DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„Women empowered by water?" –

Participation of Women in Water and Sanitation Projects.

A study on the basis of the WATSAN project of AMINA

in Hurri Hills, Northern Kenya.

verfasst von

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List of abbrevations

ADA   Austrian Development Agency

AMINA   Aktiv für Menschen in Not Austria

CEDAW   Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women

DAC   Development Assistance Committee

DAWN   Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

GAD   Gender and Development

GDI   Gender-Related Development Index

GEM   Gender Empowerment Index

GEZA   Gemeinnützige Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

IFAD   International Fund for Agricultural Development

INSTRAW   International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

KNEF   Kanacho Nomadic Educational Foundation

MDG   Millennium Development Goal

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

OEZA   Österreichische Entwicklungs- und Ostzusammenarbeit

SAPs   Structural Adjustment Programmes

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNIFEM   United Nations Development Fund for Women

WAD   Women and Development

WATSAN   Water and Sanitation

WEDO   Women`s Environment and Development Organization

WID   Women in Development

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1. Introduction

1.1. Problem Statement and Objectives

There is enough water on earth for everybody. Nevertheless, more than one billion people, that is 18% of the world`s population, do not have access to clean water and about 2.5 billion people do not have access to proper sanitation facilities. Five million people die every year due to water-borne diseases and lack of hygiene, two million of them are children who die of diarrhoea (Momsen 2004: 117). These circumstances entail serious consequences and result in a viscious circle. Lack of safe water causes illness which leads to unemployment which, in turn, results in poverty. Thus, water and poverty are closely related issues. In order to eradicate poverty, everybody needs to be provided with access to clean water. But that is not enough. Besides water and sanitation, another essential precondition of poverty reduction is gender equality since most of the time women are the ones who are responsible for water mangement in developing countries. "The human right to water is essential for achieving other human rights and international development commitments in critical areas such as gender equality, sustainable development, and poverty eradication" (WEDO 2003: 3). This means, also gender equality and access to water and sanitation are closely interconnected and overlapping issues. Women use water for lots of activities, ranging from cooking and cleaning to bathing children and personal hygiene to doing laundry or dishes. The task of fetching water is a very time- and energy-consuming task because safe water is often not available close to the women`s home. Hence, they have to walk for hours to the next water source, wait there a long time with many other women until it is their turn and then walk home again for hours with a 20 litres bucket on their heads or shoulders. It is estimated that women and children in Africa spend about 40 billion hours every year with fetching and carrying water (UNIFEM 2008/09: 130). So it is the women who hold control over water and sanitation and therefore it is them who have major influence on water distribution, water usage and thus, poverty reduction. Due to that fact, it is crucial to include women in water and sanitation projects of development cooperation, to give them the same rights as men and to empower them in every way. Women`s needs and demands have to be considered, their knowledge recognized and the provision of water and sanitation facilities improved. There has to be an increased participation of women in water projects and measures have to be taken in order to empower them. The issues women, water and sanitation are overlapping in various sectors. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) there is an

improvement in food security and living conditions when women are able to access resources like land, water and financial means (IFAD 2007: 11;17). Nevertheless research about water provision in developing countries is mostly about technical rather than social issues. Field studies often concentrate on counting heads and tap stands and on the operation mode of water provision systems. While these are important topics too in order to further improve the sustainability of the projects, social issues, and especially the role of women in water management, are often neglected in those studies.

This thesis is therefore researching about how far women are participating in water and sanitation projects of development agencies and which effects this involvement has on their empowerment. The study is based on the Water and Sanitation (WATSAN) project of the Austrian development organisation AMINA (Aktiv für Menschen in Not Austria) and the Kenyan organisation KNEF (Kanacho Nomadic Educational Foundation) who implemented four water tanks in four different villages in Hurri Hills region in Northern Kenya. In each village water committees were established, where a gender policy makes sure that women participate and are integrated in the water mangement process. In order to get significant outcomes 16 women and men from the villages and five experts on the fields of water and women were interviewed.

The objective of this thesis is to gain an increased understanding of how and to what extent women are actually participating in the water and sanitation project and which impact their participation in the project and the water committee has on the women`s lives and how it affects their empowerment. The specific objectives include identifying the level of participation of women and men in project activities and decision-making processes in the water committee, identifying possible barriers to women`s engagement in the project like existing gender roles and structures, identifying what effect the gender equal water committee has on the communities` perceptions and behaviours towards gender roles, identifying if women`s participation in the project changed their role and status in the household and the community and to identify whether practical and strategic gender needs of women are considered and satisfied.

1.2. Research Relevance

> There is a great deal of evidence […] that societies that discriminate on the basis of gender pay a price in more poverty, slower growth and a lower quality of life, while gender equality enhances development (Momsen 2004: 9).

This quote makes clear that women play a very important role in development work. Their involvement is necessary for projects to be successful, for women to be empowered and for gender equality to be achieved. This thesis now focusses mainly on women in relation to water which is also a big issue in the development discourse. Women and men are differently affected by water shortage and lack of sanitation, therefore a special perspective on women is necessary in order to equally satisfy the different needs. In addition, women are the main managers of water which was also acknowledged in the Dublin Principles. They were formulated in 1992 at the International conference on Water and Environment and acknowledged as leading guidelines in water management. Besides advocating a participatory approach and acknowledging the economic value of water, one principle also emphasizes the crucial part women play in provision and management of water (Ray/Boukerrou 2008). So in order to enhance the water and sanitation situation and make it more effective and sustainable, gender inequalities have to be challenged through female participation and empowerment which is the objective of the WATSAN project that was analyzed for this thesis.

The two subjects, women and water, are also very relevant in regard to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the United Nations (UN) that were drafted in 2000. The MDGs are the global commitment to human rights and dignity with the main goal of halving poverty until 2015. The third MDG pursues gender equality and empowerment of women. While this goal is central to achieving all the other MDGs it only includes the target of girls` education that is also MDG number two. The reduction of maternal mortality and the improvement of reproductive health care are comprised in MDG number five. Other aims like women`s access to paid employment, women`s share of representative seats in public decision-making processes and the reduction of violence against women, which is also a massive barrier on the way of eliminating poverty, are still missing (UNIFEM 2008/09: 117;122). The empowerment of women is a key element in environmental management and for eradicating extreme poverty, hunger and diseases like HIV/Aids. Women need to be more integrated in poverty reduction strategies by national governments and international aid institutions. Otherwise, progress in achieving the MDGs is not possible (UNIFEM 2008/09: 117).

In 2002 the reduction of people without sustainable access to clean drinking water and sanitation facilities by half was added to the MDGs. The United Nations realized that access to water is a necessary requirement for reduction of poverty since water affects various aspects of people`s lives, like health, education and nutrition (AMINA 2010b: 7). Nevertheless this target is far from being achieved. If the measures taken to reach this goal are implemented at the same pace as now, Africa will only be provided with clean water in thirty years (Burrows et al. 2004: 2f.). There have been improvements in narrowing the urban-rural gap concerning the drinking water coverage. But the rural areas are still the most disadvantaged ones in developing countries, like the region in Northern Kenya where the field study for this thesis was conducted. The Kenyan government would need much higher funds from development partners in order to reach this MDG until 2015 (AMINA 2010b: 7). Many of the MDGs depend on improvements in the water sector. One example is poverty and hunger. They cannot be eradicated without providing more safe drinking water or water for agriculture. Here again, the connection between water and gender equality, the third MDG, becomes obvious. If women had proper access to water, their burden as water collectors, providers and users would be reduced (Sattler 2010: 16).

Women and gender equality as well as water and sanitation are essential topics in terms of sustainable development and poverty eradication. Therefore, the focus of this study, the participation and empowerment of women on the basis of the WATSAN project in Northern Kenya, is absolutely relevant for today`s development discourse since it can provide new information about women`s experiences with participation, possibly changing gender roles and necessary conditions of satisfying practical and strategic gender needs.

In the ensuing chapter 2 the theoretical framework of this thesis is going to be discussed, followed by chapter 3 with the contextualization of women and water in developing countries. Chapter 4 is about the methodology used for conducting the field study, in chapter 5 the research project and target area are introduced and in Chapter 6 the interviews and observations of the research are analysed.

2. Theoretical Framework – Theories and Concepts

This thesis is based on the concepts of gender, participation and empowerment and embedded in the theoretical framework of practical and strategic gender needs. For a better understanding of this thesis, the ensuing chapter takes a closer look on these concepts and theories. To begin with, the concepts of gender, participation and empowerment in development work are described, followed by a brief history of approaches concerning women and development since the 1970s. Afterwards the theory of practical and strategic gender needs is being introduced.

2.1. Terminology

2.1.1. Gender

Since the 1970s scholars differentiate between sex and gender. While sex refers to the biological differences between women and men, gender describes the social attributes that women and men acquire during their socialization in a particular community. The biological sex is something constant and similar around the world, but gender is something socially and culturally constructed that can be changed over times and differs in distinct cultures (UNDP 2001: 70).

> Gender therefore refers to the socially given attributes, roles, activities, responsibilities and needs connected to being men (masculine) and women (feminine) in a given society at a given time, and as a member of a specific community within that society (UNDP 2001: 70).

Gender determines the behaviour, thinking and perception of people and decides over the distribution of privileges, prestige, power as well as access to resources (UNDP 2001: 70). Gender is instilled from birth and enforced by parents, teachers, peers, culture, society and the media (Brett in Coles/Wallace 2005: 3). The category gender is not neutral but inherits inequalities and power relations (Bhavnani 2009: 52). In the development discourse gender is very often used to refer to women only while originally gender refers to both sexes (Momsen 2004: 2).

Gender relations are social relationships between men and women that determine the distribution of power between the sexes. In addition to that they are also "relations of co-operation, connection, and mutual support, and of conflict, separation and competition, of

difference and inequality" (UNDP 2001: 70). Since gender relations are constructed and not a natural part of life, they can be changed (Marchand/Parpart 1995: 14). Changes in gender relations often meet cultural barriers, which is why a project that follows a gender strategy has to consider those as a main factor (UNDP 2001: 70).

Gender roles differ globally and are dynamic. They include, for example, the labour division whereby women are assumed to be responsible for the household and children, while men have to be employed in order to earn money and support the family financially. It is crucial to consider gender in the context of various other cross-cut issues like class, race, ethnicity, relation and age (Momsen 2004: 3) because gender is never the only factor that determines someone`s identity.

Gender equality is defined as a situation where all human beings can unfold their skills freely and can make decisions of their own without being restricted by specific gender roles and where the different goals and needs of women and men are considered as equally important and worth of being supported (ADA 2006b: 5).

2.1.2. Participation

The term participation has its origin in Latin and means `to take part in something` but there are various definitions in different languages. In English and German it is mainly understood as taking over responsibility and taking part in decision-making processes (Bliss/Neumann 2007: 62).

According to Wit participation is a fragile, controversial open-ended process (Wit 2001: 188). The term encompasses a broad field which is why its meaning is used differently by different people in different development agencies. Hence, various forms of practice and interventions in the name of participation are implemented (Pijnenburg/ Nhantumbo 2002: 192). Nevertheless Wit is convinced that participation is always about making compromises between different strategic groups for the benefit of marginalized groups. Participation and empowerment are the extension of power of previously powerless people (Wit 2001: 188).

Participation ideas focus on gender and socio-cultural conditions as well as on ownership and good governance (Bliss/Neumann 2007: 13).

> Participation means that people are closely involved in the economic, social, cultural, and political processes that affect their lives […] The important thing is that people have constant access to decision-making and power (UNDP 1993: 21).

Participation was usually associated with social movements and meant to help people to gain a political voice. Today participative tools are, among others, instruments like elections, the organisation of public groups, verbal protests or physical blockings (Bliss/Neumann 2007: 26). Since the early 1970s the ideas of participation were also more and more used in the development discourse. There was a big gap between project implementers, the so-called decision-makers, and the target group, the so-called marginalized people, in development aid for a long time. But this hierarchy was dissolved with the upcoming of emancipating participation approaches (Wit 2001: 2).

When it became clear to Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that perfectly planned projects were not working, a rethinking process took place. At the end of the 1990s NGOs demanded development from the basis, with participation of affected people in development projects. With the implementation of the participation approach the development cooperation realized what Paolo Freire already wrote in 1970: According to him you cannot impose programmes on people, which are not related to their worries, doubts, hopes and fears. It is not the task of the Western world or development agencies to impose the Western view on marginalized people. On the contrary, the task is to encounter a dialogue with these people about their and Western approaches (Freire 1970: 105). In fact, previously implemented projects have ignored the living conditions of the communities very often which is why target groups neglected any cooperation. Only then the experts came to realize that the marginalized people themselves know best what the problems are and that projects are far more sustainable when they are accepted by the target group. Therefore there was a rethinking from a top-down to a bottom-up approach (Rauch 2002: 512ff.).

Authors differentiate between participation as way and participation as goal. While participation as way is used as a tool to make projects more efficient, participation as goal should contribute to the empowerment of marginalized people in society. It should give them the opportunity to be responsible for their development themselves (Tiefenbacher 2009: 36). Participation approaches are supposed to improve possibilities in representing the interests of special groups and to bring in a public learning process. Moreover, participation should improve self-responsibility, ownership, good governance, democracy and structures of civil society (Rauch 2002: 499). Participation should also promote the transformation of

beneficiaries to public actors which in the long term should lead to empowerment (Braun 2003: 277 in Tiefenbacher 2009: 45).

There are different approaches how participation can be realized. The two most famous are the `Rapid Rural Appraisal` (RRA) and the `Participatory Rapid Rural Relaxed Appraisal` (PRA). RRA was developed in the 1980s and its purpose was to get information from the local population about life in rural areas and local resources. Meanwhile, by developing PRA, Chambers continued the RRA approach, but the focus now being on the empowerment of the affected people (Schönhuth/Kievelitz 1994: VI, in Tiefenbacher 2009: 7). The aim of PRA is to use the knowledge of the target group and to achieve a climate of trust between experts and target groups (Tiefenbacher 2009: 42).

Today participation has "become an act of faith in development, something we believe in and rarely question" (Bliss/Neumann 2007: 38). But besides all the positive impacts of the participation approach it also has some weaknesses. For one thing there is no chance of real participation on the programme and project level because the affected people are not included in the decision-making process about where the focus of the project is going to be. Only when the point of focus is already agreed on, the question of involving the target population appears (Bliss/Neumann 2007: 140). Another problem of participation is that the former marginalized people become empowered and as a consequence the former superior group loses their power. This can lead to social conflicts. Therefore cooperation with the powerful groups is essential for the success of the project. Without their willingness to support the marginalized groups the project will not succeed (Tiefenbacher 2009: 48). It is also possible that a target group prefers a planned project of the NGO over a participative one. Here project planners have to be aware of the fact that participation is a Eurocentric concept and it is not given that every social group is able to articulate their needs without being given adequate information (Tiefenbacher 2009: 49). In addition to that the asymmetrical relations between target group and project planners, the target group may also fear that their own project ideas will not be financed by the powerful project planners (Freyhold 2002: 280ff.). Furthermore, it is criticized that NGOs which are dedicated to the concept of participation consider the target group as homogenous and hence ignore hierarchical power structures in the community (Tiefenbacher 2009: 50). As a consequence the knowledge of people, which is an important factor for ownership, is considered to be homogenous. It is necessary though to get a balance of local knowledge and knowledge of the project planners. Participation is implemented by NGOs in different phases

of the project although it is best to start the involvement of the target group as soon as possible (Bliss/Neumann 2007: 52).

A NGO is dedicated to the participation approach when participation is an institutional aim of the organisation and when it is present on-site as well as when marginal groups, especially women, are involved in planning and consulting (Oakley 1995: 12 in Tiefenbacher 2009: 46). This focus on women came up in the 1980s when it was clear that women are the most marginalized in the group of poor people. The reason for this is, according to Tiefenbacher, that women have special interests and goals and are usually excluded from male dominated structures in society. They are more aware of needs for infrastructure but they themselves and their special skills in rural and agricultural development are being ignored. As a consequence, projects are often determined to fail. Barriers to women`s participation range from hostility of men and family towards the involvement of women to domestic constraints and lack of access to information, education, skills and self-confidence to stereotypes. These problems should be adressed by implementing the participation approach which uses the potential of women (Tiefenbacher 2009: 47). It includes awareness-building, skill acquisition and capacity building as well as socio-cultural changes (Garba 1999: 138). Gender participation then formulates gender objectives to "identify critical points where practical gender needs can reach strategic gender needs" (Moser 1993: 105) which are dealt with later in this thesis.

2.1.3. Empowerment

The Austrian Development Agency (ADA) defines empowerment in development cooperation as a process in which a person gets her- or himself access to possibilities and acquires skills which enable her or him to be involved in the economic, political and social development of her or his life and the one of her or his community (ADA 2006b: 5). Caroline Moser, a British social anthropologist with focus on gender and development, has a similar opinion. For Moser empowerment is „the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change, through the ability to gain control over crucial material and non-material resources" (Moser 1993: 74f.).

The concept of empowerment is very old and is known from historical struggles for social justice, just that the term was a different than. Only in the late twentieth century the term empowerment became popular when it was used by liberation theology, black power and feminist movements which were striving for participation, democracy and development

(Batliwala 2007: 558). Empowerment does not only challenge patriarchy, but also structures of race, class, ethnicity and religion which determine the role of women in developing societies (Batliwala 2007: 558).

Kassey Garba, professor of economics in Nigeria, on the other hand distinguishes between a static and dynamic concept of empowerment whereby the static one suggests that disempowered women, who cannot influence decisions concerning their lives, can be empowered from outside. The dynamic concept on the other hand sees empowerment as a long-term development where women gain capacity to make their own decisions. Thus, whether empowerment is assumed to be static or dynamic there are two different strategies that can be applied. While the exogenous strategy goes along with a top-down approach, the endogenous one implies a bottom-up approach (Garba 1999: 130). It is unlikely that a marginalized group is empowered just like that, as some people always benefit from other people`s disempowerment and are not willing to give up their privileges. Therefore Garba advocates the dynamic concept because it requires the involvement of the disempowered while exogenous factors can still be helpful in the process (Garba 1999: 131). Empowerment has to come from within, from the women themselves, who have to overcome their internalized oppression with the help of women's organisations and networks (Rowlands 1997 in Mercer 2002: 103).

Empowerment is not only restricted to women in development cooperation. The concept also aims at changing the climate of power, inequality and oppression that marginalized people live in. Nevertheless, it is mostly used in terms of women in development and gender equality. Today empowerment is a popular tool in development cooperation and international organisations like the Worldbank, besides participation and Gender Mainstreaming. It was presented the first time during the Women`s Conference in Nairobi in 1985 by DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) activists whose aim was to raise awareness about gender relations (Höggerl 1996: 277 in Tiefenbacher 2009: 25). But the concept of empowerment had its breakthrough at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 when a lot of signatories of the declaration promised to improve and support the empowerment of women all over the world (UN 1995: 7 in Batliwala 2007: 559).

Feminists plead for the implementation of strategies to empower women in development programmes. Not only in a particular sector, but in every aspect, be it politically,

economically, legally or socially. The different aspects of a women`s life are all linked and therefore all need to be considered in order to empower women. Furthermore, women should be involved in all phases of the project`s process, indicators of empowerment should be specified and women`s groups supported because they contribute effectively to women`s empowerment (UNDP 2001: 97f.). "Empowerment is a useful concept because it emphasizes the idea of women as active agents in, rather than passive recipients of, development strategies" (Khan/Ara 2006: 90).

Batliwala, an Indian feminist activist and researcher, criticizes that empowerment is just used as a buzzword like many other terms and concepts in development cooperation. The term was mainstreamed and thus it is just a "distortion of good ideas and innovative practices as they are lifted out of the political and historical context in which they evolved and rendered into formulas that are 'mainstreamed' " (Batliwala 2007: 89 in Batliwala 2007: 557). This means, good, specific, appropriate ideas for particular development challenges are now changed to universally applicable strategies and hence not as effective and efficient anymore. According to Batliwala empowerment became a "magic bullet for poverty alleviation and rapid economic development" (Batliwala 2007: 561) for development agencies, which does not strive for long-term social transformations concerning gender roles (Batliwala 2007: 561).

One problem of the empowerment approach is that it needs a lot of time until its results can be seen and they are also hard to measure. Women`s empowerment is subjective and its judgement depends on the measurer`s values. This is a problem because it is mostly white, Western, middle-class women who evaluate the empowerment of poor, black women in developing countries (Mohanty 1991 in Mercer 2002: 103).

As the brief illustrations given above show, the terms gender, participation and empowerment gained importance in the development discourse. Today terms like gender, participation and empowerment are used in the field of development cooperation all the time and are considered as the solution to all kinds of problems all over the world. Words like gender, participation and empowerment have a so-called feel-good character that makes people convinced of their rightness without questioning development agencies what exactly the implementation of these strategies implies. According to Cornwall and Brock, an anthropology professor and a social scientist from the UK, it is necessary to ask whether the strategies have positive effects in practice or if the nice words are just used by development

agencies to legitimate their interventions. The researchers often criticize gender, participation and empowerment because according to them today they are only used as buzz-words by organisations and international institutions to legitimate their projects (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 1044;1056).

Participation and empowerment are terms that are very often associated with each other. While for some authors participation has the same meaning as empowerment, others believe that participation leads to empowerment (Freyhold 2002: 280). The aim of these concepts is to support marginalized people and enable them to articulate their interests. Participation should lead to more self-confidence which, in turn, should result in empowerment of the people (Tiefenbacher 2009: 46). This assumption was criticized because, as mentioned above, since cultural values and social norms are very different, empowerment is very subjective and cannot be measured. Also, it implies that all women can escape oppression through participation which ignores social hierarchies and norms. But in reality the women who mostly participate in empowering women`s groups are from relatively wealthy backgrounds. Hence, when dealing with participation and empowerment important factors like social norms and values as well as the political and economic milieu have to be considered (Mercer 2002: 102f.). Paulo Feire`s pedagogy of the oppressed promoted the participation of communities because they knew best about how to address their own problems. According to Freire, the difference between oppressive action and participation is the aim to transform the structures of subordinations in contrast to the oppressor's goal to keep the status quo (Freire 1970: 131). Nowadays though, participation processes are often limited to an individual gain of resources and power whereby the structures remain unchanged. On the village level, participation is often used to improve the social status and gain access to resources which must not automatically lead to empowerment (Mercer 2002: 104). Hence, women and men do not participate in development projects with the aim of being empowered but because they have their own interests. Therefore women`s groups for example, always serve interests of a particular group of women, and do not help the majority of poor women (Mercer 2002: 125). As a consequence it is again the already privileged elites of the communities who benefit. This makes the hierarchical structures and power relations more invisible and hence, supports disempowering processes (Miraftab 2004: 242).

The second part of this theoretical chapter is about the different approaches concerned with women and development that evolved since the 1970s. The approaches range from the

Women in Development (WID) approach to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach to the establishment of a network of Southern women, called Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN).

2.2. Approaches to Women in Development – A brief overview

Since the 1970s various different approaches concerning women in development were introduced. The establishment of those approaches was majorly triggered by Ester Boserup`s study in 1970 in which she focussed on the situation of women in developing countries in relation to development and modernization projects. She found out that such projects often brought disadvantages for women and enforced their oppressed role. Furthermore, Boserup criticized the argument of the `trickle-down-effect` of development projects which assumes that women and other marginalized groups automatically also benefit from the projects. The problem was that development theories, as well as development agencies ignored gendered labour division and the discrimination of women in terms of access to resources and property (Braig 2001: 111f.). But Boserup`s study triggered an overthinking of women in development projects. The consideration of women`s needs was acknowledged as a precondition of a successful project. Development policy got more and more aware of the important role of women in the 1970s which coincided with the reestablishment of women movements and feminism in Western Europe and the United States. Women demanded not only equal rights, but they also brought attention to the psychological, social, sexual and cultural roots of discrimination (Braig 2001: 113).

With the new approaches came other developments in terms of women in development projects. For one thing, in 1975 the first United Nations Women Conference was held in Mexico City with the aim of equal access for women and men to education, employment, political participation, health services, housing, nutrition and birth control. Subsequently, the United Nations Women`s Decade was announced which lasted from 1976 to 1985. In addition to that the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) as well as the Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discriminiation against Women (CEDAW) were established that demanded the preferation of women over men until equality is achieved. The Convention was ratified by 100 countries which all stated that discrimination of women is against equality of rights and human dignity. In 1985 the third World Women Conference took place in Nairobi and 1995 in Beijing (Maral-Hanak

2006: 72). Here the Beijing Declaration was adopted that is based on the principles of human rights and social justice. "It clearly recognises that gender equality and women's empowerment are essential for addressing the central concerns of poverty and insecurity, and for achieving sustainable, people centered-development" (DAC 1988 in UNDP 2001: 74). And it was also in Beijing that the strategy of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) was first advocated and adopted by many NGOs as well as the World Bank. GM evolved when it was realized that the incorporation of a gender perspective in every aspect of development work and political processes was crucial for the success of development projects.

