,- possibly with witchcraft and evil-eye against the children of others.
7. Further on the water-journey and the storage of water are of equal importance.
8. To have more than one wife is permitted by the Qur'an, but for 'good muslims' hardly acceptable.
9. Agriculturalists usually speak in terms of "feddan", but villagers in South Darfur do not,- they use "mul hames".  
1 m = 1.25 f = 0.54 ha  
1 f = 0.80 m = 0.432 ha



10. At least once a year villagers have to repair or rebuild their traditional water-sources, which still do not provide sufficient water during the dry season.

The waiting time at the well-site is often more than two hours, and the 'water-journey' for some villagers again superates two hours during the dry season.

11. Dr. A. White, 'Community Participation in Water and Sanitation'. Technical Paper Series 17, The Hague 1981



A N N E X   A

Questionnaire for key - Informants





VILLAGE - SURVEY

Questionnaire for Key - Informants

Date of survey:

Name of village  
Village Council  
Rural Council  
Name of Sheikha  
Name (s) of Sheikha(s)

Infrastructure:  school  
 mosque  
 school (primary)  
 school (secondary)  
 grainmill  
 dispensary  
 cooperatives  
 others  
if not, note distance and village at which they  
are located.

- 1) What is the population-size of the village?
  - a) number of inhabitants
  - b) number of households
  
- 2) Are there different tribal groups living in the village?
  - a)  yes  no
  - b) if yes, to what tribe do they belong to?
  
  - c) what is their size
  
- 3) What are the different religious groups (tarigae) living in the villages?
  - a) tarigae
  - b) size
  
- 4) What are the different languages spoken in the village?
  - a) languages
  
  - b) what language is understood by all villagers?



5) What are the migration-and mobility patterns of the village?

- a) permanent immigration
- b) permanent emigration
- c) how many villagers do leave the village for work etc. and later on come back (months, years.)?
- d) Does it happen that households settle down and later on (months, years) leave the village again? (consider last 3 years! List approx. number of households!)

6) What is the tendency?

- a) popul.increase
- b) popul.decrease
- c) no change

7) If the population increases, which factors do influence it?

8) If the population decreases, which factors are responsible?

9) Do nomads-groups live in the surrounding of the village?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, what tribe do they belong to?
- c) how many people are they?
- d) type and number of livestock?
- e) at what time in the year do they arrive?
- f) at what time in the year do they leave?
- g) did the villagers already decide how to behave, when the nomads ask to use the village-well?

10) Does the village carry out or has carried out collective work activities (nafair)?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, of what type are they or have they been?
- c) do you have special periods of the year to carry out nafairs? Please specify!



11) How is the work organized?

a) who is taking part in:            men        women        children  
-----                                    ---            ---            ---  
-----                                    ---            ---            ---  
-----                                    ---            ---            ---

b) do men, women and children take part with equal time?

yes                     no       

c) if not, please specify:

12) What measures are taken when somebody doesn't show up for work?

a) against men

b) against women

13) Who is deciding about what measures should be taken?

in case of	<input type="radio"/>	1) all adults	<input type="radio"/>	in case of
women	<input type="radio"/>	2) only men	<input type="radio"/>	men
	<input type="radio"/>	3) health	<input type="radio"/>	
	<input type="radio"/>	4) health	<input type="radio"/>	
	<input type="radio"/>	5) only women	<input type="radio"/>	
	<input type="radio"/>	6) others	<input type="radio"/>	

14) Does the village have a history of community-financed projects?

a)  yes                     no       

b) if yes, of what type have they been?

14) c) how did they get financed?

15) Do villagers establish a village-committee for this purpose?

a)  yes                     no       

b) if yes, does it get established for each occasion anew?

yes         no

c) do the committee-members get

1) elected (by whom)  
 2) appointed (by whom)  
 3) other ways of selection

16) What abilities should committee-members have?









24) When it is necessary to meet officials in the Rural Council Hqs., or in Nyala for example,-

a) who will decide what persons should take over this task?

b) what qualification are these persons expected to have?

c) do they get compensation for their work done?

yes  no

d) how do they get compensated?

25) Beside the village-well, are you in need of other village-facilities?

a)  yes  no

b) when yes, which ones?

26) Did the villagers discuss about an alternative to the village-well?

a)  yes  no

b) when yes, why did you reject it in favour of the well?

c) how many villagers voted for the well, and how many for the ..... (alternative (s))?  
note approx. %

27) Do men have any task or responsibility concerning water?

a)  Yes  no

b) if yes, which one (s)?

28) When does a young man start to possess own property?  
note age and occasions!

29) When does a young woman start to possess own property?  
Note age and occasions!

30) When was the last time that villagers collected money for village-activities or village-projects?

a) note year:

b) what for did you spend the money?

c) how much did you collect?



31) For what other community activities did the villagers collect money?  
a) occasions:

b) how much did they collect?

32) In which way did the villagers collect the money?

- a) equal share for each household
- b) all adults give same amount of money
- c) everybody gives as much as he/she wants
- d) others

33) Do you practice other ways to collect money?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, of what type are they?

c) in which occasions did you practice them?

