
IRC Symposium 2010
Pumps, Pipes and Promises

Accountability and Sustainability of Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Infrastructure in Timor-Leste

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Abstract

Sustaining rural water supply and sanitation infrastructure in Timor-Leste has proven to be a challenge. Accountability between stakeholders within the rural WASH sector is a critical part of improving sustainability of the related infrastructure. Government policy and the actions of implementers is critical to improving accountability. Research undertaken by Plan in Timor-Leste establishes the link between accountability and sustainability within the sector and identifies current constraints to accountability. This paper then reviews progress on changes made to accountability mechanisms within the sector and the challenges to implementing these changes.

Key words

Accountability, Rural, Sustainability, Sanitation, Timor-Leste, Water.

INTRODUCTION

Figures can sometimes speak for themselves: the Government of Timor-Leste, international donors, NGOs and organizations spent a combined average of US\$ 15 million per year over the past four years (2006-2009) on rural water supply and sanitation infrastructure (Ministry of Information-Moi 2009). For the total number of 975,000 people living in rural areas, this corresponds to an average of US\$ 15 spent per person per year. According to a 2009 Australian Government funded study in two rural districts undertaken by Plan Timor-Leste, only 44% of the rural population in the two districts has access to safe water facilities and only 20% has access to improved sanitation facilities, as defined in the 2008 Joint Monitoring Program report (WHO & UNICEF 2008). The study also showed that the two districts are currently not on track to achieve targets for water supply and sanitation coverage set-out in the Millennium Development Goals (Hamel, S. 2009a).

The results of the study show that the low levels of coverage have not been the result of the limited numbers of facilities constructed but rather difficulty with sustaining the infrastructure: 70% of rural water supply and sanitation (RWS&S) infrastructure were found to be not fully functioning, defined as not being able to supply safe water through-out the year to 80% of the community, one year after their construction. The WASH sector in Timor-Leste therefore needs to take stock of existing approaches, the reality of implementation on the ground and to undertake effective monitoring to improve the sustainability of RWS&S interventions.

This paper investigates the links between accountability and sustainability and how the WASH sector in Timor-Leste can increase the accountability of implementers in rural communities, based on the findings of Plan's 2009 study of RWS&S infrastructure (Hamel, S. 2009a&b). In their Policy brief Fowler, M. and Kuyama, S. 2007, the authors split the notion of accountability into two:

- **Management accountability**, which asks how competently and efficiently was the project managed.
- **Political accountability**, which “by way of contrast, focuses upon the need to account for an organizational behaviour to the constituencies and stakeholders impacted upon by its decisions, including both what it has chosen to do and not to do, all in light of relevant constitutions, mandates, policy directives, etc.”

This paper seeks to investigate both management and political accountability when implementing RWS&S programs, and the links to sustainability of the related infrastructure. Lines of accountability then include the financial accountability and quality of construction of implementers to the government, accountability of quality of construction and implementation by implementers to the community, accountability for the fulfillment of rights from the government to the community and also the accountability of the community to the government for the appropriate care of infrastructure. Where Water User Groups are created to represent

the community then they must be accountable financially and for decision making to the community and to the government. These lines of accountability are closely linked to clear communication and understanding of roles and responsibilities in the WASH sector.

This paper contributes to the theme of Strengthening Accountability for the IRC Symposium: Pumps, Pipes and Promises - Costs, finances and accountability for sustainable WASH services.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on the Baseline Survey of Water Supply and Sanitation Infrastructure in Aileu and Lautem Districts. The study was implemented by Plan Timor-Leste in partnership with the Timorese Government Water Supply and Sanitation Service between February and December 2009. It was funded by the Australian Government through the Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Programme (RWSSP).

The Rural Water Supply and Sanitation (RWS&S) infrastructure in all 271 rural villages across the two districts was surveyed during the rainy season establishing a baseline status of infrastructure. An assessment of the functionality and repair requirements of water supplies was made including measurements of flows, water quality and geography.