> Gender mainstreaming attempts to combine the strengths of the efficiency and empowerment approaches with the context of mainstream development [and] tries to ensure that women`s as well as men`s concerns and experiences are integral to design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all projects so that gender inequality is not perpetuated (Momsen 2004: 15).

Since gender mainstreaming is supposed to be incorporated in every sector it is not a sector for itself. That causes problems. On the one hand, it does not get a separate budget (UNIFEM 2008/09: 103f.) and on the other hand, sometimes it is not clear which activities are understood exactly by gender mainstreaming. Thus, nobody feels responsible for it (Maral-Hanak 2006: 82).

In 1995 the Gender-Related Development Index (GDI) was established to evaluate the gender gap. It combines gender-related measures of life-expectancy, adult literacy, enrollment in primary, secondary and tertiary education and estimates of earned income. But since this index does not consider all the roles of women the Gender Empowerment Index (GEM) was established which takes into account the political power of women and the proportion of women in professional and technical jobs (Momsen 2004: 224ff.).

The different approaches in terms of women and development were established almost at the same time, a chronological order would therefore be a simplification of reality. The different approaches overlap in their aspects and policymakers like to combine different approaches (Moser 1993: 58). In the following paragraphs the most important approaches concerning women and development are briefly described.

2.2.1. Women in Development (WID)

After Ester Boserup`s study the liberal-feminist approach `Women in Development` (WID) was established which focussed on the non-existence of women in development plans and strategies in development cooperation (Weber 2004: 20). It also criticized the assumption that modernization automatically leads to gender equality (Connelly et al. 2000: 5). The feminists were convinced that only women-oriented policies could efficiently integrate women and enhance equality. WID`s goal was to make women from the South visible, empower them and give them the possibility to participate in male-dominated social and economic structures (Rathgeber 1995: 206). As a result many governments, non-governmental and international organisations, like the World Bank, actually started setting up women`s affairs offices.

Critics argued that the approaches to women in development were dominated by Western feminists and thus ignore indigenous knowledge (Connelly et al. 2000: 5f.). Nevertheless, the WID approach was still the most popular approach advocated by governments, relief agencies, development organisations and international or bilateral donor agencies in the 1990s (Connelly et al. 2000: 10).

Various approaches emerged from WID. The original one is the equity approach which was formed during the Women`s Decade 1976-1985. It demands the equal distribution of the benefits of development for women and men. The approach acknowledges the reproductive as well as the productive role of women and thus their crucial contribution to development and economic growth. The aim is to challenge the inequality between women and men in terms of division of labour and to redistribute resources and power from men of all classes to women of all classes. In order for this approach to work certain policies of positive discrimination of women are necessary. Projects relating to the equality approach demand political, social and cultural changes and restructuring which is often uncomfortable for organisations who want to uphold social traditions (Moser/Levy 1986: 5f.). Women should be seen as active participants in development and their triple role should be acknowledged. Institutional changes together with political and economical autonomy of women should reduce inequality (Moser 1993: 62f.).

Similiar to that is the Women and Development approach (WAD) which has its roots in the dependency theory and in Marxist feminist ideas. It demands `women only` projects because the integration of women in the patriarchal world is considered as difficult. Women`s

interests, knowledge, work, goals and responsibilities have to be protected from patriarchal domination. In addition to that, WAD promotes the important roles of women, for example in agriculture where they are overlooked very often. Opponents of WAD on the other hand argue that separate projects for women risk the further marginalization of those participating and also assume that all women have the same interests regardless of their ethnicity, religion or class (Connelly et al. 2000: 7).

Another approach is the welfare approach which focusses on health and nutrition programmes as well as family planning since women are seen as the ones responsible for the family`s wellbeing. Women are reduced to their `natural` roles as wifes and mothers. It is assumed that they contribute to economic development only due to their reproductive activities. Women are assumed to be passive beneficiaries, not active participants in the development process. Only the practical gender needs are satisfied, while the stereotype gender roles are enforced (Tasli 2007: 11). Feminists criticize that the welfare approach makes social planning a `women`s issue` that is considered as soft and less worth than hard economic or physical planning which results in less resources for social planning (Moser/Levy 1986: 5). The welfare approach is still very popular today because it does not challenge gender roles and existing structures and is therefore politically safe. Projects consistent with the welfare approach are, for example, food aid, measures against malnutrition, family planning and mother-child-health programmes (Ruckser 1994: 33; Tasli 2007: 11; Moser 1993: 58). These include free handouts like food and contraceptives. If trainings are held they are mostly appropriate for housewives who are not working and do not aim at increasing employment opportunities for women. So these programmes may satisfy the practical needs of women concerning their reproductive role, but they completely ignore their productive and community management role, let alone their strategic gender needs (Moser/Levy 1986: 5).

Similar to the welfare approach is the anti-poverty approach which was also introduced in the 1970s. Its goal is the alleviation of poverty and the reduction of the income inequality between women and men. In contrast to the welfare approach it considers the productive role of women and wants to involve them in small-scale projects. Since women have little access to land and capital due to inequality, poverty and sexual discrimination, the anti-poverty approach aims at increasing employment opportunities for poor women and wants to provide better access to productive resources as to increase their productivity and income (Moser/Levy 1986: 7). Another point which differentiates the anti-poverty approach from the

welfare approach is that the anti-poverty approach does not give free hand outs to meet basic needs but supports the development of participatory self-help programmes. Nevertheless, here again it is just assumed that women have time to get involved in community activities. However, the approach is also criticized because while giving women a job contributes to a better income and family`s welfare, it also increases their triple burden. It is an assumption that women have the actual time to have a job. When employing women, strategic gender needs can only be met when their domestic tasks are facilitated by, for example, child caring facilities at the workplace (Moser/Levy 1986: 7).

The efficiency approach, developed in the 1980s, is influenced by neoliberalism. Its goal is efficient development through the use of unused or insufficiently used workforce of women (Tiefenbacher 2009: 15). The efficiency approach assumes that economic growth and increased economic participation of women automatically leads to efficient growth, development and equality between women and men (Chowdhry 1995: 33). The efficiency approach was established at the same time the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) were implemented which mostly had negative impacts on women. Their burden of work and the production costs increased, while social services were cut down. The concern of the efficiency approach is not the involvement of women in the development process, but to use their productive capability more efficiently. As a result, the efficiency approach ignores the domestic and child caring work of women and does not consider strategic gender needs. It only cares about what women can do for development, not the other way around (Momsen 2004: 14; Pichler 2003: 55; Tasli 2007: 21).

The various approaches of the WID maxim considered, it can be said that their major focus lies on the reduction of inequality and women`s needs. Nevertheless, there are some main points of criticism. For one thing, the existing gender structures are not challenged which means that no power balance between women and men can be established (Neuhold 1994: 11). Critics even argue that the exact opposite happens. They think when women are seen as a special target group, not included in the mainstream, the men will be relieved from taking over responsibility in terms of gender equality. As a consequence, instead of forming a cooperation of women and men to establish gender equality, existing gender roles are enforced (Esterhazy 1996: 8). Secondly, the women aspect is only attached to development programmes without recreating the overall structures of development cooperation (Pichler 2003: 58). And thirdly, the triple burden of women is assumed as `natural` and it is assumed

that women have enough free time to pursue more productive activities which very often subsequently leads to the failure of projects. The measures taken to empower women often increase the women`s workload instead of changing the relations between women and men. Besides having to attend to their tasks as housewives and mothers, the additional workload as full-time worker and political activist was added (Tasli 2007: 14; Momsen 2004: 13). In addition, WID is also criticized for the depiction of women from developing countries as passive victims by paternalizing Western feminists (Maral-Hanak 2006: 73). Indigenous and local knowledge are ignored to implement Western solutions. As a consequence, women of the South become dependent on technical aid of their Western saviours (Parpart 1995: 229).

All these points of criticism are legit. Nevertheless it is WID who made women visible in theory and practice of development cooperation. But there was a need for improvement which is why the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was established.

2.2.2. Gender and Development (GAD)

The GAD approach is based on the concept of gender and gender relations. The focus shifted from women to relations between both sexes (Momsen 2004: 13). Gender relations are defined as relations between women and men that are based on social, cultural and psychological conventions and marked by norms that are accepted by society (Esterhazy 1996: 8). It is criticized that these relations between women and men only include certain ones like oppressive and heterosexual relationships. All relationships that are not in line with this are not taken into consideration (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 2). Opponents also criticize that the term `gender` makes women invisible and that the heterogeneity of women is neglected. Meanwhile GAD proponents argue that the approach is aware that not all women are in the same situation which is why GAD does not work with the picture of the passive victim from the South, but includes socio-cultural aspects like age, religion and ethnicity in their work. The problem of GAD is that sometimes it is not used to challenge patriarchal structures, but to reassure men that their interests are being included too. Hence, the names of the approaches can no longer provide information about the theory and underlying policies of a project without also looking at the content (Connelly et al. 2000: 10).

GAD aims at analysing the individual situations of women and men and their relations to each other as well as the relation between female Western development workers and women from the South. (Lehnherr 2003: 31). The goals of GAD further include education, health, access to

resources and an improvement of the judicial system. In the long term GAD wants „to empower women through collective action, to encourage women to challenge gender ideologies and institutions that subordinate women" (Parpart 1995: 236). In order to achieve its goals, a specific gender perspective should be obligate in all projects and programmes of development cooperation, be it NGOs, the EU or the UN. It is also an important concern of GAD to include men in all projects (Pichler 2003: 58) because there can be no change in inequitable gender relations without the cooperation of women and men (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 2). It is further essential to be aware of the interdependency between women and men and to avoid constructing selective images of women as victims and "deserving poor" (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 2) and men as useless members of society. Keeping the focus on the negative aspects of the relationships between men and women, men always remain the problem while their possible other roles that could support and advocate women, are neglected (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 2). These assumptions that "women-in-general are everywhere oppressed by men-in-general towards an appreciation of the complexity of gender and gender relations" (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 2) and that women can only win when men lose have to be dismissed. Otherwise, by not overcoming these stereotypes big opportunities to make a difference will be lost (Cornwall/Brock 2005: 2).

The implementation of GAD is more difficult than that of WID because the changing of gender norms can be seen as cultural interference. It demands the change of structures in terms of existing social, economic and cultural processes and challenges existing gender roles that oppress women and considers them as active participants of change, rather than recipients of development aid (Rathgeber 1995: 204ff.). Some programmes that worked with WID later adopted GAD. In 1985 women activists of the South finally became publicly involved in the development discourse and established the DAWN network.

2.2.3. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)

The network `Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era` (DAWN) is a network of postcolonial feminists of the South. The first time they gained attention was at the World Women Conference in Nairobi 1985 when they presented their manifest `Development, Crisis and Alternative Visions. Third World Women´s Perspectives` which included the empowerment approach was presented (Kerner 1999: 61ff.). The women of DAWN were so-called `Third world women` with the purpose of empowering women, not only from male, but also from colonial and neo-colonial oppression. "[T]he struggle against gender subordination

must go hand in hand with those against national, racial and class oppression" (DAWN 1988: 80 in Tasli 2007: 30).

The main tools of the empowerment approach are organisation and networking, mobilization, raising awareness and creating a critical consciousness that challenges social structures (Kabeer 2001: 25 in Tasli 2007: 52). In its work DAWN focusses on development, social and economic crises, subordination of women as well as feminism while gender is the main category (Kerner 1999: 67). The major goal of DAWN is self-empowerment with different long-term and short-term strategies that include economic, political and cultural aspects. In the long-term DAWN aims at structural changes of the system concerning, for example gender, military or multinational companies, while in short-term they want to solve immediate crises (Kerner 1999: 72f.). Furthermore, power structures should be broken and gender roles that contribute to the oppression of women should be changed (Pichler 2003: 96).

The approach acknowledges the triple burden of women and aims at satisfying practical and strategic gender needs through bottom-up strategies (Moser 1993: 74) because top-down strategies of the male-dominated government would not change structures, but just integrate women in existing ones. In order to achieve these goals, local grassroots women organisations are formed that challenge the political, social and cultural structures and networks between women`s organisations are established that generate political pressure on hierarchical structures at the top (Tasli 2007: 44;79). The focus of DAWN is on power, the control over and access to material resources and the change of power relations as well as on the economic and social equality between both sexes. Women and men should have the ability to control their lives and make decisions for themselves as well as in the community without having power over people.

Besides changes in education, family planning, income and liberal divorce laws structural changes are important which can only be achieved when the gendered dualism of domestic and public economy is deconstructed (Bourdieu 2005: 199 in Holzner 2007: 150).

> The empowerment approach points to the existing structures in our societies as sources of women`s subordination, and puts a strong emphasis on the necessity of challenging them in all areas and at all levels (Tasli 2007: 29).

DAWN is convinced that development projects should have a women`s perspective since it is them who suffer the most from oppressing mechanisms and it is mostly them who are

responsible for the provision of basic needs like firewood, water, education or health. Furthermore, it is majorly women who work in the sectors trade, service and industry which are essential for the economy of developing countries. (Kerner 1999: 62f.). Every aspect of development cooperation has to be seen in a gendered perspective in order to define and improve existing problems (Lehnherr 2003: 41). Development strategies should be developed by analysing gender relations in the particular context. Then the affected people should work out appropriate strategies themselves (Pichler 2003: 70). NGOs can only support the empowerment process because "[e]mpowerment cannot be given, it must be self-generated" (Kabeer 1994: 97).

The women of DAWN criticize the `Sisterhood` model that Western feminists created to show solidarity with Southern women. The problem resides in the assumption that all women have the same needs and interests which symbolizes a non-existent unity between Western and Southern women, instead of them pleading for feminisms that adapt to the individual situations of different women considering aspects like ethnicity, class, nationality and religion (Kerner 1999: 63 ff.; Tasli 2007: 30). The principle of DAWN is, that the situations of women are different, but they all pursue a common goal. The group of women is diverse, but the main aim is to eliminate subordination and make women and men equal participants in all parts of life (Sen/Grown 1988: 70 in Kerner 1999: 68). Critics also think that the empowerment approach is too demanding for some NGOs because they want easy quantifiable measurements and outcomes over a defined period, which are not available when working with the empowerment approach and its complex situations (Tasli 2007: 76).

After WID, GAD and DAWN were adopted in the 1970s and 80s, in the 1990s the theory of practical and strategic gender needs was established. This theory constitutes the theoretical framework of this study and is therefore introduced in the following section.

2.3. Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

In the beginning of the 1990s Caroline Moser, a development expert of the World Bank, introduced the strategy of Gender Planning with the goal of an "emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment" (Moser 1993: 1). Gender planning considers the different roles of women and men, the triple burden of women in reproduction, production and community management and women´s needs.

Moser wants to analyse the gendered labour division and make the invisible labour of women visible, analyse the distribution of resources and power relations in households and involve women more in development processes in order to empower them, transform gender relations and plan gender roles (Kerner 1999: 92).

> Gender Planning is not an end in itself but a means by which women, through a process of empowerment, can emancipate themselves. I argue that this is best achieved through a process of negotiated debate about the redistribution of power and resources within the household, civil society and the state. Obviously in such a debate participation of women, gendered organizations and planners is essential (Moser 1993: 190).

Besides that Gender Planning is an intersectional approach which is aware of the fact that consultation, participation and consideration of women`s practical and strategic gender needs is important for a project to be successful (Moser/Levy 1986: 12).

Moser developed a planning model with four related components which include the institutional structure of the development organisation, the planning process, the attitude and behaviour of the participating planners and the structure of the civil society in the partner region (Kerner 1999: 91). There are six different stages of gender planning according to Moser. The first stage is gender diagnosis in order to find out about particular gender problems in the development process. Ensuing the identification of gender goals, gender monitoring, gender-oriented consultation and participation as well as the gender-entry strategy and institutional intervention follow (Kerner 1999: 93f.; Moser/Levy 1986: 3;12). These stages are likely to overlap and interact with each other. In order for planning to succeed, modifications in local level planning are necessary (Moser/Levy 1986: 3;12).

During the 1990s gender and the participation of women in democratic processes and development work became more and more important (Braig 2001: 18), so Moser wanted to institutionalize Gender Planning. She criticized the assumption of development planners of the `natural` order of a nuclear family, "recognizes [the] women` s triple role, and seeks to meet strategic gender needs indirectly through bottom-up mobilization around practical gender needs" (Moser 1993: 74).

While Gender Planning was very popular with Northern NGOs, it was often criticized by Southern organisations. They accused Moser of having a very ethnocentric perspective because her analysis is based on the assumption of a patriarchal Western system (Kerner

1999: 79). Although Moser has the same concern as DAWN, as she also uses empowerment as a tool and also wants to consider the needs of the so-called `Third World feminists`, she does not use the perspective of the affected people, but a top-down approach. She is convinced that an intervention of development planners is necessary to empower Southern women whereas DAWN absolutely disagrees. Moser sticks to the image of WID that sees women from developing countries as passive victims and depicts herself as the development expert (Pichler 2003: 78). So while DAWN consists of the affected, poor women themselves, Moser has an outsider perspective which disregards the different power relations between women (Kerner 1999: 100).

As mentioned above an essential tool of Gender Planning is the identification of practical and strategic gender needs which consitute the theoretical framework of this thesis. The theory of practical and strategic gender needs was first developed by Maxine Molyneux, a sociologist with focus on gender and development, and later on adapted by Caroline Moser. Molyneux first used the categories practical and strategic gender needs in an article about the women politics of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua where she distinguished between the different interests of female politics. Molyneux differentiates between women`s interests and gender interests. But women`s interests cannot be generalized since all women are different and thus have different interests and needs (Kerner 1999: 87). Women are different in class, ethnicity, religion or age which is why their needs cannot be generalized. Nevertheless Molyneux argues that there are some needs that women have in common.

> It is, by extension, also supposed that women have certain common interests by virtue of their gender, and that these interests are primary for women. It follows then that transclass unity among women is to some degree given by this commonality of interests (Molyneux 1985: 231).

So while women may have general interests in common, these should be called gender interests, to distinguish them from the false homogeneity imposed by the term 'women's interests' (Moser/Levy 1986: 3).

According to Molyneux there are common gender needs, but there is no consensus on what exactly they are. For a theory of common needs it is necessary to acknowledge the heterogeneity of women because a cross-cultural or cross-class solidarity among women cannot be assumed (Molyneux 1985: 232;235). Also Moser acknowledges that women are different due to ideological, historical, economic and cultural determinants. Nevertheless in

order to implement her planning practice effectively in complex contexts she thinks a simplification, and therefore homogenisation of women, is necessary (Moser 1993: 3ff.). This is being criticized harshly by DAWN feminists who demand respect for diversity (Kerner 1999: 113). They argue that oppression is experienced by different women differently, dependant on their class, ethnicity or sexual orientation (Wieringa 1994: 832). As a result, based on those different aspects, the women`s needs and interests can be conflicting and contradictory:

> Women (and men, for that matter) are engaged in a constant struggle of negotiating the different interests with which they are faced: ambivalence, contradictions, clashes with the interests of other individuals or groups are central in these processes (Wieringa 1994: 835).

Hence, besides basic physical needs such as food and housing, there cannot be a universally valid definition of women`s needs or interests since they vary in different socio-economic and socio-historic contexts (Wieringa 1994: 835f.). Women`s needs and interests are the outcome of political processes. So it is necessary for gender planners to consider the differences in women`s needs and interests before defining them (Wieringa 1994: 835ff.).

Sometimes gender needs are also called gender interests which Molyneux defines as "those that women (or men) may develop by the virtue of their social position through gender attributes" (Molyneux 1985: 32 in Tasli 2007: 8). Practical gender interests result from a gendered division of labour and arise out of immediate distress. Meanwhile strategic gender interests focus on fighting the subordination of women, violence against women or for political equality. Here a certain level of feminist consciousness is necessary (Tasli 2007: 8f.).

Now the difference between gender interests and needs Moser explains as follows: A practical gender interest is survival, therefore a practical gender need is the provision of water and food. Meanwhile a strategic gender interest is gender equality, thus a strategic gender need is the elimination of gendered labour division (Moser 1993: 38).

Since it is very confusing to continually talk about interests and needs, in the following thesis only the terms practical and strategic gender needs will be used. There are significant differences between practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs are immediate, short-term needs which are related to basic needs such as food, housing, income, health or children. They can be addressed due to the provision of food, hand pumps, seeds or clinics. Strategic gender needs on the contrary are long-term needs concerning subordination,

lack of resources and education as well as poverty and violence, equal wages and women`s control over their own bodies. These needs are common to all women and can be addressed by raising consciousness, increasing self-confidence, education, strengthening women`s organisation and political mobilization. While practical gender needs can improve the living conditions of women, they do not aim at changing existing gender roles. Strategic gender needs on the other hand involve women as active participants in order to empower them, improve their situation and challenge traditional gender roles and relationships (Moser 1993: 39f.; UNDP 2001: 76). It is a gradual process of slowly changing attitudes and practices in society. That means, it is necessary to address practical gender needs, but gender equality can only be achieved by addressing strategic gender needs.

Practical gender needs are given inductively due to a particular situation of a woman which is referable with the gendered division of labour. Practical needs are defined by the women themselves within their socially accepted role in society, not from the outside. Since women are the ones assumed to be responsible for domestic tasks and public welfare it is them who are the first ones to demand more food or health facilities. Nevertheless practical needs do not follow the aim of achieving gender equality although they derive from the subordination of women (Molyneux 1985: 233; Moser 1993: 39f.).

Strategic needs are given deductively from the analysis of the subordination of women and the establishment of a possibly better alternative. The goals are the elimination of sexual division of labour, discrimination and violence against women, the alleviation of the burden of domestic tasks and childcare, giving women a choice over childbearing and political participation. In order to struggle for these goals there is a certain level of feminist consciousness necessary (Molyneux 1985: 233). Reaching strategic needs can often be very difficult because state, civil society and men do not want the situation and power relations to change (Moser 1993: 48). Planning methods for practical gender needs are technical and for strategic ones political (Kerner 1999: 89).

Molyneux argues for the transformation of practical gender needs into strategic gender needs, while Moser thinks practical gender needs should be used to reach strategic ones. For example, when women work in sewing or `traditional` female labour, it only satisifies the practical gender needs, while if women could work in male dominated jobs it would contribute to strategic gender needs (Kerner 1999: 90). Also the basic need of housing is often

seen as a practical gender need of women because of their domestic roles. Nevertheless, usually it is the men who own the house and who are considered to be the head of the household. Moser therefore demands ownership regardless of the sex of the household head in order to help women to achieve the strategic gender need to own property (Moser/Levy 1986: 8).

When using the theory of practical and strategic gender needs the hierarchical implications have to be adhered to. Strategic gender needs are often treated as more important and more advanced than practical gender needs. By that, another dualism is developed by Western development planners which makes the one gender needs superior to the others, which should be avoided. It is further assumed that gender planners and, for example, rural women have the same idea and opinion about the rural women`s situation and thus, they both have the same solutions to the rural women`s problems in mind. According to experts this assumption can only be overcome by working with a participatory approach where the target group is actually involved in the planning process (Wieringa 1994: 841f.).

A further problem is that sometimes it is difficult to define if something is a practical or a strategic gender need. An example herefore are land rights. While owning property is a strategic gender need, fields are sometimes also necessary for food production and thus for satisfying practical gender needs. In addition to that, measures taken in pursue of practical gender needs might change into measures for strategic gender needs, such as women`s groups. While in the beginning they concentrate on the improvement of economic conditions for women, in the process women might start challenging other aspects of their lives as well. That means, "the  process of fulfilling `practical` gender needs cannot always be delinked from that of fulfilling `strategic` gender needs" (Argawal 1994: 1465).

In addition to that, critics argue that development planners often prefer to concentrate on practical gender needs. There are two main reasons for that. First, development planners want quick, measurable outcomes and they want to fix complex, deep-rooted problems in a few years' time (Wieringa 1994: 835). And secondly, it is easier to get approved the implementation of a project with the objective of improving the living situation of poor women than a complex project with the aim of breaking up gender inequalities (Argawal 1994: 1465). As a result, the objective of women`s empowerment fades into the background.

