CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
2.1. Review of Literature

A review of literature pertaining to gender and drinking water sector in general has been presented below. However there are ample studies in relation to women and drinking water but often most of these are limited in its scope and are more qualitative in nature (Joshi, 2004; Cleaver, 2001; Ivens, 2008). These studies have depicted women’s position across the world with issues having interconnections such as women and poverty, women, water and governance among others. From a scholastic perspective the interconnectedness of women, water and decision-making capabilities present a holistic understanding about women’s subordination in relation to drinking water.

In this context when gender and drinking water are typically concerned in relation to funding purposes there are several studies that are carried out by the donor agencies to rationalise the purpose of their intervention for women’s empowerment within drinking water sector. These literatures have primarily provided the strategic action plan to implement large projects across several developing nations. On the other hand, such measures have also extensively contributed towards scholarly discourses within gender studies. For example, the evolution of gender and development approach could be traced with the writings of Boserup (1970), adoption of the Women in Development approach by the US Department, and in the late 1980s Gender and Development (GAD) approach evolved with several frameworks.

The GAD approach looks into development from a holistic perspective as a web of socio-economic and political factors and further extends to reflect on the role of State in development programmes to bring gender equality (Moser, 1993; Kabeer, 1994; Rathgeber, 1990; Whitehead, 2006; Cleaver, 1998a; Cleaver, 2003). This GAD approach brought in the concept of “gender” which refers to as a social construct consisting of behaviour, patterns, roles and responsibilities between women and men (Bhasim, 2000). But the social construct that get associated as gender roles and relations are considered to be dynamic characterised by both conflict and cooperation, and mediated by factors such as caste, class, physical or mental ability, age, marital status or position in the family over a period of time (Ahmed, 2005; Lahiri-Dutt, 2006). Nevertheless, the GAD framework recognises women’s concern that is highlighted by development projects on women empowerment and further address their agenda for future intervention.

Consequently to understand women’s position, the gender construct within the GAD framework provided the framework to recognise the relationship between women and men as a social construct rather than biological (Østergaard, 1992). Although gender roles are fluid, evolve and change over time (Lahiri-Dutt, 2006), they are reinforced by religion, culture and ideologies that are predominantly occupied by the men (Parpart et al., 2000). Consequently, the gender discrimination and women’s subordination cut across class, caste and, ethnicity.

In this background, the review of literature pertained in understanding women and drinking water from the post 1990s that saw India change its economic policies, bringing reduced governmental role in welfare services and the emphasis on people to take over the O&M of development services, which were previously handled by the state. This is not to state that drinking water situations in the pre-90s were favourable to women. Rather with several unfavourable situations (international policies, local power and control) a fundamental shift was observed in the provision of drinking water across the world that was extensively brought into several notices within international debates after the international decade of drinking water and sanitation (1980-1990). The most prominent ones were the New Delhi
Declaration (1990), the Dublin Statement (1992), and the Earth Summit (1992). These international declarations clearly indicated water to be treated as an economic good, and women to have a central role in water management.

After the international declarations, a roadmap was needed to integrate the declarations so that women were positioned as central players in water management. The global policies had envisaged a reduced role of governments in provisioning of drinking water services and increase in people’s participation through establishment of institutions to manage their own affairs.

To provide the impetus for a fundamental shift (Prokopy, 2005), a study that was carried out by Narayan in 1995, reviewed 121 drinking water projects where majority (56 per cent) was World Bank supported across 49 developing countries in the world drew a clear roadmap. The report clearly indicated that in spite of government providing the technical and financial support, several drinking water projects were dismantled and remained unused, which had an adverse impact on the communities’ access to safe drinking water. The primary reasons were being lack of community involvement, strong bureaucratic processes, and top-down model.

Overall from Narayan’s study, it was found that though most of the drinking water projects had achieved better participation of the villagers, women were not seen as active members. Only 17 per cent of women had interactively participated in implementing the drinking water project. Consequently, the study of Narayan highlighted the need for a fundamental shift from the traditional supply-driven approach to a participatory demand responsive approach (Narayan, 1995). It highlighted that woman in drinking water projects were mostly seen as token participants with no access to information, skills and income. So unless drinking water projects made women’s empowerment as one of its goals, women are mostly seen as token participants (ibid). Subsequently after Narayan’s (1995) study, Fong et al., (1996) as part of the World Bank publication brought the modified gender toolkit, highlighting the strategy to address the gender concerns within rural drinking water sector.

Further, World Bank drew the linkages between safe drinking water and poverty. The bank’s argument was that lack of safe drinking water would affect health, which in turn would reduce productivity and well being of the population (Bosch et al., 2003). Narayan et al., (1999) with their effort to map poverty from the perspective of the local stakeholders within institutional and political context highlighted that poverty had a gender dimension. This was because at times of men failing to provide the economic resources to meet the household expenses, women assumed the role of a man to sustain the family.

On the contrary Narayan et al., (1999) further stated that with the inability to accept the new gender roles, men resorted to domestic abuse and violence and this increased the incidence of gender-based violence. The study showed that economic empowerment of women did not lead to social empowerment or gender equity within households. This finding contradicts the other landmark report of the Work Bank (2001), but still Narayan et al., (1999) went ahead arguing that Mahila Mandals when organised, they facilitated the process of women’s empowerment and raising awareness about their rights. The study also hypothesised that when women were more organised and gain economic power, they were more likely to align with the powerful men in the organisations. Thus, it was assumed that promotion of economic opportunities could lead to gender equity and empowerment of women.
In fact Narayan et al., (1999) study emphasised that men held much of the decision-making process within the decentralised institutions as a result women were to strategized as the main actors within the decentralised institutions. In this process, the World Bank through its policy report (2001) strategized the inclusion of women within the decentralised institutions for collective bargaining and provision of economic opportunity to voice their rights at household and community level. Both these studies had provided the World Bank to change development initiative with a focus on gender in all developmental sectors. Significantly these reports had exposed the loopholes and also argued for equal participation of men and women in public arenas for better governance.

Lenton (2006) reported that when the World Bank Rural Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Project was implemented in Morocco to reduce the traditional burden of women’s work in fetching water, it increased school attendance of girl child by 20 per cent within four years and easy access to water reduced the time by 50 to 90 per cent. Similarly several examples of benefits of development services for women were amplified. For example, Abu-Ghaida and Klasen (2004) emphasised that with greater access to education, the health awareness amongst women had enhanced which improved their ability to promote health of children, giving them greater bargaining power within the household resources. As a result of these positive impacts, change in strategy was observed - from women as end-beneficiaries to gender equity.

During this period (early 90s) especially after the Dublin Statement (1992) and the Earth Summit (1992), water for drinking purpose began to be viewed as a lucrative business as it compelled developing nations to open up the market for private sectors to best handle the situation. The growing scarcity of safe drinking water was seen as a problem, because it was also related to human well being and the growing governmental infrastructures were seen as failures in providing safe drinking water (World Bank, 1999a; World Bank, 1999b). The mechanisms to deal with the situation included brining in private players with reduced governmental role in welfare expenditure and people’s participation in O&M of the water supply infrastructures.

Women were considered as the central player in water management. Because traditionally women carried head-loads of water, walked long distances to fetch water and performed the other domestic work, which went unnoticed (Ahmed, 2005; van Wijk-Sijbesma, 1998). Nevertheless, several other organizations (such as the UN) and ministerial declarations (such as the WWFs) began to emphasis the inclusion of women for good governance and sustainability of water resources.

But within the Indian context, this situation was highlighted from several studies that were carried out by the World Bank in partnership with the government functionaries (Planning Commission Report 1996, and the All Indian Institute of Mass Communication Study in 1998-1999) (Joshi, 2004). These studies including Narayan (1995) marked a clear distinction that people were ready to pay for water services. On this ground (but not the only situation) in 1999, the GoI revamped the drinking water sector, through people’s participation within the newly established decentralised institutions for effective water service delivery and inclusion of women’s participation.

The demand-driven approach emphasised on ‘user pay’ principle for the service delivery about 10 per cent of the project capital cost and 100 per cent of the O&M cost to handle the water supply infrastructures in the absence of the government. Guided by this philosophy the
Swajal Project was implemented on pilot basis in the state of Uttar Pradesh and even before it was a success, the model was replicated further through the implementation of SRP project across 67 districts in India (James, 2004; Joshi, 2004). As provision of drinking water was the state government’s responsibility and the SRP guideline clearly indicating state governments to draw their respective sector reform projects, the state government had to build in demand-driven approach in its drinking water projects. In this way, the State Government of Maharashtra was one of the first states that implemented Aaple Pani and Jalswarajya Project respectively with the financial assistance from German Development Bank (KfW) and World Bank. Aaple Pani was implemented in four districts, while Jalswarajya Project was implemented in 26 districts.

Today after several years of implementing the sector reform policy, water is viewed through an economic lens and women are considered as central players in providing and managing water. This approach brought women to participate in the water bodies for equitable distribution, contributing cash or in kind for the construction of new water supplies (Cleaver, 2003) and attending meetings irrespective of the household responsibilities. Through membership in the water committees, women played a significant part in the O&M of the water supply infrastructures.

Having women within the decentralised committees was not sufficient; in fact they were further mobilised to establish SHGs for income generation. The mobilisation of women in the form of SHGs were also related with the findings of several researchers that stated when poor women have the access to economic resources they could weaken traditional gender roles and empower them to demand change (Batliwala and Dhanraj, 2008). With this hope, women’s collectivisation through micro-finance became a new mantra in development paradigm and was quickly adapted by several development agencies (ibid) as they saw women as collectives could facilitate empowerment (Ranadive-Deshmukh, 2005).