Data on implementation history, community management and socio-economics were then collected through focus group discussions with separate men's, women's, and youth groups in the communities. These discussions gathered information relating to the village priorities for development projects, main sources of income, the community's engagement during implementation, reasons for a system's break down when appropriate, and the presence and functioning of a water user group. Semi-structured interviews were also held with village chiefs, government officials and non-governmental organisation representatives.

District sector stakeholder reflection workshops were run to find suggested solutions to the management, technical, social and environmental issues identified.

A second dry-season phase of the survey provided an opportunity for further investigation of constraints faced by communities when managing RWS&S infrastructure. This investigation included successful water user groups and access to spare parts in rural areas. The data collected included the structure of water user groups, strengths, opportunities and constraints for these water user groups, women's involvement in the key phases of implementation, average frequency of the break-down of system components and the associated annual maintenance costs for RWS&S infrastructure.

Existing Accountability Mechanisms for Rural Water Supply and Sanitation

This section outlines the mechanisms for accountability in existence during the 2009 Plan Study separated into policy level and implementation mechanisms.

<i>Mechanisms for Accountability in the RWS&S Sector in 2009</i>	
<i>Policy Level</i>	<i>Implementation</i>
National Water Decree 2004	Community Action planning process
Government Rural WASH Sector Strategy 2008-2011	Creation of Water User Groups
National Guidelines for Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Implementation	District Administration Suco Development Planning process
Ministry of State Administration Suco (Community) Development Planning Guidelines	Monitoring of rural water supply and sanitation by District Water Supply and Sanitation Service (SAS) (one officer per district).

Table 1 Table summarizing the mechanisms for accountability in the rural WASH sector in Timor-Leste in 2009

Policy Framework for Rural Water Supply Provision in 2009

Two main documents provide a policy framework to RWS&S interventions in Timor-Leste: the Water Decree-Law 2004 (G-RDTL 2004) and The Government Rural WASH Sector Strategy 2008-2011 (G-RTDL 2007). These documents outline the government's role in rural areas as facilitating the provision of safe water supplies for the communities but delegate the actual provision and maintenance of water supply infrastructure in rural areas to communities themselves through water user groups.

Government Rural Community Water and Sanitation Guidelines also support stakeholders to implement rural WASH programs with detailed guidance on both hardware and software implementation for rural communities. (DNAS 2005)

The Government Ministry of State Administration has developed guidelines for an assets-based approach to community development called the Suco (the lowest level of government administration – community level) Development Planning process. This approach requires communities to identify their existing assets and decide upon a suitable strategy for them to improve the situation of their community.

Implementation of Accountability Mechanisms

The Government Water and Sanitation Guidelines specify that interventions should start with the Community Action Planning (CAP) process, a community engagement and community-led

planning approach for WASH interventions. One of the main outputs from this process is the creation of the Water User Group in a transparent and participatory manner.

The Water User Groups are then designated the responsibility of operating and maintaining the community water supply as set out in the national policy documents. There are government endorsed guidelines for training water user groups for technical and sanitary maintenance of the water supply and also trainings on collecting community contributions and managing funds for maintenance of the system.

The Suco Development Planning process is currently being implemented by the District Administration in each district. Local government funding for projects is then allocated in accordance with community’s priorities, including water and sanitation. However, the District Water Supply and Sanitation Service (SAS) has its own centralized planning process through the Ministry of Infrastructure and these two processes have not always been closely coordinated. This lack of coordination risks duplication of work if information and data is not shared at the District level between the two Ministries.

