

# URBAN WASH GOVERNANCE IN PAKISTAN

Impact evaluation of the 'Improving Urban WASH  
Governance and Accountability' (IUWGA) project

Effectiveness Review Series 2017/18



*Community members collecting water from a water tanker in Thatta, Sindh, Pakistan.*

**Adinda Van Hemelrijck**

COLLABORATIVE IMPACT for OXFAM GB

Field inquiries by:  
The Institute of Social Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan

[www.oxfam.org.uk/effectiveness](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/effectiveness)



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All errors in this report remain the responsibility of the author.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

BHU	Basic Health Unit
CSSP	Civil Society Support Programme
CV	Constituent Voice
DA	District Administration
DC	District Council
DCO	District Council Office
ECG	Effective Citizen Group
GI	Group Interview
IUWGA	Improving Urban WASH Governance and Accountability
KHS	Kotla Haji Shah <sup>1</sup>
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning
MPA	Member of the Provincial Assembly
MNA	Member of the National Assembly
NAB	National Accountability Bureau <sup>2</sup>
Oxfam GB	Oxfam Great Britain
PHED	Public Health Engineering Department
PIALA	Participatory Impact Assessment and Learning Approach
PMEG	Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Group
QSK	Qambar Shahdad Kot <sup>3</sup>
TMA	Tehsil Municipal Administration
TMO	Tehsil Municipal Officer
ToC	Theory of Change
UFAQ	UFAQ Development Organization
UC	Union Council
UPIDP	Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plan
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The *Improving Urban WASH Governance and Accountability* (IUWGA) project in Pakistan was selected in 2017 to be evaluated on the effectiveness and likely sustainability of its participatory governance model relative to 'equitable and sustainable access to water'.

The project aimed at developing and pilot-testing a local urban governance model that builds on a concept of collaborative rights and accountability relations as the basis for developing a new social contract between local authorities and citizens in new urban settlements. According to the UNDP Water Governance Facility and UNICEF (2015) as well as the Stockholm International Water Institute (Jiménez et al., 2018), working on rights and accountability is necessary for making WASH investments effective and sustainable. As increasingly more investments are needed to meet the growing needs and demands in the fast-expanding urban areas, changing the urban governance system is an essential contribution towards achieving equitable and sustainable access to WASH.

The model developed by Oxfam and partners consists of: (a) Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs) at the local Mohallah and Union Council levels that organize communities around their citizen rights and responsibilities; (b) a community-driven prioritization and resource-mobilization process that enables local authorities to be more responsive to people's needs; and (c) a Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Group (PMEG) at the district level that promotes social accountability for WASH investments and reinforces existing transparency and accountability laws and regulations.

The model was piloted over a period of two years (April 2015 – March 2017) in two Union Councils in the City of Dadu (Sindh province) and two Union Councils in the City of Muzafargarh (Punjab province) with a total budget of £320,000.

## Objectives and approach

The objectives were:

- (a) To report on the effectiveness of the governance model in terms of WASH delivery and its contributions towards 'equitable and sustainable access to water';
- (b) To draw lessons for making improvements; and
- (c) To provide useful inputs to developing a rights and empowerment centred framework for assessing impact in the new global 'sustainable water' thematic area.

To meet these objectives, an approach called **PIALA (Participatory Impact Assessment and Learning Approach)** was used that makes it possible to rigorously assess the impact of system change and engage stakeholders in its processes. PIALA offers a model for mixing different designs and methodologies to meet different learning needs, optimize the value of an impact evaluation alongside its value chain, and enable comparison at scale across contexts and even countries.<sup>4</sup>

In this particular evaluation, the scale was relatively small, consisting of just four project Union Councils, requiring a small-n design. PIALA's Configurational Analysis methodology was therefore reduced to its Contribution Tracing component for the within-case analysis, while its configurational cross-case analysis method was replaced with a systemic counterfactual comparison. This essentially boiled down to a multi-case study comparing the WASH governance processes and outcomes in the four project Union Councils with two comparison Union Councils in adjacent districts in the same provinces.

The WASH governance processes and outcomes were investigated by using PIALA's systemic Theory of Change (ToC) and participatory mixed/combined-methods approach. This implied the



selection and use of a standard set of mixed or combined methods on an equal basis and with multiple sources, in order to investigate the different causal relations in the ToC in a way that enables systematic crosschecking of both the methods and the different perspectives of the actors in the system.

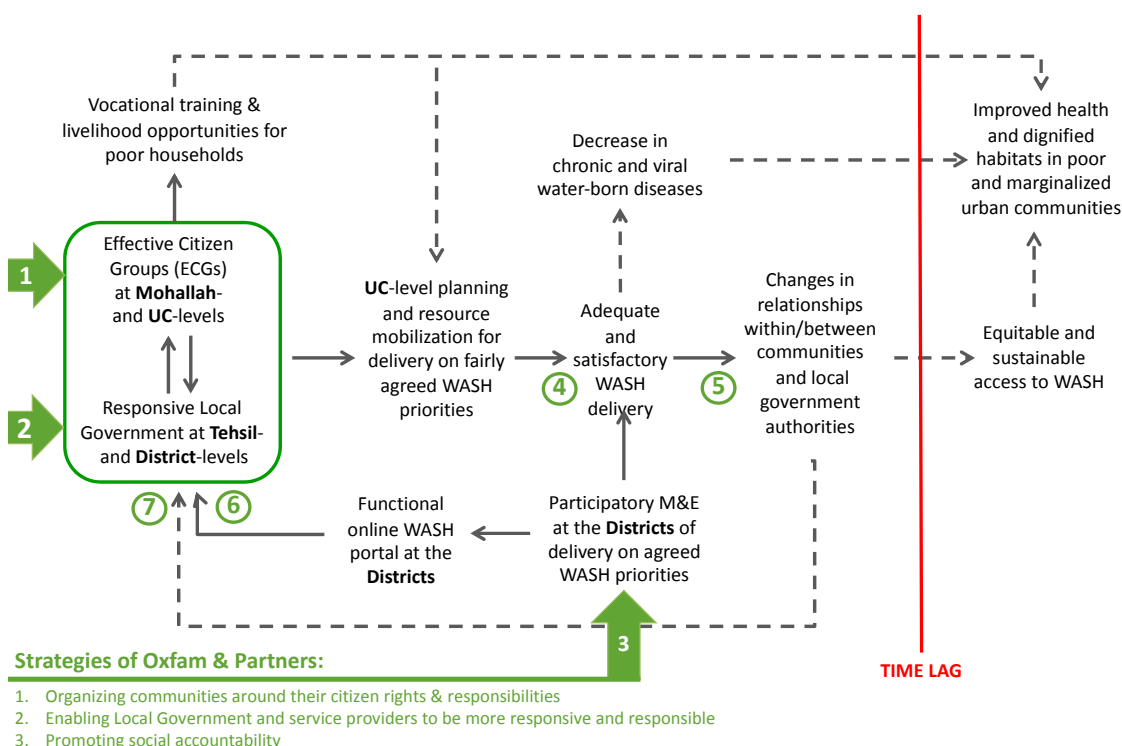
An essential PIALA element that was still missing at the time of the writing of this report is the participatory sense-making. This involves the collective sense-making and cross-validation of the evidence together with all the stakeholders, which usually happens *before* turning to the final analysis and reporting. Participatory sense-making helps to close the learning loop while creating a space for dialogue between citizens and power holders, making an evaluation more democratic. Due to the limitations encountered by this evaluation, however, the participatory sense-making had not yet taken place at the time of the writing of this report.

It is hoped that Oxfam will still consider organizing a participatory sense-making event as a first important step in the uptake of the evaluation findings and recommendations for improving and sustaining the positive results of the IUWGA project and the governance model it developed.

## Causal relations and methods

The diagram below graphically presents the ToC that was constructed based on the review of project documents and consultations with project staff.

The ToC reveals five important causal relations that needed to be investigated, using selective methods and tools with different groups. The table below presents an overview of the causal relations and the methods and tools. For each causal relation (left column), the pertinent ToC links are indicated.



CAUSAL RELATIONS	CROSS-CHECKING METHODS AND TOOLS		
	Mohallah level	Union Council level	District level
Effective citizenship due to IUWGA interventions and outcomes (ToC links 1 + 7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG members</li> <li>• Review of ECG meeting records</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG leaders</li> <li>• Review of ECG meeting records</li> <li>• Review of UPIDPs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with local authorities</li> <li>• Review of project M&amp;E data</li> </ul>
Responsive government due to IUWGA interventions and outcomes (ToC links 2 + 6)	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG leaders</li> <li>• Review of UPIDPs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with PMEG members</li> <li>• Group Interview with local authorities</li> </ul>
Social accountability due to IUWGA interventions (ToC link 3)	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with local authorities</li> <li>• Group Interview with PMEG</li> <li>• Review of PMEG docs</li> </ul>
Adequate delivery on agreed WASH priorities due to effective citizenship, responsive governance and social accountability (ToC link 4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with local authorities</li> <li>• Group Interview with PMEG</li> <li>• Review of project M&amp;E and design studies</li> </ul>
Sustainable changes in relationships within/ between communities and local authorities due to effective WASH delivery (ToC link 5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship Analysis with ECG members</li> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship Analysis with ECG leaders</li> <li>• Constituent Voice with ECG leaders</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with local authorities</li> </ul>

This enabled the reconstruction of the causal pathways with the evidence, a scoring of contribution (from 0 to 4) for each of the causal relations, and a validation of the ToC and its causal assumptions. The result of this exercise is summarized below.

# Contribution scores and explanations

## **Effective citizenship due to IUWGA interventions and outcomes (ToC links 1+7)**

### **Average contribution score 3 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh)**

The project has been highly successful in organizing communities around their citizen rights and responsibilities, and in enabling women to engage in community planning and advocacy around WASH. Achievements in terms of gender and political empowerment are significant, given the challenging context and the project's short lifetime. But due to the lack of government accountability and the prevailing norms and gender patterns, the project has proven insufficient to render the achievements sustainable. Citizenship and empowerment require more time, thus more and persistent effort, with special attention paid to both the formal and informal aspects of gender. We therefore conclude that the causal relation between the IUWGA project and the results in terms of 'effective citizenship' was strong and necessary, but insufficient to generate the desired outcomes (average contribution score 3).

## **Government responsiveness due to IUWGA interventions and outcomes (ToC links 2+6)**

### **Average contribution score 2 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh)**

The project has succeeded in making local government authorities more responsive to the requests and complaints of the communities. The results are impressive given the short project duration and challenging context. However, there is a fundamental lack of capacity, answerability and transparency on the part of local government authorities that undermines the potential of Oxfam's urban WASH governance model. Project contributions were insufficient and only moderately relevant to address the problems in this regard and thus make the participatory planning and resource mobilization for delivering on WASH more effective (average contribution score 2). Other interventions and mechanisms, additional to the Effective Citizenship Groups (ECGs) and Participatory M&E Groups (PMEGs), are needed to address the issues of local government capacity and accountability.

## **Social accountability due to IUWGA interventions (ToC link 3)**

### **Average contribution scores 2 in Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and 1 in Dadu (Sindh)**

The project has succeeded in setting up a social accountability mechanism that supports the ECGs and local government authorities in the monitoring of WASH delivery in the Mohallahs and helps to identify and address issues of ill performance and corruption. The PMEG was highly valued and at the time of the evaluation was still functioning in Muzaffargarh, but not in Dadu. However, the PMEG mechanism has proven insufficient and moderately relevant to address the problem of lacking accountability in Muzaffargarh (average contribution score 2), while in Dadu it was too weak and largely insufficient to generate meaningful outcomes (average contribution score 1).



## **Adequate WASH delivery due to effective citizenship, government responsiveness and social accountability (ToC link 4)**

### **Average contribution score 3 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh)**

Despite the weak results in terms of social accountability and government responsiveness, outcomes in terms of adequate and satisfactory delivery on the WASH priorities negotiated and agreed between the communities and local authorities were quite impressive. Nearly all of the approved WASH schemes in Dadu and part of the approved schemes in Muzaffargarh had been successfully completed. Drinking water was still lacking in UC #4 (Dadu), and in both districts there had been a decline in the sanitary services after project closure. But apart from this, all other implemented schemes had been working well to date. The evidence on effective citizenship, government responsiveness, social accountability and changes in relationships moreover shows the empowering value of the way in which these outcomes have been achieved, which would have not occurred without having the ECG and PMEG mechanisms in place. However, many Mohallahs remained underserved and government capacity and resource issues limited the achievement of better and more sustainable results (average contribution score 3).



### **Sustainable changes in relationships due to adequate WASH Delivery (ToC link 5)**

#### **Average contribution score 3 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh)**

Improvements in relationships within the communities and between the communities and the local authorities were quite significant in all four project Union Councils, and evidence from the comparison Union Councils shows that without Oxfam's WASH governance model, these improvements would not have occurred. In all four project Union Councils, the evidence shows a significant increase in people's trust in leadership, equality and sensitivity to the needs of vulnerable groups in the communities. In all four Union Councils, the communities had also established positive relationships with the different local authorities at the District, Tehsil and Council levels and gained access to the different departments responsible for WASH. Women however remained constrained in their interactions with leaders and their ability to participate and become leaders, due to cultural and religious norms and gender divisions. Moreover, the accessibility particularly of the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) had declined since the ending of the project, while the newly elected Councillors and the Municipal Chairmen had not gained much importance to the communities. We therefore conclude that the causal relation between adequate WASH delivery and the changes in relationships was strong and necessary, but insufficient to generate the desired outcomes (average contribution score 3).