34) Is there a treasurer in the village?

- a)  yes  no

b) if yes, who is the treasurer?  
note status, sex, or other characteristics!

c) if not, who usually is responsible for community-funds?

35) Did the villagers already make a decision how to compensate the village-well caretakers?

- a)  yes  no

b) if yes, what is the decision?

36) Are women more active in money-collection or men?

- a)  women  men

b) why?



37) What are the main-sources of revenue for the villagers?

- cash crops \_\_\_\_\_
- subsistence crops \_\_\_\_\_
- livestock \_\_\_\_\_
- artisans \_\_\_\_\_
- merchants \_\_\_\_\_
- labourers \_\_\_\_\_
- salaried employees \_\_\_\_\_

please specify!

38) Do villagers who live and work outside the village contribute in cash for village-affairs?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, how many approximately?

39) At what time in the year do most marriages take place?

40) Do all villagers together make a harvest-fest?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if not, why?
- c) if yes, when does it take place?

41) Do you celebrate other village-feasts?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, of what kind are they
- c) when do they take place?

42) For grazing the cattles, etc., how far do villagers move away from the village?

- a) dry season :
- b) wet season :

43) How much livestock does the whole village approx. own?

- cattle \_\_\_\_\_
- sheep \_\_\_\_\_
- goats \_\_\_\_\_
- camels \_\_\_\_\_
- horses \_\_\_\_\_
- donkeys \_\_\_\_\_



A N N E X B

Household - Questionnaire for Women





HOUSEHOLD - Survey

Questionnaire for women only

Date:

Villages:

Head of household: man  women  age:  
informant: note how related to head of household in  
kinship-term!  
age.

1) How many people live or sleep in this household?  
note age and relationship of all adults to head of household  
in kinship-terms!

1.  men

- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

1.  women  
& number of children

- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

2) Is someone from your household temporary, living and working outside  
the village?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, how many persons?

3) Since how long have you lived in this village?

4) Why did you move here?

5) What tribe do you belong to?

6) What tariga ( or other religious group ) do you belong to?

7) Who is making the decisions in this household?  
note relationship of informant to this person in kinship-term!

8) How have you been related to your husband before marriage?  
note in kinship-term!



9) With what persons do you share expenses and income in:

- a) marriages
  - b) hospitality given
  - c) gains and loss in livestock-keeping
  - d) gains and loss in agricultural activities
  - e) circumcision of your children
- note in kinship-terms!

10) Are you related to your neighbours by kinship?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, please specify:

11) Do you use different water-sources?

Please name them:

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. \_\_\_\_\_

12) For what reason do you use different-sources?

13) Who is choosing the different water-sources?

14) Do you discuss with other women about choosing different water sources?

- a)  yes  no

15.1.) a) Why do you use this source (1.source)?

15.1.) b) Are there any advantages about using this source?

c) Are there any problems or disadvantages about using this source?

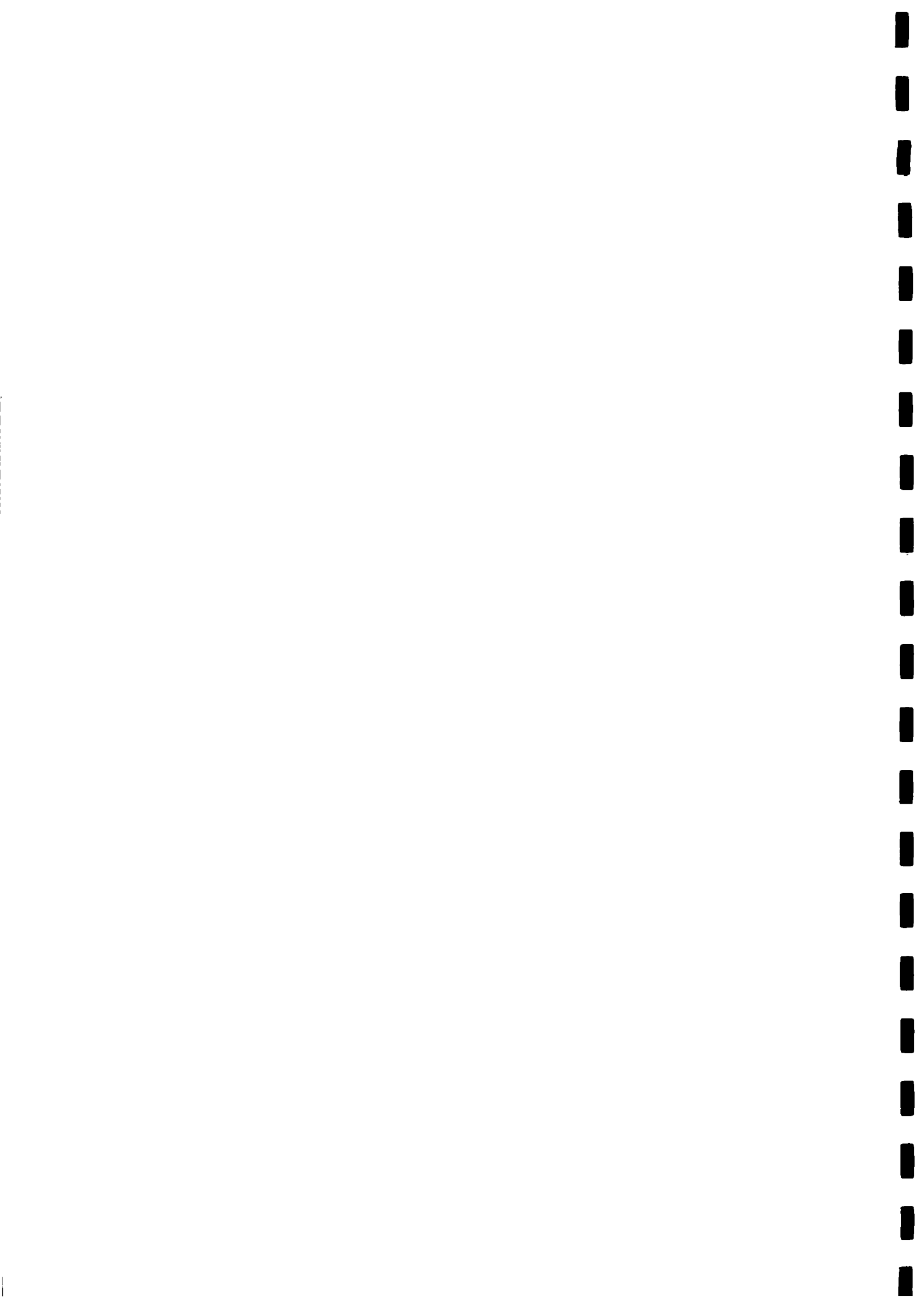
d) What for do you use the water from this source?

