



Implementing gender policy in the water and sanitation sector

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Using a case study approach, this article examines how the gender aspects of policy are implemented. It presents examples of gender policy implemented by different types of organizations, with particular emphasis on the water and sanitation sector. Implementing agencies include a UN agency, developing country governments, bilateral donors, and local and international NGOs. Observations from project implementation in the water and sanitation sector reveal the degree of effectiveness of the gender policies applied. Cases were chosen to provide interesting examples, rather than illustrate lessons that can be generalized. Much more research is needed before that can be done. The article also addresses project implementation strategy considerations, including how policies and implementation address women's needs, whether gender issues are treated separately or mainstreamed, and what factors are linked to successful implementation. Problems of coordination between different project implementation aspects/agents are endemic in the water and sanitation sector. Thus physical installation work is typically completed by engineers, while NGOs mostly deal with social aspects of projects, and the two groups often do not communicate effectively. Copyright ©1996 United Nations

The case studies presented in this article illustrate work done by a number of different types of agencies, and are not necessarily representative. The UNICEF case provides an example of an agency executing development assistance projects, as do many other international United Nations agencies. The Philippines and Tanzania, like many other developing nations, have enacted gender policies and gained varying experience in implementation. The Philippine examples also show policy and its implementation executed jointly by a local and an international NGO. The case from Morocco illustrates that gender issues may be considered, even in the absence of specific directives on gender in sector policy statements. The experience of several bilateral agencies is also included.

UNICEF

According to its mandate, UNICEF focuses on women and children. Initially the agency provided basic health and social service programmes

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addressing mothers and homemakers, but the current approach is broader.

Policy

From 1994, UNICEF's global policy has emphasized gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. It reiterated the strategic goals of reducing gender disparity in all stages of the life cycle, eliminating the causes of gender discrimination that led to such disparities, and enabling and empowering women to participate in the development process. UNICEF has adopted a policy, named the Women's Equity and Empowerment Framework, for mainstreaming gender concerns into its programmes, both as a cross-sectoral dimension and in the sectoral programmes.

With regard to the water and environmental sanitation sector, a multi-donor evaluation of the agency was conducted in the early 1990s (Vesth-Hansen and Engberg-Pedersen, 1992). It reviewed six UNICEF-assisted water and environmental sanitation (WES) programmes, highlighted some of the goals and strategies concerning gender, and described the agency's performance. The evaluation stressed the need to address the issue of empowerment of communities, especially their women, in water resources management. UNICEF's goals for water and environmental sanitation have

been to facilitate "universal access to safe drinking water and a sanitary means of excreta disposal" by the year 2000. These goals envisage meeting basic needs mainly through physical installations, such as boreholes and pumps, with the addition of a certain amount of training in health/hygiene. In delivering assistance projects, UNICEF normally works with a counterpart in the government of the recipient country, e.g. a water agency. The counterpart agency may often lack the capacity for dealing with social mobilization or hygiene education.

Thus, both on a general level and more particularly in its water and sanitation policy, UNICEF has focussed on gender issues. The 1992 multi-donor evaluation concluded that, "Most WES programme designs include a focus on women. In general, the evidence on the impact on women is weak. Programmes address women as recipients, volunteers and operators, rather than partners and household managers. UNICEF has not utilized the full potential of WES as an entry-point for women in development, which is inherent in the fact that the WES programmes are operational at the household level" (Vesth-Hansen and Engberg-Pedersen, 1992: iii).

During the 1990s, UNICEF has broadened its approach in its programme priorities. The first priority area is traditional: "dissemination of appropriate, low-cost technology for water supply and sanitation in rural and peri-urban areas". However, the next two areas for priority focus more on social aspects with explicit strategies for dealing with gender. The second priority is "strengthening the links between water supply, sanitation, personal hygiene and general health of the target groups", and the third is "using WES services as an entry-point for empowerment of, especially women, e.g. through area-based multi-sector programmes" (Vesth-Hansen and Engberg-Pedersen, 1992: vi-vii). A possible strategy for reaching the third goal, for women, would be the empowerment of target group members.