## Conclusions and recommendations

The IUWGA project work on participatory urban governance has taken place in the context of Pakistan's recent local government reforms. The ECGs were formed and the relationships between communities and local authorities built in the period when a battle was raging for local power: Pakistan's first local democratic elections were completed in the project area in the last year of implementation. People are more empowered to vote, speak and discuss what does or does not work.

With the local government reforms and elections now coming to an end, there is a window of opportunity to consolidate the IUWGA project's achievements and further improve and develop its urban governance model to enable it to go to scale. As a rights-based organization that owes its fame and reputation to its transformative 'poverty-to-power' work,<sup>5</sup> Oxfam cannot walk away after investing merely two years in building and testing a promising new model without seeing it through. We therefore recommend the following actions:

- A. Continue providing limited support to the Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs) in Muzaffargarh and Dadu,** focused on organizing the groups and further building their relationship with the new local government authorities responsible for WASH.
- B. Make improvements to the urban WASH governance model in Lahore by:**
  - **strengthening its gender strategy<sup>6</sup>** by working on both formal and informal gender aspects and integrating the four powers ('power to', 'power with', 'power within' and 'power over') (cf. Hillenbrand, Karim, Wu, & Mohanraj, 2015: pp. 10-11);
  - **investing more in building the capacity of the Participatory M&E Group (PMEGs)** to engage the ECGs and local authorities in the monitoring and documentation of their activities and results;
  - **adding an economic empowerment component** that is centred on WASH but creates clear economic benefits of being organized in order to render the ECGs more sustainable.

**C. Expand the project with:**

- **an accountability and transparency component** that could help to build planning and budgeting capacity of the Municipal/Town Committees and Union Councils and provide them with tools for annual participatory development planning and reporting;
- **a technical capacity-building component** that provides tools for ongoing mapping of urban expansion (e.g. community-led mapping: <https://www.iiied.org/urban-development-too-complicated-for-us>) and for making WASH plans and budgets accessible to the communities via an online portal already developed by the project.

**D. Build a powerful coalition** with international partners<sup>7</sup> and donors<sup>8</sup> that can help with these new components by providing the necessary expertise or even leading on these new components and mobilizing the necessary resources.

**E. Test the improved and expanded model in different contexts<sup>9</sup>** to learn how it can be implemented and sustained under different circumstances, and thus develop a robust and improved 'proof of concept'.

**F. Build a movement that can further promote and support the adoption of the model in other cities, through:**

- **building a critical mass of ECGs** as strong, sustainable, elected urban grassroots community organizations at the Mohallah and Union Council levels, centred around WASH but with clear social and economic benefits of organization on a sustainable basis (thus combining social with economic empowerment);
- **linking the ECGs of the different urban areas into a network** and building its ECG leadership capacity to sustain the urban grassroots movement.<sup>10</sup>

# 1. INTRODUCTION

As part of Oxfam GB's global evaluation framework, mature projects are randomly selected every year to be evaluated on their effectiveness. These evaluations are called Effectiveness Reviews and assess the impact of Oxfam's work in key thematic areas including 'livelihood enhancement'; 'women's empowerment'; 'citizen voice'; 'policy influence'; 'resilience'; and 'humanitarian response'. Using robust and reputable methods, the Effectiveness Reviews enable Oxfam to assess and communicate the extent to which its work has contributed to change in these areas at a global scale.

Building on its extensive experience in WASH programming in humanitarian responses, Oxfam is considering the option of treating 'equitable and sustainable access to water' as a new priority thematic area, in addition to those already in use. The **Improving Urban WASH Governance and Accountability (IUWGA)** project in Pakistan was selected for an Effectiveness Review of its participatory governance and citizen model in relation to 'equitable and sustainable access to water'.

The objectives of the Effectiveness Review were threefold:

1. To report on the IUWGA project's effectiveness in terms of WASH governance, and its contributions towards 'equitable and sustainable access to water'.<sup>11</sup>
2. To draw lessons from the piloting of the participatory urban WASH governance model for making improvements.<sup>12</sup>
3. To provide useful inputs to developing a rights and empowerment centred framework for assessing impact in the new area of 'equitable and sustainable access to water'.

To meet these objectives, the evaluation needed to produce generalizable evidence of the effectiveness and likely sustainability of the governance system for the entire project area, and establish the link with equitable and sustainable access to WASH (in particular water), while also explaining where and why changes appeared most relevant and significant. The approach adopted for this was **PIALA (Participatory Impact Assessment and Learning Approach)**.

**Section 2** provides a brief description of the project and its Theory of Change, and a basic framework for assessing WASH governance relations that draws on the latest literature. **Section 3** presents the focus and frame of the evaluation (including the evaluation and learning questions) agreed with Oxfam Pakistan and the implementing partners. **Section 4** describes PIALA and the adjustments made to the approach for this specific evaluation, and reflects on the quality and limitations. **Section 5** presents the contribution scores and findings relative to the project's Theory of Change and political context. **Section 6** concludes with a set of key recommendations. The **Annexes** present an overview of the evaluation methods, sources and participants, and of the Constituent Voice scores collected by the evaluation.

## 2. THE IUWGA PROJECT

### 2.1 Project description

The ultimate goal of the IUWGA project was to decrease water-borne diseases among women and children and their communities in new fast-growing suburban areas, by enabling them to equitably access clean water and sanitation. As an essential contribution towards achieving this goal, the project focused on **improving governance**.

The project was implemented over a period of two years (April 2015 – March 2017) with a budget of approximately £320,000 in two Union Councils in the City of Dadu (Dadu district, Sindh province) by Civil Society Support Programme and in two Union Councils in the City of Muzaffargarh (Muzaffargarh district, Punjab province) by UFAQ Development Organization. These are suburban areas with fast-expanding populations and limited facilities, where city governments are struggling to keep up with the growing demand and provide all people with adequate infrastructure and services. Clean water and sanitation were felt most needed by the communities in these areas. People were living in highly unhygienic circumstances and drinking water from sources contaminated by faecal sewerage discharge, open defecation and roaming street waste. As a result, many were suffering from water-related diseases such as dysentery, typhoid, intestinal worms, hepatitis, salmonella, cholera, malaria and polio.

FIGURE 1 – MAP WITH PROJECT AREA

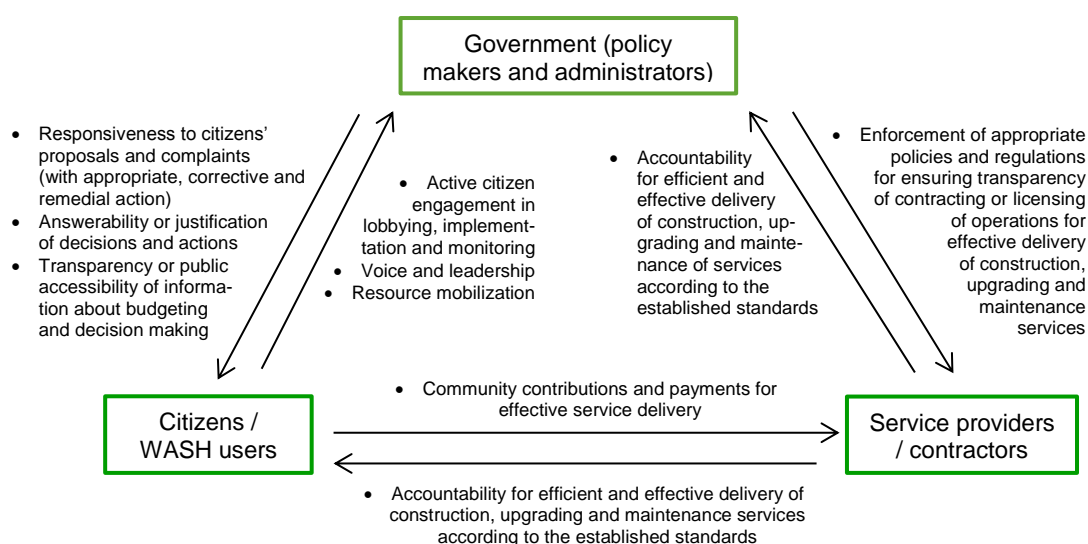


The project sought to develop an urban governance model for actively engaging citizens, authorities and service providers in identifying and addressing the problems in a sustainable manner. Building on a concept of collaborative rights and accountability relations (as presented in Figure 2), the model aligns with what UNICEF and the UNDP Water Governance Facility consider as a necessary condition for making WASH investments effective and sustainable (UNDP Water Governance Facility/UNICEF, 2015). Making these investments effective and sustainable is essential for city governments to attract more investments for infrastructure and service development in the expanding urban areas.

According to Oxfam's WASH and Urban Work Advisors involved in the project, building these rights and accountability relations forms the basis for developing a new social contract that is necessary to generate the revenue needed to sustain public services and infrastructure. Indeed, the 2018 report of the Global Assessment of Accountability in WASH from the Stockholm International Water Institute (SIWI) identifies low revenue collection, high non-revenue water and political interference in service delivery as the main factors that make urban water supply unsustainable. Furthermore, it identifies lack of accountability as the major obstacle to effective service delivery (Jiménez et al., 2018: 240).



FIGURE 2 – COLLABORATIVE RIGHTS AND ACCOUNTABILITY RELATIONS



Concretely, the urban WASH governance model developed by the IUWGA project aimed to support and promote the empowerment of poor suburban communities (mostly comprising shack dwellers and marginalized groups) through bottom-up processes of active citizenship. Community members were organized into **Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs)** at the level of the Mohallahs and, together with their leaders, also at the level of the Union Councils.<sup>13</sup> Through these groups, communities would gain influence on government decisions, greater responsiveness to their requests and transparency from the Tehsil and District government authorities around their WASH plans and budgets. The ECGs submitted proposals around the communities' priorities and followed up on the implementation of those that were approved. Communities' priorities were collected by the ECGs and aggregated into an **Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plan (UPIDP)** for each Union Council, which formed the basis for negotiations with the local authorities.

A district-level monitoring mechanism called the **Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Group (PMEG)** was created to reinforce existing transparency and accountability laws and regulations, and to help ensure equitable distribution of and accountability for the WASH investments in the project area by all parties involved. The PMEG was intended to form an alliance of representatives from the ECGs, relevant local government departments, media and other key stakeholders that would help to enhance the sense of collective ownership and responsibility and create greater transparency, resulting in more effective delivery on communities' priorities.

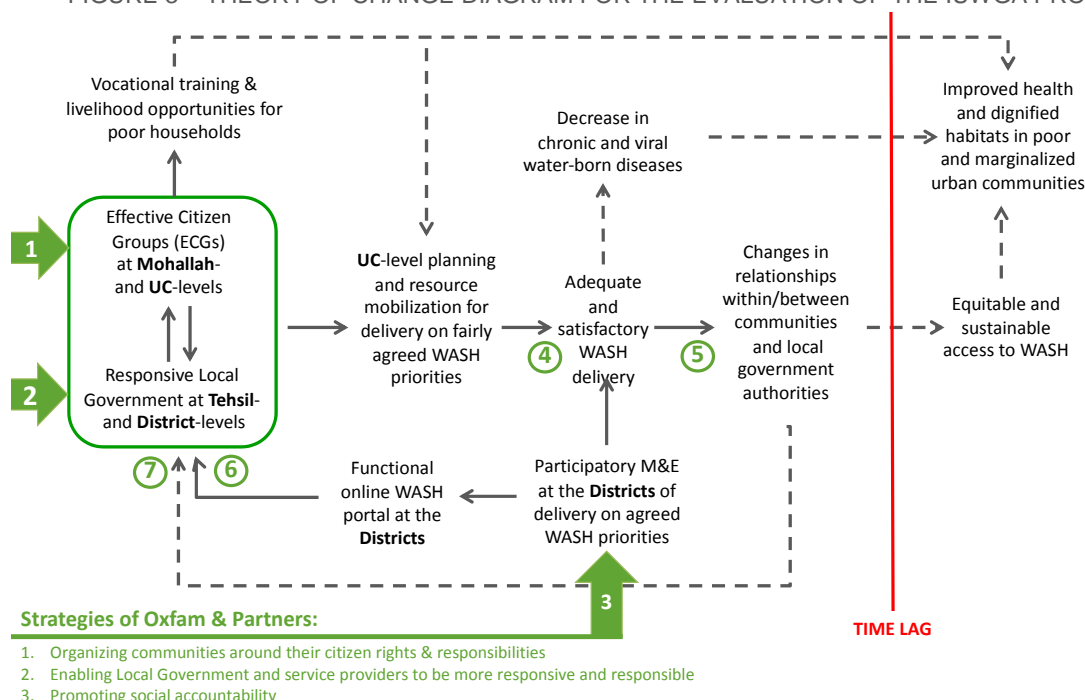
The project intended to pilot and develop a proof of concept of this governance model for replication elsewhere. It established the mechanisms (namely: the ECGs, the PMEGs and the UPIDP-centred government engagements), trained and coached the groups, and provided some start-up funds for developing safe water and sanitation schemes.

## 2.2 Theory of Change and assumptions

Figure 3 below presents the Theory of Change (ToC) of the IUWGA project. It shows how Oxfam and its partners expected its threefold strategy (arrows 1, 2 and 3 plus link 6 in the ToC) – namely: (i) organizing communities around their citizen rights and responsibilities; (ii) enabling local government and service providers to be more responsive and responsible; and (iii) promoting social accountability – to result in more adequate and satisfactory WASH delivery (link 4 in the ToC). This would then trigger changes in relationships (link 5) that would further reinforce effective citizenship and governance (link 7).