Nevertheless, in the drinking water context, the researcher agrees with Cleaver (1998a) as the whole process of institutionalising women’s collective action is mainly for the purpose to justify women’s saved time in collecting water and the time could be allocated for increased opportunity to instigate IGAs. Nevertheless, one finds the promotion of women’s collectives is mainly carried out within the water management and forest management projects in India (Ranadive-Deshmukh, 2005). But in the process of collectivisation, the efforts generally tend to focus on individual actors due to which it deviates from the social context and gets over-economic (Cleaver, 1998a). As a result of which other aspects of women’s livelihood or even decision-making do not get recognised (ibid).

A study on drinking water sector reform (James, 2004a) from Khamman and Chittoor Districts in Andhra Pradesh highlighted that when the SRP Project was implemented, the villagers who suffered the most from drinking water problems responded with high hopes for improved water supply. But the formation of the committees and handling the responsibility of O&M were not completely community managed. Although the study did not highlight the gender perspective towards community management of water infrastructures, yet it stated that women were active participants in preparing communities to participate in the project and to bear the cost of O&M.

Overall James (2004a), also citing Joshi (2004) reported that the poorest of the poor were often left out of community management. This indicated that women and the marginalised
population of most villages often were ignored in such projects that intended to improve safe
drinking water supply, reduce poverty and bring women’s empowerment.

Like-wise Prokopy (2005) from her study of two World Bank supported projects one from
Karnataka Rural Water Supply and Environment Sanitation Project (1994) and the other more
relevant to the study, Swajal Project in Uttar Pradesh (UP) highlighted that decision making
at households level had strong relationship with project outcomes it terms of time saving,
equal access, among others. The awareness of committee actions leading to better project
outcomes was empirically supported. However Swajal Project, (later, replicated as SRP
across the country) had water supply technology choice by the end-users, where Prokopy
found that since it had more people’s involvement in the project through contribution and
formation of decentralised committee, it resulted in better project outcomes.

In the same projects to understand the relationship between women’s participation and the
project outcomes, Prokopy (2005) highlighted that in spite of the 33 per cent of women’s
reservation within the VWSCs, it did not significantly affect the project outcomes (Prokopy,
2005). This is primarily because these large projects did not specifically address social and
power relations in their design, which was why women’s participation in the projects was low
(Prokopy, 2004, Singh et al., 2005 quotes from ARWSP project; Singh, 2006).

However, with mandatory women’s participation in Swajal Project, it did bring a significant
change amongst the women, despite their lack of interest in planning due to illiteracy,
objections from household members and fear of speaking in public amongst the elderly
population at the village level (Prokopy, 2004). Regardless, of the women’s lack of
participation at the Swajal Project, it was considered as success (Joshi, 2004) and replicated
as SRP Project in 67 districts across 26 states.

When Joshi (2004) carried out a study to understand the process of implementation and
benefits received from SRP Project in Andhra Pradesh, it was found that since SRP Project
had left the technology choice to be decided by villagers, the well-to-do community members
preferred pipeline water supply at their door-steps but excluded the poor and the marginalised
in availing of the services. In fact, SRP Project designed to reduce caste differences had
actually exacerbated the social discriminations (Joshi, 2004, also cited by Singh et al., 2005).

In the case of Maharashtra, four districts implemented the SRP Project. An appraisal of the
Project was carried out in these villages before scaling-up the sector reform initiative in the
State. Swayam Shikshan Prayog (2002) undertaking this study highlighted that despite the 50
per cent reservation for women within the VWSC, most of the women members in the
committee were incorporated from the Panchayat board members and the remaining women
were nominated by their respective influential husbands.

Interestingly Swayam Shikshan Prayog (2002) reported that, although women’s reservations
were adhered to as per the project norm (50 per cent), the decision to become a member of
the water institution was decided by the men. As a result of which, most of the women were
unaware of them being members of the decentralised water committees. Technological
choices of water supply were not as per the women’s need or demand. Women’s voice and
work were seldom recognised while the Project being a community-led initiative. The study
took notice of women’s practical needs not being addressed, for instance, women preferred
individual household water tap connections as it saved time and labour, the men preferred

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common water taps. The SRP Project was scaled-up in Maharashtra as Aaple Pani and Jalswarajya Project.

Likewise in the case of Jalswarajya Project several institutions were established and villagers were made to contribute 10 per cent of the project capital cost and 100 per cent O&M of the water supply infrastructures as non-negotiable principles. Women being considered as the most significant stakeholders in the project, a separate decentralised committee as WDC was established for women's empowerment. A corpus fund was provided on revolving basis to SHGs to initiate income generation activities with the belief that through economic benefits, women could negotiate at the household and as a collective could bargain power at public arenas along with the men. However, the overall incentive to mobilise villagers including the women had been due to the growing scarcity of safe drinking water (Cleaver, 1998b).

Women participating in the drinking water project will save time in fetching water through which the time saved could be applied for generating income (World Bank, 1993). This incentive that operated within most drinking water project tend to focus on social factors such as the collectivisation of women and men in the form of committee members or even SHGs, but it does not extend to understand the explicit factors that operate at household level to achieve this incentive (Cleaver, 1998b). The incentives which operates in Jalswarajya Project are specific to provisioning of pipeline drinking water connections to household, establishment of stand posts, recharge of aquifers, among others whilst livelihood options of women largely remained with establishment of SHGs, provisioning of capacity building trainings and a small capital as revolving fund (GoM, 2003a).

Nevertheless, as Cleaver (1998) states when incentive tend to focus at community level, the household operation of incentives are often not analysis, but extending the operation of incentives within gender, Swayam Shikshan Prayog (2002) found when women preferred stand post men favoured pipeline drinking water supply. But this may not be the case in Jalswarajya Project, as most villages though are provided with technological choice, pipeline drinking water supply is the preferred technology amongst villagers as well the implementing agencies. This is also due to easy levying and collection of water tariffs from the household members and more amenable to Public Private Partnership (PPP), where local contractors could provide the necessary support in the project.

Primarily such actions of providing incentives to women had always been due to the perspective of viewing women as predominantly motivated to improve their domestic water supplies and for saving time (Singh et al., 2005) which could be used for income generation activities (Cleaver, 1998b). As a result, the framework of empowerment did not consider the household dynamics. It worked on the assumption that women were willing to pay either in cash or in kind to secure water closer to their home.

In fact due to such assumptions, women in Tanzania, where a community project that aimed to relieve women's labour burden actually resulted in them doing most of the community labour work from digging to maintaining of wells (Cleaver, 1998b). This was partly because the time saving principle was applied as an incentive for women and as water priorities for women and men differed which eventually affected their participation in the water supply projects (Cleaver, 1998b; Cleaver and Elson, 1995; Singh, 2006). Thus, time had been used as an explicit factor in defining water problems (Cleaver, 1998b).
If women saved time and reallocated it for other economic activities, did it really allow them to spend the time and money on their own? James (2004b) highlighted that woman who earned income through the productive use of time saved generally decided on the use of that income. Generalisation of such finding may be difficult as Cleaver (1998b) and Elson (1995), and found that the time saved from collecting water could be reallocated to perform certain community related activities including attending meetings, participating in digging work at the village. In fact much of the double burden of women’s work gets extended to triple burden due to their community work. Kabeer (1994), Moser (1993) and Young (1993) and several other authors have shown that rural women had triple roles as domestic managers, economic producers and social service managers when their roles intersected with community participation. Yet, women’s voice within community affairs is unheard.

Interestingly the Jalswarajya Project, which was replicated from the SRP model, had strategized to set up decentralised governance for the purpose of efficiency. Both these drinking water projects aimed to establish decentralised institutions for effective delivery of water services through creation of VWSC in SRP Project and WDC and SAC within Jalswarajya Project. Women played a central role with 50 per cent reservation within VWSC and SAC bodies. All decisions concerning the development of the village were to be approved through the Gram Sabha.

Gram Sabha in the Jalswarajya Project was designed to serve as a principle mechanism for transparency and accountability by ensuring inclusion of the marginalised groups (poor and the women) into the local self-governance. Thus, democratic decentralisation was considered as a means to improve development performances through people’s participation and fostering accountability in local governance.

A study which was carried out by Johnson (2003) reported that although the poor and the women were co-opted in the main process of decision-making, they were over ruled by the local political leaders and their husbands in decision-making. The author further stated that with the devolution of authority it may empower the local elites to capture the resources and thus could continue the existence of poverty and inequality at the village level.

In this regard, Cleaver (2003) stated that when women were brought into water institutions that were formalised through representation they were usually driven with contemporary values of emancipation. But with the continued use of traditional social and culture norms within the modern institution, it reproduced and strengthened the old hierarchies of gender inequality. However these experiences were mixed.

In Tanzania women attending the water committee meetings selected one or two women member from the groups known for their articulation to voice their needs and in Zimbabwe women were “buttering” (local terminology) the men by praises and positive reinforcement of their manliness (Cleaver, 2003). But such strategizes may not be applicable in other developing nations typically in South Asia where caste based practices had a strong hold (Singh et al., 2005).

Women from lower caste may be excluded from accessing drinking water from the common water source. They may not attend water institute meetings given the strong caste-based discrimination, restrictions from household members or husbands and individual factor such as disinterest to participate in the political decision-making process (caused by illiteracy, lack of confidence) (Singh, 2006). The consequences of these factors resulted in male dominance
and using s the women’s groups as rubber-stamps, i.e., for signature purposes, to justify women’s participation within decentralised water governance bodies. These social discriminatory practices left the rural elites empowered to make village level decisions (Singh, 2006).

