

Water: more for some or some for more?

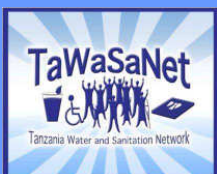


Monitoring equity in water and sanitation

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September 2008



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The **Tanzania Water and Sanitation Network (TAWASANET)** is a recently formed network of Tanzanian civil society organisations working in the water and sanitation sector. The network was officially launched by the Minister of Water and Irrigation, Professor Mark Mwandosya, during Maji Week 2008.

TAWASANET was formed in order to increasing sharing between civil society organisations, promote partnerships between civil society and other sector stakeholders, build the capacity of civil society in the water and sanitation sector, and to strengthen the voice of civil society in national policy debates.



WaterAid is a leading international NGO which works to enable the world's poorest people to gain access to safe water, sanitation and hygiene education. We work in Africa, Asia and the Pacific region and advocate globally with our partners to realise our vision of a world where everyone has access to these basic human rights.

We work with local partners, who understand local issues, and provide them with the skills and support to help communities set up and manage practical and sustainable projects that meet their real needs.

We also advocate locally and internationally to change policy and practice and ensure water and sanitation's vital role in reducing poverty is recognised.

Acknowledgements

This strategy and report was researched and written by Ben Taylor of WaterAid Tanzania on behalf of TAWASANET.

The author would like to thank the following for their contributions to this process: Nyanzobe Malimi, Director of TWESA and Chairperson of TAWASANET; Mathias Mulagwanda of PEVODE and Vice Chairperson of TAWASANET; Jörg Henkel of IDYDC and Secretary of TAWASANET; Donald Kasongi of ACORD; Andambike Kyomo of SHIPO; representatives of other TAWASANET member organisations; Vivienne Abbott, Wilhelmina Malima, Diana Nkongo, Damas Debwa, Stephanie Tam, David Taylor, and Bakar Khamis at WaterAid Tanzania; Laura Hucks and Yunia Musaaazi at WaterAid UK and WaterAid East Africa.

Summary of Main Findings and Recommendations

Key conclusions

Urban-rural equity: Urban-rural budget equity has improved substantially since 2005-06. However, survey data shows that access to clean and safe water is significantly lower in rural areas – at around 45% compared to 79% in urban areas. Equitable budget allocations will need to continue for some time if this is to be overcome.

Inter-town equity: From the budget analysis conducted here, small towns have emerged as clear gap. There is a higher number of unserved residents in small towns than in any single urban centre except Dar es Salaam, and yet the budget allocations for 2008-09 do not reflect this need.

Inter-district equity: The WSDP has brought about a major improvement in budget equity between rural districts. However, inequity in outputs and outcomes between districts remains strong. Fairer budget allocations, linked to coverage levels, will need to be maintained if this inequity is to be addressed.

Inter-ward equity: Inequity between rural wards is a serious issue. A significant number of wards do not have a single functioning waterpoint. More strikingly, in the example districts considered here, wards with higher coverage continue to attract investment, while those with low or no waterpoint coverage continue to be sidelined. This suggests that decision makers at LGA level are not prioritising equity, and that under-served wards lack the opportunities to influence the planning process in their favour. If MKUKUTA and MDG targets are to be met, this is a critical issue to be addressed.

Social equity in decision making: The representation of women in key decision making processes is low, but has improved slightly since 2006. Women are particularly poorly represented within senior management of the Ministry of Water and Irrigation.

Social equity in outcomes: Survey data reveals a strong link between household wealth and access to water and sanitation services. Female-headed households, households headed by the elderly, and households with a sick member also had lower than average access to water and sanitation services, but the evidence is less conclusive in these cases.

Main recommendations

Building on the above analysis, the following simple measures can be proposed as means **to improve sector equity directly**:

- Maintain the equitable allocations to urban and rural water supply
- Increase funding to small towns
- Maintain equity in allocations to districts for rural water supply investments by continuing to use the formula-based allocation system and by reducing the number of projects funded outside the formula system.
- Provide pro-poor policy guidance to LGAs on the targeting of rural water supply investments
- Increase opportunities for pro-poor engagement in the planning process for investments at district level, by making data on budgets and coverage levels publicly accessible

In addition, **three issues would benefit from further investigation**, as follows:

- Why does there continue to be such low representation of women at MoWI, and what can be done about this?
- How does the water and sanitation sector affect different vulnerable groups in society? In particular, valuable light could be shed on this by qualitative studies to investigate levels of and obstacles to access by women, the elderly, disabled, and people living with HIV/AIDS.
- How do access and service levels vary within urban centres, and how well are funds being directed to address any inequalities?

List of acronyms used

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DPG	Development Partner Group
EWURA	Energy and Water Utilities Regulatory Authority
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune-deficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ISF	Ingeneria sin Fronteras (Engineers Without Borders)
JMP	Joint Monitoring Programme
JWSR	Joint Water Sector Review
LG	Local Government
LGA	Local Government Authority
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MKUKUTA	Mpango wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoHSW	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
MoWI	Ministry of Water and Irrigation
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PMORALG	Prime Minister's Office for Regional Administration and Local Government
RS	Regional Secretariat
RWSS	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation
SNV	Dutch Development Organisation
TAWASANET	Tanzania Water and Sanitation Network
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UWSA	Urban Water and Sewerage Authority
UWSS	Urban Water Supply and Sanitation
WHO	World Health Organisation
WPM	Waterpoint Mapping
WS	Water Supply
WSDP	Water Sector Development Programme
WSWG	Water Sector Working Group

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1. Introduction

The water and sanitation sector has taken major steps forward in the past 2-3 years. A new water sector development strategy has been put in place, alongside increased harmonisation on the part of development partners. The clear need for an increase in finance for the sector in order to meet MKUKUTA and MDG targets, along with increased confidence of development partners in the Ministry of Water and Irrigation (MoWI), has led to a step change in the level of finance made available for investment in the sector, through the Water Sector Development Programme (WSDP). Funding has doubled, with the potential to make a major impact on levels of access to water and sanitation services. MKUKUTA and MDG targets are within reach.

However, extra funding means extra responsibility. When there is sufficient finance available to make a real difference to the lives of the millions of Tanzanians living in poverty, as it now is, it is critical that the opportunity is not missed. Will the increased funding result in more water for the few that already have some access to clean and safe water, or will it provide at least something for more people? More for some, or some for more?

A few examples can show how the sector could do better:

- The overall WSDP budget for 2006-11 allocates US\$116 per un-served urban resident, compared to \$24 for rural residents in the same situation.¹
- Census data shows that access to clean and safe water varies widely between districts – less than 10% of the rural population have access to clean and safe water in 10 districts, whereas over 90% have access in Rombo and Arusha.²
- Qualitative and micro-level studies have found evidence that particular vulnerable groups, such as the elderly, disabled, widows and people living with HIV/AIDS are less likely to have access to clean and safe water and adequate sanitation.³ For example, a village-level survey in Mtoa village, Iramba district found that while 88% of male-headed households had access to a latrine, this dropped to 61% of female-headed households.

Of course, these examples can be explained by geographical and social factors – it is more expensive to deliver water in urban areas than rural areas (although this is primarily due to differences in service levels), some regions are more water-scarce than others, cultural practices vary, and the vulnerable groups listed above face economic and social challenges that go well beyond the water and sanitation sector. Nevertheless, the sector has a responsibility to face these challenges and to address them.

A necessary step in trying to address any challenge is to understand it. It is only by understanding the nature of inequities in the sector that we can begin to address them. That is what this equity monitoring strategy is all about – increasing understanding of the state of the sector from an equity perspective, and monitoring how this changes over time.

The call for an equity monitoring strategy came from the Joint Water Sector Review (JWSR) held in October 2007. Civil society raised its concerns about a number of equity issues in the sector at this meeting, with the result that CSOs were formally requested to prepare a draft strategy and sector equity report for presentation at the 2008 JWSR. No specific terms of reference were given. The request was accepted, and WaterAid offered to carry out the task on behalf of civil society.

¹ Source: WSDP Report, 2006; Population and Housing Census, 2002

² Source: Population and Housing Census, 2002

³ Unpublished studies by WaterAid Tanzania

2. What does Equity Mean in Water and Sanitation?

Equity is essentially a simple concept. It relates closely to the idea of fairness, and the idea that all members of a society have equal rights. For the purposes of this strategy, we can describe a particular aspect of the sector as being equitable if it affects all sections of society equally.

For example, perfect equity in budgets would be a situation where every citizen is allocated an equal amount for investment, whichever part of the country they live in. Similarly, equal levels of access to clean and safe water would be an equitable outcome. On the other hand, a situation where some part of society (a geographical area, or a particular social group) has a lower level of access to adequate sanitation would be inequitable.

2.1 Equity Fault Lines

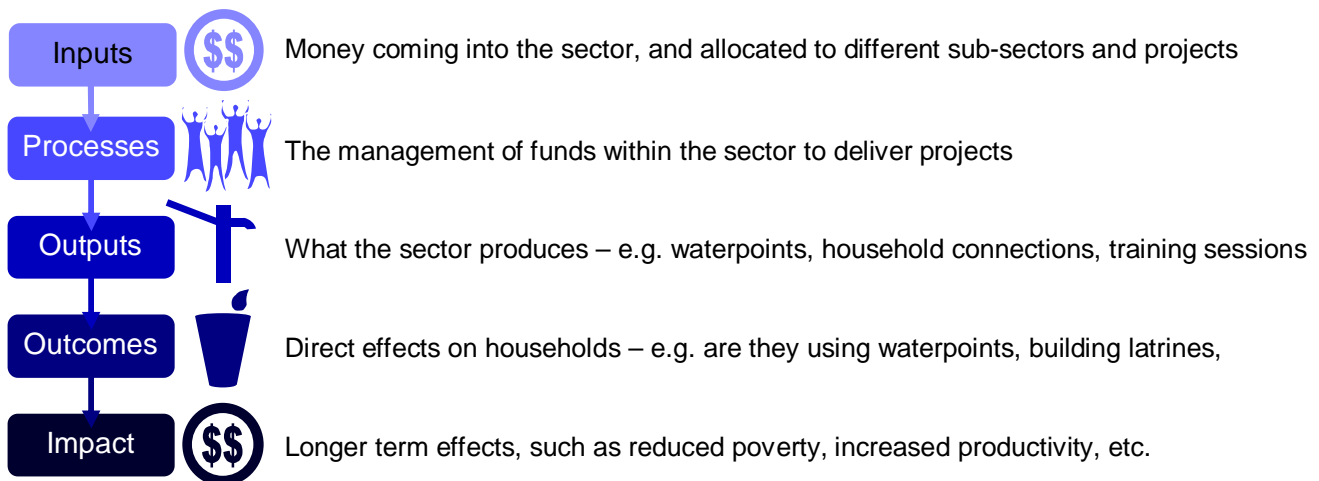
The very definition of equity talks about comparing different sections of society, but society can be divided into different groups in a wide variety of ways. Groups can be defined by geography, by social or health status, by gender, by ethnicity, etc. These divisions can be described as equity fault lines where one group is affected differently from others.

In the water and sanitation sector, two types of equity fault lines are important. The first is geographical, where groups can be defined by where they live. The rural and urban divide is an important part of this, as is the division of the country into administrative units of regions, districts, wards, etc. This can be called *spatial equity*. The second fault line is social, where groups are defined on the basis of some aspect of their identity that cuts across geographical boundaries. Where a given group is particularly vulnerable, this is of interest to any measures of equity. Women, people living with HIV/AIDS, the elderly, the disabled, orphans and widows are all obviously examples. The poor form a group that is perhaps less obvious and less clearly defined, but also very important. We will call this *social equity*.

2.2 Turning Money Into Water – Where Does Equity Come In?

The role of the water sector is to convert money into water. A corresponding statement can be made about sanitation – turning money into the safe disposal of faeces. This happens through a process of allocating inputs to undertake projects that produce outputs, all of which is within the control of the sector. How these outputs are used (outcomes) and what effect this has on the community (impact) are only partly within the control of the sector, but are ultimately more important than inputs and outputs. This process is described in figure 1.

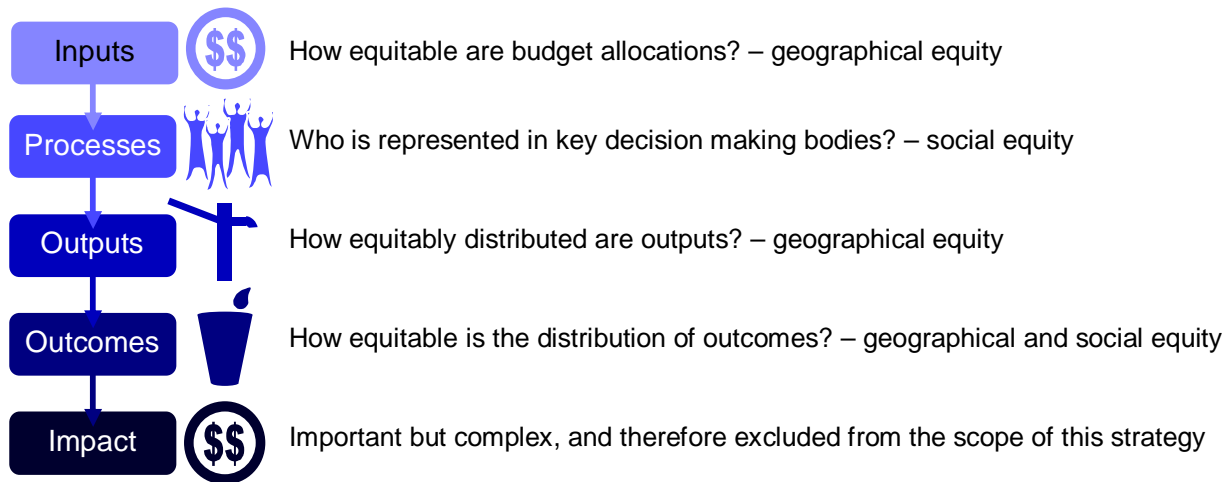
Figure 2.1 – Turning Money Into Water, and Beyond



Different forms of equity are important at each stage of this process. In terms of inputs, spatial equity is most important – how equitable are allocations to urban and rural areas, to different towns and rural districts and to different communities within a district? The key equity consideration in terms of processes is how well different groups are represented in key decision making processes – a form of social equity. At the level of outputs, spatial equity is important. How equitably distributed are the outputs that are produced between urban and rural areas, between towns, between districts and within districts? In terms of outcomes, both spatial and social equity are important. We can look at how access varies between geographical areas, and how particular vulnerable groups compare with the rest of society. Figure 2 summarises the key equity issues at each stage.