A more recent policy review (Woroniuk and Freeman, 1994) notes many of the same goals for girls and women as were previously stated. However, in an attempt to actually reach these goals, more specific actions were recommended than in the past. These include: collection and analysis of gender-disaggregated data; establishing monitoring systems (the latter were often missing in the past); using the UNICEF Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework policy guidelines to measure gender-responsiveness of programmes; and gender training and sensitization at several levels.

Implementation

UNICEF's new attempts to involve women more in programme activities can be seen in the following examples.

Among general programmes, the training provided to 16 women from districts in Bhilwara, Jaipur and

Banswara in Rajasthan, India resulted in the creation of a women's masons co-operative in 1994. The training in masonry, with additional courses in reading and writing, is complemented by sessions on health, nutrition, child care and sanitation; this enabled these women, through their co-operative, to be contracted by the Government, despite the fact that the field of masonry is strongly male-dominated in the region.

Water supply and sanitation programmes assisted by UNICEF pay particular attention to the role of women and children both as beneficiaries of the programmes and users of the systems. Recognizing that water supply alone would not be sufficient to achieve health improvements, many UNICEF programmes now combine water supply with sanitation and hygiene education as an integrated package. For example, using the eradication of dracunculiasis (Guinea worm) as an entry point, a UNICEF-assisted programme in Jhabua district, India and a UNICEF-administered SWACH project in drought-prone Rajasthan, provide excellent models for addressing drinking water supply, water resources management, health and hygiene education, household and environment improvement, as well as environmental rehabilitation. The success of these programmes is due to the strong participation of communities at all levels in the programme, primarily that of community women: as trainers, managers, health educators, mobilizers, animators, pump mechanics and caretakers.

Tanzania

Tanzania has demonstrated concern for women for many years, including appointing women to high governmental positions to deal with women's issues, and has enacted explicit policy directives concerning women in the water sector. Many of the NGOs that work with the Tanzanian Government to implement water and sanitation projects have clear policies on involving women in development. Despite all this, women's involvement is generally very limited at the level of implementation.

Policy

Since Tanzanian independence, women's needs have been considered by the Government. Both the Government and the national party have often noted the need to view women and men as equal partners in the development process. Women's rights as legal equals are supported by laws relating to voting, standing for election, employment opportunities, marriage and divorce, landholding, and other areas; yet these laws have changed little in the status of most women. In 1982, the Government appointed a woman "Minister Without Portfolio" in the Prime Minister's Office to oversee women's affairs. After the Third World Conference on

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Women held in Nairobi in 1985, this function was expanded to a division for women and children within the Community Development Department of the new Ministry of Community Development, Culture, Youth and Sports. That Department began drafting a National Women's Policy, which was submitted to Cabinet in 1987 and approved by Government (in draft) and presented to the Party in 1989. In October 1990, the office dealing with women's questions became part of the new Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, with both the Minister and Principal Secretary being women.

Tanzania is one of the countries which has included explicit statements about gender in its national water policy. "The Water Policy of 1991 has formalized the training, participation and involvement of women" (United Republic of Tanzania, 1994: 276). Tanzanian policy stipulates more equal gender involvement in the control of benefits from rural water supply projects, and also that half the members of village water committees should be female (United Republic of Tanzania and DANIDA, 1992b: 37).

Implementation

Several Scandinavian donor agencies have supported development in Tanzania in the water and sanitation sector, many since the 1970s. These include the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the Swedish SIDA, Finnish FINNIDA, and the Norwegian NORAD; the first three are examined below. The Royal Netherlands Government supported two gender impact studies of domestic water supply programmes which address our concerns.

DANIDA. By 1992, DANIDA had developed guidelines for water sector policies supporting women's involvement at all levels, including design, construction, operation and maintenance, as well as management of facilities for water and sanitation. DANIDA policy guidelines also try to ensure that women have equal opportunities for employment as staff and managers (DANIDA cited in IRC 1993: 21).

Nevertheless, in the implementation of water projects the evidence of this commitment, and that of the Government of Tanzania, is uneven.

A 1989 plan for the operation of Tanzania's rural water supply from 1990 to 1994, agreed to by the Ministry of Water and DANIDA, states the goals of supplying more water and encouraging greater self-reliance; however, it does not mention gender at all (United Republic of Tanzania and DANIDA 1989).

