Involvement without Influence?

Theoretical and Organisational Premises for Women's Empowerment in Development Programmes

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the thesis is to discuss how the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches of development programmes affect their possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality. This will be done through a study of the gender approaches of six development programmes for democratic and economic governance in the water and sanitation sector located in Angola, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay and Philippines respectively. The programmes strive towards the achievement of the UN Millennium Development Goals and are financed by the Spanish Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund. The programmes' gender approaches are defined as: the way the programmes interpret the concepts of women's empowerment and gender equality; the way they incorporate the concepts into their programme design and organisational structure, and; the activities and strategies implemented to enhance women's empowerment and gender equality in the programme areas. The analysis of the gender approaches of the programmes will be centred on the five theoretical assumptions which together state that a) a gender approach based on a collective postulation, with; b) adequate mechanisms for women's influence and; c) a purposeful involvement of men, backed-up by; d) adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and; e) a gender integrated design enabling evaluation and monitoring, is more probable to empower women. The main findings of the thesis are that: 1) all of the six gender approaches of the programmes are fundamentally individualistic and driven by efficiency rationales; 2) women's possible influence is generally limited and partial because of inadequate scope of participatory spaces; 3) men are not considered in any of the gender approaches; 4) the responsibility allocation for gender issues is the most important organisational feature for the implementation of the approaches, but it is weak in the majority of the programmes; 5) the integration of gender in the programme design and the funding mechanisms appear to not affect the implementation directly. Based on the results of the thesis it is concluded that both the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches create small possibilities for the programmes to empower women and to enhance gender equality. The results also point to what appears to be fundamental structural weaknesses in the present gender interpretation, integration and implementation of international development agencies.

Key words: Women's empowerment, development programmes, gender approach, collectivity, bottom-up influence, involvement of men, resource and responsibility allocation, integration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GAD	Gender and Development
GWA	Gender and Water Alliance
GWTF	Inter-agency Task Force on Gender and Water
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MDG	Millennuim Development Goal
MDG-F	Millennium Development Achievement Fund
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIOS	Office of International Oversight Services
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WID	Women in Development

1. INTRODUCTION

More than one billion people do not have access to clean water and 2.6 billion people are not connected to adequate sanitation facilities. After respiratory infections, diarrhoea caused by contaminated water from inadequate sanitation facilities is the second most common reason for child mortality worldwide (UNDP, 2006, p. 15). As a consequence of the traditional division of household labour women are generally the managers of domestic water and sanitation (Rydhagen, 2002, p. 97; SIWI, 2010, p. 23; UNDP, 2006). By forcing women and girls to spend time on water-fetching and purifying instead of on education or economic activities clean water scarcity contributes to maintained gender inequalities. One of the main reasons to why the global water scarcity has not been reduced is the lack of attention given to the issue by the international community. Those suffering most from water scarcity and deficit sanitation systems are the poor and women; at the same time these are the groups that often lack voice in political decision-making (UNDP, 2006, p. 5-6). Women's central role in domestic water and sanitation management is widely recognised by international organisations aid and development agencies. To empower women and to increase their influence in decision-making is generally viewed as vital to combat problems of clean water scarcity (GWTF, 2006; Rydhagen, 2002, p. 97; UNDP, 2006). Yet, as this study shows, as well as studies before it, there are still fundamental deficits in the strategies of development programmes aiming at women's empowerment. Furthermore, relevant organisational structures are many times weak or absent, which impede the implementation of the gender approaches of development programmes.

The objective of the thesis is to discuss how the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches of development programmes affect the programmes' possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality. This will be done based on a study of the gender approaches of six development programmes for democratic and economic governance in the water and sanitation sector in six developing countries. The gender approaches are defined as the way the programmes interpret, incorporate and implement women's empowerment and gender equality. The analysis of the empirical material and the discussion on the implications of the characteristics of the gender approaches of the programmes will be centred on the assumptions that a gender approach based on: 1) a collective postulation, with; 2) adequate mechanisms for women's influence, and; 3) a purposeful involvement of men, backed-up by; 4) adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and; 5) a gender integrated design, which enables evaluation and monitoring, is more probable to empower women. The

programmes are financed by the Spanish Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund (MDG-F) and are located in Angola, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay and Philippines respectively.

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

For the water and sanitation sector "the roots of the crisis [...] can be traced to poverty, inequality and unequal power relationships" (p. 5) according to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2006). Consequently, comprehensive and transversal strategies for how to decrease the inequalities are urgently needed. Inequalities between men and women are prevalent in all societies and the reduction of these inequalities is recognised as one of the main goals of the global United Nations (UN) efforts (UN, 2011-05-17). "Because gender inequality is based on unequal distribution of power (be it capital, physical, social or other)" (Richey, 2002, p. 264) it is impossible to distribute foreign aid without altering the gender relations. When gender is not considered in development programmes it is most likely that men will remain in advantage as a consequence of women's general subordination (Jacobson, 1992). Women's empowerment has been highlighted as vital for increasing the gender equality (UN, 1995) and gender and women's empowerment are concepts which at present are established in almost all international aid and development agencies at present. Yet, the way it is interpreted, integrated and implemented varies substantially (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002; Rydhagen, 2002, p. 73). Several assessments of the gender integration in development programmes have been carried out over the years, and even if there seems to be an increase in the gender rhetoric in policy documents both the implementation and the effects in situ are lacking (Hageboeck et al., 1993; OIOS, 2010; SADEV, 2010). Thus, even if gender equality and women's empowerment are recognised in guidelines and declaration, and receive both financing and attention there appears to be great difficulties with the incorporation and implementation of the concepts. This thesis has as its objective to reflect on how the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches of development programmes affect their possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality.

3. BACKGROUND – WOMEN, WATER AND GENDER

The tasks and roles of women and men in a society are to a large extent determined by the central social and cultural norms of that society. The norms affect the power relations between men and women, giving women in general a subordinate position in relation to men. Women's subordination is not present only in the domestic sphere, but also in for example the political, juridical and economic spheres (Ferber & Nelson, 1993, p. 9-10; Levy, 1992, p. 140; Moser & Peake, 1987, p. 6). The culturally and socially constructed roles are what the concept of gender describes, not the biological differences between men and women (Ferber & Nelson, 1993, p. 9-10; Levy, 1992, p. 140; Moser & Peake, 1987, p. 6). Since gender relations are a social construction they are also highly context dependent (Kabeer, 2010; Moser, 1993). Within groups that face economic and social marginalisation the structural subordination of women and girls place them at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy. This makes their marginalisation the hardest to break, both in relation to access to income generating activities as well as in relation to basic services such as clean water, sanitation, education and health care (Kabeer, 2010).

The use of water resources depends to a high degree on the shape of the gender relations in society. Cooking, cleaning and water fetching are traditional female chores that directly depend on the water and sanitation systems (Kjellén, 2003, p. 6; GWTF, 2006; WEDO, 2003, p. 3). Domestic agriculture is typically women's responsibility area one of the main constraints to increased production is the lack of water for irrigation (GWTF, 2006; WEDO, 2003, p. 3). Improved sanitation and hygiene facilities would contribute to reduced contamination of water sources, which in turn decrease the time and money women spend on care for sick family members. Consequently, better access to and higher quality of water would substantially ease the everyday life of women, why they are assumed to have more interest in adequate water and sanitation facilities. (Kjellén, 2003, p. 6; GWTF, 2006; WEDO, 2003, p. 3). According to the Inter-agency Task Force on Gender and Water (GWTF) it is essential to improve access to adequate water and sanitation facilities if women and girls are to participate equally in education and income generating activities (GWTF, 2006, p. 3).

Even if women generally have the responsibility to collect water for private use the physically heavy labour of well-digging is usually the responsibility of men. In rural areas wells are often located far away from the homes. According to a study carried out by Drangert (1993, p. 201f) women's lack of influence over water resource development was the main

reason to why new wells were not excavated, even if accessible water sources existed close to the village. As men did not have water-fetching as their responsibility area they did not prioritise the digging of wells. Similar patterns of women's marginalisation in decision-making can be seen at the national level. The general absence of remuneration in the sector of domestic labour reinforces a situation where women's work is valued as less important, both in the private and the public sphere. As a result, governmental policies often fail to meet women's needs and the general lack of female participation in decision-making processes makes it difficult for women to claim their equal rights (Kjellén, 2003; WEDO, 2003, p. 6). Because of women's central role in domestic water handling, but lack of decision-making power, women's empowerment and increased participation is often stated as vital for improved water management (GWTF, 2006).

4. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The objective of the thesis is to discuss how the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches of development programmes affect their possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality. It will be done based on a study of the gender approaches in six development programmes for democratic and economic governance financed by the MDG-F in the water and sanitation sector in six developing countries.

5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND STRUCTURE

The gender approaches of the six development programmes are defined as the way the programmes interpret, incorporate and implement women's empowerment and gender equality. Thus, the empirical study will be based on: 1) how the problem of gender inequality is defined (interpreted); 2) the structure and depth of gender integration in the programme design (incorporated), and; 3) the methods and strategies for implementation (implemented).

The analysis of the empirical material and discussion on the implications of the characteristics of the gender approaches of the programmes will be centred on the theoretical assumptions that a gender approach based on: 1) a collective postulation, with; 2) established mechanisms for women's influence, and; 3) a purposeful involvement of men, backed-up by; 4) adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and; 5) a gender integrated design, which enables evaluation and monitoring, is more probable to empower women. The three first

assumptions are related to the basic theoretical elements of the gender approach, whereas the two last assumptions are relevant for the analysis of the related organisational structures.

The research questions of the thesis are:

- How are the concepts of women's empowerment and gender inequality interpreted, incorporated and implemented by the six development programmes?

- How do the theoretical premises of the gender approaches of the same programmes affect their possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality?

- How do the organisational structures of the aforementioned programmes affect their possibilities to implement the gender approaches?

6. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Several assessments of gender integration in development programmes and projects have been conducted. In this section the most salient aspects of these will be described, as well as both organisational and theoretical features which have been found important for the integration and implementation of gender considerations.

One of the most comprehensive assessments that have been carried out was directed by Hageboeck and Snyder in 1993. In the assessment the gender integration in more than 500 evaluations reports from development projects of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) were reviewed. The assessment showed an overall weak result and it was concluded that "45% of the evaluations were completely silent with respect to gender at any stage in the life of the project [...] [and the] gender of beneficiaries was not mentioned in more than half (59%) of the projects. Gender-disaggregated data were not available in 76% of the studies. Gender issues were not mentioned at all in 49% of the reports." (Snyder et al. 1996, p. 1482)

In a more recent study by the Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) an evaluation of the gender mainstreaming in 20 programmes of the UN Secretariat was conducted. The main conclusions of the evaluation were that all programmes had mainstreamed gender, but that the way of mainstreaming varied substantially between the programmes. The evaluation pointed to a general lack of comprehension among the staff of the rationales for gender mainstreaming. Difficulties with translating gender knowledge into practice were also

highlighted (OIOS, 2010, p.4). The gap between gender awareness and implementation documented by the OIOS's is supported by similar findings in an assessment of development programmes of the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida). It concludes that even if the general awareness among the staff can be rated as high the gender integration is still mainly concentrated to the policies, while implementation remains lacking. "When considering gender in the interventions, the focus is mostly on the number of women who participated in the intervention rather than on active participation and influence in decision-making processes." (SADEV, 2010, p. 5) Assessments have also found a general lack of knowledge and information about the effects of the executed gender activities on the gender relations in the programme areas (OIOS, 2010; SADEV, 2010, p. 5). Instead the programmes focus on the internal processes of mainstreaming gender (OIOS, 2010).

The main focus of the programmes affects the integration of gender, why programmes related to human rights and democracy have shown to more easily integrate gender than programmes related to environmental issues. The technical history of environmentally oriented programmes appears to make the integration slower, while programmes dealing with democracy and human rights have a long history of issue integration which facilitates such processes (SADEV, 2010, p. 4). According to Korten and Siy (1989) internal training at all levels of a development agency is fundamental if new beneficiaries, as for example women, are integrated. Lack of internal training was highlighted as one of the reasons to why activities directed towards women in the USAID projects continued to follow traditional gender roles. But, even if training is widely recognised as vital, only one of the USAID projects included training of staff on gender awareness (Hageboeck et al., 1993). Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1487) add that bureaucratic reorientation needs time, especially when carried out in strict top-down organisations, why not only comprehensive training is needed, but also long time frames for financing.

Among the organisational features which have been highlighted as vital for the integration of gender in development programmes financing and responsibility allocation are both salient. According to the OIOS's evaluation lack of clear responsibility allocation for gender activities was a salient feature in the majority of the programmes, especially in comparison to similar programmes of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). "Lack of accountability was ranked as the biggest obstacle, after funding constraints, to the implementation of gender mainstreaming by the programmes surveyed, and was seen by a number of interviewees and survey respondents as threatening the sustainability of gender mainstreaming itself." (OIOS,

2102, p. 20) The lack of responsibility structures created confusion within the programmes and ambiguous accountability mechanisms (OIOS, 2010). According to Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1493) does almost no data exists on the resource allocation in relation to gender activities within development programmes. As women form a relatively new group of beneficiaries for development agencies they are often added to previous clientele without modifications in strategies or budget. This, according to Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996), is partly an effect of women's lack of organisation and their small numbers at high administrative posts, which makes it difficult for them to push for their priorities. Women and/or women's representatives are also seldom included in planning and formulation of the projects. Instead projects are often designed by technical staff with little expertise in gender issues, without expert support from donor agencies (Hageboeck et al., 1993).

Another aspect which has been claimed as fundamental for the implementation of gender activities is the existence of relevant indicators. The indicators make it possible to monitor progress and to assert pressure on compliance. The USAID evaluation claims that in the majority of the projects indicators were not gender specific. The gender specific indicators that did exist were focused on outputs such as number of female students in a training programme, but lacked any analysis of the results of the outputs (i.e. number of employed women within the area of training). It could also be seen that as a result of the lack of indicators gender was generally not included in the programme evaluations. When gender was included it was not uncommon for a programme to be stated as successful even if it did not live up to its gender specific goals (Hageboeck et al., 1993). To explain the connection between lack of indicators and lacking performance Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1492) point to the tendency of development staff to "satisfice"[1]. They claim that if there are no specific gender targets and indicators the issue will be forgotten in the implementation as priority will be given to areas where such measurements compel the staff to respond. According to them it is also vital that the gender specific indicators are integrated from the beginning or "there is no basis for even including these concerns in decision making during implementation or in evaluation". (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1492) The study also demonstrated that without strategic gender planning in the initial formulation of the projects any obstacle that might arise during implementation will most likely cause gender activities to be compromised with (Hageboeck et al., 1993). Richey (2002) claims that the extensive use of

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[1] To "achieve satisfactory and sufficient targets that do not, however, constitute a fundamental departure from status quo." (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1492)

monitoring schemes based on quantitative indicators also limits the possibilities to evaluate improved gender relations, since these are altered through long term processes. She stresses, however, that to modify monitoring systems to include qualitative indicators and process-oriented evaluation tools is not enough to ensure compliance with gender related goals; aid agencies need to officially prioritise the achievement of gender related goals (Richey, 2002).

Yet, if evaluation and monitoring of indicators are to be realised gender disaggregated data forming a baseline must be accessible. Again the USAID evaluation showed that the great majority of the projects lacked the gender disaggregated data needed for the baseline (Hageboeck et al., 1993). Crewe and Harrison (2000) assert, however, that the main focus of gender related activities in aid agencies have, so far, been on the production of information about women's situation. They instead criticise that even when information exist there is often a substantial gap between the reality the data reflect and the activities implemented by the agencies when applying the data. They also claim that majority of the gender information produced, and/or related checklists and guidelines, has no clearly stated aim or responsible, why their usefulness and potential application can be strongly questioned. As a result of the lack of aim and responsibility little attention has been given to the poor implementation of the aforementioned. Crewe and Harrison (2000) state that to concentrate efforts on the creation of data bases, checklists and guidelines divert attention from the possible conflicts created by activities based on these.

In a post colonial reading of the use of the concept 'partnership' in development interventions Eriksson Baaz (2001; 2002) criticise Swedish development organisations operating in Africa for maintaining a view of the receivers as inferior. Even if the concept of partnership is supposed to be constructed on an equal relationship between donor and receivers she claims that the organisations still carry postcolonial perceptions of the receivers as undeveloped and less reliable, in comparison to the organisations and their staff. By using the West as a model for what is desirable and 'good' the fundamental idea of the organisations' activities is a need to educate and help the recipient population to more suitable values, attitudes and social systems (2001, p. 168-170). Eriksson Baaz (2002, p. 84) point to the weight given to the accordance of the value systems of the national/local partner organisations with that of the donors. Thus, even if the partnerships are presented as equal, where both partners have the same ownership and responsibility, the mere existence of such value based selection criteria point to the prevailing power difference between the giver and the receiver (2002, p. 84).