15.2) a) Why do you use this source ( 2.source)?

b)

c)

d)



15.3.) a) Why do you use this source (3.source)?

b)

c)

d)

15.4.) a) Why do you use this source (4.source)?

b)

c)

d)

16.) Please describe how do you recognize if water is:

a) good

b) medium

c) not good

d) very bad

17.) Who usually in your household collects water?

a)

b) if a child collects water, is it a

girl

age:

boy

age:

18.) When there are many water-sources, like in the rainy-season, which source or sources do you choose?

a) please describe:

b) why

19.) What should water be like to be good for drinking?

20.) Do you know any way how to clean water?



21) What do you know about the village-well project?

22) Did you speak with your household-members about having a village-well?

- a)  yes  no
- b) did you meet other women to talk about having a village-well?
- c) did you agree with other women?
- easily  not easily  disagree

23) Did you talk with your husband about having a village-well?

- a)  yes  no
- b) did you agree with him?  yes  no

24) Did you take part in the decision for the village-well?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, in which way?

25) Who benefits more from the village well, men or women?

- a)  men  women
- b) why

26) Who contributed to the cost of the well:

- a) all adults of the household sperate
- b) the household as one person
- c) women contribute more than men
- d) men contribute more than women

27) Are you satisfied with the choice of the well-site?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if not, why:

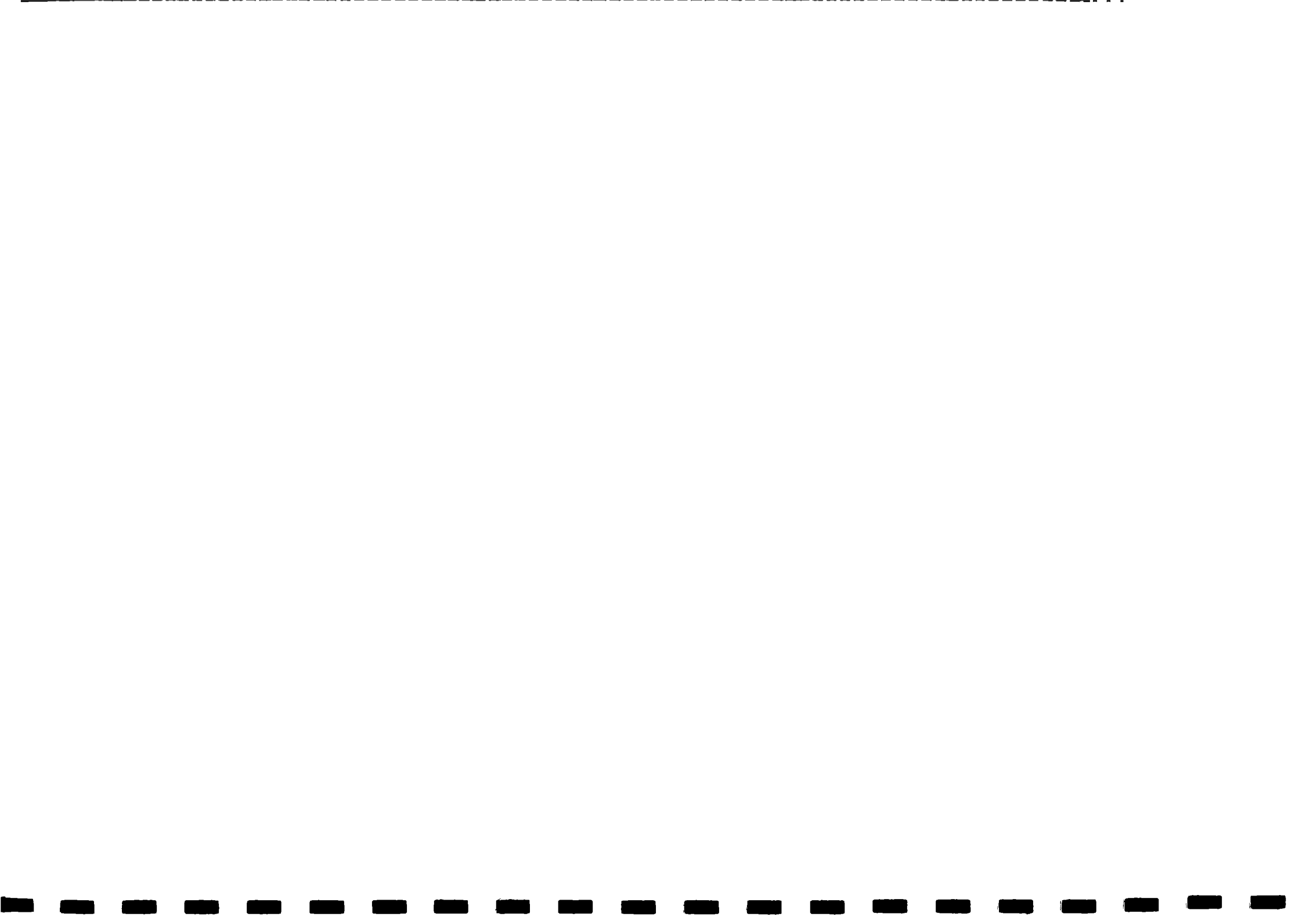
28) What advantages do you expect from a new-built village-well?

