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Water, water everywhere: An Analysis of the Effectiveness of World Bank's and UNICEF's Efforts to Provide Access to Clean Water in Nigeria

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WATER, WATER EVERYWHERE, NOR ANY DROP TO DRINK: AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WORLD BANK'S AND UNICEF'S EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ACCESS TO CLEAN WATER IN NIGERIA

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To Granddaddy, for his inspiration.

To my family and friends, for their love and support.

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ABSTRACT

JESSICA-PHILLIPS TYSON:

Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink: An Analysis of the Effectiveness of World Bank's and UNICEF's Efforts to Provide Access to Clean Water in Nigeria
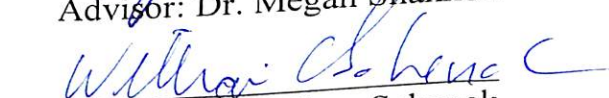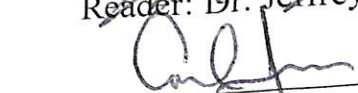
(Under the direction of Dr. Megan Shannon)

This thesis examines the debate surrounding the effectiveness of international aid organizations' efforts to reduce poverty and promote economic development. Its goal is to consider two major international organizations, World Bank and UNICEF, in order to make a judgment on which approach is more effective: direct government aid or community-based efforts. Specifically, this thesis examines World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts to provide access to clean water in Nigeria. In the first chapter, it reports on the significance of clean water to an individual, the United States, developing nations, and the world at large. This thesis provides its own criteria for an effective effort to provide access to clean water. Also, this thesis provides a brief overview of the history and structure of both organizations and then describes in detail each organization's specific programs for providing access to clean water. Next, each program is analyzed and judged based on the criteria developed for this thesis. It concludes that UNICEF's approach of community-based efforts is more effective in providing access to clean water in Nigeria than World Bank's approach of direct government aid.

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Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink.
Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner"

A forty-three year old man wakes up in New York early on a Monday morning in late September. He is making a presentation to the board of directors at his firm later this morning, where it is absolutely crucial that he be successful in getting his desired point across. He starts his morning off with several cups of coffee and a bowl of cereal. After finishing breakfast, he starts a load in his dishwasher. He showers, brushes his teeth, gets dressed, and departs his house for the office. Already, this man has used over **400** liters of water since he woke up, two hours ago.

On the other side of the world, a forty-three year old woman wakes up on the same Monday morning in Nigeria. She wonders if she will make it to the market this afternoon in time to sell the baskets and jewelry she has been making in her little spare time. She sends her children off to school after each of them eat a bowl of leftover rice. She sets out for the river two kilometers from her house. By late afternoon, some ten hours later, she has returned with the water she collected in the river and begins to boil it. An hour later, after the water has been boiling, she and her children eat, drink, and bathe with the **50** liters of water she collected earlier that morning. Even after boiling, the water still contains dangerous microorganisms that transfer water-born diseases to the woman and her children.

These stories were created purely for example, however unfortunate situations like that of the forty-three year old woman take place in the world every single day. I live in a world where I do not lack access to clean water, where clean water is at my fingertips anytime of the day. Millions of people around the world and, in this case, in Nigeria, do not have the same privilege. They live day after day with little to no clean

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water and suffer from the repercussions for the rest of their shortened lives. Water is essential to life. Without it, humans die. Samuel Taylor Coleridge writes, "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink." Even with abundant and plentiful amounts of water on this earth, millions lack access to the *clean* water they desperately need to survive.

FOREWORD:

The research question I sought to explore has transformed over the course of the year. Originally, this thesis focused on the effectiveness of local versus international organizations in reducing poverty and promoting economic development. While this topic is very broad, I was specifically examining local and international organizations' efforts to provide access to clean water in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. My research is no longer a comparative analysis of local and international organizations. It was very difficult and nearly impossible without having traveled to Nigeria to completely differentiate between local and international organizations. Many of the international organizations, such as the World Health Organization, the World Bank Group, and the United Nations Children's Fund, make it a priority to partner with or fund existing local organizations, efforts, and programs within Nigeria, therefore forming a hybrid of both international and local efforts and organizations.

Instead, this thesis now examines two international organizations' efforts to provide access to clean water in Nigeria. The two organizations, the World Bank Group and the United Nations Children's Fund, have different approaches to reducing poverty and promoting economic development within Nigeria. While the research question has changed significantly, the thesis remains a comparison and examination of which approach is better, that is to say which approach is more effective. The notion of effectiveness, particularly the effectiveness of international aid, is a broad and complex concept. What makes international aid effective? When are efforts to reduce poverty successful or unsuccessful? More specifically, when has access to clean water been provided effectively? Can the same measure of effectiveness that is given for Nigeria be

applied to other nations? In order to compare and examine the effectiveness of the World Bank Group's and the United Nations Children's Fund's approaches, their approaches have been classified into two categories: direct government aid and community-based efforts.

The process and transformation of this thesis and research question over the course of the year, however, proved to be very useful. It was very telling about the nature of aid today. We live in an increasingly globalized world where borders, lines, and categories of local/international or community/government are blurred by collective and joint efforts. Acquiring this knowledge about the globalizing world and the often difficult task of differentiating between local and international efforts will only help my examination of the World Bank Group's and the United Nations Children's Fund's approaches because it taught me that the answer may not be black or white. The answer to the question I am seeking may be gray, but nonetheless, it will hopefully not only illuminate the effectiveness of aid given to Nigeria, but to other developing nations around the world as well.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTION

Is direct government aid more effective than community-based efforts in reducing poverty and in promoting economic development?

In order to examine the effectiveness of international aid in reducing poverty and promoting economic development, this thesis will evaluate two difference approaches of providing access to clean water: direct government aid and community-based efforts.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has set poverty reduction as one of its top priorities and goals through an initiative called the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs strive to "tackle extreme poverty in its many dimensions" through eight time-sensitive goals. The eight goals are: (1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; (2) achieve universal primary education; (3) promote gender equality and empower women; (4) reduce child mortality; (5) improve maternal health; (6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; (7) ensure environmental stability; and (8) develop a global partnership for development. (United Nations 2010)

The MDGs are lofty goals with many interwoven and interconnected factors. The eradication of extreme poverty can only be fully achieved if the other seven goals mentioned above are individually achieved. In fact, many of these goals support each other and must be pursued simultaneously. For example, maternal health cannot improve substantially without addressing HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases in developing nations. Correspondingly, my argument is that none of the goals can be fully achieved

without the sanitation of water and the availability of clean water. The equality and empowerment of women cannot be achieved until they are provided with a convenient and safe water supply. Otherwise, many women will spend their days walking to and from water sources, lessening their opportunities to study or work. In addition, malaria and other diseases cannot be fully combated until Nigerians have access to potable water that does not carry dangerous microorganisms. International organizations have a significant role in providing clean water and water sanitation, made evident through initiatives like the United Nations (UN) MDGs.

1.2. CLEAN WATER

1.2.1. Why clean water?

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon declares, "Water is essential to survive" (WWO 2011). There are absolutely no substitutes for water, unlike other resources such as oil. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon elaborates, "Every twenty seconds, a child dies from disease associated with a lack of clean water. That adds up to an unconscionable 1.5 million lives cut short each year" (WWO 2011). By 2015, the UN hopes to cut in half the number of people in the world without access to clean water (United Nations 2010). The water crisis we are currently in is not one of scarcity; it is a crisis of access (Water.org 2008).

UN water expert Brian Appleton attempts to illustrate the gravity of the water crisis, "But the lack of clean water is not only inconvenient; it can also be deadly. Each year 1.8 million children – 5,000 per day – die from waterborne illnesses such as diarrhea, according to the UN. That's equivalent to twelve full jumbo jets crashing every day," (Behr 2008). If twelve jumbo jets full of children crashed every day, leaving no

survivors, the world would realize that the global water crisis is serious and would take action (Behr 2008).

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon contributes to this illustration by describing the availability of water in New York City: "We turn on a tap, and it gushes out. We walk into any corner store, and shelves groan under its bottled weight. Yard space, rather than sprinklers, is the scarce commodity. And rain brings consternation, not relief," (WWO 2007). In contrast, there are millions of women in Africa who spend up to ten hours a day collecting water, only to spend the rest of their day boiling it in order to make it somewhat potable (WWO 2011). Gary White, cofounder of Water.org, published the following: "In just one day, more than 200 million hours of women's time is consumed for the most basic human needs – collecting water for domestic use. This loss of productivity is greater than the combined number of hours worked in a week by employees at Wal-Mart, United Parcel Service, McDonalds, IBM, Kroger, and Target" (2011).

Making the connection between clean water and the MDGs, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon writes,

> More than two and a half billion people in the world live in the most abysmal standards of hygiene and sanitation. Helping them would do more than reduce the death toll; it would serve to protect the environment, alleviate poverty, and promote development. That's because water underpins so much of the work we do in these areas. (WWO 2011)

The MDGs, as well as other international humanitarian and development goals, cannot be met without the access to clean water. As mentioned before, water is at the core of all of the world's problems. It is vital to each individual's life and to society's wellbeing at large. Furthermore, this fact holds particularly true for Nigeria. World

Bank's and UNICEF's initiatives to reduce poverty and promote economic development cannot be fully achieved without an increase in the number of people with access to clean water.

The World Water Organization (WWO) and Water.org published the following statistics on the world's current water crisis:

- More people in the world own cell phones than have access to a toilet.

- The water and sanitation crisis claims more lives through disease than any war claims through guns.

- A bathtub holds 151 liters of water. Someone in a slum may only get 30 liters for all their daily needs.

- The world's water consumption rate is doubling every twenty years, outpacing by two times the rate of population growth.

- Despite being the most common substance on earth, 97% is seawater and unfit for human use. Two-thirds of the fresh water is locked up in glaciers, leaving only one percent of the earth's water for human consumption. This one percent is increasingly threatened by pollution.

- Of the 37 major diseases in developing countries, 21 are water and sanitation related.

- No single type of intervention has greater overall impact upon national development and public health than does the provision of safe drinking water and the proper disposal of human excreta.

- Investment in safe drinking water and sanitation contributes to economic growth. For each $1 invested, the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates returns of $3-$34, depending on the region and technology. (Water.org 2011)

Global Water, an international organization based in the United States, was founded in 1982 in an attempt to raise awareness and save the lives of those without access to clean water (Global Water 2011). The organization describes the vicious cycle of poverty and the absence of clean water. The cycle of poverty begins with the absence of water. Crops and livestock wither and die, causing members of a community to go hungry. Weakened by the lack of food, the community members develop deadly diseases. The water they do have access to is polluted by animal and human wastes containing a large number of harmful microorganisms. Children sick with disease can no longer attend school and receive no education, while the older members of the community are too sick to work in the fields to gain money and food for their families. This cycle manifests in a number of ways throughout the developing world and can be ended or at least alleviated with access to clean water (2011).

1.2.2. National Security Concern

While water is a significant humanitarian concern, it is also significant to United States national interests. The National Intelligence Council (NIC) details water's significance to United States national interests in its "Global Trends 2015" document. "Global Trends: A Dialogue About the Future with Nongovernment Experts" states that 80 percent of water usage goes into agriculture in the developing world, i.e. Nigeria, and that this proportion is not sustainable (National Intelligence Council 2000). By 2015, the NIC predicts that a large number of developing countries will be unable to maintain their levels of irrigated agriculture. This prediction is very problematic because most of the world's water sources are not contained within the boundaries of a single nation or state. Instead, "nearly one-half of the world's land surface consists of river basins shared by

more than one country and more than 30 nations receive more than one-third of their water from outside their borders" (National Intelligence Council 2000).

Historically, water and its supply have been a source of controversy, but no water dispute has ever been a cause of "open interstate conflict" (National Intelligence Council 2000). This could change in the near future, however. The possibility of water-driven conflicts will increase as developing countries press against and recognize the limits of available water. These potential conflicts will have severe effects on United States national interests as the most water-scarce areas of the world are Africa, the Middle East, northern China, and South Asia.