7. THEORY

All of the six water and sanitation programmes which form part of the thesis investigation have reduced gender inequalities as a target or transversal theme (Angola, 2008, p. 5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 39; Honduras, 2008, p. 31; Mexico, 2008, p. 64; Paraguay, 2009, p. 1; Philippines, 2009, p. 2). Women's empowerment is central in the programmes' gender approaches, as a means to reduce the gender inequalities. The programmes' possibilities to achieve increased equality depend, however, to a large extent on the strategies they chose and the organisational structures they have to support the implementation of the strategies. In the analysis of the programmes' gender approaches two theoretical strands will be used – gender theory and development theory. The combination of the two theoretical strands enables an analysis of both the theoretical foundation and the organisational structures of the gender approaches. Gender theory, with a focus on women's empowerment, will form the overarching theoretical framework for the analysis of the theoretical postulations of the gender approaches. Based on the framework three fundamental *theoretical premises* for women's empowerment, i.e. collective postulation, adequate influence mechanisms and purposeful involvement of men, will be outlined. The second theoretical strand is development theory focused on gender integration and implementation, which will be used for the analysis of the organisational structures of the gender approaches. From the development theoretical literature, in combination with previous research, two assumptions about fundamental *organisational structures* for implementation, i.e. resource and responsibility allocation and integrated design, will be presented. Yet, since both theoretical strands to some extent discuss similar aspects of women's empowerment they will also be presented in combination for some of the features.

First in the theoretical chapter a historical description of the development of viewpoints and strategies towards women in the aid and development sector will be presented. After that the five theoretical themes are outlined in the following order: collective or individualistic strategies; influence mechanisms; men and gender strategies; resource and responsibility allocation, and; integration in design. The three first themes relate to the theoretical elements of the gender approaches, whereas the latter two define the organisational structures of implementation. From each theme an assumption about strategies and structures which are fundamental for the programmes' possibilities to empowerment women will be outlined. The five assumptions will later guide the analysis of the empirical material.

7.1. WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT – A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The 'women issue' in foreign aid has gone through several phases and the perceptions about women and women's needs have been modified and renegotiated many times. Studies have shown that traditionally aid directed towards women has been focused on reproductive issues and/or welfare functions. The first approach to include women as beneficiaries of aid was called 'Women in Development' (WID) and considered women to only have passive roles in society as mothers and care-takers (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002). Because of strong criticism, from for example Boserup (1970) and Dixon-Mueller (1985), WID was modified to also include women as active stakeholders and producers. The integration of the economic activities of women was, however, done without questioning the traditional division of labour between men and women, i.e. women responsible for domestic labour while men have income generating work outside of the household. Consequently, the integration of women in development programmes through the WID approach was done without questioning the structural gender inequalities, according to Cornwall (2003, p. 1326) and Richey (2002).

WID was furthermore criticised by several feminist scholars for promoting Western liberal values and perceptions about the needs of women and about the modernisation of developing countries, while giving little consideration to the affected women's own knowledge and priorities (Moser, 1993; Kabeer, 1994; Razavi & Miller, 1995; Young, 1993). It was stressed that especially for women in developing countries gender inequality is not the only, or necessarily the strongest, inequality which needs to be confronted. Other hierarchies based on for example age, citizenship, ethnicity and sexual orientation can be as important in defining the needs of different groups of women (Johnsson-Odim, 1991, p.315). As a response to the previous Western domination an equity approach, called 'Gender and Development' (GAD), was formulated by women and scholars from developing countries. In this approach a strong focus was placed on the empowerment of women (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002). According to Mohanty (1988) the focus on empowerment was necessary as women in developing countries previously had been seen exclusively as victims with almost no possibilities of agency or to define their own needs.

Jahan (1995) claims that the equity approach has been incorporated by aid agencies following two main currents: the integrationist approach and the agenda-setting approach. In the integrationist approach, or mainstreaming as it also is called, gender issues are added-on

to the general structure of the development programmes, without any major modifications of practices, strategies and structures. The agenda-setting approach aims at giving women the power to initiate activities and define priorities, i.e. to set the agenda, throughout the programmes. The agenda-setting approach has been recognised by The Working Party on Gender Equality of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as the approach most probable to achieve gender equality (OECD, 1998). According to Richey (2002), studies show, however, that the integrationist approach is the most practiced by aid agencies. She also claims that it seems as if the gender integration concerns mainly gender-vocabulary and has had little effect on the programme designs, processes or outcomes.

Researchers highlight how aid agencies argue that the inclusion of women in development programmes brings more efficient and sustainable results (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Rydhagen, 2002, p. 39). According to GWTF (2006, p. 1) it is generally more effective to promote gender integration in water projects by showing that women's participation increase the sustainability of the results, than to show that improved access to water increase gender equality. Both Moser (1993) and Kabeer (1994) point out that this type of efficiency rationales makes it seems as if development agencies are more concerned with the contributions of women to development, rather than with what the benefits they can provide for women. Despite strong criticism efficiency rationales are still commonly used by aid agencies, according to Crewe and Harrison (2000) and Richey (2002).

Among the later developments in gender theory is the body of theory concerning intersecting inequalities, i.e. how different types of inequalities (such as sex, ethnicity, religion, class and sexuality) interact, change and/or reinforce each other (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Collins, 1998; McCall, 2005; Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006). Even if interactions between different inequalities have a long history as a question in the feministic theory, stemming originally from anti-slavery debates in the US (Brah & Phoenix, 2004), the concept 'intersectionality' as such was launched in 1989 by Crenshaw (Phoenix & Pattynama, 2006). The contemporary intersectionality-debate reiterated the criticism directed by among others Mohanty (1991) towards the idea of a uniform woman when discussing the various inequalities women, especially in developing countries, live under. According to Walby (2007) the theoretical literature on intersecting inequalities is mainly focused on two strands: 1) authors who still use some variation of the concept of system, and; 2) authors who reject systems as explaining models, being reductionist. Yet, several of the authors who still

maintain social systems as part of the explanatory model criticise the idea of meta-narratives in which all other systems are embedded (Barrett & Phillips, 1992; Hartmann, 1976; Lyotard, 1987; Mirza, 1997; Walby, 1986; 2007). Instead of viewing systems as nested or hierarchically ordered Walby (2007, p. 454) suggests that different social systems, such as race, ethnicity and gender, are seen as partly overlapping and co-existing within domains of for example economy, civil society and politics. As Kabeer (2010) shows, the overlapping and intersecting systems of inequality within the different domains generally subordinate women and obstruct their access to resources and opportunities (Kabeer, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 200).

In this thesis a perspective on gender relations as social systems will be taken, which means that the relations are seen as interlinked and to interact with many other aspects of the society and the environment in which they are situated. But because of the character of the study, being a desktop study, and the resource and time constraints it has been necessary to focus only on one of the inequalities. Since gender was defined by the programmes as a cross-cutting issue which they had in common it became a natural choice. Still, the theoretical assumption about the necessity of bottom-up influence could also plausibly be applicable to empowerment of other marginalised groups. The complexity of collective action and intersectionality will be discussed further in the up-coming section.

7.2. WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

The concept of empowerment, and in this specific case women's empowerment, can be perceived as quite straightforward at first sight. To empower women is to give women more power, or? But what is power? And what does it mean to give power to someone? In her discussion on women's empowerment Kabeer (1999, p. 436-8) define three dimensions which are fundamental for empowerment: resources, agency and achievements. According to her 'power' is to be able to make choices and 'empowerment' is consequently the process through which the possibilities to make choices increases. What about choice then? Here Kabeer (ibid.) partly builds on Sen's (1985a; b) discussion on capabilities and point to the three aforementioned aspects, resource, agency and achievement, as basic for our possibilities to make choices. Resources, by her definition, refer to economic as well as social and human resources which enables us to make choices. It could be for example education, capital or social relations. Agency is presented as "the ability to define one's goals and act upon them."

(p. 438) In development programmes agency is often translated as decision-making, even if it could take other expressions. Lastly, achievement is as it sounds the possibility to reach ones goals. If the possibilities for women to achieve their goals are limited because of norms or hierarchical structures in society, then it can be said that they lack power (ibid.). Thus, to empower women is to increase their resources and/or agency to achieve the goals they themselves have defined.

7.2.1. Collective or individualistic strategies?

"Women's empowerment [...] [is] fundamental for the achievement of equality" (UN, 1995, p. 3) it is stated in the Beijing Declaration from the Fourth World Conference on Women of the UN. At present 'empowerment' is an established concept among foreign aid and development agencies, even if research have shown that the understanding of its meaning and implications varies considerably (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002). Crewe and Harrison (2000) state that even if the concept 'gender' has been adopted the meaning of empowerment has been little explored by development agencies. "Although gender is usually integrated in development projects in some way, the contributions from feminist theory are rarely allowed to guide the design of the projects." (Rydhagen, 2002, p. 73) One critique that has been raised is how empowerment often is used by development agencies with a strong individualistic connotation, while neglecting the use of collective action. As Richey (2002) states, to give individual women the sole responsibility for their emancipation is highly problematic as it disregards the many structural and cultural barriers that exist. Since gender problems are collective problems collective solutions are needed, according to Bush (1983). This is supported by other feminist scholars who assert it to be vital for women to create leverage for their priorities through organisation around joint needs, if they are to be able to change gendered power relations (Kabeer, 1994; Sen & Grown, 1985). Kabeer (1999) state that "[i]n a context where cultural values constrain women's ability to make strategic life choices, structural inequalities cannot be addressed by individuals alone. [...] The project of women's empowerment is dependent on collective solidarity in the public arena". (p. 457) In accordance Moser (1993) stresses that women's needs are best defined and fought through a bottom-up approach, utilising for example women organisations. Agarwal (1997) highlight the important role organisations can play to strengthen women to feel confident enough to participate actively in decision-making. According to her, a sole focus on the creation of participatory spaces is not enough, it is just as important is to strengthen women so that they

feel confident to speak and to actively participate. Consequently, by not considering the collective character of gender relations individualistic approaches hold the peril of involving women without enabling them to challenge the existing unequal power relations.

Cornwall (2003, p. 1330) highlights two possible risks with having a main focus on women's representation in councils or boards without previous organisation. Firstly, there is a risk that female representatives only have presence but no voice. This would, instead of promoting women's interests, justify a continued male dominance by creating an appearance of gender equality. With organisation it is more probable that female representatives feel confident enough to influence decision-making, since they have the leverage of a group. The second risk is that the female representatives do not represent women's common interests, and do not identify themselves with women as a group. As Phillips (1991) points out, women do not *per se* fight for the good of all women, they as well as all other persons have several different affiliations. Since an organisation has more possibilities to exert accountability, female representatives are pressed to represent the priorities of women as a group. Organisation of women could therefore also counter tendencies of single interests.

In development theory there is no explicit discussion on collectivistic versus individualistic approaches. Participation and women's influence is highlighted as important and both monitoring groups and/or parallel working groups constituted by women are discussed as means to assure a throughout gender integration (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1485; Holt & Ribe, 1991). To have women clearly stated as a stakeholder group or as a specific group of beneficiaries is also claimed to be vital. However, there seems to be no discussion on whether strategies based on collective or on individualistic postulations are more adequate for reaching increased gender equality. Attwood and May (1998) describe how alliances with local organisations can help a development programme to gain a better understanding of the local conditions, but the discussion is not connected to collective strategies for women's empowerment.

As previously stated, many feminist scholars emphasise how the shape of gender relations depend highly on other types of social hierarchies, based on for example ethnicity, cast, religion, age and class. Consequently, the needs of women are highly dependent on the local conditions under which they are living, why any static universalistic view on women's needs is unrealistic (Kabeer, 2010; Johnsson-Odim, 1991, p. 315; Mohanty, 1991, p. 53; Rydhagen, 2002, p. 44). Considering the critique the intersectionality debate has lifted to the image of a uniform woman with uniform interests it is important to consider that also within a group

women can live under different conditions which shape their needs and interests. This is relevant especially when looking at a national or international level. Even so, women *within* similar contexts often do face similar disadvantages in relation to resources and possibilities (Fraser, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 200), thus they also to some extent have similar interests. To avoid inadequate and insensitive grouping of women Yuval-Davis (2006) does not suggest to reject all forms of collective activities, but rather that "the boundaries of the dialogue should be determined by common political emancipatory goals while the tactical and strategic priorities should be led by those whose needs are judged [...] to be the most urgent" (p. 206). How this should be done in practice is, however, a very complex issue, why also the formation of women as a group with common interests should not be done uncritically (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Following this line of argumentation one of the central points of investigation in the thesis will be whether the gender approaches of the six programmes are based on collective or individualistic strategies. One aspect is whether the programmes make any references to the implementation of activities where women have the possibility to formulate their joint needs and priorities. If women's representation in committees is a central strategy of the programme, are there related activities where women can organise themselves and elect their own representatives or are female representatives participating as women *qua women*? Another relevant aspect is the programmes' collaboration with women's organisations.

The first theoretical assumption is that *a gender approach based on collective strategies is more probable to empower women.*

7.2.2. Bottom-up influence

Women's participation is claimed to be essential for increased gender equality by both gender theory and development theory. If strategies for enhanced gender equality are to be able to challenge context specific gender relations a participatory methodology is necessary, according to Humble (1998, p. 35f). "If policies are truly to meet the needs of women beneficiaries, then women need to participate in identifying their problems and selecting appropriate objectives to address those problems, as well as to design strategies to achieve the agreed-upon objectives." (Snyder et al. 1996, p. 1488) Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1486) propose that development programmes should investigate what women themselves see as the main constraints to accessing the resources offered by the programme and what activities promoting gender equality already exist and could be supported. According to them,

these questions should be fundamental in the design of development strategies and they highlight "client and stakeholder participation in the design and implementation" (ibid. p. 1493) as vital for improved implementation of gender policies. As previously mentioned, alliances with local organisations can be one way to gain access to context specific knowledge (Attwood & May, 1998; May, 1998). If policy changes in favour of women shall be integrated it is essential that they as a stakeholder-group have access to the processes of designing and formulation of goals and activities. Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1845) state that this seldom happen, which is one of the reasons to the prevailing bias towards men in development efforts. "The general lack of success in implementing gender-inclusive policies speaks of the necessity [of] a high level of *stakeholder participation* and strategic leadership in donor and recipient agencies to facilitate the formulation, adoption and implementation" (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1484, emphasis added).

Mayoux (1995) stresses, however, that the mere inclusion of women in participatory processes in development programmes is far from sufficient. On the contrary gender inequalities need to be addressed in a conscious way, or there is a great danger that they will be reproduced or even reinforced. More so, other authors highlight that even if participation is essential for gender empowerment it is dangerous to assume that the gender hierarchies will be challenged *per se* by the introduction of participative activities (Cornwall, 2003; Crawley, 1998; Kabeer, 2010; Richey, 2002). Many authors have documented how an uncritical view of 'community' and/or 'household' in participatory processes obscures the internal power relations and heterogenic collection of groups by which these units are constituted (Agarwal, 1997; Cornwall, 1998; Gujit & Kaul Shah, 1998; Kandiyoti, 1998; Lind, 1997; Peters, 1995; Sarin, 1998).

It should be pointed out that the participation spheres referred to in development theory and gender theory are not the same. Development theory focuses on the inclusion of women in the already existing participatory spaces and structures within or close to the agencies and programmes, through for example working groups or by investigating women's needs (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1485-6; Holt & Ribe, 1991). Influence exerted here is, consequently, highly dependent on and limited to the frames of existing institutional structures. Gender theory on the other hand, emphasise participatory spaces closer to women, i.e. participatory spaces that are not delimited by the structures and processes of development institutions and where women have much more direct influence and liberties of definition. Gender scholars assert that gender empowerment is inherently in opposition to the top-down planning exerted

in development programmes (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002). The differences in focus could in much be compared to the distinction between the aforementioned 'agenda-setting approach' and the 'integrationist approach' (Jahan, 1995).

Chambers (1997) and Francis (2001) criticise development agencies for neglecting the vision of empowerment embedded in participative methods. Instead increased efficiency is emphasised rather than the possibilities to redistribute power and potential conflicts are neglected (Cornwall, 2003; Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Kabeer, 2010; Moser, 1989; Richey, 2002; Rydhagen, 2002). As White (1996) states "what began as a political issue is translated into a technical problem which the development enterprise can accommodate with barely a falter in its stride". (1996, p. 7) Empowerment through participation demand the possibility for the 'to become empowered' to influence and define fundamental aspects of development programmes, otherwise there is a risk the participation is used solely as a tool to access free local labour (Chambers, 1997; Francis, 2001). Rydhagen (2002, p. 40) agrees and asserts that the potential empowerment diminishes if participation is limited to the phase of implementation and/or evaluation of a programme. In these phases the possibilities to affect fundamental programme aspects, such as the allocation of resources and responsibilities, are strongly reduced. Consequently, the potential empowerment is much greater if the participation occurs in the early phases of the programme, i.e. during planning and decision-making. Cornwall (2003, p. 1327) emphasise that the method by which participation is implemented also affects the possibilities for influence and empowerment. Examples of non-empowering, but popular, participatory methods are those which are already pre-determined by the development agency, e.g. consultations. According to her, this kind of activities mainly serve to assert local compliance with the established development agenda, but present few opportunities for claims of voice and influence from the local population. She states that it is common for policy documents to be entrenched with participation rhetoric, even if little is translated into action at the local level (ibid.).