Changing the governance system, in this vision, is considered an essential intermediary step and contribution (among other things, such as building the co-financing and full coverage capacity) towards achieving equitable and sustainable access to WASH in the long term. The IUWGA project therefore aimed at changing the governance system. Its hypothesis was that changing the governance system could be done by setting up and capacitating ‘citizenship groups’, promoting government responsiveness and accountability, and establishing a participatory monitoring mechanism supporting social accountability.

FIGURE 3 – THEORY OF CHANGE DIAGRAM FOR THE EVALUATION OF THE IUWGA PROJECT



The hypothesis in this ToC builds on some assumptions that proved to be quite challenging in hindsight. For instance, it was assumed that women would equally be able to engage as active citizens with the government and influence decisions, if organized in separate groups and trained around their rights. The evaluation findings show that more and persistent efforts are needed to enable and sustain women’s participation and empowerment. Another assumption was that the people in the targeted Mohallahs would be intrinsically motivated to participate in the ECGs to assert their rights. The evaluation findings show that people are rather reluctant to engage and spend their time if the benefits and government responses remain too meagre. A jobs and livelihoods opportunities component has already been included in the new project area in Lahore (as reflected in the ToC diagram above). Still, more work is needed on government responsiveness. This also relates to the third important assumption, namely: that setting up citizenship groups and participatory M&E groups, and interacting with local government authorities and service providers, would be sufficient to trigger responsiveness and accountability. The evidence clearly shows that much more is needed to overcome issues of local government

capacity, clientelism and corruption. The completion of Pakistan's devolution of authorities from the provinces to the lower government levels and its concomitant local government reforms have opened a window of opportunity for continuing and expanding Oxfam's work on inclusive urban governance to address the issues.

## 3. EVALUATION FRAMING AND FOCUS

### 3.1 Systemic lens and outcome focus

The project ultimately aimed to contribute to reducing the inequalities in access to clean water and sanitation impacting people's health and habitat. Equitable access implies: (a) 'availability' or the regular and reliable provision of appropriate, safe and sufficient WASH facilities (which also implies full coverage); and (b) 'capability' or the adequate use and maintenance of these schemes and services by the communities in ways that ensure equity at all times.

Given its short time frame (two years) and limited budget (approx. £320,000), the project did *not* attempt to reach sufficient 'availability' and 'capability' in all the communities of the targeted Mohallahs. Furthermore, it did *not* aim for 'total WASH' at the household level. The project was essentially about the participatory governance of WASH schemes administered by the local government and prioritized by the local communities. Its purpose was to develop a 'proof of concept' for a governance model that, if institutionalized at the district and provincial levels, presumably could bring sustainable system change.

The focus of this evaluation, therefore, was *not* on equitable access and health impacts, but on WASH governance. More specifically, it attempted to demonstrate (validate or invalidate) the concept of governance building on collaborative rights and accountability relations, and assess the extent to which it has been successfully adopted by the communities and the local government authorities in the targeted area, and the extent to which it has resulted in more adequate and satisfactory delivery on communities' WASH priorities. Although Oxfam staff and partners also mentioned other outcomes from the changes in the governance system, it was agreed from the outset that the focus of this evaluation would be *exclusively* on the WASH-related outcomes.

The evaluation investigated how the different stakeholders valued the WASH facilities and services, how satisfied they were with the delivery and the way it was governed, and their level of engagement and sense of ownership. In addition, the evaluation also investigated the likelihood that the changes in governance will be sustained by inquiring into changes in relationships within and between the communities and the local government authorities (e.g. the underlying perceptions/attitudes, levels of trust and power dynamics) that reinforce active citizenship and local government responsiveness.

Summarized, the focus was '**adequate delivery on communities' WASH priorities**' and '**changes in relationships**' as the two major outcomes that form the conditions for achieving transformative system change and going to scale.

## 3.2 Evaluation and learning questions

Evaluation and learning questions were identified in relation to the causal links in the Theory of Change, and discussed and agreed with the Oxfam project team and the implementing partners at the start of the design process. They centre on the five causal relations that needed to be investigated, namely:

1. **Effective citizenship due to IUWGA interventions and outcomes (ToC links 1 and 7):**  
To what extent have the communities effectively been organized as active citizens? What explains their performance?
2. **Responsive governance due to IUWGA interventions and outcomes (ToC links 2 and 6):**  
To what extent have the local government authorities effectively responded to the ECGs' requests and complaints? What explains their performance?
3. **Social accountability due to IUWGA interventions (ToC link 3):**  
To what extent has the PMEG (Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Group) enabled the local government authorities and communities to take up their roles and responsibilities for effective delivery on agreed WASH priorities? What explains its performance?
4. **Adequate WASH delivery due to citizenship, governance and social accountability (ToC link 4):**  
To what extent have agreed and approved WASH priorities been adequately and satisfactorily delivered on? What explains these results? *How satisfactory and empowering would the results have been without the 'citizenship', 'responsiveness' and 'social accountability' mechanisms?*
5. **Changes in relationships due to WASH delivery (ToC link 5):**  
How have relationships within and between communities and local government changed as a result of how WASH was planned, monitored and delivered? *How likely is it that these changes would have occurred, and how sustainable would they have been, if done differently?*

From an evaluation design perspective, the major challenge was to make the case of contribution. In order to do so, the evaluation needed to investigate the likely occurrence of changes in WASH delivery and relationships *without* any of the 'participatory citizenship', 'government responsiveness' and 'social accountability' mechanisms in place. The two *counterfactual questions* listed under causal relations four and five investigate this.

## 4. EVALUATION APPROACH

Given its systemic lens and combined learning and accountability objectives (cf. Sections 1 and 3.1), a systemic approach was needed for assessing contributions to impact. Given the participatory nature of the project, it was logical to also use a participatory approach for the evaluation. In addition, the evaluator and author of this report has the ambition to design and use participatory methods and tools that could be useful for ongoing project M&E. For these reasons, we chose to use the approach called **PIALA (Participatory Impact Assessment and Learning Approach)**.

### 4.1 Participatory impact assessment and learning approach (PIALA)

PIALA is an approach for impact evaluation initially developed with the United Nation's International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) to enable evidence-based and collaborative learning around how interventions and influencing factors interact and combine to generate changes in systems impacting poverty and exclusion. It sought to address the twin challenges of rigorously assessing systemic impact and meaningfully engaging stakeholders at scale. It was developed as a replicable model for creatively mixing different designs and methodologies, adaptive to different contexts and needs, in order to optimize the value of impact evaluation and enable comparison of findings across contexts and even countries.

PIALA can embed a wide range of data collection methodologies – from classic household statistics to SenseMaker®, Constituent Voice and Participatory Statistics. Initially designed for assessing medium to large populations of system change, its Configurational Analysis can be converted in small-n contexts to a Contribution Tracing method that combines with a systemic counterfactual comparison. The approach is rooted in systems thinking and draws its inspiration mostly from the theory-based (in particular, realist) and transformative (including gender equity and rights based) traditions (Van Hemelrijck, 2017).

#### TEXT BOX 1 – PIALA

PIALA or 'Participatory Impact Assessment and Learning Approach' is an approach that attempts to tackle the twin challenges of *rigorously assessing the impact of complex systemic change* and *meaningfully engaging stakeholders*. It offers a model for creatively combining old and new traditions and methodologies to *assess, explain and debate* system change at scale, engaging stakeholders in this, and comparing across different contexts. The model consists of:

- **5 methodological elements** adaptable to context: *systemic Theory of Change, multi-stage sampling of/in systems, participatory mixed-methods, participatory sense-making, configurational analysis.*
- **2 design principles** to guide the design: *evaluate systemically and enable meaningful participation.*
- **10 design sliders** to make design decisions, related to: *scale, scope, engagement, counterfactual comparison, methods, sampling and analysis.*
- **3 quality standards** to achieve optimal value: *rigour, inclusiveness and feasibility.*

## 4.2 Methodological adjustments

To address the objectives and design challenges specific to this evaluation, a few adjustments were made to the PIALA elements, which we explain in the subsequent sections – namely:

- Contribution Tracing combined with a systemic counterfactual comparison (instead of PIALA's Configurational Analysis method);
- Availability (instead of random) sampling;
- Combined (instead of mixed) methods for data collection; and
- No participatory sense-making (yet).

### 4.2.1 Contribution Tracing and systemic counterfactual comparison (instead of Configurational Analysis)

As mentioned earlier in Section 2.1, the Union Council formed the territory for the operations of the WASH governance model, and therefore constituted the main unit of analysis for this evaluation.

The project was implemented between 2015 and 2017 in **four Union Councils (UCs)** in two different districts and two different provinces:

- UC #3 and UC #4 in the district of Dadu in Sindh; and
- UC Bhuttapur and UC Lutkaran in the district of Musaffargarh in Punjab.

In each Union Council, an average of 25 Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs) with about 16 members each were developed at the level of the Mohallahs, and two ECGs with 12-13 members each at the level of the Union Councils. Half were women's groups and half were men's groups.

The four Union Councils, each with an average of fewer than 400 direct beneficiaries, were obviously too small in size for a conventional counterfactual approach using statistics, or even for PIALA's Configurational Analysis as an alternative for assessing systemic impact. This evaluation needed a small-n approach.

We therefore reduced PIALA's Configurational Analysis to its Contribution Tracing component, and replaced its cross-case analysis of systemic heterogeneity with a systemic counterfactual comparison.<sup>14</sup> This resulted in a multi-case study comparing the WASH governance processes and outcomes in the four project Union Councils with **two comparable non-project Union Councils in adjacent districts in the same provinces**, namely:

- UC #2 in the district of Qambar Shahdad Kot (QSK) in Sindh; and
- UC Kotla Haji Shah (KHS) in the district of Layyah in Punjab.

Using the same set of methods with the same type of groups at both the Mohallah and the UC-levels in every Union Council enabled us to do the Contribution Tracing in comparable ways and thus reconstruct and compare every element of the WASH governance system across the sample. In the non-project Union Councils, we were looking for what was in place in the absence of the project or any other similar initiative, enabling us to look at how individual elements of citizenship, government responsiveness, accountability, WASH delivery and relationships have played out **without a system in place**. This made it possible for us to demonstrate the project's concept and learn about the conditions that are essential for achieving sustainable system change.

The two non-project Union Councils formed a valid comparison group for the project Union Councils, with similar characteristics (e.g. similar suburb areas, population profiles and social strata, poverty and social development rates, political and economic contexts, and electorate groups), and had not been influenced by the project or other initiatives similar<sup>15</sup> to the project. They



were identified based on a brief identification study conducted in the two project districts and the two adjacent comparison districts. The comparison districts were selected from the very limited options available (i.e. within a feasible distance from the project districts; comparable in background, geography, language, culture, etc.; containing comparable urban and suburban areas) by consulting the partners, Oxfam staff and relevant secondary data.<sup>16</sup>

Consultations with the District Council Office (DCO) and other relevant officials at the district level in the two project and two comparison districts helped in obtaining an overview of the WASH schemes and works done in past years and the presence of other development agencies or initiatives working on WASH and/or governance in the urbanized areas of the selected districts. Based on this information, one Union Council was selected in each comparison district that best resembled the project Union Councils at the start of the project in 2015, in terms of WASH infrastructure/services, governance and relationships.

## 4.2.2 Availability (instead of random) sampling

The original plan was to sample 16–24 female and 16–24 male members of the Mohallah-level ECGs in each Union Council by applying random stratification to minimize selection bias while ensuring inclusiveness of all groups (including women/men, transgender people, people with disabilities, minorities, etc.). The research team had to abandon the random sequence, however, as it did not give them any participants. They had to proceed with the ECG members who were accessible and available. At the level of the Union Councils, the small number of ECG members (around 25 per Union Council: half women and half men) did not require any sampling. But again, due to the inaccessibility of the members, the researchers had to involve whoever they could find. In the two comparison Union Councils, since there were no ECGs, community members and leaders were selected from across the Mohallahs. Here random stratified sampling was also impossible, as population lists were unavailable and calling people randomly was unproductive. As a result, the researchers also quasi-randomly selected participants from the different comparison Mohallahs based on their availability.

## 4.2.3 Combined (instead of mixed) participatory methods

Since the focus of the evaluation was on changes in the way WASH was delivered and governed at the level of the Union Councils, rather than on equitable access to WASH in the wider communities (cf. Section 3.1), there was no need to conduct any quantitative inquiries at the community level. Consequently, the methods used were purely qualitative.

As shown in Table 1 below, the methods were selected specifically in relation to the causal links and relations in the ToC and the corresponding evaluation questions. This was done in a way that enabled systematic crosschecking of different sources and methods/tools for each of the five sets of causal links, and further supported by the review of relevant secondary data or physical evidence verifying or strengthening the evidence. For instance, to investigate the performance of the ECGs in each Union Council (cf. first row in Table 1), the same focus group and individual scoring tools were used with three different groups: with ECG members from the Mohallahs; with the ECG members at the level of the Union Councils (who were the leaders of the Mohallah-level ECGs); and with the Tehsil and District authorities.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the methods and tools used to investigate changes in relationships<sup>18</sup> (cf. last row in Table 1) and their reinforcing effects on citizenship (as indicated by link 7 in the ToC) partly overlapped with the method and tools used to investigate effective citizenship (cf. first row in Table 1).