1.2.3. What is clean water?

According to the UN, clean water is referred to as drinking water or potable water: water of sufficiently high quality that can be consumed or used without risk of immediate or long-term harm (2011). The effectiveness of efforts to provide access to clean water is particularly relevant since on July 29, 2010, less than one year ago, the UN declared that safe and clean drinking water is a human right (United Nations 2011). When brought to a vote in the UN General Assembly, 122 member nations voted in favor of the resolution and 41 member nations abstained from voting (United Nations 2011). "Safe and clean drinking water and sanitation is a human right essential to the full enjoyment of life and all other human rights," declared the UN General Assembly (United Nations 2011).

1.2.4. Providing Access

Along with specific approaches to providing access to water, there are also several technical procedures and pieces of technology that can be used to provide access.

One way to provide access to clean water is to tap into the groundwater that exists beneath the surface of many villages. In 2001, Global Water partnered with the UN Environmental Program to examine the availability of groundwater in water-short regions around the world (Global Water 2011). The report, titled "Groundwater Availability Study for Water-Short Developing Countries," proved that there are significant groundwater assets available in many water-short and drought-prone areas around the world, when many believed that water-short areas were groundwater-short as well (Global Water 2011). While this report led to a positive discovery, many of these water-short areas lack the ability to tap into these resources hundreds of feet under their villages. It takes a large amount of effort to drill and construct water wells in these areas. Global Water has listed some of the possible solutions to this problem: constructing simple systems, repairing what has already been implemented, utilizing new technologies, and taking advantage of local materials (2011). Spring catchment systems, wells, rain catchment systems, hand pumps, latrines, hand-washing stations, laundry and bathing facilities, and water treatment equipment are just some of the possible mechanisms that can be used to ease the effects of the global water and sanitation crisis (Global Water 2011).

1.3. THEORY

1.3.1. Alternative Approaches and Organizations

There are a number of approaches and beliefs on how to best ensure that the MDGs are met. "We need to begin thinking about better strategies for managing water – for using it efficiently and sharing it fairly. This means partnerships involving not just governments but civil society groups, individuals, and businesses," says Secretary-

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General Ban Ki-moon (WWO 2011). He then went on to praise the Coca Cola Foundation's, Dow Chemical's, and Nestle's efforts to help the poorest of the poor gain access to clean water (Lederer 2008). World Bank and UNICEF have already begun following his advice; they have sought to form relationships with governments, civil society groups, individuals, and communities. However, what is produced from these relationships is what matters. Below I will outline some of the many international organizations working to provide access to clean water more efficiently in order to illustrate the need for creativity and innovation in tackling this pressing issue.

Without water, life could not exist as it does on this earth. Considering the amount of water that is on this earth, how can we provide access to safe drinking water to the millions that do not have it? Water.org provides positive comments on this struggle to provide access to clean drinking water: "A little more than 100 years ago, New York, London, and Paris were centers of infectious disease. Child death rates were as high then as they are now in much of Sub-Saharan Africa. It was *sweeping reforms* in water and sanitation that enabled human progress to leap forward" (2011). There are ways to provide access to clean water to the developing world, particularly to Nigeria. Water.org goes on to list some of the factors that enable the developed world and its organizations to effectively provide access to clean water: local partners, community ownership, appropriate technology, addressing sanitation and hygiene, and measuring and monitoring success (Water.org 2011).

African policymakers have also brainstormed on how to reduce the number of people without access to clean water: "contracting with private firms to operate urban water and sanitary systems, adopting new conservation technologies, enacting multi-

nation pacts to manage regional watersheds, and increasing funds for water projects in the world's poorest regions" (Behr 2008). Some major textile companies in Africa are working with farmers and communities to conserve watersheds in growing cotton as their small contribution to the effort against the global water crisis (WWO 2011).

An innovative non-governmental organization with a similar mission is Water for People, "the current of change," an American organization with a unique approach to implementing and monitoring water projects around the globe (Water for People 2011). Water for People was created beside and within the American Water Works Association when some of its members "shared the heartfelt vision of a world where all people have access to clean water, adequate sanitation, and basic health services." Contrary to other organizations, Water for People not only fights to provide access to clean water to the developing world because it is a basic human right and need, but also because its access is the "social responsibility of the water industry." This organization calls for some accountability by water industries around the world. Water for People operates under four guiding principles: "We believe in people. We keep it local. We keep good company. We keep our promises." The organization strives to use local resources, to find trusted partners, and to fulfill its obligations and projects around the world. (Water for People 2011)

Water for People pays a significant amount of attention to Africa, the world's second largest and second most populous continent (Water for People 2011). "Truly transforming lives means taking transparency, accountability, and sustainability seriously," declares the Water for People's website (2011). In order to keep its promise and truly transform lives, the organization launched an innovative, visual technology that

monitors water systems around the world in order to ensure the highest level of effectiveness. This system, Field Level Operations Watch or FLOW, is a "baseline and monitoring tool that allows us to get a clear view of what's working, what's on the verge of disrepair, and what's broken." FLOW was created for all types to use: other non-governmental organizations, governments, donors, and individuals. The system uses technology from the Android cellular phone technology and Google maps to allow community members, industry members, and volunteers to gather data with literally the "touch of a button." With an Android phone, an individual can gather data, which flows to the Internet and updates the status of that water point and system. It is this type of technology that will transform the efforts to provide access to clean water to developing nations around the water, one step at a time. (Water for People 2011)

The existence of numerous organizations and approaches to providing access to clean water begs the question of which is more effective. The numerous organizations and approaches also stand as proof that new and more efficient solutions require creativity, open-mindedness, and time. This thesis is a case study of two particular approaches: direct government aid and community-based efforts.

1.3.2. *The White Man's Burden*

William Easterly, a professor of economics at New York University and a senior fellow at the Center for Global Development, wrote a book titled: "The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good." Easterly applauds the West's compassion and urge to alleviate the condition of impoverished people around the world (2007). No change will come in the absence of compassion. With millions of starving, homeless, and impoverished people around the

world, the world seems to have no shortage of compassion. With that said, this thesis, in a way, examines the West's compassion for the "Rest" that Easterly mentions. To the naïve, it seems inconceivable that the developing world exists in the condition it does when so many people, organizations, and governments around the world are willing to provide aid. There are more aid organizations today than other time in the history of the world (Easterly 2007).

Easterly ponders why the world is not witnessing monumental improvements proportional to the enormous amount of financial donations given in support of humanitarian aid each year (2007). First, Easterly argues that two tragedies exist in the world today: extreme poverty affecting billions of lives each day and the ineffectiveness of the West's $2.3 trillion dollars given to alleviate it (2007). The second tragedy rests in the fact that so much well-meaning compassion cannot bring positive results to the impoverished around the world. The cycle of this tragedy is: idealism, high expectations, disappointing results, and cynical backlash (Easterly 2007). Wealthy nations cannot address the first tragedy efficiently until the second tragedy has been recognized by donors (Easterly 2007).

Easterly presents an interesting notion: the second tragedy must end before the first tragedy can end, illustrating the significance in examining the effectiveness of aid given to Nigeria. Extreme poverty will not be eradicated until international aid is effective; therefore, considerable time and resources should be spent on determining how to make international aid more effective. His argument is somewhat anecdotal though. Numerous non-governmental organizations, governments, and individuals have donated generous amounts of time and money; one must ask who is responsible for ensuring the

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aid is implemented effectively? Is the recipient responsible or the donor? Is there a shared responsibility? Does one, recipient or donor, carry more of the weight? Also, acknowledging the current inefficiencies of its aid, should the West simply stop giving?

Next, Easterly states: "The right plan is to have no plan" (2007). The so-called "right plan" or one that successfully completes its goals is not a "global blueprint" placed onto a developing nation's society by the West (Easterly 2007). In opposition to large-scale projects and utopian agendas, Easterly comments, "The utopian agenda has led to collective responsibility for multiple goals for each agency, one of the worst incentive systems invented since mankind started walking upright" (2007, 368). When many organizations of a large size are collectively responsible for lofty goals, the result is often the implementation of large-scale projects or "global blueprints" (Easterly 2007). For example, international organizations have proposed remodeling a developing nation's entire economic and political system or, in the case of this thesis, implementing a region-wide water system that reaches the lives of millions of people rather than the thousands or hundreds.

While Easterly provides an interesting perspective, his plan of having no plan cannot be applied literally to World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts to reducing poverty and promoting economic development in Nigeria; however, wisdom can be derived. Instead of a "global blueprint," the "right plan" is to implement no plan before thoroughly immersing oneself into the local situation and conditions. World Bank and UNICEF, as part of the UN, have members to whom they must report. The organizations are held accountable and must provide transparent records of their plans and actions. With requirements of accountability and transparency, World Bank and UNICEF cannot

enter Nigeria with no plan at all like Easterly suggests. However, following Easterly's advice, World Bank and UNICEF should send a team of experts to their country sites to immerse themselves in the local conditions in order to gather baseline data. Upon the team's return, World Bank and UNICEF can then, respectively, develop a plan that is appropriate to the local needs ad conditions. The problem does not exist with international organizations giving aid. The problem is that international organizations' blueprints have not sufficiently been adapted to the local context and conditions.

Thirdly, Easterly discusses the magnitude of feedback and accountability. The absence of feedback and accountability is fatal to an organization's plans (Easterly 2007). Organizations only know their programs or systems work if the people at the bottom, the locals, are able to give feedback. In order to be successful, an organization must be close to the customers at the bottom, rather than surveying from the top (Easterly 2007, 15-17). If their feedback is not heard, Easterly argues the plan will not be successful (2007). This argument proposes a so-called "bottom-up" strategy, rather than a "top-down."

A key weakness of direct government aid is the lack of feedback and accountability (Easterly 2007). The approach of direct government aid leaves very little room for advice from the customers to reach the donors surveying from the top. Easterly elaborates, "Feedback only works if somebody listens. Feedback without accountability is like the bumper sticker I once saw on an eighteen-wheeler: Don't like my driving? Call 1-800-screw-you" (2007, 16). These components, feedback and accountability, must go hand-in-hand in order for international aid to be successful in its missions in the developing world.

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Easterly's argument for the significance of feedback and accountability is very convincing. Feedback should be given and heard from the impoverished and those without access to clean water because Nigerian citizens will have to cope with the implemented program or system after an organization leaves their area. Is it not given that they should have a voice in the development and implementation process, given that they have lived with the problem and know the land?

Also, accountability can be more difficult when various organizations and government sectors are responsible for achieving multiple goals concerning clean water, collectively. Without a clear distinction of responsibility, a particular organization or government sector can claim they did their part in achieving the goals and can place blame on other contributors when inefficiencies occur. Collective responsibility encourages "big" actions since more resources are available to numerous contributors, rather than those available to just one organization or government sector.

The prevailing theories on the effectiveness of international aid can be divided into two broad categories. Some argue that international aid channeled through the governments of the developing nations (direct government aid) is more effective in reducing poverty and promoting economic development than aid given to communities. Others argue that international aid focused on communities and the local levels of society (community-based efforts) is more effective. Below, I assess the relative merits and detriments of each approach.

1.3.3. Direct Government Aid

For this thesis, direct government aid refers to aid given to national governments and government ministries. Direct government aid has the ability to call upon a broader

breadth of knowledge and experts to help with the issue, as it will be a nation state asking for advice, rather than a local community. A governmental entity is more likely to be successful in gathering the help and advice of experts on the relevant issues. Direct government aid also utilizes the government and societal infrastructure that is already in place, so the aid channeled through the government could improve and modernize the already existing infrastructure rather than starting from scratch. In an ideal situation, the local government will be the responsible party when an organization leaves. Ideally, the government can hold itself accountable for the success of the implemented program or system and for the likelihood of its citizens. If the government is not corrupt, direct government aid can encourage the government to take better care of its citizens.

However, direct government aid can be ineffective when the recipient government is corrupt. If the use of international aid is not overseen in an effective way, the money may never serve its intended purpose. The recipient governments must be held accountable in order for the aid to be effective. If the aid money is being used inefficiently and is directed to one particular class of society, the aid money could sustain or increase social inequality. Nations with already large and growing populations do not need to increase the existing social and economic inequalities.