The definition of to which depth and extent women's participation should be allowed to influence development programmes differ substantially between development theory and gender theory. Both theoretical strands do, nevertheless, agree on women's influence and participation as essential for their empowerment and for increased gender equality. In the gender approaches of the six programmes the influence mechanisms which are created, or enhanced, by the programmes will be investigated. These could for example be community councils or participatory spaces in policy processes. It is, however, important to state that

there will be no analysis of *what* the women's needs in the programme areas are. Since the needs are highly contextual it would be an impossible task to perform without having deep knowledge about the area and local conditions for women, but it would also be irrelevant for the purpose of the thesis. As women's own right to define, express and promote their needs is fundamental for their empowerment a study of the mechanisms and possibilities the programmes create for that purpose is of much more importance.

The second theoretical assumption is that *a gender approach with clearly defined and adequate mechanisms for women's influence is more probable to empower women*.

7.2.3. Men and gender strategies

The third aspect that will be analysed in the thesis is how the programmes' gender approaches relate to men. Moser (1993) highlights that the majority of the gender approaches of aid agencies tend to have a sole focus on women, leaving out any discussion of the role of men. Accordingly, Crewe and Harrison (2000) show in their study they that aid agencies tend to neglect the importance of male participation in gender interventions; the role of the men is left without questioning and the women issue is handled separately from the rest of the programme. Feminist scholars point out that power is not unlimited and can be given to someone without affecting others. On the contrary, power is determined by the relations between groups of people. Since power relations depend on at least two parties it cannot be the sole responsibility of women to change them. As the purpose of activities for increased gender equality and women's empowerment is to change the power relations between men and women, i.e. to take power from men and give it to women, all gender interventions are inherently political and confrontational. The potential conflicts created by gender activities are, however, something which most development agencies do not readily acknowledge. Instead gender activities are claimed to create benefits for all, something which has been strongly criticised by scholars (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002).

The inclusion of men in gender activities or awareness-raising can have the effect of conflict mitigation. As explained by the Mexican interviewees it is necessary to involve the spouses of the women in the gender related activities or the women can be faced with violent conflicts when trying to change traditional roles (Mexico 1). According to Mukasa (2000) advocacy and awareness-raising about the equal rights of all persons are vital means to mitigate conflicts from processes for redistribution of power. She draws on experiences from a village in Uganda where the empowerment of the women created conflicts between both

men and women, as well as between younger and older women. Other scholars highlight conflict resolution skills as fundamental for successful gender interventions (Guijt & Kaul Shah, 1998; Mosse, 1995; Welbourn, 1996). Consequently, to not include men in activities for increased gender equality is to claim that women's empowerment is the sole responsibility of women, but also to refrain from acknowledging the possible conflicts the own interventions could create. Moreover, it denies men the possibility to actively reflect on their situation and make conscious decisions about the relations they want to participate in.

The third theoretical assumption is that *a gender approach which purposefully includes men is more probable to empower women.*

7.2.4. Resource and responsibility allocation

During the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women the necessity of having development agencies putting money behind their gender integration was highlighted. Without active economic support the integration of gender and women's empowerment continues to be only powerless rhetoric, according to Mason (1995). Richey (2002) declare that only through investing funds in gender interventions can aid and development agencies authenticate their commitment. As power relations are shaped by e.g. access to resources and capital it is impossible for development agencies to make investments without affecting them, she points out. Therefore development agencies have an active power shaping role through their fund allocation. This influence is, however, seldom recognised by the agencies themselves, which has been criticised (Richey, 2002). While this critique against a perceived lack of economic commitment by development agencies is presented by scholars with a gender theoretical perspective, development theorists agree even if the focus is more on internal processes. For example Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1490) emphasise that the changes in institutional values which is promoted by gender activities are long-term processes. Therefore internal training is central, as well as long-term financing of these activities.

Apart from adequate funding they stress the need to have persons responsible for promoting gender issues from within the institutions, so called "change agents" (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1490). The gender responsible should have the task to promote gender integration in all activities, as well as to support other personnel in the organisations through education and assistance. More so, they claim, these persons can function as channels for women to influence the activities of the agencies and to promote their needs. Consequently, Snyder, Berry and Mavima (ibid.) call for a strong leadership to promote women's interest and

sufficient funding for gender related activities. Attwood and May (1998) also stress adequate human resources and the lack of economic resources and ambiguous responsibility allocation were pointed to as the main obstacles to thorough gender integration by previous research (OIOS, 2102, p. 20). The same was stated by several of the interviewees of this thesis (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Paraguay 2; Philippines 1). Thus, the fourth aspect that will be considered is how the programmes have allocated economic resources and responsibility for the execution of their gender approaches. This is the first of the two theoretical assumptions related to the organisational structures highlighted as vital for the implementation.

The fourth theoretical assumption states that *a gender approach with clearly defined and established allocation of economic means and responsibility is more probable to empower women*.

7.2.5. Integration in programme design

The last and fifth theoretical theme concerning gender integration in programme design is based on the findings of previous research, but the importance of it was also highlighted during some of the interviews of the thesis (Honduras 1; Philippines 1). Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1492) point to the low number of gender-indicators and to the tendency of development staff to "satisfice"[2] as key to explain why gender strategies often lack in implementation. They claim that if there are no clearly stated goals and measurements specifically for gender the issue will be overlooked. Instead priority will be given to aspects where outside pressure can be asserted through monitoring mechanisms. The aforementioned study also shows that when gender goals are integrated in other parts of the activities they are probable to get lost. They point to the examples in the USAID evaluation which have shown that if gender-specific indicators are not included in the initial steps "there is no basis for even including these concerns in decision making during implementation or in evaluation". (Hageboeck et al., 1993, p. 1492)

The fifth theoretical assumption is that *a gender approach with thorough gender integration in the programme design, which enables monitoring and evaluation, is more probable to empower women*.

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[2] To "achieve satisfactory and sufficient targets that do not, however, constitute a fundamental departure from status quo." (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1492)

7.3. THE FIVE THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS REVISITED

In this chapter the five fundamental premises of strategies for women's empowerment have been identified through a theoretical discussion based on gender and development theory, as well as previous empirical findings. The five assumptions state jointly that a gender approach based on: 1) a collective postulation, with; 2) adequate mechanisms for women's influence, and; 3) a purposeful involvement of men, backed-up by; 4) adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and; 5) a gender integrated design, which enables evaluation and monitoring, is more probable to empower women and increase gender equality. The three first assumptions are related to the basic theoretical premises of the gender approaches of the six programmes, whereas the two last assumptions are relevant for the analysis of the related organisational structures.

8. METHOD

In this chapter the methods used for the investigation are presented. These include interviews, qualitative literature studies and open-coding. First the rationales for choice of research objective will be presented, followed by a description of the primary and secondary empirical material. The interview techniques and the interviewees will be presented. Subsequently there will be a description of the coding process, and the structure of the empirical findings will be outlined. Ultimately the issue of bias and the way it has been handled in this thesis investigation is described, together with some reasoning about the delimitations of the scope of the thesis.

8.1. CHOICE OF RESEARCH OBJECT AND ANALYSIS MODEL

The choice of research objects is based on two main reasons; collaboration with the UNDP Water Governance Facility at SIWI (the Stockholm International Water Institute) and the access to information. The thesis forms part of the collaboration between the author and SIWI. SIWI has been contracted as 'knowledge management' focal point by the MDG-F, with the purpose of collection and systematisation of the experiences and knowledge generated within eleven programmes of the thematic window Democratic and Economic Governance. Gender is one of several areas of particular concern for the MDG-F and the country programmes, and consequently also for the 'knowledge management' of SIWI. Therefore it

was suggested as a possible area of research for the thesis when initial contact was made. SIWI committed to facilitate contacts to and information about the programmes, with the expectation of a posterior report based on the results from the thesis investigation. Whereas the focus of the thesis was developed through joint discussion, the aim, process and the final thesis was developed independently by the author.

To initiate the SIWI knowledge management programme a workshop was held in Manta, Ecuador, between the 21st and 24th of May of 2011. Present at the workshop were delegates from ten of the eleven water and sanitation governance programmes. As the eleven programmes are distributed geographically across five continents, i.e. Africa, Asia, Europe and North and South America, the workshop presented the most viable and purposeful opportunity to meet and interview people directly connected to the programmes. During the workshop interviews were carried out with delegates from six of the programme countries; Angola, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay and Philippines. Initially the intention was to carry out interviews with at least one delegate per programme, but due to time constraints it was not possible. Consequently, the choice of interviewees was to a large extent decided by who was available. All programmes did, however, apply on the more or less the same premises and all follow the same guidelines from the MDG-F, why it should not pose a major threat to the results. The additional information, made available by the interviewees, about six of the programmes subsequently became the central reason for the selection, within the original group of eleven MDG-F water and sanitation programmes.

The thesis has as its scope the gender approaches to be implemented by the six water and sanitation governance programmes. Since no field studies have been done *in situ* in the programme areas the thesis will not be able to, or intend to, draw empirical conclusions on the effects of the implementation of the gender approach. Instead the thesis will present an analysis of and discussion about the *possibilities* of the programmes to enhance gender equality, if they were to implement the gender approaches such as they are described in the programme documents. To do so both the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches of the programmes will be analysed. The theoretical premises define whether the approach will use the appropriate strategies for the empowerment of women, whereas the organisational premises are fundamental for the implementation of the strategies. Consequently, they are both aspects which fundamentally influence the programmes possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality. The analysis and discussion

will be based on the five previously presented assumptions, of which three are related to the theoretical base of the strategies while two are related to the organisational structures.

The main focus of the thesis and the theoretical discussion is not on the activities which have been implemented already, but on what should be implemented according to the programmes documents and the rationales and assumptions for that. In some sections of the empirical findings the interviews will complement the programme documents with more detailed information on what has been implemented and structures or additional rationales for choice of strategy. Especially the paragraphs on Resource and responsibility allocation are based on what has been done according to the interviewees and not on what is stated to become implemented in the programme documents. Other sections, such as Collaboration with women's organisations and Activities directed towards men, are partly based on what is stated to become and what is said to have been done. In the analysis and the discussion the empirical material concerning what has been carried out will be used to point to organisational conditions which affect the implementation of gender strategies. Naturally, there are other organisational structures which potentially could affect the implementation that are not handled in this thesis. Yet, the aforementioned structures that are included in the study have the common characteristic of being highlighted as central for implementation by both theoretical literature and the interviewees. Other possible structures will be left for future studies. The selection criteria for the gender theoretical premises of the gender approaches are mainly two. The first two premises, collectivity and bottom-up influence, have been selected as they are the two most commonly encountered as fundamental criteria for women's empowerment in gender theoretical literature. The programmes' consideration of men was included as there appears to be a lack of research and theorising conducted on the issue. Except for criticism of development agencies for not considering it the aspect of men and gender strategies was almost absent in the theoretical literature.

8.1.1. Description of research object

The Spain-UNDP Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund (MDG-F) was established in 2006 as the administrating agency of funds donated by the Spanish government to the UN system to accelerate the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (MDG-F, 2007a, p. 1). The Fund finances 128 programmes, which are grouped in

eight thematic categories[3], in 49 different countries all around the world and collaborates with national governments, citizen's organisations and UN agencies (MDG-F, 2011-05-17). One of the main goals of the MDG-F is to strengthen and unite the efforts to meet the MDGs of the varying UN agencies in the countries of residence. Therefore all programmes involve at least two UN agencies and are directed by UN's Resident Coordinator and a Country Team for each programme country. The participating UN agencies are responsible for the execution of activities and projects at the national, regional and local level under the framework of the programme (MDG-F, 2007a). The United Nations Millennium Development Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly in 2000 (UN, 2000). From the Declaration eight Millennium Development Goals were formulated to guide international efforts to combat scarcity of food and clean water, poverty, HIV and AIDS and gender inequality. The MDGs also strive towards universal education, environmental sustainability and improved child and maternal health (UN, 2011-05-17). The MDGs were created not only to show the common aims of the developing countries, but also to acknowledge the important role that the developed countries play by assisting them through fair trade, development assistance, debt relief and technology transfer. The targets are set to 2015, but so far tangible results are far from easy to determine and several goals are lagging behind (Haines & Cassels, 2004).

In the thematic category 'Democratic and Economic Governance' all eleven programmes aim at improving water supply and quality by strengthening the democratic processes surrounding the water resources. In many programmes a strong focus is placed on the participation of the public and of citizen's organisations. The eleven programmes of the category extend over five continents, i.e. Africa, Asia, Europe and North and South America, and the guidelines of the category encourage the programmes to focus on the poorest and most marginalised groups of the population (MDG-F, 2007b). This thesis will focus on six of the eleven water and sanitation governance programmes, which are located on each in Angola, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay and Philippines respectively. Of the six programmes the Angolan, Ecuadorian, Honduran, Mexican and Paraguayan programmes focus on governance processes surrounding water and sanitation services, while the Philippine programme focuses solely on governance processes related to water services (Angola, 2008, p. 2; Ecuador, 2009, p. 4; Honduras, 2008, p. 5; Mexico, 2008, p. 3; Paraguay, 2009, p. 1;

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[3] 1) Democratic economic governance; 2) Gender equality and women's empowerment; 3) Youth, employment and migration; 4) Children, food security and nutrition; 5) Development and the private sector; 6) Environment and climate change; 7) Conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and; 8) Culture and development (MDG-F, 2011-05-17).

Philippines, 2009, p. 1). The six programmes are all directed towards the most socially and economically marginalised groups of the national populations, which generally are situated in rural areas. Half of the programmes, Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay, include areas inhabited by ethnic minorities (Ecuador, 2009, p. 8; Mexico, 2008, p. 8; Paraguay, 2009, p. 1). In Angola the population of the programme area does not include ethnic minorities, but large groups have migrated to the area because of conflicts (Angola, 2008, p. 5). In the Philippine programme the population is among the poorest in the nation and live in geographically remote areas (Philippines, 2009, p. 7). All of the six programmes also have gender as a cross-cutting theme or highlight women as a vulnerable group which needs special attention (Angola, 2008, p.5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 39; Honduras, 2008, p. 31; Mexico, 2008, p.64; Paraguay, 2009, p. 1; Philippines, 2009, p.2).

8.2. MATERIAL

Both primary and secondary data is used in the investigation of the thesis. Interviews with programme delegates and qualitative studies of programme documents provide the primary data presented in the empirical findings.

8.2.1. Literature and written sources

The programme documents used for the study of the six gender approaches are the MDG-F approved plans which state aims to be achieved, strategies to be used, activities to be executed and indicators to be monitored (MDG-F, 2007a). All the programme documents, together with monitoring reports and evaluations, are freely available on the webpage of the Document Center of the UNDP's Multi-Donor Trust Fund Office Gateway (UNDP, 2011-05-15). Since four out of the six programme documents are written in Spanish interpretation and translation to English has been carried out throughout the compilation of empirical material. This has primarily been done by the author, but with some assistance on specific terminology by the contact person from SIWI. The author is fluent in Spanish and in English, why a translator has not been necessary. As will be described further in the section on the coding-process both direct translation of parts of text and interpretation of the meaning of the information in relation to its context has been carried out. The same is valid for the interviews.

For secondary data a qualitative literature study was also carried out on background information in scientific journals and books, related previous research and theoretical

arguments. A more detailed description of the coding-procedure is presented in a subsequent section. Google Scholar, Web of Science and Project Muse have been used as main search engines. The key terms for the web search were: women, water, gender, empowerment, development, programme, project, foreign aid.

8.2.2. Interviews

The eight interviews carried out were semi-structured and qualitative face-to-face interviews with open-ended questions (Creswell, 2009, p. 181). The purpose of the interviews was in part to gain a better knowledge of the activities implemented in the programmes, but foremost the purpose was to achieve an understanding of the rationales for and conditions of the implementation, as perceived by the interviewees. Thus, the interviews were both factual and conceptual (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 151). The interviews were done during the knowledge management workshop in Manta, Ecuador. The location of the interviews was the hotel where the workshop took place and where all the delegates stayed, including the author. The interviews were carried out in an informal manner, generally in the evening after the conclusion of the workshops or during the lunch break at midday. Some of the interviews were initiated by the interviewees and some on the request of the author. Seven out of ten interviewees were UN personnel and the other three were delegates from governmental institutions in their respective country. Of the eight interviews two were made with two interviewees at the same time, while the other six were done individually. The use of pair-interviews was chosen by the interviewees.

Figure 1. Distribution of interviews and interviewees among the programmes.

Programme	Interview	Interviewee number	Institution of affiliation
1	1st	1	UN
2	2nd	2	UN
3	3rd	3	UN
	4th	4	Government
4	5th	5	UN
	6th	6	Government
5	7th	7	UN
		8	UN
6	8th	9	UN
		10	Government

As can be seen in Table 1 the interviews and interviewees were distributed in three ways: 1) programmes with one individual interview; 2) programmes with two individual interviews, and; 3) programmes with one pair-interview. Each of the categories has two programmes. The institution of which each interviewee is a delegate is indicated in the last column of the table. This shows that each country had at least one delegate from an UN institution and that three countries also had one delegate from a governmental institution. Three interviewees were women and seven were men. All three women were delegates from different programmes. The dominance of UN related interviewees is a consequence of the central administrative positions of the UN agencies within the programmes. As a result, the great majority of the programme delegates present at the workshop were affiliated to UN agencies.