The impact of new investments is much harder to measure and attribute than inputs, outputs and outcomes, even before the additional matter of equity is introduced. For this reason, impacts will be excluded from the scope of the equity monitoring strategy.

Figure 2.2 – Equity Fault Lines at Each Stage



2.3 A Word of Warning: What Equity Monitoring Cannot Tell Us

The concept of equity has some inherent difficulties that should be borne in mind when preparing and reading a sector equity strategy and report.

First, equity in inputs does not connect automatically to equitable outputs or outcomes. The cost of outputs varies according to a number of factors, such as hydro-geology, population density, distance from the source of materials, etc. Should an equitable budget be one that is designed to result in equitable outputs or outcomes, or one that allocates equal amounts to each person? Strong cases can be made on both sides of this dilemma⁴ and we cannot hope to find an answer here. Instead, the strategy will merely present a framework for preparing reports that increase understanding of equity at each stage of the process of turning money into water. Debates about equitable allocations will then at least be informed by empirical analysis.

Second, although equity considerations are important, they must also be balanced against other factors, such as the need for investments that will promote economic growth. Investments in urban areas or areas with mineral resources will contribute to increased productivity, but unless they are matched by investments in areas without these characteristics, they cannot be termed equitable. Again, this strategy cannot aim to resolve this, but simply to inform the debate.

Third, looking at equity is not the same as looking at overall performance. For example, when considering equity in the distribution of waterpoints within a district, it is very possible for a district to have a large number of waterpoints that are unevenly distributed. Conversely, a situation where a district has an equal distribution in every ward is highly equitable but low in terms of waterpoint coverage.

⁴ For example, per-capita equity has moral clarity and should lead to greater efficiency, by discouraging population growth in water scarce areas, whereas outcome equity is fairer in terms of what is most important to the everyday lives of community members.

3. Equity Monitoring Strategy

3.1 Objectives⁵

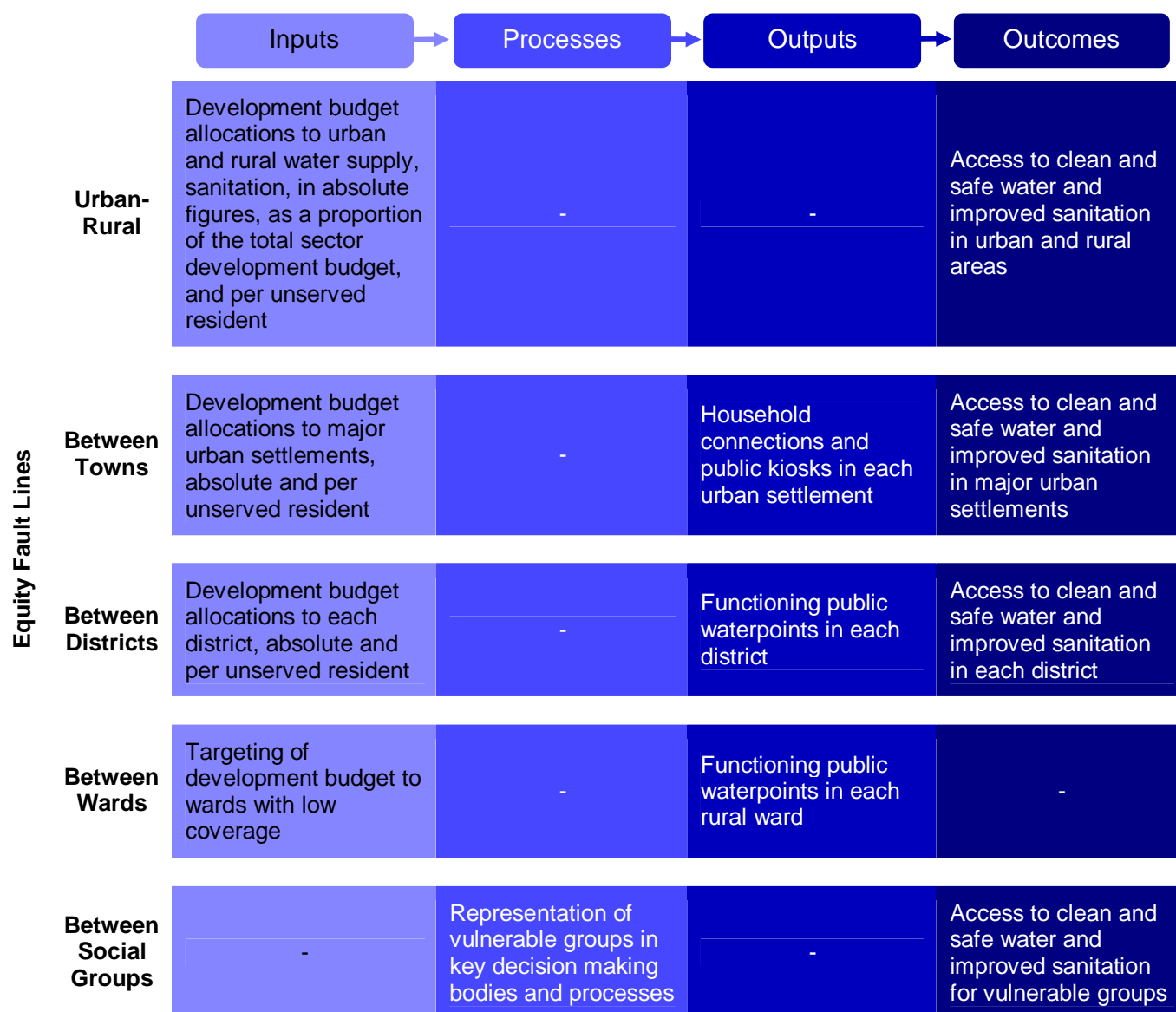
The overall objective of this strategy is to raise awareness of and promote debate on the equity orientation of the water and sanitation sector in Tanzania.

The specific objective of this strategy is to prepare and present an annual report on equity in the water and sanitation sector, which:

- i. reports on equity in inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes of the sector,
- ii. reports on both spatial and social equity,
- iii. presents data in both user friendly formats to encourage general debate as well as more technical formats for use by specialists,
- iv. does not require the collection of substantial additional primary data,
- v. utilises existing sector-wide agreed indicators and definitions as much as possible,
- vi. presents additional equity-related analysis beyond reporting on specified indicators, and
- vii. proposes specific measures to improve the equity orientation of the sector.

3.2 Equity Monitoring Framework

Figure 3.1 – Equity Monitoring Framework



⁵ No specified terms of reference were given for this strategy, and as such the authors have themselves developed the objectives.

3.3 Data Sources and Challenges

Reporting against the table above will require data from a number of sources. Four principle sources will be required, as follows:

- **Budgets** – including both the MoWI annual budget and local government budgets.
- **NBS survey data** (including census) – NBS conducts household surveys every 2-3 years, each of which an opportunity to review the status, particular of outcome data.
- **Urban water utility database** – MoWI and the the water regulator have developed a utility database that can provide very useful data on urban outputs
- **Waterpoint Mapping (WPM)** – WPM has so far been conducted in over 40 districts by WaterAid, SNV, Concern Worldwide and ISF (Engineers Without Borders), a number which is expected to continue rising. For this strategy, WPM will provide detailed ward and district-level data on rural water outputs.

In addition, a small amount of primary data will be collected from other sources. This includes data on the representation of women in key decision making bodies and processes.

Each of these data sources presents a particular set of challenges to the preparation of a sector equity report, reflecting the incomplete process to operationalise the sector performance monitoring framework. In particular, the following challenges should be highlighted:

- **NBS survey data on sanitation** – Past household surveys by the National Bureau of Statistics do not provide data that is able to distinguish between basic pit latrines and improved latrines that provide a more effective barrier against disease. All analysis of sanitation outcomes can therefore only compare access to basic latrines rather than to improved latrines. This problem is discussed in more detail in Box 4.1 in the next section.
- **Budget data on sanitation** – Government responsibility for sanitation is spread between a number of different ministries and agencies. The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (MoHSW) is responsible for policy development, the Ministry of Water and Irrigation (MoWI) for investments in sewerage, LGAs for sanitation and hygiene promotion, and the Ministry of Education (MoE) for policy and finance for school sanitation. Further, many budget allocations to sanitation are hidden within larger budget lines – for example where investments in water supply and sewerage for a particular town are combined. This results in a situation where it is almost impossible to identify and compare budget allocations to sanitation.
- **Incomplete Waterpoint Mapping (WPM) data** – WPM data is available for only around one third of all districts, reducing the range of analysis that can be conducted on output and budget equity between wards and districts.
- **Output and budget data within towns** – in contrast to rural areas, there is no data available on budgets or variations in access and service levels between different communities within a single town or city. For example, are investments being targeted at less well served communities, and how does access vary?
- **Survey data on vulnerable groups** – Social forms of vulnerability can cut across geographical boundaries, and even divide households. For example, people living with HIV/AIDS, or the elderly, generally live within households with others who do not share this part of their identity. The vast majority of survey data takes the household as the basic unit of analysis for access water and sanitation services, making it difficult to conduct analysis focussing on vulnerable individuals. It is only possible to consider vulnerable households, which is likely to reduce any differences.
- **Data on representation of vulnerable groups** – The only form of social equity that can be easily tracked in decision making processes is the representation of women. Other vulnerable groups, such as people living with HIV/AIDS, the disabled and the elderly cannot be identified from the list of attendees at a meeting.
- **Data on representation in sub-national decision making** – data is not routinely collected on the representation of women (or other vulnerable groups) in decision making bodies below national level. UWSA boards and district water and sanitation teams, for example, play key roles in sector decision making, but it is not straightforward to track the representation of women in these bodies.

4. Sector Equity Report

4.1 Urban-Rural Equity

The divide between urban and rural areas is an important one, but it presents particular challenges to an equity analysis. First, the distinction between urban and rural is not always clear – where do small towns fit, and what about peri-urban communities on the urban fringe? Second, it is often heard that it costs more to deliver water to urban areas than to rural, although it should be recognised that this is mainly because of higher service levels – water supply to individual households rather than to communities. Third, the sanitation needs of densely populated areas are greater than those of rural areas.

However, this report is intended to ensure that the policy debates are informed by a comprehensive picture of the equity orientation of the sector. To achieve this in terms of urban-rural equity, this section will first look at equity in inputs – budget equity – followed by analyses of equity in water and sanitation outcomes. It is not possible to compare outputs between urban and rural areas, since the principle outputs of the sector are different in each case – household connections in urban areas and public waterpoints in rural areas.

It is also not possible to conduct an analysis of sanitation budgets, since the available budget data does not go into sufficient detail. This has the effect of hiding one major source of inequity in the sector – in urban areas, investments in sewerage are funded by government, whereas investments in household latrines are considered a private household cost that cannot be subsidised. This has the result that public funds are spent on relatively wealthy urban residents and not on their rural counterparts.

4.1.1 Urban-Rural Budget Equity

Table 4.1 and figure 4.1 compare development budget allocations to urban and rural water supply and sanitation for the past 4 years. Three comparisons are made: (i) actual allocations, (ii) proportions of the sector development budget, and (iii) budget allocation per unserved resident, on the basis of census data.

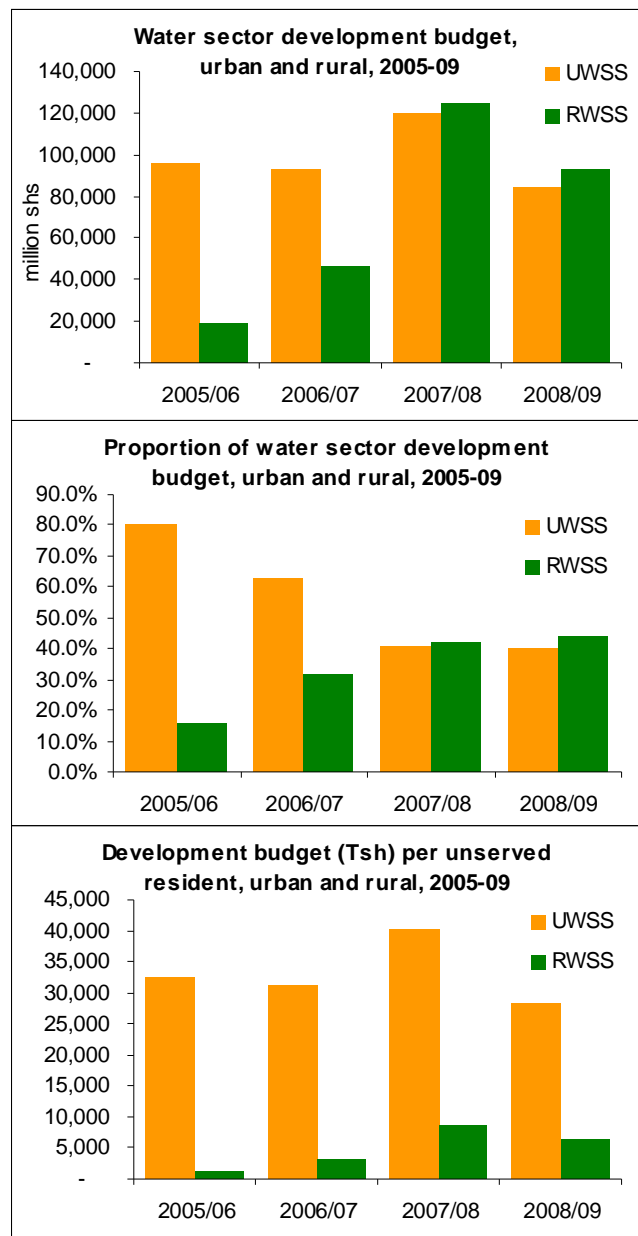
The data show how 4 years ago, allocations were highly unequal, with 80% of the sector development budget was allocated to urban water supply and sanitation, compared to 15% to rural. The two most recent budgets are much more even, with rural water supply even overtaking allocations to urban in absolute terms.