Similar horizontal and vertical cross-checks were built in for every causal relation in the ToC to enable cross-checking of not just different sources (horizontal) but also different methods (vertical). Different tools were also combined in each method to enable the participants to express their views



in different ways, thus adding another layer of triangulation, while also enhancing voice. For instance, the **Constituent Voice method**<sup>19</sup> combined a group discussion around a standard set of questions with an individual and anonymous scoring of statements. The **Relationship Analysis**<sup>20</sup> method combined concentric circles that enabled the participants to recall and assess changes in relationships (in terms of relative importance, accessibility and influence/control) with a matrix tool that helped them to assess the effects of and contributions to these changes. Participants' feedback on these methods and tools was quite positive: in general, they found the group discussions useful for learning and the individual scorings valuable for expressing their own views irrespective of what the group thought.

The set of methods presented in Table 1 was employed in every Union Council in exactly the same manner to enable comparison. In the comparison Union Councils, the methods were slightly adjusted to ensure that they would be relevant within the context and make sense to the participants. The systematic cross-checking of different sources, methods and tools helped to mediate both researcher and participant biases.<sup>21</sup> Based on the collation and cross-checking of the data alongside the ToC, remaining data gaps or weaknesses were identified. Additional Key Informant Interviews were then conducted as needed.

TABLE 1 – DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND SOURCES

CAUSAL RELATIONS & LINKS IN THE THEORY OF CHANGE	MOHALLAH LEVEL	UNION COUNCIL LEVEL	DISTRICT LEVEL
Effective citizenship due to IUWGA (ToC links 1+7) <i>To what extent have the communities effectively been organized as active citizens? What explains their performance?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with Mohallah-level ECG members</li> <li>• Review of ECG meeting records</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with UC-level ECG members</li> <li>• Review of ECG meeting records</li> <li>• Review of UPIDPs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with Tehsil and District authorities</li> <li>• Review of project M&amp;E data on the ECGs</li> </ul>
Responsive government due to IUWGA (ToC links 2+6) <i>To what extent have the Tehsil and District authorities effectively responded to the ECGs' requests and complaints? What explains their performance?</i>	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with UC-level ECG members</li> <li>• Review of UPIDPs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with PMEG</li> <li>• Group Interview with Tehsil and District authorities</li> </ul>
Social accountability due to IUWGA (ToC link 3) <i>To what extent has the PMEG (Participatory Monitoring &amp; Evaluation Group) enabled the Tehsil and District authorities and communities to take up their roles and responsibilities for effective delivery on agreed WASH priorities? What explains its performance?</i>	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with UC-level ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with Tehsil and District authorities</li> <li>• Group Interview with PMEG</li> <li>• Review of PMEG docs</li> </ul>
WASH delivery due to citizenship, governance and social accountability (ToC link 4) <i>To what extent have agreed and approved WASH priorities been adequately and satisfactorily delivered on? What explains the results? How satisfactory and empowering would the results have been without the 'citizenship', 'responsiveness' and 'social accountability' mechanisms?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with Mohallah-level ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constituent Voice with UC-level ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with Tehsil and District authorities</li> <li>• Group Interview with PMEG</li> <li>• Review of project docs and design studies</li> </ul>
Changes in relationships due to WASH delivery (ToC link 5) <i>How have relationships within and between communities and local</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship Analysis with Mohallah-level ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relationship Analysis with UC-level ECG members</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group Interview with Tehsil and District authorities</li> </ul>

*government changed as a result of how WASH was planned, monitored and delivered? How likely is it that these changes would have occurred, and how sustainable would they be, if done differently?*

- Constituent Voice with Mohallah-level ECG members

- Constituent Voice with UC-level ECG members

## 4.2.4 No participatory sense-making (yet)

Participation in evaluation remains purely extractive if the findings are not returned to the participants and there is no opportunity for them to contest and debate. This can have a disempowering effect, as it excludes people from accessing the knowledge produced and demanding accountability for sustainable impact.

To avoid this, we normally organize participatory sense-making workshops in each project site and at the aggregated level to offer the opportunity for all stakeholders to engage in collectively making sense of the evidence, valuing contributions to impact, and discussing how barriers could be overcome, even with limited resources, in order to generate greater and more sustainable impact. Participatory sense-making creates a space for dialogue between citizens and power holders, making an evaluation more democratic.<sup>22</sup> In this evaluation, it could also be useful as a first step for the concrete planning around some of the recommendations we make based on the findings (cf. Section 6), including leveraging resources if donors were also invited into some of the discussions.

Due to the limitations encountered by this evaluation (cf. next Section 4.3), however, the participatory sense-making had not yet taken place at the time of the report writing. We do still hope that Oxfam will want to consider organizing a participatory sense-making event, given the IUWGA project's promising results and the need for an immediate follow-up to sustain the results.

## 4.3 Challenges and limitations

The evaluation encountered multiple challenges and limitations, some of which were context- or project-related, and others that had to do with research capacity constraints.

As mentioned earlier, ECG members (particularly women) turned out to be fairly inaccessible, requiring the team to adjust their sampling strategy and apply availability sampling combined with snowballing techniques. In the comparison Union Councils, it was impossible to find enough participants to complete all focus groups.<sup>23</sup> The partners also interfered with the mobilization, and challenges were encountered with finding a suitable location for convening the participants from the different Mohallahs. Challenges were also faced with regards to women's participation: most were quite shy, had a weaker recall of events (compared to the men), and felt less comfortable speaking in groups.

Moreover, the Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) that was contracted for conducting the fieldwork also faced some capacity issues due to the last-minute replacement of two researchers and the limited availability of the researchers for training. Security restrictions, extreme hot temperatures (up to 50°C in Dadu) and lack of electricity during the daytime, also made it very challenging for the field teams to handle the sampling, field mobilization and participation issues and manage all field processes and data well.<sup>24</sup>

Despite these challenges and limitations, the evidence for each causal relation in the Theory of Change appeared relatively strong overall across all Union Councils. This shows in the scores for 'relative strength of evidence' (cf. Table 4 in Section 5.2.2). Except for the functioning of the Participatory M&E Group (PMEG) in Dadu, all scores are 3 or higher, meaning high reliability and confidence in findings (cf. Table 3 in Section 5.2.1). The issues with the sampling, field mobilization

and participation may have affected the quantity, inclusiveness and thus level of detail of the explanatory data we obtained, which in some occasions rendered our findings inconclusive. For instance, this was the case with the data on the voice and empowerment aspect of 'effective citizenship' in Punjab (cf. Section 5.4.1). Yet there is no reason to believe that the research participants were not representative of the overall ECG population, thereby leading to a selection bias that threatens the validity of our findings (particularly since it doesn't involve any statistical claims). Only regarding the functioning of the PMEG in Dadu did the data weaknesses affect our confidence in the findings regarding social accountability, as it came only from one source and couldn't be verified by project M&E data (cf. Section 5.4.3). For all other causal relations in the Theory of Change, we found that the evidence was quite strong.

## 5. FINDINGS

### 5.1 Understanding Pakistan's challenging governance context first

In order to fully appreciate the findings of this evaluation, it is essential to first understand the challenging context in which this IUWGA project was implemented to attempt to address problems of urban WASH governance and accountability. In terms of government structure, Pakistan is extremely complex.<sup>25</sup> Local governance is a relatively new and immature concept. The challenges this project faced therefore were immense. Yet the timing for working on local governance, in particular urban WASH governance, was (and certainly still is) perfect, given the government reforms and elections of the past years. People feel empowered to vote, speak and discuss what does or does not work. This process does not take place without a struggle for local power. It is important to understand this struggle before turning to the evaluation's findings and conclusions.

#### 5.1.1 Devolution and the struggle for local power

In 2001, a new local government system was introduced under the Constitution of Pakistan that aimed to bring government closer to the people. It devolved WASH and local rural and urban development responsibilities to the provinces. Pakistan's four provinces – Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Sindh and Balochistan – adopted their new Local Government Ordinances (LGOs) in 2013.

A lack of political will among the ruling political elites and a constitutionally mandated time frame, however, endlessly delayed the local government elections. It took half a decade to set up these local governments, and real decision-making authority and financial resources at the local level are still largely absent. Balochistan was the first province to pass its LGO and was completing its reforms at the time of the evaluation. Punjab, Sindh and KP passed their LGOs and held elections after being ordered by the Supreme Court in late 2015. Pakistan's first local democratic elections thus were completed in the project area only in the last year of implementation (2016-2017).

This is the first time in Pakistan's history that local elections were held on a political party basis. In Punjab, local governments are dominated by the party PML-N, with very few local officials belonging to other political parties. In Sindh, the situation is more complicated, with weaker local governments subject to the power struggle between two political parties: the MQM that dominates the urban districts, and the PPP that controls the rural areas and the province. The MQM reportedly saw its leaders jailed, harassed and denied resources by the PPP-dominated provincial government in the past few years.

All four provinces remain obstructive to make their local governments truly functional. Punjab, Sindh and KP were ordered, again, by the Supreme Court in 2016 to transfer authority and funds to the local governments. Although had Balochistan already completed its reform, it had not made any progress in terms of giving local governments the administrative, financial and political powers needed to function. In some of its districts, local government had locked down due to lack of funds and capacity.

## 5.1.2 The new local government

Since the LGOs were formulated by provincial governments, the scope and scale of devolution and associated powers and functions vary. KP devolved power beyond the District (1<sup>st</sup> tier), Tehsil (2<sup>nd</sup> tier), and Union Council (3<sup>rd</sup> tier) to the lower levels of the village and neighbourhood councils (4<sup>th</sup> tier), and resolved to allocate more than 30% of its budget to the local authorities, but reduced this commitment again for the financial year 2017-18 by 8% due to underutilization, alleged corruption, and lack of capacity to spend funds efficiently.

Sindh and Punjab made their LGOs more centralized and have done away with the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) (2<sup>nd</sup> tier), while making the Union Council (UC) (3<sup>rd</sup> tier) the lowest level. These LGOs further implied restoration of the old mayoral WASH governance system for the metropolitan cities and the chairman-led District Councils (DC). Different from the rural areas where the Union and District Councils are responsible for WASH, in the cities the District-level **Municipal/Town Committees** have now been restored and put in charge of WASH. The exponential growth of the suburbs, however, wipes out the administrative borders between 'urban' and 'rural' and creates confusion around the new local governance structure.

## 5.1.3 Urban WASH governance under the new local government

At the start of the project, Punjab and Sindh were still in a transitioning phase, with no elected local governments yet in place and the TMA still in charge of WASH. The division of roles and responsibilities related to WASH remained blurred during project implementation.

At the provincial level, urban WASH was governed by the departments for Local Government and Urban Development/Town Planning, with big schemes managed by the Public Health Engineering Department (PHED). At the level of the cities, WASH services were handled by the Water and Sanitation Authority, the TMA, Cantonment Board, and various development agencies and private land developers. The TMAs were still largely in charge, but due to their limited technical capacities and budget, PHED and Urban Development/Town Planning were mostly leading on more complex water supply and sewerage works. Hence the TMAs had little ownership and felt reluctant to take over operation and management from PHED once the infrastructure works were completed. Given its limited capacity and budget, WASH schemes were often poorly maintained and service provision remained very weak. This inability of the TMAs to operate and maintain the schemes, compounded by the challenges of coordination between TMAs and PHED, remains a major bottleneck to date.

## 5.2 Contribution and evidence scores

### 5.2.1 Scoring system

For each causal relation in the Theory of Change (cf. Figure 3 in Section 2.2), the relative strength of causality or contribution was scored in each project and comparison Union Council based on the following two criteria, using the scale presented in Table 2 below:

- **'Sufficient'** means that the observed outcomes will *consistently* appear wherever the causes or contributions are present. The evidence thus shows that no other important contributions are needed to generate the observed outcomes.
- **'Necessary'** means that wherever the observed outcomes occur, the causes or contributions must be present. Thus, the outcomes will not appear without these

causes/contributions, although there are also other influences that affect the outcomes. So, the causes/contributions do not guarantee the outcomes.

TABLE 2 – SCORING OF THE STRENGTH OF CONTRIBUTION

SCORE	SUFFICIENT	NECESSARY	LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE
4	High	High	The contributions made were absolutely necessary and sufficient to generate the outcomes, and the outcomes are highly satisfying, given the context and conditions and the investments made.
3	Medium	High	The contributions made were absolutely necessary but insufficient to generate the outcomes, but other contributing causes have helped in generating satisfying outcomes.
	Low	High	The contributions made were absolutely necessary but insufficient to generate the outcomes, and no other contributing causes have helped in generating satisfying outcomes.
2	Medium	Medium	The contributions made were of medium importance and insufficient to generate the outcomes. Thus, there are other mechanisms that are better at generating the desired outcomes.
1	Low	Medium/Low	The contributions made were weak and largely insufficient to generate meaningful outcomes.
0	n/a	n/a	There is insufficient evidence to say anything meaningful about the contributions made.

The scoring of the relative strength of evidence was done based on two criteria, using the scale presented in Table 3 below:

- **Reliability** refers to the quality of evidence and implies that any other independent inquiry will obtain the same evidence. The evidence needs to be based on at least two independent sources and supported by verifiable project documents or relevant secondary data.
- **Sufficiency** refers to the quantity and inclusiveness of the evidence and implies that there is enough evidence for making a judgement about a causal relation.