A more extensive study carried out by Kulkarni et al., (2008) to understand the women’s empowerment within the rural drinking water sector and irrigation from Maharashtra and Gujarat States of India. Although the study had covered issues of women in drinking water and irrigation from Maharashtra and Gujarat, the review process had only considered the data that were highlighted in Maharashtra (Jalswarajya Project and Aaple Pani Project) for it being more relevant.

The data from these studies affirmed that women’s representation within the decentralised institution were as per the stipulated norm of the Project. But the caste-wise representation of women was comparatively lower than the open category. Most of the influential positions such as the VWSC president (14/114) and secretary (100 per cent) were occupied by the women from higher caste groups. About 60 per cent of the women from the decentralised institutions stated that they decided to participate due to their self-interest in the project. Education of the respondent had some role for motivating women to participate as members of the decentralised institutions, but caste of an individual was a significant factor for motivation.

Within the caste groups, an overwhelming majority (80 per cent) of the OBC category reported their reason for participation in the project was their self-interest. But a large number of respondent (about 20 per cent) reported that their names were suggested by the village influential/elites to the Gram Sabha. The study highlighted a significant association between variables of education, caste and reasons for participation but their measure of association between the variables were unknown for it being more qualitative.

The nature of women’s participation within the drinking water projects largely remained limited to attending training programmes. At the household level, they were ‘earning respectability’ as it was related to incentives in large sums, which previously no other project had provided. Due to which, about 97 per cent of the women considered they had no opposition from the family members to participate in the community work or attending meetings. As a result while the woman member was busy with community works, the burden of work transferred to the other women in the household. This did not challenge the gender division of labour because the men did not share the household chores and the load was transferred to other women members of the family. At the community level a majority of the women reported (62.28 per cent) that there was an increase in respect from the community members.

Further, Kulkarni et al., (2008) from the Maharashtra experiences also stated that the utilisation of the women’s empowerment fund had benefitted the women (78.95 per cent) and about 85 per cent of them were able to purchase some income generating assets. However this study intended to indicate an acceptable amount of women empowerment was observed in terms of women participating in decision-making process at community level, knowledge about the project budget and to understanding the roles and responsibilities of the members.

If women were interested to participate in the project, their empowerment processes could be analysed with the respective decentralised committee roles and responsibilities as perceived
by them. Significantly, at household level women’s involvement in the decision-making process could also be analysed through their participation in the decision-making process such as: fixing the pipeline connection, seeking permission to travel alone outside the village or even attending meetings rather than just understanding the gender division of labour that got rearranged with women taking leadership positions. Importantly to understand women’s empowerment, one of the indicators of the Project was about women taking charge of fixing and collecting the water tariffs with the assistance of SHGs. In this regard the study intervened to understand the method of fixing water tariffs, where a majority of the women were aware, but did not know who collected the water tariffs.

However, Datar (2008) from the same study, “Water Rights as Women’s Rights? Assessing the Scope for Women’s Empowerment through Decentralised Water Governance in Maharashtra and Gujarat” presenting the scholarly article stated that most of the villages (18 villages in six districts) had not completed the scheme. As Kulkarni et al., (2008) reported that a majority of women benefited from the Project by taking up income generation activity, but this was due to SHG being the only collective activity for women in the village (Datar, 2008). This clearly highlighted that collectivisation of women should not be limited to being member of the SHG; in fact it had to be extended to VWSC, WDC and SAC within Gram Sabhas or even within respective committee meetings. This process of collectivising would facilitate a process amongst the women to articulate their concerns in community meetings (Ranadive-Deshmukh, 2005).

Reflecting over SHGs, Datar (2008) further highlighted about women’s disappointment towards the revolving fund, as it was not big enough to take care of the loans for enterprises and the fund was utilised as a motivational factor for women to come together. Due to which women’s participation were restricted to the SHG activities. None of the women representatives had taken part in the conflict resolution and there was no spirit of power sharing between women and men within collective decision-making process at the water institutions.

Hence, by providing legitimate space and framework for women’s participation within decentralisation of water delivery system it may have the potential for re-shaping social orders and hierarchies but may not always facilitate equitable community representation and inclusion. As rightly marked by Johnson (2003) when democratic decentralisation is coupled in an economic environment with policies of privatisation and pricing the resources, the poor and the marginalised may find it difficult to negotiate and contest with the rural elites. In the process women may be seen as token participants even within Jalswarajya Project (Prokopy, 2004).

2.2. Significance of the Study

After the implementation of Swajal Project and the SRP Project, State governments designed and implemented their respective full-fledged sector reform drinking water projects with the support of IFIs. In this process, the GoM implemented the first large-scale sector reform drinking water project in India with the support of World Bank. The drinking water project promoted the ideology of neo-liberal policies by making the rural population pay for the water services and handling the O&M cost. Women’s empowerment was strongly advocated by bringing them as members within the water institutions and mobilising for income generation activities (part of the SHG movement).
Due to which, this study provides the first-hand information about women's position within the decentralised institutions established by Jalswarajya Project. More importantly, this study is unique because it reviews the first large-scale sector reform project from a gender and development perspective especially looking into the manner of women's participation within the water institutions.

The study further extends to interlink the dynamics and facets that get associated with community participation in the form of water governance and its impact at household level. Reflecting on community participation and its impact on household decision-making is a unique process that extensively contributes towards policy address and scholarly discourse especially with gender studies. This is because much of studies that are related with women in drinking water projects tend to focus on their participation within the water institutions but does not extend beyond its impacts on women and their decision-making at household level.

Using a holistic approach to understand women and empowerment at community and household level, the methodological approach in the study itself is a unique practice. This is because the study triangulates quantitative and qualitative research methods towards understanding women, their participation and empowerment rather than standalone research methods. Such findings provide the richness in theory building and knowledge generation.

Consequently, this study assists several development agencies and the policy makers with statistical data and the qualitative information to justify impacts of sector reform policy. More importantly, the study contributes towards the scholarly discourses within women studies by providing emerging trends, the facets and dynamics taking place within the water governance. The study also adds to the information about women in contemporary rural India, the problems women face through community-led initiatives, and the dynamics that operate and sustain hardships in the lives of rural poor women when it gets intersected with the modern values that are dictated by several IFIs. This study provides a unique point of retelling the story of women's positions within drinking water sector in modern India.

2.3. Research Ethics

The ethical considerations in the study were:

1. The subjects of the research were asked to provide their informed consent in order to participate in the study. They were informed in their language about the particulars of what the study entailed from its context, purpose, and methods to its outcome. Once the approval to participate in the study was obtained, only then the interviews were conducted.

   Moreover the subjects were fully informed about their right to refuse and to withdraw at any time during the interview process.

2. In cases where the subjects were able to read and write, the questionnaire was handed to them so that their knowledge was valued.

3. Most importantly, the timing of the interview was scheduled as per women's convenience considering the lack of free time available to the women from their domestic or productive work.
4. Maintaining confidentiality of the subject’s responses was very important in the study. This has been handled at three levels:

a) At the household level some of the family members especially the male members who were present during the interview period with the women were anxious whether the information shared would be considered confidential, therefore, some refused initially. But when the importance of the study was reiterated, the family members felt comfortable to share the issues with the researcher.

b) At the field level (village level), usually after the interview with the VWSC secretary, the immediate neighbour who was also member of the VWSC were keen to know the responses. This was handled through reinforcing confidentiality.

c) In the study the confidentiality of the subjects had been maintained through non-disclosure of their names.

5. Years of experience in working with women and their issues, has brought sensitivity and empathy in the researcher. So to maintain the objectivity of the study, the researcher had to constantly realign the purpose of the research to avoid biases in data analysis and interpretation. Minimal bias was maintained through triangulating the data and its information with those obtained as part of the qualitative data.

6. Any unpublished or published work of scholars had been fully acknowledged in the study.

2.4. Research Methodology

1. Research Questions

1. Is the gender development strategy empowering woman through provision of water and sanitation infrastructures?

2. That is, to what degree do women participate within the decision-making bodies of the water institutes and at the household level?

3. Are the rural women aware of the crucial decision-making processes within all water institutional levels?

4. Is the gender sensitive policy in drinking water sector directed towards preventing or eliminating misery, exploitation and suffering of women?

5. Do the socio-economic factors that are designed and overwhelmingly promoted by the project bring about change within decision-making capabilities of the women at community and household level?

6. Are the social structures of a rural society inhibiting the process of women’s empowerment?

2. Hypothesis

Over a period of working in developmental sector, the IFIs such as the World Bank, has set out its own rationale for defining development projects in the developing nations. They are
rigorously evolving but the guiding philosophy is mostly unilateral. That is mainly the neo-liberal policies, which has promoted the reduction of government role in providing social welfare to its people, replaced with private players and treating natural resources through economic lenses so that people themselves are accountable for their own development. Nevertheless, with gender sensitive policies and programmes it considered improving governance and development being meaningful (World Bank, 2001b).

Promotion of economic factors was associated to contribute for gender equity and empowerment of women. These assumed conditions backed with implementing strategy were often considered to ensure equitable benefits for both women and men. Based on these arguments, the study tests the following empirical statements:

1. Participation of women in the decentralised institutions set up by the Jalswarajya Project is likely to achieve greater accountability.