Nigeria, an oil-rich nation, has conditions unfavorable to democracy and good government. "Many countries of the Rest have conditions unfavorable to democracy and good government: they are producers of natural resources such as oil, and/or are unequal agrarian societies, and/or are just unequal, and/or have a lot of ethnic conflict..." comments Easterly (2007, 130). Nations with the "resource curse" (having significant amounts of profitable resources, but a very poor population) can be poor recipients of

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direct government aid. In *African Studies Quarterly*, Emmanuel Obuah states, "Corruption is a persistent cancerous phenomenon which bedevils Nigeria. Misappropriation, bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, and money laundering by public officials have permeated the fabric of society" (2010, 1). When governments are cursed with problems like those Easterly mentions (abundance of natural resources, inequality, or ethnic conflict) and like those of Nigeria, they also become poorer recipients of international aid.

1.3.4. Community-Based Efforts

For this thesis, community-based efforts refer to aid given to local authorities, civil society organizations, individuals, and communities. "Man is small, and, therefore, small is beautiful," expresses E.F. Schumacher in his book, *Small is Beautiful* (1999, xiv). According to Schumacher, a community-based approach to alleviating any of the developing world's problems is more effective because it is on a smaller scale (1999). It seems paradoxical, but smaller can be incredibly more effective. Instead of developing and implementing a large system that takes a large amount of time and resources, a smaller program with the same goal will produce more immediate and timely results, just on a smaller, more incremental scale.

The smaller the focus of aid, the more beautiful and effective the outcome. Community-based development projects are smaller and therefore potentially more successful. They are even more effective if they are implemented with little to no political agenda. In a nonpartisan and unbiased situation, access to clean water will be provided with a higher level of equality. The community-based efforts rely on the members and citizens of the communities, those who have lived on the land and have

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first-hand knowledge of the most pressing development issues. They can interact with the communities and form more personal relationships.

On the other hand, community-based efforts in developing nations often lack the infrastructure and organization needed to carry out their intended purposes. Moreover, there may be less accountability in community-based efforts. It is not mandatory for communities and civil society organizations to provide the same basic civil services as governments and therefore, community-based efforts might be held less accountable. While the interactions are more personal, the scale of community-based efforts can be problematic. Community-based efforts must be carried out in numerous and large numbers if they are to assist in meeting the UNDP's MDGs. Also, community-based efforts could be perceived as international organizations impinging on state sovereignty. When efforts are directed at communities and individuals, rather than governments, an international organization could be overstepping its boundaries and undermining the recipient's government. These local efforts could even be viewed as a form of neo-colonialism.

1.4. HYPOTHESIS

After weighing the two approaches, I expect that community-based efforts are more effective than direct government aid in reducing poverty and promoting economic development. As a more targeted and accepted approach, they rely on the citizens of the communities who have lived on the land and have a first-hand knowledge of the most pressing development issues. Even though the scale is smaller, each incremental approach is ultimately more effective than a large-scale failure.

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UNICEF, as a community-based effort, will be more effective in providing access to clean water than World Bank's direct assistance to government efforts. UNICEF's programs will improve the percentage of the Nigerian population using improved drinking-water sources more so than World Bank's programs.

Community-based efforts are even more effective when the government contributes with monetary resources, thereby forming a relationship and accountability between the two. Direct government aid is only effective when given to stable, incorrupt, and accountable government systems, and also when paired with local, community-based efforts. The impact of community-based efforts will be more longstanding and lasting throughout history as the aid is more targeted and accepted. A combination of the two approaches will arguably be the most effective. That is to say money and resources channeled through the national governments (direct government aid) with a specific emphasis on the communities and local people (community-based efforts) will be very effective in reducing poverty and promoting economic development.

The independent variable of this thesis is World Bank's and UNICEF's approaches, techniques, and specific programs.

The dependent variables of this thesis are the following indicators of an effective effort in providing access to clean water: (1) the use of local resources, (2) a method for self-reliance upon completion of the program, (3) a focus on the poor, and (4) the involvement of women.

1.5. Categorization: Direct Government Aid and Community-based Efforts

World Bank and UNICEF are international organizations striving to effectively put to use the millions of dollars of aid that is given each year to developing and

underdeveloped countries. While World Bank and UNICEF have similar goals such as eradicating poverty, their statements of purpose have different focal points. World Bank's purpose or mission is "to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors" (World Bank 2011). On the other hand, UNICEF's statement of purpose is "to work with others to overcome the obstacles that poverty, violence, disease and discrimination place in a child's path" (UNICEF 2011). World Bank and UNICEF work in different areas of Nigerian society: World Bank concerns itself with the "public and private sectors," while UNICEF is concerned with "a child's path."

For this examination of the effectiveness of direct government aid versus community-based efforts, World Bank's approach is categorized as direct government aid and UNICEF's approach as community-based efforts. It is difficult to make such a broad generalization and place each of the organizations in one of the categories. However, for the sake of this very specific examination, of each organization's efforts to provide access to clean water, the categories are much more conceivable. World Bank's National Urban Water Sector Reform Project provides loans and grants to the Nigerian government (direct government aid), while UNICEF's water programs invest in the Nigerian communities and civil society organizations (community-based efforts). This thesis does not claim that World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts in Nigeria are universal representations of their efforts and actions around the world. For instance, UNICEF does strive to have contact, cooperate, and collaborate with national governments in order to develop unique programs for specific areas (UNICEF 2011). Many times these

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collaborations are for programs dealing with education and not specifically with providing access to clean water. With that said, this thesis does claim that World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts in Nigeria are somewhat indicative of their efforts in other developing nations.

The phrase "to help people help themselves and their environment" of World Bank's mission sounds like a community-based approach, where the focus is on the people and civil society organizations of the community rather than on the governments (World Bank 2010). Similarly, UNICEF's mission is to overcome obstacles that a number of issues "place in a child's path" (UNICEF 2011). These segments of World Bank and UNICEF's missions imply people and people-oriented approaches. In the case of Nigeria, World Bank has chosen the government as its constituency and UNICEF has chosen the local communities and children as its constituency. Stated clearly in the title of the organization, World Bank is a bank, not in the common sense, but a bank that seeks to serve the developing world. UNICEF, as its title states, is a UN organization with the sole purpose of improving children's lives around the world. These core differences in the names, purposes, and missions of World Bank and UNICEF imply the contrast and distinctions in the organizations' approaches to providing access to clean water in Nigeria.

World Bank is structured in such a way that member countries are categorized as either donor or borrower. Nigeria is a borrowing nation (IDA 2011). World Bank's client, then, in this sense is the Nigerian government. The IBRD and IDA make loans to the Nigerian government.

> According to World Bank's rules of engagement, its main partners are the governments of the borrowing countries. The engagement with NGOs and

the private sector plays a subordinate role and... is largely indirect. The World Bank-financed programmes are designed at a national level and include large-scale projects, extending over a longer period of time. They are aimed at mobilizing whatever local resources and expertise there are through official government structures. (Bojicic-Dzelilovic 2002, 87)

With that said, it is not that local communities are of no concern to World Bank. The organization strives to utilize the local resources, but attempts to do so through the national and state governments.

UNICEF's mission statement reads, "UNICEF mobilizes political will and material resources to help countries, particularly developing countries, ensure a 'first call for children' and to build their capacity to form appropriate policies and deliver services for children and their families" (UNICEF 2011). As an international aid organization, UNICEF declares children and their families as its focus. The organization strives to help countries help their own people, but will do what it takes to ensure the children are the benefactors of the aid, not the government of the developing country.

In addition, World Bank trusts and passes off the responsibility to implement each program to the "borrowers" or recipient governments. "While we (World Bank) supervise the implementation of each loan and evaluate its results, the borrower implements the project or program according to the agreed terms," reads World Bank's website (2010). This language implies that the aid given to the borrower or developing nation is simply a business transaction with the governing body of the said country. The governing body of the said country holds the reigns in actually implementing the development plan. World Bank does state, however, that three-fourths of its outstanding loans are managed by World Bank country directors located away from the main headquarters in Washington, D.C. (2010). There is an apparent contradiction in the

placement of these country directors. The trend of many international organizations is for their country directors to be foreigners; therefore, the placement and role of country directors do not always make the approach more local or community-based. On the other hand, World Bank strives to work on a more local level through IDA grants. IDA grants are specifically given to civil society organizations in order to increase the influence of the poor. These IDA grants, then, allow civil society organizations and Nigerian people to be the borrowers and not just the Nigerian government.

In an effort to achieve the MDGs by its target date of 2015, in just four short years, UNICEF has introduced a new approach to aiding children around the world. A flagship report titled "Progress for Children: Achieving the MDGs with Equity" details UNICEF's new approach (UNICEF 2011). "The approach is based on a simple premise: that addressing the needs of the poorest of the poor is key to meeting the development goals and reducing global injustice," says Anthony Lake, UNICEF's sixth Executive Director (UNICEF 2011). This statement of strategy and approach represents the significance UNICEF places on the local people: "the poorest of the poor," rather than the governing bodies of the country (UNICEF 2011). "How do you achieve the development targets? One of the best and most effective ways of achieving those development targets is by investing in children," proclaims Carol Bellamy, previous Executive Director of UNICEF (Smith and Tedeschi 2001). She then goes on to communicate that economic development cannot occur without human development and human development will not occur without the investment into children's lives (Smith and Tedeschi 2001).

For this thesis, direct government aid refers to aid given to the national governments and government ministries. Community-based efforts refer to aid given to local authorities, civil society organizations, individuals, and communities.

1.6. DATA LIMITATIONS

The exploration of this issue has brought about many discoveries of the nature of international aid today and developing nations. Facts and numbers that clearly establish the effectiveness of direct government aid and community-based efforts are exceedingly difficult to find. Statistics and indicators such as yearly infant mortality rates, school attendance rates, and unemployment rates could provide clear evidence for the comparative effectiveness of each approach. If children have access to clean water, they will be exposed to less disease-carrying microorganisms. Fewer children will die, lowering the infant mortality rates. When Nigerian children and adults are sick from water-born diseases, fewer children will attend school and fewer adults will work. The school attendance rates will decrease and the unemployment rates will increase. After an exhaustive search and many inquiries, I found that this type of data is hard to come by and potentially nonexistent, at least on a yearly and regional basis.

First, by email, I contacted World Bank and UNICEF in quest of yearly statistics that were not provided on the Internet, such as the percentage of the population (rural, urban, and total) using improved water facilities. After numerous emails, I received responses with attachments of the information I had already found on the Internet or with kind remarks saying that they could not provide the data I sought. I received no response when I called the direct phone lines of the water supply and sanitation sectors of World Bank and UNICEF. In full recognition that my thesis has little to no priority to a large

international aid organization with more significant concerns, I tried one last form of communication: a written letter. I received the most response to this round of letters, maybe in connection to my previous attempts. While I was given some new data, I mostly received links to their online data systems already available to the public.

Yearly, region-by-region data is crucial to the comparison of World Bank's and UNICEF's particular projects. I contacted representatives of both organizations' aid databases in search for yearly and regional statistics on Nigeria. The World Bank Development Data Group responded: "Thanks for the message. We do not have sub-national data. National aid data is available, however, in the WDI database, accessible via databank." The UNICEF Nigeria Country Office is located in the diplomatic zone of Garki, Abuja. Geoffrey Njoku, the Communication Specialist and Media and External Relations representative of the office, was also hard to reach. With no response from Mr. Njoku in nearly four weeks, I sent two letters to the office in Nigeria only to have them returned for an "incorrect address" although it was the exact address listed on its website. Eventually, I received an email from Mr. Njoku with pamphlets on UNICEF's Sanitation, Hygiene and Water in Nigeria (SHAWN) program and Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) programs in Nigeria. Even though the pamphlet did not provide data, they provided more succinct details on the programs current operations within the Benue, Bauchi, Jigawa, and Katsina states.

While the individual organizations do provide critiques and analysis of their implemented systems and projects, they often do not provide sub-national data. Their critiques and post-implementation analysis are very general and speak to the Nigerian nation as a whole and not to specific regions. In an attempt to have a third-party opinion

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and as unbiased of a view as possible of the organizations' effectiveness, I scrutinized international aid data websites for an independent measurement and outside verification of aid effectiveness and discovered an outside verification to be nonexistent as well.