29) Do you see any disadvantages?









39) How important are such opportunities for you?

- a) very important
- b) somewhat important
- c) not important

40) Do women or men know more about

	men	women
a) health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b) agriculture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c) religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d) water	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e) education of children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f) politics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g) organizing money-collection	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h) organizing village-feast	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i) livestock	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

41) Of all activities that you normally do, which one do you consider the easiest, second easiest, etc.....

- a) 1. \_\_\_\_\_ 5. \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_ 6. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_ 7. \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. \_\_\_\_\_ 8. \_\_\_\_\_

b) the most difficult?

42) Which activity do you enjoy most?

43) Which one less?

44) Of all activities that women do, which one do you think are the most valued and appreciated by men?

a) please describe:

b) why?

45) And the less appreciated ones?

a) please describe:

b) why?



46) Do you have with all your work time to rest?

- a) much
- b) just enough
- c) not enough
- d) not at all

47) If you had more leisure-time, what would you most like to do?

48) Who do you think has more leisure-time, men or women?

- men  women

49) Do you usually participate in village-meetings?

- a)  yes  no
- b) why?

50) If you want to propose the purchase of a grain-mill for example to the villagers, how do you make public your proposal?

- a) you talk about with other women
- b) you go to the sheikha
- c) you ask to your husband to propose to the villagers
- d) you ask for village-meeting
- e) you go to the sheikh
- f) others

51) What people do you appreciate most?

- |  | 1.<br><u>very much</u> | 2.<br><u>much</u>     | 3.<br><u>not so much</u> |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| a) people who offer more hospitality than others   | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |
| b) rich people                                     | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |
| c) people who belong to a big family               | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |
| d) persons who have been for hajj                  | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |
| e) people who enjoy their leisure                  | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |
| f) persons who work for the government             | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |
| g) persons who work for the welfare of the village | <input type="radio"/>  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/>    |



52) What are the people in the village who have the saying?

	very much	much - not so much	not much
a) sheikhs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) merchants	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) imam	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) big livestock-owners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) sheikhs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) big landlords	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) local doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) school-teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

53) What persons in your household pay for:

a) school/education	-----
b) medicine	-----
c) taxes	-----
d) clothes for children	-----
e) sugar/tea	-----
f) midwife	-----
g) millet/sorghum	-----

54) For what would you spend money first?

- a)  health station     Hajj     marriage of your sons  
 b)  clean water     karama     to build a brick-house

55) Do you have your own source of income, separate from your husband?

- a)  yes     no      
 b) What is the main-source?  
 c) the second?  
 d) the third?

56) Do you have your own field?

- a)  yes     no      
 b) what and how much do you cultivate?

crop	number of mu/homes
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----

57) With what other people do you organize and actually do the work in your fields?

- a) Are they relatives of you?     yes     no      
 b) Please specify kinship-relation!





58) How much of your harvest is used for subsistence (consumption)?

<u>crops</u>	<u>amount</u>
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----

59) How much of your harvest is used for cash earning?

<u>crops</u>	<u>amount</u>
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----

60) At what time in the year do you have more cash?

61) Can your husband ask for money you earn?