TABLE 3 – SCORING OF THE STRENGTH OF EVIDENCE

SCORE	SUFFICIENT	RELIABLE	LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE	FURTHER INQUIRIES NEEDED?
4	Yes	Yes	Strong	NO
3	Almost	Yes	Relatively strong	If possible, try to collect additional data from secondary sources
2	Yes	Not enough	Relatively weak (comparable to a smoking gun)	YES – the evidence needs further verification
1	No	No	Very weak (comparable to a straw in the wind)	YES – go back to the field, or accept failure!!
0	n/a	n/a	No evidence at all	NO – it's hopeless anyway

The relative strength of the evidence gives an indication of the level of confidence in the contribution scorings and explanatory findings. Confidence is high when findings are well-founded, correspond with reality and relate to the entire universe or population being evaluated. In a systemic and participatory approach, a high level of confidence requires sufficient and reliable evidence that is inclusive of all viewpoints and enables rigorous cross-checking.

## 5.2.2 Scoring results

Table 4 below presents the average contribution and evidence scores for each causal relation in the Theory of Change. The summary findings presented in the next Section explain the scores and formulate the answers to the evaluation and learning questions (cf. Section 3.2).

TABLE 4 – CONTRIBUTION AND EVIDENCE SCORES

	MUZAFFARGARH (Project-District)				LAYYAH (Comparison-District)		DADU (Project-District)				QSK (Comparison-District)	
	BUTTAPUR		LUTKARAN		KHS		UC3		UC4		UC2	
	Causality scores	Evidence scores	Causality scores	Evidence scores	Causality scores	Evidence scores	Causality scores	Evidence scores	Causality scores	Evidence scores	Causality scores	Evidence scores
<b>EFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP</b> (ToC links 1+7)	<b>3</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
ECG purpose & success		4		4		4		4		4		4
ECG membership		4		4		4		4		4		4
ECG value		4		3		4		3		4		4
ECG Functioning		2		2		4		3		3		4
Voice & empowerment		2		2		4		4		4		4
<b>RESPONSIVE GOVERNANCE</b> (ToC links 2+6)	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
Citizens' influence		4		4		4		4		4		4
Transparency		4		4		4		4		4		4
Governance capacity		4		4		4		4		4		4
<b>SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY</b> (ToC link 3)	<b>2</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
PMEG role & success		4		4		4		4		4		4
How social?		4		4		4		3		3		4
PMEG functioning		2		2		4		3		3		4
Accountability		2		2		4		3		3		4
PMEG value		4		4		4		1		1		4
<b>ADEQUATE WASH DELIVERY</b> (ToC link 4)	<b>3</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>
Delivery on citizens' priorities		4		4		4		4		4		4
Quality of delivery		3		3		4		3		3		4
Equitable access		3		3		4		3		3		4
<b>CHANGES IN RELATIONSHIPS</b> (ToC link 5)	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>



## 5.3 Summary of findings explaining the contribution scores

### 5.3.1 Effective citizenship due to IUWGA (links 1 and 7 in the Theory of Change)

#### **Average contribution score 3 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh).**

The project has been highly successful in organizing communities around their citizen rights and responsibilities, and enabling women to engage in community planning and advocacy around WASH. Achievements in terms of gender and political empowerment are significant, given the challenging context and the project's short time span. But due to the lack of government accountability and the prevailing norms and gender patterns, it has proven insufficient to render the achievements sustainable. Citizenship and empowerment require more time, thus more and persistent effort, with special attention to both the formal and informal aspects of gender. We therefore conclude that the causal relation between the IUWGA project and the results in terms of 'effective citizenship' was strong and necessary, but insufficient to generate the desired outcomes (average contribution score 3).

Both in Muzaffargarh (Punjab province) and in Dadu (Sindh province), the communities and the city governments found the gender-specific ECGs highly successful and of great value. The ECGs enabled people to collectively undertake action to resolve their WASH issues, and gave them a voice. In both provinces/districts, the success of the ECGs was attributed to the efforts of Oxfam's partners who worked with communities to form the groups, trained them and helped them establish a positive and direct relationship with the local authorities responsible for WASH.

In terms of gender justice and empowerment, the evidence shows major progress. Through the ECGs, people felt empowered to engage with government. Government officials acknowledged ECGs' increased influence on the local government's decisions and performance regarding WASH. Women felt empowered by their increased awareness of their rights and the communities' recognition of their roles as citizens. The trainings and ECG activities helped to create a positive environment for women's empowerment by enabling them to collectively engage in community planning and advocacy around WASH. This achievement, in and of itself, is a major change in a context such as the urban areas of Pakistan.

The evidence from the project Union Councils is in stark contrast with what was found in the comparison Union Councils in both Sindh and Punjab and shows that the project's achievements in only two years' time have been quite significant. In the comparable non-project areas, there was no form of organization and no cohesion. People distrusted each other and their leaders. From people's testimonies, it appeared that the main reason for this was the total lack of responsiveness and accountability on the part of the local government authorities in relation to the communities. People had entirely given up on government and leadership, and did not believe in any form of organization to protest or lobby or resolve their issues in any other way. Although they had undertaken some attempts to protest and approach the local authorities, this had not resulted in any improvement in the government's responsiveness or change in the relationship between the community and the government.

However, in the project Union Councils in both provinces, ECG members (both women and men) also reported that many ECGs had been inactive, and there had been a decline in their functioning since the ending of the project, due to a lack of government responsiveness. In UC #3 and UC #4 (Dadu City, Sindh Province), services such as garbage pick-up and drainage cleaning had stopped working, and ECGs were not as active and TMA authorities not as responsive as before. In Muzaffargarh (Punjab), ECGs had ceased to function in Lutkaran, while in Bhuttapur their activities had declined. The authorities argued that there is insufficient budget and capacity to address all the needs and problems, and priority therefore is given to the Mohallahs where the ECGs are most active. Partner staff explained that budget-wise it had not been possible to cover all Mohallahs, and therefore WASH works had been executed in those Mohallahs where the ECGs had been most active.

Moreover, the evidence also showed no fundamental changes in the conditions that limit women's participation and perpetuate their marginalization in these already marginalized communities, keeping them most vulnerable to shocks and hazards.<sup>26</sup> For example, the male ECG leaders were largely in charge of the meetings with the Tehsil and District Officials. In Muzaffargarh, women were considered less suitable for membership and particularly leadership because of their domestic and care duties as homemakers<sup>27</sup>. In all the evaluation's group discussions, women who were homemakers felt quite uneasy and reluctant to participate and often referred to men for more information. Some appeared more confident than others, but overall, the researchers observed that women remained fairly inhibited. The women leaders also reported that their ability to meet and sustain the ECG activities had declined. Hence, progress made on women's voice and empowerment remained fragile. Arguably, the project duration was far too short to make a more transformative change.

### 5.3.2 Government responsiveness due to IUWGA (links 2 and 6 in the Theory of Change)

#### **Average contribution score 2 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh).**

The project has succeeded in making local government authorities more responsive to the requests and complaints of the communities. The results are impressive given the short project duration and challenging context. However, there is a fundamental lack of capacity, answerability and transparency on the part of local government authorities that undermines the potential of Oxfam and partner's urban WASH governance model. Project contributions were insufficient and only moderately relevant to address the problems in this regard and thus make the participatory planning and resource mobilization for delivering on WASH more effective (average contribution score 2). Other interventions and mechanisms, additional to the Effective Citizenship Groups (ECGs) and Participatory M&E Groups (PMEG), are needed to address the issues of local government capacity and accountability.

There has undoubtedly been an improvement in the local government's responsiveness to the communities' WASH needs and complaints in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab province) and Dadu (Sindh province), particularly where the ECGs were most active. This was confirmed by all ECG leaders, members of the PMEG and government officials. Given the very short time span of the project (two years) and the challenging timing and context that it was implemented within (cf. Section 5.1), the results were quite remarkable.

ECG leaders regularly met with Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) and District Council (DC) officials to submit applications for resolving their WASH issues and following up on the implementation of approved schemes. ECGs actively monitored the performance of sanitary service providers, filing complaints and demanding retributive action or regulation for addressing issues of corruption and ill performance. In Muzaffargarh, the PMEG had played an important role

in supporting the ECGs through this, including following up with the government authorities to ensure they responded adequately (cf. Section 5.3.3).

The evidence from the comparison Union Councils in Punjab and Sindh shows that the project indeed has made a difference in the four project Union Councils. Exemplifying the situation in absence of the project, Kotla Haji Shah (Punjab) and UC #2 (Sindh) showed no sign of any interactions between the communities and local authorities, no WASH works, no monitoring, and no government response to the communities' requests and complaints. Moreover, the local government's capacity for WASH delivery was found to be nil.

Yet government responsiveness in the four project Union Councils also remained limited, as many of the ECGs' applications had been rejected and communities' complaints about the WASH schemes and services were often left unmet. Government officials felt that the ECGs' expectations were too high and unrealistic; male ECG leaders believed that favouritism was in play; female ECG leaders found TSA officials willing but unable to help due to the non-responsiveness from the District and Province Councils; and PMEG members attributed the rejection of the ECGs' applications to a lack of political will and accountability. According to the ECG leaders and PMEG members, the local authorities lacked capacity to contract and monitor the WASH service providers. Reportedly the main reasons for the local government's rejection of ECGs' applications or its inadequate responsiveness to their complaints had been the lack of capacity and funds.

In Dadu, ECG leaders, PMEG members and local government officials confirmed that the Tehsil and District authorities hadn't incorporated any of the ECGs' requests and proposals into their annual plans and budgets. In Muzaffargarh, all stakeholders agreed that the District had incorporated some of the ECGs' proposals but not all.<sup>28</sup> Hence ECGs' Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plans (UPIDP) hadn't been linked to the District's budgeting, and consequently local authorities could not be held accountable<sup>29</sup> for ill performance or irresponsiveness. Government officials also reported that the District's budget is mostly spent on salaries, leaving little to nothing for water and sanitary infrastructure. All stakeholders also confirmed that the local government's WASH plans and budgets for the Union Councils had not been shared with the ECGs, and little to nothing had changed in terms of transparency<sup>30</sup> in the past three years. Officials explained that plans and budgets are not shared to avoid reactions from the opposition.

This shows that, although important, the IUWGA project interventions and mechanisms were not enough and were only moderately relevant to help in enhancing local government's accountability for WASH. Other mechanisms and interventions are needed to address the issues related to capacity, answerability and responsiveness.

### **5.3.3 Social accountability due to IUWGA (link 3 in the Theory of Change)**

#### **Average contribution scores 2 in Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and 1 in Dadu (Sindh).**

The project has succeeded in setting up a social accountability mechanism that supports the ECGs and local government authorities in monitoring WASH delivery in the Mohallahs and helps to identify and address issues of ill performance and corruption. The PMEG was highly valued and at the time of the evaluation still functioning in Muzaffargarh, but not in Dadu. The PMEG mechanism has proven insufficient and moderately relevant to address the problem of lacking accountability in Muzaffargarh (average contribution score 2), while in Dadu it was too weak and largely insufficient to generate meaningful outcomes (average contribution score 1).

From the ECG leaders' and government officials' scorings and explanations, it appears that the PMEG was functioning much better in Muzaffargarh (Punjab) than in Dadu (Sindh). Except for the male ECG leaders in UC #4, people did not seem to know about the existence of a PMEG in Dadu. Nobody had observed any of its activities in their area or been able to address the issues it had revealed. In Muzaffargarh, the PMEG was well known to most of the ECG leaders (except the women), the ECG members and the government officials, and highly valued and acknowledged for its contributions to ensuring the adequate delivery of sanitary services, the repair and maintenance of WASH schemes, and the prosecution of corrupt practices in their area. Also, the PMEG members themselves seemed to have a clearer understanding of the PMEG's purpose or 'raison d'être' than in Dadu. Reportedly the PMEG was still functioning at the time of the evaluation, and had been able to maintain its relationships with the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) and the District Council Office (DCO).

Despite its importance and contributions, the PMEG's successes in Muzaffargarh did not seem to have resulted in much more accountability on the part of the government compared to Dadu. Although ECG leaders' individual scorings in Muzaffargarh for local authorities' responsiveness, transparency and responsibility were slightly higher than in Dadu, they were still negative and the explanatory data obtained from the discussions did not show a major difference.

This shows that, although important, the PMEG is not the most relevant mechanism to achieve greater accountability. Other mechanisms and interventions are needed to address issues of local government accountability.

### **5.3.4 Adequate WASH delivery due to citizenship, government responsiveness and social accountability (link 4 in the Theory of Change)**

#### **Average contribution score 3 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh).**

Despite the weak results in terms of social accountability and government responsiveness, outcomes in terms of adequate and satisfactory delivery on the WASH priorities negotiated and agreed between the communities and local authorities were quite impressive. Nearly all of the approved WASH schemes in Dadu and part of the approved schemes in Muzaffargarh had been successfully completed. Drinking water was still lacking in UC #4 (Dadu), and in both Districts sanitary services had declined after project closure. But apart from this, all other implemented schemes had been working well to date. The evidence on effective citizenship, government responsiveness, social accountability, and changes in relationships moreover shows the empowering value of the way in which these outcomes have been achieved, which would have not occurred without having the ECG and PMEG mechanisms in place. Many Mohallahs remained underserved though, and government capacity and resource issues limited the achievement of better and more sustainable results (average contribution score 3).