For general guidance in acquiring water resources data, I contacted the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Very quickly, Vicente Ruiz of OECD responded, "...to be honest, I have no idea where you can actually access the type of data for Nigeria you're looking for. Best of luck." Not only is it difficult to access the data, but the existence of the data comes into question.

Since the actual process of providing access to clean water is very technical and developed by hydrological civic engineers, I contacted Dr. Cristiane Queiroz Surbeck of the University of Mississippi Engineering Department for some guidance and insight into the technicalities that go into the proposal, development, and implementation of a water utility or system. I learned a great deal from Dr. Surbeck about the processes water must undergo in order to be considered clean and potable. I was made aware that providing access to and sanitizing water are different concepts and processes. Sometimes both processes, providing access and cleaning, are taken care of in one system, whereas other times a system or piece of equipment is only designed to do one of the steps: provide access or sanitize. Therefore, access and quality are two different issues in the challenge of extricating freshwater from the ground and making it potable. Furthermore, I investigated hydrological engineering and public health journals and databases to determine if measurements of aid effectiveness were detailed in an engineering or public health capacity. I found that there were discussions and measurements of effectiveness: however, not on the nature of aid, but on the structural components of the equipment.

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International aid organizations working in developing nations are not fully responsible for the lack of sub-national data. To some degree and at some point, the governments of the developing nations should and must be able to collect, analyze, and provide this data on their own, for themselves and for the international aid community. Many developing nations do not have the capacity or ability to gather the data, calculate the figures, and provide the evidence. Large amounts of people, time, and resources are required to collect this data, especially on a yearly and sub-national basis. Developing nations, like international organizations in their lack of response to my inquiries, have more pressing issues to handle than collecting sub-national and/or regional data. Reminded of one of the advantages of living in a developed nation with extremely strict transparency requirements, I recognize that the national, state, and county statistics made available to the American public are absent in many developing nations, including Nigeria.

While Nigeria's National Bureau of Statistics is one of the most advanced websites of the Nigerian federal government, the available censuses are incomplete. For example, there are many options where viewers can opt to view national and regional maps and censuses, but once transferred to the specific websites a statement reads: "No record found" (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). In addition, the National Bureau of Statistics website has established links to very specific and regional datasets, such as the number of state capitals in each hydrological area, the number of other major towns in each hydrological area, the total catchment population of each hydrological area, the number of water discharge stations in each hydrological area, the number of rainfall stations in each hydrological area, etc. (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). Each link

leads to the same statement: "no record found." This could mean that the data exist, but is not available for public view or it could represent the Nigerian government's data collection aspirations.

In the Water Resources and Rural Development Sector of the National Bureau of Statistics, a document, entitled "Water Resource Development Statistics," details the creation of the Nigerian Ministry of Water Resources in 1992 as a separate entity and not a sector of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). In response to international opinion and influence, the Nigerian government decided it proper and imperative to focus more attention on the proper management and development of the nation's water resources. Describing the new ministry's significance, the document reads,

> Water resources represent an important parameter of the environment on which the nation depends, especially for agricultural and industrial purposes...Similarly, its socio-economic importance cannot be overemphasized particularly in the areas of fishing and employment, *domestic water supply* and generation of hydroelectric power. (National Bureau of Statistics 2011)

In the eyes of international aid organizations, the Nigerian government appeared to make large strides by stating the potential significance of such a ministry. However, as previously described, the Nigerian government lacks the transparency that developed nations consider compulsory. The Ministry then goes on to describe its proposed uses and intentions in collecting, compiling, and disseminating water resources and rural development (WRRD) data (National Bureau of Statistics 2011). The National Water Resources Institute (NWRI) is responsible for WRRD collection and dissemination. However, the NWRI comments, "...There is no comprehensive listing of the items of data belonging to WRRD data set. There is, therefore, no database for WRRD data,"

(National Bureau of Statistics 2011). This statement does not completely discount or rule out the existence of this data, just the access or availability. Furthermore, the censuses provided by the Nigerian National Bureau of Statistics are incomplete and often reuse data from previous years, therefore providing an inaccurate picture of the current situation in Nigeria.

These data limitations illustrate the nature of international aid data (dependant upon data provided by the local governments) and of developing nations (oftentimes unable to collect, compile, and disseminate local data). This combination does not allow for a clear comparison and examination of World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts to provide access to clean water, but instead encourages one to determine their own measurements of effective water supply and sanitation programs and to apply these to the efforts made by involved organizations, such as World Bank and UNICEF.

1.7. METHODOLOGY

To answer the research question, I examine the approaches, techniques, and programs of both World Bank and UNICEF in order to judge and determine the effectiveness of direct government aid and community-based efforts. World Bank and UNICEF work in a number of places throughout Nigeria. For this thesis, I focus on World Bank programs in Kaduna, Nigeria and UNICEF programs in Kano, Nigeria. This geographical distinction will give me more precise results in judging their effectiveness. Within the states of Kaduna and Kano, I will examine their specific programs: the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project by World Bank and WASH and Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) by UNICEF. I examine detailed reports produced by both World Bank and UNICEF before, during, and after the completion of

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the programs to consider their individual techniques. I also use the Nigerian Country Profile produced by the United States Library of Congress in order to understand how international aid works with and within the Nigerian government.

In the absence of clear and complete data, I used my discretion to determine the most meaningful characteristics of an effective approach to providing access to clean water. The characteristics and indicators of effective approaches are multi-faceted and depend greatly on the focus of a particular region and the so-called client within the region. Is the regional government the client and its economic stability the measurement of success? Or are the local woman and children the clients and their physical and academic strength the measurement of success? For sake comparison, the effectiveness of an effort to provide access to clean water will be examined under the notion that people, individual citizens, and their political, economic, social, and physical well-being are the measurements of success. How do you measure a person's political, economic, social, and physical well-being in relation to clean water?

Project Sleipnir, an analytical technique developed by Steven J. Strang for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, serves as the basis of my methodology for comparing and judging the effectiveness of World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts to provide access to clean water in Nigeria. The Sleipnir technique uses sets of attributes for a comprehensive, structured and reliable measurement and comparison of qualitative information about organized criminal groups (Strang 2005, 1). Strang describes this technique: "The primary use of the Sleipnir technique is in producing assessments to recommend strategic enforcement and criminal intelligence priorities to senior law enforcement officers" (2005, 1). This technique has been adapted into a methodology

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appropriate for judging the effectiveness of World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts to provide access to clean water in Nigeria. Considering the data limitations previously mentioned, an adaptation of the Sleipnir technique proves to be the most befitting methodology given the information that can be gathered on each organization's efforts. (Strang 2005, 1)

Each attribute is defined and these definitions serve to minimize the degree of subjectivity in interpreting information for these assessments. Values of each attribute are defined, as well. In this case, the values assigned to each criteria for effectiveness are either *good*, *average*, or *poor*. *Good* indicates that the particular piece of criteria was reached. For example, the indicator *Use of Local Resources* would have a ranking of *good* if it has been proven that the system or progam being considered utilized local resources to its maximum capacity. *Average* suggests that there exists some indication that the criteria has been met, but not entirely. For example, if a particular program used some local resources, but mainly relied on imported or outside materials, the *Use of Local Resources* indicator would receive an *average* ranking. Lastly, *poor* indicates that in no way has the piece of criteria been met. If not a single material was gathered locally, for example, the *Use of Local Resources* would receive a *poor* ranking. Sleipnir allows analysts to show their results in a very clear and concise manner to their customers. The results are then displayed visually in a matrix that uses color-coding to illustrate the values (*good*, *average*, or *poor*) of each piece of criteria. (Strang 2005, 1-2)

1.8. CRITERIA FOR EFFECTIVENESS

For this thesis, the indicators of an effective effort to provide access to clean water are: (1) the use of local resources, (2) a method for self-reliance, (3) a focus on the

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poor, and (4) the involvement of women. While it can be argued that these four pieces of criteria are not the only or the most significant indicators of an effective effort, they will be the indicators focused on in this thesis. A definition and explanation of the four indicators will follow. In addition to assigning values to each attribute (*good, average,* or *poor*), the Sleipnir technique also assigns a weight to each attribute. In this adaptation, each attribute or criteria has an equal weight in the effectiveness of the effort to provide access to clean water. This is because, if the effort to provide access to clean water is effective, each of these attributes will occur simultaneously. That is to say that an effort is not fully effective or successful if each criteria is not achieved.

Use of Local Resources

Upon completion of a program or system, an organization working to provide access to clean water must have the ability to eventually vacate the area when access to potable water has been provided. The organization cannot be held responsible for indefinitely providing the resources and materials needed to maintain and repair the implemented system. Therefore, it is extremely significant that the international organization utilize local resources, so that when it no longer has a presence in the area, the local people, communities, and governments are able to find the necessary materials for maintenance and repair. If local resources are not utilized to the maximum capacity, a sense of dependency will be created between the local government or community and the international organization.

Paul Harvey and Jeremy Lind of the Humanitarian Policy Group argue, "Relief should not be withheld without solid evidence that the needs which prompted it in the first place have been met" (2005, 1). With that said, when the needs have been met, an

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organization must be able to pull out of the program and system with the knowledge that the local citizens have the ability to carry on its efforts in the organization's absence. A "dependency mentality in which people expect continued assistance" should not exist (Harvey and Lind 2005, 3). A "dependency mentality" undermines the organization's initiative at the individual and community levels (Harvey and Lind 2005, 3). If the citizens are able and willing to be self-supporting and self-reliable, the implemented program or system has a better chance of withstanding time and other obstacles.

An effort is judged *good* if an organization determines which materials are available locally and purchases all those that are available from local, Nigerian merchants and factories. An effort is judged *average* if not all, only some, of the available materials are purchased locally. Lastly, an effort is judged *poor* if no materials are purchased locally.

Method for Self-reliance

Upon completion of a program or system, the organization must ensure that the users or consumers of the program are equipped with a method for self-reliance. Without a method for self-reliance, the citizens could feel a sense of dependency, like mentioned above. A method for self-reliance is similar to the old adage that giving a man a fish feeds him for a day, while teaching a man to fish feeds him for a lifetime. Figuratively speaking, the international organization must teach the community to fish, rather than giving it a single fish. Jo Luck, President of Heifer International, elaborates on the impact of self-reliance, "It's people taking charge of their lives and changing it because they have resources, they have opportunities, they have training. It's their decision. They own it" (Iowa Public Television 2010). If granted the opportunity and given the

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training, recipients of international aid should be self-supporting and self-reliant in order for the effort to be effective.

A method for self-reliance could come in many forms. One, for example, is in the form of a water board or committee. The community's water committee should represent every demographic of the village, with members of all ages, ethnicities, and genders. The water committee serves to observe the implemented program or system and perform regular check-ups in order to accurately determine when maintenance and repair is required. The committee should involve other members of the community by holding a forum where their opinions can be voiced and by hiring local companies to conduct the repairs.

An effort is judged *good* if the consumers have an established method for self-reliance by the time the organization completes its program or system. An effort is judged *average* if the consumers have some skills of self-reliance, but do not have an established method. An effort is judged *poor* if there is no proposed or established method for self-reliance and self-support.

Focus on the Poor

An effort to provide access to clean water is effective if the focus is on the poor, even more so if on the poorest of the poor. Poverty-stricken villages are the most impacted by the lack of access to clean water. Wealthier Nigerians and Nigerians living in urban areas are much more likely to find a source of water than those living in poor, rural villages. The determination of the poorest of the poor could take the form of an organization sending preliminary representatives to collect data on the region to

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determine who is the neediest. This determination could also be based upon sub-national data on the country's population if the data exists.

An effort will be judged *good* if the organization seeks to determine and concentrate on the poorest Nigerian citizens of the considered area. An organization must spend time on the ground determining which Nigerian citizens need clean water the most and which lack financial resources and opportunities. An effort will be judged *average* if some consideration and thought is put into the determination of which communities need timely aid the most. An effort will be judged *poor* if the organization makes no effort to determine who needs access to clean water the most.