- a)  yes  no
- b) Does he actually ask for money earned?  
 yes  no
- c) Do you give it to him?  
 yes  no  sometimes

62) Have you been for hajj?  yes  no

63) How much livestock is owned by you?

cattle	camels
sheep	horses
goats	donkeys

64) If you would earn more money from your own activities, would your husband give you less money for the household?  
 yes  no

65) If you need a tool back from a man in the village who borrowed it from you, and who is not a relative of you, how do you, or would you behave?

- a) your husband will get it for you
- b) you go and take it by yourself
- c) you ask the wife of this man for the tool
- d) you send your children
- e) you send other male-relatives of your household



66) Would you like to take active part in a villagers committee?

a)  yes  no

b) Why?

67) What is the maximum amount of money you would pay for clean and healthy water?

a) per day \_\_\_\_\_

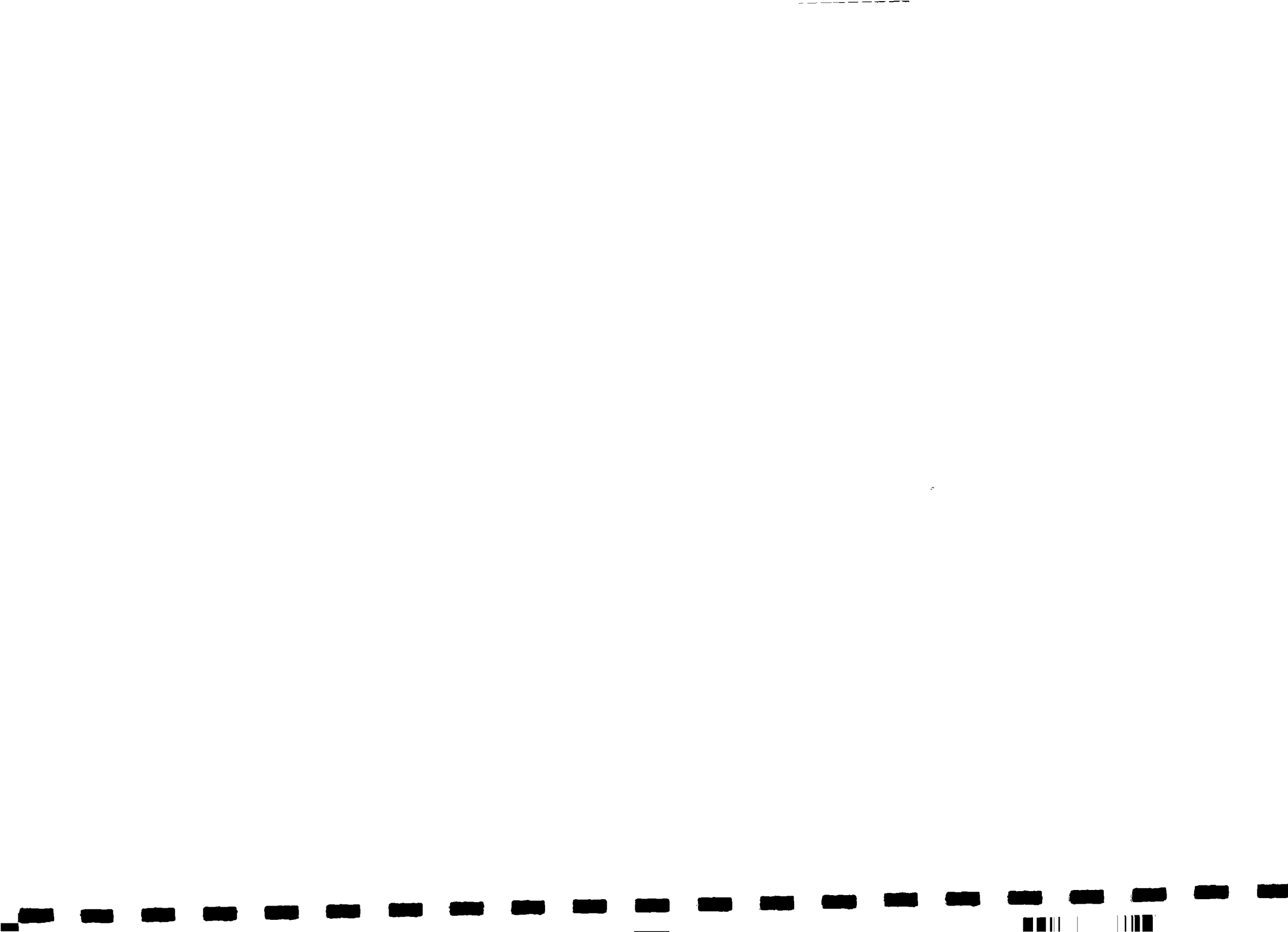
b) per year \_\_\_\_\_

68)  literate  illiterate



A N N E X C

Household - Questionnaire for Men



HOUSEHOLD - SURVEY

Questionnaire for men only

Date:

Village:

Head of household: man  woman  age:

informant: note how related to head of household in

kinship-term!

age:

1) How many people live or sleep in this household?  
note age and relationship of all adults to head of household  
in kinship-term!

- 1. men
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

- 1. women
- 2.
- 3. & number of children
- 4.
- 5.

2) Is someone from your household temporarily living and working  
outside the village?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, how many persons?