As an interview guide three main themes had been identified based on theoretical literature and open-coding of the programme documents[4]. The three themes were: 1) responsibility allocation; 2) resource allocation, and; 3) activities directed towards men. After the first interview a question about the programme's collaboration with women's organisations was added. In the first part of the interview the interviewee/s was asked to give a general description of the gender approach of the programme to which he, she or they were connected. Additional questions were made if the three aforementioned themes had not been commented on during the general description. Notes were taken during the whole interview, but the interviews were not recorded. All of the interviews, except the interview with the Philippine programme, were made in Spanish. Because of the author being fluent in Spanish no interpreter was needed. The transcriptions of the interviews were done in the original language and sent back to the interviewees for double-checking and clarification. Of the ten interviewees six responded, one per programme. Thus, from the two programmes with only one interviewee both responded with approved interviews, from the two programmes with two separate interviews one each of the interviewees responded in approval, and from the two programmes with one pair-interview each at least one of the interviewees from each programme sent back an approved copy of the interview transcription. In the thesis the interviewees will not be presented with name, but with the name of the programme country and a number indicating if it is the first or second interviewee[5]. In the case of the countries with one interviewee or one pair-interview the number one (1) will be stated after the country name.

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[4] Which were identified during the initial phase of the coding process, as is presented subsequently.
[5] Example: Paraguay 1.

8.3. CODING

The process of data analysis of the thesis coincide by and large with the process suggested by Creswell (2009, p. 185). In Creswell's model the coding process should be preceded by a phase of organisation and preparation of data and a first read-through of all empirical material to get a sense of the whole. After that the coding is carried out, followed by the formation of categories and descriptions. The final step in Creswell's model is the interpretation of the results. In this thesis the delayed access to the interview material made it unfeasible to have only one set of preparation, reading through, coding and formation of categories. Instead two sets of each phase were executed; the first set was applied to the programme documents while the second phase included all the empirical data. The final interpretation has also been carried out jointly for interviews and programme documents.

Coding is, according to Creswell, "the process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to the information". (Creswell, 2009, p. 186) The first phase of the coding process was preformed as an open-coding of the programme documents (Creswell, 2009, p. 184). The programme documents were first thoroughly read in their whole, while sections related to gender were marked. From that a preliminary overview of the possible themes existing in the documents was made. Afterwards a general theoretical review was made, in part on related previous research but also on theoretical approaches related to gender and implementation of gender in development. From those two first assessments, i.e. on programme documents and on theoretical literature, the three aforementioned interview themes were identified. Based on the two assessments it was also decided to include the level of integration in the programme design and whether the gender approaches were based on collective or individualistic postulations in the focus of the study.

The second phase of the coding contained the execution of the interviews, the transcription and the approbation process as described previously. Before the return of the approved transcriptions no coding was carried out on the interviews. In the fourth phase of the coding process the final coding of all primary data was completed. Firstly a second review of the programme documents and the previous open-coding was made. Then a more thorough and comprehensive coding was carried out based on, but not limited to, the five previously identified themes: 1) collective or individualistic gender strategies; 2) activities directed towards men; 3) mechanisms for bottom-up influence; 4) resource and responsibility allocation, and; 5) level of integration in programme design. All sections of text containing

information about gender and/or gender related activities were identified, highlighted and separated. At first the classification of the text sections was primarily based on the five themes, but new themes were allowed to evolve. Subsequent to the coding process new and old themes were combined under four main categories: interpretation, integration, implementation, and cross-cutting themes. The latter four of the previously established themes were converted into subthemes to the main categories, as can be seen in the list below; meanwhile the first theme (collective or individualistic gender strategies) was maintained transversally. The themes in bold letters represent the new themes that arose during the coding process.

1. Interpretation

   - **Problem definition**
   - **Rationales for gender activities**

2. Incorporation

   - In programme design (description/aims/strategies/indicators)
   - Economic and human resource allocation

3. Implementation

   - **Participation**
   - **Capacity building**

4. Cross-cutting themes

   - Influence mechanisms (participatory spaces)
   - Activities directed towards men
   - **Collaboration with women's organisations**

Throughout the writing process the empirical material and the thematic categorisation was cross-checked to make sure the text sections had been interpreted correctly in relation to its context.

The reason to introduce a new structure for the empirical material, different to that of the theoretical analysis, was to maintain an image of how the programmes themselves are structured. In the programme documents the rationales and problem definition is one part while the more practically oriented indicators and strategies form another. In the same way organisational structures and funding are handled to some extent separately. Consequently, the three first main categories show the logic of the programme documents, while the fourth

main category outline aspects which were of particular interest for this study but runs in parallel with the other three categories.

8.4. DELIMITATIONS AND BIAS

The primary data of the thesis study is taken exclusively from documents presented by the programmes themselves or from interviews of persons connected directly to the programmes, which creates a risk for biased information. Since the focus of the scope of the thesis is primarily on what the programme documents states for the programmes to implement and why and how it will be done it has been impossible to triangulate information, as a way to make it less biased. However, for the same reason bias is not a major problem, when concerning what will be done. Rather it can be assumed that the programmes will *not* implement their gender approach exactly the way it is stipulated in the programme documents. In reality modifications will always have to be made to make intervention suit the context of implementation. Still, the programme documents are supposed to at least describe the overall picture and state the main strategies to follow. They should also determine how to measure progress for gender equality. Therefore the programme documents are not without importance for the implementation of the programmes; on the contrary they form the base for the implementation even if they do not steer it in detail. Assuming that the programme documents form the base for the implementation, and that they give the overall strategies and postulations, the gender approaches presented by them will be analysed *as if* they were to be carried out as described, why bias is not a major problem in relation to the gender approaches of the programme documents.

The use of the five fundamental premises highlighted by gender and development theory, i.e. 1) collective postulation; 2) purposeful inclusion of men; 3) adequate influence mechanisms; 4) clear resource and responsibility allocation, and; 5) thorough integration in programme design, enables an analysis of the *possibilities* the gender approaches in the programme documents create for strategies implemented within their framework to empower women and to enhance gender equality. Yet, the social, cultural and economic contexts in the programme areas will impact the effects in situ of the strategies implemented. For this purpose, it will be assumed that the five premises represent fundamental aspects without which the effect of the gender approaches will be null or negative. However, to what extent

women are empowered in situ and what specific method is most suitable in each programme area is for another study to investigate.

In the thesis information about what has been implemented is also included, even if it is to a minor extent and mostly do not fall directly within the main focus of the concluding analysis. The information is taken solely from the interviews. Here the issue of bias is more complex for two reasons. Primarily, because of the lack of anonymity of the interviewees. During the workshop the number of participants was no more than 40 with several programmes represented by only two or three delegates. Therefore it would be quite easy to determine who the interviewees are by using the official participants list. Also it is a high probability that at least the other workshop participants know who were interviewed, since the interviews were not carried out in clandestine and personnel from the own programme could possibly understand who the interviewees are. The lack of anonymity could potentially make the interviewees cautious about retelling negative information with consideration to a personal backlash. Secondly, negative information presented in the thesis could potentially also lead to a negative idea about the programme among other important actors, as for example the MDG-F. In extension it could possibly lead to negative effects on the programme. The two aforementioned reasons for biases are related to the occupation of the interviewee, but there are of course other reasons for interviewees giving incorrect or modified information. One is simply for the reason to appear as a better person. Since the interviewees are connected to the implementation of the programmes by occupation lack of activity could possibly reflect back on themselves. To have forgotten or to not know are also highly possible reasons, but were at least partly handled through the opportunity of the interviewees to read and modify the interview transcriptions. The review also reduced the potential misunderstandings between the interviewee and the interviewer. Reasons for bias which are related to personal or to career concerns are substantially more complex to confront.

Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 263) suggest several possible strategies for validity-checking. Among these are: triangulation, weighting of information, following-up on surprises and getting feed-back from the interviewee. These have all been used in this thesis, but to varying extent. The information presented in the interviews has, where possible, been compared to the information in the programme documents as a type of triangulation of data. The intention is, however, not to exclude varying data, but to state openly to the reader where differences occur so that a conscious weighting is possible. Where the information relates to personal opinions of the interviewee it is pointed out in the text. The author have throughout

the data analysis made a general weighting of the information based on the consistency with other information, previous knowledge and logical tenability, in part similar to that of Runyan (1981). An example is the claims of the Mexican interviewees that the programme has executed several gender related activities. Since they coincide with the interviwees being able to describe the activities in detail the claim can be considered stronger in the weighting. As it also correlates with claims of established responsibility and financial support for gender integration in the Mexican programme these claims are indirectly corroborated too. Firstly, because it fits with correlations between implemented activities and organisational structures in the other programmes, as well as with correlations documented in previous research. Secondly, because it seems logically less probable that activities of any kind would be carried out *without* financing or responsible. As mentioned previously a follow-up on the information, to as much as possible, avoid misunderstandings has been carried out through the interviewee cross-checking. Lastly it should be highlighted that even if the possibilities for anonymity were small several of the interviewees did recognise openly that very little gender activities had been carried out in their programmes. Thus, it seems as if there was a general will to tell as honestly as possible about the gender progress of the programmes. It should also be considered that the already implemented activities form a minor part of empirical findings, analysis and discussion why the weight of the potentially biased information is comparably small.

9. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The empirical chapter will follow the structure previously defined in the methodological chapter. The main sections of the chapter will go under the headlines of: 1) Interpretation; 2) Incorporation; 3) Implementation, and; 4) Cross-cutting themes[6]. The overview will primairly be presented in an integrated way, combining and comparing the approaches of the programmes. When specific aspects are salient, be it because of originality or as an example of a group of arguments or activities, they will be presented with more details, but otherwise the broader features of the six gender approaches will be in focus. The backbone of the empirical review of the gender approaches is based on the information presented in the six

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[6] For more details see list on pages 31-32.

programme documents, but will be complemented by the interviews with the programme delegates.

Even if the documents are slightly different in format the main paragraphs are generally: Situation analysis; Strategies and lessons learnt; Result framework; Management and coordination arrangements; Fund management arrangements; Feasibility, risk management and sustainability of results; Accountability, monitoring, evaluation and reporting; Ex-ante assessment of cross-cutting issues; Legal context; Annual work plan, and; Budget. The Result framework and the Accountability, monitoring, evaluation and reporting sections are often accompanied by tables which specify products, outputs and indicators. The Annual work plan and the Budget are expressed only in the format of tables which generally include the aforementioned criteria as well as financing, implementing partner and responsible UN organisation.

9.1. INTERPRETATION

In the two subsequent sections the way the programmes interpret the issue of gender inequality and women's empowerment is explored. Initially this is done through a study of how the programmes present the problem of gender inequality. What are the effects and reasons for the inequalities? Thereafter, the rationales for having a gender approach will be described, as they explain the fundamental motives of the gender approaches of the programmes.

9.1.1. Problem definition

In both interviews and programme documents the description of women's situation in relation to the water and sanitation facilities in the programme areas hold three joint features: 1) high vulnerability; 2) main responsibility in the household, and; 3) lack of decision-making power. According to the Mexican programme document there is "inequity in the use, access and control […] between men and women". (2008, p. 4) Together with children, women are presented as a group in society with a high level of vulnerability in relation to water and sanitation services, especially health risks are highlighted (Angola, 2008; Ecuador, 2009; Honduras, 2008; Paraguay 1). In the Ecuadorian programme document it is stated that the gastric-intestinal infections are caused mainly by "bad water quality, inadequate sanitation conditions, bad hygiene habits, unhealthy environment, a set of factors which affect the health

and quality of life of the families, especially that of women and children." (Ecuador, 2009, p. 7) According to the Honduran programme document (2008, p. 27) lack of adequate and secure sanitation facilities can also pose a direct threat to women's and girls' security, through an increased risk of sexual violence, which indirectly might reduce girls' school attendance. Another aspect that is pointed to is women's traditional role in the households giving them the main responsibility for the domestic water handling (Mexico 1; 2008, p. 9; Paraguay 1). Since women have the main responsibility for water-fetching they are more directly affected by the water accessibility and quality (Mexico 1; Paraguay 1). It is claimed that improved access to quality water would free time women at present spend on fetching water from sources located far away from the household (Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Mexico, 2008, p. 9; 64; Paraguay 2). Almost all programme documents and several of the interviewees assert to women's limited possibilities to participate in and influence decision-making related to water resources, even if they carry the main responsibility for the domestic water handling (Honduras 1; 2008, p. 27; Ecuador, 2009, p. 12; Mexico 1; 2008, p. 4; 64; Paraguay 1; 2; 2009, p. 16-17; Philippines, 2009, p. 16-17).

In none of the programme documents women's lack of power and participation in decision-making are described as a democratic deficit. Indirectly it can be understood that women's low participation is perceived as a problem, but it is expressed in the programme documents as a general need to increase women's participation in councils or decision-making processes (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). The Ecuadorian programme (2009, p. 11) is the only programme which deliberates on the reasons to women's lack of participation in community and social organisations. The programme document states that these organisations are dominated by men and that this dominance is based on locally established cultural structures and traditions. Women's low participation is, however, not seen as a problem by the local population, but rather a natural consequence of family life. Even if women rarely hold higher positions in the organisations they are frequent members and their participation is generally viewed positively.

Throughout the programme documents detailed data about gender differentiated effects as a result of the water and sanitation deficiencies is absent. This is independent of whether the programmes' situation analysis is focused on risks, responsibilities or lack of influence. The absence of data makes it difficult to gain a deeper understanding of how the inequalities affect women. Lack of information was stated as a fundamental problem for the formulation of

adequate gender approaches by some of the interviewees (Philippines 1; Honduras 1). Both the Mexican (2008, p. 5) and the Philippine (2009, p. 7) programme document conclude that more gender disaggregated data is needed. Nonetheless, even with lack of information about the effects all the programmes' situation analyses are focused on the effects of the gender inequalities, i.e. higher vulnerability and safety risks; main part of the domestic work load, and; lack of influence in decision-making. Apart from the Ecuadorian programme document (2009, p. 11) nothing is said about the reasons for the existing gender inequalities; the structures in society and/or power relations causing inequalities between men and women. Neither are the effects connected to each other, e.g. because women lack decision-making power they are more vulnerable as a group. As will be seen in the proximate section the absence of a gender analysis appears to be closely related to the efficiency rationales of the gender approaches.

9.1.2.   Rationales for gender integration

The most frequent rationale for gender integration and women's increased participation is that it makes the implementation of the programmes more efficient and sustainable (Angola, 2008, p. 5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 15; Honduras 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2009, p. 5; 17; Philippines, 2009, p. 20). As is stated in the Paraguayan programme document "experiences have shown that the interventions which include the opinions and contributions of both women and men generally function better". (2009, p. 5) A common perception among the interviewees is that since men do not carry the brunt of the burden of inadequate water and sanitation systems they do not prioritise the management of the same. Consequently, the inclusion, or even leadership, of women would assure the programme interventions more priority, hence also more effectiveness and sustainability (Honduras 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1). The programme in Angola foresee that the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women through economic self-reliance will create stability and ensure peace in the programme area, which is strongly affected by conflicts and migration (Angola, 2008, p. 5).

All the programmes undertake to decrease gender inequalities (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 4; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Mexico, 2008, p. 10; Paraguay, 2009, p. 18; Philippines, 2009, p. 16) and a general feature of all gender approaches is the commitment to women's equal participation in decision-making processes (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p.16; 17). It is, however, not clearly stated in the programme documents why gender should

be integrated or why inequalities should be reduced (Angola, 2008, p. 5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 39; Honduras, 2008, p. 42; Mexico, 2008, p. 64; Paraguay, 2009, p. 5; Philippines, 2009, p. 7). By some of the interviewees it was stressed that women should be entitled to equal decision-making power over water resources since they carry main responsibility for handling of it (Mexico 1; Paraguay 1). However, to commit the programme to the enhancement of women's participation say little about the motivations, as it could be rationalised equally by increased efficiency as by strengthened democracy and the empowerment of women. None of the programme documents present the lack of women's active participation in decision-making as a democratic deficit or a denial of basic human rights. In the light of the programmes' problem definition, presented above, the lack of rationales connected to social justice and rights is quite logical. To justify women's empowerment based on rights claims becomes highly complex without an initial gender analysis of the existing power relations and social structures. Vice versa, it is improbable that a gender analysis will be carried out if women's participation is seen mainly as instrumental for increased programme efficiency.

9.2. INCORPORATION

This section of the empirical chapter will outline the two organisational features which have been highlighted as fundamental for the execution of gender strategies. They recap how the concept of gender has been incorporated in the programme structure and design. The first feature is the level of integration of gender in the project design. The second feature is the allocation of economic resources and establishment of responsibility in relation to gender integration.

9.2.1. Level of Integration in Design

As previous research has pointed out the depth to which gender is integrated in the design can be decisive for the in the final implementation. What is not specified in the indicators to monitor runs a high risk of not getting implemented (Hageboeck et al., 1993). Directly below in Table 1 a simplified overview of the depth of gender integration in the six programmes is presented. The colour coding indicates whether 'gender' or 'women' have been referred to specifically *in text* at the different levels of the programme descriptions. Green indicates that it has been integrated at least once, whereas red means that it is completely absent at that level. The numbers in the boxes show how many times gender or women have been referred to in the Monitoring Framework of each programme, at the different levels. Absence of

number means that the category was not present in the Monitoring Framework. If the category does exist, but gender or women have not been mentioned, the number cero (0) is indicated.