It cannot be assumed that the awareness of women about strategic gender needs automatically leads to the realization of them. Firstly, even needs like gender equality and independence are not accepted by all women yet due to what Molyneux calls "false consciousness" (Molyneux 1985: 234) which can prevent achieving strategic gender needs. Also aiming at strategic gender needs could prevent women from satisfying their immediate, practical gender needs. Therefore strategic gender needs can only be achieved when it is taken care of practical gender needs (Molyneux 1985: 234). "Indeed, it is the politicization of these practical interests and their transformation into strategic interests that women can identify with and support which constitutes a central aspect of feminist political practice" (Molyneux 1985: 234). The most successful projects are those that start with satisfying practical gender needs, like food, health, housing and employment and strategic gender needs are identified afterwards by the women themselves in their socio-political contexts (Longwe in Wallace 1991: 170).

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Practical and strategic gender needs also play an important role in terms of water since in developing countries it is mostly women who are responsible for the water management and thus the survival of the family. The next chapter therefore focusses for one thing, one the water situation in developing countries in general as well as on the responsibilties of women in water issues and their situation and challenges.

3. Women, Water and Development

3.1.   Water Situation in Developing Countries

Today more than 1.1 billion people do not have adequate access to water. Only 50% of the world population has access to running water, with solely 4% of them living in Africa. In addition to that, 2.6 billion people do not have access to proper sanitation facilities (WHO/UNICEF 2004: 22 in Coles/Wallace 2005: 2). But instead of improving, lack of water is intensifying and water-stressed areas are growing (UNDP 2006: 26) due to demographic growth, pollution, industrialisation, deforestation and erosion as well as the consequences of climate change (OEZA 2008: 4). Therefore the United Nations added the right to clean water to its international covenant of economic, social and cultural rights in 2002 (Momsen 2004: 118). Lack of access to safe water is a silent crisis that

> claims more lives through disease than any war claims through guns. [It is] holding back human progress, consigning large segments of humanity to lives of poverty, vulnerability and insecurity [and] reinforces the obscene inequalities in life chances that divide rich and poor nations in an increasingly prosperous and interconnected world and that divides people within countries on the basis of wealth, gender and other markers for disadvantage (UNDP 2006: 9).

Water is used for drinking, cooking, washing, irrigation, cleaning, watering animals, hygiene, means of production and various other crucial tasks which is why it is closely related to humanitarian aid as well as several cross-sectoral issues of development cooperation like health, food security, gender, poverty reduction and energy. Thus, water is a key factor of socio-economic development. Due to an accelerating growth of population and climate change water shortage intensifies and is becoming a potential trigger of conflicts (OEZA 2008: 2). Defeating the water crisis is therefore a big challenge of the 21st century in order to avoid water-related conflicts and to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that are related to water and sanitation, including public health, education, empowerment as well as poverty eradication (UNDP 2006: 9). It is the responsibility of governments and international organisations to take actions in order to halve the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe water and basic sanitation by 2015. But at the moment the chances of achieving this goal are not very good. If sticking with the current policies and programmes sub-Sahara Africa will reach the MDG concerning water only in 2040 and the ones concerning sanitation in 2076 (UNDP 2006: 19). Meanwhile it has to be kept in mind here that the MDGs are only seen as the minimum requirements which will still need to be

improved when they are finally achieved (UNDP 2006: 17). Regarding this, big challenges are especially population growth and infrastructure. One reason for the slow progress in the buidling of adequate water distribution systems in developing countries is also that international investments in the water sector are constantly stagnating since the 1990s. It is not profitable for the private secor to invest in water in rural areas because of high, long-term investments with little profit. So the public sector is responsible for providing water and maintaining the infrastructure which is very difficult because most people cannot afford to pay for access to safe water (OEZA 2008: 3).

Water is a public good and the provision with appropriate water is a human right. People without access to water are forced to fetch water from rivers, puddles and lakes that are polluted with human or faunal waste and host life-threatening bacteria (UNDP 2006: 14). These people experience social injustice. For one, every person has civil, political and social rights that cannot be exercised when the person has to spend hours each day to fetch water. Secondly, every person should have sufficient access to resources in order to satisfy basic needs which is at least access to 20 litres of clean water a day to meet basic needs, like cooking, drinking and hygiene. Thirdly, every person should have equal opportunities, like education, which cannot be ensured when for example girls have to fetch water and therefore have to skip school (UNDP 2006: 12). These inequalities result in 1,8 million child deaths every year due to diarrhoea, the loss of about 400 school days a year due to water-related illness, to women spending hours a day to get water. In the long-term, this leads to a vicious circle where children are prevented from education by illness and as a result have to live a life in poverty when they are grown up (UNDP 2006: 15). In order to raise awareness about the importance of basic sanitation the UN General Assembly declared the `International Year of Sanitation` in 2008. The key messages stated the benefits of sanitation, including human health, economic benefits, dignity and social development as well as ecological reasons. According to the Austrian Development Agency (ADA) sanitation includes all actions that are taken with the aim of promoting human health and refers to activities of collection, treatment, removal and disposal of human waste (ADA 2008: 4f.).

Safe water and access to sanitation facilties are crucial for public health and providing water for irrigation is essential to ensure food security. Thus, when working in water projects it is necessary to see the entire system and relations on every single level, ranging from the political, legal and institutional to the financial, economical, educational, technical and social

sector. The different effects on the local communities have to be monitored, different uses and needs of all stakeholders as well as the national and institutional context considered and social disparities avoided (OEZA 2008: 6). The technologies and systems that are implemented have to be socially acceptable and culturally adaptable. That means, the socio-cultural context of the communities has to be considered, compromising gender issues, convenience, impacts on human dignity and food security as well as legal and institutional aspects. In addition to that also financial and economic issues play an important role as well and have to be related to the "capacity of households and communities to pay for sanitation; economic benefits from the production of the recyclables, employment creation, increased productivity through improved health and the reduction of environmental and public health costs" (ADA 2008: 6). Besides that the projects and programmes have to be environmentally friendly and technically and institutionally manageable. All these aspects have to be incorporated in project planning with the help of policy dialogue, capacity building, technical assistance and social marketing in order to make the project sustainable (ADA 2008: 5ff.).

As mentioned above, having access to water and sanitation reduces poverty. If people have appropriate access to water their household income increases. First, they no longer have to pay commercial water sellers or walk long distances and thus save time that can be used for productive work. Secondly, they have to spend less money on medical treatment because they are not infected by water-related diseases so frequently anymore. Thirdly, more water leads to higher crop yields and more livestock which in turn leads to more food security and income through sale of livestock (WaterAid 2001: 2).

In developing countries water management is supposed to be a women`s issue most of the time. Besides that women have various other responsibilities that they have to deal with in their everday lives which can become quite a huge burden. The following sections try to outline the situation of women in developing countries, including their barriers and challenges, and explain which tasks women take upon themselves in order to provide water for their families.

3.2. Situation of Women in Developing Countries

More than half a billion women in developing countries do not have an adequate income, no access to medical services and no securities. Most of the poor people today are female which is why experts talk about a feminization of poverty. Women are the ones who suffer most from hunger, diseases, lack of education, property, water and energy. This got worse during the economic crisis in the 1980s and 90s with the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the World Bank. In fact also middle-class women have to be included in the group of the poor because while they have a rich husband they most likely do not have control over resources and money. These problems have to be faced and fought against by governments to support women`s economic empowerment (Nzomo 1995: 138). In addition to that women often have limited opportunities since they are excluded from decision-making processes and have to deal with a huge workload (ADA 2006b: 3). Women in sub-Saharan Africa have the highest fertility rate and at the same time the lowest life expectation which is even getting worse today through the spread of HIV/Aids (Momsen 2004: 18).

In developing countries women are assumed to fulfil three roles: the reproductive and productive role as well as the one in community management. Social reproduction includes giving birth to children, domestic work and caring for the elderly and sick which is usually more time-consuming in developing countries than in industrialized ones. It also includes community management, that is unpaid voluntary work, like providing collective commodities such as water, education and health care or organising religious and social activities in order to improve the status of the family. In addition to that women are also responsible for the health, education and socialization of the children. The productive role comprises generating income through work on the field or market and is assumed to be worth more than reproductive work because it generates income (Tasli 2007: 6; Momsen 2004: 47f.). Activities of household and family care, like cooking, firewood and water collection or washing clothes, are usually ignored in national accounts, although they are crucial for the economic development of human capital for the nation. These essential jobs are done by women all over the world (Momsen 2004: 66f.). Project planners often put up with the traditional gender roles and gendered division of work in developing countries because they are assumed to be sacred cultural fields where it is not allowed to interfere. Hence, cultural norms are not included in the mandate of development (Goetz 1991 in Parpart 1995: 228).

This benefits men in patriarchal communities while women`s concerns are being neglected (Parpart 1995: 228).

Besides economy it is also necessary to empower women politically. It is assumed that this would for one thing, lead to more legal rights for women`s empowerment and against discrimination and marginalization because "[w]hile bringing more women into politics would not ensure such women-centered policies, legislatures without women will surely never bring about such changes" (Nzomo 1995: 136). On the other hand, expecting solidarity between all women is difficult because it ignores the different needs and wishes between all women and thus contains the danger of ignoring the voices of the women who are not leading the feminist democratization movement (Nzomo 1995: 135). Judy El-Bushra, consultant of gender and armed conflict puts it in a nutshell:

> They [the women] must walk the line between having a distinctive and united women`s voice, on the one hand, cutting across all other social divisions, and getting lost in the search for the `lowest common denominator` of unity, on the other (ADA 2006a: 38).

In the ideal household the distribution of chores and goods benefits all and everybody participates equally. But this is almost never the case due to gender and power relations (Tasli 2007: 6). Women have to suffer from a double burden. „Development has not always brought greater freedom for women and in many cases women are now expected to carry the double burden of both reproductive and productive tasks" (Momsen 2004: 49). In sub-Saharan Africa women spend four or more hours a day with collecting firewood and water, caring for children and preparing food. These activities take longer during the dry season when wells run dry or there is not enough firewood anymore to cook. Sometimes women can hand over childcare to older siblings, mostly girls, but then they are prevented from going to school. Furthermor, women have to work during planting and harvesting times (Momsen 2004: 70f.). This makes them "probably the busiest people in the world" (FAO 1993: 37 in Momsen 2004: 157).

> [I]t appears that in almost all countries women work more hours than men. As women increase their work hours they find that in most cases men do no increase their share of the unpaid burden of childcare and housework (Momsen 2004: 68).

Women have less leisure and sleeping time than men because although they work a lot on the fields, they also carry out domestic tasks (Momsen 2004: 158f.). While the monthly hours of

work in the dry season decrease from 560 to 530 for women because no fieldwork has to be done, for men it goes down from 426 to 350 (Wickramasinghe 1993 in Momsen 2004: 159).

A phenomenon that is spreading in developing countries is the one of female-headed households. Besides nuclear families consisting of a father, the breadwinner, a mother, the caretaker, and the children, also extended families exist where households with low incomes align to ensure their survival. In contrast to female-headed households the nuclear family always demands the subordination of women (Ruckser 1994: 24).

It is distinguished between de jure female headed households where the husband is divorced or dead and de facto female headed households where the husband is absent for a longer period because of work migration (Tasli 2007: 4f.). It is estimated that about one-sixth of all households in developing countries are headed by women, with the highest figures in sub-Saharan Africa. In Kenya, the focus country of this thesis, two-fifths of the rural families are headed by women (Momsen 2004: 41;43). It is important to mention this development because many projects are based on the assumption that all households consist of a nuclear family, with a productive husband and a non-productive wife. Project planners still often assume that if men benefit from a project, this is also the case for women. But this is just incorrect (Brett in Coles/Wallace 2005: 1ff.). The reason for this assumption is that the nuclear family is a European and American family form. But it is not universal and especially in African countries very unusual. It is promoted there by colonialism and neo-colonialism as well as international development organisations (Oyewumi 2002). According to Momsen in the ideal case female-headed households have "an independent access to subsistence opportunities through work, inheritance, or state-provided welfare and are permitted to control property and have separate residence" (Momsen 2004: 44). These opportunities also have to be manageable with childcare and have to provide enough income for the whole family (Momsen 2004: 44).

Fact is though, that female-headed households are mostly associated with poverty. Although migrated men often send helpful money back home, they are also still in control over household finances and exclude the women from decision-making processes. It is further assumed that the children in these families are disadvantaged because they have to support their parents and thus cannot go to school. But Momsen disagrees with that because according to studies single mothers are more likely to send their girls and boys to school than married

couples. The impacts of female-headed households on the socio-economic status depend on income, basic services and social acceptance of female leadership. It is true that female-headed households are more at risk of poverty than others (Tasli 2007: 5), nevertheless, female-headed households should not automatically be seen as a poverty trap because having their own household also supports women in making their own decisions, gain independence or escape male violence. In the long-term female-headed households can create more equality and freedom for women and their strategic gender needs (Momsen 2004: 43f.;240).

> Such households have a positive effect on female autonomy and, despite suffering from stigmatization as a deviant form, many function very successfully both socially and economically (Momsen 2004: 44).

Agriculture is another important issue in terms of gender relations and gendered division of work because it is often assumed that women`s work is limited to domestic activities and their immense contribution in agriculture is overlooked. In developing countries twice as much women as men are working in agriculture while in industrialized countries the number of women in this area decreased. Here the differentiation between reproductive and productive work is difficult or even impossible because when women work on the field they have to carry their child with them on their back the whole time. The women in developing countries engage in work on the field, such as caring for livestock, processing the harvested products, storing and marketing. The work of women in agriculture is often undervalued, underpaid and hence, not visible. (Momsen 2004: 67). Women mostly do not own their own land so they work on the fields of their husbands and the man decides over the use of the generated money. If women have their own farm, they usually can only afford the small, isolated ones with little fertile soil. The focus of production on farms headed by women is mostly on internal consumption rather than on export or sale on the market. The female farmers have small animals like chicken and pigs, not expensive cattle (Momsen 2004: 141). So-called Western experts assumed that agriculture was a male domain which is why women were excluded from agrarian training programmes and projects. As a result many agricultural projects failed. Various studies show that if women and men were given the same pre-conditions, like land of equal fertility, equal access to information and equal availability of time, the work of women would be as efficient as that of men. (Momsen 2004: 137; 152).

Now, in order to change the situation of women and girls, development cooperation started to implement projects that focus on the participation of women. Often, women are withheld from participating in organisations and politics due to various reasons, like "[h]eavy workloads,

their domestic responsibilities, their restriction to low paid and insecure seasonal work, their lack of land and animal rights combined with `macho` attitudes upheld through education, religion and the mass media" (Coles/Wallace 2005: 81f.). Women are of course welcome to contribute their workforce, but they are not given a voice in the community or political party which enforces their marginalization (Coles/Wallace 2005: 82). Therefore, extending women`s capacity to participate in decision-making processes is a key to their empowerment. Only then they also benefit from development and can improve their living conditions (Garba 1999: 331). In addition to that projects are also going to fail when the focus is on so-called women`s concerns and not on changing gender inequalities and structures in general (Longwe in Coles/Wallace 2005: 153f.).

So it was assumed that women just had to be more included in the development process in order to benefit from it to the same extent as men do. They needed to be given more resources, land, employment and income to improve their living conditions (Neuhold/Thallmayer 2012: 13). This sounds quite simple but the crucial factor here is the right implementation since participation of women can easily lead to an increasing burden of work for them with no benefits at all:

> Insufficient and inadequate `participation` in `development` was not the cause for women`s increasing under-development; it was rather, their enforced but asymmetric participation in it, by which they bore the costs but were excluded from the benefits, that was responsible (Shiva 1988: 2).

As mentioned above a very important task of women in developing countries is the one of fetching water as well as its proper usage and distribution. Therefore the third section of this chapter deals with the women`s particular role in water mangement.

3.3. Roles of Women in the Water and Sanitation Sector

As mentioned above water is a precious resource and access to it is a human right. The World Water Vision demands access to safe and sufficient water and sanitation facilities for everybody until 2015 (World Water Council 2000 in Coles/Wallace 2005: 4). The UNICEF/WHO Joint Monitoring Program (JMP) defines appropriate access to water as 20 litres per person per day for domestic use, like drinking, cooking, washing utensils and personal hygiene. It has to be clean water, from a so-called improved source, and no further than one kilometre away from the people`s home. These improved sources can be "household

taps, public standpipes, boreholes, protected dug wells, protected springs and collected rainwater. Unimproved sources […] are unprotected wells, unprotected springs, rivers or ponds, vendor-provided water and bottled water" (Ray/Boukerrou 2008). Nowadays water gets scarcer, more polluted, very expensive and access to safe water gets more and more difficult due to climate change, effects of the economic and financial crisis and the increase of energy and food prices. It is women who suffer the most from this because in developing countries it is them who are responsible for providing water for their families (Momsen 2004: 121). Fetching water in sub-Saharan Africa is to 71% the responsibility of women (Deen 2012). Thus, lack of water has the biggest impact on women and girls, including their health, dignity and live chances. They perform a lot of unpaid labour, concerning water and sanitation as well as caring for children, the elderly and sick people.

Women have to walk long distances, from 5 to 50 kilometres, to fetch water for their families almost every day. Sometimes, after walking for hours, the water the women find is polluted, especially in the dry season. Nevertheless, they wait up to five hours with many other women to collect the water. The UN Human Development Report 2006 estimates that women in Sub-Sahara Africa spend about 40 billion hours per year with fetching water. Since this also includes girls it is not surprising that the report found out that there is a close connection between time spent in school and time spent fetching water. Boys are far less affected by this circumstance than girls (UNDP 2006: 46). In urban areas, like slums, women and girls might not have to walk for such long distances but they have to wait in line for hours to get some water (Ray/Boukerrou 2008). This leaves only little time for other activities like education and paid employment in agriculture or micro-enterprises. As a consequence, gender inequality is enforced and women`s poverty perpetuated. Through close water sources women benefit a lot. They spare 50% to 90% of time and the number of girls who go to school increases (Deen 2012).

> With improved access, the time taken to collect water can be measured in minutes rather than hours or days. Women choose to spend their extra time and energy on activities which ensure family income rather than just family survival (WaterAid 2001: 1).

Besides consuming time and energy fetching water also affects the health of women badly. First of all, 20 litres containers that are usually carried on the head, back or hip, hold 20 kilograms. A family consisting of five members needs 100 litres of water a day to meet its daily needs which equals the weight of 100 kilograms. This means women and girls have to go two or three times a day to the water source which has serious implications for their health,

like muscle pains in legs, shoulders and hips or a deformation of the spine. Very often pregnant women continue carrying water until they give birth which can have negative implications for the child. The longer the mother has to walk, the more negative effects it has on the nutritional level of her child (Momsen 2004: 71). In addition, 50% of poor women all over the world are malnourished and lack iron. In rural areas women spend 30% of their energy on fetching water in the dry season (Ray/Boukerrou 2008) which can absorb about 25% of a woman`s caloric intake (Momsen 2004: 71). Moreover, they are mostly exposed to steady, polluted water in puddles and ponds and therefore at risk for parasites and waterborne diseases, like malaria, yellow and dengue fever (Momsen 2004: 91). But the problem that causes most deaths is the lack of hygiene and appropriate sanitation facilities. Unsafe water leads to diarrhoea, which is related to malnutrition and is therefore especially dangerous to children. In fact, 1.4 million children die every year due to the consequences of lack of hygiene. Further emerging diseases are pneumonia, a respiratory infection, trachoma which causes blindness, billharzia and scabies which are all transmitted through dirty water or lack of hygiene (WaterAid 2009: 2). "Each year, more than 2.2 million people in developing countries die from preventable diseases associated with lack of access to safe drinking water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene" (UN WATER 2006: 5).

In the 1950s and 60s water projects of the development cooperation focussed on the extension of water provision as well as on the improvement of infrastructure and health care facilities. It was mostly men who were responsible for the implementation and management of these water projects, although already back then it was a fact that it is women who are mostly affected by water issues. Nevertheless, they were excluded from water politics and the planning of distribution systems which is why water distribution systems had a lot of problems and were not sustainable. Men were taught how to repair a well or a hand pump, but they were not aware of problems concerning them because during their daily lives they never come close to a water facility. As a consequence, the close water sources did not work and women again had to use a polluted water source that was further away (Jackson/Pearson 1998: 254). In another water project men had to choose the location of water points. They chose to build it far away from the village because it was more convenient for them to water their livestock. As a consequence, the women had to walk long distances to get water for domestic use. Development agencies tend to talk to the head of the households and local authorities about new water projects. The problem is that due to patriarchal gender roles these people are

mostly men, while the people mostly concerned with water issues are women (Mjoli 1999: 62f.).

It was only in the 1970s and 80s when women were considered the first time in water projects. It was realized that they are the real managers of domestic water and that their knowledge could be used for the enhancement of the projects. The involvement of women should improve the access to water, contribute to better health of families and to a structural improvement of the situation of women in general (Joshi in Coles/Wallace 2005: 139; Coles/Wallace 2005: 3). Thus the water sector was one of the first sections of development cooperation were the value of women for development was appreciated. When the United Nations (UN) declared 1981 to 1990 as the decade of water development the focus was on drinking water and sanitation facilities. „There was a global commitment to `water for all`, and community participation, gender (usually meaning the inclusion of women) and empowerment were all recognized as essential to achieving this" (Coles/Wallace 2005: 3). In 1992 the role of women in water management was acknowledged in the Dublin Principles which deal with the global water management. They led to the increased attempt of policymakers to include gender issues in water development projects. The Dublin Principles defined water as vulnerable, finite and economic vulnerable commodity that is essential to life. Privatization and water tariffs got common to ensure the efficiency of the project while also participation was supported (Coles/Wallace 2005: 3f.). There was a change away from top-down, technical oriented water provision towards a decentralized, community-based approach that relies on local management, maintenance and finance of water services. Effectivity and sustainability got more important (Baden 1993 in Jackson/Pearson 1998: 264). The involvement of women was supported, mainly because of economic reasons. One the one hand, women were trained as "caretakers, health educators, motivators and hand pump mechanics" (Ghosh 1989 in Coles/Wallace 2005: 3) to make the projects more efficient. On the other hand, now that women had some spare time through the provision of drinking water, it was expected from them to use this time to generate income (Coles/Wallace 2005: 3). In 2005 the International Decade for Action `Water for Life` (2005-2015) called for women`s participation in water-related development projects which coincides with the Millennium Development Goals three and ten, that demand women`s empowerment and access to water and sanitation. Today more and more projects involve women in their water projects and focus on capacity building and trainings of women in technical and managerial matters (UN WATER 2006: 1;6).

It was realized that the participation of women in decision-making processes concerning water contributed to the success of the project because it leads to "more households with access to water, more cost effective service delivery, better placement and maintenance of water infrastructure, better community health and hygiene and less corruption in financial matters" (Ray/Boukerrou 2008). A study by the International Water and Sanitation centre of community water and sanitation projects conducted in 88 communities in 15 countries found out that "projects designed and run with the full participation of women are more sustainable and effective than those that do not" (UN WATER 2006: 2). In 2005 all over the world 40 women were working in ministries for water or environment advocating for hygiene education and raising awareness about the linkages between water, sanitation, hygiene and diseases like HIV/Aids and demanding the integration of gender in water and sanitation policies and programmes. The ministers also implement affirmative action programmes that encourage women to engage in water and sanitation related carriers. In villages and communities women are more and more involved in site location of water points and repairing activities which decreased the incidences of pump breakdowns (UN WATER 2006: 2;7).

The question now is if the involvement of women is only improving their access to water or also supports the empowerment of women. This depends firstly, on the level of participation, meaning if women are just allowed to contribute their labour in agriculture to increase the household income or if they are for example a member of the water committee and involved in decision-making processes (Ray/Boukerrou 2008). The important thing is to be aware of possible unequal power relations between women and men in terms of water burdens. Besides participation the involvement of women can bring also disadvantages for them. Besides their usual domestic tasks, with the involvement in water projects they also have to attend meetings, collect money from the water users, clean water points and maintain hand pumps and wells. As a consequence, while it was assumed that the participation of women in water projects was going to benefit them, they have to deal with a double burden instead of enjoying relief (Coles/Wallace 2005: 139). If projects focus on the involvement of women in water projects, it is questionable if this participation benefits them or adds even more workload to already over-burdened women. In fact, if women should participate more in water projects, domestic and public power relations have to be transformed because by defining women as water providers and users as well as caretakers and health promoters, projects bind women to their traditional social gender roles or even enforce them (Coles/Wallace 2005: 8).