Involvement of Women

The involvement refers to their involvement in the implementation of the water program or system and in the maintaining of the program or system. Women constitute the demographic that suffers the most from the lack of access to clean water. Other than the betterment of every individual's health, women are the most affected by a convenient and safe water supply. Instead of spending their day walking to the nearest water source and then attempting to sanitize the water they collect, they save hours of travel and hard work and have the opportunity to be more productive. A Nigerian man's day-to-day schedule will not drastically change if his community is finally granted access to clean water, but a Nigerian woman's day will drastically transform.

An effort is judged *good* if women constitute 25 percent of the water committees and if a considerable amount of women are no longer spending their days traveling and sanitizing water. An effort is judged *average* if at least one of the criteria mentioned above is met: 25 percent in the committees or the elimination of productivity and time

loss. Finally, an effort is judged *poor* if women are no more involved in the water committees and feel no change in their day-to-day lives after the implementation of the program or system.

Easterly describes a success story in his book: an effort to provide access to clean water by Water Aid in the Great Rift Valley of Ethiopia (2007, 237). Water Aid spent a considerable amount of time in this region of Ethiopia to study and create a way to transport clean water to the poorest villages in the Valley. They designed a water pipe that carries clean water from springs on the tops of the bordering mountains to the local villages in the Valley. Easterly writes that the project's success is due to the fact that the project was entirely run by Ethiopians, with representatives from the villages sitting on the board of the agency created by Water Aid to oversee the implementation of the pipes (2007, 237). He concludes his thought with: "Some of the money of the rich *had* reached the desperate poor" (Easterly 2007). The ultimate goal had been attained.

This success story includes many of the pivotal aspects of a successful effort to provide access to clean water, particularly within Nigeria. First, the aid organization spent time getting to know the community and its citizens. This time spent could transform into a more enduring bond, relationship, and respect between the aid donors and the community's citizens. Second, the organization's primary focal point was on the poorest villages in the Valley, not just the most urban area packed with the most people. Thirdly, the project utilized local resources and materials. When the time comes for Water Aid to withdraw some and then all of its obligations to the community, the local citizens will have the knowledge base and access to the local materials necessary to maintain and repair any equipment or system put in place by Water Aid. Fourthly, Water

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Aid established a diverse and equal water supply board or committee. With a substantial amount of women representation and involvement on these boards, women's role as the collector, transporter, and sanitizer of the water will lessen and in doing so give women the proper opportunities they deserve.

I acknowledge the limitations to the development of my own criteria. "While the technique (Sleipnir) itself, using the weights and definitions as agreed upon and provided, is reliable and valid, the results are only as good as the information available to the analysts," adds Strang (2005, 5). Although Strang was not speaking exactly to this adaptation of the Sleipnir technique, his remark holds true for my adaptation, criteria, and ratings: they are only as strong as the information made available to me, the researcher. The incomplete information and data previously mentioned places certain limitations on the criteria and ratings of this Sleipnir adaptation. Even with the limitations ensued by development of my own criteria, the four attributes are neutral and solid indicators of the effectiveness of efforts to provide access to clean water in the broadest sense.

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CHAPTER 2: WORLD BANK GROUP

2.1. HISTORY, STRUCTURE, AND OVERVIEW

Since its creation, the role of World Bank has grown to become "a pillar of the system of international aid to less developed countries," writes Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic in "Recovering from Civil Conflict" (2002, 86). However, World Bank did not commence its activities with the goal of giving aid to less developed countries. Instead, World Bank was founded in 1944 alongside the International Monetary Fund as part of the Bretton Woods agreement (Marcus 2002, F119). Originally, World Bank sought to supply immediate post-war reconstruction needs (Marcus 2002, F119). "The principles of the World Bank's engagement in post-conflict reconstruction explicitly state that the Bank is not a relief agency and that its purpose is defined in terms of assisting its members by financing or facilitating investment for productive purposes and promoting international trade, through loans and guarantees," comments Bojicic-Dzelilovic (2002, 87). Starting in the 1980s, the organization's goals shifted from reconstruction to development (Marcus 2002, F119). This shift from reconstruction aid to development aid marks an integral part of the World Bank's history.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) was the original institution of the Bank founded in 1944. Along with the Marshall Plan, the IBRD successfully aided in helping Europe recover from the devastation it suffered in World War II (IDA 2011). By the 1950s, the reconstruction of Europe was mostly completed and IBRD officials began discussing the creation of a bank-based and –

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supported establishment that would provide "soft-loans" and "lend to poor countries on concessional terms with the backing of multilateral donors" (IDA 2011). The poorest developing nations of the world clearly needed "softer" terms that those offered by the IBRD in order to afford to borrow the capital they needed to grow (IDA 2011).

After all of the member nations of the IBRD had signed the Articles of Agreement, the International Development Association (IDA) was launched on September 24, 1960, "with 15 signatory countries and an initial funding of $912.7 million" (IDA 2011). The IDA has grown from 14 member nations to 170 and is the leading source of concessional lending to the world's 79 poorest countries, of which 39 are in Africa, including Nigeria (IDA 2011). In addition, the IDA offers direct World Bank grants to certain civil society organizations in the borrowing nations (World Bank 2010). These grants were specifically created to strengthen the voice and influence of the poor and marginalized groups in the developing nations (World Bank 2010).

Another significant moment in World Bank's history was the debate of specific projects versus a sectoral approach.

> One decision that the Bank had to make, and was a focus of differing approaches over the half-century, was the financing only of specific projects, such as an electric utility, or a broader idea, such as sectoral development, the former preferred by the United Kingdom, the latter pushed by the United States. One advantage of the projects approach was it being less intrusive on a receiving country's sovereignty than the remaking of an economy by the sectoral approach. But this meant deciding between projects where need was greater or alternatively where there was a better chance of success. (Marcus 2002, F120)

This debate between specific projects or sectoral development helps in the formation of the two approaches considered for this thesis, direct government aid (a more broad, sectoral approach like that pushed by the United States) and community-based

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efforts (a more specific project, local approach like that preferred by the United Kingdom). In World Bank's earlier years, its personnel and judgment gained a reputation for "integrity and sophisticated high-quality project analysis" (Marcus 2002, F120). World Bank's international administration preferred this picking and choosing of specific projects; however, outside pressures, mainly from the United States, called for a more sectoral approach in order to meet the needs of the poorer nations (Marcus 2002, F120). This movement towards a more sectoral approach can be compared to international aid today and its intentions in developing countries today. While World Bank initially sought to develop and implement specific projects in the most critical areas around the world, the organization now takes a more sectoral approach to its efforts to provide access to clean water.

World Bank makes it clear that their primary aid is given through financial and technical assistance. "We are not a bank in the common sense..." states World Bank's home website (World Bank 2010). Unlike a common bank, World Bank's two development institutions provide interest-free credits, low-interest loans, and grants to developing nations around the world (World Bank 2010). The unique development institutions of World Bank, the IBRD and the IDA, are owned by World Bank's 187 member countries, of which the United States is included (World Bank 2010). In collaboration with World Bank's purpose, the organization's vision is "inclusive and sustainable globalization" (World Bank 2010). World Bank's other institutions are the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) (World Bank 2010).

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The IBRD relies on the markets for its income and uses its "high credit rating to pass the low interest it pays for money on to our borrowers – developing countries" (World Bank 2010). The IBRD's lending to developing countries around the world is primarily financed by selling AAA-rated bonds in the world's financial markets (World Bank 2010). The IBRD home website states, "While IBRD earns a small margin on this lending (of AAA-rated bonds), the greater proportion of its income comes from lending out its own capital" (World Bank 2010). This capital has been built up by World Bank's 187 member nations (185 of which are country shareholders) and also contributes to World Bank's operating expenses and IDA's debt relief (World Bank 2010). Recent reforms in World Bank's approaches and organization have dealt with investment lending, access to information, and decentralization (World Bank 2010).

The IRBD's and IDA's loans can be categorized into the following types: development policy operations and investment operations. Development policy operations, also known as adjustment loans, are quick-disbursing loans that support a country or borrower's policy and institutional reforms (World Bank 2010). Investment operations are used to support economic and social development projects, such as goods, works, and services (World Bank 2010). When negotiating the terms of the loan, World Bank and the borrower discuss and agree on development objectives, outputs, performance indicators, a loan disbursement plan, and an implementation plan (World Bank 2010).

Currently, there are 79 borrowing countries and 51 donor countries of the IDA. "Its involvement with members belonging to the group of industrialized, developed countries has meanwhile diminished – they have become the donors rather than the

beneficiaries," comments Bojicic-Dzelilovic (2002, p. 86). The top ten donor countries are as follows: United States, United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, France, Canada, Spain, Netherlands, Sweden, and Italy (IDA 2011). Every three years, the donor countries meet and propose what they will individually and collectively donate to the IDA (IDA 2011). In 2010, six countries become donor countries for the first time: Argentina, Chile, Iran, Kazakhstan, Peru, and the Philippines (IDA 2011). As well as pledging to donate a certain amount of money every three years, donor countries, private institutions, and public institutions also make deposits into World Bank trust funds (World Bank 2010). These trust funds are used to support a variety of development initiatives throughout the world.

2.2. NATIONAL URBAN WATER SECTOR REFORM PROJECT

World Bank's water strategy operates on three principles of water resources management called the "Dublin Principles" (World Bank 2011). The "Dublin Principles" are as follows: (1) the ecological principle – that water should be managed by various water-using sectors at the river basin level, (2) the institutional principle – that water resources management is best done when all stakeholders participate at the lowest appropriate level, and that women need to be included, (3) the instrument principle – that water is scarce and that greater use needs to be made of incentives and economic principles in improving allocation and enhancing quality (World Bank 2011).

World Bank's water strategy is divided into two categories: the Water Resources Sector and the Program for Water Supply and Sanitation. This examination focuses on the efforts primarily made by the Program for Water Supply and Sanitation. The programs, sectors, and overall water practice are a reflection of World Bank's priorities:

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climate change mitigation and adaptation, results measurement, and governance and anti-corruption. World Bank strives to build efficient, competent, business-like, and service-oriented institutions where customers cover the costs of operation and maintenance. Self-reliance is a principal goal for World Bank's water supply and sanitation programs. The program recognizes the restraints and challenges that arise with corruption, political instability, social dislocation due to urban migration, as well as intense population growth (World Bank 2011).

2.3. NATIONAL URBAN WATER SECTOR REFORM PROJECT IN NIGERIA

In order to measure the effectiveness of World Bank's efforts to provide access to clean water, we will consider the First National Urban Water Sector Reform Project in Nigeria. While this project is still underway, this particular project offers a valuable timeframe. Approved on June 15, 2004 and closing on September 30, 2012, this project takes place over a shorter period of time than most World Bank projects in the water supply sector. The National Urban Water Sector Reform Project is a World Bank project focused on "improving reliability and financial viability of selected urban water utilities and on increasing access to piped water networks in the selected urban areas" (World Bank 2011). In an explanation of the project preparation, World Bank team leader, Hassan Madu Kidam, declares:

> The environmental and social management framework is based on baseline data, and provides the environmental and social process in the identification of adverse impacts. It contains data on bio-physical environmental features – ecosystems, geology, hydrology, wetlands, flora, and fauna. (World Bank 2011)

This World Bank project solely focuses on urban areas within Nigeria and the already established water utility systems and piped water networks. The loan given by

World Bank to Nigeria was multi-partnered: the borrowing entity was the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Finance, while the implementing agency was the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Water Resources. The total project cost amounts to $140 million U.S. dollars, with 93% of the total project cost spent on the water, sanitation and flood protection (water supply) sector. The remaining money was spent on the public administration, law, and justice sectors of both the national and state government administrations (World Bank 2011).

In a press release on the announcement of this project, a World Bank employee in the Nigerian office, Obadiah Tohomdet, specified where the project would be implemented (World Bank 2011). The project was implemented in three states through the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Water Resources and the state water agencies (World Bank 2011). Through the rehabilitation and expansion of the existing water systems and the reform of the administrative framework, the project developers and leaders hoped to "deepen the autonomy (or political independence) for state water agencies and lessen their reliance" on subsidies provided by the federal government (World Bank 2011). By increasing autonomy for the state water agencies, World Bank aspired to initiate and strengthen private-public relationships as well as provide a better quality of water to the urban areas of the three states.