In the programme documents the levels have varying names why some of the categories have several names indicated in the table. To make the comparison as correct as possible a weighing has been done with consideration to the internal sequence of the categories. Consequently, the grouping of categories might not be completely without discussion, but the hierarchy between the levels is accurate. It should be pointed out that Honduras (2008) did not include a Monitoring Framework in its programme document. The amount of times gender and women were specified in the Work plan for the first year of programme activity was also included to complement the Monitoring Framework and the programme descriptions

Figure 1. Depth of gender integration in programme design and monitoring.

	Strategies	Goals/ Results/ Effects/ Outputs/ Aims	Products/ Results/ SMART outputs	Activities/ Indicators	Work plan 1st year
Angola		0	0	0	0
Ecuador		0		16	2
Honduras					0
Mexico		3		2	13
Paraguay		0		3	22
Philippines		1		0	0

■ Gender/women integrated
■ Not integrated
□ Non-existing category in text

Note: Numbers indicate amount of times gender is integrated in the Monitoring Framework.
Source: Compiled by the author form the six programme documents.

As seen in Table 1 the gender integration in most of the programmes is described in text throughout the different levels of the programme documents. From the simple overview presented in the table it appears as if the gender integration in the text tends to be less prevalent going down the levels, from Strategies to Activities/Indicators. Honduras stands out with no reference to gender or women at any other levels than Strategies (Honduras, 2008).

The gender integration in the Monitoring Framework seems to be more irregular. The programmes in Ecuador (2009) and Paraguay (2009) have no reference to women or gender in

their effects/results, but include gender related Indicators/Activities in the Monitoring Framework. Philippines (2009) and Mexico (2008), on the other hand, both have less gender integration in Indicators/Activities than in Aims/Effects. Meanwhile Angola (2008) refers to neither gender nor women in its Monitoring Framework. Thus, no clear cut statements on the general level of gender integration in the programmes can be made from Table 1. The majority of the countries which have included gender in their Indicators/Activities of the Monitoring Framework have also integrated gender in the Work plan (Ecuador, 2009; Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009). There is, however, a reversed correlation between the number of gender Indicators/Activities and the gender integration in the Work Plan. The Ecuadorian programme (2009) which integrates gender 16 times in the Monitoring Framework only does it two times in the Work Plan, whereas Mexico and Paraguay, with two and three times respectively, integrate gender 13 and 22 times in the Work Plan (Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009). The study of the gender integration in the programme documents shows an increased use of quantitative measurements. At the level of Indicators/Activities the most common features are: number or percentage of women participating in different events; amount of women's organisations participating; gender disaggregated information, and; number of policies with gender integration (Ecuador, 2009, p. 32-36; Mexico, 2008, p. 15-29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21-32).

9.2.2. Resource and responsibility allocation

In five of the six programme documents economic resources and responsible UN agencies for gender related activities are defined in the Work plan and/or the Result framework (Angola, 2008; Ecuador, 2009; Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009; Philippines, 2009). Still, the Mexican programme (2008) was the only programme for which the interviewees asserted that responsibility for gender integration was clearly allocated and permanent. According to them, gender responsibility was established at both national and regional level in the programme (Mexico 1). The Philippine and Honduran programmes both have contracted consultants initially to create their gender strategies and to be responsible for capacity building activities (Honduras 1; Philippines 1). The gender integration in the Philippine programme had, however, been hard to sustain after the completing of the consultant contract. The subsequent lack of clear and permanent responsibility allocation was highlighted as a plausible cause (Philippines 1). At the time of writing the consultant in the Honduran programme is still at work, why it is difficult to state anything about the future development of the gender

integration of the programme. When the consultant leaves the programme the gender responsibility will be placed under a Honduran UNDP official (Honduras 1).

The responsibility for gender integration in the Ecuadorian programme was established through a unilateral initiative by the UN-Habitat, but later supported by the other programme parties. Consequently, the gender integration responsibility of the UN-Habitat official in the programme is informal. He receives a limited support from the Gender and Water Alliance (GWA) through a global agreement between the Alliance and the UN-Habitat. The national and regional coordinators in Ecuador hold an important role for informing, monitoring, inspecting and motivating gender progress in the implementation. Yet, according to the interviewee, more gender sensitisation is still needed for them to be able to fulfil that role (Ecuador 1). Both the Angolan and the Paraguayan interviewees recognise that the absence of established responsibility allocation is a major cause to the lack of executed gender activities (Angola 1; Paraguay 1; 2). Lack of established responsibility caused similar difficulties with the handling of indigenous issues in the Paraguayan programme (Paraguay 1; 2). As one delegate expressed it "since [gender] is a transversal issue it should be everywhere, but ultimately it goes nowhere." (Paraguay 2)   The importance of knowledge and resources specifically connected to gender during the programme planning and designing was raised by one of the Honduran interviewees. In the Honduran programme gender had not been integrated thoroughly during the programme design and the experience was that what was not initially defined in the programme proposal was much more costly and complex to integrate later (Honduras 1).

Even if the programme documents specify economic resources for gender related activities the majority of the interviewees claim that there are no *specific* economic resources destined for gender integration (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1). Yet, it can be assumed that at least the programmes that have contracted gender consultants have had economic funding of that expenditure. Generally it appears, however, as if the economic resources used for gender related activities are integrated with other budget posts, where solely intermittent activities are gender related (Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; Paraguay 2; Philippines 1). The interviewees from the Mexican programme claim, however, that, apart from the clearly established gender responsibility, the programmes' allocation of economic funds specifically for the area of gender was crucial for the gender activities that had been carried out (Mexico 1).

9.3. IMPLEMENTATION

In this section the strategies that the programmes have used in the implementation of their gender approaches are outlined. First, a general summary of all of the strategies will be presented, followed by two more detailed reviews of the most salient strategies: participation and capacity building. Central parts of the two main strategies will reappear later in the section on cross-cutting themes where they will be reviewed based on their inclusion of men and the participatory spaces in which they are executed.

9.3.1. Implementation strategies overview

The majority of the programmes view the collection of gender disaggregated data as fundamental for increased knowledge and understanding of women's situation in relation to the water and sanitation conditions in the programme areas (Ecuador, 2009, p. 33; Mexico, 2008, p. 15-20; Paraguay, 2009, p. 16-17; Philippines, 2009, p. 7). The two main methods presented in the programme documents to enhance gender equality and to empower women are capacity building and increased participation in decision-making. Sometimes the two strategies are combined. Apart from enhancing women's participation and capacitate them, more than half of the programmes aim at gender integration in governmental plans, policies and/or regulations (Ecuador, 2009, p. 32; Honduras, 2008, p. 42; Mexico, 2008, p. 25; Paraguay, 2009, p. 22-23).[7] The Mexican programme plans to perform an assessment of the gender integration in the policies of its national counterparts (Mexico, 2008, p. 25; 26). In the programme documents of Ecuador (2009, p. 13) and Honduras (2008, p. 27) investments to improve water access and sanitation facilities are highlighted as tools to increase gender equality. It is argued that since better water access and quality would facilitate the daily life of women investments in these areas would also increase women's possibilities for active participation in general, hence increase equality.

In the subsequent paragraphs the two main strategies of the programmes' gender approaches, i.e. capacity building and participation, will be presented. The delimitation between the two strategies is not unambiguous since several of the efforts to increase women's equitable participation are aimed at capacity building activities. Meanwhile,

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[7] The programme in Angola want to consolidate pro-poor regulatory framework (2008, p. 14), and the programme in Philippines seek to support poor communities through adapted cost-sharing arrangements (2009, p. 22). Still, neither of these two programmes aims specifically at gender integration in policies, plans or regulations.

capacity building can be used as a way to facilitate women's active participation or gender integration in policies. In this study the differentiation between the two categories is based on the direction of influence, i.e. whether the intervention in question has as its aim to inform women (i.e. top-down influence) or to involve women (i.e. two-way influence). Activities with a top-down influence are categorised as capacity building, while activities with two-way influence are categorised as participation. Consequently, interventions to inform women, or officials and communities, fall under the category of capacity building, even if the capacitation has as its purpose to strengthening women's participation. Interventions which are aimed at creating possibilities for women to influence outcomes or processes are categorised as participation.

9.3.2. Participation

To increase women's participation in decision-making, management and implementation at the local level is the gender strategy most commonly specified by the programmes (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). It is, however, seldom specified how a more equitable participation will be achieved, instead it is stated as a general goal. The majority of the interventions to increase women's participation are aimed at women in general and not at women's organisations (Angola, 2008; Ecuador, 2009; Honduras, 2008; Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009; Philippines, 2009).

   The Philippine programme has a strong focus on the involvement of women in community councils for water and sanitation management. It is seen as a way to create possibilities for more equal influence over conceptualisation, implementation and management (Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). According to the interviewees, it is mandatory to include at least one woman on the boards of the councils (Philippines 1). Other programmes use similar participatory strategies seeking to including women in committees for economic inspection (Ecuador, 2009, p. 34), sanitation committees (Honduras, 2008, p. 27) and 'water councils' (Honduras 1). The Honduran interviewees stressed it to be equally important to break the tradition of letting women occupy only traditional female roles in boards and directives, such as secretaries and treasurers, or their participation would remain little active (Honduras 1; 2). In the programme document of Angola (2008, p. 7) it is stated that women should be encouraged to take leading roles in community councils. This has, however, been difficult to carry out because of a widespread view on water and sanitation as a technical area without connection to

socioeconomic issues, including gender. Previous rejection of local gender interventions in the programme areas and the absence of human and economic resources within the programme have also contributed to very low gender activity, according to the Angolan interviewee (Angola 1). The Ecuadorian programme should promote women's leadership in decision-making, local implementation and management of joint domestic water systems (Ecuador, 2009, p. 35; 36). In the Honduran programme document (2008, p. 42) it is stated that women should be strengthened as leaders in hygiene campaigns. Because of women's present domination in the campaigns attempts have been made to involve more men (Honduras 1).

Through women's direct involvement in planning and designing of work plans the Ecuadorian programme (2009, p. 13) wish to promote gender integration in its own activities. Apart from the Ecuadorian programme the Mexican programme is the only one which has participatory activities connected to the programme. The Mexican programme state that a participatory survey about women's situation and water will be carried out, upon which the gender approach will be based (Mexico, 2008, p. 15). Initiatives directed towards national governmental structures in the programme countries include women's participation in approbation processes for new legislation in the water and sanitation sector (Ecuador, 2009, p. 32) and women's representation in municipal planning of water and sanitation investments (Paraguay, 2009, p. 25). In the Honduran programme women's participation should also be fomented in tables for dialogues within the water and sanitation sector (Honduras, 2008, p. 42). The Mexican programme document (2008) is among the ones with least activities to increase women's participation. Nonetheless, in the interview with the Mexican delegates they presented several interventions that had been carried out or were presently under process. Among these were: provincial participative surveys and local deliberations and workshops about water and sanitation. During the local activities gender-specific groups had been used to enhance women's active participation. According to the interviewees, a substantial increase in women's active participation had been documented, both in the gender-specific and gender-mixed groups (Mexico 1). As a contrast, one of the interviewees from the Paraguayan programme assured that to reach women at the local level was very difficult. Absence of women during meetings and workshops made all attempts to enhance their participation impossible. "We have a goal to involve 50 % women in the meetings, but they do not show up. […] How can we make them participate if they do not come to the meetings?" (Paraguay

2) The only time women had been present and participated was during a participative survey which had been carried out in the communities (Paraguay 2).

Two of the six programmes specifically aim at making women's organisations participate in the activities. In both the Ecuadorian and the Paraguayan programmes the interventions to involve women's organisations are mainly formulated as general goals to increase their participation in decision-making and implementation (Ecuador, 2009, p. 21; 34; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4). According to the Ecuadorian programme document (2009, p. 34) public networks, with the equal participation of men and women, should be established for the monitoring of water and sanitation services. To involve women's organisations in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of public policies and regulations was highlighted as important by the programmes in both Ecuador (2009, p. 13; 21) and Paraguay (2009, p. 22). In the Ecuadorian programme women's organisations and women leaders were identified and included in the elaboration of 'gender action plans' for this purpose. The gender plans were to complement the existing work plan of the programme, but the subsequent integration of the two plans resulted very complex. The main reason was that the 'gender action plan' did not correspond adequately to the structure and the needs of the programme's work plan (Ecuador 1).

Overall there are more than the double of interventions aiming at women in general than the number of interventions aiming at women's organisations, eight to eighteen. None of the interventions involving women's organisations are focused specifically on the local level. Instead there is a main focus on the participation of women's organisations in governmental institutions at different levels, three out of six interventions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4; 22). Of the other three interventions one is aimed at rural areas and two at general decision-making (Ecuador, 2009, p. 21; 34). The interventions directed towards women in general, on the other hand, have a strong focus on the local level, nine out of eighteen (Ecuador, 2009, p. 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 25; 10; Philippines, 2009, p. 7; 16; 17). The other nine interventions are distributed as follows: six with focus on general decision-making (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 16; Mexico, 2008, p. 13; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 13); three with focus on governmental institutions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 32; Honduras, 2008, p. 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 25), and; one with focus on regional level (Ecuador, 2009, p. 34).

9.3.3. Capacitation

All programmes state in their programme documents that they will use capacity building as a means to increase gender inclusion and gender equality (Angola, 2008; Ecuador, 2009; Honduras, 2008; Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009; Philippines, 2009). The aim of the programmes' capacity building is generally twofold: 1) to strengthen women, women's groups and/or women leaders through education, and 2) to educate other groups, such as public officials, committees and/or the public, about gender to enhance its application. The great majority of the capacity building activities *for* women, thirteen out of seventeen, are directed towards women at the local level (Angola, 2008, p. 12; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 24; 25; 26; 28; 32; Philippines, 2009, p. 11; 17). The areas of capacitation range from technical knowledge about water and sanitation systems (Ecuador, 2009, p. 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 32) to community-company contracts (Paraguay, 2009, p. 25) and income generating activities (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Paraguay, 2009, p. 24; 32). Some of the programmes intend to provide general information about water and sanitation (Ecuador, 2009, p. 33; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21) and/or related health, nutrition and hygiene issues (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13). Education of female plumbers, as a means to create new economic opportunities, has taken place in both the Honduran and the Mexican programmes (Honduras 1; Mexico 1). In the Mexican programme focus has been on domestic maintenance and plumbery. In combination with the installation of water-cleaning filters in household taps it has created possibilities for women to sell purified water and to start up micro-enterprises (Mexico 1). The programme in Honduras has focused on the education of female plumbers operating at the community level. By providing them with a licence it has been possible to introduce women to an area of labour traditionally dominated by men, according to one of the Honduran interviewees (Honduras 1).

Several of the areas of capacitation are connected to women's involvement in the implementation, management and monitoring of water and sanitation systems (Ecuador, 2009, p. 32; Paraguay, 2009, p. 25; 28; 24; Philippines, 2009, p. 17). In the Philippine programme document (2009, p. 17) the capacitation activities are focused on the capacitation of women as a way to increase their participation in project conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance. According to the Ecuadorian programme document (2009, p. 13) women's organisations need to be strengthened and capacitated to participate in elaboration of laws and regulations. In its programme document the Mexican programme (2008) do not specify any activities aiming at the capacitation of local women or women's groups. Still, according to the

interviewees, capacity building for women in the communities of the programme area had been carried out (Mexico 1).

The programme document of Paraguay (2009, p. 28) is the only one to include communication concerning the water and sanitation rights of the population in the programme areas. The communication plan should integrate a gender perspective. Women's participation is, however, not stated as important neither during the elaboration of the communication plan, nor during the workshops where the information about the rights would be distributed. In the programme document of Angola (2008, p. 12) there is a strong recognition of rights-awareness as fundamental for a sense of ownership in the communities in the programme areas. The emphasis on rights-awareness is, however, not related to women or gender. The Angolan programme document (2008, p. 11) is, nonetheless, the only programme which seeks to strengthen women's capacities as a means to increase their voice. Apart from this activity none of the programmes refers to any kind of influence, only to participation. Only two activities out of seventeen for women's capacity building will explicitly include women's organisations (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17). In addition, two more activities are aimed at women leaders (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Ecuador, 2009, p. 33). Among the capacity building activities directed towards women none focus specifically on gender (Angola, 2008, p. 12; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 24; 25; 26; 28; 32; Philippines, 2009, p. 11; 17). It is, however, possible that such information would form part of for example general information campaigns on water and sanitation (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 33; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21), but it is not stated in the programme documents.

Among the activities for capacity building *about* gender two main themes can be outlined from the programme documents: 1) general information about gender in relation to water and sanitation (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Ecuador, 2009, p. 35; 51; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 3), and; 2) knowledge for improved design, implementation and management of gender integrated policies (Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; Paraguay, 2009, p. 12; 16-17). The total number of interventions to increase gender awareness is less, thirteen to seventeen, and they have a main focus on capacity building in different governmental institutions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 12; 16-17). Some of the interventions are aimed at capacity building about gender in local communities (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Ecuador, 2009, p. 35; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Paraguay, 2009, p. 12) or for users (Ecuador, 2009, p. 51). None of the activities for capacity building about gender aim at women's organisations, or even specify women's participation in general as important. The

groups referred to in these activities are gender neutral, e.g. officials, the sector, communities or users, why neither men's participation is specified as important (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; 35; 51; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 3; 12; 16-17).