In the late summer of 1991, a joint Tanzanian-Danish review mission reported on the implementation of the plan in three regions. There was detailed discussion of the village participation

(VP) approach, especially since it was soon to be initiated as a national strategy in the water and sanitation sector. This approach is noted to be based on the United Nations' PROWESS (Promotion of the Role of Women in Water and Environmental Sanitation Services) programme, and to include "... in particular women at all levels of project planning and implementation" (United Republic of Tanzania and DANIDA 1992a: 33).

According to some interesting information regarding how the participatory approach was implemented by project-hired VPAs (Village Participation Animators) and Government-assigned CDAs (community development animators) as well as health workers, activities focused mainly on construction, but included support to forming village water committees (VWCs) and setting up village water funds. The team suggested that more training was needed for local community members as the participatory approach was being generalized, and that quality control should be developed before water sources were handed over to villagers, to ensure the villagers' ability to maintain them. Despite the emphasis on gender in the PROWESS approach, this aspect is never mentioned in this part of the review (United Republic of Tanzania and DANIDA, 1992a).

A year later, a second joint Tanzanian-Danish review mission to the area took place, and the resulting report deals with gender in great detail. This report includes a large section on gender aspects of implementation, in which it is noted that "Ensuring a more equal gender involvement in control over and benefits from rural water supply projects is both a Tanzanian and a Danish policy" (United Republic of Tanzania and DANIDA, 1992b: 37). The evaluation team goes well beyond stating policy, noting that training has been expanded to groups that include women, that half of water committee members are women (a condition of national water policy), and there are now women tap and pump attendants. Among the regional staff of CDOs/CDAs/VPAs, there are 28 women and 37 men.

The socio-economic aspects of the project mainly impact women and children, with children collecting more water, and women having more time in their fields since the new water sources are closer and safer for evening use. Suggestions include requiring CDAs to report on progress in many areas, including the degree of women's involvement, and to assess whether greater female involvement has influenced the quality of water services. The Water Ministry also requested in March 1992 that DANIDA fund a consultant for 2 years to prepare a plan to introduce PROWESS participatory techniques in the rural water sector nation-wide.

It appears, from the preceding, that DANIDA was successful in involving women to a greater extent through training and institutional reorganization, so

that half the water committee members were women, as well as a good number of community and supervisory staff.

SIDA. The Swedish agency has a history of strong support for women in developing countries. SIDA's approach was first formulated in 1964, and in 1972 the agency carried out a special study analysing the situation of women. With regard to water and sanitation, SIDA's 1984 water strategy emphasized popular participation, especially women's participation, to ensure the sustainability of water and health projects.

An examination of the Health through Sanitation and Water (HESAWA) programme illustrates the implementation of this policy. Beginning in 1985, the Tanzanian Government and SIDA worked together on the HESAWA programme in the northwestern part of the country. Although this collaboration on water programmes dated back to 1965, the limited results had led SIDA and the Government of Tanzania to introduce the HESAWA concept, which stressed community participation and defined self-reliance as a final goal. In HESAWA projects, beneficiaries are expected to become owners and controllers of the water and sanitation facilities addressed by the project. Both men and women are beneficiaries, but women perhaps more so, as health benefits from a better water supply accrue to everyone, but only the women's workload is lightened.

In spite of initial promise, two recent evaluations of HESAWA (Binamungu, 1993; Smet *et al.*, 1993) indicate that women's participation in the programme is limited, especially in decision-making and implementation. The village council, consisting of about 25 persons, is expected to do much of the planning and decision-making, and in 1993, Tanzania's Local Government Act stated that at least one-quarter of the elected village council members should be women. Even so, 1993 figures for local villages ranged from a high of 10/24 women to men to a low of 0/31. The most common figures indicated between 0 and 3 women. Perhaps this ratio will improve in future council elections.

Villages in the HESAWA programme were also expected to form water committees with a membership of half women, half men, yet when an evaluation team visited 24 villages, it found that only nine of them had achieved this balance. Women perform work in construction, they dig, carry materials and cook for other workers. In some areas, HESAWA used a quota procedure to obtain equal numbers, which was effective. Also effective was the training of voluntary health workers and water source caretakers. Ten per cent of mechanics trained at the district level were women which, although a minority, represents appreciable progress.