2. The Gender Strategy of World Bank is more likely to enhance the empowerment of women at the village level.

3. Objectives of the study

1. To understand and review the implementation of Gender Development Strategy adopted by Jalswarajya Project.

2. To understand the existing gender patterns and variations related to empowerment of women in a family and village which implemented Jalswarajya Project.

3. To assess the impact of the Jalswarajya Project intervention on the decision-making capability of the women at the family and decentralised institutions level.

4. To understand the roles and responsibilities of women in decentralised institutions of Jalswarajya Project.

4. Conceptual Framework

Today there are several conceptual frameworks in relation to role and status of women in the development process. These approaches differ with the changes in development paradigms and the role of state. Within women’s studies the most distinguished approaches include Women in Development (WID) in the 1950s, Women and Development (WAD) during the late 1970s, Gender and Development (GAD) in the late 1980s and Gender, Development and Environment as the most recent.

In this study, the GAD approach has been adopted because the Jalswarajya Project outlines to address equitable distribution of drinking water and reducing the burden of household tasks of women by reducing the time spent on carrying water. Significantly the drinking water project also rationalises time spent by women in carrying/fetching water to be utilised for IGAs whereby her increase in income is assumed to challenge the household decision-making process. As a result the gender development strategy adopted in Jalswarajya Project reiterates the power relationship amongst the gender especially the patriarchal position of women and men, the gender ascribed roles and eventually the gender based decision-making capabilities within the household and community level.
In precise, the GAD approach rejects the sexual division of labour. It supports revamping the allocation of tasks between women and men. Due to which gender relations are an important factor of analysis within the GAD approach. GAD questions the social, economic and political structures creating inequalities between women and men. Although it is difficult to implement often this approach has been applied within development projects to discuss the relationship between development processes and women’s inequality. Donor agencies such as the World Bank and IMF saw GAD as a necessity to respond to the needs of poor women. As a result with structural changes, State is seen as an important actor for women’s emancipation (March et al., 1999; Kabeer, 1994; Vasvanathan et al., 1997; Rathgeber, 1990; Razavi, and Müller, 1995; Young, 1993).

There are several frameworks within GAD approach (March et al., 1999), but the most relevant in the study are Moser’s Gender Planning or Triple Roles Framework and Social Relations Approach. Due to which a mix of different gender analysis framework has been adapted within the GAD approach to the problem-solving study within drinking water sector. First, referring to Moser’s Gender Planning Framework, the study reflects the gender roles on who does what and who has what and second, the Social Relations Approach (SRA) relations reflects to how women and men relate to each other in decision-making process and bargain powers at household and community level.

**Moser’s Gender Planning or Triple Roles Framework**

The conceptual framework of Moser’s Triple Role adopted as a method of gender roles analysis reflects several tools for analysis: women’s triple role, practical and strategic gender needs and policy approaches (policy matrix) (Moser, 1993). But in the study, this conceptual framework mainly focuses on the triple role and practical and strategic gender needs given the Jalswarajya Project being a community-led initiative that draws on women’s participation as a key activity and women’s work that demand water.

**Women’s Triple Role**

In the gender division of labour, moving beyond reproductive and productive roles of women, Moser states that the triple role of a woman is an extension of their reproductive role. It means that the reproductive roles which are performed at households are usually unpaid gets extended with women performing the community roles. In this perspective, within Jalswarajya Project through the provision of piped drinking water at the doorstep, women are assumed to save time in collecting water, as a result of which an extra amount of time is available as ‘free’, which could be utilised in the community activities. At times the women’s work at community level goes unrecognised and unpaid, mostly considered as voluntary work carried out during women’s ‘free’ time.

In Jalswarajya Project women’s participation within the decentralised institutions is a key activity that is often equated with their reproductive role extracted from the time-saved in collecting water. When men involve in decision-making especially within national politics their reproductive role are often recognised and paid (Kulkarni et al., 2007). Although reproductive work is important for human survival, but when it comes to women, reproductive work is seldom considered as real work irrespective of them being involved in community activities.
The Jalswarajya Project brought women to participate in village cleanliness drive, attending SHG meetings for income generation, attending capacity building training programmes. The point to be noted here is whether women were paid for their community activities or not. Often the Jalswarajya Project as part of its Cost Benefit Analysis (CBA) measures women’s participation in decentralised meetings, number of IGAs initiated as time saved in collecting water to show the benefits women received after the implementation of the project. Nonetheless, the timesaving phenomenon remains the dominant discourse within the CBA of the Jalswarajya Project.

**Practical and Strategic Gender Needs**

Inspired by Molyneux’s (1985) concept of women’s gender interests, Moser developed the idea of women as a group who had different needs when compared to men as a group due to their subordinate position in the society. In this process, she distinguished two types of gender needs: Practical and Strategic Gender needs. The needs if met to assist women in their current activities are considered practical gender needs they are mostly related with reproductive work and/or if needs met to transform the existing imbalances of power between women and men and are considered as strategic gender needs (Moser, 1993).

This tool of Moser draws the relationship between women and men in terms of power and control over resources; decision-making within households and community level; and the application of this tool answers to what degree these needs of women have been addressed in Jalswarajya Project.

The gender analysis spells the gender allocation of resources and decision-making process within the household level. It draws in understanding the bargaining power of women in terms of control over making decision to construct the water pipeline, seeking permission to attend the decentralised committee meetings or even the SHG meetings. Significantly although women’s ability to travel alone outside the village does not fit into this tool, but they being escorted by their husbands or other relatives (typically a man), questions women’s inability in decision-making process at the household level.

As to Molyneux, Moser’s analytical framework asks similar questions as to what degree of women’s practical and strategic needs have been met. The research study focuses on the extent to which the gender development strategy of Jalswarajya Project has empowered women so that they could make decisions concerning the rights and in meeting their needs.

The Moser’s framework depoliticises the language making it easier for planners to relate the reproductive, productive and community roles but does not explicitly distinguishes between who does what, how and what is produced (March et al., 1999). As a result the framework does not fully capture the dynamics of gender power relations such as in the water context the to and fro of bargaining, co-operation and conflict which could range from the intra-household power dynamics that gets mediated by caste/class conflict. Further such discriminative facets result in the extension of women’s work who always end up doing community works as volunteers or rather favour those women within SHGs who are always chosen to receive the benefits from the government welfare schemes facilitated by the Gram Panchayat.

Since the Moser’s framework in terms of triple role does not distinguish between who does what, how and what is produced, it is not readily acceptable to understand the social
phenomena (ibid). This is primarily due to much of the reproduction and production roles are distinguished such as childcare, domestic work and production of goods and services. Triple role does not substantiate the argument on women’s work as community work as they could be collectively or independently done (March et al., 1999).

An example where Moser’s framework limits in understanding the social phenomena is when the reproductive and productive roles of women are unpaid it strictly remains within the double burden of women’s work, but if paid, provided by the State or even paid by the local contractors, such spheres go accounted and calculated within national economics. Such a condition can be related when community work whether in service or labour is justified with the amount of time saved in collecting water, women’s work goes unnoticed if unpaid, and if paid they merge into the Panchayat’s day-book of accounts stating the employment provided under certain scheme.

Similarly in the case of Jalswarajya Project, women as collective in the form of SHGs or members from the decentralised committee work collaboratively to meet the 10 per cent of the project’s capital cost by voluntary work as contribution. The women from the poor marginalised groups (usually the Schedule Caste -SC and the Schedule Tribe -ST women) do the voluntary community work (Joshi, 2005) as a result their unpaid labour is equated to the contribution (in kind) of the project cost.

Thus categorising community work under the ‘triple role’ of Moser does not substantiate or reveal all the facets for potential interventions to foresee the possible impact of change on women’s workload or status. However this could be incorporated under women’s labour, when such framework challenges the existing women’s subordinate position or least the labour is recognised. Henceforth, to bridge this gap within gender analytical framework, SRA is adopted for better understanding of development projects and planning and challenging the subordination of women.

Social Relations Approach (SRA)

The SRA of Kabeer to gender and development planning intends to analyse the existing gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power, for designing policies and programmes by recognising women as agents of development through a framework of human wellbeing, social relations and institutional analysis.

The Moser’s Gender Planning tools provided the first step towards the problem solving and thereby analysing the existing situation of women within drinking water sector. Secondly the SRA provided the understanding about the changes in women’s position relating with the institutional arrangements made by the project such as establishment of VWSC and the social relations that existed within rural communities to deliver water services through emphasising women as key stakeholders in the project.

In the SRA framework, human wellbeing is an extension of development rather than economic growth or increase productivity, which has been adopted by World Bank (Kabeer, 1994). It means that development process not only incorporates economic growth, but also extends to wellbeing that intersects with several qualifiers such as health, habitat, ecosystem, and the self (power to control and make decision that govern ones lives). In this manner, it can be analysed that the gender development strategy that was adopted within Jalswarajya
Project extended from economic development towards self where women could participate within the decentralised institutions to address their practical and strategic needs.

The gender development strategy in Jalswarajya Project was termed as an empowerment process of the women (GoM, 2003a). The arguments put forth was that situations in rural areas were unfavourable to women, they carried water from long distances to meet the household reproductive needs, they had less decision-making capabilities as access to resources were minimal, they could not voice their needs within village assemblies as a result women’s position in the society was subjugated. The project implementation plan (PIP) document reclaims women’s involvement in water and sanitation related decisions through representation in the VWSC at the Village Panchayat (VP) level, and specifying the role of ‘Mahila Mandals’ or women’s committees in certifying completion of the water scheme and choices in training and selection of women caretakers (GoM, 2003a, p.8).