3) Since how long have you lived in this village?

4) Why did you move here?

5) What tribe do you belong to?

6) What tariga ( or other religious group) do you belong to?

7) Who is making the decisions in this household?

note relationship of informant to this person in kinship term!

8) How have you been related to your wife before marriage?

note in kinship-term!





9) With what persons do you share expenses and income in:

- a) marriage for your children
- b) hospitality given
- c) gains and loss in livestock-keeping
- d) gains and loss in agricultural activities
- e) circumcision of your children  
note in kinship-terms!

10) Are you related to your neighbours by kinship?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, please specify

16) Please describe how do you recognize if water is:

- a) good
- b) medium
- c) not good
- d) very bad

17) Who usually in your household collects water?

- a)
- b) if a child collects water, is it a
  - girl age:
  - boy age:

19) What should water be like to be good for drinking?

20) Do you know any way how to clean water?

21) What do you know about the village-well project?

22) Did you speak with your household-members about having a village-well?

- yes  no

23) Did you talk with your wife about having a village-well?

- a)  yes  no
- b) if yes, did you agree with her?  yes  no



- 24) Did you take part in the decision for the village-well?  
 a)  yes  no   
 b) if yes, in which way?
- 25) Who benefits more from the village-well, men or women?  
 a)  men  women   
 b) Why?
- 26) Who contributed to the cost of the well?  
 a) all adults of the household separate  
 b) the household as one person  
 c) women contributed more than men  
 d) men contributed more than women
- 27) Are you satisfied with the choice of the well-site?  
 a)  yes  no   
 b) if not, why?
- 28) What advantages do you expect from the new-built village-well?
- 29) Do you see any disadvantages?
- 30) Did you vote for the well, or for the .....(alternative)?  
 see village-survey!
- 31) Do you think that there is a difference between men and women  
 in their ability to solve problems?  
 a)  yes  no   
 b) if yes, who is more able?  men  women   
 c) Why?
- 32) Who is more able to cooperate and work together in a group,  
 men or women?  
 a)  men  women   
 b) Why?
- 33) Who are better leaders, men or women?  
 a)  men  women   
 b) Why?



- 35) Is there any woman in the village you would consider a leader?<sup>2</sup>  
 a)  yes  no   
 b) is she respected from men and women alike?<sup>2</sup>  
 yes  no   
 c) what qualities does she have that other women don't have?<sup>2</sup>

36) What kind of things or activities bring respect to a man, or make other people respect him?<sup>2</sup>

37) What has a man to avoid to remain respected?<sup>2</sup>

40) Do men or women know more about

	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
a) health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b) agriculture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c) religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d) water	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e) education of children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f) politics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g) organizing money-collection	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h) organizing village-feasts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i) livestock	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

41) Of all activities that you normally do, which one do you consider the easiest, second easiest, etc....

- a) 1. \_\_\_\_\_ 5. \_\_\_\_\_  
 2. \_\_\_\_\_ 6. \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. \_\_\_\_\_ 7. \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. \_\_\_\_\_ 8. \_\_\_\_\_

b) the most difficult?<sup>2</sup>

42) Which activity do you enjoy most?<sup>2</sup>

43) Which one best?<sup>2</sup>

44) Of all activities that men do, which one do you think are the most valued and appreciated by women?<sup>2</sup>

a) please describe:

b) why?<sup>2</sup>



- 45) And the less appreciated ones?  
 a) please describe  
 b) why?
- 46) Do you have with all your work time to rest?  
 a) much   
 b) just enough   
 c) not enough   
 d) not at all
- 47) If you had more leisure-time, what would you most like to do?
- 48) Whom do you think has more leisure-time, men or women?  
 men  women
- 49) Do you usually participate in village-meetings?  
 a)  yes  no   
 b) why?
- 50) What people do you appreciate most?

- |  | very much             | much                  | not so much           |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a) people who offer more hospitality than other    | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| b) rich people                                     | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| c) people who belong to a big family               | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| d) persons who have been for hajj                  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| e) people who enjoy their leisure                  | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| f) persons who work for the government             | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| g) persons who work for the welfare of the village | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

- 51) What are the people in the village who have the saving?
- |                         |                       |                       |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a) sheikh               | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| b) merchants            | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| c) Imam                 | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| d) big livestock-owners | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| e) sheikha              | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| f) big landlords        | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| g) local doctor         | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| h) school teacher       | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |





57) What persons in your household pay for:

- a) school/education \_\_\_\_\_
- b) medicin \_\_\_\_\_
- c) taxes \_\_\_\_\_
- d) clothes for children \_\_\_\_\_
- e) sugar/tea \_\_\_\_\_
- f) midwife \_\_\_\_\_
- g) millet/sorghum \_\_\_\_\_

54) For what would you spend money first?

- a)  health station  Hajj  marriage of your sons
- b)  clean water  Harama  to build a brick house

55) What are your main-sources of income?

- b) main source
- c) the second
- d) the third

56) What and how much do you cultivate in your fields?