Although participation of women is popular today, they are still very often excluded from water-user-associations and thus, decision-making processes. Reasons for that are for one thing, that the membership in such associations often depends on being the owner of land, having an official irrigation status or being head of the household. These are usually the roles of men, only few women have the chance to become a member. If they do, they often send their male relatives to represent them in meetings because they feel like they lack necessary skills or are afraid of male-dominated meetings and rejection (Mjoli 1999: 61). Also policymakers and project staff often lack understanding and skills concerning gender issues or are not willing to consider and commit to them in the implementation phase. Hence, women have little influence on decisions, cannot exert political pressure or are not given a vote (IFAD 2007: 3). In some projects, like the WATSAN project in this thesis, project planners decide that a certain proportion of the local council, water user associations or water committees have to be women. But although this might be the policy, the practice can look different. Sometimes women are officially included in the local council, of which they themselves are not even aware. Their names were just written down to meet the official requirements (Stanbury 1984 in Mjoli 1999: 62). A good sustainable project should include women in trainings, teach them about book-keeping, construction, repairing and maintaining. Furthermore the project should answer to practical as well as strategic gender needs. That means it should on the one hand provide access to basic services whilst at the other hand contribute to the social and economic empowerment of women to challenge gender roles (Neuhold/Thallmayer 2012: 31f.).

Another example where women`s participation is missing is irrigation. Although women are also working in agriculture they are not included in meetings about irrigation management because of various reasons related to domestic and public gender roles as well as "women`s restrictions in autonomy over their own bodies, in access to and control over resources, independent choices in decision-making, and rights to recognition and self-respect" (Wijk-Sijbesma 1998: 57). Thus, women do not have time to attend the meeting because they cannot leave the children alone at home or are not allowed to leave the house on their own. Secondly, it is assumed that men represent the needs of the whole family anyway so that no woman is needed in the meeting. And thirdly, if women do attend meetings very often they are too shy to speak up because they are not used to such situations or their opinion is ignored by the present men because their lack of education and because of cultural and social norms that value women`s ideas less than men`s (Momsen 2004: 118). As a consequence, information

and decision-making is men`s business, even concerning issues where women have special knowledge and interest (Wijk-Sijbesma 1998: 60). The responsibility for the project should be held collectively by, for example, paying water fees. The field of agriculture and irrigation is very often assumed to be male dominated although 80% of the staple food in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa are produced by women. They contribute majorly to fighting food insecurity through their knowledge of crop production, local biodiversity, water resources and soils. Women and men use water differently and have different priorities. Water is needed for various interests like "agriculture, domestic water supply and waste disposal, industrial water use, transport, energy and ecosystems" (Mjoli 1999: 60). While women use it for agriculture, domestic tasks, health and sanitation, men use it mainly for agriculture and livestock (IFAD 2007: 4). In order to achieve food security though, it is crucial to provide water for domestic as well as productive use (IFAD 2007: 3). Also, when all different water interests of the community members are considered in the project planning, the cost effectiveness and sustainability in water management increases (Thomas et al. 1997 in Mjoli 1999: 60). Nevertheless women were integrated in the category domestic water because it has always been assumed as their `natural responsibility` although studies confirm that women are productive farmers and their direct access to water increases the productivity of agriculture. Women and men do not have the same access to irrigation water due to land rights. Actually only two per cent of the world's private land is owned by women (UN WATER 2006: 4). The rights are usually given to men who are then legally allowed to irrigate the land. Hence, while domestic water is categorised as almost absolutely female, women are excluded in terms of irrigation which denies women the role as producer and defines them as mothers and caretakers. Consequently, gender inequality is even cemented (Ray/Boukerrou 2008). The ignorance of the productive role of women leads to many poor female farmers, food insecurity and marginalisation (IFAD 2007: 3). Therefore, it is necessary to provide land rights for women in order to give them access to water. In addition, this can result in access to other resources, like financial services that support women in empowering themselves (IFAD 2007: 3). Furthermore, researchers demand multiple-use water projects that address women`s needs more effectively and include aspects like "training in technical aspects, management, literacy, confidence-building, leadership skills, and easy access to financial services and loans" (IFAD 2007: 19).

Due to the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1990s little money was available for the public sector. Therefore it was decided that it is too expensive and inefficient if the

state stays responsible for water issues. So the responsibility was given to the private sector, while the government was left with regulating the distribution. Privatization and decentralization became common practice. Opponents criticize it because they argue that water is a human right and therefore not a commodity that should be paid for. Studies show that a privatisation of water in developing countries mostly has negative implications for the poor who are unable to pay and mostly women. When the state hands the responsibility of water provision over to private companies, gender, water provision for all and empowerment are forgotten. As a consequence the state loses control over its water which leads to increasing prices, water cut-offs, bad water quality as well as health and sanitation hazards. What becomes important are not rights, but profit (Coles/Wallace 2005: 3;9). The ones who are in favour of privatisation meanwhile argue that water tariffs are necessary to improve water distribution and to support the responsible use of water (UN WATER 2006: 9). The management of water resources is more and more the business of international finance and trade institutions, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It is dictated by structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which demand the reduction of public services, the opening of the market and the privatization of state activities. The reason for putting a price on water is legitimized by the companies by arguing that if water has a price, the consumers will use it more efficiently. The price regulation is a difficult issue because the opinion about how valuable water is and what kind of water use is more valuable differs between women and men. While women, for example, would agree to pay for safe water for domestic use, men might think water for agriculture is more important. Since women have a limited right to participate in such decisions, it is most likely that they are not able to pay for domestic water anymore and have to go back to trucking polluted water (Jackson/Pearson 1998: 265). It is therefore necessary for organisations to develop strategies that include men in household activities in order to break up the traditional gender roles and satisfy practical gender needs and strategic ones in the long term (ADA 2006b: 11).

Women were mostly affected by the SAPs and privatization of water. Therefore it was also them who fought against the sale of public water services, who formed local women groups and organised marches and campaigns (WEDO 2003: 2). Privatization made it more difficult for women to provide adequate water for their families because they had less purchasing power. Women in developing countries are often dependent on their husbands or male relatives to act as middlemen between women and service providers when they apply for certificates or the like in government offices. As a consequence they can hardly make their

own decisions. In families it is mostly the man who decides what is purchased, the women`s needs and wishes are ignored (UNIFEM 2008/09: 48). "In other words, privatisation may increase the number of choices but it does not change the conditions of inequality and dependency that constrain women's access to services in the first place" (UNIFEM 2008/09: 48). Also, women put the needs of their husband and children before their own and do not express their wishes when they fear it is against the general interest of the male leaders. If nothing changes, privatization contributes to the perpetuation of the status quo and even enforces existing inequalities. Human rights activists even acknowledge water as a critical component of gender equality and empowerment of women (WEDO 2003: 3f.). Today more and more organisations support the participation of women in water projects by involving them in water committees, like in the WATSAN project of AMINA in this thesis. "Participation of women in a water project is multi-faceted; in planning, during the construction phase, and later in operations and maintenance" (Hemson 2000: 63). A problem is though that the hierarchies that are evident on the community level do not disappear in the water committee (Jackson/Pearson 1998: 264).

A big issue for women and girls is the lack of water in relation to sanitation. Since only few villages and communities have latrines, the people relieve themselves outside the village. This can be especially dangerous for women who are expected to use the toilet after dark and thus are at risk of experiencing sexual violence and harassment (UN WATER 2006: 5). Furthermore, lots of schools do not have toilets which prevents girls from attending school when they have their period or they even drop out for good. While hygiene promotion is already included in water and sanitation programmes, menstrual hygiene management is still absent. For girls being able to go to school a certain infrastructure for waste disposal and the availability of sanitary pads is necessary (WaterAid 2010: 2). If this is not going to be the case the lack of appropriate sanitation facilities results in a vicious circle. Education for girls is one of the most important factors to empower women in the long term. Hence, providing safe water and latrines in schools and promoting hygiene education would not only improve the life and health of women and their families, but would also contribute to challenging existing gender roles.

Water and sanitation are also the focus points of the field study conducted for this thesis. Therefore chapter 4 explains how the qualitative field research in Northern Kenya, on which this thesis is based, was planned, conducted and evaluated.

4. Research Methodology

4.1. Field Study

This thesis studies the participation of women in water projects and the possible empower-ment that is accompanied by it. After some literature review it became clear that this should not only be a theoretical thesis far away from the actual lives and realities of the affected women. Several organisations were contacted and asked if they were interested in a field study. Through their newsletter I found out about the Water and Sanitation project (WATSAN) of `Aktiv für Menschen in Not Austria` (AMINA) who financed the construction of water tanks in four villages in the region Hurri Hills in Northern Kenya. What sparked my interest immediately was their cooperation with a local NGO and a gender balance policy in the established water committees. After some meetings it was decided that I could visit their project villages, conduct my interviews and also accompany the two staff members on their monitoring tour. AMINA and KNEF supported me a lot, from organising transportation and interviews to arranging accommodation.

My field trip to Hurri Hills in Northern Kenya lasted for three weeks, from September 13th to October 2nd 2012. Since the four villages Yaa Gara, Toricha, Borri and Shankera, where the underground water tanks were built, are far-away, very isolated villages it is only possible to visit them, not to stay there over night. Therefore a field trip of four days was organised by KNEF where we stayed in Hurri Hills town and visited one or two villages a day from this starting point to do the interviews. The Gabbra live in a very hostile and secluded environment where there is no public transport and the streets are in a horrible condition. The only cars that are using these streets are trucks with water, oil or food and 4WDs of NGOs. All the other people from the villages have to walk, or wait at the side of the street for a car that takes them to their destination. When we, the programme manager Guyo Tocha, the driver Roba and me, were going to the field the first time, the car was always filled with people, be it a pregnant woman, a sick old man or a small boy who was on his way home from school. The rest of the time of my visit I was staying in Marsabit, the largest town in the area and headquarters of various NGOs, like KNEF, and branches of different ministries in Hurri Hills.

The target group of this thesis are women. They are the most affected group in terms of water and sanitation because in traditional societies in developing countries it is often assumed that it is the responsibility of women to deal with water issues. It is them who have to walk long distances to fetch water in order to be able to do the cooking, cleaning, washing and bathing of the children. Nevertheless, they are rarely included in management and organisation of water issues. This thesis now wants to find out and analyse how increased participation of women in water projects can empower them economically, politically and socially. Therefore it was decided to conduct the field study in the WATSAN project of AMINA and KNEF in Northern Kenya. This project is ideal for the aim of the thesis because it has a gender balance policy which demands that out of six water committee members, three have to be women. Hence, it was possible to interview women who are actively participating in water management and water committees as well as men who experience the outcomes of the cooperation with women and thus get a picture of the actual situation, problems and possible future improvements.

How these interviews were conducted and which other methods were used is explained in the following paragraph.

4.2. Interview and Observation

This thesis wants to find out about the individual conditions and needs of the target group women as well as their opinions and attitudes. It is crucial to look at the topic from different perspectives to get more information about strategies, interactions and perceptions of the people. Furthermore, the conduction of different methods to analyse the research topic can increase the theoretical generalization (Flick 2007: 260). Therefore it was decided to adopt a triangulation of the methods literature review, interview and observation. Triangulation should help to capture the complexity of social and personal reality as well as support getting a broader and integrated insight into the people`s living realities, in this case their understanding and handling of participation and empowerment of women (Friebertshäuser 1997: 505 in Flick 2008: 57). For data collection in the field the qualitative methods, interview and observation, were chosen.

There is a wide-range of qualitative interview techniques. While quantitative methods provide the width, qualitative methods provide the depth. Qualitative methods only allow limited

statements about a big population, but they allow detailed statements about a small group of people (Brosius et al. 2005: 20). People are different which means that the same thing can have different meanings for different people. Therefore the qualitative interview does not try to attain objectivity through standardized questions but, on the contrary, due to a flexible adjustment of the interview questions to the different subjectivities of the interviewed person (Hohl 2000: 143). According to Atteslander the less structured an interiew is, the better qualitative aspects can be captured (Atteslander 2006: 134). Furthermore, the aim of qualitative interviews is not to just check previously defined hypotheses but to attain new findings about the matter. Therefore it is characteristically for qualitative interviews to ask open questions (Hohl 2000: 143).

For the purpose of this thesis semi-structured interviews and expert interviews were conducted. While not structured interviews only have a theoretical framework to follow and the conversation is very open, the semi-structured interview has an interview guideline that directs the interviewer more or less in a particular direction and helps generating a hypothesis (Bortz/Döring 2009: 239). An interview guideline is used but like with the little structured interview it is also possible to ask questions that arise during the conversation (Atteslander 2006: 124f.). It is important to consider certain challenges of qualitative interviews during the analysis, like necessary linguistic and social competence of the interviewee and the interviewer as well as the interview situation, in order to be able to interpret and compare the outcomes properly (Schnell et al. 1999: 353f. in Atteslander 2006: 132).

For the field research sixteen semi-structured guideline interviews were conducted as well as five expert interviews. All of the interviews were recorded after asking the interviewees for permission. Afterwards they were transcribed in Marsabit within a week after the interviews were conducted. Four people out of each of the four villages Shankera, Toricha, Borri and Yaa Gara, were interviewed. These four people consisted of a male and a female water committee member as well as a female and a male community member that are not active in the water committee. This means, all in all eight women and eight men were interviewed, out of which eight were active in the water committee and eight were community members who are not participating in the committee. All interviews took between 20 and 40 minutes, whereas the ones conducted with men were always longer than the ones with women. This is probably related to the traditional roles of women and men in the patriarchal villages, where men form the head of the villages. These so-called called elders were the first people we

encountered when we arrived in the villages. All the villages were informed of our visit beforehand by KNEF. Nevertheless after longer polite greetings and handshaking we had to plead our case and explain the purpose of our visit again. Afterwards we were free to interview anyone who was available, but very often it was necessary to interview at least one village elder because as head of the village it was important to show him that his opinion is valued. These elders have the last word in every decision that is made concerning the village. As a consequence, usually men are used to talk more and express their opinions while women are rarely asked about their point of view or ideas and hence are not familiar with such situations. Nevertheless it was observed that the interviewed women did not at all seem shy or intimidated. On the contrary, when they were asked if they wanted to give an interview, they always agreed immediately and invited us in their home. Therefore another reason for their brief answers could be that they are just able to put the most important things in a nutshell, while men talk more to emphasize their views by repeating their statements without saying anything new.

In order to be able to analyse the data of the interviews correctly it is necessary to consider some conditions that influence the interview. According to Girtler the interviewee tries to pose himself in a good light and to make his community interesting for the interviewer (Girtler 2001: 164). The interviewee has specific assumptions about the instructing party of the interview and its research aims which is why she or he tries to please the interviewer but also tries to emphasize her or his own needs and concerns (Bortz/Döring 2009: 250). This is an important point for this thesis. Since I was conducting my field study in the name of AMINA, the people in the villages thought I was also involved in planning, decision-making and financing of the project. Therefore they never asked me personally for money but used the opportunity to make appeals to the organisation for more water tanks, food aid, pit latrines or money for schools. As I was not able to influence these decisions I assured them that I would forward their requests to the responsible people. The gratification of the interviewees was a difficult issue. It felt wrong not to show appreciation since they helped me a lot by inviting me into their homes and lending me their time. After some considerations together with KNEF it was decided against any payments since that maybe would have led to problems in the community when some people got money while others, who might have been also available for interviews, did not. Eventually I showed my gratitude by thanking them a lot for their time and effort and appreciating their statements. I felt that this feeling was very often mutual. The interviewed people were happy and thankful that someone from `outside` came

in their small, isolated villages to ask them about their opinions and listened to their problems. An old man from Toricha for example told me he appreciated my questions very much because in all these years nobody had ever asked him things like that before. The people were also very curious about me and my culture which is why sometimes interesting and also entertaining conversations evolved after the interview was finished and the recorder was turned off. These observations were then written down in the field diary to involve them in the analysis.

Another phenomenon to consider is the one of social desirability which indicates that people, when they are aware that they are analysed or observed, behave according to what they think is expected from them. As a consequence, when people are interviewed they give answers which they believe the interviewer wants to hear (Brosius et al. 2005: 26f.). Related to this is the Stimulus-Response-Modell. An interview is a social situation which cannot be completely controlled. In these situations people have expectations of each other which influence, together with different perceptions, their behaviour and verbal reactions. Furthermore, emotions and considerations are affected by memories, fear, hurry and also the behaviour and appearance of the interviewer (Atteslander 2006: 101ff.). This opinion is also approved by Bortz and Döring who are convinced that age, sex, appearance, clothes, hair, personality, attitudes and expectations of the interviewer have an impact on the answers of the interviewee (Bortz/Döring 2009: 246). On the one hand, this means that the interviewer can regulate and control the conversation (Atteslander 2006: 105). On the other hand though, it means that in face-to-face interviews the interviewer always influences the course of the conversation (Atteslander 2006: 125). Especially concerning field research it is therefore important for the researcher to accept and respect the rules and habits of the people in the community and to show this with appropriate clothing as well as with the acceptance of drinking and eating rituals (Girtler 2001: 184). These considerations were also very crucial in the field work that was conducted for this thesis. For one, the people in the target villages live very traditional and conservative. The women wear kangas (colourful cloths) and a scarf that covers their hair. The women also wear self-made necklaces and anklets with yellow and red beads as well as silver bracelets. Around new moon they also wear hair decoration out of silver beads. The men usually wear trousers and shirts out of light fabric, often a turban and carry a walking stick. In order to increase the acceptance of the people and show them respect I tried to adapt my clothing to theirs. Another issue was hospitality. Every time the translator and I did an interview, we were invited for tea. This meant that sometimes we had to drink eight cups of

sweet goat milk-tea on one day. This was far too much and we felt sated with milk but it would have been very impolite to deny the tea. So we always took at least a sip to show our appreciation. When I visited the villages the second time together with the staff members of AMINA during their monitoring tour of the project, each of the eight visited villages prepared a goat for us. Since I do not eat meat that could have been a big problem if not the staff members of AMINA and KNEF ate the meat and it therefore was not so obvious that I was not.

But not only the characteristics of the interviewer and the interviewee respectively the interaction between them are affecting the interview but also the external conditions of the situation are crucial. The best place to interview people is therefore in their home or in an environment they are familiar with. Distractions, like other people, should be minimized (Bortz/Döring 2009: 251). All the interviews with people from the target villages were conducted in their homes or outside in the shade of a tree in their village. The villages are usually an accumulation of small huts that can be scattered in the area. A hut consists out of wood, cloth, paper and plastic. In the front area of the hut there is an area for cooking and storing food, wood and water containers while in the back there are small beds for parents and children. It is very dark in the huts, especially in the back because there is no open space except for the door which works like a curtain. The smoke that develops during cooking further contributes to the darkness inside the hut. All the interviewed women were questioned inside their homes, except the women from Borri, where all the people were interviewed in the school. The most important reason for that was that it was always tried to interview women alone or at least without any men within earshot so that they felt free to talk honestly about their feelings concerning women`s participation and empowerment due to the water tanks. This was not always possible because sometimes the women`s husband was resting in the hut where the woman was cooking or a group of men assembled in front of the hut of the interviewed woman because they were curious about what was happening. In cases where a man was in the same room as the interviewed woman after some time during the interview the man started to comment on statements or questions although he was not asked. The presence of men was not ideal for the interview situation and therefore it was tried to avoid this as much as possible. While there were only some cases where men were attendant during interviews with women, babies were present in each of the eight interviews, without exception. The women carried them on their back, held them in their lap or put them in the bed in the back of the hut. The children were mostly very young, they could not talk or walk

yet and they slept most of the time. Therefore they were no distraction during the interviews. Also other activities like cooking, cleaning or making necklaces were abandoned by the women during the interviews so that they were able to dedicate all their attention to the interview questions.

The interview situations with men were very different. Sometimes they were questioned in or in front of their homes, sometimes in the shades of trees or next to the water tank or in schools, as in the case of Borri. The activities they were occupied with when we asked them for interviews included playing the typical `bao` game, sleeping, excavating a new water tank or sitting in the shade resting.

One issue that also implicates some difficulties is the translation of the interviews. Since I was not able to speak Gabbra and the target group were not aware of English or Swahili, a translator had to translate the questions and answers from English into Gabbra and the other way round. Guyo Tocha, the programme coordinator from KNEF, agreed to take that job. The problems that occur with translations are various though. For one, with the translation the interviews take a lot of time and the conversation is not flowing because it is always interrupted by translations. Due to that it is likely that the interviewees get bored when their answers are translated into English and as a consequence give briefer answers or start engaging in activities besides the interview which distract them. Besides that translations are always problematic because I did not understand a word of Gabbra which means that I was no able to be sure about the correct translation at all. Sometimes the translations of my questions were much longer when the translator asked them and answers to particular questions by different interviewees in different villages were translated very similar after some time. A reason for this can be of course that the translator was bored and exhausted by the ever same questions and similar answers. In fact he had the most work to do which was aggravated by external conditions like long driving hours, heat, wind, dust and smoke in the huts. Another important aspect that could have had an impact on his translations was the circumstance that KNEF is a partner organisation of AMINA who are the responsible organisations for the water tanks project. They put a lot of effort in the project which is why critical voices might not be appreciated so much and challenging arguments might be softened a bit in the translation. Nevertheless these are all possibilities, actual impacts cannot be assured, but hese are possible problems that could influence and deform the statements and thus have to be kept in mind.

As mentioned above Guyo Tocha was doing the translations. At the beginning of my field study I wanted to find a woman that could assist me as translator because I knew I wanted to interview many women and I thought they might feel more comfortable with a female translator. Unfortunately there was no woman available in Marsabit that could speak Gabbra and English very well, so we decided together with KNEF that it also should not be a problem if Guyo Tocha acted as translator. I was sceptical in the beginning but I am very glad about this decision now. It turned out Guyo Tocha was very good in making contact with potential interviewees as well as in establishing a comfortable interview situation for all participants, also women. He was aware of cultural expectations and rituals, like greetings, which is why he talked to the elders, explained our requests and found people who were willing to talk to me. This was of big help to me because it made the situation much easier and more stress-free. Another big advantage of conducting interviews with Mr. Tocha was that the people in the villages already knew him and he knew some of them. So they knew they could trust him which at the same time increased my trustworthiness and acceptance in the community. Besides that also sex and age are factors that have to be considered. Since these are patriarchal and conservative communities where the elders are the heads of the village the presence of Mr. Tocha had a positive impact on the success of the field study. Due to the fact that he was a man in a mature age the people in the community treated him with respect which in turn also had positive effects on me and my interview requests. It probably would not have been this way if I, a foreign white young woman, was going there with a woman who was also a stranger to the people. Finding people who are willing to give interviews, getting a lot of valuable information as well as feeling welcome in the villages and not like an intruder was easier and only possible thanks to Guyo Tocha.

The interviews with experts were also conducted as semi-structured guideline interviews which intended to get some professional information about the researched issues. Five experts were interviewed, who are shortly introduced here.

As mentioned above Guyo Tocha is the programme manager of KNEF (Kanacho Nomadic Educational Foundation) and one of the major implementers of the project which is why he was an important interview partner. He did the baseline survey, monitored the construction of the tanks and their proper usage and was also the one who translated the interviews. The second expert that was interviewed was Mister Sharamo, the Water Officer of Marsabit

District from the Ministry of Water and Irrigation. He coordinates all the activities in terms of water, be it projects of the government or of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Also a staff member of Caritas Marsabit was willing to do an interview. Mrs. Darare focusses on the empowerment of women and engages in projects concerning issues like gender violence, work possibilities and economic independence of women in Marsabit. Another interview partner was Hurri Hills` Public Health Officer called Gutola. He is responsible for health issues in terms of water and sanitation in Hurri Hills and is conducting trainings and hygiene promotion in the area. Finally Mister Bonaya, the chief of Hurri Hills, was interviewed. He is responsible for the availability and access to water for his community and is therefore well informed about the water and sanitation situation in the area.

All contacts to the experts as well as interview dates were arranged for me by Guyo Tocha from KNEF who made a lot of effort to get me as much information as possible from different people and perspectives for my thesis. The expert interviews were all held in English and recorded after asking for permission. The expert interviews took place in the offices of the officials themselvs or in the office of KNEF in Marsabit.

Besides interviews, participant observation was adopted for the research. The observations were written down in a field diary to be consulted again later to help during the analysis of the collected data. During the observation the observant behaves passively and at the same time tries to systematize her or his observations according to her or his research question and to critically reflect how her or his perspective influences the observations (Grümer 1974: 26 in Girtler 2001: 61). Scholars differentiate between participant and non-participant, structured and unstructured, open and hidden as well as direct and indirect observation. For this thesis a participant, unstructured free observation was chosen which is used very often in ethnology according to Girtler, and which has no systematic structure for data collection (Girtler 2001: 62). The participant free observation is part of the `free` field research which extends the contacts to the people depending on the research question and is not tied to any predetermined hypothesis (Girtler 2001: 62;65). The purpose of the participant free observation is therefore to form first hypthesis during the field work and to check and modify them during further observations (Girtler 2001: 143).