When asked for their priorities, women wanted to be more involved in the siting, design and management of water sources, and requested training for the latter—although they asked carefully, to avoid offending anyone. One example of the consequences of missing input from women was that washing slabs near water sources, desired by many women, had not been included by male planners.

There are several constraints to greater involvement of women. One is that women seldom speak in public meetings or seek leadership positions, though one report mentioned that local women were encouraged after seeing one of their own comportsing herself well on a committee. Another reason is that women do not have leisure time to spend at long meetings. Both evaluations mentioned that local people often felt that the programme's gender aspect favoured women excessively, that it was unfair, and something being imposed by an extraneous group. It was felt that gender aspects were not well-explained at the local level, and that a reformulation would be helpful.

One frank evaluation mentions that the participatory aspect is weaker than one would have desired. Evaluators also note the common finding that water supply has received more emphasis than health and sanitation, and that the latrine programme is not functioning well. While village health workers had been trained, other villagers were not sure who the health workers were. The workers themselves stated that they were being paid irregularly. However, on the positive side, it was noted by evaluators that, while much remains to be done to increase women's involvement in water supply and sanitation works, their participation was "far stronger" at the HESAWA sites than in three villages not in the programme observed for comparison (Smet *et al.*, 1993).

It appears that, although both the Tanzanian Government and SIDA encourage greater participation of women in water and sanitation programmes, such a goal is still difficult to reach. The reasons cited are well known: 'cultural factors', which discourage women from public engagements; women's heavy workload, which allows them limited time for activities outside their household duties. Even so, women themselves want to be more involved. Project design requirements, such as mandating equal numbers of both sexes, for instance on village committees, have worked in some cases. Binamungu suggests that each district should have a person trained in gender-planning to monitor problems and potentials. Such focused attention may be necessary, as a more generalized effort to increase women's participation did not work satisfactorily.

FINNIDA. In the early 1990s, two FINNIDA projects in Tanzania were examined for their impact on women. Although FINNIDA had an explicit

policy to include women in development as agents, beneficiaries and policy makers, implementation did not follow these directives in the case of these two projects (FINNIDA, 1993).

In 1989, the United Republic of Tanzania and Finland agreed to develop an urban water supply system in Zanzibar. This appeared to be a model project in that it avoided the common pitfall of building physical facilities while ignoring the human factor. Instead the first phase, 1991–1994, was devoted to developing the necessary human resources and institutions before construction was commenced; yet, by the end of this period, the authors reported that little had been achieved in increasing popular participation or the involvement of women (FINNIDA, 1994). While the document contains suggestions on how this objective could be realized, one would expect this explicit focus to have been more fruitful over 3 years.

Another study examines the Mtwara-Lindi water supply project in Tanzania as an example of FINNIDA Women in Development (WID) policy over time. The project began with planning in 1972 and was followed until 1993 (FINNIDA, 1993). Since the main goal was the provision of water supplies, the project was implemented by an engineering firm, which did no socio-economic studies. FINNIDA financed a study of project effects on women, and found that women had been little involved in planning, implementation and training. A 1987 evaluation noted that, while there was a strategy in the previous phase to involve women in all aspects, little was actually done. The subsequent evaluation (1990) did not mention women at all, and a 1992 evaluation found women to be disadvantaged by a lack of training for the project. Finally, women were highlighted as a target group for the final project phase 1991–1993, and we learn that the project is setting up strategies to involve women and to collect gender-disaggregated data.

Two gender impact studies financed by the Royal Netherlands Embassy (Hauli *et al.*, 1993; Mbughuni, 1993), an earlier report on the same areas (Chachage *et al.*, 1990), and a Tanzanian Government water and sanitation sector review (1994) contain points which typify the situation of women in the water and sanitation sector in Tanzania. In spite of the fact that three different bilateral donors as well as the Tanzanian Government have had policies in place for some time to involve women as participants at several levels in the sector, many of these goals have not yet been reached.