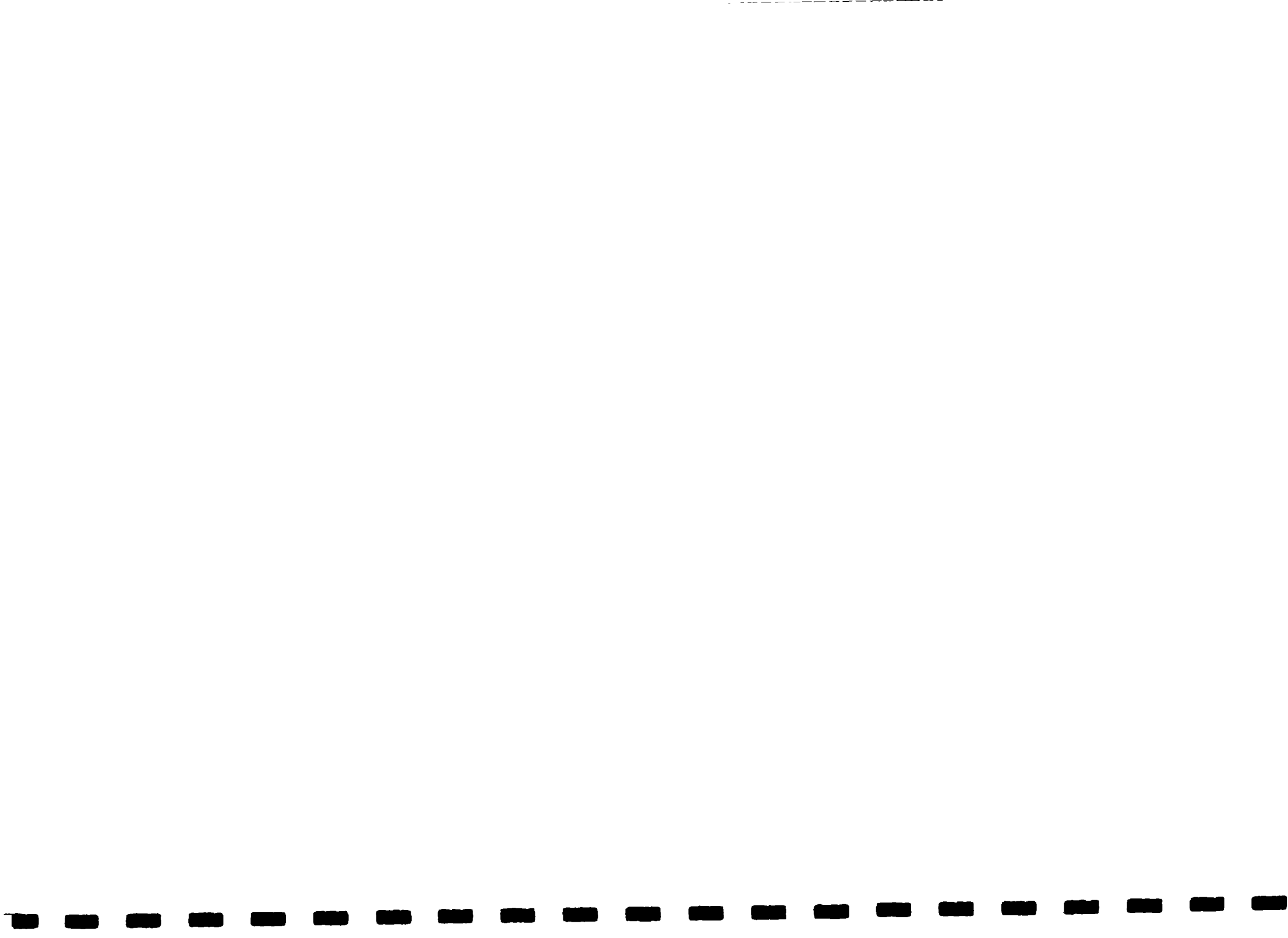
<u>crop</u>	<u>number of mukhamas</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

57) With what other people do you organize and actually do the work in your fields?

- a) Are they relative for you?  yes  no
- b) please specify friendship-relation!

58) How much of your harvest is used for subsistence (consumption)?

<u>crop</u>	<u>amount</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____



59) How much of your harvest is used for cash-earning?

<u>crop</u>	<u>amount</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

60) At what time in the year do you have more cash?

61) Have you been for hajj?     yes     no   

62) How much livestock is owned by you?

cattle	camels
sheep	horses
goats	donkeys

63) Would you like to take active part in a village-committee?

a)     yes     no      
b)    why?

64) What is the maximum amount of money you would pay for clean and health water?