As human wellbeing that cannot function in isolation, it requires social relationships and institutions to sustain the functioning of the society. In doing so, it creates values, through the process of power and control. It also organises or provides the structure for the functioning of the society. In this manner, power hierarchies are established in which an individual ascertains her/his identity in the society, they could be through gender, caste, class or even race. As rightly marked by Kabeer (1994), these kinds of relationships create and reproduce systemic differences in the positioning of different groups of people.

Gender relations are one type of such social relationships, which are never static at micro and macro levels. If we look into the micro level to understand the gender relations, it is found that rural women have different needs or even are differently oriented than the urban women (ibid). For example the Gender Specialist from the District Facilitating Team (DFT) mobilise women to form the committees, motivate them to construct latrines and advocate the significance of how piped water connection at the doorstep reduces women’s burden of work, and why their participation in the community projects is essential.

When women are motivated for community participation, the ascribed role of women to provide water to the household needs also gets equated to do the community work (which was earlier a domain of the male population). So to avail water in the house, gender roles change, social relations that were considered as public gets determined to women extending their private sphere and increasing the burden of work as marked by Moser’s Triple roles within the reproductive spheres. Thus, the change in gender roles within the social relations of drinking water, determines the capabilities of people in allocation of resources, For example, who volunteer’s for the community work – those poor and marginalised women groups, and who can participates in the decision-making process – those creamy layer of women groups within the SHGs is what the framework intends to address.

The social relations and changing gender roles takes place in Jalswarajya Project with women participating in decision-making process at village and household level, involving in income generation activities or rather having the access to economic resources also reproduces new forms of gender relations that do not confine to household level but could also extend to community level.

More importantly, the policies and programmes that are dictated at international forums, or driven by State or market forces can establish institutions to achieve their goals. These institutions indeed can produce, reinforce and reproduce social relations to create and
perpetuate social difference and inequalities (March et al., 1999). Similar is the case within Jalswarajya Project, in terms of water governance and women’s participation for efficiency purpose, several decentralised institutions are established with norms to govern the supply of drinking water. These social institutions can also perpetuate social relations at community level.

Thus, through bridging the key frameworks – Moser’s Triple Role Framework and Kabeer’s Social Relation Approach, it provides a holistic understanding of gender and water. Hence, through both these frameworks it not only looks into the integration of women within the development processes as addressed with Jalswarajya Project but further extends the possibilities of explaining the gender relations from community to household level.

5. Variables and their Concepts employed in the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Intervening Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Participation - involvement in decision-making process, identifying needs, planning and strategising action plan for collective work.</td>
<td>Becoming a SHG member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste</td>
<td>Accountability</td>
<td>Capacity Building Trainings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Women Empowerment</td>
<td>Authoritarianism - which gives little freedom of expression, little importance to other view points, and curbs rebellious ideas of the women and the poor people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Power structures at the village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender Development Strategy

The gender development strategy is a planned action directed by the World Bank in consultation with the recipient country to establish an enabling environment where women and men would foster in changing the gender relations. The gender relations were related in terms of development to address the disparities existing at household and community level in terms of decision-making capabilities, delivery of services, access and control over resources so that the strategy could also address poverty reduction and human wellbeing.

In order to reduce gender disparities, the gender development strategy is implemented. To tackle this issue the gender development strategy is drawn from the Country Gender
Assessment (CGA) report prepared by the World Bank in collaboration with the borrowing country. They analyse the gender responsive policies and actions important for poverty reduction, economic growth, human wellbeing and the overall development effectiveness in the country (World Bank, 2002).\footnote{5}

In the drinking water context, the gender development strategy was strengthened by World Bank’s “Toolkit on Gender in Water and Sanitation” (Fong et al., 1996). In fact, post water sector reform in India, the use of gender toolkit is strongly reflected within several rural drinking water projects (SRP Project, Swajaldhara).

In this process when the Jalswarajya Project was prepared by Water Supply and Sanitation Department (GoM) in consultation with the World Bank, the gender strategy development first strategized to provide 50 per cent reservation of women (VWSC, and SAC), and 1/3rd reservation of the SCs and the STs within the decentralised institutions. Women were given leadership positions as presidents and secretaries of the VWSC, WDC and SAC.

Further the Jalswarajya Project aiming to bring about economic growth of women to challenge the household decision-making capabilities strategized with provision of corpus fund (as Women Empowerment Fund - WEF) to the SHGs. The WEF was provided on revolving basis to initiate IGAs. Women from the SHGs and the members of the decentralised institutions were provided capacity building training programmes for leadership development, handling the O&M of the water supply infrastructures, collection of water tariffs, and entrepreneurship development.

The SHGs existing prior to the implementation of Jalswarajya Project were strengthened as part of the women development plans. Thus the purpose of the gender development strategy is for economic empowerment of women. Women with economic access were considered to be able to negotiate power at the household decision-making process and as a collective they could bargain power with men at the community level.

2. Participation

The government’s reduced role as part of the water sector reform paved a central road for people’s participation within the decentralised water institutions to manage the water supply infrastructures (James, 2004a, Joshi, 2004). This brought in several institutional arrangements with stipulated norms for gender, the SC and the ST’s participation as part of the water governance process (Kulkarni et al., 2008).

Today with privatisation of resources and responsibilities to sustain the resources shouldered onto the people, the concept of participation has become a much-debated term in development practices. The nature and type of people’s participation differs from one development project to another. Participation also varies from one sector to another, such as from education sector to water management (drinking and irrigation water management), project driven or villager’s initiative. In this process the conceptual understanding towards people’s participation in the study is largely drawn from Agarwal (2010 and 2001) as it is more related in understanding participation through an institutional perspective and also looking participation from “means” or an “end” perspective.
Participation as a “means” signifies that people are brought in to participate in the project so that the predetermined goals and objectives of the project are achieved. People’s participation here is presented as one time process, which is generally for a short period. On the other hand, participation as an “end” signifies the enhancement of individual’s capacity to participate in their own development through their increased role in taking initiatives (as part of decision-making process) rather than participate just to achieve the predetermined goals and objectives (Cleaver, 1998b).

As a result, participation includes involvement of people in decision-making processes, in implementing development schemes/projects, sharing the benefits of the schemes and eventually monitoring, evaluating and taking care of those services (Prokopy, 2004). In this process, when participation is an end, the goal of development programmes is empowerment of the people. Through participation it not only creates opportunities for involvement but also brings about significant change at an individual level by building the self-confidence.

If we look into Agarwal’s typology of participation in Table 2.1, where she highlights in a hierarchical manner the six ladders of participation moves upward based on the levels of member’s activeness (Agarwal, 2010). The level of member’s activeness depends on how development schemes/project or even power structures, the attitude of development agencies portray participation.

**Box 2.2**

**Typology of Participation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form/Level of Participation</th>
<th>Characteristic features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominal Participation</td>
<td>Membership in the group.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Participation</td>
<td>Being informed of decisions <em>ex post facto</em>; or attending meetings and listening in on decision-making, without speaking up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultative Participation</td>
<td>Being asked an opinion in specific matters without guarantee of influencing decisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity-specific participation</td>
<td>Being asked to (or volunteering to) undertake specific tasks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active Participation</td>
<td>Expressing opinion, whether or not solicited, or taking initiatives of other sorts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactive participation</td>
<td>Having voice and influence in the groups’ decisions; holding positions as office bearers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Agarwal, 2010, p.172)

Participation can be used as a mean to draw people’s involvement by becoming members of institutions, providing information and taking suggestions (without any assurance of influencing decisions), which could eventually turn out to be an end where people articulate their needs, hear others’ voices and collectively make decisions. Drawing the attention, Agarwal also stresses that level of activeness of a person may not always signify participatory success of the programme. For example if we reflect on the fifth level of
member’s activeness (active participation), even after holding leadership positions within water institutes, women may not be able to influence decisions at committee meetings.

So at times these members could opt out when they have no say or voice. But if those members who opt out form another group to voice and control resources it’s only then an interactive participation could be achieved (Agarwal, 2010).

3. Accountability

The concept of accountability is a very broad term that ranges from people’s participation in developmental projects to changing the social and political norms and values that secure needs for human development. In brief, it includes answerability and enforceability (Goetz, 2006). Partners in developmental projects are answerable to people about their actions and enforce strict rules and regulation to reduce hindrance for better performance of the project. However, the concept of accountability gained importance with the promotion of good governance as part of the local self-government in the 1990s (Cornwall, 2010). This was because with the promotion of local self-government it also promoted people’s participation within the institutions and further made the local governments responsible for their action to the people (Blair, 2000).

On the other hand, when notions of good governance were promoted within the water sector, accountability with participation, transparency and responsiveness (Rogers and Hall, 2003) was recognised as important criteria of governance by the UN (Cleaver and Franks, 2008). The rationale of having such a strategic choice was due to problems in resource allocation and lacunas in expenditure tracking mechanism, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and people’s participation (World Bank, 2004).

However the definition of accountability revolves around the interpersonal relationships within a social context, putting the people involved in a given situation to be answerable to those affected by the action. In fact the notions of accountability also extend further towards those who are in the capability to observe and evaluate the people involved in the action (Frink and Klimoski, 2004). It is a two-way process. There are processes developed to put accountability in place and indices applied to measure its impact (Blair, 2000). But in the context of the study the measures adopted to understand accountability are largely driven from the demand-driven approach.

In the demand-driven approach adopted within the drinking sector, the notions of accountability shifts from the government (who traditionally provided water supply services) to the community (who are the members of the decentralised institutions) (Narayan, 1995). As a result the community members decide whom to contract for construction of pipeline, select the Technical Support Persons (TSPs) and Non Government Organization (NGOs) to carry out the overall implementation of the scheme.