However, if we look at the per capita development budget allocations – using census data to calculate the number of unserved urban and rural residents – it is clear that allocations to urban areas remain substantially higher than allocations to rural.

Table 4.1 – Urban-Rural Budget Data

	Population (2002) millions	Coverage (2002)	Unserved Population millions	Budget (million Tsh)				Proportion of WS budget				Funding per capita (Tsh)			
				05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09	05/06	06/07	07/08	08/09
RWSS	26.7	45%	14.6	18,900	46,286	124,788	93,259	15%	31%	42%	44%	1,294	3,169	8,544	6,385
UWSS	13.9	79%	3.0	96,340	92,607	119,966	84,448	80%	62%	40%	40%	32,388	31,133	40,330	28,390

Figure 4.1 – Urban-Rural Comparison of Water Sector Development Budget

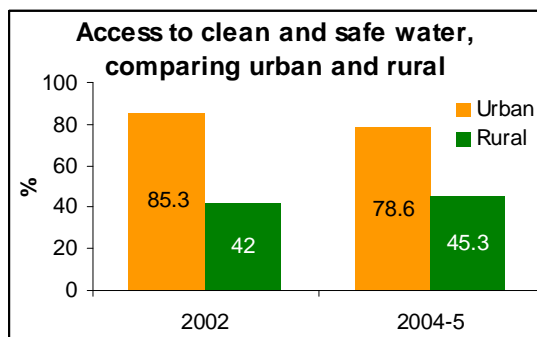


Sources: 2005-08 data from Vote 49, LG and RS votes; 2008/09 data from MoWI; data on unserved populations from 2002 Population and Housing Census

4.1.2 Urban-Rural Outcome Equity – Water Supply

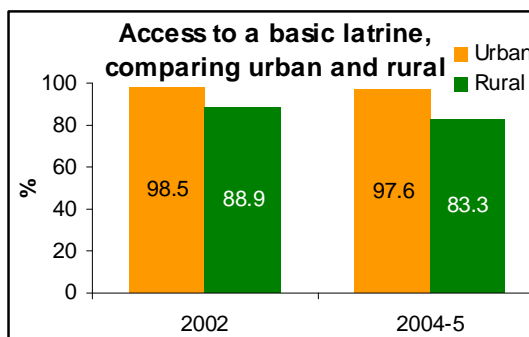
At the level of outcomes, data from both 2002 and 2004-05 provide strong evidence of urban-rural inequity. In 2002, Census data shows the proportion of urban residents using an improved source of drinking water (85%) was more than double the proportion of rural residents using an improved source (42%) – see figure 4.2. More recent data from the Demographic and Health Survey of 2004-05 shows a similar picture.

Figure 4.2 – Comparing Urban and Rural Outcomes in Water Supply



Sources: 2002 data from Population and Housing Census; 2004-05 data from Demographic and Health Survey

Figure 4.3 – Comparing Urban and Rural Outcomes in Sanitation



Sources: 2002 data from Population and Housing Census; 2004-05 data from Demographic and Health Survey

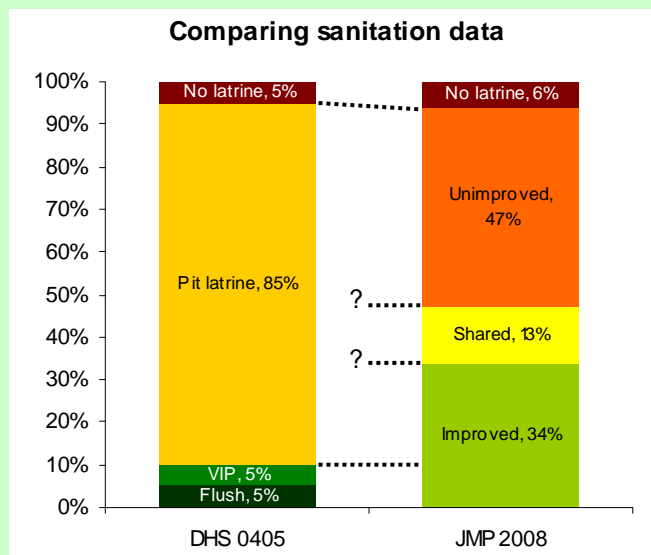
4.1.3 Urban-Rural Outcome Equity – Sanitation

Analysis of sanitation outcomes is made very difficult by the lack of detailed data on the type of latrines used. Box 4.1 explains this challenge. The best available data suggests that access to basic latrines is 10-15% lower in rural areas than in urban areas – see figure 4.3. It also suggests that this difference is increasing rather than declining. This is largely due to a few rural districts with low levels of access, as section 4.3 below will show. However, due to the imperfections of the data, it is impossible to know whether there is any difference in access to improved latrines.

Box 4.1 – Understanding Sanitation Survey Data

Previous censuses and household surveys have asked what type of latrine a household uses, but using categories that do not provide very useful data. One category – traditional pit latrine – does not distinguish between basic pit latrines and those with washable slabs. Latrines with washable slabs are considered by UNICEF and the World Health Organisation (WHO) as “improved”, and those without are classed as “unimproved” and do not provide such effective prevention against disease.

The chart on the right shows how survey data provides a misleading picture. Data from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) of 2004-05 says that 85% of households have a pit latrine, but does not provide any information on how many of these latrines are improved, shared, or unimproved. The Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP), which uses the WHO-UNICEF categories, estimates what proportions of these latrines are improved, shared and unimproved. From the DHS, we can say that 95% of households have access to at least a basic latrine, but the JMP suggests that only 34% of households have access to improved latrines.



The available survey data is therefore an imperfect tool for monitoring progress in sanitation. For the purposes of this equity report, this data cannot tell us, for example, whether some parts of the country have higher levels of access to improved sanitation than others, or whether certain social groups have higher or lower levels of access than others. However, since it is currently the only data available, this report will work with survey data, though recognising that this can only allow comparison of access to basic sanitation, not improved sanitation.

4.2 Equity Between Urban Centres

The second equity fault-line to be considered is the difference between different urban centres. This will focus on the 21 regional centres, although where possible, it will also include small towns. We will look first at budget equity, looking specifically at the 2008-09 development budget. This will focus on overall water supply and sewerage budget allocations, since there is insufficient data to conduct separate analyses of water and sewerage budgets. Second, we will look at outcome equity – how much does access to clean and safe water vary between urban centres?

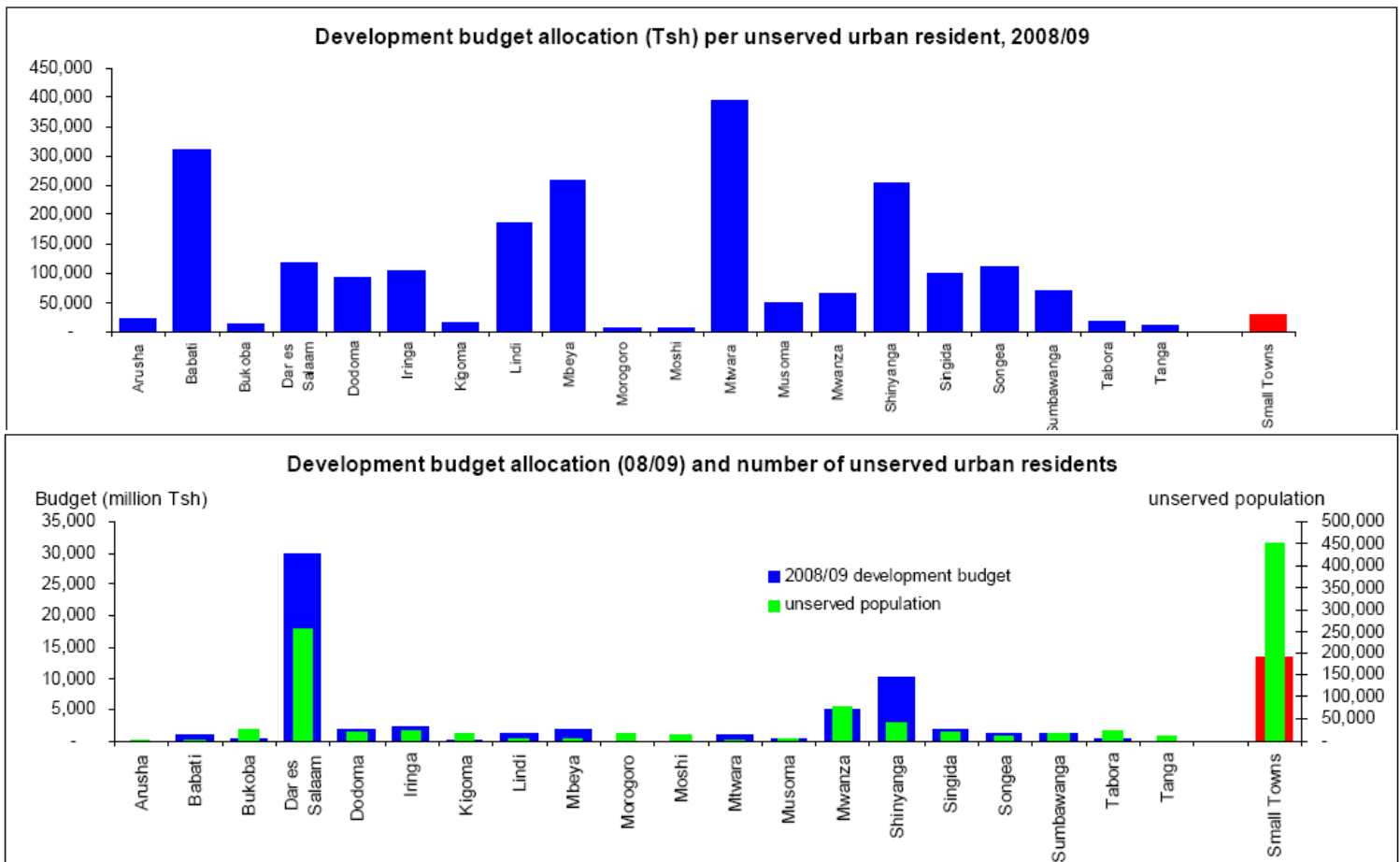
4.2.1 Inter-Town Budget Equity – Urban Water Supply and Sewerage

Figure 4.4 presents data on budget allocations to urban water supply and sewerage in two ways. The first chart compares budget allocations for 2008-09 per unserved resident (according to 2002 census data). The second combines data on actual budget allocation with coverage data.

The first chart appears to suggest a wide variation in budget allocations, with high per capita investments allocated to Babati, Mtwara, Mbeya and Shinyanga, and low amounts to Arusha, Bukoba, Morogoro, Moshi, Tabora, Tanga and small towns. However, the picture is not as clear cut as this suggests. In particular, investments in urban water supply and sewerage are “chunky” – large amounts are required for particular projects over a 3-4 year period, after which resources can be allocated to a different town. The result is that analysis of the development budget for a single year cannot give a full picture of budget equity between towns. A multi-year analysis would be needed, ideally over a minimum of 4-5 years. Insufficient data was available at the time of writing to conduct such an analysis, but future equity reports could aim to rectify this.

Nevertheless, analysis of a single-year’s budget can provide some equity-related insights in terms of the targeting of investment funds. The second chart in figure 4.4 looks at targeting by combining data on coverage – in green – with actual budget allocations – in blue for regional centres and red for small towns.