9.4. CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

As stated previously central parts mainly from the two implementation strategies described above will be outlined in this section. The focus of the subsequent texts is, nonetheless, different. In the first section the spaces through which women's influence is channelled will be reviewed. Focus is on where the participation takes place and whom it is supposed to affect. Thereafter, the programmes' involvement of men in gender related strategies is reviewed. Lastly, a description of the programmes' collaboration with women's organisations is outlined. The three cross-cutting themes are all closely connected to three of the theoretical assumptions, i.e. influence mechanisms, involvement of men and collective postulations, and have been added to make the theoretical analysis more comprehensive.

9.4.1. *Participatory Spaces as Influence Mechanisms*

Even if women's increased participation and empowerment is something all programmes aim at it is not always presented where the participation will take place or by which mechanisms women's influence will be enhanced. In the programme documents several of the goals or interventions are aimed at women's increased participation in general, or in undefined decision-making processes (Ecuador, 2009, p. 35; 34; Mexico, 2008, p. 13; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4; 10; 13). Yet, adequate participatory spaces are key as channels for women's influence if the programmes' are to increase the possibilities for women to meet their interests. In this subsection the participatory spaces which are recognised in the programme documents will be revised.

One of the most common types of participatory spaces emphasised by the programmes are councils and committees at different levels. The committees and councils are autonomous bodies at community or regional level with the aim to engage the public in activities of management, monitoring and/or awareness-raising. The Philippine programme document (2009) has a strong focus on the community councils as participatory spaces through which gender equality will be promoted. With a specific focus on women's participation the

community councils should identify, plan, implement and organise water supply facilities (p. 7; 16). Other programmes highlight public councils for economic audit of the sector (Ecuador, 2009, p. 34) and communitarian sanitation committees (Honduras, 2008, p. 27) as important participatory spaces. The Ecuadorian programme also aims at the establishment of a public monitoring network where women should have equal participation, as well as regional councils for the management of water and sanitation system (Ecuador, 2009, p. 34). In both the programme documents of Mexico (2008, p. 29) and of Angola (2008, p. 10) regional committees and community councils are described as vital participatory spaces where gender sensitisation should be implemented. Women's equal participation is not, however, stressed as important in these spaces. Even if women's equal participation in general is not stated as important women should be encouraged to take leading roles in community councils, according to the programme document of Angola (2008, p. 7). Women's equal participation is not emphasised during the gender sensitive elaborations of health risk maps, which should be carried out by communities and councils under the Paraguayan programme (Paraguay, 2009, p. 28). Neither is equal participation emphasised in the regional councils[8], which function as the main link between the Honduran programme and the communities (2008, p. 41). If allowed, both maps and councils could potentially provide spaces for women's influence.

A second type of influence mechanism which is highlighted in two of the programmes is women's participation in spaces connected to governmental institutions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 32; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 25). Through their involvement women and women's organisations should have the possibility to push for their interests in the design, management and monitoring of legislation and policies in the water and sanitation sector, according to the Ecuadorian programme document (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 32). In the Paraguayan programme women are given the possibility to participate in discussions about existing regulations (2009, p. 21). They should also be represented during municipal planning of sector investments (Paraguay, 2009, p. 25). In the Honduran programme women's participation should be fomented in tables for dialogues within the water and sanitation sector (Honduras, 2008, p. 42).

The third type of participatory space is connected to the programmes. According to the Ecuadorian programme document (2009, p. 13) one way to give women the possibility to promote their specific demands is direct involvement in planning and design of programme

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[8] Juntas de Agua (Honduras, 2008, p. 41).

work plans. Yet, the limits for women's freedom of definition of their interests were determined by the previously established structures of existing work plans (Ecuador 1). Also the participatory survey carried out by the Mexican programme (2008, p. 15) serves as an influence mechanism connected to the programme. These are, however, the only two participatory spaces related to the programmes.

Some of the activities for capacity building are explicitly connected directly to women's increased possibilities to participate on equal grounds with men, through the enhancement of women's knowledge and skill, according to the programme documents (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; Paraguay, 2009, p. 32; Philippines, 2009, p. 11). The capacity building activities complement the three previous participatory spaces and include knowledge about sector planning, management and monitoring to make women more participative in project conceptualisation, implementation and management (Philippines, 2009, p. 11), and knowledge which facilitate the participation of women's organisations in the elaboration of laws and regulations (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13). It is also assumed that gender capacitation of public officials will not only improve their possibilities to design, implement and evaluate gender integrated policies (Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; Paraguay, 2009, p. 16-17), but it would in fact "guarantee [women's] effective participation in the capacitations and the decision-making processes" (Paraguay, 2009, p. 12). How women's participation will be guaranteed and how that participation would be translated into influence is not stated. About half of the interventions to increase women's possibilities to exert influence in councils or community committees aim at the establishment of new spaces of participation (Ecuador, 2009, p. 34; Philippines, 2009, p. 7; 16). The rest of the interventions all wish to integrate women into already existing structures or institutions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 32; 34; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 25; 28), even if some aim at the joint formulation of new products[9] (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; Paraguay, 2009, p. 28; 25). Of the fifteen activities where influence mechanisms are specified three involve women's organisations. All three influence mechanisms are related to either governmental institutions or to the programmes (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21).

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[9] Maps (Paraguay, 2009, p. 28), plans (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; Paraguay, 2009, p. 25), legislations and policies (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21)

9.4.2. Activities directed towards men

References to gender activities related to men are absent in all six programme documents. During the interviews the majority of the interviewees pointed to the use of 'mixed groups' as a common method for the inclusion of men in activities aimed at gender equality (Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; Paraguay 2; Mexico 1; Philippines 1). In the Mexican programme a workshop had been carried out where men and women were given the possibility to define their perceptions of water and sanitation. According to the interviewees the workshop had presented an opportunity for men and women to start a dialogue about their varying needs in relation to water. The perception of the interviewees was that the dialogue had increased the men's awareness and understanding of how the gender differentiated use of water also makes water related interests of men and women different (Mexico 1). The aforementioned gender integration in the work plans of the programme, carried out in Ecuador, was realised in a mixed group and in combination with workshops of gender sensitisation (Ecuador 1). Consequently it is possible that the mapping had similar awareness-raising effects as the dialogue in the Mexican programme. The Ecuadorian mapping of women's interests was, however, done mainly on a provincial level together with women leaders, not in the communities of the programme area (Ecuador 1). One of the Honduran interviewees states that the programme attempts to make men more active in the hygiene and sanitation committees, which at present are dominated by women (Honduras 1).

There are no statements about men's participation in gender related capacity building in the programme documents. Instead the receivers of the programmes' capacity building about gender are described in gender neutral terms (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Ecuador, 2009, p. 20; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 12). Men's sensitisation was, however, presented as vital for the achievement of equal rights for men and women by one of the Honduran interviewees (Honduras 1) and in the interview with the Mexican delegates it was highlighted as "necessary to include the spouses/men in the process of gender sensitisation. If not the empowerment could mean that women are faced with violence when trying to resist traditional systems." (Mexico 1) Only the Mexican programme interviewees stated that workshops about 'masculinity' at the community level were planned (Mexico 1). At least half of the programmes have carried out internal gender capacitation for programme personnel of both sexes and some of the national counterparts (Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; Mexico 1).

9.4.3. Collaboration with women's organisations

Three of the six programmes specify in the programme documents that collaboration with women's organisations should be established (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4; 22; 34). The Philippine programme document (2009, p. 32) recognise local women's organisations as possible Responsible Partners, why they could potentially collaborate in the implementation of the programme. The programme does, however, not state any intention to specifically initiate collaboration with women's organisations. The partnership with women's organisations in the Angolan programme would focus on the strengthening of the local water and sanitation committees, in areas such as gender inclusiveness (Angola, 2008, p. 10). To collaborate with women's organisations is not stated as a strategy in the Paraguayan programme document (2009). But, several of the interventions of the programme are directed towards increased participation by women's organisations (Paraguay, 2009, p. 4; 22; 34). Ecuador is the programme where the focus on the participation by women's organisations is strongest, both in strategies and in specific activities (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17; 21). The lack of participation by women and women's organisations in previous projects and investments is recognised as a major weakness in the sustainability (Ecuador, 2009, p. 7). Both the Honduran (2008) and Mexican (2008) programme documents lack references to collaboration with women's organisations. The Honduran programme will, however, use a horizontal cooperation for the integration and recognition of women's and girl's equal rights (Honduras, 2008, p. 42), but it is unclear whether that includes involvement of women's organisations.

At present the Ecuadorian programme is the only one to have established collaboration with women's organisations, according to the interviewees (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1). In the programme women's organisations have been present during gender capacitations and involved in activities to integrate women's interests in the programme's work plans (Ecuador 1). The majority of the programmes which lack cooperation highlight the absence of established, locally recognised and relevant women's organisations as the main reason for this (Angola 1; Honduras 1; Mexico 1). In Angola national women's organisations exist, but they are mainly urban based and often affiliated with political parties or religious institutions. As a result they lack rural local recognition and acceptance (Angola 1). Similar problems are discussed in general terms in the programme document, i.e. deficit in local acceptance of NGOs and organisational youth which results low level of capacities impeding collaboration (Angola, 2008, p. 26). The Mexican programme

has several established agreements of cooperation with other institutions, NGOs and agencies, but none with women's organisations. The main reason is the absence of local women's organisations, but the programme has supported women's networks, according to the interviewees (Mexico 1). Local women's organisations exist in Honduras, but none which is active within the area of water and sanitation why collaboration has not been of relevance (Honduras 1).

9.5. SUMMARY OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In the section on the programmes' interpretation of gender inequality and women's empowerment it could be seen that all the programmes undertake to decrease gender inequalities (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 4; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Mexico, 2008, p. 10; Paraguay, 2009, p. 18; Philippines, 2009, p. 16) and a reoccurring feature in all six gender approaches is the commitment to women's equal participation in decision-making processes (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). It is, however, generally not analysed what the causes of the gender inequalities are. None of the programme documents present the lack of women's active participation in decision-making processes as a democratic deficit or a denial of basic human rights (Angola, 2008; Ecuador, 2009; Honduras, 2008; Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009; Philippines, 2009). In accordance, none of the rationales to why the programmes should work with gender is connected to social justice or human rights, instead the main focus of the six gender approaches is on the enhanced efficiency and sustainability women's participation brings to the programmes' results (Angola, 2008, p. 5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 15; Honduras 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2009, p. 5; 17; Philippines, 2009, p. 20).

For the programmes' gender incorporation in the organisational structures the main findings were that the level of integration in the programme design varied as well as the responsibility allocation. The economic resource allocation was, however, quite similar between the programmes (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1). Three of the six programmes, i.e. Ecuador, Mexico, and Paraguay, have a thorough gender integration expressed at all levels in the programme texts and the monitoring schemes. With Paraguay being the programme with the overall most specified activities related to gender (Ecuador, 2009; Mexico, 2008; Paraguay, 2009). The gender integration of the other three programmes varies. Both the Angolan (2008) and the Philippine (2009) programmes have integrated

gender and women in the text descriptions but not in the monitoring plans of the programmes. The Honduran programme (2008) has not integrated gender in the work plan. The programme also lacks references to gender in all parts but the programme strategies. The responsibility allocation varies substantially, from none to clearly established and permanent (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1).

The implementation of the gender approaches has mainly been focused on two strategies: participation and capacity building. The general focus of the participatory strategies is on women as individuals in general, not on women's groups or on the organisation of women (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). When women's organisations are included it is only in relation to governmental institutions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 21; 34; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4), while women's individual participation is foremost to be enhanced at the local level (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). Capacity building activities *for* women are focused at the local level (Angola, 2008, p. 12; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 24; 25; 26; 28; 32; Philippines, 2009, p. 11; 17), whereas capacity building *about* gender is mainly carried out in governmental institutions (Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 12; 16-17). Women's capacity building include activities to increase women's possibilities to participate in decision-making and management, both within and outside of the programme, but also to increase their possibilities for economic incomes and improved health. Few capacity building activities are directed towards organised women. All of the activities for increased knowledge *about* gender are directed towards gender neutral groups (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; 35; 51; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 3; 12; 16-17).

Three types of participatory spaces for women's increased influence are highlighted by the programmes: 1) community and regional councils/committees; 2) spaces related to governmental institutions for participation in design, implementation and evaluation of regulations and policies, and; 3) spaces for participation related to the programmes (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 32; 34; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 25; 28; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Philippines, 2009, p. 7; 16). The three types of participatory spaces are, however, unevenly distributed among the programmes, why some programmes focus solely on the local level while other programmes focus only on governmental institutions. Few of the interventions wish to include women's organisations and none of those that do aim at the local

level (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21). When it comes to men and gender related activities no references are made to the involvement of men in the programme documents. Capacity building about gender is generally presented as an important tool to increase gender equality and awareness, but to capacitate men specifically about gender was planned only by the Mexican programme (Mexico 1). Interviewees from the Ecuadorian and the Honduran programme did point to capacitation of men as important, but such activities were not planned yet (Ecuador 1; Honduras 1). Even if half of the programmes stated in their programme documents that the involvement of women's organisations was important (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4; 22; 34), only the Ecuadorian programme had established collaboration so far (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras1; 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1).

10. ANALYSIS

The analysis of the empirical material will be based on the five previously defined assumptions about the basic organisational and theoretical premises of a gender approach. If it is to be able to empower women and to enhance gender equality the gender approaches need the basic theoretical elements of 1) a collective postulation; 2) adequate mechanisms for women's influence, and; 3) a purposeful involvement of men. Furthermore, the organisational structures necessary for the implementation of the gander approach are 1) adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and; 2) a gender integrated design, which enables evaluation and monitoring. The first sections of this chapter will be dedicated to the theoretical elements of the gender approaches. Subsequently, the programmes' organisational structures will be analysed. In the analysis of the theoretical elements each subsection is based on one of the theoretical assumptions and will be initiated by a short summary of the most relevant theoretical arguments of the assumption, followed by the analysis of the empirical material. In the section on organisational structure the analyses of the empirical material of the two theoretical assumptions have been integrated into one text, since the structures appear highly interrelated.

10.1. THEORETICAL ELEMENTS

In this section empirical material related to the three theoretical elements will be analysed. The three elements are, according to gender and development theory, fundamental for the

possibilities of the gender approaches to empower women and to enhance gender equality. The first subsection on collective strategies draws on information from almost all of the empirical sections, but with a close affiliation to the empirical material on the programmes' collaboration with women's organisations. The two latter subsections on influence mechanisms and the involvement of men are mainly based on the two empirical subsections with the same focus.

10.1.1. Collectivity

To use collective strategies for the empowerment of women is necessary according to gender scholars since it enables women to create leverage around their collective needs and challenge gendered hierarchical structures (Bush, 1983; Kabeer, 1994; 1999; Moser, 1993; Sen & Grown, 1985). For the individual women collective activities also provide support when acting in participatory spaces, making their participation more active (Agarwal, 1997). To not focus on collective action increase the perils of women's participation being merely ornamental without influence, or that the personal needs and interests of single women are promoted at the expense of women's joint interests. Consequently, to not base gender approaches on collective strategies increase the risk of involving women without challenging the power relations, and as a result women would not gain more influence and not be empowered. To collaborate with women's organisations could be one way to make the gender strategy more collective (Cornwall, 2003).

The programmes' interpretation of gender inequality and women's empowerment show two partly different pictures. The first one is presented in the problem definition of the programmes, where women's problems are portrayed as collective. Health and security risks (Ecuador, 2009, p. 7; Honduras, 2009, p. 27; Paraguay 1), heavy workload in the domestic sphere (Honduras, 2009, p. 27; Mexico 1; 2008, p. 9; 64; Paraguay 1; 2) and lack of decision-making power (Ecuador, 2009, p. 12; Honduras 1; 2008, p. 27; Mexico 1; 2008, p. 4; 64; Paraguay 1; 2; 2009, p. 16-17; Philippines, 2009, p. 16-17) are described as collective problems in the sense that they are defined as problems women face as a group. The picture presented in the programme documents of women in the programme areas is that of women as powerless victims, recurrent in the WID approach (Mohanty, 1988). It appears to leave little space for women to act and defy the traditional roles in which they live.

The focus of the problem definitions is, nonetheless, exclusively on the effects of the gender inequalities and no programme document, except for the Ecuadorian (2009, p. 11),

elaborate further on the reasons to the unequal power relations between men and women. There is also a lack of analysis of the role of men in the unequal gender relations[10]. Only the Ecuadorian programme document explores further the reasons to gender inequalities, when it discusses the effects of local cultural and social structures on women's participation in organisations (Ecuador, 2009, p. 11). Yet, aspects outside of the local context are not mentioned, why it appears as if the gender inequalities solely are a product of specific local conditions and limited to the realm of local organisations.

The rationales for the gender approaches, as stated in the programme documents, present the second picture. In the rationales the focus is not on the effects of gender inequalities on women, but on the effects of women's low participation on the sustainability and efficiency of the programmes. And it is not explained how women's increased participation will be brought about or how it should be translated into women's empowerment and decreased gender inequalities. Instead it is reasoned that by increasing women's participation the programme interventions will be more efficient (Angola, 2008, p. 5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 15; Honduras 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2009, p. 5; 17; Philippines, 2009, p. 20). To have this focus gives an appearance of the programmes to be more interested in what women can provide for them rather than what the programmes can provide for women, as pointed out by scholars (Kabeer, 1994; Moser, 1993). Women's participation is important since it is instrumental in the creation of sustainable programme results – not because potentially it increases gender equality.