Aileu District Water Supply and Sanitation Service Organogram

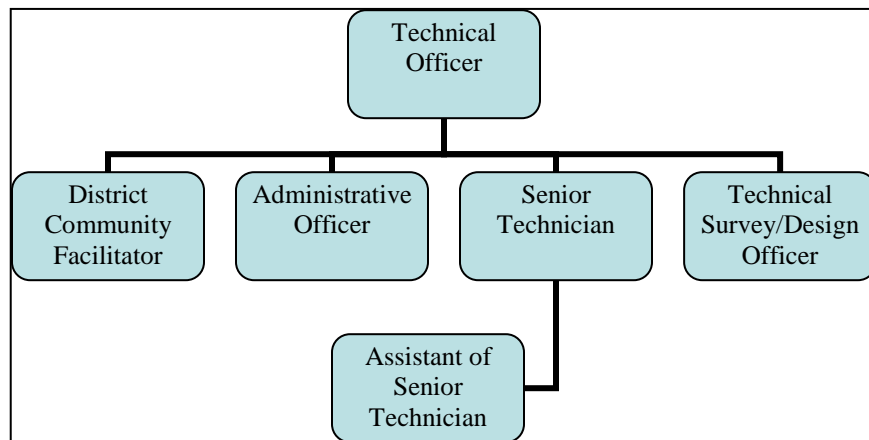


Figure 1 Organogram of SAS Office in Aileu District 2009

Source: Hamel, S.; Annex 4 (2009a)

The organogram in figure 1 shows the structure of the Water Supply and Sanitation Service (SAS) office for the district. The responsibilities of most of the positions relate to running and maintain the district capital town water supply. The District Community Facilitator position’s responsibilities include monitoring and supporting all the rural community water supplies and sanitation infrastructure in the district.

Existing Constraints to Accountability in Rural Communities

This section reviews the findings of Plan's 2009 study with regard to constraints to implementing accountability mechanisms and the links to sustainability.

Sustainability Results for Implementers

The survey found that there were two main types of implementation for RWS&S infrastructure across the two districts. The infrastructure was either designed and built by a contractor or an NGO/International Organization.

A comparison of the status of rural water supplies functioning 1 to 6 years after their construction, depending on the approach used for constructing these systems, showed that of 101 built by NGOs using a form of participatory approach, 32% were still fully functioning, and of 26 built by contractors with minimal participation from the community, 0% were fully functioning.

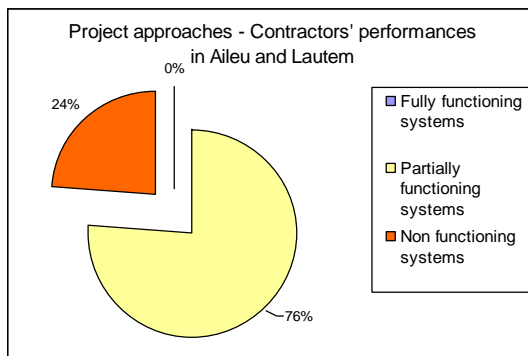


Figure 2 Contractor's performance in two rural districts in Timor-Leste.

Source: Hamel, S., Annex16 (2009a)

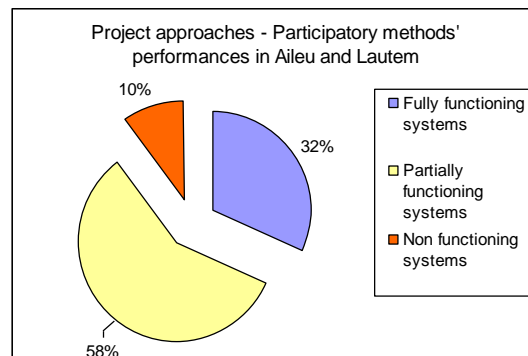


Figure 3 NGO's performance in two rural districts in Timor-Leste.

Source: Hamel, S., Annex16 (2009a)

Figures 2 and 3 indicate that increasing engagement and accountability with the community is linked to increased sustainability of the intervention. This correlates with interviews and focus-group discussions held with stakeholders and communities. It is therefore possible to conclude that where contractors have been the implementers, usually working with little engagement or transparency to the community, the sustainability of outcomes has been very poor; where NGOs have worked, usually engaging and communicating with the community to varying degrees of effectiveness, the sustainability of outcomes has been much improved.