Figure 4.4 – Comparing Budget Allocations Between Urban Centres



Sources: Budget data from MoWI; data on unserved populations from 2002 Population and Housing Census

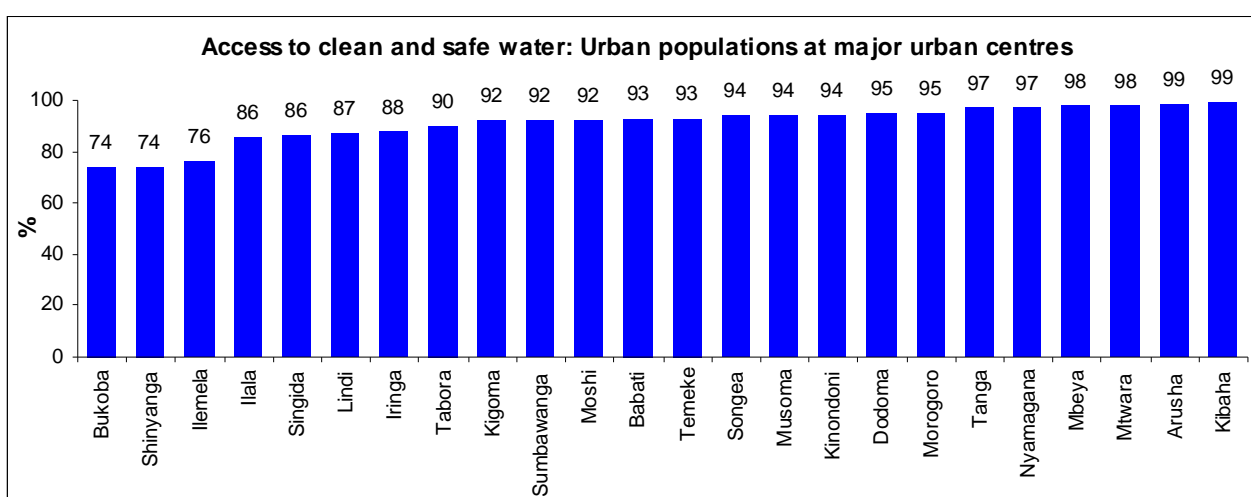
From this, it is possible to identify two points of note. First, the three largest budget allocations to regional centres have been allocated to the three urban areas with the largest number of unserved residents – Dar es Salaam, Mwanza and Shinyanga. Second, small towns stand out as losing out from this year’s budget. According to census data, the unserved population living in small towns is significantly higher than the unserved population in all regional centres (except Dar es Salaam), but this is not reflected in the budget.

4.2.2 Inter-Town Outcome Equity – Water Supply

The best source of data on the different levels of access to clean and safe water between urban centres is still the 2002 population and household census. Table 4.2 and figure 4.5 below present this data.

Three urban centres stand out as having particularly low access to improved sources of drinking water: Bukoba, Shinyanga and Ilmela (Mwanza), each with below 80% access levels. However, we should also not forget that this is imperfect data. First, it is now 6 years since the data was collected, during which time populations will have grown, new projects delivered, etc. Second, there are difficulties with how the data defines access. The survey was conducted before sector-wide definitions for performance monitoring were agreed, and therefore these figures are likely to over-estimate access levels. Similarly, the figures may well hide difference between urban centres that more accurate data would reveal. Experience from the field suggests that this could well be the case. In particular, it seems very unlikely that access levels in the three municipalities of Dar es Salaam – Ilala, Temeke and Kinondoni – are truly as high as this data suggests.

Figure 4.5 – Comparing Access to Water Supply Between Urban Centres



Source: 2002 Population and Housing Census

Table 4.2 – Access to Improved Water Sources, by Urban Centre

Urban Centre	Total Population	Using improved source (%)	Urban Centre	Total Population	Using improved source (%)
Kibaha	57,374	98.9	Babati	41,589	92.6
Arusha	270,485	98.8	Moshi	143,799	92.2
Mtwara	78,116	98.2	Sumbawanga	74,303	92.1
Mbeya	230,318	97.9	Kigoma	130,142	92
Nyamagana (Mwanza)	209,806	97.2	Tabora	127,887	89.8
Tanga	179,400	96.9	Iringa	99,723	88
Morogoro	206,868	94.9	Lindi	28,154	86.9
Dodoma	149,180	94.8	Singida	57,904	86.1
Kinondoni (Dar es Salaam)	1,027,225	94.4	Ilala (Dar es Salaam)	588,897	85.5
Musoma	103,497	94.1	Ilmela (Mwanza)	176,004	76.1
Songea	98,149	93.9	Shinyanga	73,768	73.9
Temeke (Dar es Salaam)	719,933	92.6	Bukoba	59,157	73.7

Source: 2002 Population and Housing Census

4.3 Equity Between Rural Districts

Traditionally, equity between rural districts has been a major problem for the water sector in Tanzania. Before the WSDP, investments in rural water supply were predominantly project funding targeting a small number of districts. Some districts received large amounts of funding while others received very little or nothing at all. The introduction of the WSDP and the formula-based allocation system for rural water supply investment funding should go some way to overcoming this problem.

In this section we will first look at budget equity, comparing the current situation with the situation three years ago, before the WSDP was introduced. Budget data for investments in rural sanitation is insufficiently detailed to be able to conduct any meaningful analysis, so we will focus only on water supply. Second, we will look at output equity – how does the distribution of public improved waterpoints vary across the country. Waterpoint Mapping (WPM) data from surveys commissioned by WaterAid and other NGOs will be used for this analysis, although it does not cover the whole country. Third, we will look at varying water and sanitation outcomes using survey data.

4.3.1 Inter-District Budget Equity – Rural Water Supply

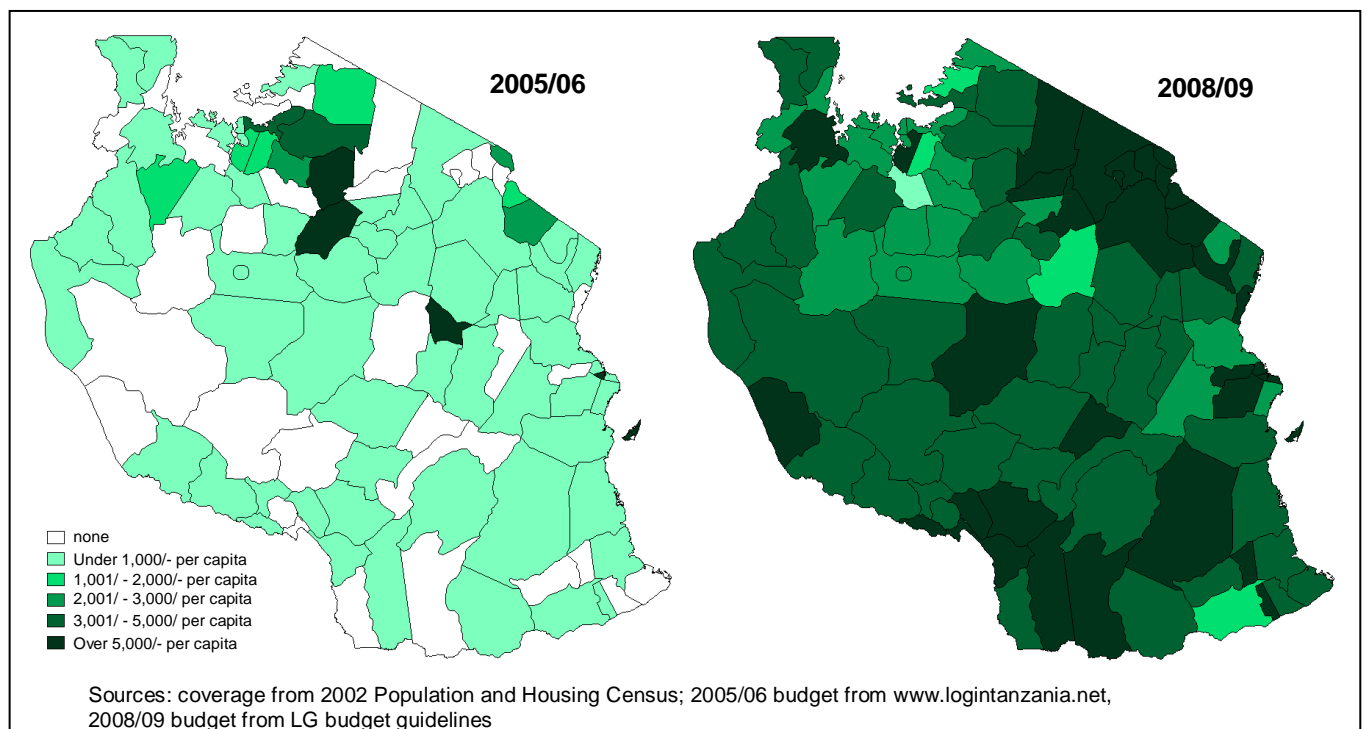
In 2005-06, 50% of the total finance available for rural water supply was provided to just 5 districts, and 90% went to just 26 districts – see table 4.3. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 further show how a large number of districts received no funding at all for rural water supply in 2005-06. In contrast, by 2008-09, every district is receiving significant funding. The WSDP represents a major step forward in terms of equitable funding for rural water supply.

Table 4.3 – Rural Supply Budget Equity

Percentage of districts to which	2005/06	2008/09
i) 50% of RWS funding is allocated	5%	35%
ii) 75% of RWS funding is allocated	12%	61%
iii) 90% of RWS funding is allocated	26%	75%

Sources: www.logintanzania.net; LG budget guidelines

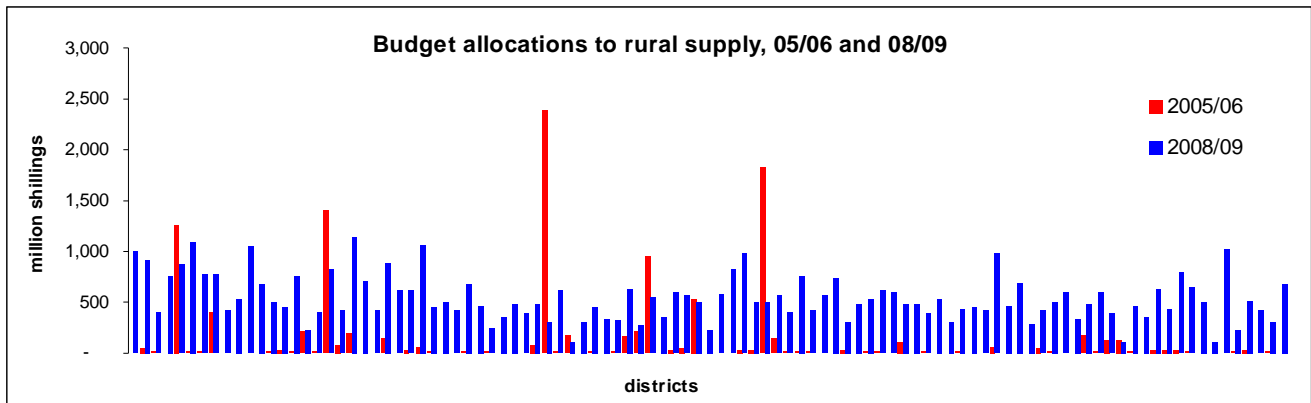
Figure 4.6 – RWS Investment per Unserved Rural Resident, 2005-06 and 2008-09



As the WSDP progresses, it will be important to monitor whether this improved level of equity will be maintained. Some project funding remains in place, some provided by development partners and some by government funds. Will these projects lead to a decline in equity, or will these funds gradually be brought into the formula allocation system?

We should also note that the formula-based allocation system is only as good as the data that it draws upon. A comprehensive rural water supply monitoring system and database providing up-to-date and accurate data are needed in order to ensure that the formula system is effective.

Figure 4.7 – Investment in Rural Water Supply: 2005-06 and 2008-09



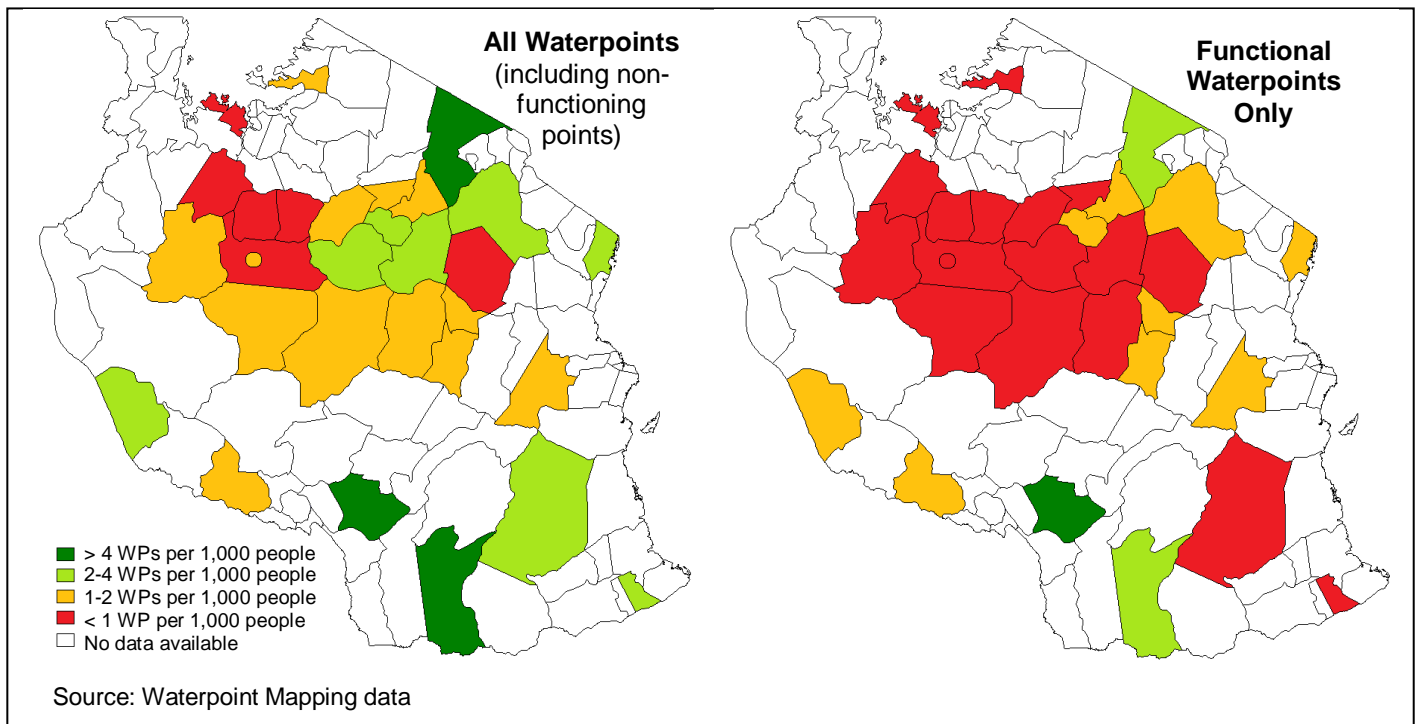
Source: 2005-06 budget data from www.logintanzania.net; 2008-09 data from local government budget guidelines.