With an instrumental view on women's participation it is also less probable that a comprehensive analysis of *how* women participate will be carried out, rather it is the participation in itself that is important – not whether it empowers women or not. In accordance with the statements of many gender scholars there is hardly any focus on the power distributive aspects of women's empowerment and participation (Cornwall, 2003; Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Kabeer, 2010; Moser, 1989; Richey, 2002; Rydhagen, 2002). Consequently, the focus on efficiency and the lack of gender analysis of the social structures and power relations create no foundation on which to build a thorough strategy for gender empowerment. In neither the problem definition nor the gender rationales is women's lack of

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[10] This will be analysed further in a subsequent subsection.

power and decision-making influence defined as a democratic deficiency, which seems to also affect the capacity building.[11]

The implementation strategies of the gender approach are mainly based on the enhancement of women's participation and on capacity building, both for women and for other entities about gender. The activities to increase women's participation are mainly focused on women in general on the local level (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17). The great majority of activities with the purpose to increase women's participations are, however, directed towards women in general or towards representation of women. As pointed out by Cornwall (2003, p. 1330) gender approaches with a focus on women's participation, without combining it with collective action, potentially falls in the trap of including women without challenging the structural gender relations. Women's participation is not inherently empowering. To take part in something is not the same as to be able to define what your needs are and how they are best met through the activity, or to be able to influence the activity to meet the needs. In order to create that kind of influence, i.e. to empower women, their organisation is needed (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1330; Moser, 1993; Kabeer, 1994; 1999; Sen & Grown, 1985), or women's participation is expressed as presence, rather than as influence. It could be argued that one way to increase the potential influence of women over decisions, without organisation, is to have as a goal to have female presidents of committees or councils. This type of strategy is presented by Ecuador (2009, p. 35; 36), Honduras (2008, p. 42) and Angola (2008, p. 11). The strategy is, however, problematic as it assumes that women who have high positions *per se* will promote women's common interests. But, as Phillips (1991) states, this is not an axiom as women like anybody else can have more than one affiliation. Consequently, to promote female leaders is not a surefire way to evade the risk of the interests opposed to those of women in general get promoted in decision-making processes. It only changes the sex of the potential promoter and could, on the contrary to the intensions, leave the majority of women un-empowered and potentially exacerbate the gender inequalities, since more women on leading positions gives the appearance of increased equality. Thus, to have women as leaders on higher positions does not diminish the importance of collective action.

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[11] Since the empirical section on the programmes' incorporation of gender is related to the organisational structures they will not be analysed further here, but in the later subsections called 'Organisational structures for gender implementation'. It can, however, be said that the common use of quantitative indicators in the programme design makes the monitoring of processes of empowerment very complex, as highlighted by Richey (2002).

Few activities include women's organisations, and the three activities that do are confined to two of the six programmes (Ecuador, 2009, p. 21; 34; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4). No activity in the six programmes aims at organising women specifically. The Ecuadorian programme has one activity which aims at the organisation of the public in networks, and women's participation is highlighted as important (2009, p. 34). None of the activities involving women's organisations facilitate their participation at the local level (Ecuador, 2009, p. 21; 34; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4); instead they focus on representation of women through women's organisation in participatory spaces connected to governmental institutions or to the programmes. Consequently, it appears as if the involvement of women's organisations is more an expression of efficiency than of purposeful intentions to create collective action. Thus, the participatory strategies are individualistic in character, especially at the local level, which would be in accordance with the general efficiency focus of the programmes' rationales for gender integration, where emphasis is placed on women's participation not on their influence.

As women's empowerment depends on their possibilities to organise themselves around their common needs the individualistic focus on the local level is even more problematic than an individualistic focus on say regional or national level. Especially considering that women on a local level are more probable to live in more similar contexts, why also sharing more interests. Thus, if women on the local level are organised they have the possibility to promote their needs in other institutions and participatory spaces, creating the leverage needed. Therefore the possibilities to impose gender equality and women's empowerment top-down appear limited, which reiterates the second assumption of the need for bottom-up influence.

For the capacity building activities it is more ambiguous whether women are perceived as a group or not. The Ecuadorian programme is the only one which aims at women's organisations in the capacity activities building *for* women (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17). The rest of the capacity building activities involve women in general or female leaders as representatives for women. None of the capacitations about gender include women's organisations (Angola, 2008, p. 12; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 17; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 24; 25; 26; 28; 32; Philippines, 2009, p. 11; 17). Since the influence in capacity building interventions is mainly top-down the possibilities for women to challenge power relations during the capacitation activities are small. On the other hand it could be argued that by increased knowledge and skills women will become more capable to wage influence in other spaces. Building on Kabeer's (1999) definition of empowerment, where she defines

increase in women's resources, agency and achievement as empowerment, capacity building can be seen as a way to enhance women's resources. Yet, if the obtainment of new capacities is to be translated into empowerment possibilities for the exertion of the potential influence of the new capacities must exist. As Kabeer (1999) states, to have the resources and capacities to act on ones choice is not enough for that choice to be achievable. For example, if women's increased knowledge about project design, management and evaluation is not matched by possibilities to carry out the tasks they have learnt, as a consequence of gendered power relations, their education can be said to have limited effect of empowerment. Therefore the capacity building activities are strongly dependent on the existence of other aspects.

Possibilities for women to exert agency could be provided through connecting capacity building to participatory spaces, which is done by several programmes (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; Paraguay, 2009, p. 32; Philippines, 2009, p. 11). Yet, in order for women to be able to wield agency in participatory spaces organisation is needed if they are to be able to challenge the gendered power relations present in the participatory spaces (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1330; Moser, 1993; Kabeer, 1994; 1999; Sen & Grown, 1985). Consequently, even if women as a group were given the possibilities to gain new capacities the translation of the capacity building into empowerment is strongly connected to the collective action of women in participatory spaces. Therefore, the lack of organisation and collective action resulting from the individualistic approach of the programmes also could impede the capacity building activities to transform into empowerment. It can also be highlighted that the capacity building for women does include neither rights nor gender as topics. Both topics could, however, potentially provide women with tools to understand and challenge gendered social structures and power relations. In the few activities concerned with rights equal participation of men and women is not stated as important (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Paraguay, 2009, p. 28). Instead many of the topics for capacity building are related to women's increased efficiency in tasks connected to the programme execution.

The last point of analysis in this subsection comes from the empirical section on cross cutting-issues. The subsection most relevant to the theme of collectivity is the programmes' collaboration with women's organisations.[12] To create collective action through collaboration with women's organisations appears to be a fragile strategy. Of the six programmes half of them state that they have as an aim to establish collaboration with women's organisations

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[12] The other two subsections dealing with men and gender activities and influence mechanisms will be elaborated further in later analysis sections.

(Angola, 2008, p. 11; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 21; 17; Paraguay, 2009, p. 4; 22; 34). Of those three only the Ecuadorian programme had initiated collaboration with women's organisation at the time of the interviews (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1). More so, as collaboration with women's organisation appears to be viewed primarily as a tool for increased efficiency, rather than a way to enhance redistribution of power through collective action, it is highly questionable if the involvement of women's organisations would allow them to serve as channels for women's common interests, as needed according to Agarwal's (1997) argumentation. If a conscious focus is not placed on the possibilities for collective action provided by women's organisations, through giving them economic resources and time to deliberate with members, there is a risk that they become yet another form of individualistic representation. Instead of involving representatives from women's organisations because of their connection to organised women they become individual representatives for women qua women, but selected under the criteria of affiliation to an organisation.

10.1.2. Bottom-up influence

In this subsection the theoretical assumption on bottom-up influence will be analysed. The main part of the empirical material comes from the empirical subsection on influence mechanisms, but information from the sections on interpretation and implementation will also be included.[13]

Both gender and development theory puts a strong focus on women's own right to define and promote their needs, and also on women's possibilities to decide how those needs should be met. Since women's interests and needs are highly contextual it is vital that they themselves can define them (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Humble, 1998, p. 35f; Richey, 2002; Snyder et al. 1996, p. 1488). There is, however, a breach between the two theoretical strands when it comes to depth of and spaces for women's influence. Gender theorists emphasise the importance of letting women influence fundamental aspects of development interventions. They also point to the necessity of giving women influence on an early stage of the formulation of activities and strategies. The participatory spaces highlighted by gender theorists are mainly situated at the local level, close to the women who will be directly influenced (Chambers, 1997; Francis, 2001). Development theorists agree on the importance

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[13] As with the previous analytical subsection the empirical material about incorporation in organisational structures will not be handled.

of letting women play a central role in the definition of their own needs and solutions, but the participatory spaces are more defined by already existing agency structures, e.g. working and/or monitoring groups (Holt & Ribe, 1991; Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1485-6).

In the empirical section about the programmes' interpretation of women's empowerment it is shown that while the problem definitions point to women's lack of decision-making power it is not stated as a democratic deficit (Angola, 2008, p. 5; Ecuador, 2009, p. 15; Honduras 2; Mexico 1; Paraguay 1; 2009, p. 5; 17; Philippines, 2009, p. 20). In the interpretation of gender inequalities and women's empowerment there is also a general lack of structural analysis of the reasons to women's lack of power. The rationales for committing to a gender approach are focused on the increased efficiency and sustainability brought to the programme results by women's participation. In both the problem definitions and rationales of the programmes women's lack of decision-making power is recognised and it is stated necessary to increase the same. Yet, it is not women's *influence* in decision-making which is stated key, but their participation.

However, women's increased participation not the same as women's increased influence, and women's participation is not inherently empowering (Cornwall, 2003). Thus, the efficiency focus and lack of structural analysis seems to permit the programmes to use participation as synonymous with influence, obscuring the fundamentally different implications the two concepts have on power relations. The result is in accordance with previous research where development programmes have been criticised for neglecting the power redistributive aspects of participation in favour of efficiency (Cornwall, 2003; Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Kabeer, 2010; Moser, 1989; Richey, 2002; Rydhagen, 2002).

The implementation strategies for activities to empower women are centred on the enhancement of women's participation and on capacity building. The participatory strategies defined in the programme documents are mainly focused on the local level (Angola, 2008, p. 7; Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 35; 36; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Paraguay, 2009, p. 10; 12; Philippines, 2009, p. 16; 17), and all of the six programmes highlight public councils and committees as a way to increase direct public participation (Ecuador, 2009, p. 34; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; Philippines, 2009, p. 7; 16), even if not all explicitly aim to include more women (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 28). The focus on the local level is adequate according to theoretical literature, which emphasise the affected women's right to directly define and influence decision-making processes (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Humble, 1998, p. 35f; Snyder et al. 1996, p. 1488; Richey, 2002). Apart from local

participatory spaces the programmes define spaces connected to governmental institutions and to the programmes themselves, but between the programmes the spaces are unevenly distributed.

If the aim of the programmes is to empower women, i.e. to enhance women's possibilities to define and act upon their choices (Kabeer, 1999, p. 436-8), and if the empowerment depend to a large extent on women's possibilities to define and promote their own needs (Humble, 1998, p. 35f; Snyder et al. 1996, p. 1488) the confinement of that influence to one part of a structure is probable to decrease it. If the space for acting is limited to the local level other structures, which also affect the local power relations and reduce the scope of agency, are left outside of the women's area of influence. Since social and cultural norms defining gender roles affect all levels and spaces of a society they are extensively interconnected (Ferber & Nelson, 1993, p. 9-10; Levy, 1992, p. 140; Moser & Peake, 1987, p. 6). In the case of the Philippine (2009, p. 7; 16) and the Angolan (2008, p. 10) programmes, where women's participation is focused solely on the local level, there is a risk that regional or national structures are not within women's area of influence. Thus, there is a risk that women do not have the possibility to promote their interests in spaces such as governmental laws and regulation, even if they are interconnected with the power relations surrounding water and sanitation resources at the local level.

To have a sole focus on governmental institutions, as the Paraguayan programme (Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 25), as well carry limitations to women's possibilities to define, act and achieve their choices. The lack of recognised local participatory spaces creates a risk that local women do not have possibilities to promote their needs and choices. This would make it hard to adapt regulations or policies to the context in which women live (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1486). It would also leave the great majority of women without possibilities to participate and affect the activities to reduce gender inequalities. The idea of the Paraguayan programme could be to involve *all* women in the programme areas in discussions about sector regulations, through for example participatory meetings in all communities. Since it is not stated specifically how women's participation will be effectuated it is difficult to say, but to plan for an extensive participatory strategy without specifying it in the programme document seems improbable. More plausible is that women representatives will be invited to the sector regulation discussions, as will be done for the municipal investment planning (Paraguay, 2009, p. 21; 25). Yet, if the representation is not combined with some kind of organisation it runs the risk of promoting only single interests (Cornwall, 2003). It also leaves the local

power relations unquestioned. Therefore, the increase in women's influence which might be possible to achieve on higher governmental levels is improbable to create substantial empowerment of women in general, since it does not give women at the local level possibilities to influence and define their choices. Instead it is more probable to result in gender rhetoric at the policy level.

Scholars from both development and gender theoretical strands state women's possibilities to define and promote their own needs as vital for their empowerment (Humble, 1998, p. 35f; Snyder et al. 1996, p. 1488). However, the general lack of influence mechanisms related to the programmes place central programme structures outside the realm of women's influence. This implies several complexities for the programmes when striving for gender equality and women's empowerment. Firstly, without spaces to influence the programmes' interventions it is possible they will not meet the context specific conditions under which women live, and as a result they will not be able to empower women to challenge the context specific gender relations. Secondly, there is a great risk that the different parts of the programmes, apart from the gender approach, will remain unchallenged by women's needs and priorities. As previous research has shown, programmes which are not thoroughly modified to integrate women and their needs tend to remain favourable to men (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002). Thus, there is a risk that various programme activities result counterproductive to women's empowerment if women are not allowed to influence them, on the contrary to the aims and intentions of the programmes. The lack of defined participatory spaces in the Mexican programme document (2008) should constitute a potential obstacle to its gender approach, based on the theoretical assumption that clearly recognised and adequate influence mechanisms are necessary for the programmes to empower women.

The contextuality of women's living conditions affects the needs of women (Kabeer, 2010; Johnsson-Odim, 1991, p. 315; Mohanty, 1991, p. 53; Rydhagen, 2002, p. 44), yet none of the six programmes offer women the possibility to define their capacity building priorities. As previously described the majority of the topics of the capacity building for women are related to the design, implementation and maintenance of the programmes and/or the water and sanitation systems (Ecuador, 2009, p. 17; 32; Paraguay, 2009, p. 32; 25; 28; 24; Philippines, 2009, p. 17). Other areas for capacity building are health and sanitation (Ecuador, 2009, p. 13; 33; Paraguay, 2009, p. 21) or capacities which could increase women's economic incomes (Angola, 2008, p. 11; Paraguay, 2009, p. 24; 32). Since the acquisition of new capacities is supposed to empower women the adequacy of leaving the definition of capacity building

topics outside of the realm of influence of the women in the six programme areas is questionable. If women are those who know best their needs they also should be the ones to know best what type of knowledge and skills that would most strengthen them. Thus, the empowerment of women is inherently in opposition to the top-down planning used by a many development agencies (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Richey, 2002).

Only the Ecuadorian (2009, p. 13) and the Mexican (2008, p. 15) programmes provides participatory spaces connected to the programmes, why there is generally an absence of recognised participatory spaces where influence could be exerted within the programme framework. As a consequence, it appears as if the programmes in their programme documents claim to know what kind of skills women need to improve, which touches upon Eriksson Baaz's (2001; 2002) critique of remaining postcolonial tendencies in development organisations. Thus, apart from impeding women the right to define how the agencies best could meet their needs in a very practical way, women's lack of influence over the capacity building activities also gives the impression of an attitude among the programmes of knowing what women need to get better at.

10.1.3. Men in the gender approaches

To purposefully involve men in gender related activities can mitigate power conflicts which arise when gender relations are challenged (Mukasa, 2000; Guijt & Kaul Shah, 1998; Mosse, 1995; Welbourn, 1996). It also presents men with the possibility to reflect and act in a conscious way on the relations and social structures of which they form part. Previous studies have, nonetheless, shown that there is in development interventions a general lack of analysis of gender relations, why the role of men is left without questioning (Crewe and Harrison, 2000; Moser, 1993). Instead there is a sole focus on women when addressing gender equality. The results from the thesis investigation corroborate these previous findings; also in these six programmes are men absent in the gender approaches. In the interpretation none of the programmes mention the role of men in relation to the disadvantages women face. As previously described, the Ecuadorian programme (2009, p. 11) elaborates on the male dominance in local organisations and the lack of female leaders and women's low participation in the organisations are presented as consequences of local culture and values. Yet, no deeper analysis of the gender power relations is made, why the male dominance appears to be confined to the sphere of the organisations and solely at the local level. Thus, neither the superficial analysis presented in the Ecuadorian programme offers an analytical

base on which to formulate strategies for the involvement of men. The Ecuadorian analysis does, however, indirectly point to how the empowerment of women would oppose locally established norms and values (Ecuador, 2009, p. 11) – which potentially could lead to conflicts.