The study by Hauli *et al.* (1993) in the Shinyanga region draws attention to several problems which are widely recurring. These problems are presented in a helpful format: listing expected results of water programmes, actual results and recommendations. For example, one expectation was greater involvement of user groups, especially women, in the local

Domestic Water Supply Programme. The finding was that women were the majority of user groups, yet local (male) leaders rather than women initiated action. The 1993 study recommends that information is obtained from the 'real' users of water, women, at water collection points or at home—rather than at meetings where men dominate (1993: vi). Another expectation was more equality in the division of labour concerning water supply, and it was found that some women were digging and maintaining wells. Other organizations made similar findings (see above), but noted that women were under-represented at decision-making levels. Finally, a reduction had been expected in the distance that women must walk to reach water services as well as in women's overall workload. Instead, both still remained undiminished.

Mbughuni's study echoes the latter finding as she and Chachage *et al.* (1990) warn that water planners must be careful not to inadvertently increase women's workload. Mbughuni's careful research established that both sexes work about 6 hours per day in agriculture, but in the dry season, men can relax from about 2:00 p.m. until bedtime, while women have 1 hour of leisure at the most (1993: 5). She also notes that villages are not homogeneous in customs, and that within villages household incomes vary, so planning must be specific. She concludes that special efforts are necessary to give women access to the necessary time, money, information and training if they are to participate fully. Women's first necessity is safe, clean water, and most accept ownership of water points, but need training to maintain them. The author uses the framework of practical and strategic gender needs, and feels that water programmes must address the latter if they are to maximize benefits for women. Finally, the author cites a problem common to both women's involvement and general user's participation in development assistance projects: both village leaders and extension workers used a top-down rather than a consultative approach.

The Water and Sanitation Sector Review gives an example of women's low level of public involvement in general. A 1992 survey of seven regions of Tanzania examined membership in village committees for social services, finance and production, and defence and security. Of a total membership of almost 5000 people, only 10% were women. Thus this is a general impediment to women's involvement. The Review also highlights another problem, the lack of co-ordination between donor agencies and sectoral ministries in their approach to women's empowerment, and the piecemeal action to integrate women in development. However, the final paragraph of the 1994 Review contains perhaps the most revealing statement, given that there has been policy work aiming to involve women since at least the mid-1980s. "The Water Policy of 1991 has formalised the training, participation and involvement of women.

Strategies and action plans [should] be prepared and implemented as soon as possible" (1994: 276).

Morocco

Policy

While the existence of a policy that stipulates gender considerations constitutes no guarantee that such policy is acted upon, conversely the *lack* of any gender policy in the water sector does not necessarily mean that gender is ignored. In Morocco, several government agencies deal with water supply services, including the National Office of Potable Water (ONEP), a parastatal that deals with urban and certain rural drinking water supplies. While ONEP has no specific policy on gender and water supplies, their efficient and flexible operational style allowed one of their projects to be a model in its consideration of gender throughout.

Implementation

In the early 1990s, ONEP wanted to replicate a rural water system that supplied drinking water to rural sites along a pipeline between towns in a river valley in an arid region of southeastern Morocco. The World Bank, which had financed the original system and was prepared to finance further work, wanted a clear indication of the efficacy of operation before approving other sites. To this end, the Bank hired a consultant to work with ONEP in evaluating the original system.

The consultant, a woman, had considerable experience with women's issues in Morocco, and knew that a convenient source of pure water would greatly improve the quality of women's lives, and also that for accurate information regarding water usage, women—not men, who are usually consulted—must be interviewed. Also, while sex segregation is not strict in much of Morocco, the consultant knew that in this rural area, women often hesitated to speak with men outside their family. In short, the consultant knew that it was essential to work with women.

ONEP assisted in this effort, starting with the consultant's first visit to this multi-stage project, when it sent a female ONEP engineer to meet the consultant's flight. While this may have been serendipitous, and the engineer had no experience with socio-economic research, she and a Moroccan woman sociologist became project co-ordinators along with the consultant. All decisions, from site selection to questionnaire design to hiring research staff, were reached jointly (often in concurrence with the male ONEP leadership). A staff of 11 young women surveyors were hired; although many men would have liked to work on the project, females were required to assure access to women water users. There were men on the team who handled data entry and driving. Men were also interviewed

regarding certain questions, since decisions on piping water into a home (an alternative preferred by many over the community tap) always involved family men.