Causes of Failure for Rural Water Supplies

The Plan 2009 study identified the main cause for the failure of each of the non-functioning water supplies surveyed, and groups the causes into four categories:

1. Technical problems, which largely resulted from poor quality of design and/or construction.
2. Community Management, which largely resulted from there being limited funds collected for operation and maintenance or no functioning water user group.
3. Social conflict, including conflicts within the community or between communities that resulted in the system being vandalized.
4. Environmental problems, which included natural disasters and problems due to natural resource management issues.

Figure 4 illustrates the causes of breakdown for non-functioning water supply systems across the two districts. The major causes of breakdown were found to be issues with Community Management and Technical Problems. Addressing these issues could resolve a large majority, 81%, of the problems for the non-functioning systems across the two districts.

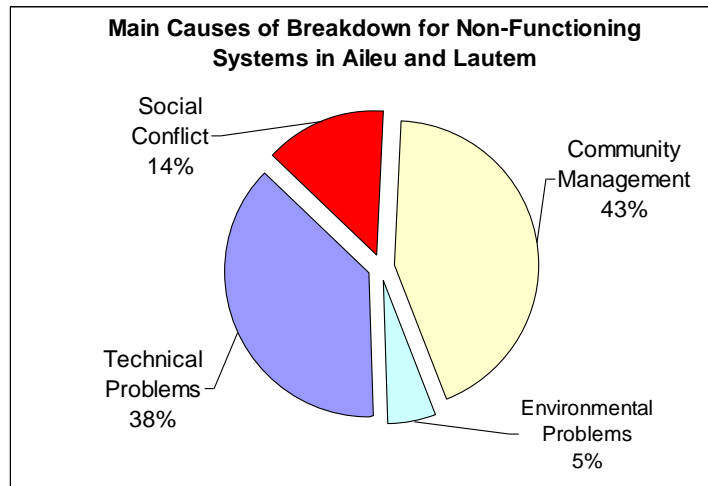


Figure 4 The main causes of breakdown for non-functioning water supplies in two rural districts in Timor-Leste.

Source: Hamel, S., Annex 6 (2009a)

Constraints to Community Management of Rural Water Supplies

The analysis of the community management problems for the non-functioning systems identified that the main constraints included either no water user group was created by the implementer or that the water user groups that were created had collected insufficient funds to cover the cost of repairs due to limited cooperation from the community. The survey showed that of all the user groups created 85% had less than US\$100 available for operation and maintenance (Hamel, S. 2009a:29).

Malailada community in Lautem district was identified as having a relatively successful water user group. Further discussion with the group revealed that the group had been trained 8 years ago by an international NGO and that they were meeting regularly. They kept US\$60 from community contributions with a trusted community member. However, the group revealed that they had difficulties with their relationship with the community and had limited support to undertake their role. The group mentioned in particular that they found it impossible to apply any agreed by-laws to regulate water management due to the lack of recognition of their role by community members. (Hamel, S. 2009a:29)

In contrast in Fahiria community the water user group receives good cooperation from the community and has sufficient funds transparently kept in a bank account. The group stated that at the time of the water supply inauguration the Sub-District Administrator from the local government officially approved an empowering by-law proposed by the water user group for the community. The water user group and community members interviewed were able to clearly state the by-law. The community chief is also part of the water user group, strengthening the link between the group and the local government structure. (Hamel, S. 2009b:22)

The two case studies illustrate a major finding of Plan's 2009 study that the community water user groups need to be supported by and held accountable to the local government and the groups need to be accountable to the wider community.

Monitoring of Design and Construction of Infrastructure in Rural Communities

The study showed that consistent monitoring of design and construction work in rural communities was limited. Typically the results of focus-group discussions and surveys of the water supply systems, such as in Taiblor village, see figure 5, indicated that quality control of the construction of infrastructure was often limited. Many implementers have generally not been held accountable for the quality of design and construction.