Another reason why observations have a positive effect on the research outcome is that, like mentioned above, interviewed people often try to please the interviewer. Therefore it is important to crosscheck the validity of these self-presentations with an observation (Girtler

2001: 139). Nevertheless, also along with observation come problems. Like with the interview during observations the observant is part of the context that she or he is observing which means that she or he also modifies and influences this context (Schwartz und Schwartz 1955: 344 in Girtler 2001: 63). Another similar problem to the interview is that during an open observation people are aware that they are observed. They assume particular aims and purposes of the research and as a consequence behave accordant respectively anti-accordant in terms of social desirability (Bortz/Döring 2009: 267).

During my stay in Hurri Hills I had the possibility to visit the four target villages twice. The first time together with Guyo Tocha, the programme coordinator of KNEF, and the driver Roba. This was the time I conducted the sixteen interviews for my thesis. The second time I went with Sandra Eder and Gertraud Hödl, the staff members of AMINA, a staff member of GEZA/ Samariterbund (Gemeinnützge Entwicklungszusammenarbeit) as well as Gumato Ukur, the head officer of KNEF, Guyo Tocha, the Water Officer, the Public Health Officer, the engineer of the underground water tanks, Chief Bonaya of Hurri Hills and the driver. That time, during the monitoring tour of AMINA and GEZA, we were a big group and we visited not only the four villages of Shankera, Toricha, Yaa Gara and Borri again but also four more, where GEZA/Samariterbund implemented water projects. Also this time the villages were informed beforehand about the visitors but now they made big preparations. In every village a goat was slaughtered for the donors, the women were dancing and singing and bracelets, necklaces and calabashes were given as presents to show how grateful they were for the water tanks. During that tour I did not have a specific task and could take a backseat. During my first visit I had to concentrate on the interviews, but now I was free and able to observe people, activities, interactions and behaviours the whole time. In addition, when I was accompanying AMINA and GEZA/Samariterbund on their monitoring tour I learned a lot about the construction and pre-conditions of building a water tank, the coordination and cooperation in terms of water projects in the area as well as further problems and challenges concerning such projects.

After clarifying the methods of data collection during the field work, the next section describes the mode of analysis used for the conducted interviews and observations.

4.3. Data Evaluation

The analysis of the empirical data is based on the Grounded Theory which was developed by Anselm Strauß and Barney Glaser in the 1960s and promises a systematic, controlled and testable generation of theory out of empirical data (Mey/Mruck 2011:11). It is not expected "that data should fit the theory [but that] the theory should fit the data " (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 261). The aim of the Grounded Theory is to generate a theory out of collected data. Therefore when working with the Grounded Theory it is important to go in the field without any predetermined hypotheses, in order to be able to absorb the social reality unaffected. According to Glaser and Strauß hypotheses should be extended and modified during the field work, not only falsified. Essential for the Grounded Theory is therefore the recurring exchange process of data collection, data analysis and theory formulation.

In contrast to other methods of analysis where qualitative data is used to test theories and hypotheses and existent data is assigned to existing categories, in cases of theory formulation categories do not exist yet, but are generated on the basis of the data material. This is called `Coding`, where empirical data is classified into categories and concepts which are used to develop a theory (Lueger 2004: 225f.). Key factor in this coding process is the continuous comparison of similarities and differences. "This technique of contrasting data first against itself, then against evolving original data, and finally against extant theoretical and conceptual claims, facilitates the emergence of knowledge" (Duchscher/Morgan 2004: 607) that "provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications" (Glaser/Strauss 1967: 1).

For the field study of this thesis the Grounded Theory was adopted. Before going into the field there was only little literature review done in order to remain open to all aspects and perspectives of the researched object. Only after conducting interviews and observations categories were formulated in order to analyse the collected data and to generate new theories.

As mentioned above, the interpretation of interviews and observations is always influenced by the interviewer respectively the observer. It is necessary for the researcher to reflect personal attitudes to the researched topic and the personal role in interview situations in order to sustain objectivity. Therefore a self-reflexion was conducted in the following final section of the methodology chapter.

4.4. Personal Reflexion

During my research it was important for me to reflect my personal perspective and position concerning the topic. Chandra Mohanty argues that

> assumptions of privilege and ethnocentric universality on the one hand, and inadequate self-consciousness about the effect of Western scholarship on the `third world` in the context of a world system dominated by the West on the other, characterize a sizable extent of Western feminist work on women in the third world (Mohanty 1984: 335).

Therefore, since this thesis is about participation and empowerment of women, for me as a white, Western, middle-class woman a constant reflection of my assumptions and expectations in relation to the interviewed women in Kenya was essential.

Thus, when dealing with writings about women from developing countries by Western feminists "the global hegemony of Western scholarship" (Mohanty 1984: 336) has to be considered. When a Western white woman writes about women and men in a developing country like Kenya, there is a big gap between observant and observed. A problem that was criticized a lot by feminists from developing countries, like the DAWN network, is that women from developing countries are represented as `the other`, that means poor, sexually constrained, tradition-bound and uneducated victims in Western feminist writings. DAWN criticizes that white feminists do that in order to portray themselves as modern, educated women, who have control over their bodies and are free to decide on their own what is best for them (Mohanty 1984: 337). It is similar to Edward Said`s Orientalism of 1978, who argued that the separation of Orient and Occident was used as a tool "in various ways to create, reinforce, mystify, manipulate and control the image of the `other`, always from the `positional superiority` of the West" (Said 1978 in Chowdhry 1995: 27).

Furthermore feminists from developing countries are against the presentation of all women as a homogenous group that suffers from the same oppression, difficulties and challenges in life. According to DAWN "[f]eminism cannot be monolithic in its issues, goals and strategies, since it constitutes the political expression of the concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds" (Sen/Grown 1988: 18 in Pichler 2003: 66). Western women have other experiences and preconditions than women from developing countries. Therefore women from the South reject the sisterhood model of

Western feminists that universalizes women`s needs and instead plead for a diversity of feminism where all different voices can be heard (Pichler 2003: 66; Momsen 2004: 3).

This thesis is about women in developing countries and therefore it is crucial that these women are not misrepresented or patronized in any way or complex social identities simplified. Like Spivak said:

> Instead of patronizing and romanticizing them, we must learn to learn from them, to speak to them, to suspect that their access to the political and sexual scene is not merely to be corrected by our superior theory and enlightened compassion […] and the First World feminist must learn to stop feeling privileged as a woman (Spivak 1988: 135f.).

In order to prevent misrepresentation or patronizing it was tried to continuously reflect assumptions, attitudes and expectations during conducting the interviews as well as during the whole writing process of this thesis.

The aim of the following fifth chapter is now to describe the project that was used as base study for this thesis. It includes the conducting organisations with their objectives, the target group and area, in paticular the water situation in the region, as well as the process of the implementation of the underground water tanks.

5. Water and Sanitation Project (WATSAN) in Hurri Hills

From August 2011 until January 2013 `Aktiv für Menschen in Not Austria` (AMINA) is implementing a project for the provision of water and sanitation for nomadic people in Northern Kenya (WATSAN), which is co-financed by the OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID). The project is based in Hurri Hills, Maikona Division, I the Chalbi District of the Upper Eastern region of Northern Kenya. AMINA`s local project partner is the Kanacho Nomadic Educational Foundation (KNEF) and it also cooperates with `Gemeinnützige Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (GEZA)/ Samariterbund` and `WADI` (Water Disinfection) in this project. The aim of the project is to provide the pastoralist communities of four villages in Northern Kenya with potable water through the construction of underground water tanks. Water committees consisting of three women and three men should be established to manage the tanks and water sites. Furthermore, the sanitation services in the communities and schools as well as hygiene standards of the population should be improved (AMINA 2011a: 7). In the following sections the project and implementing organisations are described in detail, from the structure and organisation to a description of region and people as well as the objectives of the project.

5.1. AMINA (Aktiv für Menschen in Not Austria)

`Aktiv für Menschen in Not Austria` (AMINA) is an independent Non-Profit-Organisation (NPO) which was founded in 2003 and is based in Vienna, Austria. AMINA is a small association with only two permanent employees and a voluntary board. The organisation engages in emergency relief and sustainable development aid. The aim of the organisation is to help people in distress to get on their own feet again and to inform the Austrian public about current projects in Africa, Asia, Latin America/Caribbean and Eastern Europe. AMINA supports people to overcome an immediate stress situation and develop their own survival strategies. The organisation acknowledges the right to food and access to water as essential human rights and therefore fights against poverty, hunger and malnourishment. The focus of AMINA`s work lies on marginalized and disadvantaged social groups such as children, women, elderly, sick and disabled people (AMINA 2010a: 4).

AMINA was supporting projects in Africa, Asia, Latin America/Caribbean and Eastern Europe as AMURT, the original name of the association. It performed reconstruction work

after natural disasters, built orphanages and schools and supported agricultural activities for food security. AMURT was founded in 2003 in Vienna. Since 2005 it was a member of AMURT International and was also active in disaster management and development aid. Since 2009 the association carries out its own projects which are, among others, co-financed by the Austrian Development Aid (ADA). In January 2011 the name of the association was changed to AMINA and contracted out of AMURT International. It managed to create new cooperating partnerships and find new donors. Since 2010 AMINA is an approved Austrian organisation which guarantees that donations are dedicated to a special purpose. Also, since 2011 donations for AMINA are tax-deductible (AMINA 2011b: 3f.).

AMINA´s projects are funded by public or private donors. Among the public donors are the `OPEC Fund for International Development` (OFID), the `Österreichische Entwicklungs-zusammenarbeit` (OEZA) and `Stadt Wien`. How the donated money is spent is decided by the executive board and at least one person of the voluntary board as well as the local project partner. Since AMINA is a charity organisation it tries to spare costs in every way. Only two part-time workers are employed and its office is rented in a open-plan office to limit administrative costs (AMINA 2011b: 4).

In 2011 the financial means of AMINA for project work summed up to about 700 000 Euro, consisting of about 521 000 Euro of donations, 133 000 Euro of public grants and about 60 000 Euro that were left from the year before. The total expense of 2011 consists of project-related costs (85%), fund raising (5%) and administration expenses (4%) as well as not yet used committed means (6%). The project-related costs consist of staff costs, public relations, fund raising campaigns, operative expenditures and direct aid. In total about 249.000 Euro were sent as direct project aid to AMINA`s partner countries (AMINA 2011b: 14f.).

AMINA is working closely together with local organisations in the partner countries and uses their local know-how for the implementation of the project. Project ideas come from the partner countries or partner organisations and project proposals are always developed together. The involvement of local partners and co-workers is essential for the project planning. Authorized projects are implemented by the project manager on-site after consultation with AMINA who is lastly responsible to the donor. Besides local partners in the project countries AMINA is also cooperating with `Gemeinnützige

Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (GEZA)/Samariterbund` and `WADI` (Water disinfection) (AMINA 2010b: 17).

At the moment AMINA has projects in Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. The biggest projects are the Water and Hygiene Project in Mozambique and the establishment of care facilities for elderly people in Moldova, both co-financed by OEZA. Furthermore AMINA has two water tank projects in Kenya and Mozambique, a women empowerment project in Northern Kenya, a women health project and a project to enhance food security and agricultural production in Niger as well as a project to support the Albert Schweitzer Hospital in Haiti and a project for street children in Senegal (AMINA 2011b: 5ff.).

5.2. Stakeholders

The WATSAN project that AMINA is implementing is very well embedded in the national strategies "and the alignment with regional and local development objectives and strategies is well established" (AMINA 2011b: 17). Also, the WATSAN project is implemented in close cooperation with the local Kenyan organisation KNEF.

The Kanacho Nomadic Educational Foundation (KNEF) was founded in 2009 in Kenya and is based in Nairobi and Marsabit. It is registered as "a charitable and community development agency" (AMINA 2011b: 2) with a grassroots philosophy and the concern of meeting rural poverty challenges in Northern Kenya. Its target group are the Gabbra people who live mostly in the region of Hurri Hills where also the founders of KNEF are from. Therefore they have access to the target groups and are well linked to the local government in Maikona. The team of the organisation consists of experts in administration and education as well as health, water and sanitation. The objectives of KNEF range from building schools to health issues like HIV/Aids, to building underground tanks, dams and boreholes to improve the water and sanitation situation in the area. So far KNEF constructed five underground tanks, did hygiene promotion and restocking together with the government, supported students without means with scholarships, built pre-primary schools and did trainings on HIV/Aids as well as on women and children rights (AMINA 2011b: 2).

In the WATSAN project KNEF and AMINA work closely together with community leaders, NGOs and technical officers from government departments like the Ministry of Water and

Irrigation as well as Public Health and Sanitation. While the Ministry of Water and Irrigation gives technical advice on the construction of the water tanks, the Ministry of Public Health and Sanitation is taking care of sanitation and hygiene standards and trainings. Also involved are the District Water Officer and the Hurri Hills Location Development Committee which provides land for the tanks and acts as a supervisor. In addition, the Water User Association in Hurri Hills was established as an umbrella organisation which oversees the management of water resources. The National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) makes sure that all activities going on during the project are in accordance with environment protection guidelines (AMINA 2011b: 18).

5.3. Objectives

The overall objective of the WATSAN project of AMINA and KNEF is to contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) 1, 4, 5 and 7. That means, ending poverty and hunger, improving child and maternal health and improving access to water and sanitation. Furthermore the provision of safe water and sanitation should assist in achieving universal primary education, in improving gender equality and women empowerment, in combating HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases and in ensuring environmental sustainability (AMINA 2012: 8).

The project objective is to improve the water and sanitation situation and provide better health and hygiene standards in the four target villages Yaa Gara, Toricha, Shankera and Borri in Hurri Hills. Besides that a special concern of the WATSAN project is the increased participation and empowerment of women (AMINA 2011b: 14). The project should create awareness on gender and equity and show how a gender balance enhances the community development. Therefore "[w]omen will be actively involved in the preparation for the various workshops and sensitization meetings at the project site" (AMINA 2011b: 8) and an essential policy of the project is that 50% of the members of the water committee have to be women.

AMINA and KNEF decided to emphasize gender because concerning water there are big differences between women and men in terms of use, access and management. While men for example advocate water for livestock, women emphasize the importance of domestic water which is needed by everybody. In the traditional and patriarchal communities of the target group it is the women who are responsible for managing the precious resource water,

nevertheless their hard work is not recognized by men. Work of women is taken for granted and not valued (AMINA 2012: 8). Therefore it is important to promote gender equity in the project which should lead to

> [i]mproved efficiency of water use, [r]educed water loss and improved maintenance, [i]mproved adaptability to periods of water shortage, [i]ncreased access to water supply, [i]mproved sustainability of water supply systems, [a]cceptable and effective water supply system design, [s]ustained operation of the supply system, [r]eduction of conflicts, [i]mproved protection of water resources, [p]rotection of water supply sources [and] [i]mproved health conditions (AMINA 2012: 9).

5.4. Target Area and Target Group

Hurri Hills in Northern Kenya, Marsabit District, is the target area of this project. It is a very arid and dry region situated on the Kenyan-Ethiopian border. The biggest town is Marsabit with a population of about 30 000 people. Other bigger villages in the area are Maikona, Kalacha and Hurri Hills town. The distance from Marsabit, the largest town in the area, to Maikona is about 95 km, from Maikona to Hurri-Hills town, where we were staying during the field trip, about 80 km and Hurri-Hills town is about 75 km away from Kalacha. Usually it rains twice a year. There are the long rains from March to May and the short rains during October and December as can be seen in figure 1. The months between June and September are usually very dry. Unfortunately the rainy seasons are very unpredictable and unreliable since they sometimes are very little or fail to appear completely (Tocha 2012: 1).

Figure 1: Rainfall in Hurri Hills, 2009 and 2010 (in mm)
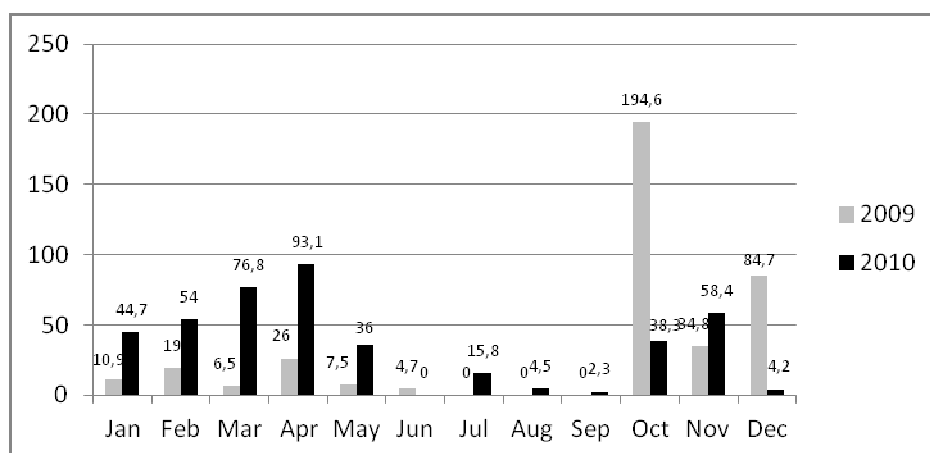
(Source: Ministry of Water Chalbi district 2011 in AMINA 2011b: 10)

As the name suggests Hurri Hills consists of a lot of hills with an altitude of 700 to 1685 metres. It has flat plains as well as hills with steep slopes which is a very good condition for water harvesting in underground water tanks. The temperatures in Hurri hills range between 25 to 30 degrees throughout the year with cool and windy misty mornings and nights on the hills and hot days on the plains (Tocha 2012: 1).

In order to find out about the conditions and needs in the region KNEF and AMINA did a baseline survey in March 2011 which presented a better picture of the target region and people and thus helped making decisions about the project preparation and implementation. The outcomes of the survey concerning the four target villages are portrayed in the following paragraph.

The village Shankera is about 8 kilometres west of Hurri Hills and according to the baseline survey 2011 it has a population of about 750 people. The village is scattered which means that Shankera actually consists of different small villages that live separated from each other but still belong together. The reason for this might be that the people living in Shankera are mostly internally displaced (IDPs) people due to the Gabbra-Borana conflict 2005-2006. Shankera has a dispensary and a boarding primary school since the people stopped moving from place to place. Yaa Gara is a sacred village and located 10 kilometres North-West of Hurri Hills, already very close to the Kenyan-Ethiopian border. Being a sacred village means first, that the people living in Yaa Gara have a special status. Their opinions weigh more than the ones of other people. Secondly, being sacred means that the people of Yaa Gara are bound to a certain area and are not allowed stepping outside this area in search of pasture or water. Also, they are not allowed to intermarry with people from `outside`. "We are a sacred village and we are mandated to grass in some particular area which is water stressed and we are not supposed to mix with other people and all this kind of thing" (Yaa Gara-M-WC). Yaa Gara has a population of about 735 people who live together in 127 households. Toricha is about 50 kilometres away from Maikona and has a population of about 1145 people living in 163 households. It is also scattered like Shankera but the small villages live within eyeshot of each other. Nowadays Toricha also has a primary school. Borri is located 15 kilometres west of Hurri Hills centre with a population of about 395 people living in 100 households. It has a primary school with their own teacher from the community and one pit latrine.

Hurri Hills is located 800 kilometres away from Kenya`s capital Nairobi. The area was neglected for a long time due to its remoteness. The people living in Hurri Hills are Gabbra, Boranas and a few Watas, a lot of them internally displaced people (IDPs) due to the Borana-Gabbra conflict in 2005 and 2006 (Tocha 2012: 2). The Kenyan-Ethiopian border region is known for violent incidents once in a while, like cross-border bandits. The reason for these conflicts is mostly water. The Borana are also a pastoralist community who live at the Kenyan-Ethiopian border. In this area the ownership of shallow wells and natural springs which have been either built by the government or are formed naturally during the rainy season, is not defined. Therefore there are no management committees and the water is seen to be free for all. As a consequence, each of the ethnic groups tries to control the resources because water is a very scarce commodity. Thus in 2005 the Gabbra from North Horr and the Borana from Ethiopia were once again fighting over water in this arid region. 80 residents from Turbi village, which is about 50 kilometres east of Hurri Hills town, were killed, including women and children. Another source of turmoil is post-election violence that was also very present in the Eastern region of Northern Kenya in the past (AMINA 2011b: 4). As a consequence, regional institutions as well as the United Nations encourage peace initiatives in the area. This is exactly what AMINA and KNEF are doing with the WATSAN project. With the construction of underground water tanks in Hurri Hills through AMINA and KNEF more water is available in this region which means the project contributes to the reduction of conflicts between Gabbra and Borana. Every tank that has been built belongs to a certain village and is managed by themselves which makes the ownership very clear (AMINA 2011b: 20). Furthermore, the water has to be paid for which means that people from outside who have a water emergency can also access the water when they pay for it. This initiative "is viewed as enhancing peaceful coexistence between these communities" (AMINA 2011b: 5;20).

5.4.1. Gabbra Community

Since the Gabbra live in this harsh environment and in an isolated region the people belong to the poorest of the poor living with less than 1 US-Dollar per day per person (AMINA 2011b: 5). Since the country`s independence in 1963 nothing really changed for the pastoralists in Kenya. In fact, especially the pastoralists in the border region of Northern Kenya are "forgotten people, often unheard and unprotected and gravely marginalized and falling at the bottom of Kenya's poverty ranking indexes" (AMINA 2011b: 5). Kenya`s National Poverty

Eradication Plan 1999-2015 ranks Marsabit, of which Hurri Hills is a part, as the poorest district in Kenya (AMINA 2011b: 5).

Therefore, the target group of the WATSAN project are the Gabbra, especially the women. The Gabbra are a pastoralist nomadic community. When there is not enough pasture anymore for their livestock, whole families or communities migrate, transporting their huts on camels. The unit that owns a camel herd is defined as one household. Sons often share herds with their father or brothers, with the eldest brother being the head of the household. As soon as sons or younger brothers have their own camel herd they are considered as an own household (Mace 1996: 75f.). The Gabbra keep livestock like goats, camels and a few cows for their subsistence (Tocha 2012: 2). They drink the milk of camels, goats and sometimes sheep and slaughter goats and sheep for their meat or sell them on the market. Sheep and goats are herded by men or children far away from the family huts while the women engage in domestic activities. Men usually return to their villages during the rainy seasons from October to December and March to May when there is enough pasture around for the animals (AMINA 2011b: 9). Like water and sanitation, also health and educational facilities are very rare in the villages of Hurri Hills (Mace 1996: 75).

5.4.2. Gender Roles

The Gabbra society is "patrilocal and patrilineal" (Mace 1996: 75). Men are usually moving from one place to another with their livestock in search for pasture and water while women and children under the age of five stay at home. There is a strict gendered division of work. Men are responsible for the selling and keeping of livestock, while women have to attend to various domestic tasks, ranging from cooking, cleaning and washing to taking care of the children and the elderly to fetching firewood and water. Being responsible for water provision means that women have to walk long distances to the next permanent water source during the dry season and carry heavy buckets back home on their heads or shoulders. This is a very energy- and time-consuming task. As a consequence, the women do not have time for other productive activities and therefore stay "economically disempowered" (AMINA 2011b: 9).

According to the staff of AMINA and KNEF it is assumed that every girl in the Gabbra villages is circumcised and infibulated when she is still very young. It is a taboo issue so it cannot be said for sure. Women suffer a lot from the consequences their whole life but since it is a very traditional and patriarchal society female genital mutilation is accepted and not

questioned by Gabbra women. Talking about it is still a taboo which is why it was difficult to find out more about the issue during the field study. The answers concerning this issue were very short and the conversation was changed to another topic quickly. Sex before marriage is strictly forbidden and in case an unmarried girl gets pregnant she and the man will be banned from the community (Mace 1996: 75). Polygamy is allowed in the Gabbra community, but limited. According to Mace, a British anthropologist, 88% of marriages are monogamous. Nevertheless it is not uncommon for an old man to marry a younger woman when he wants more children and the first wife is approaching menopause. In general, every woman is married between the age of 15 and 25 years and gives birth to about five children. Women are seen as the property of men. Therefore violence against women and so called wife beatings are common (Caritas-Darare). Divorce on the other hand is not common. If a woman wants to divorce her husband she has to run away. Then both can have other relationships but in case the woman gets pregnant again from another man, the new children still belong to her first husband (Yaa Gara-W-WC). This also applies in cases when widows are giving birth again (Mace 1996: 75).

According to Mrs. Darare from Caritas Marsabit whose work focuses on women empowerment, a major problem of Gabbra women is also that they do not own property which keeps them from being economically empowered (Caritas-Darare). The Gabbra people depend on their livestock. According to the interviewed people goats and camels belong to the whole family, but Darare makes clear that it is men who are responsible for livestock and therefore they have control over it. So the men decide when and for what price to sell the animals, while the revenue out of the sale is then given to the woman because she is the treasurer in the Gabbra family, the one who keeps the money in a small box and manages the family`s expenses. It becomes clear in the interviews that women do benefit from the money the sale of livestock brings, but they cannot decide when, where or for how much it is sold. For example, when they want to go the hospital or buy new clothes, it is the man who decides if the goat is sold or not. That means if the woman demands anything for her own needs, it becomes difficult and her welfare depends solely on the good will of the man (Caritas-Darare).