World Bank relies heavily on its Country Office's personnel and less so on local expertise. "As development lending became more important, the Bank had to give bother to technical assistance and the creation of administrative authorities, since so many of these countries lacked the necessary know-how to comply with Bank objectives" elaborates Marcus in discussing the history of World Bank's policy (2002, F121). This

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sheds light on the beginning of World Bank's practice in placing big ideas and Western notions of development on borrowing nations. These big ideas and Western notions of development commonly came in the form of large-scale systems administered by World Bank authorities. The World Bank Nigeria Country Office is an example of an administrative authority that was created to manage its past, current, and future projects in the region. When donating such a large amount of money to a project, it is not surprising that World Bank would place and rely on its own officials in the region. The stakes are too large; there is too much money involved to not implement some type of administrative authority to oversee its local operations.

While the environmental and social management framework previously mentioned was based on preliminary data collected on the local level, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project paper does not mention any relationship or correspondence with the Nigerian citizens of these urban areas. Instead, the project paper clearly states and delineates World Bank's correspondence with the Nigerian federal government and state water agencies. The state level agencies are the only sub-national institutions in which the World Bank directly transfers any financial resources.

Lastly, the original purpose of the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project was to rehabilitate and expand the existing water systems in these urban areas in Nigeria. Even though the World Bank did not originally and solely create and implement these water utilities and pipes, this stated purpose illustrates World Bank's tendency to propose large systems. These large systems are expensive, intricate, and complex, yet they affect a greater number of Nigerian citizens in an urban area. Rather than using local materials and resources, World Bank began its work alongside the Nigerian government in 2004 to

repair large systems using mostly outside resources and technology. Consequently, World Bank had to provide additional financing on June 29, 2010 to address the "financing gap caused by the unexpected increase in rehabilitation works and a global increase in equipment cost" (World Bank 2011).

2.4. ANALYSIS

When considering the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project, it is crucial to recognize that this World Bank project was solely focused on urban areas within Nigeria. With that said, one must acknowledge that rural areas, the poorest areas in Nigeria, were not considered or dealt with in the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project.

TABLE 1: SCORE KEY

Rating	Color Code
Good	
Average	
Poor	

TABLE 2: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN WATER SECTOR REFORM PROJECT IN NIGERIA

Indicator	Rating
Use of Local Resources	
Method for Self-Reliance	
Focus on the Poor	
Involvement of Women	

For the use of local resources, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project receives a rating of *average*. While all new materials were purchased elsewhere and brought into Nigeria, the project was a rehabilitation project so existing infrastructure can be considered local resources. There is no proof that World Bank determined whether or not the new materials they needed were available locally.

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The call for additional funding symbolizes the inefficiencies of the World Bank's project, as the proposed budget did not suffice in covering the total costs of the rehabilitation and maintenance. The project experienced a large increase in equipment costs due to its heavy dependence on outside resources, and less on what was available to them in Nigeria (World Bank 2011). However, in making these judgments it is crucial to consider the specific location of the project: urban areas. Still considering the inefficiencies of large water supply systems, a smaller system or more specific projects approach could have been very unsuccessful in providing access to clean water to an urban area. An urban area's population density is exponentially greater than that of a rural area and, therefore, requires much more clean water to sustain society. In this particular case, it seems World Bank's project of rehabilitation and expansion were considerably needed.

For a method of self-reliance, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project receives a rating of *average*. Upon the completion of the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project, Nigerians will have some skills of self-reliance, but no established method. Money was set aside with the purpose to support administrative affairs; however, this money only constituted seven percent of the whole project's cost. Ninety-three percent of the total project cost was spent on the water supply sector; the remaining seven percent was spent on the public administration, law, and justice sectors of the both the national and state government administrations. This seven percent of the total $140 million U.S. dollars was intended to "deepen the autonomy for state water agencies and lessen their reliance" (World Bank 2011). By providing the Nigerian state water agencies

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a reformed administrative framework, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project hopes to promote political independence, thereby a method for self-reliance.

It should also be noted that the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project's money was given to two Nigerian federal ministries. The Nigerian Federal Ministry of Finance was the borrowing entity, while the Ministry of Water Resources was the implementing agency. World Bank made significant strides by designating the specific borrowing and implementing agencies, rather than giving loans and grants to the Nigerian federal government at large. By designating which organizations would fund and with would implement the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project, World Bank created a sense of accountability within the Nigerian government. This sense of accountability within the government itself can be seen as a method for self-reliance, as the ministries will be obligated to support the project on its own upon World Bank's departure.

For a focus on the poor, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project receives a rating of *average*. Modest amounts of consideration and thought were put into determining which Nigerian communities and areas needed timely aid the most. The environmental and social management framework on which World Bank based the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project is dependent upon baseline data gathered on the local level. This aspect of the project's development implies some focus on the poor and on the local levels of society. However, there is no proof that certain areas were concentrated on due to their severe poverty once implementation and construction. Urban areas were the focus of this World Bank project, not the poorest areas of Nigeria. Some can argue that urban areas contain the largest amount of poverty-stricken citizens as more and more Nigerians are migrating towards cities.

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The borrower is the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Finance and the implementing agency is the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Water Resources, both of which are on the national level and not the community level. With little to no contact with the citizens of the considered urban areas, the World Bank is entrusting the Nigerian government and holding the Federal Ministries of Finance and Water Resources accountable for the outcome and effectiveness of the project.

In disagreement with policies like that of World Bank's National Urban Water Sector Reform Project, Easterly stresses, "Aid should aim at helping very poor individuals with their most desperate needs; it should not aim to transform the government and its economic policy" (2007, 157). The World Bank's aid should concentrate on helping the most individuals with the most desperate needs, not on an unaccountable government. Easterly then comments, "The World Bank and IMF are certainly aware of the problems of dealing with gangsters in trying to deliver foreign aid. They have recently emphasized consultation with nongovernmental think tanks (the so-called 'civil society'), seeking to have ordinary people participate in designing policy by getting their input on a 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper' (PRSP)" (2007, 144). This is a positive step, however, to talk to people outside the government. Organizations should not depend on the "trickle-down" method and should refrain from trusting unaccountable and/or corrupt governments.

On Transparency International's 2010 Corruption Perceptions Index, Nigeria was ranked 134 on a list of 178 countries, with 1 being the least corrupt and 178 being the most corrupt (Transparency International 2011). While Nigeria is not the most corrupt government in the world, it is certainly not clean. For a government that is ranked as the

134th most corrupt government of 178 countries, it is receiving a great deal of international aid. World Bank is giving a large amount of credibility and placing an incredibly large amount of financial resources, $13.2 billion U.S. dollars in total in 2010, into a corrupt government.

For the involvement of women, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project receives a rating of *poor*. There was no concentration or focus on women and their specific situations within Nigerian society. World Bank did not establish water committees in the urban areas where it worked and there is no proof that women were part of the rehabilitation projects in the urban areas. World Bank discusses, at large, the significance of women in its development programs, but women were not discussed or dealt with in this specific project. With that said, it can be argued that women in urban areas have different lifestyles than those living in rural areas. It may be more difficult to measure productivity in an urban area, where women are not as likely to walk miles each day to the nearest water source.

CHAPTER 3: UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

3.1. HISTORY, STRUCTURE, AND OVERVIEW

UNICEF, "the driving force that helps build a world where the rights of every child are realized," works to overcome any obstacle that does not uphold the Convention on the Rights of the Child in order to advance the cause of humanity (UNICEF 2011). UNICEF advocates measures to give children the best start in life, "because proper care at the youngest age forms the strongest foundation for a person's future," comments UNICEF's home website (2011). The organization promotes girls' education, works for the immunization of all children against preventable diseases, works against the spread of HIV/AIDS, and also hopes to create protective environments for children as (UNICEF 2011). Bellamy, simplifies the four critical areas of key concern for children's livelihood today: "a good healthy start; access and quality to basic education; violence and discrimination; and, lastly, HIV/AIDS" (Smith and Tedeschi 2001). Working in 190 countries around the world, UNICEF is an organization of the UN and upholds the progress and rights detailed in the UN Charter (UNICEF 2011).

Similarly to World Bank, UNICEF was originally founded in response to World War II. Created in December of 1946, UNICEF strived to aid European children facing disease and famine in the aftermath of Europe's second monumental war of the century. In particular, UNICEF provided food, water, clothing, and health care to European children. Seven years after its creation, the UN General Assembly moved to "extend

UNICEF's mandate indefinitely" in response to the outbreak of a disease known as yaws. UNICEF's permanent place within the UN marks the UN's inherent belief in the right of children around the world. The Declaration of the Rights of the Child was adopted soon after in 1959 and UNICEF was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1965 for "the promotion of brotherhood among nations." People and organizations around the world named the year 1979 the "International Year of the Child" in recognition of UNICEF's success in the commitment to children's rights. Following the "International Year of the Child," the organization launched an initiative or drive, known as the "Child Survival and Development Revolution," to save the lives of millions of children each year through the following techniques: growth monitoring, breastfeeding, oral rehydration therapy, and immunization. Lastly, the "most widely- and rapidly-accepted human rights treaty in history," the Convention on the Rights of the Child, was adopted by the UN in 1990. (UNICEF 2011)

UNICEF's website clearly states, "The heart of UNICEF's work is in the field" (2011). Therefore, UNICEF's country and regional offices are extremely significant aspects of the organization's internal structure. Each of UNICEF's country offices carries out a specific, five-year program cycle in collaboration with the host government. The country offices and host governments work together to develop a program that focuses on "practical ways to realize the rights of children and women." Situation reports are created in order to determine the neediest areas. Within each host country, UNICEF works as part of the UN activities in the said country. As part of this effort to "work in the field," there exists an office called the Public Sector Alliances and Resource Mobilization Office (PARMO). PARMO works within the UNICEF organizational

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structure to create and implement resource mobilization strategies and to facilitate fundraising on the field level. (UNICEF 2011)

UNICEF is supported entirely by voluntary contributions (UNICEF 2011). Of these voluntary contributions, governments provide two-thirds of the organization's funding. In an interview with the *Journal of International Affairs*, Bellamy comments,

> Two-thirds of our money comes from governments. So governments are by far our biggest contributors, but about a third of our resources, about $300 million each year, is raised outside governments. We are attempting to strengthen our private sector fundraising, so we are not reliant only on the whims of development assistance. (Smith and Tedeschi 2001)

The top ten government donors to UNICEF in 2009 were the United States, Norway, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Sweden, Japan, Canada, Spain, Australia, and Denmark (UNICEF 2011). The list of the top twenty overall donors to UNICEF in 2009 includes the governments listed above as well as the European Commission, the United States Fund for UNICEF, Rotary International, and Japan's, Germany's, and the Netherlands's national committees (UNICEF 2011).

Along with governments, UNICEF also accepts funding from foundations, other UN organizations, international financial institutions, businesses, and individuals (UNICEF 2011). Over six million individuals contribute to UNICEF's efforts each year (UNICEF 2011). This funding is organized through national committees. There are thirty-six national committees; each strives to create "key corporate and civil society partnerships to provide in valuable support" (UNICEF 2011). "Increasingly, there is greater recognition that the issues involving children are not just the responsibility of governments, but they are also the responsibility of civil society and the private sector," comments Bellamy (Smith and Tedeschi 2001). Although UNICEF receives two-thirds

of its funding from governments. the organization has recognized the significance in relationships with civil society organizations and the private sector.

3.2. WATER, SANITATION AND HYGIENE: WASH

When a drought threatened hundreds of villages in northern India in 1966, UNICEF acted in emergency response to the clean water, sanitation, and hygiene challenges of the region (UNICEF 2011). Over time, UNICEF's clean water and sanitation sector came to be known as WASH: Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (UNICEF 2011). In its first years. WASH primarily focused on drilling rigs and hand pumps and has now expanded its support to many issues surrounding clean water. WASH clearly states: "UNICEF uses a human rights-based approach and works in partnership with communities – especially women and children – in planning, implementing and maintaining water and sanitation systems," (UNICEF 2011). UNICEF and particularly WASH work directly with families, community-based organizations, and communities in order to guarantee households have access to clean water.