Figure 5 Storage tank in Taiblolor community built three years previously, Aileu District.

Source: Stephanie Hamel (May, 2009)

At the time of the study, no sufficiently-resourced monitoring mechanism was in place to support rural communities and evaluate long-term outcomes of rural water supply and sanitation (RWS&S) infrastructure. The study reported that “interviews were undertaken with the Water Supply and Sanitation Service in Aileu and Lautem during this assessment. The latter confirmed the limited capacity to ensure monitoring of projects, as the Community Water Supply Development Officer had to cover the whole district in both cases, 95 often remote water supply systems in Aileu and 113 systems in Lautem with limited resources. In addition, interviewees highlighted the lack of funds allocated for the support of O&M for newly constructed systems.” (Hamel, S. 2009a:37)

The case studies undertaken as part of the study illustrated this challenge faced by rural communities. The focus-group discussion in Hatulai village in Aileu District stated that “[Communities] don’t know how to communicate with Government and stakeholders”. This lack of regular communication and feed-back channels is a significant constraint to accountability of interventions in rural areas.

Low levels of knowledge about rights, roles and responsibilities

Results from the study’s focus group discussions with the communities visited showed that community members had little awareness of the roles of community groups in managing their RWS&S infrastructure, and therefore lacking such knowledge, the community members are unable to demand that their rights are met. Women in particular were found to be marginalized. This was linked to implementers and community groups generally not including women in the initial community action planning (CAP) process.

Interviews with implementers and local government identified low levels of knowledge among community members as a major constraint to increasing accountability. The District Development Officer from the District Administration for Lautem consulted during the study sited, “the lack of civic education is the key factor preventing people to take responsibility for community infrastructure”. (Hamel, S. 2009a: Annex 4)

The Plan study reflected that for all the communities where RWS&S infrastructure had been implemented: “the design phase was nearly always highlighted as not being a participatory process for the three community groups interviewed (women, men and youth). It was noted that usually only a small proportion of women were involved in at least 2 phases of the 4 phases of their RWS&S project (design, construction, operation and maintenance).” (Hamel, S. 2009a:32)

The study showed that a large number of implementers and local government staff did not have a complete understanding of the policy framework and the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders within the sector. Thus, without the duty bearers understanding their responsibilities, it is impossible for communities themselves to hold these duty bearers to account and realize their rights. A number of the community water user groups had received training on their responsibilities within the policy framework and that of other stakeholders; but it was clear from the results of community focus group discussions that this information was generally not communicated beyond the water user group to the wider community (Hamel, S. 2009a).

As a result, communities are generally unaware of their rights to participate in and access water and sanitation. They are therefore unable to express their demand for greater accountability for WASH program implementation both in the short and longer term. However there are limits to community members’ understanding of technical design; and, although parts of the design can be agreed with the community, it is challenging to be fully accountable to the community in this area when community members have limited understanding of technical issues.

Roles and responsibilities are poorly defined for RWS&S between the Government Ministries. The Plan report found that: “it seemed that the District Administration (DA) and the Department of Water Supply and Sanitation Services (SAS) planning processes have to date been separate: the SAS office did not receive regular information on communities’ needs, as collected through the Suco Development Plan process by the DA.” (Hamel, S. 2009a:38).

The lack of information sharing between SAS, responsible for implementing water and sanitation projects for the Ministry of Infrastructure, and the District Administration, responsible for district planning and community development infrastructure, including water and sanitation projects under the Ministry of State Administration, has lead to confusion at the community level with regard to roles and responsibilities.

Mechanisms to Strengthen Accountability and Sustainability

This section outlines the initiatives introduced to improve accountability within the sector and by Plan’s program since the 2009 study and the challenges faced with their introduction.