Although many WASH needs were still unmet due to local government reform and budget and capacity constraints, there was substantial evidence of increased satisfaction with delivery on people's WASH needs and priorities in both Dadu (Sindh) and Muzaffargarh (Punjab).

According to the ECG members, nearly all approved WASH schemes in Dadu and part of the approved schemes in Muzaffargarh had been successfully completed. The schemes mentioned included: in Dadu, drainage and sewerage lines, latrines, pumps, waste bins, street pavements, garbage disposal, and sanitary cleaning services (drinking water was still lacking in UC #4); and, in Muzaffargarh, garbage picking and street cleaning, sewerage repairs, drainage, and drinking water (provided by UFAQ, Oxfam's local partner in Punjab). Apart from a noticeable decline in sanitary services since the end of the project, all schemes were reportedly still functioning at the time of the evaluation and found to be accessible to everyone in the Mohallahs where they had been

installed/implemented. However, not all ECG members were convinced that the special WASH needs of vulnerable groups were sufficiently met, and not everybody was happy with the fact that WASH had been delivered only in some Mohallahs, leaving many behind.

The contrast with the comparison Union Councils, however, was significant: no WASH schemes or works had been implemented in the Mohallahs of Kotla Haji Shah (Punjab) and UC #2 (Sindh). Reportedly, no one there had access to any WASH facility in the area. People were using water from unsafe sources and had to resolve drainage issues by themselves. They had given up on asking anything of the local authorities as they knew there would be no response.

### 5.3.5 Changes in relationships due to adequate WASH delivery (link 5 in the Theory of Change)

#### Average contribution score 3 in both Muzaffargarh (Punjab) and Dadu (Sindh).

Improvements in the relationships within the communities and between the communities and the local authorities were quite significant in all four project Union Councils, and evidence from the comparison Union Councils shows that without Oxfam and partner's WASH governance model, these improvements would not have occurred. In all four project Union Councils, the evidence shows a significant increase in people's trust in leadership, equality and sensitivity to the needs of vulnerable groups in the communities. In all four Union Councils, the communities had also established positive relationships with the different local authorities at the District, Tehsil and Council levels and gained access to the different departments responsible for WASH. Women however remained constrained in their interactions with leaders and their ability to participate and become leaders, due to cultural and religious norms and gender divisions. Moreover, the accessibility of the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) in particular had declined since the end of the project, while the newly elected Councillors and the Municipal Chairmen had not gained much importance for the communities. Therefore, the causal relation between adequate WASH delivery and the changes in relationships was strong and necessary, but insufficient to generate the desired outcomes (average contribution score 3).

Overall ECG members in the four project Union Councils found that their leaders were fairly elected, highly accessible, and capable of influencing government and mobilizing resources for their Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plans (UPIDP). All also confirmed that anyone could become a leader – including women, disabled people, minorities and transgender people,<sup>31</sup> provided s/he is an active member and can perform the leader's tasks. Women homemakers, however, needed to be granted 'time and permission from home', while nomads were mostly found ineligible. Both men and women ECG leaders were strongly convinced that vulnerable groups such as women, transgender people, people with disabilities, minorities etc. needed special attention in terms of WASH. In Dadu, local government officials fully agreed, while in Muzaffargarh the officials strongly disagreed. In Bhuttapur (Muzaffargarh), ECG leaders reported that their attempts to support vulnerable groups had been obstructed at a higher level.

ECG members and their leaders in the four project Union Councils also felt that there had been important improvements in the relationships between the communities and the local government authorities such as the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA), the newly elected Councillors, and the District's Municipal Chairman. In UC #3 and UC #4 (Dadu, Sindh), all stakeholders confirmed that these relationships did not exist before. In Bhuttapur (Muzaffargarh, Punjab), the improvements were found to be significant and the relationships remained alive and important to date, which was attributed to the ongoing activism of ECG leaders (some of whom became the newly elected Councillors). However, the accessibility of the different authorities had declined since the end of project, as Oxfam's partners were less available to facilitate the interactions. ECG members in three of the four project Union Councils (Lutkaran, UC #3 and UC #4) felt that the TMA's accessibility had declined while the new Councillors and the Municipal Chairman were less



relevant for their WASH demands, revealing the vacuum that existed during the transitioning to the new local government structure (cf. Section 5.1.3).

The contrast with the two comparison Union Councils, however, shows that the project made a significant difference. There existed no interaction or relationship between the communities and the local authorities in the comparison UCs. People said they had no leaders and did not trust anyone. In UC #2 (Qambar Shahdad Kot, Sindh), both the women and the men found it inappropriate for women to be leaders and go to offices, and they also believed that women were incapable. In Kotla Haji Shah (Layyah, Punjab), women from the Mohallahs found the UC leaders incapable, and unaware and insensitive to the needs of special groups, and believed that homemakers would make good leaders because 'they're used to managing households'.

#### TEXT BOX 2 –MEMBERS ABOUT THEIR EFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP GROUPS IN DADU CITY (SINDH)

"Before, we did not know anything. Then CSSP staff came and made us aware that we have rights to WASH and must assert them. Then we started to meet and discuss how to solve the problems. We started to keep our homes and streets clean, and threw garbage in dustbins. Also our men helped us with making our Mohallahs clean." (female Mohallah-level ECG members in UC #3)

"We wanted to avoid that our children fall ill, so we conducted meetings in our neighbourhood and raised awareness, telling people to not dump their garbage on the streets. Our ECG was successful solving the issue of drainage in our Mohallahs." (female Mohallah-level ECG members in UC #4)

"We drew a map on the ground, indicated the WASH facilities in the Mohallahs on the map and discussed the problems. We then made our applications to CSSP and met with the TMA and other officers to resolve the problems." (female UC-level ECG in UC #3)

"These local groups are very necessary because they unite people for solving the issues of the community, cooperate with TMA office, and follow-up and take care of public WASH schemes" (local officials)

*they highlighted the WASH issues in the Mohallahs and got them resolved.* The groups in the Mohallahs elected their leaders who then formed the ECGs at the UC-level. The main problems were the open drains and garbage in the streets. The ECGs worked to make the Mohallahs clean, construct drains, install dustbins and create a more hygienic environment. Applications were submitted to the relevant authorities to address the issues.

## 5.4 Detailed findings

### 5.4.1 Effective citizenship due to IUWGA (links 1 and 7 in the Theory of Change)

#### ECG success and value

##### SINDH PROVINCE

According to the reports of Oxfam's local partner in Dadu, Civil Society Support Programme (CSSP), 54 ECGs have been formed in the Mohallahs in the two project Union Councils of Dadu city, of which 28 are male groups and 26 are female groups. Together they consist of 786 members. Of the total urban population in the 54 targeted Mohallahs in UC #3 and UC #4 (the two project UCs in Dadu city), 40% (a total of 55,688 people – 24,312 women and 31,376 men) have been involved in the ECG and sub-WASH group activities. Seventy-one percent of the ECG members (a total of 560 people) were trained in their rights to information, the consumer protection act, constitutional rights, WASH, and budgeting and planning.

According to the ECG members, the ECGs were established with the help of CSSP, which visited the area and mobilized the people to form citizen groups. The objective was to enable the people to solve the WASH issues in the Mohallahs. This was also confirmed by the local government officials: *'As these groups were of local residents,*

The ECGs were unequivocally found very important by all stakeholders to organize people to collectively resolve their WASH issues and coordinate with the local government authorities for the delivery and maintenance of WASH schemes. They were found quite successful in achieving this purpose, not only by the ECG members themselves (average CV scores 8.2 in UC #3 and 9.1 in UC #4)<sup>32</sup> but also by the government officials (average CV score 7.0). Only the men from the Mohallah-level ECGs in UC #3 who participated in the evaluation found them not so successful (average CV score 4.5). The success of the ECGs was largely attributed to the efforts of CSSP, which organized training and raised people's awareness about their rights. All ECG members and leaders (both women and men) highly valued the relationship with CSSP and found its staff very accessible.

*By contrast, in UC #2, the comparison Union Council in Shadatkot city in the district of Qambar Shahdad Kot, Sindh, where the project had not been implemented and had not had any influence, findings were quite the opposite. There was no organization, and no way in which people worked together to resolve their community and WASH problems. This was confirmed by both the women and men from the Mohallahs as well as the UC leaders and local government officials who participated in the focus groups. Not only did they confirm this in their group discussions but also in their individual and unanimous scorings (average CV score 0.0 for successful community organization around WASH).*

#### **TEXT BOX 3 – THE ABSENCE OF ORGANIZATION IN SHADATKOT (QAMBAR SHAHDAD KOT, SINDH)**

*'Most people are busy with their jobs, contract labour and farming. They do not have time to organize.'* Men Mohallah members, UC #2

*'We have no leaders that can solve our problems. Some people go to the government's offices by themselves, but no work is done. Once we organized a protest to obtain clean water, but the government is deaf here and does not solve our problems. Naheed Khawar [politician of PML-F] came in the garment factory where we women gather to discuss our problems. She promised to help, but sixth months later we still have not heard anything from her.'* Women Mohallah members in UC #2

*'In the community, no one cooperates with us. We visited the TMA office and met with the PA of MNA by ourselves, but no one has given us a positive response. We requested drinking water, roads and drainage, and made a protest, but nothing happened. After that, people don't expect anything from us anymore.'* UC leaders in UC #2

*'People are not aware of the importance of WASH and don't have the knowledge and skills to apply for WASH schemes and meet with the local government authorities to discuss and resolve their issues. There is no organization or citizen group that works on WASH, nor is there anyone in the community who knows how to resolve the issues. People come individually to ask for hand pumps, but there are no collective efforts.'* Local government authorities, UC #2

### **PROVINCE OF PUNJAB**

According to UFAQ's monitoring data<sup>33</sup> and Oxfam's final project report, 50 ECGs were formed in the Mohallahs in the two project Union Councils of Muzaffargarh. Of these, 25 were male groups with 378 members and 25 were female groups with 385 members (totalling 763 ECG members, with 51% women).

According to the ECG members, the ECGs were established by the people with the help of UFAQ, which visited the area and mobilized the people to form citizen groups in the Mohallahs. The groups chose their leaders by voting. The 33 leaders from the Mohallahs then formed the ECGs at



the UC-level. The purpose was to enable people to solve their problems related to WASH. The ECGs worked to make the Mohallahs clean, obtain access to clean drinking water, construct drains, install dustbins and lights in the streets, and create a hygienic environment. Regular meetings were held to discuss and prioritize the problems. Applications were submitted to the relevant local government departments (cf. Section 5.1.3) to address the issues. Women and men met separately but at the UC-level submitted their applications jointly. UFAQ organized training, raised people's awareness about their rights and taught them how to demand these rights through collective power. Women gained confidence through these trainings and, according to the ECG members, are now able to speak up for their rights.

The ECG members and leaders felt that the ECGs had been relatively successful (average CV score 7.1 in Bhuttapur and 6.2 in Lutkaran), but also found that too many issues remained unresolved. They had asked for clean water facilities many times, but did not succeed in obtaining the necessary funds from the District Council Office (DCO). This was also confirmed by the local government officials who participated in the research. The officials found that the ECGs were quite impactful, but felt that their expectations were too high and the 'economic power' to meet these expectations too limited. This also showed in their individual scorings of the ECGs' overall success (average CV score 3.0). The success of the ECGs was largely attributed to the efforts of Oxfam's local partner UFAQ.

The ECGs were unequivocally found very important by all stakeholders to organize people to collectively resolve their WASH issues and give them a voice. In all group discussions, participants confirmed that the communities highly valued the ECGs and found them very accessible to people at all times. Even though the ECGs in Lutkaran were not functional any more, they remained moderately important and accessible to the community because their leaders were part of the community and many were still active. In Bhuttapur, ECG activity had declined after project closure, but the members still found them fairly accessible due to the leaders who had remained active and accessible.

*By contrast, in Kotla Haji Shah (KHS) – the comparison Union Council in Layyah City – there was no organization and people never organized to approach local government directly to resolve the community's problems. Occasionally, men individually went to talk to the local councillor or MPA (Member of Provincial Assembly) about their problems, but there was never any written request or proposal submitted by the community members to the local authorities. Only two applications had been submitted by EVA (an organization that had trained local people on their rights) for better sitting arrangements and drinking water for patients and visitors in the Basic Health Unit (BHU). This resulted in a grant of Rs.500,000, but remained a one-off success. There were some hand pumps, but the drains were open and no one kept the streets clean.*

*Also, the Union Council and Tehsil government officials confirmed that there had been no initiatives to form local associations or community-based organizations (CBOs) in the area. There were a few organizations from outside that had visited the area, but the communities in the Mohallahs did not have any form of organization of themselves. 'Our people rely on individual efforts or promises of the MNA (Member of National Assembly) and MPAs.' People generally discuss their issues with the Lambardar<sup>34</sup> and the Councillor on an individual basis, not in groups. The officials felt it would be good if people would organize to address issues related to public health and wellbeing.*

*There was only one CBO in the area, the Layyah Welfare Society, which was established in 2010 to work on emergency issues during floods (e.g. setting up medical camps) and recently had also started to provide vocational training for women and youth. Its members appeared quite active and enthusiastic; however, they confirmed that there had been no WASH initiatives in the area, community members did not organize to solve their WASH issues and the local government did not support the community in any sense. Reportedly, the area was totally neglected.*

The district-level PHED (Public Health Engineering Department) confirmed that no CBO had visited the office with requests around water and sanitation in past years. 'People check the quality of water on the basis of smell and colour, and are unaware of bacterial and chemical contaminants.'