WASH has three large focal areas: (1) water supply, (2) water quality, and (3) groundwater development (UNICEF 2011). WASH also pays special attention to primary schools and making sure they are safe and healthy for young children to learn, especially young girls. Building separate restroom and sanitation facilities in schools helps reduce the dropout rates, while hygiene education will allow the children to act as agents of change in their own families and communities. Improving access to clean water or improving "household water security" is key to the WASH sector of UNICEF. Its primary goal is "to permanently improve families' access to safe and affordable water sources at reasonable distances from home" (UNICEF 2011). There also exists a sector

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of WASH that is specifically for schools: WASH in Schools. WASH in Schools has six action points: (1) increase investment in WASH, (2) engage those who set policies, (3) involve multiple stakeholders (community members, civil society advocates, media, students, etc.), (4) demonstrate quality in WASH in Schools projects, (5) monitor WASH in Schools programs, and (6) contribute evidence that provides a solid base for informed decision-making and effective distribution of funds (UNICEF 2011).

When water meets certain microbiological and chemical standards, it is considered safe and drinkable. To evaluate these standards, UNICEF took part in the development of a water quality monitoring program, as well as a rapid assessment method. These programs pay careful attention to the water quality at the point of collection as well as the point of use. The quality of water, particularly in developing nations, can deteriorate between the two points. Consequently, UNICEF promotes the use of Household Water Treatment and Safe Storage, a small treatment that enables households to treat their drinking water in the comfort of their own homes. (UNICEF 2011)

WASH strives to educate people that the chemical contamination of water sources – both naturally-occurring and from pollution – is a very grave problem (UNICEF 2011). The most serious contamination is from human faeces that have infiltrated drinking water supplies. WASH states that the best way to address this contamination is by preventing it from occurring in the first place; therefore, the program encourages the construction of latrines (2011). If the Household Water Treatment and Safe Storage systems are a success and popular, WASH will implement complimentary community-level surveillance systems to monitor water quality of the entire community (UNICEF 2011).

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This has proven to be an excellent way for local citizens to get involved in the maintenance of their own water system and to gain a body of knowledge on such a system.

Lastly, WASH works within the groundwater development sector as well. First and foremost, WASH created a series of groundwater programming principles "to ensure sustainable and appropriate use." One approach to reducing drilling costs and increasing cost-effectiveness in developing nations is to drill manually and, in turn, build the capacity of the local private sector. (UNICEF 2011). "The WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme (JMP) on Water Supply and Sanitation is the official mechanism of the UN System mandated to monitor global progress towards MDG Target 7.C: 'Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation,'" states the UN (United Nations 2011). The collaborative JMP database draws on over 500 censuses and surveys from around the world to analyze water supply and sanitation statistics (UNICEF 2011).

3.3. WASH IN NIGERIA

In order to measure the effectiveness of UNICEF's efforts to provide access to clean water, we will consider the WASH and Community-Led Total Sanitation (CLTS) programs in Nigeria. The WASH program in Nigeria strives to increase the number of Nigerians benefiting from improved water and sanitation facilities (UNICEF 2011). The program reports that there are 150 million people in Nigeria: 65 million do not have access to clean water and 100 million do not have access to improved sanitation facilities (like latrines or toilets) (2011). In 1990, the JMP recorded that 47 percent of the Nigerian population had access to improved water sources, where as now 58 percent have access.

In Nigeria, improved water sources are considered to be household connections, protected dug wells, protected springs, public standpipes, rainwater collections, etc. Whereas unimproved water sources are considered to be unprotected springs, unprotected wells, bottled water, etc. (UNICEF 2011).

WASH's focus is on the Nigerian children and their households. In support of community-based efforts, UNICEF claims, "There is increasing evidence that a greater focus on the household level increases the effectiveness of sectoral programs, especially in the areas of sanitation, water quality, and hygiene promotion" (2011). With a focus on households, WASH has a people-to-people approach with a hope that small changes and differences encourage or produce larger changes and courses of action.

UNICEF supports measures that help create strong government institutions, on the municipal and district levels in Nigeria, since they have a significant impact on community-led service provisions that increase WASH coverage (UNICEF 2011). WASH recognizes the significance in being aware of and focusing on the "bottom." Community-led organizations consist of citizens from the same or similar communities with a common passion or interest. Community-led organizations rely on the middle levels of society (towns and districts) to bring communities together and to encourage cohesiveness.

CLTS is a non-subsidy approach to promoting improved household sanitation, such as the construction of manageable latrines for each household in a given community (UNICEF 2011). WASH and CLTS programs in Nigeria are responsible for creating environmental health clubs (UNICEF 2011). Some of these clubs exist within schools, while others are open to the communities at large. In addition, UNICEF's programs in

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Nigeria teach children and committee members about water and sanitation systems. The goal is to train them in such a way that they can maintain, properly use, and repair a water or sanitation system after a UNICEF team is no longer in the community (UNICEF 2011). One person on the committee is appointed to make absolute sure that everyone in the community is able to have safe access to the water system.

UNICEF, through WASH and CLTS programs, establishes community water and environmental sanitation committees (UNICEF 2011). These committees meet on a regular basis and are solely comprised of community citizens. UNICEF does all that is in its power to ensure these committees are diverse and represent the entire community population, especially the women of the community (UNICEF 2011). Recently, more than 25 percent of these committees have been women: a large increase from decades past (UNICEF 2011).

Moreover, the programs have provided some conclusive facts on their 2011 summary sheet:

- Civil society participation in the sector is very limited in Nigeria and the few NGOs engaged in the sector are of limited capacity.

- The Nigerian government at all levels has very limited budgets and human resources capacity for the implementation of sector activities.

- The statistics on sector coverage are irregular and conflicting due to divergent definitions, indicators, and methodologies applied by different agencies.

- The issue of urban water supply and sanitation will be very critical in the coming years given the rapid rate of urbanization in Nigeria.

- Sector monitoring and accountability mechanisms are poor. (UNICEF 2011)

UNICEF strives to increase civil society participation in the water supply and resources sector. It is very interesting that all levels of the Nigerian government have limited budgets and human resources capacity when the World Bank loaned the Nigerian federal government $13.2 billion U.S. dollars in 2010. The Nigerian government is wealthy due to the export of oil, as well. These facts beg the question of where is this money? Where does it go and who does it reach?

3.4. ANALYSIS

When considering WASH and CLTS efforts in Nigeria, it is important to recognize that UNICEF intends to and works with its host government: the Nigerian federal government. It is not appropriate to claim UNICEF deals only with local communities and Nigerian citizens. However, UNICEF's relationship with the Nigerian government is discussion-based. UNICEF representatives from the country office suggest ways the Nigerian government can better protect the rights and improve the livelihood of their children. UNICEF's money is not channeled through the Nigerian government to the children.

TABLE 1: SCORE KEY

Rating	Color Code
Good	
Average	
Poor	

TABLE 3: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WASH IN NIGERIA

Indicator	Rating
Use of Local Resources	
Method for Self-Reliance	
Focus on the Poor	
Involvement of Women	

For the use of local resources, WASH and CLTS receive a rating of *average*. While the programs' mission statements state they intend to utilize local resources, there is no provided record of any attempts to determine and purchase the materials that can be bought locally. On the other hand, WASH and CLTS use the resources available to them in the local primary schools. Also, PARMO works within the UNICEF organizational structure and the Nigerian country offices to mobilize local resources and to facilitate fundraising on the field level. UNICEF has a specific sector designated to determining which resources are available locally and to ensuring they are used in WASH and CLTS programs in Nigeria.

For a method of self-reliance, WASH and CLTS receive a rating of *good*. WASH's and CLTS's efforts in Nigeria establish a clear method for self-reliance. First, WASH and CLTS are centered around children. By focusing on children, UNICEF is ensuring that the Nigerian communities will be able to support themselves since children are the future leaders of a community. Educating children on the global water crisis, the technical aspects of hand pumps, wells, etc., and the maintaining of an implemented program ensures that the future adults and leaders of a community or region have the education and skills needed to carry on UNICEF's efforts after the organization has left the region.

WASH gives Nigerian citizens the ability to implement Household Water Treatment and Safe Storage systems in their homes. These systems enable Nigerians to test and monitor the quality of their water in the comfort of their own homes, providing a method for self-reliance. Furthermore, if and when these systems are successful, WASH will train, educate, and implement complimentary community-wide surveillance systems

to monitor the water quality of a community or town. PARMO's efforts in Nigeria can be seen as a method of self-reliance. By fundraising on the field level, PARMO involves the local communities and citizens, making them accountable for the implementation and success of the program. If the citizens aid in fundraising for a particular WASH or CLTS program or financially support the program in any way, they will care about the outcome, thereby creating a certain amount of credibility and accountability.

Lastly, WASH and CLTS work with Nigerian communities to establish water and environmental sanitation committees. Meeting on a regular basis, these diverse communities discuss the maintenance and repair of implemented and existing programs and systems, as well as determine who is still lacking access to clean water. These training sessions and programs are making UNICEF's efforts in rural Nigeria more sustainable by teaching the local citizens how to handle the resources they have been given by international organizations. By ensuring that the local citizens are not dependent on international organizations' representatives and administrative support, the communities will find a way to thrive on their own given their new tools, education, and systems.

For a focus on the poor, WASH and CLTS receive a rating of *good*. Before developing a program, UNICEF travels to the considered area, collects data, and creates a situation report on the water and sanitation issues in the region in order to determine the neediest and most critical areas. By determining the most critical areas, UNICEF focuses on the poorest of the poor in Nigeria. Through the WASH programs in primary schools, UNICEF is investing time and money in children, often the most-affected by poverty and the lack of access to clean water. If children are denied clean water in their earliest years

of development. they are very likely to suffer from water-related diseases later in life, limiting their opportunities to gain an education and work.

For the involvement of women, WASH and CLTS receive a rating of *good.* Nigerian WASH reports state that women constitute at least 25 percent of the water and environmental sanitation committees. Also, in connection with WASH and CLTS programs in Nigeria. women are spending less time traveling to and from a water source and then sanitizing the collected water. Women are able to be more productive, bettering their children's lives. families, and communities.

When the UNICEF Nigeria country office published a series of observations and conclusive facts on water and sanitation within the country, they stressed the significance of paying attention to and investing in urban water and sanitation programs. They commented on the rapid rate of urbanization in Nigeria and the future need for programs in urban metropolises within Nigeria. One can argue that this is what World Bank is doing: handling the issues, through the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project, that will arise as more and more Nigerians migrate to urban areas.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

World Bank has large amounts of money to place into the borrowing nations and the development programs within these borrowing nations, such as Nigeria. The money is given to the Nigerian government and its relevant ministries. The government uses the money to establish large-scale water systems. The Nigerian government's approach is usually a "quick fix," where large amounts of money are spent on large systems that can change the situations of more citizens with one system than smaller-scale projects can. Initially, the large-scale systems seem effective and successful, but these kinds of systems require maintaining and regular attention that is not always given once the World Bank's program time has ended.

UNICEF also has large amounts of money to spend in Nigeria. However, UNICEF's money is spent on the implementation of smaller programs and/or systems, such as the Household Water Treatment and Safe Storage systems. By targeting children, UNICEF is instilling vital lessons into the future citizens and leaders of the Nigerian communities – the future agents of change. As mentioned before, there exists a cycle of poverty, disease, and lack of access to clean water. One way to prevent this crippling and unfortunate cycle is to start with the youngest members of a society – children.

Table 1, 2, and 3 will follow on the next page:

TABLE 1: SCORE KEY

Rating	Color Code
Good	
Average	
Poor	

TABLE 2: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN WATER SECTOR REFORM PROJECT IN NIGERIA

Indicator	Rating
Use of Local Resources	
Method for Self-Reliance	
Focus on the Poor	
Involvement of Women	

TABLE 3: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WASH IN NIGERIA

Indicator	Rating
Use of Local Resources	
Method for Self-Reliance	
Focus on the Poor	
Involvement of Women	

Based on the following indicators, UNICEF is more effective in providing access to clean water in Nigeria: the use of local resources, a method for self-reliance upon completion of the project or system, a focus on the poor, and the involvement of women. UNICEF received better ratings than World Bank in three of the four categories and received the same rating in one of the categories. These findings and ratings are based solely on the information made available by World Bank and UNICEF.