In this regard, Jalswarajya Project has different layers of partnership building for accountability purpose. The local contractor is answerable to the VWSC members who in turn are answerable to the community members. The process of answerability ranges from delivery of public service from government to those local private contractors, rule setting from the government to the local community members. In brief, as part of the larger water governance process, people are called to participate in the design, planning, and
implementation of the project and who in turn also act as vigilance groups and project activity monitoring agents.

In the framework of gender and development the term accountability extends to how men are made answerable to women when both of them are within the same water institutions and how women are questionable to the men within the same institutions. This is because primarily though domestic water has largely remained a domain of women, but the decision-making capability at large has remained with the men (Narayan, 1995; Cleaver, 1998b; Singh, 2006; Prokopy, 2004; Joshi, 2004; Swayam Shikshan Prayog, 2002; Ahmed, 2005; GoM, 2003a).

In this process, both women and men within the decentralised committees are entrusted with respective roles and responsibilities right from mobilisation of community members for the 10 per cent contribution, planning, designing, budgeting, implementing to monitoring and evaluation. Specifically, the VWSC are supposed to mobilise villagers for community action, collect the capital contribution from the project beneficiaries, participate in capacity building trainings, submit reports to the Village Panchayat and execute contracts and procure materials required for construction of water and sanitation infrastructures.

The SAC is responsible for continuously observing the functioning of the VWSC and its sub-committees, so that project rules/principles such as inclusion, equity, cost-effectiveness, transparency among others, are not violated. The members of WDC are responsible to prepare women development plans, carry out repair work of the water infrastructure and collect water tax from the project beneficiaries. Women’s groups in the form of SHG undertake the responsibility of collecting the water tax from each project beneficiaries. Hence, members from all these three committees are answerable to the villages (GoM, 2003a).

The concepts of participation and accountability in the project have been relatively used in relation to one another. It indicates that participation in decentralised institutions such as VWSC/SAC or even WDC would lead to awareness building, understanding of one’s roles and responsibilities, consequently, bringing a sense of ownership over the project. Through participation in decentralised meetings, women’s groups are motivated in preparing Village Action Plan (VAP) and Women Development Plan (WDP). They also become aware about the project budget, the cost incurred, track its progress and eventually as part of the cohesive group women take control over the project after the 18 months of project implementation cycle.

Women, as a result, are also involved in certifying the completion of the project. In this manner, all members from the committees including men are answerable to the villagers. The project ensures devolving financial powers and decision-making responsibility to the lowest appropriate level of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) such as the Gram Panchayat and the Gram Sabha. As a result of which, people become answerable for their actions and enforce rules and regulation for community contribution, equitable distribution of drinking water to sustain the infrastructures for their own community members within the broad framework of accountability.

Henceforth, while understanding the process of accountability in Jalswarajya through a gender and development perspective, it focuses on those women members from the water
committees who are answerable to other women including the poor men and marginalised community in the village. Women’s participation in decision-making process within the decentralised institutions and at the Gram Sabha is assumed to bring awareness for preparing the WDPs, the cost incurred, process of the O&M of the water supply infrastructures and eventually the awareness about their respective committee’s roles and responsibilities. This ensures accountability.

4. Empowerment

The term empowerment has different meaning in different socio-cultural and political context and it has been widely accepted as an important goal in development (Malhotra et al., 2002). Today women’s empowerment has become a pre-requisite in development programmes (Regmi and Fawcett, 1999). Due to which, there are diverse bodies of literatures that have emerged regarding the conceptualisation of empowerment and most importantly they vary in the context of how to identify it (Malhotra and Schuler, 2006).

Thus, within the context of drinking water especially Jalswarajya Project which is funded by the World Bank and the purpose of reviewing it through a gender and development perspective, the most relevant empowerment literatures for conceptual definition are from Malhotra and Schuler, 2006; Kabeer (1994 and 1999), Narayan (2002), Cleaver (2004) and Agarwal (2010). These selective feminist activist writings are brought together in the study so that it provides a comprehensive approach towards understand women’s empowerment within drinking water sector.

The notion of empowerment is related to the ability of a person to make choices in life, which previously was denied (Kabeer, 1999). The reason is often within the drinking water context, women do not have choices over their roles and decisions to reduce their burden of work in fetching water. If women are able to participate and negotiate, to influence the decisions, take control over the assets and make the water institutions accountable for their action, women as individuals and as groups are empowered (Narayan, 2002).

Agarwal (2010) further states from her experiences of participation within decentralised institutions (referring to the typology of participation Box 2.2) that when interactive participation is achieved it transforms women to voice and influence group decisions. She also stresses if women hold positions as office bearers they are considered as empowered.

The reason is within drinking water sector, the inclusion of women as members of the decentralised committees is itself a process of emancipation, where women can assert their rights and take control of the resources for sustainability purpose (Cleaver, 2004). This argument fits well with the justification of women’s participation emphasised within the decentralised institutions established by Jalswarajya Project (GoM, 2003a). It states that women mobilising to meet practical gender needs are transformed to address the strategic gender needs which itself is political and transformative (Mitchell, 1996).

Therefore, to challenge the traditional women’s subordinate positions and bring change where women have access and control over their choices, it is necessary that women need to be part of the agency as significant agents (Kabeer, 2001). It is only then women recognise their own capabilities which could be addressed through training programmes, attending the decentralised water committee meetings, and as collectives in the form of
SHGs or even Mahila Mandals where they could take assertive actions to control their lives (Narayan, 1995; Ranadive-Deshmukh, 2005).

Hence women being able to change from the state of powerlessness to a state of collective self-confidence as rightly marked by Kabeer (1994) through that power which cannot be given, but self-generated or taken are considered as empowered. Such a situation could be felt within households or community level as impacts of gender development strategy.

Nevertheless, reflecting on the gender development strategy and the Jalswarajya Project outcomes, women’s empowerment within Jalswarajya Project is assumed with women becoming member of the SHGs where they take control over the income, she has freedom of movement – travel alone outside the village and do not seek the permission to attend SHG meetings.

Similarly after becoming member of the decentralised institutions and the SHGs, she is involved in decision-making process at the household level such as fixing the water pipeline or building the latrine and control over the economic resources. At community level, women are involved in the decision-making process at institutional meetings and Gram Sabhas. Through participation within the committee meetings women are aware about the institutional role and responsibilities, the budget and participate in the preparation of VAP. They assure women’s issues are addressed and take leadership positions within such public meetings.

Nevertheless, at village and committee meetings women are more articulate and their voices are acknowledged by men resulting in attitudinal change in the village. Women take collective actions for campaigning against those factors that bring about domestic violence, such as dowry, alcohol among others. Overall the gender development strategy that aims to bring about women empowerment challenges the traditional structures that subordinate women.

2.5. Research Design and Process

The review of Jalswarajya Project through a gender and development perspective study is primarily a non-experimental research design, which explains the cause-effect relationship of variables from participation to empowerment. In this manner, the study employed a mix of quantitative and qualitative research designs to understand the project and relate with the subject. To present a variety of facts about the women who are members of the decentralised institutions established by Jalswarajya Project pertaining to their socio-economic background, their nature of participation within the committee meetings, and their level of understanding about the roles and responsibilities of their respective committees, the descriptive research design has been employed.

The study further explores the possibilities to understand a problem and also enhances the understanding about the phenomena of women’s subordination through applying the explorative research design. The use of this research design does not capture the problem in totality as it does not explain the reasons or causes of the problem which are not well known in rural drinking water especially post sector reform. Since some parts of the problem are associated with women’s empowerment and their subordinate position in society is already well established, so in the context of drinking water, it extend the knowledge about women’s conditions. Because despite the government implementing democratic
decentralisation where people participate within water governance to govern their own live
by themselves problems still persist especially within women’s conditions (Joshi, 2004;
Prokopy, 2004; Kulkarni et al., 2008; Datar, 2008). So at this stage an explanatory research
design is applied to highlight the cause and reasons for such women’s position.

Provided from the research designs, the study incorporates a survey method to gather all the
descriptions of the subject that are related to the phenomena such as participation, gender
development strategy, empowerment and accountability. In this manner of explaining the
cause-effect relationships amongst variables, it measures the extent to which variations in one
variable are associated with variations in another (Das, 2005). So it highlights, how
participation is related with accountability or how gender development strategy is associated
with women’s empowerment.

As part of the survey method, hypotheses are tested about the association of variables, and
further its relationship has been determined (using correlational techniques) but not illustrated
as an absolute proof of association among the variables. The insights provided in the study
are drawn from gender and development perspective within rural drinking water sector in
Maharashtra.

1. Sampling Process

The Jalswarajya Project was implemented in 2003, covering nine districts\(^9\) (GoM, 2003a;
World Bank, 2003b) and by 2005 it gradually covered most of the villages from 26 districts
in Maharashtra, but their dates of implementation varied. Most of the villages implementing
Jalswarajya Project are classified on Phase basis. The Phase I consisted of Pilot, Batch I,
Batch II and Batch III. Similarly, the Phase II consisted of Batch I and Batch II. The total
villages from Phase I selected and implementing Jalswarajya consisted of 1158, while in the
Phase II 1849 villages.\(^10\) However, considering the objectives of the study are to have an in-
depth understanding about the gender development strategy and its impact on women and
their position in society, the women members from all the decentralised institutions - VWSC,
WDC and SAC, were considered as the sample of the study.