#### TEXT BOX 4 –THE ABSENCE OF ORGANIZATION IN KOTLA HAJI SHAH (PUNJAB)

In the discussions, the women from the Mohallahs in Kotla Haji Sha saw the value of organizing themselves and thought it might help them to find solutions and put pressure on local officials to support them: *'There is no drainage or sewerage system. The drains are open and invite mosquitoes, bringing malaria and other diseases. The streets are flooded with dirty water. There is no arrangement for cleaning the streets and no one collects the garbage that the women drop on the street in front of their houses. We sometimes clean our streets ourselves. The men go out to work and we women suffer all the problems. There are lots of fights between the women. They never get together or have any committee. Now we will organize ourselves and make a committee to solve the problems. We will make rules to attend meetings regularly, come on time and work together. Everyone will be free to give suggestions. We will include disabled people and minorities in our committee. We will have a separate committee for cleanliness and solving WASH-related problems.'* Mohallah women from KHS, Layyah, Punjab

## ECG membership and functioning

### SINDH PROVINCE

According to reports from Oxfam's local partner CSSP, ECG leaders were elected democratically. They were first elected at the Mohallah level to then form the four UC-level ECGs (two per UC: one male and one female). The UC-level ECGs then each elected a chairperson and general secretary. Urban Participatory Influencing and Development Plans (UPIDP) were developed by the ECGs around the WASH issues identified in each Mohallah in consultation with the community. The UPIDPs were then merged at the UC-level and negotiated with the relevant government authorities. The UC-level ECGs further prioritized the problems to be addressed depending on the available resources for co-funding from both the government and the community.

According to the ECG members, all community members in the Mohallahs could become members of the ECG, without any restriction. Also, everybody was eligible for leadership – including people with disabilities, transgender people or people from minority groups. They just needed to be active and attend the meetings in the UC-level ECG offices. The membership rules were generally scored quite high on their clarity and fairness (average CV scores 7.1 in UC #3 and 8.3 in UC #4). Regular meetings were held for sharing and prioritizing the problems and deciding on the actions. The members also collected labour and cash contributions from the community members and conducted door-to-door awareness-raising activities. At the UC-level, meetings were held around the issues in the Mohallahs, for which applications were written and submitted to the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA). For implementation, once applications were approved, the ECGs mobilized the communities to contribute their labour while the TMA provided all the machinery, funds and technical skills.

### PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

UFAQ's monitoring data shows that each of the 50 ECGs in Muzaffargarh had developed a UPIDP for addressing the communities' priority issues regarding safe drinking water, sanitation, solid waste removal and hygiene practices. Special attention was paid to the specific needs of women and people with disabilities, particularly in terms of accessibility and privacy of the facilities. The 50 Mohallah-level UDIDPs were aggregated into UC-level action plans, with a special plan of action for improvements specifically for women and people with disabilities.

Reportedly, all community members in the Mohallahs can become members of the ECGs – including homemakers, nomads, transgender people and minorities. There was no restriction, except that one needed to be motivated, smart, have a sense of responsibility, and have the time and ability to actively engage and perform the tasks. This was confirmed by all focus groups. However, both the women and the men ECG leaders in both Bhuttapur and Lutkaran mentioned that it is challenging for women to find the time to participate because of their responsibilities in the home. Transgender people and other minorities were found to be underrepresented in the ECGs, and nomads were seen as not suitable to be part of the ECGs as they are always on the move. Membership rules nevertheless were scored high on clarity and fairness in Bhuttapur (average CV score 8.5). In Lutkaran, they were scored high only by the men (average CV score 8.3), but not by the women, who felt the rules were not entirely fair (average 5.4).

ECG members reported they met monthly to follow up on the work plans and make decisions around issues that the members wanted to put forward for application. They also met when there was an urgent need requiring immediate action. In Lutkaran, the women couldn't say how often they met but confirmed that the ECGs regularly met to discuss and prioritize their problems related to WASH and other community issues. Also, other meetings and trainings were organized by UFAQ (called 'the organization') in the Mohallahs. The ECG members collected labour and cash contributions from the community members and conducted door-to-door awareness-raising activities. At the UC-level, the ECG leaders met monthly to share and discuss the issues raised in the different Mohallahs and write applications for submission to the TMA. Once the applications were approved, the TMA provided all the machinery, funds and technical skills, while the ECGs mobilized the communities to contribute their labour.

## Voice and empowerment

### SINDH PROVINCE

At the Mohallah-level, the men reported that in their ECGs decisions around which issues to prioritize and submit were made by voting. The women on the other hand said that in their ECGs decisions were made and resolved by the chairwomen and CSSP (Oxfam's local partner in Sindh) based on the suggestions made by members. At the UC-level, both the men and the women confirmed that the decisions were made collectively, based on consensus, and with support from CSSP staff. Reportedly, the men UC leaders mostly led the meetings with the Tehsil and District Officials. However, in UC #3, the women UC leaders had joined CSSP staff to meet the officials twice.

#### TEXT BOX 5 – WHO CAN BE A LEADER?

*'It is difficult for many women, especially mothers with small children, because some activities take time. Many young women are members of the ECGs. We do not have nomads in our area. There is one Christian woman who's an ECG leader.'* Women ECG leaders of Lutkaran, Punjab

Overall, the ECG members felt they were free to ask questions, share their views, and felt listened to in the ECG meetings (average CV score 8.0 in UC #3 and 8.4 in UC #4). They also felt that the ECGs had helped them to better understand their rights and responsibilities as citizens in relation to the government (average CV score 8.0 in UC #3 and 8.6 in UC #4). Last, they were also quite positive (more than the ECG members in UC #3) that, through the ECGs, they had gained influence on the planning and delivery of WASH services (average CV score 6.8 in UC #3 and 9.2 in UC #4). Only the men from the Mohallah-level ECGs in UC #3 were negative in their individual scorings (average 4.5, 4.4 and 2.5 respectively). This may have to do with the fact that some Mohallahs had not been served and their ECGs had largely been inactive (cf. 'responsive governance' in Section 5.2.2).

All ECG members in both UC #3 and UC #4 were very positive about the empowering value of the ECGs in terms of their understanding of their citizen rights and responsibilities in relation to the government (there were no negative scores). The local government officials who participated in the research, by contrast, scored ECG members' understanding of their citizen rights and responsibilities fairly low (average CV score 2.7) but were surprisingly positive about the ECGs' increased influence on government planning and delivery of WASH services (average CV score 9.2).

According to CSSP's reports, the ECGs have made people feel responsible for WASH planning, resource mobilization, lobbying government for support, and monitoring the implementation and maintenance of the WASH schemes. This has generated a shift in communities' attitudes and behaviours regarding WASH. People now want and demand their Mohallahs to be clean. Garbage that otherwise blocked a dysfunctional drainage system is now removed while the system is put to work. People also want and demand and make use of proper sanitation, and regularly wash their hands with soap after using the toilets and before having meals. This also came out during all of the evaluation's focus groups discussions.

*In UC #2 (Qambar Shahdad Kot, Sindh) where IUWGA (or any other) project had not been implemented, there was no community-based form of organization found. Both the women and the men from the Mohallahs who participated in the research unanimously confirmed that they did not have any voice, did not know about their rights in relation to the government, and did not have any influence on the government's WASH planning and delivery to their communities. The local government officials agreed but felt that people were not totally oblivious of their rights (average CV score 4.3 compared to the Mohallah members' score of 0.0).*

## PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

The evidence from the project Union Councils in Punjab around voice and empowerment shows some differences in the experiences but provides insufficient explanation to be conclusive.<sup>35</sup>

In both Lutkaran and Bhuttapur, the ECG members and leaders (both women and men) overall felt that through the ECGs they had gained a better understanding of their citizen rights and responsibilities in relation to the government (average CV scores 8.1 and 7.0).

In both Union Councils, the ECG leaders (both the women and the men) also felt they had a voice and were listened to (average CV scores 7.8 and 8.2). In Bhuttapur, however, the women admitted that they had not been involved in the interactions with the local government authorities. In Lutkaran, on the other hand, women ECG leaders had been engaged in some of the WASH applications to the TMA together with the men but had felt uncomfortable, even though the TMA officers had been quite receptive to them. Some of the women in the group discussions stated that they had no interest in engaging with government decision makers.

The women ECG members in Lutkaran did not feel they had much of a voice; they did not feel free to say what they thought (average CV score 4.0). The women ECG members in Bhuttapur by contrast were extremely positive about voice (average CV score 10). Also, the men ECG members in both Lutkaran and Bhuttapur were quite positive overall (average CV scores 9.6 and 8.9). In both Union Councils, the men ECG members said that decisions in the ECGs were made by consulting all the members and reaching agreement through voting. The women on the other hand reported that the chairwomen made the decisions by reaching agreement through consulting all the members (mostly by phone or by visiting them at their homes), which may explain some of the women's negative scores on voice in Lutkaran.

In Lutkaran, the ECG leaders (both the women and the men) were only moderately positive about having a bigger influence through the ECGs on the government's WASH plans and service delivery in their Union Council (average CV score 5.7). In Bhuttapur, only the men were positive about this

(average CV score 7.8 compared to the women's 4.0). The women ECG members in Lutkaran did not think that the ECGs had given them more influence (average CV score 4.0), while the women in Bhuttapur were moderately positive (average CV score 6.6). The men ECG members in both Lutkaran and Bhuttapur were quite positive overall about having gained significant influence (average CV scores 6.9 and 8.4).

*In Kotla Haji Shah (KHS) in Layyah City, where the project had not been implemented and had not had any influence, there was no organization around WASH. The women from the Mohallahs who participated in the research reported that decisions were made in the traditional way, in which they have no say. The elders discuss the problems together with the men community members and make the decisions. The women were neither positive nor negative about whether their participation in the EVA initiative (an organization that had trained the local people on their rights) or any other community organizing effort had helped them to better understand their rights (average CV score 5.6) or gain influence in the government's plans and decisions (average CV score 5.0). The local government officials were quite negative about people's understanding of their rights and their influence on WASH delivery (average CV scores 1.7 and 0.3 respectively). The women however expressed a strong desire to organize themselves in order to address their problems, and said they would try to set up committees working on specific issues (one of which would be WASH) and build contacts with people who have the power to influence the government.*

## 5.4.2 Government responsiveness due to IUWGA (links 2 and 6 in the Theory of Change)

### Citizens' influence

#### SINDH PROVINCE

According to the reports of Oxfam's local partner CSSP, a total of 225 applications (with 89 by the women's groups) had been submitted during the years of the project's time span. Of these, 143 were approved by local government authorities and properly implemented, showing a response rate of 64%. Moreover, 54 Mohallah-level and 2 UC-level Urban Participatory Influencing and Development Plans (UPIDP) were developed and shared with the authorities, who then incorporated them in their annual development plans and budgets. Also, two schemes suggested by the Participatory M&E Group (PMEG) regarding the construction of a drainage line and street pavements with concrete cement blocks were added to the tenders of the District Health Department for the fiscal year 2016-2017.

The ECGs signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the TMA for regular garbage collection from waste bins installed in the Mohallahs. CSSP provided uniforms to the TMA for sanitary workers, so that they would be recognizable to community members (thus preventing them from acting as private workers and demanding extra payments). The sanitary workers were also better regulated due to the complaints filed by the ECGs to the TMA. As a result, garbage was removed from the waste bins and streets were properly cleaned on a regular basis.



Overall, the ECG leaders found that the local authorities had been quite cooperative in addressing the issues raised by the ECGs. They received a receipt for each application submitted. But they also found that the local authorities were only responsive when they were really pressurized by the ECGs. The TMA was found largely unaware of the WASH issues and needs of the communities, and had not shared any of its annual plans and budgets for WASH with the ECGs.

PMEG members confirmed that the WASH works done by the TMA and local authorities were largely attributable to the activities of the ECGs, and that without the ECGs nothing would have been achieved. All ECG leaders in UC #3 and UC #4 as well as the PMEG members and government officials also confirmed that the Tehsil and District authorities had not incorporated any requests or proposals from the ECGs into their annual plans and budgets (all scored individually and anonymously 0.0). Everybody also agreed that local government authorities did not always address community complaints about the WASH schemes and services (ECG members on average scored 1.5 in UC #4 and 1.4 in UC #3, PMEG members scored 2.8, and government officials 3.2).

At the Mohallah-level, ECG members were moderately positive in their individual and anonymous scorings about the government's *non-responsiveness* or *rejection* of their proposals (average CV score 7.3 in UC #3 and 6.0 in UC #4). The women in UC #3 scored the government's rejection rate very high (average 9.5). In the group discussions, the ECG members expressed their disappointment with the TMA as they felt they could not get anything done by the TMA. The local government officials, by contrast, felt they had been quite responsive and claimed that most of the proposed schemes had been approved, but explained that the works had not been done in all Mohallahs as only the active ECGs had submitted applications. This was also confirmed by the ECG members in both Union Councils. Bukhari Mohalla in UC #3 was mentioned as a typical example where the ECGs had been very active. According to the women in UC #3, the ECGs in some Mohallahs had been inactive because their leaders had not delivered on their promises to the communities. CSSP explained that it had not been feasible to cover all the Mohallahs because of budget limitations, and that the WASH works therefore had been executed in the Mohallahs where the ECGs had been most active and enthusiastic, but the intention would be to expand and cover all Mohallahs if the project was extended.