The National Urban Water Sector Reform Project receives a rating of *average* for the use of local resources because all new materials were purchased outside Nigeria, but the project rehabilitated an existing infrastructure. In addition, the Project receives a rating of *average* for a method of self-reliance as the affected Nigerians had some skills,

but not an established method for self-reliance. For a focus on the poor, it receives a rating of *average* because some baseline data was collected, but the poorest areas of Nigeria were not singled out and dealt with. Lastly, the National Urban Water Sector Reform Project receives a rating of *poor* for the involvement of women as no effort was made to include women in the project.

WASH receives a rating of *average* for the use of local resources since there is no provided record of an attempt to determine and purchase the materials that can be purchased locally, but the program used the materials provided by primary schools in Nigeria. WASH receives a rating of *good* for a method of self-reliance because it provided Nigerian children and their households with sanitation training and Household Water Treatment and Safe Storage systems. For a focus on the poor, the program receives a rating of *good* as well because WASH determines and focuses on the poorest of the poor and the most critical areas in Nigeria. Lastly, WASH receives a rating of *good* for the involvement of women because it ensures that women make up at least 25 percent of the water and environmental sanitation committees.

My hypothesis reads: After weighing the two approaches, I expect that community-based efforts are more effective than direct government aid in reducing poverty and promoting economic development. As a more targeted and accepted approach, they rely on the citizens of the communities who have lived on the land and have a first-hand knowledge of the most pressing development issues. Even though the scale is smaller, each incremental approach is ultimately more effective than a large-scale failure. Community-based efforts are even more effective when the government contributes with monetary resources, thereby forming a relationship and accountability

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between the two. Direct government aid is only effective when given to stable, incorrupt, and accountable government systems, and also when paired with local, community-based efforts. The impact of community-based efforts will be more longstanding and lasting throughout history as the aid is more targeted and accepted. A combination of the two approaches will arguably be the most effective. That is to say money and resources channeled through the national governments (direct government aid) with a specific emphasis on the communities and local people (community-based efforts) will be very effective in reducing poverty and promoting economic development.

I found evidence that UNICEF's approach of community-based efforts is more effective in providing access to clean water in Nigeria than World Bank's approach of direct government aid. It was assessed that UNICEF's approach would be even more effective if the Nigerian government were accountable and had the ability to implement and maintain some of UNICEF's programs itself. It was not proven that World Bank's approach of direct government aid is only effective when paired with local, community-based efforts. The World Bank National Urban Water Sector Reform Project was effective in some instances without a partnership with local, community-based efforts.

UNICEF's WASH program comments, "To reach its MDG targets for water and sanitation, Nigeria will require enormous resources/investment in addition to a strong political will" (WASH 2011). If reaching its MDG targets for water and sanitation is a sign of success and effectiveness, than several conclusions can be drawn on the effectiveness of international aid given to Nigeria. Nigeria is very behind in the race to achieve its MDG targets. In the four years remaining until 2015, the population with access to safe drinking water must increase from 17 percent to 75 percent of the total

Nigerian population and the population with access to basic sanitation must increase from 31 percent to 63 percent (WASH 2011).

First, it can be argued that neither World Bank's nor UNICEF's efforts are effective if Nigeria as a whole is still so far behind in reaching its MDG targets. However, it can also be argued that in the regions where World Bank and UNICEF are working, the percentages of the population with access to clean water and basic sanitation have drastically improved and the other regions are lagging behind. In that case, World Bank's and/or UNICEF's efforts would be very effective. This debate could be resolved if sub-national, yearly data existed and were available. Lastly, it can be argued that the attainment of MDG targets are not an illustration or representation of the effectiveness of aid, but instead simply lofty goals for which the world at large should hope and strive.

In most situations, particularly in Nigeria, the effectiveness of World Bank's and UNICEF's efforts are a matter of timing. When will these communities see change and actually feel the impact of the organizations' work? Will the Nigerian people see the change in five years after the program has been designed, approved, funded, and implemented or will they see it immediately and as soon as the volunteers touch down in the specific location? While World Bank's systems are on a larger scale, is the time that it takes to design, approve, fund, and implement the water systems worth the lives that will not be saved in the mean time? While UNICEF's programs are much smaller and based more upon individuals, will the organization make a substantial, lasting impact on the communities or will it just be a "quick fix" or a "band aid" to a much larger problem?

The success of aid given to Nigeria is dependent upon many factors, one of which is the recipient of the international aid. The nature and behavior of the aid recipient

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speaks volumes as to whether or not the aid will be effective. The Nigerian government proves to be an excellent example of this. When international aid, particularly with the goal to provide access to clean water, is given to an unaccountable government or entity, corruption and inefficiency are a likely result. The challenge of whether or not and how to give aid to corrupt governments remains a large aspect of the debate on how to most effectively reduce poverty and promote economic stability. Articulating this particular challenge, Easterly writes:

> The donor agencies are dealing with a difficult problem: they want to give aid to poor countries, not to rich countries. The rich countries have decided that the donor agencies have to give mostly to the government in the recipient country... The writers of the World Bank decided that they could operate only through governments in the recipient countries. If virtually all poor countries have bad governments, then the donor agencies will give aid to countries with bad governments. (2007, 132)

Instead, international aid organizations must strive to work within a bottom-to-top strategy that ensures the corrupt and unaccountable "top" (the Nigerian government) will not inhibit the most needy from reaping the benefits of the billions of dollars donated each year to the effort of providing access to clean water. "The Bank's bureaucracy had faith in 'trickle down' — that an increase in over-all GDP would somehow, like a rising tide, lift all the boats — this despite the findings of 20-30% unemployment in most developing areas" writes Edward Marcus in "The History of the World Bank" (2002, F122). International aid donors and organizations can no longer solely depend on the "trickle down" method.

Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

In addition, the international community (the donors) must learn from its mistakes. With the uncountable complexities of the modern world, trial and error must

occur as efficiently as possible. In accord, Easterly comments, "Yet helping the poor today requires learning from past efforts" (2007, 9). Economic and political complexities doom the modern world from any attempt to achieve the end of poverty with one single plan. One well-designed plan must be implemented and upon its failure, it must be reshaped until its success is visible and can be replicated in other areas around the world.

When discussing the ineffectiveness of the World Bank, Catherine Weaver and Ralf J. Leiteritz comment, "Reforming a huge and complex international organization such as the World Bank is by no means an easy undertaking" (Weaver and Leiteritz 2005, 384). While this comment seems obvious, it is worth mentioning the difficulty a large international organization, such as World Bank or UNICEF, has in reform and fundamental change. Even departments and sectors within the larger organization, such as the Nigerian country offices, will have to face severe challenges in the implementation of reform. It is crucial to recognize this fact when deliberating possible solutions to the ineffectiveness of international aid: the proposed solutions will take considerable time to implement. However long it will take to determine and implement the appropriate solutions, the acknowledgement and discussion of the ineffectiveness can only help.

In order for their aid to be effective in Nigeria, World Bank and UNICEF must (1) utilize local resources, (2) provide or help establish a method for self-reliance, (3) focus on the poor, and (4) involve women in their efforts. By doing and improving these things, World Bank and UNICEF will be able to more effectively reduce poverty and promote economic stability in Nigeria, by providing access to clean water. With that said, donors, such as the United States, have the ability to pick and choose which approaches and organizations to support in Nigeria. The United States gave generous

amounts of humanitarian aid in 2010. I suggest the United States invests in organizations that focus on the four attributes previously discusses: (1) the use of local resources, (2) a method for self-reliance, (3) a focus on the poor, and (4) the involvement of women.

For the time being, American policymakers should invest the country's humanitarian aid money in organizations, such as Water for People and Global Water, who use innovative and creative measures and techniques to provide access to clean water in Nigeria. While waiting on a "big solution," American policymakers should invest in and help the poorest of the poor in Nigeria. A temporary solution to the ineffectiveness of international aid seems to exist. Instead of attempting to fix governments or societies, we should ensure that individuals are better off. While waiting on the "big" solutions to come about, we can start with "small" solutions that focus on individuals in developing nations. Since a third-party, independent data collector does not exist to compare international organization's aid effectiveness, the United States government must decide somewhat blindly what type of effort to finance and support in the developing world. Until this third-party data collector exists and can provide clear evidence of which approach is more effective, the United States should place the majority of its aid into local and concentrated efforts to reduce poverty and promote economic stability.

The need for a third-party, independent data collector must be stressed. Easterly's concluding suggestions are as follows:

> Fix the incentive system of collective responsibility for multiple goals. Have individual accountability for individual tasks. Let aid agencies specialize in the sectors and countries they are best at helping. Then hold the aid agencies accountable for *their* results by having truly independent evaluation of their efforts. Perhaps the aid agencies should each set aside a portion of their budgets (such as the part now wasted on self-evaluation)

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to contribute to an international independent evaluation group made up of staff trained in the scientific method from the rich and poor countries, who will evaluate random samples of each aid agency's efforts. Experiment with different methods of simply asking the poor if they are better off. (2007, 370)

The data limitations I encountered in this process shed light on the need for a third-party, independent, international "evaluation group," like Easterly suggested (2007, 370). In addition to evaluating the effectiveness of an organization's efforts, this "evaluation group" should also assess the accuracy of an organization's self-critique or report on its own activities and efficiencies. Perhaps the first step in ensuring that international aid is effective would be collecting accurate and timely national and sub-national data in the recipient nations. Alongside the technical measurements, surveys and interviews should be conducted in order to gain insight and knowledge into the opinions and views of the local citizens. Easterly advises again, "Experiment with different methods of simply asking the poor if they are better off. Mobilize the altruistic people in rich countries to put heat on the agencies to make their money actually reach the poor, and to get angry when the aid does *not* reach the poor" (2007, 370).

What would this third-party data collector look like? The organization and/or agency must be recognized by those developed nations donating the majority of the aid. What would it take for the world's developed nations to accept and recognize such an organization? Funding from the largest donors in the world and legitimacy found in the significance and helpfulness of accurate facts and figures would provide incentive for the acceptance of this third-party data collector. This organization must have unbiased representatives on the ground in the developing nations, but must also involve and rely on local expertise in the data collection. A blogger on the Guardian's *Poverty Matters Blog*

expresses, "I have seen many technologies designed to solve our problems parachuted into Nigeria. Some work, most don't. I am continually amazed at the products thrust at us and the astonishment that then follows when something that we have had no consultation on fails to work in our local context. The lesson should be simple: know the area, know the people" (During 2011). This blogger brings up the most significant aspect of these proposed solutions for efforts in Nigeria: "know the area and know the people" (During 2011).

Global Water writes, "Giving clean water to a poverty stricken community is like giving a blood transfusion to a dying man. Water means new potential, new hope for a better tomorrow" (2011). Whatever form international aid and its efforts take, providing access to clean water and giving a person, a community, or a region access to better health and a better life should remain as one of international aid organizations' priorities.

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1: SCORE KEY

Rating	Color Code
Good	
Average	
Poor	

TABLE 2: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN WATER SECTOR REFORM PROJECT IN NIGERIA

Indicator	Rating
Use of Local Resources	
Method for Self-Reliance	
Focus on the Poor	
Involvement of Women	

TABLE 3: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF WASH IN NIGERIA

Indicator	Rating
Use of Local Resources	
Method for Self-Reliance	
Focus on the Poor	
Involvement of Women	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CLTS: Community-Led Total Sanitation

FLOW: Field Level Operations Watch

IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ICSID: International Centre for Settlement or Investment Disputes

IDA: International Development Association

IFC: International Finance Corporation

IMF: International Monetary Fund

JMP: Joint Monitoring Programme

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

MIGA: Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

NGO: Non-governmental organization

NIC: National Intelligence Council

NWRI: National Water Resources Institute

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PARMO: Public Sector Alliances and Resource Management Office

PRSP: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

SHAWN: Sanitation, Hygiene and Water in Nigeria

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

WASH: Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene

WHO: World Health Organization

WRRD: Water Resources and Rural Development

WWO: World Water Organization

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