4.3.2 Inter-District Output Equity – Rural Water Supply

For many years there has been a lack of accurate data on rural water supply coverage. The Waterpoint Mapping (WPM) tool developed by WaterAid with SNV, Concern Worldwide, and ISF (Engineers Without Borders) has the potential to fill this gap. Data from WPM is used as the source for this section, although data is not yet available for all districts.

Figure 4.8 compares waterpoint coverage between districts, for all waterpoints on the left, including those that are not functional, and excluding non-functional waterpoints on the right. A traffic-light colour system is used, with districts that meet the national minimum coverage standard of 1 waterpoint per 250 people coloured in dark green, districts that are close to this target in light green, and those with low or very low coverage levels in yellow and red respectively.

Figure 4.8 – Waterpoint Coverage in Selected Districts



Source: Waterpoint Mapping data

The maps and table show a considerable difference between the level of outputs in different districts, with three districts having met the minimum standard of 4 waterpoints per 1,000 people, and six districts with less than 1 per 1,000. The differences can be linked to both geography and finance, with high-coverage districts either in well watered areas – such as Njombe – or having benefited from substantial donor funding – such as Monduli. It is worth also highlighting the scale of the sustainability challenge, as demonstrated by these maps. A significant portion of funding for rural water supply is failing to produce the expected benefits.

4.3.3 Inter-District Outcome Equity – Rural Water Supply

The most recent nationwide assessment of water sector outcomes was the 2002 Population and Housing Census. This has previously been analysed in detail, including from an equity perspective⁶, so we do not need to go over the same ground in the same detail.

Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show the variation in levels of access to clean and safe water between districts in 2002. Wide variations can be seen, for example between parts of Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Iringa and Ruvuma regions, which have relatively high levels of access, and parts of Tabora, Shinyanga, Lindi and Mtwara regions, which have much lower access.

One likely reason for this variation is climate, with the dryer south-east and north-central areas of the country having lower access. In contrast, regions with more rainfall, such as Kilimanjaro, Morogoro, Iringa and Ruvuma have higher access. In addition, past investments in regions such as Dodoma, Iringa and Kilimanjaro may also be linked to this variation. However, without a thorough analysis of past investments and climate patterns it is not possible to state these conclusions with any confidence.

Figure 4.9 – Access to Water Supply by District (map)

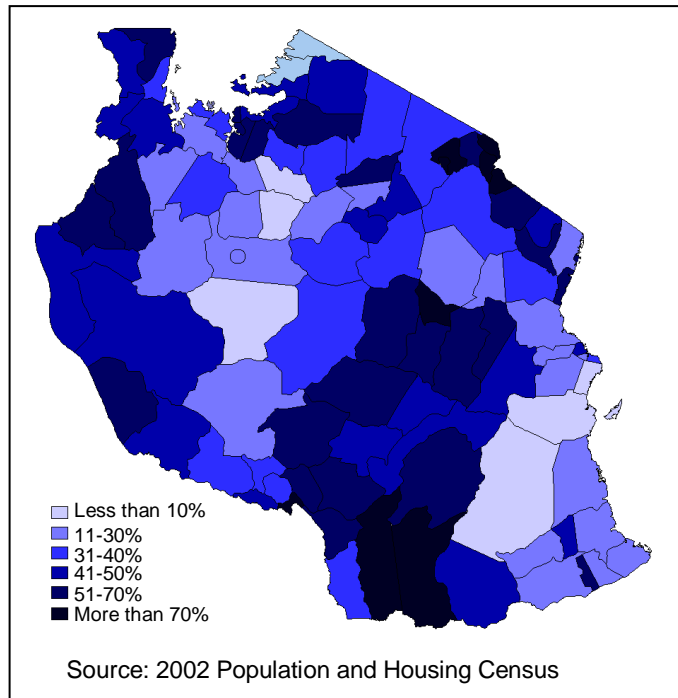
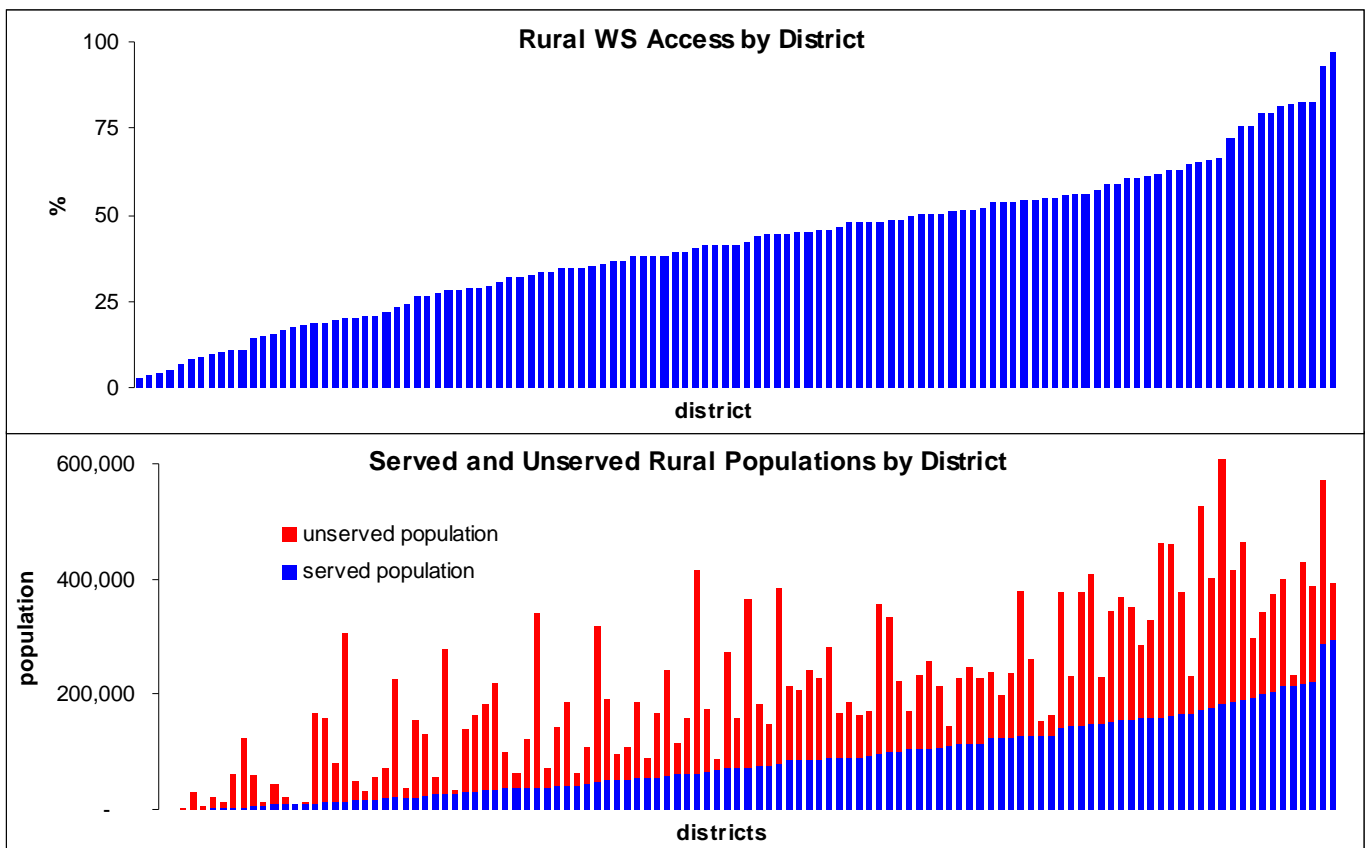


Figure 4.10 – Access to Clean and Safe Water by District



Source: 2002 Population and Housing Census

⁶ See *Water and Sanitation in Tanzania: an update based on the 2002 Population and Housing Census*, published by WaterAid Tanzania, 2005.

4.3.4 Inter-District Outcome Equity – Sanitation

As with equity in outcomes for rural water supply, the most recent nationwide data on sanitation outcomes – the 2002 Census – has been analysed previously from an equity perspective⁷. This section will therefore be kept similarly brief.

We should also remember that limitations in the available data on sanitation outcomes prevent us from analysing access to improved sanitation, as discussed earlier in Box 4.1. We can therefore only analyse equity in access to basic sanitation.

In the meantime, however, we can draw one clear conclusion from the available data. Figures 4.11 and 4.12 show how a small number of districts in the north and centre of the country have much lower levels of access to basic sanitation than the majority of the country. The most likely reason to be related to cultural practices associated with pastoralist communities.

Figure 4.11 – Access to Basic Sanitation by District (map)

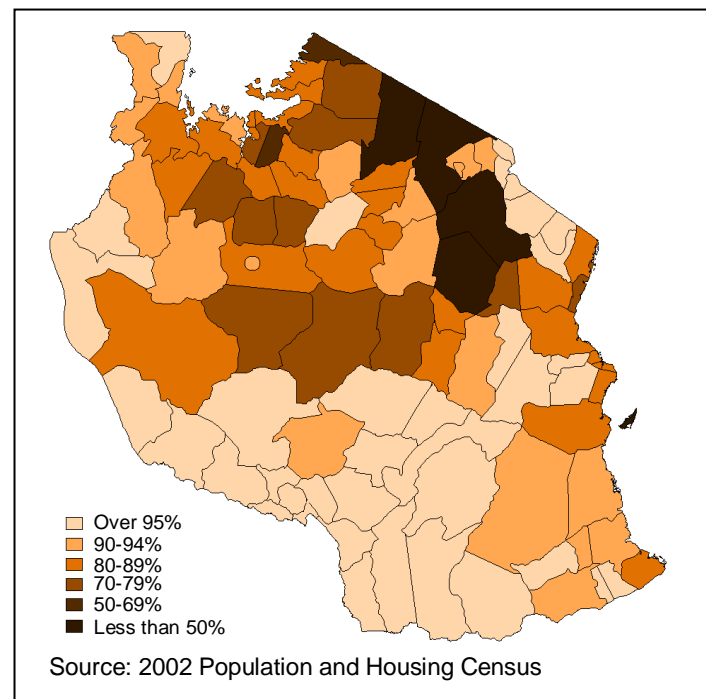
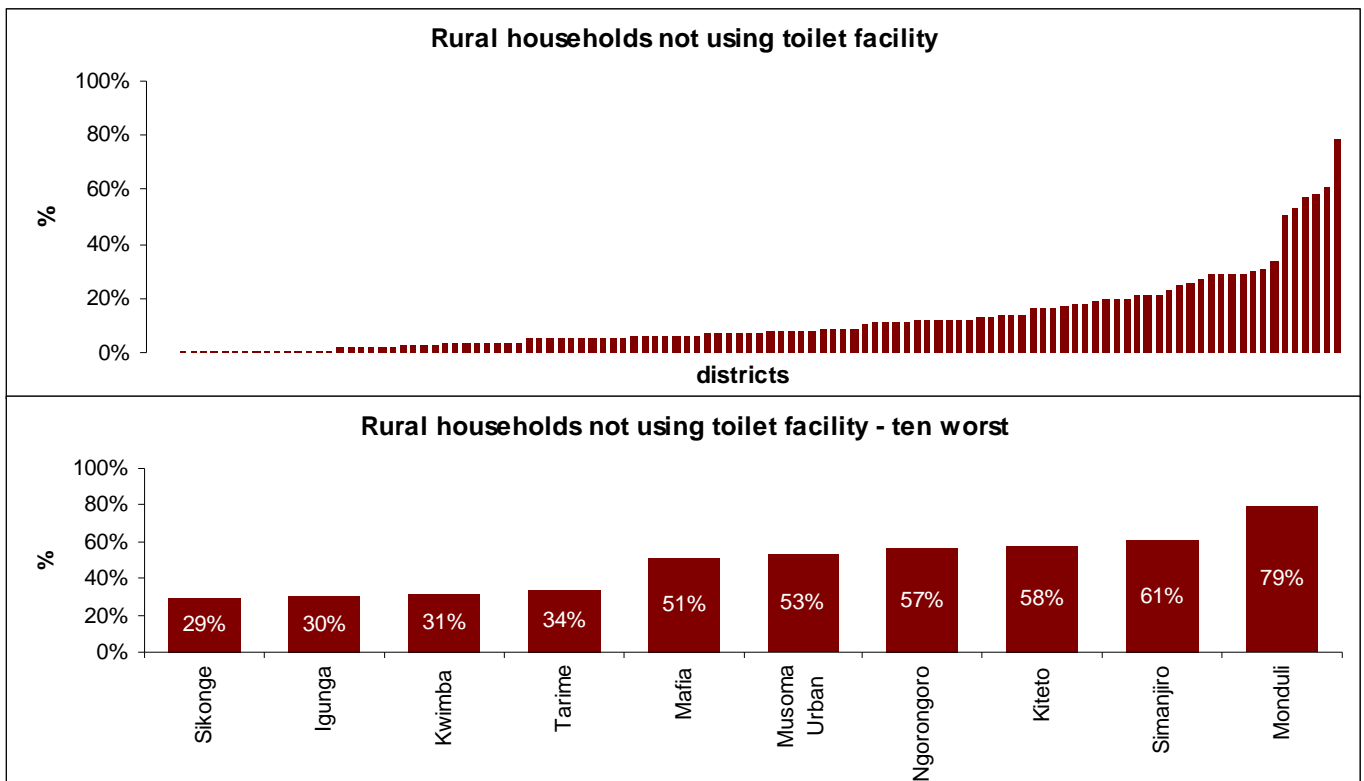


Figure 4.12 – Access to Basic Sanitation by District



Source: 2002 Population and Housing Census

⁷ See *Water and Sanitation in Tanzania: an update based on the 2002 Population and Housing Census*, published by WaterAid Tanzania, 2005.