The result was a study (Davis *et al.*, 1993) which provided precise, detailed information on women's use of water from the project as well as other sources. As a result, the supply system was replicated in other areas. In the case of this project, one person with a strong commitment to gender issues was able to insure that a water agency acted on these concerns. However, it must be borne in mind that, while such individual cases are encouraging, and might even influence the actors in the local agencies, without a clear policy there is no assurance of continued attention to gender issues. In fact, the woman engineer involved has since begun working on sanitation and has required baseline research which includes gender information. In general, since having a policy does not assure concrete action, those concerned should utilize every opportunity to act (Davis *et al.*, 1993).

The Philippines

In the Philippines, gender sensitive policies are in place at the level of the national government, among implementing NGOs, and for donor agencies. These policies, with an explicit effort at co-ordination, provide a supportive environment for gender and development (GAD) in the water and sanitation sector, and women are more involved in these projects than in many countries. However, activists in the sector note that much work still remains to be done.

Policy

In 1975, in response to the International Women's Year, the Philippine government created the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW). In many cases, countries react to such special occasions by mentioning the focal concern in statements; in this case, the Government went well beyond that. The 1987 Constitution was the first official document to note explicitly the equality of men and women and women's role in building the nation. Even so, the report that cites these advances also observes that, although in 1986, the nation had a woman president, women were rare in decision-making bodies: in 1987, two out of 24 senatorial slots were won by women, and 18 of 204 Congressional seats (NCRFW, nd a).

A more explicit policy step was taken with the December 1991 passage of Republic Act 7192: the Women in Development and Nation Building Act, approved by President Aquino in February 1992. The effect of this act was significantly bolstered by the November 1992 passage of the Implementing Rules and Regulations for the Act. 1993 was the first year of implementation.

The Act charges the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), with the help of the NCRFW, in order to ensure that the different government departments integrate women in national development (NCRFW and NEDA, 1993: vi). The Implementing Rules and Regulations provide specific support to ensure that the Act does not remain empty rhetoric. Rule II deals with resource mobilization, stipulating that in 1993 (the first year) "at least 5% of funds received from foreign governments and multilateral agencies/organizations are in support of programmes/projects that mainstream/include gender concerns in development (1993: 5)". The percentage should increase to 10 to 30% in subsequent years. Support may be applied to projects in which women's concerns are integrated as well as to women's components or women-only projects. The roles and responsibilities of NEDA and NCRFW are clearly specified, and include development planning, advocacy, programming, and monitoring and evaluation. WID focal points are mandated to be appointed in sectoral agencies; appointments are to be at high level, and appointees not all female. One of the WID focal point duties is to ensure the appropriate use of gender guidelines. NCRFW is further to train agency personnel in gender sensitivity and gender responsive development planning. Finally, all government departments and agencies are to submit a "compliance report to Congress every six months upon the effectiveness of the IRR [Implementing Rules and Regulations]" (NCRFW and NEDA, 1993: 6-15).

The results of the 1993 Implementation were apparent almost immediately. The NCRFW and NEDA collaborated to produce Guidelines for Developing and Implementing Gender-Responsive Programmes and Projects in 1993. With financial assistance from CIDA, NCRFW produced a series of primers for women, on themes such as "Women and Population," "Sexual Harassment," and "Women Overseas Workers" (NCRFW nd c. d. e). Water and sanitation is considered to be part of the infrastructure sector, and gender issues have been incorporated there as well. The Medium-term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) states "that in the enactment of RA 7192, implementation should pursue with the integration of women in all phases of infrastructure development through the encouragement of women's participation and recognition of their actual and potential contributions. Specifically (1) to promote and increase participation of women in policy formulation, decision-making, planning, implementation, operation and maintenance activities in the infrastructure sector; (2) to consider and integrate the specific needs of women in infrastructure development; and (3) develop and expand information generation and dissemination within the sector to encourage greater participation

and provide database for policy formulation and decision-making particularly as it affects women."

The theme of government/NGO co-operation is stressed by Perez (nd), and a publication of the Caucus of Development NGO Networks (CODE-NGO) addresses the importance of co-operation of NGOs, government and donors (CODE-NGO: nd). The authors of the latter document illustrate the implementation of co-operation, since they come not only from associated NGOs but also from associated networks of NGOs.