<i>Initiatives to Improve Accountability in the RWS&S Sector</i>	
<i>Policy Level Initiatives</i>	<i>Implementation Initiatives</i>
National Water Supply Policy Development	Community Action Planning process revised to include integrated WASH and gender perspectives.
National Sanitation Policy Development	SAS registration of design and construction documents and construction contract supervision staff.
Government Website	SAS Sub-District Facilitation Staff (Additional field staff)
National Anti-corruption commission and Ministry of Finance audit team.	Coordinated Decentralized Suco (Community) Development Planning Process
-	Long-term support for Water User Groups through ‘Sustainability Teams’ and Water User Group Association development.
-	Improved participatory monitoring and evaluation with communities.

Table 2 Table summarizing new initiatives to improve accountability in the rural WASH sector in Timor-Leste.

Policy Level Initiatives for Improving Accountability in the Sector

The Government through the Ministry of Infrastructure has started the development of a National Water Supply Policy and National Sanitation Policy. The policy development has been inclusive of all stakeholders in the WASH sector and started the process of clarifying roles and responsibilities. The two separate policies should ensure one area is not dominated by the other. These documents will then supersede the National Water Decree-Law.

A Government website has been initiated that will allow people with access to the internet to access historic information on government accounts for the ministries. This will then allow greater accountability of government to civil society.

The government has also started an initiative to create an Anti-corruption commission with a Ministry of Finance audit team. It is planned that the audit team can make spot checks on infrastructure projects. These initiatives will then increase accountability of implementers for the government to the government.

Implementation Initiatives to Improve Accountability in the Sector

The Department of Water Supply and Sanitation (SAS) has also started to develop improved monitoring systems for the design and construction of RWS&S infrastructure with key documents to be submitted at various stages of the project for all implementers (contractors and NGOs). The list of activities and documentation required from contractors and NGOs has been circulated and agreed upon. This monitoring framework for design and construction will then be enforced in the districts by the SAS office through new site superintendent positions proposed to be included in contracts with contractors.

A cadre of new staff has been identified and put in-place with the SAS office. The new positions, Sub-District Facilitators, are field based and have defined areas (sub-districts) with rural communities to support in the management of their RWS&S infrastructure. Their responsibilities include communication between communities and SAS, monitoring and supporting water user groups, conducting training in various aspects of WASH relating to gender and equity issues, developing proposals with the communities, the socialization of guidelines and responsibilities. The engagement capacity of SAS has increased significantly. Anecdotal evidence from discussions with communities has reported that the participation of women has increased and the image of SAS has improved greatly with the communities, who increasingly understand their role.

The Government's Department of Water Supply and Sanitation, with the support of the RWSSP, has recently focused upon improving the application of the Community Action Planning (CAP) process among all sector stakeholders. The CAP process has been revised to integrate sanitation and hygiene with water supply and mainstream gender through the process. A new nationwide training programme has been developed to ensure that training on it is made widely available. With improved understanding and application of the CAP process, it is hoped that future projects will be community-led, with greater understanding and accountability on the part of all stakeholders of their roles and responsibilities. When coordinated with the Suco Development Planning process described above, community infrastructure projects will now start with sufficient shared information on assets and early reflection with the whole community to decide upon locally appropriate solutions.

The Sub-District Facilitators also now form part of the Suco Development Planning process, ensuring that District Administration's participatory planning with the communities is coordinated and roles and responsibilities of stakeholders within the rural WASH sector are clarified. Plan has also taken part in the planning process in the districts where it operates to ensure community planning is coordinated and not duplicated. This has been successfully completed in Aileu District and Plan is now implementing in coordination with the District planning process for the rehabilitation of existing water supplies and construction of new supplies.



Figure 6 Suco development plan community map of Maubouc, Aileu.
Source: Alex Grumbley (June 2010)

These new initiatives for more staff and improved monitoring for greater accountability are still in their early stages. It has proved challenging for the National Water Supply Department within the Ministry of Infrastructure to increase resources for these initiatives. For example, in the 2010 financial year although the budget for the department has increased significantly, the requested budget was reduced by the removal of many of the lines for monitoring, operations and maintenance by the Ministry of Finance.