4.4 Equity Between Rural Wards

Experience and anecdotal evidence have long suggested that inequalities between wards even within a single district can be very high. With newly available Waterpoint Mapping (WPM) data, it is now possible to assess this issue using quantitative empirical data. In this section, WPM data is used to consider equity in inputs and in outputs. Since it is not feasible to consider equity between rural wards nationwide, five case study districts have been selected from the 40 districts for which WPM data is available – Kongwa, Liwale, Mbozi, Njombe and Nzega. Three of these – Kongwa, Nzega and Njombe districts – are analysed in more detail.

4.4.1 Inter-Ward Budget Equity – Rural Water Supply

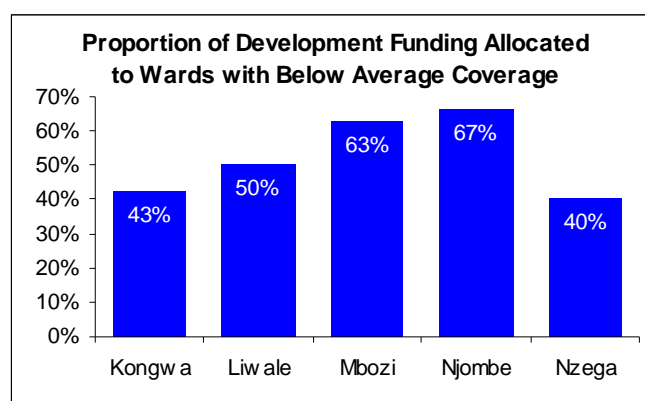
The first aspect of inter-ward equity to examine is input or budget equity. It is not possible for a district to share investment in the water sector equally between wards on an annual basis, since only a limited number of projects can be implemented in any given year. It is therefore not appropriate to compare planned investments between wards within a district. Instead, it makes more sense to ask how well investments are being targeted at wards with greater need.

Table 4.4 – Rural Supply Budget Equity

District (Region)	Funding to wards with coverage below district average
Kongwa (Dodoma)	43%
Liwale (Lindi)	50%
Mbozi (Mbeya)	63%
Njombe (Iringa)	67%
Nzega (Tabora)	40%
Total for 5 districts	48% (below national average)

Sources: Coverage from waterpoint mapping surveys; budget data from PMORALG and District Water Engineers

Figure 4.13 – Targeting of RWS Development Funds



Sources: Coverage from waterpoint mapping surveys; budget data from PMORALG and District Water Engineers

Table 4.4 and Figure 4.13 show what proportion of a district's rural water supply development budget for 2008-09 is being targeted at wards that currently have coverage levels below the average for the district. From this, we can see that two of the five case study districts – Mbozi and Njombe – are targeting over 60% of their development funds to wards with below average coverage. In contrast, two other districts – Kongwa and Nzega – are spending more on wards with above average levels of coverage than on wards with below average coverage. This is worth examining further, which will now be done, using one district – Kongwa – with less pro-poor targeting of resources, and one – Njombe – with apparently better targeting.

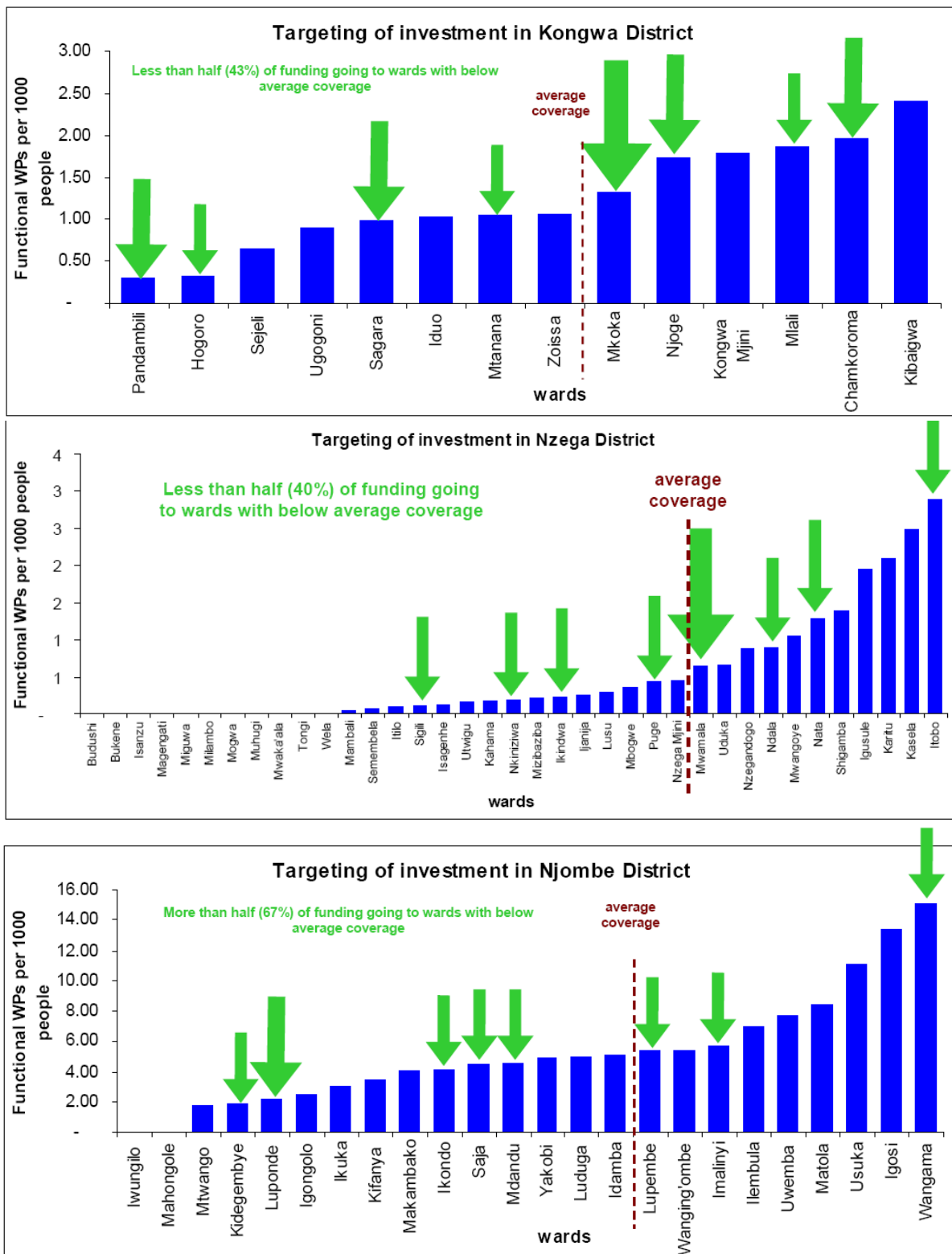
Figure 4.14 shows how rural water supply development funding has been targeted in 2008-09 in each of these two districts. The green arrows represent development funding, with the size of arrow proportional to the amount of funding being provided.

These charts provide some very interesting insights into the targeting of rural water supply investments at district level. First, we can see how significant amounts of funding are being targeted at wards that already have relatively high coverage. In Kongwa and Nzega districts, the wards receiving the largest amount of funding – Mkoka and Mwamala – already have above average coverage, and three other wards with above average coverage in each district are also planned for investments this year. In Nzega and Njombe, the wards with currently the highest coverage levels – Itobo and Wangama – attract further investment.

Second, we can also see how wards with little or no coverage continue to struggle to attract investment. While in Kongwa, the two wards with lowest coverage do attract some funding, the situation is very different in Nzega and Njombe. More shockingly, two wards in Njombe and eleven in Nzega do not have even one functioning waterpoint, and yet none of these wards has been targeted with investments in 2008/09.

In these cases, decisions are not being made on the basis of existing coverage, but rather on the basis of cost, community contributions or political interests. The *Quick Wins* approach could be undermining equity, with investments going where it is easiest rather than where they are most needed. Planning investments in this way is unlikely to result in achievement of MKUKUTA and MDG targets, since it involves providing new water supplies to households that already have relatively good access.

Figure 4.14 – Targeting of RWS Development Funds in Kongwa, Nzega and Njombe Districts



Sources: Coverage from waterpoint mapping surveys; budget data from PMORALG and District Water Engineers

This situation raises two important questions for the sector. First, if achieving MKUKUTA and MDG targets is important, then perhaps LGAs should be requested to use coverage as the basis for investment decisions. This could be done either by insisting that a certain percentage of development funds should be targeted at wards with below average coverage, or by insisting that at every ward should have at least one scheme. Such statements of national priority have previously been made in the education and health sectors, with some promising results.

Second, this situation raises a question about decision making at district level. If civil society and councillors were able to identify inequitable decisions at district level, then it should be possible to engage with the planning process to promote more equitable decision making. However, this can only be possible if data on budget allocations and coverage levels is publicly accessible. Waterpoint Mapping can provide part of the solution, but increased budget transparency is also important.

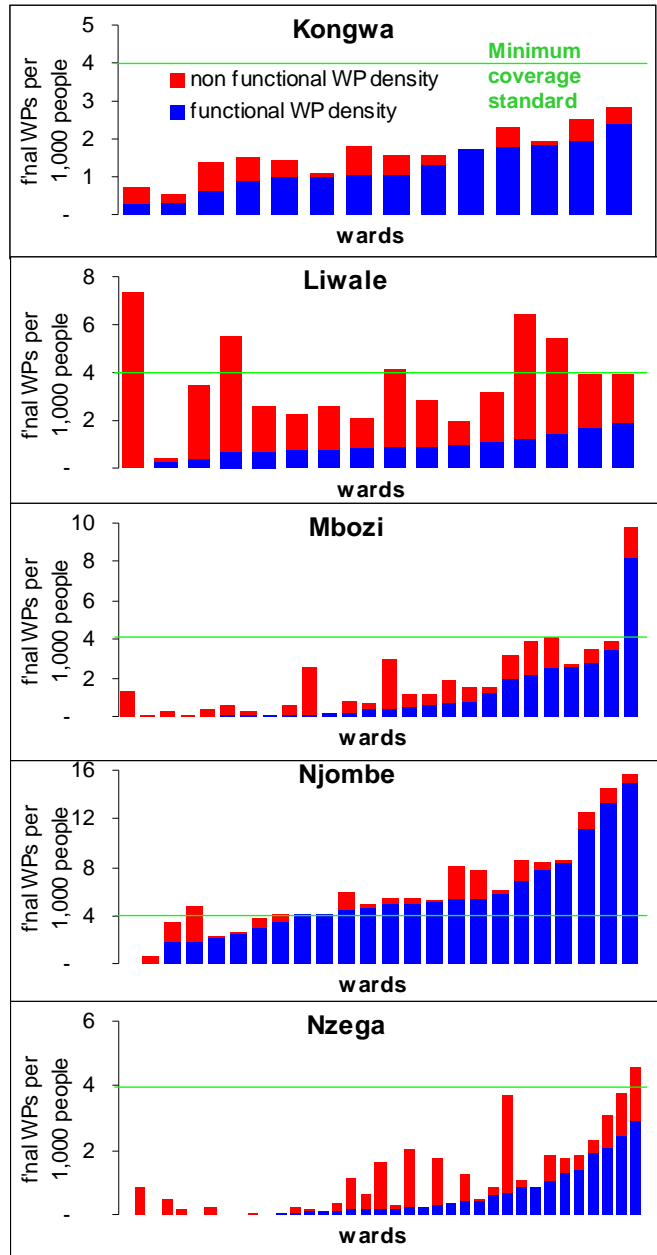
4.4.2 Inter-Ward Output Equity – Rural Water Supply

Waterpoint Mapping (WPM) data is also the main source for analysis of output equity between wards. Figure 4.15 presents the distribution of functional and non-functional waterpoints between wards within each of the five case study districts.

From this, we can see that there is considerable variation in waterpoint equity between districts. In Mbozi and Nzega districts, several wards have very few or no functioning waterpoints while a few wards have met or exceeded the minimum coverage standard of 1 waterpoint per 250 people. In contrast, in Kongwa and Liwale, there is less overall variation in waterpoint density between wards. Figure 4.16 shows the same, with higher Gini coefficients⁸ in Mbozi and Nzega than in Kongwa and Liwale.

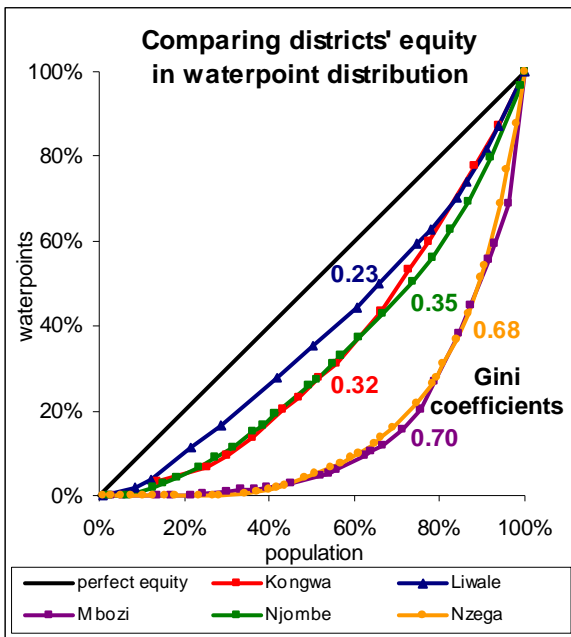
Second, there is even greater variation between wards in waterpoint density if nationwide data is considered. The varying height of the green *minimum standard* line in Figure 4.15 indicates this, and Figure 4.17, which includes all wards for which WPM data is available (across 32 districts), confirms it.