Another major burden for Gabbra women is the lack of water. Hurri Hills is a very arid area with little rain which is why the underground water tanks were contructed. How the particular water situation in Hurri Hills looks like is the topic of the following section.

5.5. Water Situation in the Region

In Hurri Hills there is no permanent water source because the water table is very low. Drilling was tried but stopped after not finding water up to a depth of 325 metres. Another plan was building a pipeline from Maikona, where there is a permanent water source, to Hurri Hills. But due to high costs and maintenance efforts required the plan was dismissed (AMINA 2011b: 10). Therefore, basically, the only available water source for the people in the villages is rain water. Dams and rock catchments were built to harvest rain water and alleviate the chronic water shortage in the area, but usually the people have to rely on rainwater pools and store the rain water in small plastic tanks and buckets. This means that the already little rainfall is not fully used and trickles away. "Dry periods and drought are usually followed by smaller floods of rain water which are wasted due to the lack of rain water harvesting facilities" (AMINA 2011b: 10). When the stored rain water is finished the people have to rely on water trucks to bring water to their villages or they have to truck water for domestic use themselves from places with a permanent water source, like in this case Maikona or Kalacha, which are about 50 to 70 kilometres away from the villages. In 2007 for example, when there was an extreme drought in Northern Kenya, NGOs and the government started to bring food aid to affected areas to prevent starvation and financed water trucks which brought thousands of litres of water in the villages. This water was only for domestic use though, water for animals still had to be trucked from places far away (Tocha 2012: 2; AMINA 2011a: 2).

5.5.1. Sanitation

Besides water the four villages also lack sanitation facilities like pit latrines. Either the toilets are too few, broken or non-existent. "There was one that was initially constructed but because of the strong wind around the roof was blown off and it was exposed so we could not manage this" (Borri-W-WC). Open defecation is the most common practice according to the baseline survey 2011. As figure 2 shows 90% prefer open defecation to latrines, which are only used by 6%. Along with that comes the hygiene problem since there are no hand-washing facilities because of the lack of water. Sometimes people use sand or ash to clean their hands instead of water, only very few use soap. Very often though the people do not use any cleansing agent at all, as can be seen in figure 3 (AMINA 2011b: 12). On this account the WATSAN project built 10 toilets in a village called Forole which is bigger than the four villages of the field study, and hence also has more inhabitants. Initially it was planned to erect separate toilets for women and men but out of practical reasons and with the agreement of the affected people it

was decided that four to five households should share one toilet. It has to be locked so that nobody can harm it and it stays clean. The problem is that only one key exists which means the different households need to arrange themselves (AMINA 2011b: 11). In addition KNEF and AMINA also provided three hand washing facilities and hygiene promotion trainings in schools in Forole (AMINA 2012: 12).

Figure 2: Defecation habits of people in Hurri Hills
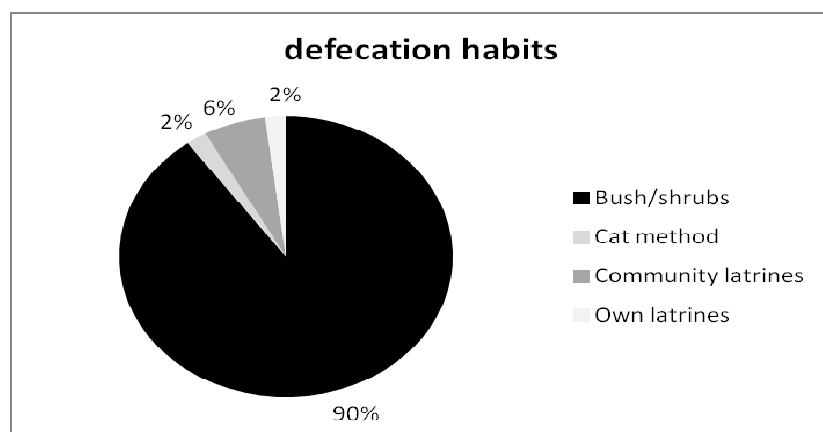
(n=380 persons asked/ Data from Baseline Survey March 2011 in AMINA 2011b: 12)

Figure 3: Cleansing agents used by people in Hurri Hills
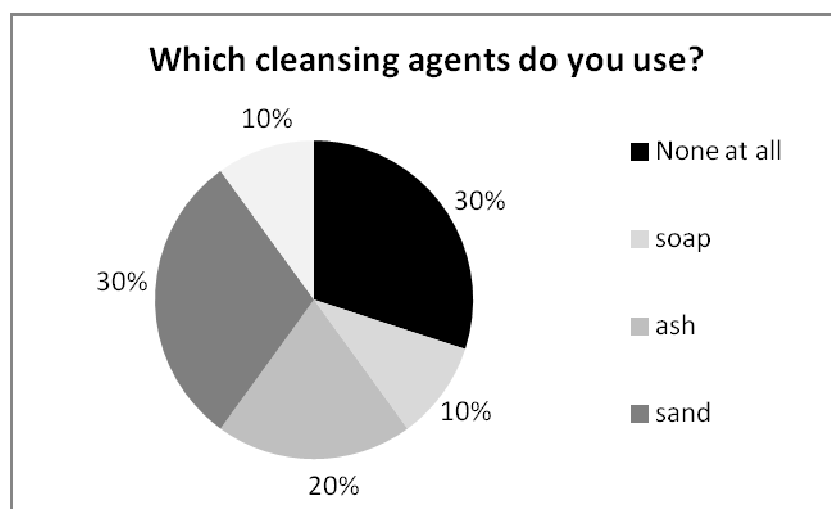
(n=380 persons asked/ Data from Baseline Survey March 2011 in AMINA 2011b: 13)

The people in the inquired villages wish for more pit latrines because through the trainings they got aware of how dangerous human waste can be to their health. Sanitation priorities should be a priority besides water in order to control the hazardous waste disposal and conserve the environment (Toricha-M-WC). It is also important to consider that even when toilets are available, people refuse to use it because of their usual habits. They often do not

like to use the toilet when it is close to their hut. It is therefore necessary to do hygiene promotion, make people aware of health risks and introduce the new latrines as well as improve hand-washing habits. In addition it is essential to protect the water facility from animal and human waste and to explain the safe disposal of it (KNEF-Tocha). A consideration of the programme coordinator Tocha was to build facilities close to the water point in the future so that when people come to draw water they are able to wash themselves and use the toilet at the same time. Another issue to be considered concerning sanitation is personal hygiene. The people in the villages do not have showers and cannot wash themselves regularly because of the lack of water. A water committee member from Borri explains that

> personal hygiene issues are of less importance to us now, as of now water is not sufficient. We have been informed in the training about cleanliness and personal hygiene practices but due to lack of water we cannot maintain that standard that is required of us […] We fear the pain of the thirst (Borri-M-WC2).

Most of the water the people in Hurri Hills have is rain water which is not very clean because these are surface run-offs and the water can be polluted by human or animal waste. Due to the lack of clean water and hygiene standards a lot of water-borne diseases occur in this area, like cholera, diarrhoea and skin diseases. A very positive aspect of the Gabbra culture is that the adult people rarely drink pure water but live on tea. This means the water is cooked and the bacteria are killed. Nevertheless, as mentioned above aqua tabs are distributed to purify the water which is mostly important for children. But according to the Public Health Officer they are often not used. One problem is that the tablets make the water taste like chlorine which the people are not used to. As a consequence they stop using it. This leads to children dropping out of school because they are sick or have to help to fetch water for their families (AMINA 2011b: 13). Another issue is that the tablets are finished after some time and there is no shop where people can buy new ones. In order to improve this situation, which does not comply with the sustainability standards, KNEF and AMINA started to distribute WADIs in the villages. This is a very easy to use tool which purifies water with the energy of the sun. The WADI can be attached to a plastic bottle filled with water that is put in the sun for at least 8 hours. After that time a sign appears on the WADI that tells the people that the water is now safe to drink. It is now used on a pilot basis but when it turns out to be effective it will replace the water purification tablets because this "measure is not only less costly but also more sustainable, healthier for the users, environmentally friendly and involves cheap maintenance" (AMINA 2010b: 19).

Due to all those above mentioned problems AMINA and KNEF decided to construct latrines in one village and also underground water tanks in four different villages. The process of the implementation of the project is outlined in the following paragraph.

5.5.2. Implementation of Underground Water Tanks

In Hurri Hills the rainy seasons are always followed by extreme droughts. It is a vicious circle and water is never enough. During another extreme drought in 2009 the villagers thought that this drought was the end; they feared for their life and safety and were sure that they were going to die if nothing changed soon (Shankera-M-NWC). Thus, the people of the four villages Shankera, Yaa Gara, Toricha and Borri decided to send elders to seek help in Marsabit where they got to know KNEF. When they shared their situation they got food aid and emergency water from the World Food Programme and support from the Kenya Red Cross. That is how the villages started to get assistance from different organisations, among others from KNEF and AMINA.

After listening to the problems and appeals of the people, KNEF carried out a baseline study in 2011 to collect data of the target group and assess their needs, especially concerning water and sanitation. At this time the region was affected by an extreme drought again, the rains did not start until the end of April. The situation was defined as a humanitarian emergency. Subsequently, KNEF and AMINA decided together with the communities to build an underground water tank enfolding 100 000 litres, in each village (AMINA 2011b: 3;10).

The aim was to provide at least 15 litres of water per person per day for domestic use such as drinking, cooking and personal hygiene throughout the year which is a major challenge. The rain water that is collected in the tanks usually lasts for six to seven months of the year, for the rest of the time water trucks have to carry water from Maikona or Kalacha to the villages which is then stored in the tanks. "We usually had no storage, also not at household level. So now with having the underground water tanks here, when it rains it holds water for us and it helps us to pursue our life. It is very good" (Borri-M-WC2). The tanks are located close to the village which means water is now easily accessible and women are relieved from the tremendous burden of fetching water from far away water points (AMINA 2011b: 10f.).

According to Guyo Tocha, programme manager of KNEF, it was crucial for the project to use a bottom-up-approach, not a top-down-approach because the aim was "a community-owned

initiative" (KNEF-Tocha) where the people are involved in every step (KNEF-Tocha). "In order to make the project sustainable it is important to involve the target community from the beginning, starting with the site identification for the underground tanks" (AMINA 2011b: 15). The land fo the tanks was provided by the communities and the Local Development Committee. The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and the village elders decided to build the tank in a distance of three to five kilometres of the villages because it is necessary that the tanks are located at the foot of a hill so that rain water can easily be collected (AMINA 2011b: 15). "So the site identification was done both by the community members and by the Water Department that is actually involved" (KNEF-Tocha). A contractor from Maikona is responsible for leading and monitoring the construction of the tanks. "Technical officers from government like ministries were co-opted to facilitate in sensitization meetings and focus group discussions to harmonize and hybrid ideas" (AMINA 2011a: 3). The contractor has the technical knowledge, but it is the people of the village who decide and whose social demands are considered. It is also them who clear and excavate the site, concrete the tank and provide food (AMINA 2011b: 7). In one of the villages, Toricha, the people even started to excavate a tank themselves before KNEF supported them. "We did the excavation, pulled very small resources together to do the excavation and when KNEF came around we shared our problems with them" (Borri-M-WC).

Due to the WATSAN project a water committee was established in each village that is managing, repairing and maintaining the tanks. In order to fulfil their tasks as water committee properly, the six members are trained by KNEF in management of the water tanks and hygiene promotion. This also includes the right usage of aqua tabs for water purification that are distributed by AMINA and KNEF in the villages. The water committee sells the water for one Kenya Shilling per litre, a price that was agreed upon together with the community members. Usually every family is allowed to draw 20 litres of water at once. So the people usually pay 20 Kenya Shilling (ca. 20 Eurocent) per 20 litres. It is the responsibility of the water committee to establish a water-pay-system to make the project sustainable. The idea is to generate funds by selling the rain water in the tanks which will be used during the dry season to hire water trucks (AMINA 2011a: 4; AMINA 2011b: 11). This is a new system that the people in the villages still have to get used to, but so far the acceptance of the system in the target villages is good because they now know that the little amount they are contributing is going to help them to hire a water trucks in the dry season (Borri-M-WC). In order to be able to pay for the water they have to sell their animals. Sometimes men can also engage in

excavating and silting of dams that are funded by other programmes to earn some money. In general though, the villagers are dependent on their livestock:

> Now for us, to save our lives, we will sell the only bull we have for the purpose of water. Of course, this bull we could have sold and reinvested in another business opportunity. But now, because our life is threatened by water scarcity, we have to make sure that it takes care about our domestic water (Yaa Gara-W-NWC).

Out of the water sale the communities collect about 85 000 Kenya Shilling (about 850 Euro). Hiring a water truck costs 25 000 to 30 000 Kenya Shilling (about 250-300 Euro), but it does not fill up the tank but only brings water for two weeks. The water committee discusses amongst themselves about important decisions at first and then takes it to the community. Later they call community meetings where it is decided what would be appropriate for each and every common person in the village (Toricha-M-WC).

KNEF and AMINA encourage the community to replicate this water harvesting technology using the funds accrued from the initial tanks to invest it in more underground water tanks for the community. In Shankera and Toricha the youth group has already started excavating a new tank and also women thinking about starting a similar activity. "We need to create more of these facilities, using our own abilities to create this water source for ourselves" (Shankera-M-WC).

> This is a clear sign that we are showing you that we stay here to maintain and manage our resource. […] [W]e are creating a similar initiative on our own, that will also prove to you that we are willing to stay together as a village, work together, to replicate what you have done for us. This is the insurance we are giving you (Shankera-M-NWC).

5.5.3. Changes and Improvements

When the target villages of the WATSAN project were visited in September and October 2012 all four underground water tanks have been built and three of them had already been filled with rain water during the short rains from March to May. At the time of the visit though, there was no rain water left in the tanks anymore and the villagers were waiting desperately for the long rains to fill up their tanks. The drought started in June and short rains were only expected in the middle of November. The Chief of Hurri Hills was very worried how to manage the two remaining months without water. For him, the days between September and the short rains, is a time of crisis (Chief Hurri Hills).

With the implementation of the water committees and the acceptance of the water-for-payment system by the community the project is expected to be sustainable. As mentioned above the revenue generated with the sale of the rainwater should be used to hire water trucks during extreme water stress when the rain water in the tanks is finished. The money is managed through a bank account owned by the villages where the usage can be controlled. This revolving fund also intends to help the communities to become independent from outside assistance. An example is the village of Shankera, which has already hired 10 water trucks in the dry season with the money it generated with the rain water of only one rainy season. As a result, now the community is able to maintain itself, truck water and store it in the underground water tanks (Shankera-W-WC). This is also a big benefit from the project, that besides harvesting the rain water the tanks can also be used for storage purpose during emergency water trucking. Also when the water tank has some minor problems, like cracks that need to be repaired, they can solve it themselves without any outside help. With the generated money from the water sell they can buy the necessary material and pay an artisan to repair the tank (KNEF-Tocha).

One problem now is that during the drought the number of animals has been drastically reduced which means the people have less livestock to sell, therefore people become poorer and as a consequence cannot afford the water anymore. At the time of the field study the people were already selling their goats, camels and cattle to be able to afford another water truck together (Chief Hurri Hills). When there is no water and no money left anymore, the women have to go and truck water again from far away water points. The interviewed villagers agree that the situation with the water tanks now is far better than before, but they also think that the one water tank they have is not sufficient to sustain the whole population. "For sure, this is a tank that has no recharge system. If you compare the situation, now and previously, even currently the problem is not really at rest. It is partially addressed" (Yaa Gara-W-NWC). In relation to this, a woman from Yaa Gara, 21 years old, calls for a subsidy of water because sometimes even paying for the water from the new tanks is very difficult, for example when the livestock is reduced. The woman`s appeal to the helping organisations is to empower the community financially, especially the women, so that in the future the people can sustain themselves (Yaa Gara-W-NWC). Aslo the people wich for some restocking has to be done in the area in order to help vulnerable households to get back on their feet again (Borri-M-WC2). Concerning this the Water Officer points out the environmental factor. According to him the provision of livestock has to be in line with environmental protection.

Hurri Hills is a semi-arid area and very fragile. If a lot of water is brought to the area, people will have a lot of livestock. As a consequence the environment is harmed because the animals eat all the pasture. Therefore a balance between livestock, water and environment has to be found (Water Officer). Another idea to overcome these challenges was proposed by Guyo Tocha, the programme coordinator. He argues that it would be a financial advantage if in the future the villages would have their own water truck. Commercial water trucks are very expensive and the people will not be able to sustain themselves by always hiring them, but a water truck of the organisation only for the villages would be a very sustainable solution because it could be managed by the water committee and the community could pay the allowance for the driver and the fuel themselves with the revenue from the water sell (KNEF-Tocha).

Besides the remaining challenges the Gabbra people of the villages emphasize a lot that the tanks changed their lives for the better. They know that this project is a big step forward; they "feel that now we are human beings who know their identity and we know ourselves now. If somebody now asks us who we are, we can confidently say we are Gabbra" (Toricha-M-NWC). It was very important for the interviewees to express how thankful they are and how much they appreciate the efforts of the project. A man from Shankera explains:

> We were living a worst human life that a human could live. Initially we have seen ourselves living like animals in the wilderness with no concern with none to share our problems. But now we feel like human beings who can be shared, who can be listened to, who can be assessed, that we are human beings now (Shankera-M-NWC).

Nevertheless, besides all the positive impacts the project also led to a big change in the cultural life of the Gabbra people. As mentioned above, originally the Gabbra were a nomadic community who moved around in the area of Hurri Hills in search for water and pasture for livestock and never stayed at one particular place for too long. Now, with the water tanks being build next to their current villages, they decided to settle down next to the water tanks. They became permanently sedentary.

> Now you can see, ok, we are using temporary shelter around here but we feel very comfortable as if we were in a permanent settlement and we are building storey houses. That is what we imagining (Shankera-M-WC).

They are aware that they have given a sacrifice because they have given up their original lifestyle (Shankera-M-NWC), but they are convinced that accessible, safe water is worth it.

Furthermore, by settling down and building schools and health centres they want to assure their supporters, like AMINA and KNEF, that they are serious and that they do not have to be worried that the project will become "a white elephant" (Shankera-M-NWC) or will be abandoned and fail. On the contrary, the people of the village hope that this will convince the donors to give them more support.

Besides water next to their home the settlement also brings other advantages. For one, the Gabbra people started building schools for their children and save money for health facilities. In Shankera, Borri and Toricha they have already established one class for the children of the village. Now they want to build another one so that when the students finish the first grade they can stay in the village instead of moving to another village where they have a second grade class. The next health centre is in Hurri Hills which is three to five days away from the villages. It is impossible for a sick person to walk such a far distance to get to a doctor. Therefore outreach programmes with medical staff are needed that can treat frequent medical issues in different isolated communities (Borri-M-WC2).

The water tanks next to the villages make the biggest difference to women. Now they do not have to walk long distances anymore to fetch water for domestic use. "Since KNEF established this water facility within our closest reach the burden of travelling or trucking for a long distance has been minimized" (Yaa Gara-W-WC). But after the implementation of the water tanks the people, especially women, wish for more. One woman from Borri, a water committee member, is convinced that it would only be enough when one tank was shared by only two households. In her opinion there is enough space for the construction of more underground tanks in Hurri Hills because although the tank relieves them a bit, the water is still insufficient to meet all the daily needs of a family (Borri-W-WC). These tanks relieve the women of a tedious task and they now can use the saved time for other activities. They mention again and again how good they feel now with the tanks close to the village and how much they appreciate them. According to programme manager Guyo Tocha you could also see that the women are physically healthier now than before the intervention (KNEF-Tocha). How the lives of the women living in the target villages changed exactly and how the project, especially the involvement of women in the water committee, impacted on the participation and empowerment of the Gabbra women is examined in the following chapters on the basis of analysing codes.

6. Participation and Empowerment in the WATSAN Project – Interview Analysis

This chapter analyses the interviews that were conducted in September and October 2012 in the four target villages of the WATSAN project of AMINA and KNEF in Hurri Hills. The project was started in August 2011 after Northern Kenya experienced severe droughts in 2007 and 2009. Before the implementation of the project the main problem of the region was the lack of permanent water sources. The people had to rely on rainwater which is only available during the rainy seasons twice a year. In the dry periods the women had to walk to the next permanent water sources which were about 50 to 70 kilometres away from their villages to fetch water for their families. AMINA and KNEF carried out a baseline survey in 2011 to assess pressing water and sanitation needs in Hurri Hills. At this time the situation was already classified as humanitarian emergency again, so AMINA and KNEF decided to build underground water tanks where water can be collected and stored. The aim of the project was majorly to provide people in the region with safe water more permanently and empowering women by involving them in water management activities. Therefore a main policy of the project was a gender balance in the established water committees. In all four villages three women and three men had to participate in the water committee in order to give women and men the same conditions and possibilities.

When the interviews were held the four underground water tanks have already been built, which made it possible to ask the people about their experiences with the new tanks. The interviews are analysed on the basis of categories and sub-categories in order to answer the research question about how women are participating in water projects and to what extent this contributes to their general empowerment.

While dealing with the analysis of the interviews three main categories with sub-categories developed. The first category is `responsibility` which is sub-divided in `time and workload` and `self-perception and confidence`. The second main category deals with `decision-making` and the third one focusses on `empowerment` which is split up in the sub-categories `leadership`, `women`s groups` and `power relations`. [1] The analysis starts with the first category `responsibilities` and its sub-category `time and workload`.

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[1] In the analysis the interviewed people are not quoted with their names, but the village name (Shankera/Toricha/Borri/Yaa Gara), sex (W/M) and if they are a member of the water committee (WC) or not (NWC). If the person for example is from Shankera, female and a member of the water committee, the abbreviation looks like this: Shakera-W-WC.

6.1. Responsibilities

6.1.1. Time and workload

Before the underground water tanks were constructed by KNEF and AMINA the water situation in the four villages was very poor. The people, majorly women, had to walk long distances to get to the next water source which can be seeen in figures 4 and 5. While it took the women 50 kilometres or more to get to the next water source in the dry season, during the wet season the water is closer, but they hastill had to walk up tp 10 kilometres.

Figure 4: Distance to collect water in dry season in Hurri Hills
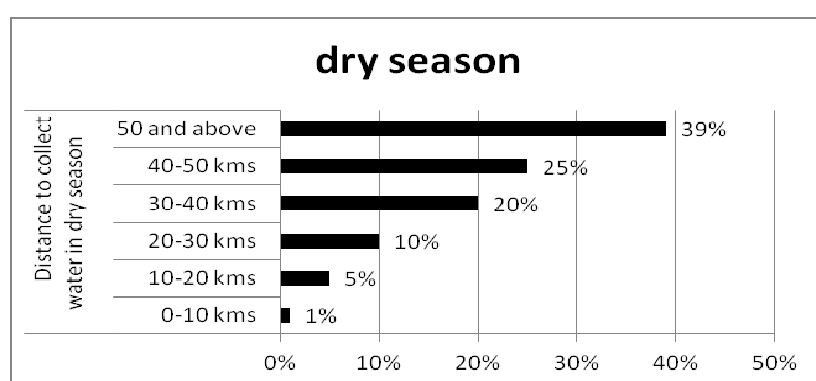
(n=380 persons asked/ Data from Baseline Survey March 2011 in AMINA 2011b: 11)

Figure 5: Distance to collect water in wet season in Hurri Hills
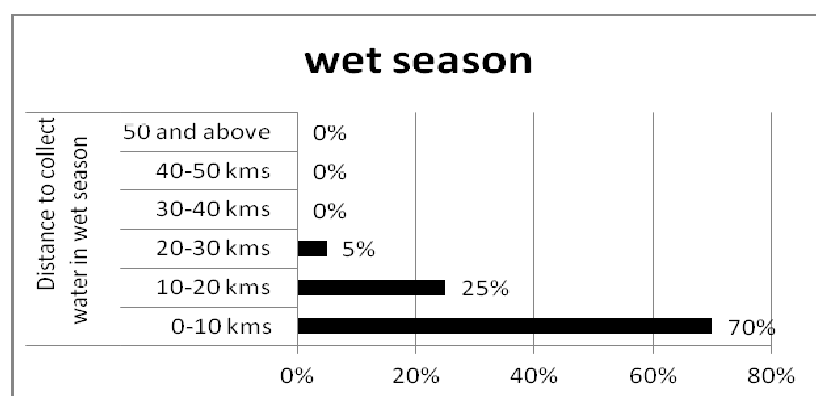
(n=380 persons asked/ Data from Baseline Survey March 2011 in AMINA 2011b: 11)

As mentioned above the region experienced severe droughts in the previous five years and the water situation in the villages even got worse and a lot of camels were dying. They were not allowed to rest and very often when they came to a water point they were not allowed to drink because the water was only for domestic use. In addition, the people of the villages did not have anything to eat anymore which is why they had to draw blood from the camel which

weakened those. As a consequence, the animals got very exhausted and even died. This had negative impacts on the family who was dependant on the camel for carrying the water. The Gabbra depend solely on their livestock for food but during the dry season the animals are far away from the homestead most of the time. According to a man from Borri a lot of small children were malnourished than, which is a clear indication of food-insecurity. The man is convinced that "[w]ater is life. There is not any other developmental activity you can engage in without water" (Borri-M-WC2). During drought the World Food Programme (WFP) provided food for the villagers, but the problem was that they did not have appropriate storage facilities where the food could have been stored. They built one themselves but it did not even prevent animals from going there. Therefore they wish for a small iron shed that also survives the rainy season and prevents the food from being spoiled.