In the empirical material related to the incorporation and implementation of women's empowerment the role of men is not mentioned in any of the six programme documents. Only the Mexican interviewees claimed that the programme would have awareness-raising activities about gender and masculinity as a part of the gender approach (Mexico 1). This was, however, not stated in the programme document (Mexico, 2008). Not even in the awareness-raising activities about gender men's participation was specifically stated as important, neither at local, governmental nor programme level. Instead the capacity building about gender is directed towards gender neutral groups, such as users or officials (Angola, 2008, p. 10; Ecuador, 2009, p. 16; 20; 35; 51; Honduras, 2008, p. 27; 42; Mexico, 2008, p. 29; Paraguay, 2009, p. 3; 12; 16-17). Yet, equal participation was explicitly stated as essential in several of the other areas of capacity building.

To not have gender activities aimed at men could potentially lead to the creation of conflicts, which the programmes might not be able to handle. Yet, none of the programmes include activities towards men, which could serve as conflict prevention (Mukasa, 2000). The lack of conflict mitigation could potentially produce a rejection of the programmes or even personal danger for individual women, as was pointed out by the Mexican interviewees (Mexico 1). Thus, to aim at women's empowerment while not include strategies for conflict handling or involvement of men could be seen as irresponsible. According to the Mexican interviewees the dialogue which was initiated between men and women about their gender differentiated interests gave also the men the possibility to reflect upon the gender relations (Mexico 1). Hence, to not include men in gender related activities in a purposeful way is also to deny them the possibility to consciously reflect and act upon the new awareness about power relations such activities could bring. More so, the lack of involvement of men makes it appear as if the gender relations were the sole responsibility of women. Yet, as previously pointed out, the lack of analysis, the efficiency rationales and the main focus on women of the gender approaches provide the programmes with no base for purposeful male involvement.

10.2. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES FOR GENDER IMPLEMENTATION

This section of the analysis contains the joint analysis of the empirical material previously presented in the empirical section Incorporation. The information is related to the organisational structures which have been highlighted as fundamental for the implementation of gender strategies. As a part of this section a comparison have been made between the correlations of the three organisational structures – economic resources, establishment of responsibility and integration in design, with the amount of gender related activities that has been executed by the programmes. This was done with the intention of presenting not only the existence, or absence, of each organisational structure, but to also give an input on their relative importance to the implementation of the programmes. This will enable a more comprehensive discussion on the implications of the existence or non-existence of each structure.

10.2.1. Resources and responsibility allocation and integration in programme design

The fundamental importance of having adequate economic resources and established responsibility allocation has been pointed out by both gender theorists and development theorists (Mason, 1995; Richey, 2002; Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1490). The provision of economic funding is both a way to sustain the value changing processes of gender integration (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1490) and at the same time the agencies authenticate their commitment to women's empowerment through economic investments (Richey, 2002). A clear responsibility allocation has been highlighted as important since it enables that person to promote gender integration in all parts of the programmes, and to support colleagues in their gender work (Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1490). Gender needs to be integrated in a thorough and comprehensive manner in the programme design to not get lost among all the other issues development programmes have to take into consideration. According to Snyder, Berry and Mavima (1996, p. 1492) the presence of clearly stated goals and indicators related to women's empowerment will greatly enhance the possibility for gender to be integrated in implementation. As indicators enable monitoring and evaluation of the progress they put pressure on agencies to implement the activities undertaken.

When comparing the amount of activities executed by the programmes with the prevalence of the three structures it seems to correlate with the responsibility allocation. The programmes

with more established responsibility allocation also have implemented more gender related activities. Even if the interviews do not give a complete set of the programmes' gender activities they can be taken as indicators for the amount of activities implemented so far.[14] Mexico is the programme with the most thorough gender responsibility structure and it is also the programme which seems to have carried out most gender activities, according to the interviewees (Mexico 1). The programmes in Paraguay and Angola are the programmes with the least established responsibility structures and according to the interviewees almost no specific gender related activities had been carried out yet (Angola 1; Paraguay 1; 2). In accordance with the activity-responsibility correlation, the Honduran and the Ecuadorian programme interviewees did present gender related activities (Ecuador 1; Honduras 1), but not to the same extent as the interviewees of the Mexican programme (Mexico 1). The Ecuadorian and the Honduran gender responsibility structures are also somewhat less defined and established than in the Mexican programme. The Philippine programme has had a gender expert contracted, similarly to the Honduran programme. Yet, the Philippine interviewees stated that little had been done, apart from internal gender training (Philippines 1). The difference in activities could be a reflection of the fact that the Honduran gender expert is still active within the programme, while the Philippine is not (Philippines 1; Honduras 1). Length of contract and/or internal organisational structures and values are also plausible explanations for the differences between the two programmes, but more research is needed to draw any conclusions. Even so, the results from the thesis investigation corroborate results from previous research which point to the importance of clear responsibility structures (OIOS, 2010, p. 20; Snyder et al., 1996, p. 1490).

Comparing the amount of gender activities with the other two organisational structures, i.e. funding allocation and integration in programme design, it appears as if neither of these two structures are strongly correlated with the amount of activities. The funding allocation is similar in all of the programmes (Angola 1; Ecuador 1; Honduras 1; Paraguay 1; 2; Philippines 1), why it is not directly correlated with the amount of activities. If the level of integration in the programme design determined the amount of gender activities the Paraguayan programme should have the largest amount of activities executed, followed by the Mexican and Ecuadorian programmes. The Philippine and Angolan programmes should have a fairly small number of activities implemented and the Honduran programme should have the

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[14] Up until April of 2011.

least. However, the results from the study indicate differently. Especially the low amount of activities carried out by the Paraguayan programme disaffirms a correlation between activities and integration in the programme design. Yet, it is possible that the level of integration could facilitate or obstruct the implementation of the gender approach, as was suggested by Philippine and Honduran interviewees (Honduras 1; Philippines 1). Since it appears as if a clearly established responsibility allocation leads to more gender activities it is also plausible assume that more demands on gender related funding is and indirect consequence, as the execution of an activity demands economic resources. Therefore, it is also probable that clearly established responsibility allocation has a positive effect on the amount of available funding for gender related activities.

11. DISCUSSION

The objective of the thesis was to discuss how the theoretical and organisational premises of the gender approaches of development programmes affect their possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality. Five assumptions were defined to enable the analysis of the possibilities for women's empowerment and enhanced gender equality created by the gender approaches of the six development programmes. The five assumptions stipulate that a gender approach based on: 1) a collective postulation, with; 2) established mechanisms for women's influence, and; 3) a purposeful involvement of men, backed-up by; 4) adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and; 5) a gender integrated design, which enables evaluation and monitoring, is more probable to empower women. The three first assumptions are connected to the fundamental theoretical elements of the gender approaches, whereas the two last assumptions are relevant for the analysis of the related organisational structures. The gender approaches were defined as the way the programmes interpret women's empowerment and gender inequality; their incorporation of the two concepts into the design and relevant organisational structures, and; the gender activities and strategies to be implemented. The aspiration was that the results from the thesis will say something not only about these six specific programmes, but also about how characteristics of gender related structures and activities in development programmes in general affect their possibilities to facilitate processes towards gender equality.

Central to the discussion is the dominating individualistic and efficiency focused discourse which appears to be prevalent in all six programmes. Assuming that collective strategies are

necessary for women's empowerment the individualistic base of the approaches create little possibilities for the programmes to enhance women's influence and thus to empower women. The individualistic postulation affects all the parts of the approaches and makes activities such as participation in decision-making processes and capacity building appear weak tools for empowerment, since women's lack of organisation under the frameworks of the programmes limits the possibilities to transform the participation and newly gained capacities into increased power and influence. The individualistic and efficiency driven attitude also becomes highly visible in the way the programmes deal with women's organisation. Instead of seizing the opportunity such collaboration could present for the enhancement of the collective aspects of the approaches it appears to be viewed as the most efficient way to engage women in discussions at higher administrative levels or around the doings of the programmes. The rationales are expressed in the focus of the capacity building activities, where several are to strengthen women to improve their participation in and execution of the programmes but none relates to rights or power relations. The gender approaches' potential to redistribute power is instead articulated as efforts to increase female participation. Similarly to previous research (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Kabeer, 1994; Moser, 1993; Rydhagen, 2002, p. 39) it appears as if the programmes' potential gains in efficiency and sustainability are more central to the gender approaches than theoretically adequate strategies which challenge the unequal gender power relations. Thus, with individualistic efficiency rationales as a base for the gender approaches women's presence substitutes their influence.

As described in the empirical chapter, the lack of gender analyses in the programme documents creates no foundation for collective action within the gender approaches. It is on the other hand possible that even with a thorough analysis of the gender relations the strategies would have been individualistic and efficiency driven. In the UN as well as in all other organisations, private and public, paradigms and values dominate and direct activities and practices. Thus, the theoretical foundation is not to be seen as a sole result of lack of gender analysis, but potentially also of structural and organisational paradigms. It is not possible here to go further into the discussion on the organisational rationales of developing agencies, but if development institutions and agencies act based on individualistic and efficiency rationales, at least in relation to gender, it is questionable whether they possess the capacities needed to empower women and increase gender equality. Independently of whether the theoretical inadequacies of the gender approaches are a result of organisational ideology or of lack of expertise it is difficult to visualise the collective bottom-up driven, and perhaps

conflictive, processes, which ought to be central to empowerment efforts, existing within a system with high demands on efficiency and measurable results. Yet, it does not mean that development programmes and agencies should not strive towards benefitting all persons as equal and just as possible, or that their actions should not be judged by these standards, but more profound alterations of structures and practices appears to be required. The results from this thesis indicate that a reconsideration of the value base and rationales of activities needs to be central for such processes of change.

Another result which also touches upon the issue of the central attitudes and values of the programmes and the development sector in general is the lack of possibilities for women to influence the programmes. Scholars have previously criticised development agencies for not recognising the effect they have on gender relations and to not allow the affected population to participate in decisions related to central aspects of the interventions (Chambers, 1997; Francis, 2001; Rydhagen, 2002). To let women define their own interests and needs is key for their empowerment, only they know the effects on the power relations of their specific context (Humble, 1998; Johnsson-Odim, 1991; Kabeer, 2010; Mohanty, 1991; Rydhagen, 2002; Snyder et al. 1996). Thus, to not have participatory spaces connected to the programmes impede the programmes' possibilities to empower women. If this absence is related to Eriksson Baaz's (2001; 2002) analyses of the postcolonial tendencies in the conceptualisation of receivers in development organisations it appears as if the lack of bottom-up influence might not be a consequence solely of closed bureaucracy or strict hierarchical structures, but also of an underlying notion of knowing best what the needs are in the programme areas. Because, even if the programme documents have significant gaps in the information about women's situation in relation to the water and sanitation facilities they still specify areas of knowledge where the population needs to be educated. Thus, the combination of not presenting spaces for bottom-up input, lack of contextual knowledge and defining the knowledge needs indicate towards an underlying attitude of superiority.

As power is not all-abundant or can be distributed freely, but depend on the relations between two or more actors, it is vital that all parties participate in processes of change of those power relations. However, in accordance with previous research (Crewe & Harrison, 2000; Moser, 1993) men's role is not considered in any of the six gender approaches. The only programme which to some extent describes the effects of the gender roles is the Ecuadorian programme. As previously written, the analysis indirectly indicates that the empowerment of women would go against locally established norms and values (Ecuador,

2009, p. 11), which potentially could lead to conflicts. The Mexican interviewees retold situations where local women's challenging of traditional gender roles, at least partly as a result of programme activities, put them in physical danger (Mexico 1). Yet, none of the programmes consider men's involvement in gender activities, or state gender sensitisation as a part of their approaches. Since the programmes aim at encouraging and supporting women to challenge and change gender relations, potentially creating conflicts, to not have a strategy for conflict management and/or prevention can be seen as irresponsible. It appears also as if to change and challenge the unequal power relations is the sole task of women, as men are not considered nor involved in the gender approaches. To place the responsibility of fighting unequal power relations exclusively on the subordinated group seems both as an unjust and unstable strategy. However, if the rationale is to achieve more efficient execution of the programme through the involvement of more executors on the local ground, i.e. women, the justice aspect of the strategy is perhaps less central. The lack of inclusion of men in gender related activities denies them the possibility to consciously reflect and act upon the new awareness such activities could bring. Indirectly it paints an image of the men as not being interested in and/or able to change the power relations in which they live. Thus, apart from appearing irresponsible and unjust, the lack of consideration of men in the gender approaches of the programme documents outlines a simplistic view of the men in the programme areas.

According to the results from this study, to have someone with adequate authority and knowledge within the programme seems to be the most important factor for the execution of the gender approaches. The central role of responsibility allocation for the implementation of the gender approach could be seen as both a risk and an advantage. From the point of view of a development programme or a financing agency it seems to present an easy solution to how to assure implementation of gender activities. If only the right person is placed on the right position the likelihood of implementation is consolidated. The downside of the results is the fragility of the gender approaches. If the right person is not in place, or if something happens to the person responsible, the gender approach of the programme will not be implemented. Since few of no gender activities appears to be executed without a person responsible, constantly pushing and monitoring, little intrinsic value seems to be given to gender and the results point to an overall lack of gender integration in the general practices and structures of the programmes. As these results corroborate previous research (OIOS, 2010; Snyder et al. 1996), there appears to still be a long way to a thorough transversalisation of gender in development activities and organisational structures. If it is a general tendency that gender is

not implemented when responsibility is not clearly established it does not only point to lack of awareness – indirectly it also imply a prevalent bias towards men in development programmes. At same time the importance of established responsibility allocation raises questions about how much confidence should be put in the programme plans. If the indicators of the programme documents do not decide what is to be implemented accountability and transparency becomes much more complex, both for the involved governments, organisations and communities as well as for financiers.

12. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter the conclusions from the thesis investigation of how the theoretical and organisational premises of development programmes' gender approaches affect their possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality will be presented. The three research questions guiding the investigation and the analysis of the empirical material was: 1) how the concepts of women's empowerment and gender inequality were interpreted, incorporated and implemented by the six development programmes; 2) how the theoretical premises of the gender approaches affected the programmes' possibilities to empower women and to enhance gender equality, and; 3) how the organisational structures of the programmes affected their possibilities to implement the gender approaches. While the first research question directed the investigation of the empirical material, the latter two questions connect directly to the aim of the thesis.

From the analysis of the empirical material it can be seen that especially the theoretical premises of the gender approaches are inadequate. As the gender approaches are based on efficiency and individualistic postulations the use of collective action is almost absent in all programme documents. When women's organisations are engaged it appears to be mainly for efficiency. The participatory spaces are often undefined in the programme documents, and when established the scope generally is limited to either the local level or to governmental institutions. Few of the spaces allow for women to influence the programmes themselves. The involvement of men is absent in all of the programme documents and men's role is only superficially analysed by one programme.

The presence of organisational structures for the implementation of the approaches is irregular, but somewhat more adequate than the theoretical premises. The funding of gender activities is generally integrated in other budget posts, not specific as theory would

75

recommend. The structure of the responsibility allocation varies substantially among the programmes, but is generally weak. The gender integration in programme design differs between the programmes. The results from the study indicate that the implementation rate seems to correlate with the responsibility allocation.

Based on the five previously presented assumptions about the importance of a collective postulation, adequate mechanisms for women's influence, purposeful involvement of men, adequate resource and responsibility allocation, and a gender integrated design the overall conclusion is that the six gender approaches studied for this thesis creates few possibilities for the programmes to empower women and to enhance gender equality. Even if the necessary organisational structures are present in some of the programmes the fundamental inadequacies in the basic theoretical premises of the six gender approaches creates a situation where the implementation of the gender approaches, as defined in the programme documents, primarily would serve to incorporate women into programme activities and structures without empowering them or enhancing the gender equality.

Nonetheless, as it appears as if it is the responsibility allocation of the programmes which decide what is implemented and to what extent it could be claimed that what is stated in the programme documents is of little importance.

13. FURTHER RESEARCH

During the thesis investigation it has become clear that more knowledge and documentation is needed of how both theoretical and organisational aspects of gender strategies in development interventions. More research is needed especially in relation to men and gender activities. To continue investigating the findings indicating structural inadequacies in the development system are also highly relevant for further research. It would be interesting to compare results between development programmes from different areas of intervention to see if there are variations in the results between programmes from for example programmes with human rights focus and those of more technical nature. Other organisational features and theoretical premises are of course also of interest for further investigation. As well as the effects in the programme areas, and the activities that have been carried out. It would also be interesting to make similar studies of other themes which bear resemblance in character to gender, such as for example ethnicity or class, and to look at how they interrelate. Such complementary

studies would also enable an important contribution to the body of knowledge of intersecting inequalities.

14. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The author would like to emphasise that the theoretical analysis and discussion is based on the features of the gender approaches as presented in the programme documents. Thus, even if the remarks about the rationales and intentions of the gender approaches are quite critical it should be recognised that these are not necessary representative for the interviewees, or perhaps not even for the gender approaches carried out *in situ*. Yet, the gender approaches of the programme documents are important to study and scrutinise since they embody the official representation of the programmes' view on gender and women's empowerment.

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