Plan's WASH program has increased support to legally recognize Water User Groups' responsibility to maintain RWS&S infrastructure and incorporate them into the official administrative structure. With greater knowledge of their work amongst stakeholders and a legitimate place and role in the administrative structure, these groups could become great assets for advocacy and improved accountability. Discussions about this change of status of water user groups took place when the study's results were diffused amongst stakeholders with positive feedback. Advocacy from the groups has been strengthened as Plan has instituted district-wide water user group meetings for active groups in the districts. At the first meeting, lessons learned and best practices were shared and a cross-visit to a successful group was organized. This has initiated the start of the creation of a water user group association. With the creation of a recognized association it can be expected that accountability of the government and implementers to communities will be strengthened.

Plan's WASH program has also introduced a 'sustainability team' composed of water-user group support officers that will work with the community groups to operate and maintain their water supplies. These officers will assist communities to rehabilitate their water supplies reinvigorating Water User Groups and followed by support for the assessment, fundraising and repairs required through the groups. The officers will also guide new user groups through the first years of management of their systems and create a strong link between the groups and

government extension workers. Stronger Water User Groups will then be able to hold the government more accountable for support to them and their communities.

Plan has also strengthened the participation of communities in the project planning process, in particular the participation of women and youth. This includes a strengthened and lengthened Community Action Planning (CAP) process at the start of rural WASH interventions with more time spent on the participation of marginalized groups and ensuring as many of the community members as possible attend initial planning meetings. It has been challenging to engage the whole community at meetings due to constraints on the community's time for activities and the increased time required for planning activities.

Plan has increased the participation of community members in monitoring and evaluation of its WASH programs. This includes using Methodology for Participatory Assessment tools with the community to monitor progress of the community action plan, shown in figure 7. Qualitative evaluations of the rural WASH programmes have included Most Significant Change Story collection and focus group discussions. Results of these evaluations have shown that although Plan has increased transparency with the Water User Groups through the lodging and explanation of documentation with the groups, including design documents and the material list for the project, this information has not been fully understood by the Water User Groups and not communicated to the wider community. Another finding was that traditional leadership structures for implementation of projects by Water User Groups has meant that there has been limited transparency from the groups to the wider community.

Accountability of the Water User Groups to the community is closely linked to the level of understanding of roles and responsibilities of the groups. Plan's experience shows community members have a very limited understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the groups and their responsibilities to supporting the groups. The low level of education in rural communities, coupled with a weak civil society, makes the process of increasing participation and understanding within the community a challenge.



Figure 7 Monitoring progress using a community map with the participation of the community.

Source: Alex Grumbley (April 2010)

CONCLUSION

It has been recognised by the rural WASH sector in Timor-Leste that there have been significant challenges to sustaining rural water supply and sanitation infrastructure. It has been identified that a significant part of the sustainability puzzle includes improving accountability between stakeholders in the sector.

Plan's 2009 study has provided empirical evidence for the sector to reflect on their approaches to rural WASH and has played a part in informing the initiatives to improve accountability, with the ultimate aim of improving sustainability of RWS&S infrastructure.

Stakeholders have started a number of initiatives and many of them are in their early stages. However the reality of the implementation of these changes reveals that creating a civil society which is aware of, and can actively hold stakeholders to account in fulfilling their roles and responsibilities, is a lengthy and challenging process that will take significant time and resources to fully realise.

An important line of accountability identified in the study from the Water User Groups to the Community which has many complexities with regards social structure and traditional communication lines within the community. In order for this to be realised it has been shown that Water User Groups require greater support. In the context of Timor-Leste this would likely mean incorporation of the groups into the government administrative structure and could require the introduction of greater professionalism with paid management positions within the groups. This would mean infrastructure would be managed by the community but with more direct input from the government, significantly increasing capacity and accountability of the groups.

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