In the Gabbra communities the exhausting and time-consuming task of trucking water is usually done by women. They walk to the water point with a camel that can carry a 40 litres water bucket and come back after two to five days and have to leave again the next day. Since the women are also responsible for the children and it is assumed that the fathers are not capable of taking care of the very young ones, the women have to take the small babies with them on their long, exhausting trip to the water point (Borri-W-NWC). Furthermore, if women would go without their small babies to fetch water, they would not be able to breast-feed them which would have negative implications for the babies as well as for the women. Even pregnant women are not spared from this strenuous task to walk 50 to 70 kilometres in the search for water:

> [T]his domestic task is mainly for women. Be it a girl, be it a mother who is breast-feeding, those who are maybe sometimes spared off are the ones who are to deliver, but other pregnant women are also engaging in drawing water (Toricha-M-NWC).

Usually the women walk by night and rest during the day because of the heat. So besides the already exhausting trip with only little water and food it is also very dangerous because in the dark they might step on a scorpion or some wild animals scare the camels that run away or spill the water. Then the woman has to go back all the way again to get new water. Also now with the water tanks, according to the interviewees, the water is not enough. One tank is not sufficient for the population of a whole village which is steadily growing. "As part of a coping strategy, for us to sustain ourselves in this area, we restrict even the usage of water for drinking, for cooking. We have to skip some meals" (Borri-M-WC2). They also need more water it for their animals because for the pastoralist Gabbra water for animals is one of the

major concerns now that they have access to domestic water. They feel it is time to address the issue of water for their livestock because this is also related to food security and the villager`s ability to pay for water. The chief of Hurri Hills explains it like this: since he gets milk and meat from his goats or can sell them to get money; he also has to share with them. It is a mutual dependency (Chief Hurri Hills). Women from Borri and Shankera are also convinced that more water tanks would be the solution because if there was enough water for domestic use as well as for livestock, the community would be able to sustain itself and in turn the cases of water appeals for humanitarian needs in this area would be reduced. According to them there is no food better than water (Borri-W-WC; Shankera-W-WC).

Before the implementation of the project, when the women came home with their pack camels, the 40 litres of water had to be shared wisely. There was a "scramble for water" (Shankera-M-NWC). Not only humans needed the water, but also animals like goats and camels as well as their children. Every living being wanted to catch a cup of water to satisfy its thirst.

The 40 litres that the women brought to their families after three to five days of an exhausting journey are highly requested and finished soon. Sometimes the exhausted women feel like the water is consumed in one single day: "[T]he 40 litres drum, this water will be finished today. […] So you are forced to engage back in the same tedious journey that you have encountered the previous day" (T-W-NWC). So the next day the women have to start their trip all over again. After several tidious trips and the constant moving for water without enough resting, the women lose energy, hope and trust. They are the ones who have to suffer the most from these very hard circumstances (Toricha-W-NWC):

> Those days we had a lot of problems. We walked day and night in pursuit of water. We get tired during the activity because it is a very long distance. We forget the roles that we used to care about our children, to care for the elderly, the old men and women. We forgot all our domestic work like caring and herding and doing everything just in pursuit of water. It was a very difficult experience and period (Shankera-W-NWC).

> I lost lot of time initially to go and do water trucking for the domestic use. But I lost a lot of responsibility that I was supposed to undertake at the household level, taking care of the children, herding and a lot of other domestic activity, cooking and all this kind of things. It was so much wasted those days. Of recent now with the inception of this tank, I am able to attend to my domestic issues and I am able to see to the progress of our family, development also in terms of herding and taking care of the children and all these kind of things (Y-W-NWC).

These statements describe very well the roles that are given to women by the community. Women are seen as mothers and caretakers and also internalized these roles themselves. It is assumed to be natural that a woman`s task is to take care of children, clean, cook and fetch firewood and water. In case she is not able to fulfil all of her chores she does not complain but feels guilty about it. A female water committee member from Toricha mentions that while walking 70 kilometres to fetch water for her family she feels that she is neglecting a lot of domestic tasks at home that as a woman she is supposed to attend to (Toricha-W-WC). When women go for water the people who stay at home are men, children and elderly people who do not have any water left to drink or cook. The children are taught to stay in the shade because if they go out in the sun they will get thirsty and require water. So people are subjected to stay in the shade until water comes (Borri-M-WC2). Men even blame the women of leaving their children behind in village without water and food (Shankera-M-NWC). A man in Toricha even states that a child may forget its mother because she is always away.

The gender roles are internalized by men as well as women. Women are assumed to be the caretakers of domestic issues and children while men are responsible for the livestock. This gendered labour division is generally accepted and not challenged in the target societies of the Gabbra. A woman from Toricha, a water committee member of 50 years who has five children, said that she felt like she neglected a lot of domestic responsibilities at home that she was supposed to engage in (Toricha-W-WC) and another woman from Borri, 27, mentioned that there are also a lot of other activities she has to fulfill that she as a woman was trained to do (Borri-W-NWC).

While the community, also the men, are aware of the problems the long journeys of the women for water brought with them before the WATSAN project, they never mention an idea about helping and supporting the women by fetching water instead of them or taking better care of the children to provide the women with some spare time. The availability of water means is a big change in the daily life of women. With the implementation of the underground water tanks next to the villages due to the project the women gain time because they are relieved of walking long hours to the water. The question now is if the women also engage in other productive activities after the project was implemented which are not related to their domestic tasks. Interestingly, the women of all four villages answered that now they can fulfil their domestic tasks again. This includes taking care of children, cooking, fetching firewood or herding animals:

> The benefits, the distance to fetch domestic water have been reduced and I am able to engage in other productive activities at the household level (Shankera-W-NWC).

> Herding our animals is one activity I am engaging. The second activity is that I am taking care of my family, my children. I cook for them, I take care of them. These are activities I have never been contributing when I was going to draw water from long distances (Yaa Gara-W-WC).

All these activities mentioned by the women are done to satisfy the practical gender needs which Moser describes as "the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. They are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment" (Moser 1993: 40). These needs have to be satisfied simply for survival but do not challenge existing gender roles, like the gender division of labour or the subordinate position of women (Moser 1993: 40).

6.1.2. Self-perception and confidence

In the chapters above it became clear that women identify themselves first and foremost as mothers. So their self-perception is very much limited to their role as caretaker of the family who tries to satisfy the immediate needs and household chores, the so-called practical gender needs. Besides taking care of children water is a topic completely related to women by the target group and is all a women`s issue. In order to change the internalized gendered labour division and hence empower women, it is important to strengthen their self-confidence and their self-consciousness. This chapter should analyse now if the WATSAN project with its policy of female participation in the water committee has an impact on the women`s self-perception.

With the construction of the water tanks women were suddenly more involved in community affairs than before. Besides the gender policy of the project that requests the participation of three women in the water committee, all women in the village feel spoken to by the project since it is them who are responsible for water issues in the Gabbra community and it is them who possess the knowledge about the issue. The women are now proud of their managerial skills that enable them to share meagre resources like water equally. "We know ourselves women are the best managers, we know how we are distributing and sharing and surround our own homes and the community with our meagre resources" (Borri-W-WC). Due to the implementation of the water tanks women became aware of their skills and also men learned to appreciate them.

Women who are active in the water committee were asked why they thought they were selected into the committee. The answers given were very self-confident and not at all limited to their tasks as mothers and wives. They assumed that the people from the community selected them because of their various qualities. These include experience, leadership qualities and responsibility. Furthermore according to the female members of the committees also qualities like reliability, honesty and communications skills were crucial:

> I was liked by my villagers. That is why I was selected for the water committee. I am a straight-forward woman, honest (Toricha-W-WC).

> I am somebody who, […] whatever I am told outside in the training, I am able to come and disseminate it via the community level and because of that they saw that leadership is within me. That is why they gave me the opportunity (Yaa Gara-W-WC).

> So they thought, even when they send me elsewhere for the training, if I come back I can give out whatever I have been taught boldly to the community members" (Borri-W-WC).

Their new role as a member of the water committee also affects the lives and especially the reputation and status of the participating women. The Public Health Officer explains that now women who are engaged in the committee are not only seen as mothers anymore but are accepted by their husbands and families as someone who assists the community (Public Health Officer). They feel far more respected now than before and feel that their activities are honoured by the community, also by men. "For one, we are respected, we are the water committee, we are respected. What makes you earn the respect is you being fair and serving people equally" (Yaa Gara-W-WC).

The only thing that is assumed as disadvantage of women compared to men is their biological pre-conditions which, according to interviewed men and women, makes them weak. When women get pregnant they often get tired, therefore need to rest and cannot attend to all the activities they want to. So the ability of creating new life is not appreciated and seen as strength but on the contrary, it is seen as something that limits women in their capacity to act and participate in the same tasks as men. But the women do not get deterred by this, they are aware of these conditions; nevertheless they just feel they have the right to participate too to support their opinions and ideas (Borri-W-WC). Also concerning women in the water committee a woman from Yaa Gara contemplates that when these women are pregnant addressing water issues at the facility becomes very difficult and the women might even have to drop out for some time (Yaa Gara-W-WC). The woman herself has five children; nevertheless she is undeviating and became a member of the water committee.

The women are proud of being a part of the committee and are very comfortable with their new role. It motivates them to handle the accessibility of water for domestic use themselves and be responsible for its further existence. They are proud to be responsible for something that helps the whole community and are glad to manage the facility that makes their life much easier (Toricha-W-WC). The women take their role and responsibility very seriously which is why they also stand up to men if it is necessary. They know what they are talking about, have their own views and are not afraid of speaking up:

> I feel good to be selected in the water committee. […] the role that I have been involving in has made me sharp, I can stand up boldly and can say clearly what I want to say. We do not openly accept defeat just like this (Borri-W-WC).

> I wish the whole WC becomes women. That is my wish. Women are engaged in water activities. We are the ones who give to our family, we are the ones who take care about our family […] We get empowered when we take this managerial decision, this water committee can be very efficient (Borri-W-NWC).

> We are women and we worked some time in other developmental activities, we are coming together, we have started pulling even some little resources together and we wish to have such a facility of our own. Not by the community on its own, but owned by women of this village (Shankera-W-WC).

As members of the water committee women are included in decision-making processes for the first time. How this works is discussed in the ensuing section.

6.2. Decision-making

Since participation of women is one of the main goals of the WATSAN project, the most important policy of the WATSAN project of AMINA and KNEF is the gender balance in the water committee of every target village. This chapter explores if and how this balance of three women and three men influences the decision-making process in the committee.

In each of the four villages where an underground water tank was built, a water committee consisting of six people, three women and three men, had to be selected in a community meeting. The gender balance is very important. All six members have to complete trainings in order to fulfil their tasks as water committee properly. Everybody had to take part; hence time and place for the trainings were identified together. "We actually check their convenience. We do not do things just like that, we have to mobilise them first. [B]oth sexes, women and men" (KNEF-Tocha). The water points are owned by the community but controlled and managed

by the committee which is selected by the community members and supervised by KNEF and the traditional elders of the villages. After two or three years new members can be selected or the previous ones re-elected if they did a good job.

Sometimes the committees have a specific structure like in Shankera and Borri. There the water committee consists of a chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer and a key holder. The chairperson acts as a spokesperson while the secretary and the treasurer are responsible for collecting money and book keeping and the key holder keeps the key to the tank which is always locked for protection. Since most of the people in the target villages are illiterate, most of time the teacher is also the treasurer.

The responsibility of these water committee members is the management of the underground water tanks, which includes different tasks. For one, they have to oversee the withdrawal of the water from the tanks. After the rainy season, at the very first, the rain water that was caught in plastic tanks or natural pans is used. Only when that water is finished or has dried up the water tanks are opened. During the long, heavy rains it will take four to five days to fill the 100 000 litres water tanks, while it takes one or two weeks if there is little rain. In most of the villages water is withdrawn two or three times a week when usually women come with donkeys and fill up their 20 litres cans. According to a male water committee member from Borri the community can withdraw water 30 times until it is finished again. With water being drawn every second day the water only lasts for about two months.

In general the water committee is the water service provider for the villagers and has to make sure that regulations they have been implemented are obeyed and followed (Toricha-M-WC). Besides that it is also the task of the water committee to collect the water tariffs and to deal with problems of the tank and repair it if necessary respectively hire someone who can. It is the responsibility of the water committee members to avoid waste of water during the withdrawal or sanction misuse. Also if there is any conflicts at the water point the members are acting as mediators to solve the problems. Moreover, the members protect the surroundings of the water tank and keep the catchment area clean from human or animal waste. Therefore they also erected a natural fence around the water tank out of bush to prevent animals from polluting the area. The committee manages the water facility, but transparency is very important. Their work is overseen by the villagers who are always informed about the activities of the water committee (Borri-M-WC2). For their activities the members do not get

paid any salary; they do it voluntarily for the community. The only reward they get out of their work is gratefulness and respect from their fellow villagers: "I do not look at the personal benefit that I am getting from the water source. What motivates me is […] the water accessibility for domestic use, the responsibility for each and every villager" (Shankera-W-WC). Guyo Tocha hopes that maybe within time they can be employed by the facility and hence get paid some salary (KNEF-Tocha). The water committee meets regularly at a time that is convenient for everybody and every member is available. They discuss about what needs to be done and how things can be improved. In case a decision has to be made, according to the nine interviewed committee members, every single member of the committee has to be present because it "is about participatory involvement" (Yaa Gara-M-WC). There is no way a decision can be made by five people or by one individual alone. Since women are taking care of the children their time schedule has to be considered. Date and time of meetings have to be convenient for all members of the water committee so that everybody is able to attend them. The committee emphasizes that they are deciding on the behalf of the community and only do what is in its interest. When there is a big issue to decide on, like the charge of water tariffs, a public meeting is hold where also the other community members can express their opinion on the topic. There is a discussion and together the water committee and the village community try to find a mutual solution:

> Once we have agreed upon ourselves, then we go for a public meeting. And then make sure that this agreement has been seen by the community. So all of us are meeting together and we make decisions together (Shankera-M-WC).

Analysing the interviews two major differences in the conversations between men and women about their activities in the water committee were noticed. First, three out of four male members of the water committee from Yaa Gara, Shankera and Borri talked about their own special role in the committee. The member in Shankera emphasized for example that he is acting as the chairman of the committee and therefore takes the leading role in the organisation of meetings and management of the water facility. A male committee member from Borri even stated that he was "the one in charge in anything. I take the responsibility for misuse and if there is anything that will be found negative I will be answerable for it" (Borri-M-WC2).

Meanwhile three of four interviewed female members of the water committee from Shankera, Toricha and Yaa Gara mentioned that one of their most important responsibilities was resolving conflicts concerning water distribution. "There are certain people with the water

source at that particular facility and we involve if there is any conflict around the water point, we engage in conflict resolution" (Shankera-W-WC). Activities like this were only once mentioned by a man from Yaa Gara.

These statements show how important it is for men to emphasize their prestige and to show off their important status in order to be reassured by the community. Meanwhile women compeletely stick to their role as caretaker by explaining how much they are needed for solving conflicts and to look after everybody`s welfare.

Now two contradicting observations were made concerning the participation of women. First, women say that they feel involved in the decision-making process and that men respect their opinion:

> Decisions in the water committee are made both by men and women that were selected in the water committee. […] they agree upon what needs to be done, and nobody`s view is taken aside very specially. All our views are important (Shankera-W-WC).

Thus, no decision is made without participation of women and men cannot overrule women. On the contrary, a woman from Yaa Gara feels that, especially concerning water issues, men "value our input and our managerial skills to manage these meagre resources. Men are comfortable working with us and there was no problem" (Yaa Gara-W-WC). Being the best managers also means that women are good in handling money. According to the chief of Hurri Hills "the mother is the custodian of the money. She is the banker" (Chief Hurri Hills). In Toricha women are the treasurers in the water committee because men according to a woman from Yaa Gara men tend to be more corrupt then women. "We fear that men could have engaged I mean have misused this money in one way or the other. I mean men have also relations outside and they may not be interested with this being the custodian of the resources" (Toricha-W-WC). A woman from Borri shares this argument when she states that "We know men are extravagant, they misuse a lot and if we were not there we may not sustain ourselves even with this water" (Borri-W-WC). It is a common understanding that a woman handles money responsibly and money is therefore always safe with her. Another woman from Toricha is convinced that men do not feel bad about women being included in the committee because women have some unexploited talents and "the best skilled personnel here are women, so they [men] appreciate all our skills" (Toricha-W-NWC). Guyo Tocha and the Public Health officer confirm that there is not much resistance from men against the participation of women and they do not feel threatened. They emphasize that the idea of the

project is participatory involvement of women and men. Men have "started knowing the importance of sharing, having the opinion of mothers and bringing them on board" (Public Health Officer) and although "they are not all that familiar with gender mainstreaming, they are picking up the ideas" (Guyo Tocha). The men agree on this and explain that they "cannot enforce anything without all of us proceeding together. Women cannot be taken aside because we have been mandated to decide together" (Toricha-M-WC). Men now understand that since women are responsible for water issues, they also have more knowledge about it than them. All interviewed male experts agreed on this statement. The Public Health Officer advocated the involvement of women since they are responsible for all water matters, from cooking to cleaning the compound (Public Health Officer). The chief of Hurri Hills would be even willing to increase the number of female water committee members from three to five (Chief Hurri Hills).

So women are appreciated, especially for their `managerial skills`, which were mentioned a lot by men when asked about their opinion about women participating in the water committee: "[M]amas, women, are good managers, they have very good ideas and they know how to utilize meagre resources even at their home. [...] I feel women involvement in the water committee is something so noble" (Borri-M-WC2). This opinion is shared by a male water committee member from Toricha: "We also know that women have a very skilful knowledge of sharing meagre resources" (Toricha-M-WC). According to various interviewed men women know how every member of the household including the baby animal, gets sufficient water. On grounds of these facts men came to realize that women`s involvement is good "because we share ideas, we learn from each other, the behaviour. Some, they even talk more [...]. We are equals, there is no gender discrimination" (Borri-M-WC).

Women are aware that originally it was men who made the decisions and women were only told what was decided afterwards but they feel in the water committee things are different. A woman from Borri, 51 years old, explains that men learned to be dominant and decide everything among themselves but she insists that now, in the water committee, the women do not put up with this behaviour anymore, but make sure that the men involve them in every decision-making process. "Men have this tendency to dominate but we do not accept them" (Borri-W-WC). Two interviewed men from Shankera, about 45 and 62 years old, think that the previous treatment of women was unfair because "[s]omebody is called a woman or a man but at the end we are all human beings, there is no difference" (Shankera-M-NWC). Initially

men and women did not even sit under the same shade during discussions but now there is a change in thinking and people become aware that that the community can only evolve and progress when women participate and the two sexes supplement one another. Women are as intelligent as men and men realized that women were underrated. One of the men from Shankera puts it like this: We "found some little talents that initially we did not exploit and now we feel they do help us a lot. […] This is basically something they have knowledge of and they do it with fairness and everybody is happy" (Shankera-M-WC). People are rethinking cultural norms now, the old habits are challenged. The positive effects of the project are seen and it is realized that women have their own needs, concerns and opinions. Now the people have try to find their own way with the "new spirit" (Yaa Gara-M-WC).

On the other hand there are still some unresolved problems concerning the real gender equality in decision-making. For one, as mentioned above, men mention far more often their role in the water committee than women, like chairman, secretary or key holder. In Borri a male committee member makes clear that "[t]hey selected me to serve them as their chairman in the water committee. […] In the water facility I take the leading role, the responsibility in terms of environmental management and the management of the water structure" (Shankera-M-WC). Meanwhile women never claim decision-making for themselves but state that "I am a member, I do not have any position. We make the decisions together" (Borri-W-WC). This indicates that men see themselves as more essential members of the water committee and therefore feel superior to women. For men it just goes without saying that they take over the prestigious positions in the water committee since also heads of households or villages are always supposed to be men. They believe it is their natural right or even duty to take these functions and are convinced that women would not be able to fulfil the tasks of these certain positions properly. For one, because women are assumed to lack leadership skills since they always have to act as caretakers of the whole village. And second, because women would not have time for being a leader besides all their domestic tasks. In the men`s opinion the women`s knowledge ranges from cooking, caring for children and elderly people to washing and fetching firewood. Everything that goes beyond this is assumed to be the expertise of men. This implicates that in their opinion women`s arguments have to be taken less serious and are less worth than the ones of men which leads to problems in a decision-making process that should be gender balanced.

Another problem is the involvement of the village elders in the decision-making process, especially in the case of the very traditional sacred village Yaa Gara. There, after the water committee agreed upon a decision relating to the water tank, the water committee has to take this decision to the elders. When the elders do not approve, the issue has to be discussed again in a public meeting until the elders accept it. "It is taken to elders and then it is discussed again and approves the ideas of the elders also" (Yaa Gara-W-WC). The issue now is that only men can become elders, women are excluded from this position. As a consequence, in very traditional villages where the elders have to be asked for permission, it is again men who decide because the privilege of being an elder is reserved for them. Women are marginalized again and their opinion is not valued.

It is very important that women participate in the water committee and make decisions. Nevertheless it is also necessary to ask what that means for their everyday life. Only because they are a water committee member does not mean that they dispense all their domestic tasks at home. On the contrary, it means in addition to their household activities they have to attend to the tasks of the water committee. So although the women actually gained time due to the water tanks next to their villages, as a committee member they in turn also gained some workload again. Concerning the increased workload the opinions of the women differ, mostly depending on age and occupation. All the female members of the water committee were asked if they felt like their responsibilities as a member were time consuming or kept them from other tasks, but they all negated. Most of them are middle-aged women who are married or widowed and already have three to five children. Their life is more or less sorted out and they have a lot of experience concerning family management. They explain that now that they do not have to walk so far anymore to get water, they have enough spare time to engage in the water committee as well as to attend to their domestic tasks:

> Actually the engagement in the water committee has not done me any harm or I do not feel it consuming time […] I do not get tired, I can still cook for my children, I can still attend to some other domestic issues. So I do not feel it taking my time, consuming my time (Borri-W-WC).

Furthermore, they are proud of their occupation and see it as a responsibility, not as another additional task (Borri-W-WC). Some even see it as an opportunity to improve the lives of women and for once represent their interests, not only the ones of men. "It does not waste my precious time. I am not thinking about addressing other domestic issues. One of the main issues is about addressing women" (Shankera-W-WC).

In the interviews female non-committee members were asked for their opinion about women participating in the water committee and if they would want to be a member as well if they were elected. The analysis now shows that all the interviewed women, except for one young women, appreciated the participation of women in the committee and were convinced that their involvement benefits everyone in the community. The women who were not participating in the water committee would also feel proud to be a member if it and thus would "not deny the offer when it is given to me by the villagers" (Borri-W-NWC) but would "humbly take the opportunity" (Toricha-W-NWC) to participate.[2]

6.3. Empowerment

This chapter is split in the three sub-categories `leadership`, `women`s groups` and `power relations`. Here it should finally be explored if and how the above mentioned participation of women in water issues in different aspects contributes to their empowerment in the community.

The role that women play in water issues in the Gabbra communities and the workload that is accompanied with it is considered as natural. Female work is not rated as work and therefore invisible. All the work the women carry out is taken for granted and is not appreciated since it

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[2]   The girl that was opposed the participation of women in the water committee is 21 years old, newly married and has one child. According to her, giving women management roles in the committee is difficult because "[t]hese are masculine roles and I think these are men roles and men should be spearheading this activity because they can commit time and energy to do activities at the water facility" (Yaa Gara-W-NWC). In her opinion women already have enough other activities to do which is why they should not further be double-tasked but should leave this duty to men. Another argument against the participation of women in the water committee according to the young woman is the biological condition of women. When they are pregnant they often get tired which prevents them from taking part in orientation and trainings that are held outside the villages or from exhausting work at the water facility site. Therefore the young woman from Yaa Gara would refuse to become a member of the water committee In addition, she explains that she has a very young family and they are dependent on themselves. As a productive person of the family she is committed to a lot of domestic activities which do not leave her time for anything else.