Figure 4.15 – WP Distribution by Ward



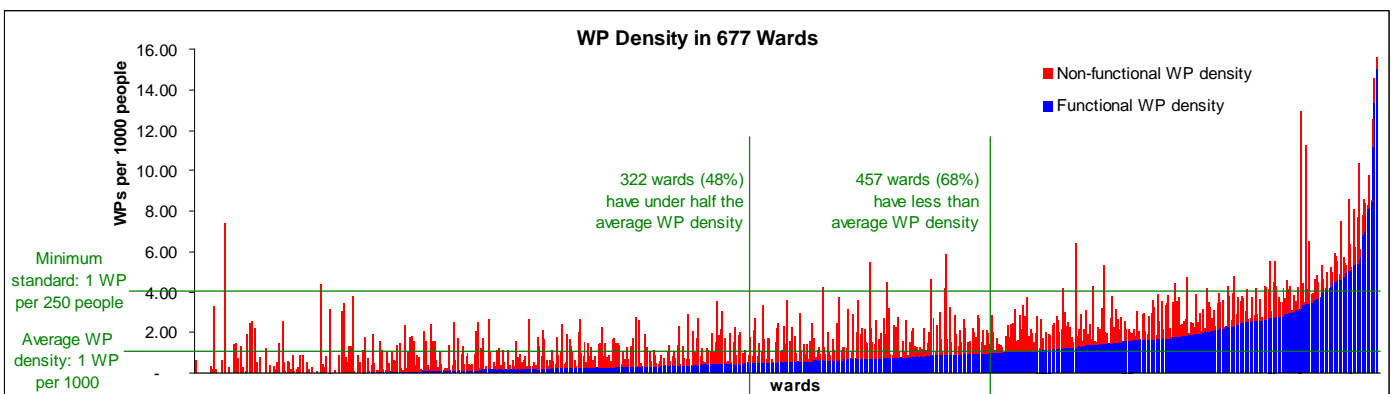
Source: Waterpoint mapping surveys

Figure 4.16 – Output Equity Between Districts



Source: Waterpoint mapping surveys

Figure 4.17 – Comparing Output Equity Between Wards



Source: Waterpoint mapping surveys

⁸ A Gini coefficient is a representation of equity, whereby 1 is complete inequality and 0 is perfect equality.

4.5 Equity Between Social Groups

Equity between social groups is a quite different form of equity from those that have been considered previously. Equity between social groups cuts across geographical boundaries and even households. It also involves personal aspects of identity that are not always obvious to outsiders, such as whether someone is HIV positive, a widow, an orphan, etc. This creates challenges to a quantitative equity analysis, limiting the available data to a small number of imperfect indicators.

Nevertheless, some analysis of equity between social groups can be considered. Two aspects will be focussed on here. First, the representation of women in decision making processes, and second, equity between certain social groups in terms of access to water supply and sanitation services.

4.5.1 Gender Representation in Decision-Making Processes

A key component of equity between social groups is in access to decision making processes. Available data mean that it is only possible to conduct such an analysis on gender lines – what proportion of key decision making groups are women, and what proportion are men?

Figure 4.18 and Table 4.5 show these proportions for participants at the 2006 and 2007 Joint Water Sector Reviews, participants at selected Water Sector Working Group (WSWG) meetings, and members of three key bodies – senior management of the Ministry of Water and Irrigation, the Development Partner Group for Water, and attendees of the TAWASANET AGM.

Participants at the JWSR and WSWG have been around 80% male and 20% female. There has been a slight increase since 2006 in the level of representation of women at these meetings – from 17% at the 2006 JWSR to 21% in 2007, and from 15% at the first WSWG meeting to 20% at the most recent meeting for which minutes are already available.

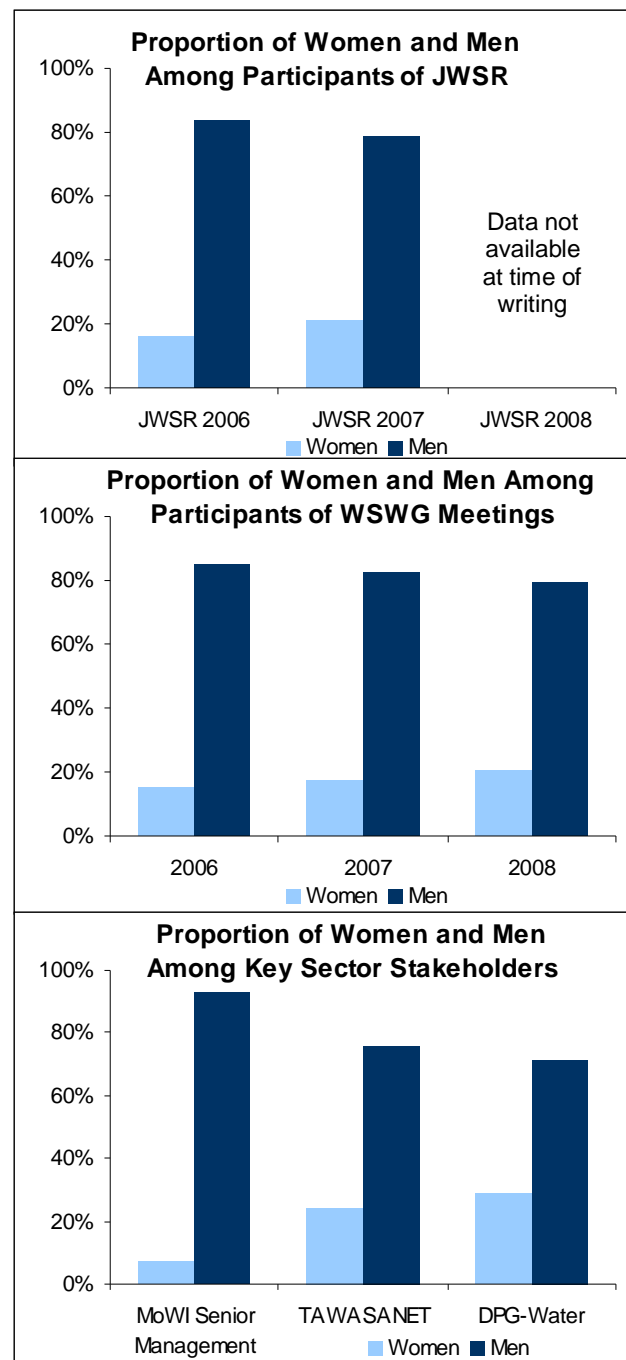
Among key sector stakeholder groups, the DPG has the largest proportion of women members (29%), followed by the participants at the first TAWASANET AGM (24%). Only 7% (2 out of 29) of senior management at the MoWI are female.

Table 4.5 – Gender Representation

Group of decision makers	actual numbers			percentages	
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men
JWSR 2006	21	106	127	17%	83%
JWSR 2007	32	117	149	21%	79%
JWSR 2008	Not yet available				
WSWG, Nov '06	4	23	27	15%	85%
WSWG, Sep '07	8	37	45	18%	82%
WSWG, Apr '08	10	39	49	20%	80%
MoWI Senior Mngt	2	27	29	7%	93%
TAWASANET AGM	7	22	29	24%	76%
DPG-Water	10	25	35	29%	71%

Source: Minutes of meetings; www.maji.go.tz

Figure 4.18 – Representation of Women in Key Decision Making Bodies



Sources: Minutes of meetings; www.maji.go.tz

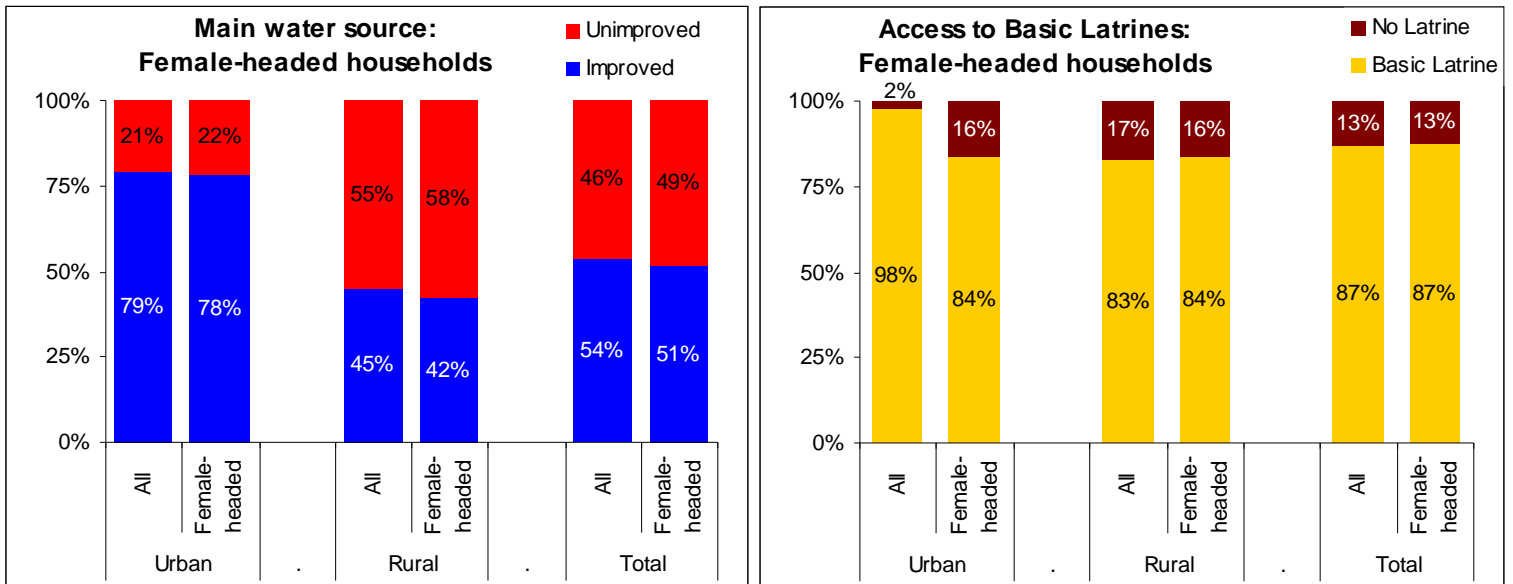
4.5.2 Social Equity in Outcomes – Water Supply and Sanitation

As before, analysis of equity in outcomes involves using data from household surveys. In this case, the latest survey with useful data is the 2004-05 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS).

One key challenge of using data from household surveys for this analysis is that household surveys cannot compare individuals, only households. This makes it impossible to include some vulnerable groups, such as people living with HIV/AIDS in this analysis. The analysis is therefore based on types of household that can be identified as having some form of vulnerability. Six types of potentially vulnerable households have been identified and are included here, namely (i) female-headed households, (ii) households headed by a young person (under 25) or (iii) older person (over 60), (iv) households with at least one orphaned member or (v) sick member, and (vi) poorer households.

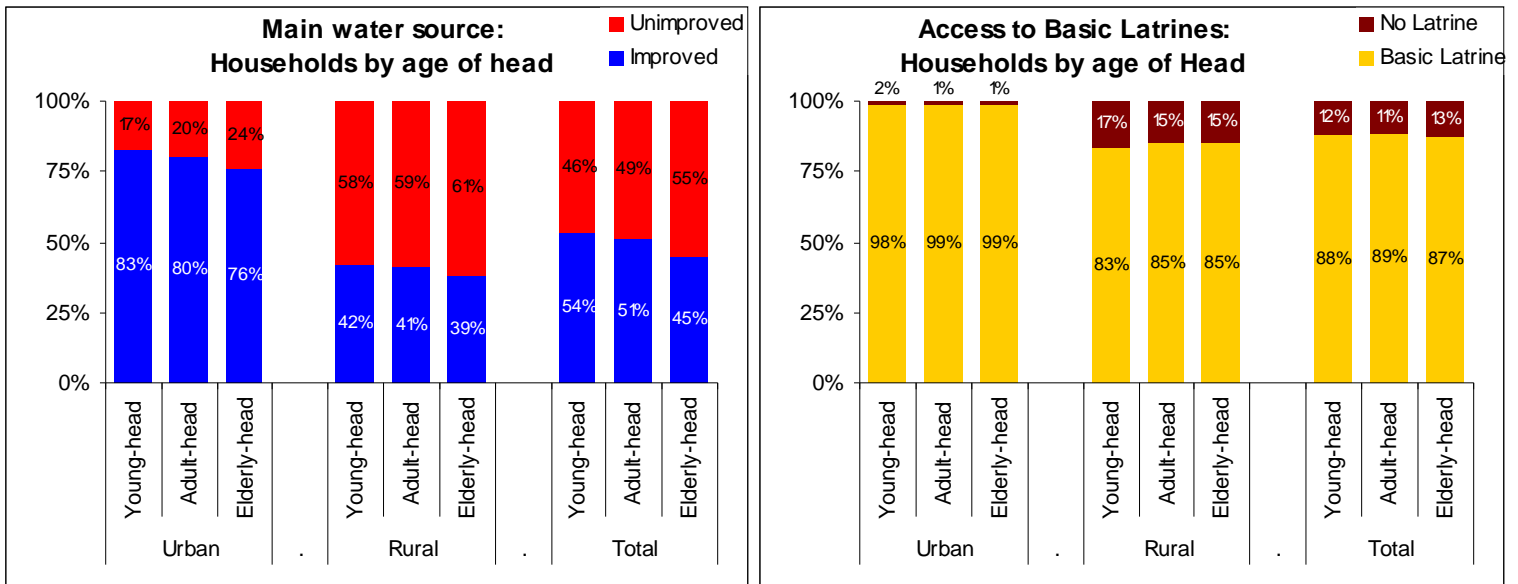
Figure 4.19 shows the level of access to improved water supply and basic latrines, comparing female-headed households with the overall average, considered separately for urban and rural areas. In only one case is there a significant difference between female-headed households and the general population – access to basic latrines in urban areas, where only 84% of female-headed households have access, compared to 98% of all urban households. In other cases, female-headed households have slightly lower access, but only by a very small amount.