As discussed above, the policies of bilateral donors often incorporate gender concerns.

Implementation

Many grassroots projects demonstrate encouraging levels of initiative and involvement on the part of local women, as in the case of the building of a ferrocement rainwater tank in the province of Capiz in central Philippines. The building of over 300 such tanks had been undertaken with assistance from NGOs, including the Philippine Tulungan sa Tubigan (TSTF), UNICEF and International Development Research Centre (IDRC). As construction was delayed, local women requested training to build their tank themselves. Formal training was deemed too expensive, but a user-friendly manual was developed describing the installation, operation and maintenance of the tanks. An untrained group of 10 village women and two men then completed a tank for their village in 7 days from the manual, with CDFI (the Capiz Development Foundation) providing the materials, men digging the foundation, and women participating in all other aspects of construction, and the engineer and the manual's principal author revising the manual. "The women were very proud, at the same time astounded that they could build a tank. Now they are saying, give us a manual on how to construct a house, and we will" (Libatique 1994: 3).

Another Philippine project involved a mother's club in Bulacan, formed initially for socio-economic development, which decided to deal with the problem of inadequate potable water. The community had been approved for a number of wells with no distribution system, equipped with handpumps. The package of assistance provided by TSTF included the opportunity for the community members and users to be trained on the basic skills on water supply management, with a component of hygiene education. Thirty women from the 50 village households took part in planning, building, and monitoring and evaluation of the handpumps (professionals drilled the wells), including needs identification, selection of technology and site, setting objectives and forming a water committee. Women also accepted delivery of construction materials and provided for food for drillers from contributions from the community. Women kept the

pump clean and performed simple repairs, or organized the necessary assistance for repairs to be completed on schedule. Highly technical problems were referred to local NGOs (MRBOC, TSTF) and/or private individuals. In a study of the project (Faigal and Arboleda, 1993), nine women were interviewed; three felt that the project did not entail extra work (an important concern, rarely investigated); six others felt it was more work during the construction phase. However, all participants felt the project had saved them time after the initial construction period. Participants also stressed that they had been able to participate in the project because their husbands approved, and because both their husbands and children had assisted them with household tasks.

Conclusion

Policy statements of many governments, bilateral agencies and NGOs include, or even stress, the importance of considering gender for the success of projects in general and for water and sanitation in particular. However, experience shows that the existence of such policies does not guarantee full participation of women in the implementation phase of projects: nor does it assure women of an equal share in project benefits, or further the empowerment of women. The institutional environment of a programme and relations between institutions are important and often neglected factors. Attaching the "three Rs" of rules, referees (or supporters) and rewards/sanctions to gender policies seems more likely to assure an institution of success in the implementation than the mere existence of supportive policy statements. When DANIDA enforced rules to include women in training groups and on water committees in a Tanzanian water project, women's participation increased markedly, although it is not clear what led DANIDA to enforce these rules. The Swedish agency SIDA also had some success with requiring quotas for women's participation in certain Tanzanian water projects.

Arrangements between institutions have been a long-standing problem in the water and sanitation sector, where engineering considerations are usually foremost. The agency providing technical expertise rarely has the skills to deal with social aspects of implementation, including gender considerations. This facet is therefore often ignored during implementation. Lack of co-ordination between sectoral ministries and donor agencies can also be a problem, as it was in Tanzania.

The importance of co-ordination between agencies is highlighted by the success of the water and sanitation projects in the Philippines, described above. There, supportive policies were combined with co-ordination of government, NGOs and donor

agencies—and women were involved at all levels of the projects. The Philippine Government also provides an environment where rules are enforced: in 1992, they passed Implementing Rules and Regulations for the 1991 Women in Development and Nation Building Act. Rule II states that, in 1993, at least 5% of funds from international donors support programmes or projects which are mainstream or include gender, and this percentage should increase from 10 to 30% in the future.

Thus, having a GAD policy is an important first step (although the Moroccan example illustrates that one can obtain positive results without a policy). However, the addition to policy of a supportive environment which includes rules, referees and rewards, adequate financial support, and inter-agency co-ordination is essential. Another positive factor is the involvement of motivated individuals, who can accomplish much in an individual project but whose momentum is rarely sustained.

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