To draw the sample from the population, the sampling process was carried through a multi-
stage method:

1\(^{st}\) Stage:

When the Jalswarajya Project was initially implemented in 2003 as Phase 1, it covered nine
districts. Considering the project cycle of 18 months for the overall implementation of the
activities, villagers are often known to handle the O&M of the water infrastructures by
themselves.

As per the project rules, women take control of the O&M such as collection of water tariffs
and repair of water infrastructures. However there are several measures to classify village as
‘exit’ from the project. The key indicators are villagers handle the O&M of the water
infrastructures with overall completion of the project activities provided they submit the
audited financial statement of the cost incurred to the DFT (GoM, 2003a). Henceforth, the
researcher selected those nine districts to draw the villages listed as ‘exit’ by Reform Sector
Project Management Unit (RSPMU).
2nd Stage

In the 2nd stage, the researcher drew the list of ‘exit’ villages from the Jalswarajya Project website.11 Out of the nine districts implementing Jalswarajya Project it was found the exit villages belonged only to four districts. In this process, a total of 25 villages were the only exit villages from Phase I Batch I category in July 2008. For instance, Buldhana and Nashik districts had four each exit villages, Osmanabad nine and Yavatmal district with eight villages. Hence, 25 villages were listed to determine the sample population.

3rd Stage

In the 3rd Stage, the population of the study was determined from those 25 exit villages. The project norm stipulated 50 per cent seats to be reserved for women within VWSC and WDC and 75 per cent as women members within WDC (GoM, 2003a; GoM, 2003b). As per the quota, from a village, a minimum of six women members in VWSC and SAC and nine women members were to be mandatorily present within the decentralised institutions. As a result a total of minimum 21 women members were minimally listed within the decentralised committees. So given the minimum women representation per village and the total exit villages, a sum of 525 representatives were considered as the population of the study.

4th Stage

At the 4th Stage, sub-stages of sampling existed to determine the population sample size and the village sample size.

1. From the total population of the study (525), the researcher with the help of Krejcie and Morgan (1970) sampling technique determined a sample size of 226. Krejcie and Morgan (1970) have a sampling chart that determines the sample size when the population is known. Through Krejcie and Morgan sample size determination the confidence level of the data is 95 per cent and the degree of accuracy/margin of error is 0.05 per cent. However the formula to obtain the sample size was:

\[ S = X^2NP \times N \times (1-P) \times d^2 \times (N-1) + X^3P \times (1-P) \]

\[ S = \text{required sample size} \]

\[ X^2 = \text{the table value of chi-square for one degree of freedom at the desired confidence level} \]

\[ N = \text{the population size} \]

\[ P = \text{the population proportion (assumed to be .50 since this would provide the maximum sample size)} \]

\[ d = \text{the degree of accuracy expressed as a proportion (.05)} \]

2. In the 2nd sub-stage, to determine the sample villages, the sample size from the total population (as per Krejcie and Morgan) was divided with the total women respondents per village (226/21=11). So a total of 11 villages were considered as the sample villages from the total of 25 exit villages.

5th Stage

Similar to the 4th Multistage of sampling, the 5th Stage had two sub-stages to select the villages and the respondents for the study.
1. Selection of villages – Since 11 villages were determined at the 4th Stage, the researcher by using one half method where 50 per cent of exit villages from each respective districts was selected as the sample village. As a result a total of 12 villages were determined for the final survey.

2. Sample Size – At each village, 21 respondents were to be surveyed (due to the minimum criteria of women’s representation within the decentralised institutions). When the 21 respondents of each village were multiplied to 12 villages a total of 252 respondents were determined as the sample size for the study.

The reason for having 252 respondents as the sample size in the study was also because it incorporated the 10 per cent reserved category considering the risk factors (sample unavailable during the time of field work and also the difficulty to break-down the per village sample based on Kerjcie and Morgan’s sampling technique). Hence a total of 252 respondents were considered as the final sample size in the study across 12 villages that were in the exit phase.

At the village level, the names of the women members for each respective decentralised committee were listed at the Gram Panchayat Office wall. Most of the villages had women members as per the project rules, while in committees where women members were above
the minimum representation, the first six women listed as representatives were selected chronologically from the VWSC and SAC. Similar process was followed in selecting the WDC members.

During the field work, it was found that a total of four women representatives of the decentralised committee were not available at the village level which included one each from VWSC and WDC and two members from SAC. Henceforth, in order to understand the gender development strategy of the World Bank and women empowerment, perspectives from a total sample of 248 were included in the study.

2. Instruments

A structured questionnaire was used as the main data-gathering instrument in the study, followed by the ‘Then and Now Analysis’ (Participatory Rural Appraisal - PRA Technique) (see Annexure 6). The questionnaire was divided into several parts ranging from personal characteristics, perception of gender mainstreaming strategy, perception of women involved in household and community decision-making process, understanding the roles and responsibilities of each decentralised institutions (VWSC, WDC and SAC) and to the benefits of Jalswarajya Project.

To understand the roles and responsibilities of women in each decentralised committee and the benefits of the project, the researcher developed several instruments on Likert Scale. The Likert Scale for understanding the role and responsibilities of the three decentralised institutions were rated at a four-point scale (Do not know, minimally know, moderately know and extremely know). Similarly the instrument to understand the benefits of Jalswarajya Project was rated on a five-point scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Indifferent, Disagree and Strongly Disagree).

The instruments related to the understanding about roles and responsibilities of VWSC, WDC and SAC was developed as per the project rules, the non-negotiable and the functions of each respective committee that were designed and mentioned under each head within the PIP document (GoM, 2003a). The benefits of Jalswarajya Project instrument look into the outcome of gender development strategy covering issues within household level (personal, social and economic) and at the community level. The group of items within household and community level intended to address the fundamental factors that structure and maintain gender inequalities.

Besides the quantitative tools, the qualitative tools such as the ‘Then and Now Analysis’ was carried out to understand the role of women before and after the project, their happiest and saddest moment before and after the implementation of Jalswarajya Project. Similarly one Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted in each village through the help of an interview guide. The FGD composed a mix group of women in all the sample villages. Each group consisted women representing different age and caste category with a minimum of six to eight members. Such a composition was essential to understand if differences or conflict existed between older and younger women.

Significantly Village Information Sheet was developed to understand the overall implementation of the project activities with specific to WDPs.
3. Data Collection

The tools used for data gathering – structured questionnaire, understanding the Roles and Responsibilities of VWSC, WDC and SAC and the Benefits of Drinking Water and Sanitation Project were preliminarily pre-tested in two villages with a sample of 60 respondents for effectiveness of the survey questionnaire. The instruments were also pretested for reliability and validity purposes based on the benchmark scale (alpha 0.6) that was determined through the computation of Chronbach’s alpha with the help of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 13.0). So that consistency in measurement could be achieved and strong conclusions were drawn.

Based on the pre-testing findings, the statements, ordering the questions, and additional specific questions were brought into the questionnaire. Before finalising, the instruments were translated in Marathi (assuming the dominant respondent’s language) so that the rural women could read and if possible opt for the best perspective by themselves. About 10 Marathi questionnaires were field tested and again back translated so that it matched the original responses that were stated during the pre-testing period.

At the final stage of data collection, the respective women respondents from each of the decentralised institutions were chronologically selected as per the sample size per village provided from the list of members in Jalswarajya Project at the Gram Panchayat office.

The researcher visited the respondent’s place of residence at the village. The consent of the study along with the questionnaire was shared with the respondents and their family members. On their satisfaction and approval, the structured questionnaire was administered for interview.

During the interview process, the women’s husband and at times the male member of her family was usually present. As a result, when information about women’s involvement in the household decision-making process was obtained, many of the men tended to interfere in order to prompt the subject to say ‘women are involved in the household decision-making processes’. As a result in the data analysis section, it is found that when women’s involvement at household decision-making process takes place an overwhelming proportion of women tend to support women’s participation at household affairs. Approximately out of the 248 total respondents, 240 women respondents had male presence during the interview process. Those eight women respondents who had no male presence were due to their position of being the family head, or the village head (Gram Sarpanch).

Information regarding the implementation of the Jalswarajya Project, utilisation of the fund for women development, IGAs that was carried out by the SHGs was obtained from the Gram Panchayat office and also from the president of the VWSC at his residence. All this information pertained to the qualitative tool developed as part of the village information sheet. One FGD was conducted per village with a mix group of women. All these information was used as part of the primary data.

The secondary data in the study was gathered through the Mid-term Review carried out by the RSPMU, Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation (DDWS), Maharashtra and from other most relevant literatures that focused particularly on sector reform projects in India and more so with the Jalswarajya Project.
4. Data Processing and Analysis Plan

To understand the impact of gender development strategy of Jalswarajya Project in the lives of women across villages where water scarcity was a problem, the study has tried to capture women’s perceptions about the strategic approach and the complexities experienced in the field towards understanding women empowerment.

The study being field based, researcher initially designed the analysis in a manner to exclude all possible errors during data processing. So in the data processing the entire 248 questionnaires were scrutinised for ambiguities and inconsistencies at the field itself and before the data entry process. However, numerical symbols (as part of coding) were already assigned to each of the responses prior the fieldwork. The codes were verified and rechecked as part of the pre-testing procedures and before the on-set of the final fieldwork. This was carried out with the help of the statistical analysis software - SPSS version 13.0.

Following the exclusion of all errors in the data, the researcher used a combination of data analysis strategies. Descriptive statistics to understand who these women from the decentralised institutions were, what were their socio-economic profile and among others. Inferential statistics was applied in relations to the reasons and the roles of women members while participating in the project. The combination of both the statistical measures provided the actual output in understanding the gender development strategy, women participation in the project, them being accountable to the villagers and the other village women and the process of being vocal and taking self-decision at household and community level through Jalswarajya Project. As a result the data analysis was carried out in several steps.