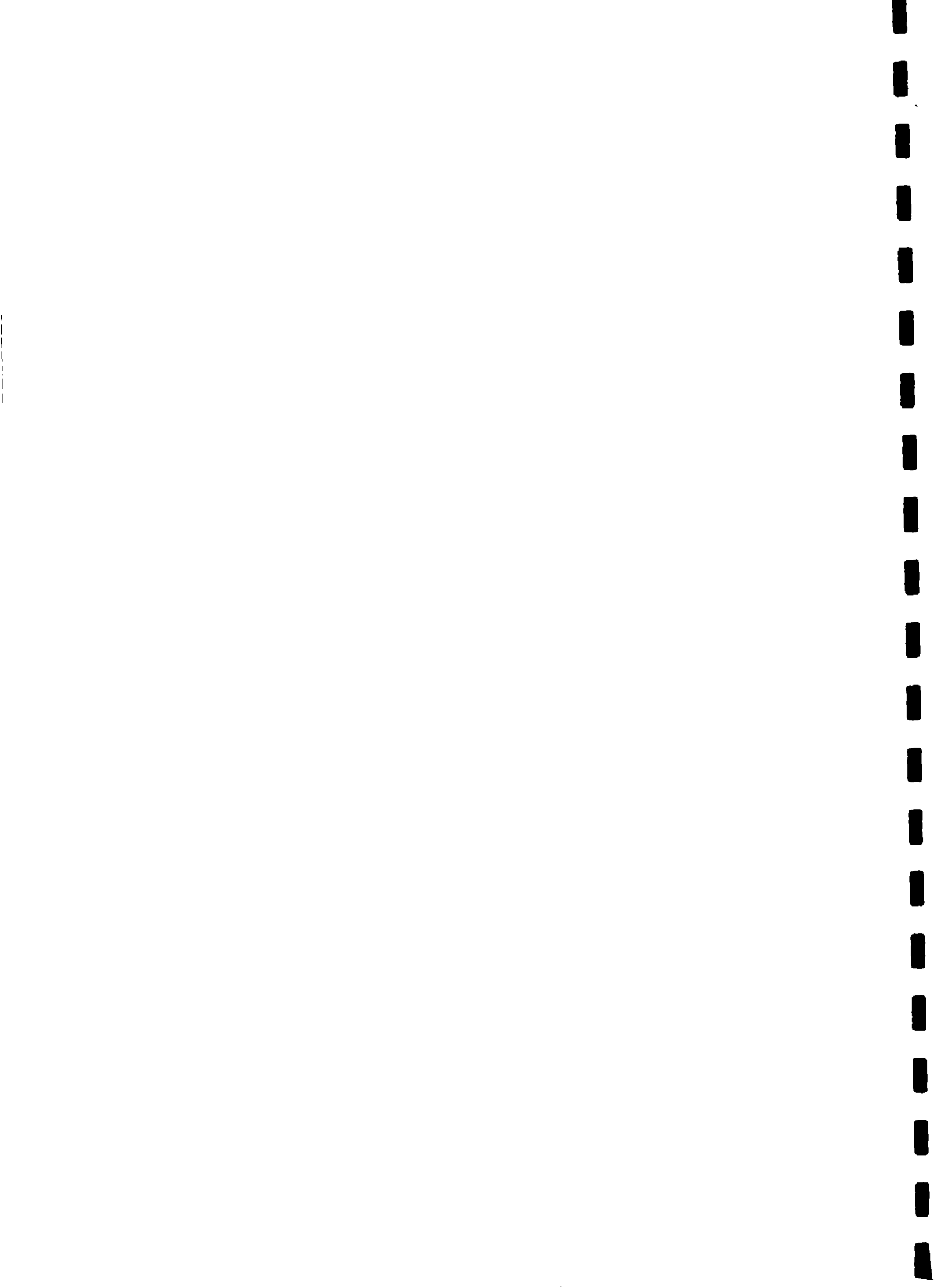
a) per dy    \_\_\_\_\_  
b) per year    \_\_\_\_\_

65) literate         illiterate



A N N E X D

Observation - Check List



## Observation - Checklist

Some information we can't get just by asking, but more easily, and sometimes only, by observation.

Some examples get mentioned which we should pay attention to when staying in a village.

Indicate in your notebook:

- name of the village
- name of observant
- time and place of observation

### 1. Indices of wealth

When visiting a compound for carrying out the survey, note indices of wealth and status, like:

house type, bicycle, radio, size of compound (number of houses and huts), number and type of livestock near the house, hen, etc.

Indices of wealth you can observe in all situations you meet people, in order to specify the significance of other information received.

### 2. Forms of discussion

In discussions people try to find public support for private interests, or try to check the possibility for it. The strategy chosen varies from culture to culture.

Two possible forms are:

- open confrontation of different opinions between persons or groups

Avoidance of open confrontation. In arguing the speaker takes into account the possible counterarguments of opponents. It is here that decisions will not get made, but space will get checked for possible support for decisions made at home in the private sphere.





Note also:

- do women take part in discussions?
- are all persons present equally involved in arguing?
- who are the leaders of discussion?
- do younger villagers have a role to play in discussions?

### 3. Factions

Sensitize your eyes and ears for village factions.

In every village, we could even say as soon as people meet, we'll find competing interests and competing groups.

Try to figure out strength and composition of competing village factions.

### 4. Conflicts

Try to understand reason and topic of conflicts in the public of village life.

Specify situation and place, note what people are involved and how do react other villagers.

### 5. Arenas of social action

A village is sub-divided into several arenas, where social interaction takes place, like

- compound, household
- fields
- water-source
- village centre
- thalwa
- village periphery
- etc.

Note type and intensity of social interaction in these places.

Note type of observation.