Figure 4.19 – Outcome Equity by Gender of Head of Household



Source: 2004-5 Demographic and Health Survey

Figure 4.20 – Outcome Equity by Age of Head of Household



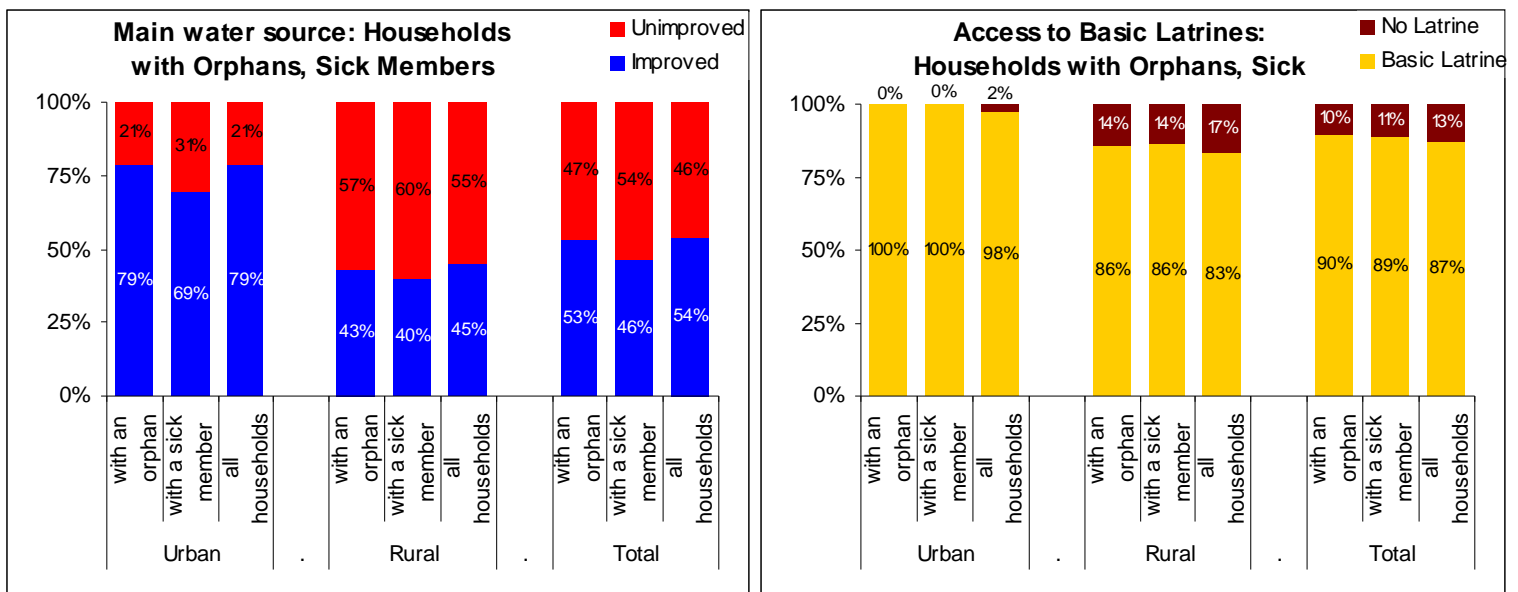
Source: 2004-5 Demographic and Health Survey

Figure 4.20 shows a similar comparison between households according to the age of the head of household. In water supply, it appears that households headed by older people (over 60) have a slightly lower level of access to improved water supply than households headed by those between 25 and 60. There is very little difference between levels of access for young-headed households, either to water supply or basic sanitation.

Figure 4.21 compares households with at least one orphan or sick household member at the time of the survey with the general average for all households. The only difference of note that this highlights is that households with at least on member who has been sick for 3 months or more at the time of the survey have a slightly lower level of access to improved water supply than the general average. However, this could mean either that lower access to water supply increases vulnerability to illness, or that long term illness makes it harder to access water services.

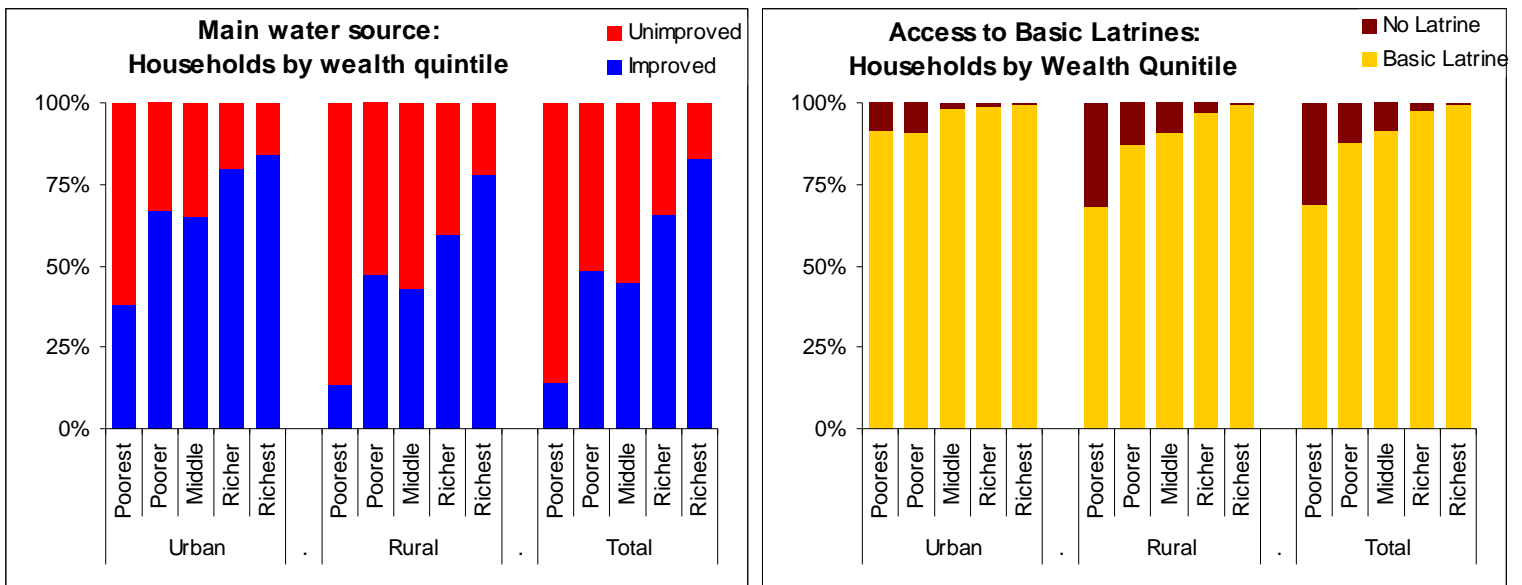
None of the above analyses produced startling differences between social groups. Figure 4.22, which shows households classified by wealth quintile, is different. Here, there is a very clear link between the wealth of a household and the level of that household's access to both water supply and sanitation services. Poorer households are much more likely to lack access to these services. Only 38% of urban households in the bottom wealth quintile have access to improved water supply, compared to 84% of the richest. In rural areas, only 13% of households have access, compared to 78% of the wealthiest rural households.

Figure 4.21 – Outcome Equity for Key Vulnerable Groups



Source: 2004-5 Demographic and Health Survey

Figure 4.22 – Outcome Equity by Household Wealth



Source: 2004-5 Demographic and Health Survey

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of Conclusions

Urban-rural equity: Urban-rural budget equity has improved substantially since 2005-06. However, survey data shows that access to clean and safe water is significantly lower in rural areas – at around 45% compared to 79% in urban areas. Equitable budget allocations will need to continue for some time if this is to be overcome.

Inter-town equity: From the budget analysis conducted here, small towns have emerged as clear gap. There is a higher number of unserved residents in small towns than in any single urban centre except Dar es Salaam, and yet the budget allocations for 2008-09 do not reflect this need.

Inter-district equity: The WSDP has brought about a major improvement in budget equity between rural districts. However, inequity in outputs and outcomes between districts remains strong. Fairer budget allocations, linked to coverage levels, will need to be maintained if this inequity is to be addressed.

Inter-ward equity: Inequity between rural wards is a serious issue. A significant number of wards do not have a single functioning waterpoint. More strikingly, in the example districts considered here, wards with higher coverage continue to attract investment, while those with low or no waterpoint coverage continue to be sidelined. This suggests that decision makers at LGA level are not prioritising equity, and that under-served wards lack the opportunities to influence the planning process in their favour. If MKUKUTA and MDG targets are to be met, this is a critical issue to be addressed.

Social equity in decision making: The representation of women in key decision making processes is low, but has improved slightly since 2006. Women are particularly poorly represented within senior management of the Ministry of Water and Irrigation.

Social equity in outcomes: Survey data reveals a strong link between household wealth and access to water and sanitation services. Female-headed households, households headed by the elderly, and households with a sick member also had lower than average access to water and sanitation services, but these links were weaker.

5.2 Recommendations

Building on the above analysis, the following simple measures can be proposed as **means to improve sector equity directly**:

- Maintain the equitable allocations to urban and rural water supply
- Increase funding to small towns
- Maintain equity in allocations to districts for rural water supply investments by continuing to use the formula-based allocation system and by reducing the number of projects funded outside the formula system.
- Provide pro-poor policy guidance to LGAs on the targeting of rural water supply investments
- Increase opportunities for pro-poor engagement in the planning process for investments at district level, by making data on budgets and coverage levels publicly accessible

In addition, **two issues would benefit from further investigation**, as follows:

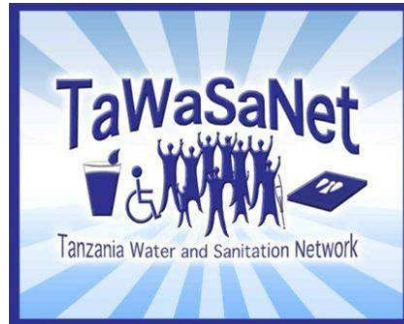
- Why does there continue to be such low representation of women at MoWI, and what can be done about this?
- How does the water and sanitation sector affect different vulnerable groups in society? In particular, valuable light could be shed on this by qualitative studies to investigate levels of and obstacles to access to watsan services by the elderly, disabled, and people living with HIV/AIDS.
- How do access and service levels vary within urban centres, and how well are funds being directed to address any inequalities?

The preparation of this report struggled against a number of data challenges. A number of simple measures could be taken **to improve the quality of data** available for sector monitoring, including the following:

- All analysis of equity in sanitation outcomes has struggled against inadequate survey data. This can be corrected very simply by the inclusion of more nuanced survey questions in future household surveys.
- Analysis of equity in the sanitation sector also struggled against the unavailability of budget data on sanitation. Clearly identified budget allocations for sanitation and sewerage would be a valuable step towards improving performance in the sub-sector, as well as useful for future sector analyses.
- This report clearly demonstrates the value of Waterpoint Mapping data. Making such data available nationwide rather than in a small selection of districts would provide an even more valuable source of data for planning and monitoring.

Finally, as this is the first report of its kind, two recommendations **for future sector equity reports** are put forward:

- The sector equity monitoring strategy and report should remain civil society-led. This will give the strategy and reports valuable independence and objectivity, and provide civil society with a regular and constructive platform to raise equity concerns.
- Future sector equity reports could consider including narrative policy analyses of key issues in addition to the budget and survey analysis that has been included here. Several key equity issues in the sector have not arisen within the quantitative approach taken here, but would benefit from increased attention. In particular, it has not been possible to consider the possibilities for pro-poor regulation of urban water supply, or the equity implication of current policy on sanitation and sewerage (sewerage remains effectively a subsidy to the wealthy), and since budget allocation decisions appear to be poorly targeted from an equity perspective, an analysis of representation and influence in the LGA-level planning process would also be interesting.



The **Tanzania Water and Sanitation Network (TAWASANET)** is a recently formed network of Tanzanian civil society organisations working in the water and sanitation sector. The network was officially launched by the Minister of Water and Irrigation, Professor Mark Mwandosya, during Maji Week 2008.

TAWASANET was formed in order to increasing sharing between civil society organisations, promote partnerships between civil society and other sector stakeholders, build the capacity of civil society in the water and sanitation sector, and to strengthen the voice of civil society in national policy debates.



WaterAid is a leading international NGO which works to enable the world's poorest people to gain access to safe water, sanitation and hygiene education. We work in Africa, Asia and the Pacific region and advocate globally with our partners to realise our vision of a world where everyone has access to these basic human rights.

We work with local partners, who understand local issues, and provide them with the skills and support to help communities set up and manage practical and sustainable projects that meet their real needs.

We also advocate locally and internationally to change policy and practice and ensure water and sanitation's vital role in reducing poverty is recognised.