Step One

Initially, descriptive statistics was applied so that demographic profiling of the respondents/women members from the decentralised institutions could be carried considering their age, caste, religion, socio-economic profile (annual income, occupation, colour of the ration card). Most of the demographic profiling of the respondents from the decentralised institutions was undertaken through univariate analysis.

The univariate analysis tends to look into the distribution (frequency and percentage distribution) of the data except for few variables such as age and income, wherein the quartile values were taken (so that its values could be grouped) and on that basis the central tendency (Mean) and the dispersion (Standard Deviation) were appropriately described for the variables.

The univariate analysis was also applied to highlight the key features of the study, such as women’s reasons for participating in the decentralised institutions, gender proportion of attending committee meetings, understanding about the roles and responsibilities of respective committees such as VWSC, WDC and SAC. In fact the univariate analysis paved the way to understand the association between variables such as women participating in the decentralised institution as part of their natural affinity to water or rather a step towards the process of emancipation. As a result, the statistical analysis gradually moved towards inferential statistics and to understand the relationship between gender development strategy and women empowerment.
Step Two

After the descriptive statistics, a combination of two variables was cross-tabulated to study the social, culture, economic status, among others with several independent variables. In the contingency tables, the row variables usually consisted of the explanatory variables, while the column variable consisted of the response variable from the women members of the decentralised institutions. Initially to find the conditional distribution of the row variable for one specific value of the column variable, only that column was looked in the table.

Further when the bivariate table as a whole was subjected to statistical analysis the chi-square test was applied to determine if any association existed between two categorical variables. When the table cells with expected frequency of less than five were observed, the Fisher Exact Test was carried out to understand the exact value of $p$. However in SPSS, the Fisher Exact Test is already an in-built feature within the Chi-square test. As a result the cell values with a cut-off of less than 33 per cent were only considered prior to analysing the $p$ value. Moreover the coefficient of contingency ($c$) had been determined to understand the strength of the association between the two/three variables. Care had been taken where $p$ value printed as .000 was interpreted as $p < 0.001$. On this basis the working hypothesis was accepted/rejected and a conclusion was made.

The figure 2.2 shows the likelihood of the relationship between concepts of participation and accountability and gender development strategy and women empowerment.

The bivariate tables were used for further statistical calculations to establish the association between the two variables. The Chi-square value was used to decide the significance of association. On the other hand for most of the variables being qualitative in nature (categorical data type), multiple co-relational analysis could not be adopted so a single factor association was carried out between any two variables. Due to which Chi-square was applied as a mean to substantiate the theoretical inferences with mathematical interpretations.

For example the first working hypothesis from the research hypothesis was constructed to facilitate the inquiry based on the theory of participation and accountability within gender and development framework and in relation to the expected outcome of Jalswarajya Project. From the research hypothesis, “participation of women in project decentralised institutions is likely to achieve greater accountability”, the working hypotheses constructed were, “higher the women’s participation in committee meetings, better is the awareness about the project budget”, “women’s participation in decentralised committee meetings is likely to transfer right to collect the water tariffs”, “women’s participation in decentralised committee meetings is likely to increase their awareness about VWSC, WDC and SAC roles and responsibilities respectively”, and “women being vocal at the Gram Sabha is likely to indicate that they are aware about the project budget”.

The significant associations between each of the variables from the working hypotheses were used to accept or reject the research hypothesis. Similar procedure was followed with the other research hypothesis, “The Gender Strategy of the World Bank is likely to enhance the empowerment of women at the village level”.

It is to be noted that from the second research hypothesis, the term ‘enhancement’ referred to the improved women’s condition at the village level. Prior the implementation of the project, the World Bank often argued for developmental programmes particularly poverty alleviation.
projects lacked women’s participation as a result tackling poverty still remained a major challenge (World Bank, 2001). So, despite the developmental efforts women still lacked basic needs, their voices were unheard and they remained on the lower end of receiving development benefits.

Given the prevailing situation of women, the Jalswarajya Project was one of the first of its kind within drinking water sector that brought women to the forefront as partners and as equal representatives to the men at the village level. Henceforth, the term ‘enhancement’ was used as the level where women were being vocal at public meetings and household level and also taking self-decisions that governed their lives.

Thus, in this research hypothesis, it was observed that from the gender development strategy, women who were traditionally subordinated and were used as water carriers are today vocal and active members of the village who controlled their own lives and taking crucial decisions at the village meetings, and challenging the patriarchal values and norms. In this process of testing both the research hypotheses, the figure 2.2 illustrates from the gender and development framework about the variables that are part of the concept of participation, accountability, gender development strategy and women’s empowerment.

**Step Three**

After the cause-effect relationships between the variables were drawn from the inferential statistics supported with the qualitative findings in each case that were generated from the ‘Then and Now Analysis’ and the FGDs, the researcher applied causal inference to further build the argument in the study. The primary reason was that causal analysis went one step further to highlight the dynamics between the already established association of variables (Pearl, 2003 and 2009).

In this process, after most of the bi-variate associations were drawn and the significant association determined, the researcher carried out an exercise to understand if there was any unaccounted effect inherent within the established association of variables by still using the standard statistics. So the third variable (independent variable) as a dummy variable was statistically examined using Chi-square test and coefficient of contingency to determine the strength of the effect on the bi-variate association of variables. This produced the tri-variate analysis in the study giving better directions and the dynamics under changing conditions.

**Step Four**

In the fourth step of data analysis, the researcher conducted a Factor Analysis to determine the number of factors that were implemented as gender development strategy was related to women’s benefit. This statistical method was adopted as there were several variables to measure women’s empowerment that had been derived as an outcome of the gender development strategy in Jalswarajya Project and importantly to summarise the results in a meaningful fashion. The “Benefits of Rural Drinking Water and Sanitation Project” instrument used in the study had primarily been constructed through the conceptual design of gender and development framework and taking gender development strategy of the World Bank in Jalswarajya Project into account. Principle component analysis (PCA) method was applied for the factor analysis.
Figure 2.2: Bivariate Analytical Model
2.6. Importance and Limitations

This study focused on the world's most precious resources, i.e., water and the challenges of enabling all people to enjoy the benefits of reliable drinking water supply through their participation in designing, planning, implementation and handling the O&M of Jalswarajya Project. Along with equitable distribution of water supply, women's empowerment had been a key component in this developmental project. It was expected through the implementation of the gender development strategy that it would bring change in women's position at the household and community level and bring transparency within the water governance system.

On the other hand, considering the strategic choice that was designed within the sector reform water policy, the study provided an exhaustive knowledge base about the dynamics of rural conditions and more specific the women's conditions in rural society that cut across caste and class factors in relation to big drinking water projects that intended to challenge the traditional socio-cultural factors.

Since the study focused on understanding the gender development strategy for women's empowerment, it referred to the women's participation at decision-making processes at the household and community level. As a result of which, the general category of women and men are excluded in the study. Further more, reflecting only on the women from the decentralised institutions it also added to the knowledge base on women and the local self-governance process.

Health was an important indicator to development and health of a woman was an important variable within women studies. Although water and health were significantly correlated, it was not an important variable in the study. This was because the study aimed to understand water from a governance perspective that attempted to challenge women's position at household and community level. However to understand women's capabilities that were related to health component, an attempt was made to incorporate decision making capability with related health conditions under the benefit scale of Jalswarajya Project.

Similarly, the issue of caste difference at the village level was not exclusively focused in the study. Although the caste issue was not a part of the gender development strategy in Jalswarajya Project, the study attempted to illustrate how caste was is an integral social factor that determined access to information and knowledge, which led to women's empowerment.
Notes:

1 Aaple Pani was funded by German Development Bank (KfW) in four districts and Jalswarajya Project was funded by World Bank in 26 districts of Maharashtra.

2 These were experiences observed with the Mid-term Review of Jalswarajya Project carried out by RSPMU.

3 This was a personal experience that was observed across several villages in Rantagiri, Nashik and Satara districts.

4 This was the observed role of the Gender Specialist that was placed as a member of the DFT in Ratnagiri District.

5 The CGA report includes, profile of different socioeconomic roles of males and female, their participation at market and household economies, access and control over assets, laws and institutional framework that lead to gender discrimination. It also stresses on issues of the country’s capacity in terms of institutional arrangements to implement the gender development goals of the World Bank. The CGA carries out a review of the gender mainstreaming with the on-going projects of the World Bank and suggest gender-responsive measures for poverty reduction and development effectiveness (World Bank, 2002, p.21).

6 Including transparency

7 In brief good governance in process of putting socially accepted regulation in place by adopting participatory mechanisms, which is accountable, transparent, effective and responsive. It accepts the relationship between society and the government (Rogers and Hall, 2003; Blair, 2000).

8 Women here is not a homogenous group rather a subset of several groups in a society each experiencing differing level of disempowerment.

9 Buldhana, Chandrapur, Nagpur, Nashik, Osmanabad, Sangli, Satara, Thane, and Yuvatmal.

10 [http://www.mahawssd.gov.in/dataentry/Phase_Rpt.asp](http://www.mahawssd.gov.in/dataentry/Phase_Rpt.asp)

11 The website containing information about exit villages were listed in the website www.mahawssd.gov.in/dataentry/home.asp accessed on 26th July 2008. The website reference was provided from the RSPMU, Mumbai.