I feel this is a role that is supposed to be done by men because men, if they are told to take this responsibility in this, they are ever available, they have time, except on occasional times when they truck water for their animals or when they leave this village in search of water, pasture elsewhere. But generally, if pastures and water are available men are always available and they can take the role (Yaa Gara-W-NWC).

Besides the young woman an old woman from Shankera also did not want to become part of the committee because of her age. The work that comes along with being a committee member requires constant movement to the site to serve the people two or three times a week which is just not possible for the old woman anymore: " All I am able to do is just engaging in domestic tasks like caring for small babies and mamas for the water and all this kind of things. So of all this I would not be able to take the opportunity" (Shankera-W-NWC).

is a general understanding that this is their responsibility. With the underground tanks being built they gained a lot of time which they majorly used for attending to their domestic tasks in order to satisfy their practical gender needs. But besides that, some women in the villages saw the opportunity and started to pursue other goals. Now that the distance to the water facility is reduced they

> are relieved, we were always moving initially but this shoe now, the laces have been loosen and we can now think about other development activities including the women group activities that we would like to undertake. We are engaging in other developmental issues now. We have time to discuss, no time to think about going to draw water (Shankera-W-WC).

So apparently, due to the participation of women in the WATSAN project there might also be movement in the direction of meeting strategic gender needs, which include developments like empowerment of women or change of traditional gender roles as explained above in the theoretical framework of the thesis. In fact, due to the project the women became more aware of their skills and special knowledge. As a consequence the women feel more self-assured and brave.

> [W]omen are the best managers and they are so much accountable for what is handled to them. […] Money collected and delivered into their hands is always safe. We are honest, transparent and have good managerial skills (Toricha-W-WC).

Now that women are engaging in water mangagement and decision-making they get more self-confident and start to aspire more prestigious roles in the committee. Which changes and problems come along with that is discussed in the ensuing paragraph.

6.3.1. Leadership

Their new-found confidence makes women challenge traditional norms and existing gender roles. Suddenly the gender balance policy in the water committees is not enough anymore. A woman from Borri demands that the whole water committee should consist of women:

> Women are engaged in water activities. […] we are the ones who take care about our family, so we know how to manage these very little resources at household level. We get empowered when we take this managerial decision; this water committee can be very efficient (Borri-W-NWC).

The women learned to stand up for themselves and are motivated to take over leadership roles in water management (KNEF-Tocha). A man from Shankera explains the impacts of the on-going change. If women were told now that the village is shifting again to another place away

from the water tank and as a consequence the women would have to truck water again, the women would refuse to go. They have seen now how life is with water tanks and became aware of their ability to manage and organise on their own, so they would not just agree with men and accept defeat (Shankera-M-WC). A woman from Borri says she feels empowered and therefore would never accept some highly questionable decision from men anymore (Borri-W-WC). The attitudes of men change because women now speak for themselves and men learned to trust in women leadership in terms of water management (Toricha-W-NWC). This points to an important problem in this discussion which should not be overseen. The women only engage in leadership roles relating to water issues so far, which strengthens their initial role of the caretaker again instead of changing traditional gender roles. Only one woman from Shankera seems to realize that when she says that "we need capacity building in terms of training, in terms of empowerment. […] You know we have been engaged in water activities but we need to be empowered more" (Shankera-W-WC).

Considering empowerment in other areas than water management interviewed men from Borri, Toricha and Shankera expressed their approval.

> We will support women with all we can and within all our means. […] we share everything as human beings and we should support their ideologies if they to take us to a certain promised land (Borri-M-WC2).

They said that they support women in every way, be it the leadership in water issues, in the community or the political field. As long as the women`s work is in the interest of the whole community, according to the interviewed men, it is appreciated and advocated. A man from Toricha even states that he would follow every command a woman gives him as long as it is fair and straight forward (Toricha-M-NWC). The chief of Hurri Hills as well as the Public Health Officer align themselves with the statements of the men from the villages although they are aware that the Gabbra villages are male dominated communities and thus change has to be gradual. The Public Health Officer states that in the trainings he holds women are often more engaged in sharing ideas than men. Furthermore, he underlines that nowadays women are already involved in government issues. Even in the Hurri Hills area a woman was contesting to become a Member of Parliament (MP). Although she was not elected, the Public Health Officer is convinced that with time women are going to succeed in taking over leadership roles in areas besides water management (Public Health Officer). The chief argues that he supports changing gender roles and that he can even imagine passing his position as chief to a woman (Chief Hurri Hills). In the next sentence he explains that "it is the mark of

the mother to cook, to clean and take care of the children. Water itself is in the custody of the mother" (Chief Hurri Hills). Hence, while talking about women as leaders at first, he then limits them again to their role as mother and caretaker.

So there are limits to the leadership roles of women which become also obvious when talking about village elders. The elders are the head of the village and consist of old men only who have the last word in all decisions concerning the community. The interviewed men were asked if they thought in the future women could become village elders as well, now that men have seen how skilled women are. No matter in which village this was asked or how many people were present, this question always loosened the atmosphere and led to laughter. Men as well as women seemed to think that this was a very funny question because men have been the heads of the villages since forever and asking if a woman could do that too seemed just absurd to them. There was no single time a village member could remember that a woman was the head of the village. Concerning this issue a village elder from Shankera states that he also does not believe that it is ever going to happen in the future that a woman becomes an elder. According to him this is a man`s role and no woman is capable of being the head of the village (Shankera-M-WC). So in the end, it is still men who make the decisions which have to be accepted by everyone in the community.

This example shows that even when the involvement of women in the water committee is accepted so far, it does not mean that their empowerment in other areas is going to happen automatically. Mrs. Darare from Caritas thinks that the participation of women in the water committee is just "a drop in the ocean but everything has to start small before it grows" (Caritas-Darare). According to her the involvement of women is good because men start to realize and appreciate their knowledge and potential gradually which may have positive effects on the empowerment of women in the long-term. Concerning political leadership women are so far away from where they are supposed to be because the traditional gender structure is still intact. The problem is that often even women themselves do not believe that they can take over leadership roles (Caritas-Darare). Hence, it is crucial to

> change the attitudes of women so that they put their efforts together in terms of you know the leadership. [T]hey should not just remain at the management of water, of course this is a starting point, but they want to move away from that to a bigger kind where they can lead and be seen by the society (Caritas-Darare).

One step in this direction was already taken due to the women`s involvement in the water committee which motivated to extend their activities in this sector. As a result, they formed women`s groups.

6.3.2. Women`s Groups

The development of women`s groups in the villages is one of the major effects of the project on empowerment. Now that women do not have to spend days in search of water anymore, they started to meet and formed women`s groups where they discuss business opportunities, mostly related to water. The most active group is the one of the village Shankera. There, the youth united and is constructing their own water facility. The women decided to follow that example and now plan to build their own underground water tank. They started pulling resources together to finance the tank that should be managed and owned by the women alone. According to a woman from Shankera the aim of having a tank for their own is to generate financial resources that then should be used to empower the women themselves (Shankera-W-WC). Mrs. Darare from Caritas Marsabit advocates such an initiative because she is convinced that in order to empower women and help them to become independent, it is necessary to "empower them economically because with money, if you have something in your hand, you have a say" (Caritas- Darare).

Nevertheless, although the women feel empowered and motivated the awareness of gender attributions and gendered division of labour still has a long way to go. This becomes clear when the woman from the water committee of Shankera explains casually that the young men from the youth group will have to excavate the women`s tank because the women themselves lack the capacity and energy to do that (Shankera-W-WC). So it is still the most normal thing that women are indeed able to carry 20 litres water buckets on their head for hours, but it is still the men`s task to take over the excavating part of the tanks.

The establishment of women`s groups is very progressive and empowering but there are still some conditions that have to be considered. First of all, Shankera`s women`s group emphasizes that although the new facility should be owned by women it is its main concern to benefit all the villagers because "we are the mamas, the mothers of these village themselves and we want to take this role like this" (Shankera-W-WC). With that statement the prospects of dealing with strategic gender needs, that means breaking up existing gender roles, are questionable because the women constrain themselves again to their traditional role as mother and caretaker. Another current problem is that due to the extreme drought in Hurri Hills in

2012 the women`s group donated their savings for the water tank to the community since they could not afford hiring another water truck anymore. This means the women`s group has to start from scratch again now.

The analysis above shows that women`s groups have empowerment potential but also inherit some problems. How they, together with the participation of women in the water committee, is discussed in the following final paragraph.

6.3.3. Power Relations
Besides encouraging women to overtake leadership roles the aim of empowerment is always also to reach equality between women and men. Power should be distributed in a fair way and nobody should be supressed or forced to play one particular role in the community. In the Gabbra society the power relations were originally very partial with men being the leaders and decision-makers. Women had to do what they were told without questioning any decisions and their needs were being ignored. Therefore the goal of the WATSAN project of AMINA and KNEF was also to gradually change these power relations.

When women were asked how they thought men felt about their participation in the water committee they argued that the men finally came to appreciate them and that there was a slow change in attitude towards women`s participation due to the project. There is a gradual change going on where men give responsibility in terms of water management over to women. Men now started to value the contribution and inputs of women because they know women can share meagre resources (Shankera-W-WC). According to the interviewed women the men in the villages do not have a problem with women being involved in the decision-making process but are very comfortable working with them. Also when the men were asked about their opinion about the participation of women in the water committee all of the eight interviewed men approved of the gender balance policy and believed women`s participation was a good idea.

> [T]he composition of the water committee is the best I have ever seen. I have no problem with it because it is quite diverse, women will represent women issues if they have, men will represent men issues [...] then a solution will always be found in the management structure of this particular committee. It is the best practice and I encourage it to continue like this (Yaa Gara-M-NWC).

Concerning the extent of this female participation, their opinions differed though. Although men from Shankera, Toricha and Borri emphasize that they support women in every possible way they are sceptical about leaving the whole water management to them respectively are convinced that the women would not be able to handle it on their own. One reason a man from Toricha gives for that is the already above addressed issue of excavation. While he is aware of the women`s skills and wants to work together he states that

> women cannot excavate this hard rocks and remove it from the ground. They cannot collect the building materials the way we carry it on our shoulders, big boulders they cannot do. They can take the leading role in the management but will still require men to do one, two, three things and we will always be there to cooperate with them (Toricha-M-NWC).

Men mostly advocate cooperation between men and women because in their opinion whether men nor women can stand alone. Hence, it is crucial that the two sexes work together to complement each other (Yaa Gara-M-NWC). Only when women and men are included the community can develop and make progress. They argue that there are some things women are good in and others where men are better. What they mention over and over again is that women are good managers, thus they should engage in tasks related to that while men are gifted in using force which is why they should fulfil productive activities (Yaa Gara-M-NWC). Again gender roles are reinforced.

One argument that is used by men as well as women against an exclusive water management by women is their natural condition. Due to the fact that women can get pregnant the management of the water facility could become difficult. This means their ability to bring life is seen as a major weakness in this context. Not only do men think like that but also women have internalized this way of thinking.

> Besides, there are some natural situations that may force women to feel tired, like pregnancy. Besides this, they are very resourceful human beings and they are one of the best managers that could manage this facility (Shankera-M-NWC).

> Sometimes because of our nature we are pregnant, and addressing issues at the water facility will be quite very difficult. So if the management composition is changed to these women affairs only, sometimes it can become very difficult because of our nature (Yaa Gara-W-WC).

In Yaa Gara, the most conservative of all target villages, another argument against total women water management appeared. A male non-committee member, about 40 years old, believed that women could not do this alone because they would quarrel too much. Although the interviewed women of the water committee mentioned conflict resolution as one of their

most important responsibilities, this man was convinced that when only women were responsible for the water facility other people would be required for solving disputes. According to him women would be fighting over the water every time water was drawn from the tank. Nevertheless he declares that he is not against the involvement of women, only worried about their quarrelling because he was honestly afraid that they were going to kill each other (Yaa Gara-M-NWC). In order to prove his argument the man gives an example:

> These 20 litres drums itself have different capacities. The one you see is 20 litres, there are others with 22 litres. So there is cheating. So if it is only women managing this facility they will start quarrelling over this because they would use one drum to withdraw water, it is poured into your drum. And if yours is not full because it is 22 litres there, not 20litres, this is where they will quarrel, because she wants her drums to be full. If men are not going to be there, bloodshed will occur and women start fighting one another (Yaa Gara-M-NWC).

So according to him women are not able to reconcile such issues themselves. They need men to be there because they can resolve disputes easily. He feels that women are not able to manage the facilities on their own. They need the help and support of men because according to him due to their quarrelling they cannot decide (Yaa Gara-M-NWC). This is why he pleads against a gender-biased management but supports the equal representation of women and men. These are very interesting statements because they are somehow reverse the traditional gender attributions. Usually the woman is seen as loving, peaceful and modest caretaker, not at all as demanding, self-confident and even violent fighter as described by the man from Yaa Gara. On the contrary, this picture would better fit the assumed role of men who are described as harmony-loving conflict solvers in the elaboration of the interviewee.

Only one man thinks that women-only water committees could work. The teacher from Borri, also a water committee member, appreciates the involvement of women in the water management and is an advocate of women being solely responsible for it. The participation of women is good because they have new ideas and men can learn from them in terms of communication and behaviour. According to the teacher the women are not shy, but smart and not afraid to talk and emphasize their point of view (Borri-M-WC). In contrast to the man from Yaa Gara he is convinced that women are able to manage it without participation of men and that men do not have to be afraid to lose power because women and men are equal and no one is superior than the other (Borri-M-WC).

7. Conclusion

The research question of this thesis focussed on the participation and empowerment of women in water projects. The objective was to find out how the participation of women works and how it affects their lifes and overall empowerment. Therefore a field study was conducted on the basis of the WATSAN project in Northern Kenya. Interviews were held and the outcomes analyzed and interpreted in the chapters above. In order to get an all-encompassing again, this last chapter summarizes the findings and results of the research once more.

The underground water tanks that were implemented due to the WATSAN project in Hurri Hills have a great impact on the women`s lives since they are the ones responsible for providing water in their communities. In cases of water shortages it was the women who were affected most because it was them who had to walk far distances to fetch water for their families. With the water tanks being built by AMINA and KNEF close to their villages in Northern Kenya in context of the WATSAN project, the women were relieved of this tidious task which saved them time and energy. Now they had the possibility to use the spared time to focus on activities besides the ones that were assigned to them based on their gender, like productive work or recreation. But the women did not do any of this at first. On the contrary, most interviewed women said how happy they were to have more time now to attend to domestic tasks like cooking, caring for children or cleaning. They feel responsible and stick to their internalized role as caretaker instead of using the opportunity to break out of their usual routine. As a result gender relations and roles are not questioned but are even enforced. The decision of the women to invest their saved time in domestic activities is related to their practical gender needs. While women have both, practical and strategic gender needs, the priority of the women in the target villages were the practical gender needs that have to be satisfied in order to survive. This means, first the short-term practical gender needs have to be met and only after that there can be thought about dealing with strategic gender needs. Due to the WATSAN project the women were able to satisfy their immediate practical gender needs which can lead to challenging existing gender structures and satisfying strategic gender needs in the long term.

One tool of the WATSAN project that should support challenging gender roles and the gendered division of labour is the gender policy which demands that out of six members of the water committee three have to be women. This means, women were put in decision-making positions for the first time. They were not restricted to their role as caretakers

anymore, but were actively participating in the committee, which had an empowering effect on them. The women got aware of their skills and also men showed appreciation for the women`s work and advocated their involvement in the committee. Nevertheless, there are three developments that have to be considered.

First, while it is a positive development that women can finally participate in decision-making processes, their position in the water committee might even increase their workload. Besides attending meetings, regulating the water withdrawal and collecting water fees, the women are not released from their domestic responsibilities and thus, still have to attend to tasks like cooking, cleaning, fetching firewood and childcare. As a result, the water tanks relieved the women from the exhausting task of fetching water on the one hand, while on the other hand the women`s workload was increased by handing them over more responsibilities.

Secondly, when the female and male water committee members were asked about their activities, their answers were perfectly in line with their assigned gender roles. For the men it was important to underline the crucial position they hold in the committee, like chairman or secretary. Meanwhile women saw their most important function in mediating conflicts at the water point. So again, men are assumed to be the political decision-makers while women are responsible for the collective well-being. The men`s position is supposed to be more important, thus instead of being equal the male opinion is more valued than the opinion of a woman. Hence, instead of changing gender roles, women and men stick to their internalized roles and even enforce them.

And thirdly, although women start to feel empowered by their new opportunities, their participation seems to be limited to issues related to water. While it is a positive development and sign of empowerment that women`s groups were formed and women decided that they wanted to manage a water tank on their own, it does only partially satisfy strategic gender needs. The women did not want to manage a tank for their own benefit, but because they felt it was their responsibility to provide water and take care of the community`s wellbeing. With sticking to their assigned gender roles the women constrain themselves to their `natural` responsibilities. As a consequence, no change of gender roles takes place, women and men do not become equals and thus, no strategic gender needs are met.

This problem of women`s limited empowerment is also majorly influenced by the men`s attitude in the community. As mentioned before, the men appreciate the women`s work in the committee because in their opinion, water management is a women`s issue anyway. Therefore the men are also in favour of women involvement in the water committee. But the extent of this participation is limited. The men are absolutely against a women-only water committee. Their major argument is the one of the biological conditions of women. According to them, and also some interviewed women, it is impossible for women to attend to all their committee chores when they are pregnant and hence weak and tired. But since before the water tanks were built the women were also able to carry heavy water cans for kilometres even when they were pregnant, this argument is likely to be used under false pretences. The more probable reason why men do not want women to manage the water tanks alone is power. If only women were in the committee, they would take over leadership roles and decision-making positions that were usually reserved for men. This would lead to a severe challenge of gender roles, an overthinking of gendered labour division and a satisfaction of strategic gender needs. But because men benefit from existing gender structures they want to keep up the current power relations where they are the leaders of households and communities, not women.

Another major issues in achieving the empowerment of women through participation is the dual decision-making process in the four target villages. The aim of the project was to implement a gender balanced water committee that makes decisions that are convenient for both women and men. The problem now is that every village has a group of elders who are the heads of the community. This group consists of old men who have the last say in every decision that is made for the village. So even when the six members of the water committee make a decision that is advocated by both women and men, it has to be taken to the elders who then agree or disagree. In case they disagree the water committee has to meet again and make a new proposal that considers the elders` wishes. Women are excluded from this circle of elders. Consequently, in the end, it is not an equal decision-making process, but it is again men who make the final decisions.

Considering the various challenges and developments that occurred due to the construction of the water tanks and the implementation of the water committees, it can be said that a modernisation process is under way. Due to the project women are able to satisfy their practical gender needs which means that in the long term they can concentrate on meeting strategic gender needs. Participation of women in water projects does not automatically lead

to their political, social or economic empowerment, but it leads to a gradual change of consciousness and an overthinking of existing gender structures and power relations, which is exemplified by the women`s groups. Although they were not formed out of feminist motives at first, they still bear the potential of challenging traditional gender roles, satisfying strategic gender needs and empower women beyond water issues in the long term. The project helped satisfying the practical gender needs and thus made it possible to concentrate on the long-term strategic gender needs now by focussing on the empowerment of women due to their involvement in decision-making processes and challenging existing gender roles. Due to water projects like this, with measures like a gender balanced water committee, in the long term women can become empowered, strategic gender needs can be satisfied and women and men finally can become equals. It is a step in the right direction, but many more have to be taken.

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Abstract (English)

Shortage of clean water and lack of access to proper sanitation facilities are big problems in developing countries today. Water is a key factor for development and poverty eradication. In addition, access to water and sanitation plays an important role in achieving gender equality since in developing countries it is mostly women who are responsible for water management. The gender roles claim that women are in charge of the domestic tasks which range from cooking and taking care of the children to fetching water. Water management is a very time- and energy-consuming task which is a major barrier to achieving gender equality. When the close connection between water, women and development was acknowledged, development agencies started to include women in water and sanitation projects. The participation of women should not only lead to a successful project in terms of water provision but also in relation to women`s empowerment. This thesis now focusses on participation and empowerment of women in such water projects. In order to get significant data a field study was conducted in four villages in Northern Kenya where the aid organisations AMINA and KNEF constructed four water tanks in scope of a water and sanitation project (WATSAN). A special measure of this project is the establishment of a gender-balanced water committee in each village. Qualitative interviews were conducted with women and men from the villages as well as with experts. The analysis indicates on the one hand that the WATSAN project had positive effects on the women´s lives. Firstly, with the construction of the water tanks close to their homes they do not have to walk far distances anymore to fetch water and their practical gender needs are satisfied. Secondly, the participation of women in the water committees is accepted by both sexes since women`s knowledge of water management skills is appreciated by men. Women are now involved in decision-making processes, which makes them feel more self-confident and empowered. As a result they even formed women`s groups to manage their own water tank and to take over leadership roles. Nevertheless the field study shows that there are also some problems and challenges that have to be considered, especially concerning the strategic gender needs of women. Although women are participating, they still stick to their assigned gender roles. Water is assumed to be their responsibility so they make decisions in the water committee and engage in women´s groups, but there is no challenge of existing gender structures or gendered division of labour beyond water issues. The project helped satisfying the practical gender needs and thus made it possible to concentrate on the long-term strategic gender needs now.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Wasserknappheit und fehlender Zugang zu angemessenen sanitären Einrichtungen stellen in Entwicklungsländern noch immer große Probleme dar. Eine angemessene Wasserversorgung ist der Schlüssel zu ökonomischem Wachstum und Armutsminderung. Darüber hinaus spielen Wasser und sanitäre Einrichtungen auch eine bedeutende Rolle in Bezug auf das Erreichen von Geschlechtergerechtigkeit, da in vielen Entwicklungsländern vor allem Frauen für das Wassermanagement verantwortlich sind. Laut den zugeschriebenen Geschlechterrollen sind Frauen für häusliche Aktivitäten zuständig, die von Kochen und Kinderbetreuung bis zum Wasser holen reichen. Wassermanagement ist eine sehr anstrengende und zeitaufwändige Aufgabe und somit ein maßgebliches Hindernis im Gleichstellungsprozess der Geschlechter. Als die enge Verbindung zwischen Wasser, Frauen und Entwicklung deutlich wurde, begannen Entwicklungsorganisationen Frauen in Wasserprojekte einzubinden. Ihre Partizipation sollte nicht nur zu einer erfolgreichen Wasserversorgung führen, sondern auch zum Empowerment der Frauen beitragen. Diese Arbeit konzentriert sich auf die Partizipation und das Empowerment von Frauen in Wasser- und Sanitärprojekten. Um aussagekräftige Daten zu erhalten wurde in vier Dörfern in Nordkenia, wo die Hilfsorganisationen AMINA und KNEF im Rahmen eines Projekts (WATSAN) Wassertanks gebaut hatten, eine Feldstudie durchgeführt. Eine besondere Maßnahme des Projekts ist die Einführung eines geschlechtergerechten Wasserkomitees. Die Analyse der geführten Interviews zeigt, dass das WATSAN-Projekt durchaus positive Auswirkungen auf das Leben der Frauen hat. Erstens werden mit den nahen Wassertanks praktische Genderbedürfnisse der Frauen befriedigt da sie nun nicht mehr so weit gehen müssen. Zweitens wird die Teilnahme von Frauen im Wasserkomitee auch von Männern akzeptiert und die Frauen fühlen sich durch die Einbeziehung in Entscheidungen ermächtigt. Als Folge daraus wurden Frauengruppen etabliert, die das Management und die Führung eines eigenen Wassertanks anstreben. Jedoch weist die Auswertung der Interviews auch auf einige Probleme hin, besonders im Bereich der strategischen Genderbedürfnisse. Denn obwohl Frauen partizipieren, halten sie noch immer an ihren vorgeschriebenen Geschlechterrollen fest. Wasser gilt als Frauenthema, daher partizipieren die Frauen an Entscheidungsprozessen im Wasserkomitee, existierende Geschlechterstrukturen oder die geschlechtliche Arbeitsteilung in anderen Sektoren als Wasser werden aber nicht hinterfragt. Das Projekt hat also praktische Genderbedürfnisse befriedigt und es den Frauen dadurch möglich gemacht, sich jetzt auf die langfristigen strategischen Genderbedürfnisse zu konzentrieren.

Curriculum Vitae

Personal Data

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Education

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2007-2011	Bachelor degree in Communication Studies
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Work Experience

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