#### TEXT BOX 6 – GOVERNMENT PERCEPTION OF CITIZEN INFLUENCE IN DADU (SINDH)

*'Issue-based meetings were held when a particular scheme was being implemented. ECG members came daily but nowadays meetings or visits are rare, only once a month. Through the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) with help of CSSP, water wells in Chhano Shahabad-I and Chhano Shahabad-II were repaired and de-silted, and the drainage and sewerage lines in Bukhari Mohalla in UC #3 were constructed. In UC #4, the TMA office addressed the ECG's complaint about the open waste water pond, which was a source for malaria and other diseases. The pond was closed with silt.'* Local government officials

*In UC #2 (the comparison Union Council in Qambar Shahdad Kot), people were undoubtedly far worse off. People felt they were simply ignored by local government. The Union Council leaders reported that they had visited the government offices many times, but without any success. The*

#### TEXT BOX 7 – A FEMALE ACTIVIST ON GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS IN BHUTTAPUR (PUNJAB)

*'The main achievements of the ECGs were the construction of a proper sewerage system, paved streets and covered gutters, the repair of the drainage system to get dirty standing water out of the streets, and the provision of dustbins and clean drinking water. The ECGs had several meetings with the TMA, but they lacked budget. Also, UFAQ's budget was not enough to meet the communities' huge problems. (...) I also went to different offices to obtain approval of our WASH applications. Dirty sewerage water was running into the fields because our well was filled. We requested a new well, but the government rejected our request because there was no budget. They said they would reconsider our application the following year. This is a very serious problem – we are still trying to resolve it.'*  
Female ECG leader in Bhuttapur, Punjab

*officials had simply refused to receive or meet them. No one had ever helped or guided them to understand the government procedure for getting their community issues resolved. The local government officials denied that they had ever received any suggestions or requests from any community or Union Council leaders.*

#### PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

Overall, men ECG leaders found that the District and Tehsil authorities' responsiveness remained fairly limited. They told the researchers that most of the officials had a nepotistic attitude and systematically ignored their applications. Only 20 to 30% were willing to cooperate and consider their applications, which was also confirmed by the PMEG members. The leaders were generally told that there was insufficient budget and capacity to serve their area. As a result, the government-funded schemes were often delayed or not implemented. The local government officials said this was true, and gave the example of five sewerage workers having to serve a population of between 300,000 and 500,000 people.

Neither the women nor the men leaders believed the government incorporated all of their proposals into their annual plans and budgets (average CV scores 4.2 in Bhuttapur and 3.3 in Lutkaran), which was also confirmed by the local government officials (average CV score 3.3). The final project report mentions that seven out of the 12 improvement schemes that had been prioritized and proposed through the ECG's UPIDP process were approved and incorporated in the Annual District Development Plan with a budget allocation of approximately Rs. 6 million or over £44,000 (cf. Section 5.3.4)

The women ECG leaders, however, found that the government's attitude had positively changed in the past years. They found the local officials to be generally helpful after UFAQ's intervention. Some of their applications had been approved with the help of UFAQ, which had organized the meetings between the ECG leaders and the officials. The women leaders from Lutkaran were particularly positive about the TMA's responsiveness. They said they visited the TMA office many times, together with the men and with UFAQ, to submit their applications regarding sanitation and 'cleanliness'. The TMA officers instantly sent the applications to the District and followed up on the procedure, but many of the applications had been put off due to a lack of funds.

According to the PMEG members, the ECGs' proposals and requests were about sanitation, garbage removal, hygiene and cleanliness of the environment, street pavements, street lighting and access to clean drinking water. Many of these had been rejected due to a lack of funds. This was also confirmed by the local government officials.

The ECG members in Bhuttapur and Lutkaran (women and men) believed that over half of their applications had been rejected (average CV scores 5.4 and 5.3). Only the men in Bhuttapur found



this to be not entirely true (average CV score 4.3). They believed that the government's acceptance depended on how hard the ECG leaders had lobbied for their applications, but confirmed that the major reason for rejection was insufficient budget. They estimated that a total number of 12 to 15 applications had been submitted in the past three years for obtaining clean drinking water, improving the sewerage system and connecting it to the main drainage, and keeping the environment and the schools and hospitals clean. The women ECG members could not say how many applications had been submitted and approved, but confirmed that they were about obtaining clean drinking water, drainage, garbage removal, street pavements and street lighting. Also, the ECG members from Lutkaran (both women and men) did not know how many applications they had submitted in the past three years and how many of these had been approved, but confirmed that they were about keeping the environment clean, obtaining drinking water, sanitation, repair of sewerage lines, drainage, installation of dustbins, and school upgrades.

#### TEXT BOX 8 – THE LACK OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS IN KOTLA HAJI SHAH (PUNJAB)

*'We have requested WASH services continuously over several years, but no attention has been paid to us. Members of the National and Provincial Assemblies (MPA/MNA) are only making false promises.'*

*'A Councillor is an elected voice of the public but has no influence on the district and gets no attention whatsoever. Obviously, community members don't get any more attention than their elected Councillors. Unfortunately, we don't have a culture of submitting formal applications in writing. We just tell our problems to the MPA/MNA and hope for the best.'*

Council and Tehsil officials in Kotla Haji Shah (Layyah)

*In Kotla Haji Shah, where no project (or any similar) interventions had ever taken place, government responsiveness had been zero. This was confirmed by all stakeholders. Women from the Mohallahs expressed total despair. They had given up all hope of improvement. Local officials who participated in the research confirmed that the area had been totally neglected. Communities' WASH needs had not been considered in the District's plans and budgets (average CV score 0.3) and their complaints about WASH services had not been addressed (average CV score 1.3).*

## Transparency and capacity

### SINDH PROVINCE

The ECG leaders in both UC #3 and UC #4 (both women and men) confirmed that they had never been involved in the local government's annual planning and budgeting process. They told the researchers they knew nothing about the WASH plans and budgets for their area (average CV score 0.0 in both Union Councils), and agreed that nothing had changed in the past three years in terms of transparency with regard to the government's WASH plans and budgets (average CV scores 9.7 and 9.8). This was also confirmed by the local government officials (average CV scores 0.0 for the first and 10.0 for the second statement), who explained that the Councillors represented the communities in the government's planning process. The ECG leaders further reported that they had regularly met with the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) and District Council (DC) officials to submit their applications or file complaints and follow up on the approved schemes, but felt these meetings had been only moderately successful because of the government's lack of funds. This was confirmed by the local government officials, who explained that most of the District budget (of over Rs. 20 million) had been spent on salaries.

Regarding local government's capacity to appropriately contract the WASH service providers and monitor their work, the ECG leaders in both UC #3 and UC #4 were quite negative (average CV scores 1.5 and 1.1). Also, the PMEG members were sceptical about this (average CV score 2.8), while the local authorities were moderately positive (average CV score 6.0).

*In UC #2 (the comparison Union Council), also no District and Tehsil plans/budgets for WASH had ever been shared, and UC leaders had never been involved in any planning processes. According to the UC leaders, there had never been any government support or budget for WASH. According to the local officials, no UC leader ever asked for any WASH support, and nobody in the local government knew about budgeting since nobody has ever been trained. Regarding the local government's capacity to appropriately contract WASH service providers and monitor their work, the UC leaders were entirely negative (average CV score 0.0), while the local authorities were moderately positive (average CV score 5.8).*

## PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

The ECG leaders in both Lutkaran and Bhuttapur (both women and men) anonymously confirmed that Tehsil and District plans and budgets regarding WASH for their area had mostly not been shared (average CV scores 2.7 and 3.4). This was also confirmed by the local government officials (average CV score 1.5). In the group discussions, the ECG leaders reported that they had met with the TMA and DC officers several times but never saw anything of the annual government plans and reports. In their individual scorings, they found it to be moderately true that nothing had changed in the past three years in terms of government transparency (average CV scores 6.4 and 7.0). The government officials explained that plans and budgets are not shared with the public to avoid reactions from the opposition.

Regarding the success of the meetings with the TMA and DC officers, ECG leaders in Bhuttapur were divided: some were positive, others negative, depending on whether any activity had been undertaken in their respective Mohallah. In Lutkaran, on the other hand, the ECG leaders overall found the meetings had been quite successful, and referred to the implemented WASH schemes as the evidence for this. Regarding local government's capacity to appropriately contract WASH service providers and monitor their work, the PMEG members were very negative (average CV score 2.7), while the ECG leaders were moderate (average CV score 5.3 in Bhuttapur and 4.0 in Lutkaran). The local government officials however were quite positive (score 7.3).

*In Kotla Haji Shah, the comparison Union Council where no project (or any similar) interventions had taken place, nobody knew about any WASH plans. Also, Council and Tehsil officials knew nothing about any annual plans or budgets. The UC leaders reported that the 12 Councillors only met when the office received its monthly expenditures, and said they had provided a few hand pumps to needy families in the past years using 'left-over money after the office expenses'. Regarding local government capacity to contract and monitor WASH service providers, all scored zero.*

### 5.4.3 Social accountability due to IUWGA (link 3 in the Theory of Change)

#### PMEG roles and success

##### SINDH PROVINCE

According to the reports of Oxfam's local partner in Sindh, CSSP, a Participatory M&E Group (PMEG) had been established at the district level, with 12 members representing the different stakeholders, which held frequent meetings with the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) and the District administration to follow up on the approved WASH works. However, none of the local authorities who participated in the research could confirm this or knew about the PMEG, and therefore couldn't say that the PMEG had ever helped the government to address the issues that had been raised by the PMEG or the ECGs (average CV score 0.0).

In UC #4, the men UC leaders had met with the PMEG during their WASH works in 2016, but said they did not know anything about its purpose and role. The women UC leaders said they did not have any knowledge of the PMEG. In UC #3 also, nobody seemed to know about the PMEG. None of the ECG members had ever heard of the PMEG and therefore had not been able to file any complaints with the help of the PMEG (average CV score 0.0). Nobody had seen any reports or information about the monitoring activities.<sup>36</sup> Apart from some meeting records, no proof of monitoring activity could be found in the project documentation.

The PMEG members, however, were very positive about their support to the communities and the local government (average CV score 9.6 and 8.4 respectively). They believed that their roles and responsibilities were clear and well known to the communities, the ECGs and the local government authorities (average CV score 9.0). They claimed to have regularly visited the sites in order to see if the works were being carried out according to plan, and flagged unresolved issues in the media while calling on the District Council Office (DCO) to intervene and put pressure on the TMA and the Councillors to get things done. They scored their own performance of their roles and responsibilities quite high (average 9.6). More specifically, they also felt had they had done a very good job with the monitoring of the implementation of the Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plans (UPIDP) and the delivery on the agreed WASH priorities (average CV score 9.6). They felt that the PMEG had helped to build cohesion in the community and develop a new leadership, as it '*empowered the women to walk the streets and organize strikes and make the local government authorities aware of the communities' burning issues*'.

*In UC #2 (non-project area), the UC leaders said they had never seen any monitoring, and that nobody complains because government officials never respond. According to the local government officials, TMA staff members regularly and successfully monitor all the WASH works (average CV scores 7.7 and 6.5): 'The CMO (Community Mobilization Officer) of the Municipal Office visits the streets and main market places every morning and evening to monitor the cleanliness and the work done by sanitary staff. Also, the DC officials regularly visit and check the work.' The officials felt that the government is able to regularly follow up on the performance of the WASH contractors and address the issues raised by the monitoring officials in a timely manner (average CV score 7.3). They further believed that communities were unable to engage with monitoring and file complaints, but also that the people were satisfied with the way they monitor the schemes.*

## PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

According to the PMEG members, the PMEG was established to make people in the ECGs aware of their rights, assist them in prioritizing and pursuing their issues at the district level, mobilizing resources from the communities, influential individuals and the district government to address the issues, maintain the checks and balances to ensure equitable service delivery, and monitor the construction of schemes for clean drinking water, sewerage, toilets and clean-up services in the Mohallahs. All the WASH works/schemes that had been started by UFAQ (Oxfam's local partner in Punjab) and the communities, had been successfully completed with the help of the PMEG. Of the government schemes, around 30% had been completed, which according to the PMEG members was a major success, given that merely attracting the attention of officials was already a success.

The PMEG members themselves were moderately positive that their roles and responsibilities were known by the communities, the ECGs and the local government authorities (average CV score 5.7). The men ECG leaders from Bhuttapur felt that this was indeed true and scored more positively (average CV score 7.4). The men ECG leaders from Lutkaran disagreed (average CV score 4.6). The women ECG leaders in the two Union Councils knew very little about the PMEG. In general, the ECG leaders felt that the PMEG had not provided enough help to the ECGs in filing complaints (average CV scores 3.4 in Lutkaran and 3.2 in Bhuttapur). Although the men in Lutkaran acknowledged that many of the initiatives (such as the upgrading of the schools, the improvements in sanitation with the TMA, the street cleanliness project, the installation of dustbins in the streets, etc.) had been done with the assistance of the PMEG, they found that the

achievements were mostly attributable to the work of the ECGs. Local government officials felt more supported by the PMEG in their regular follow-up of the implementation of the WASH schemes (average CV score 6.0).

Overall, the PMEG members felt they had performed well on their roles and responsibilities (average CV score 6.7), including the monitoring of UPIDP implementation and WASH delivery (average CV score 6.7). The local government officials were less positive about this (average CV scores 5.0 and 4.5). The men ECG leaders from Lutkaran were also not so positive (average CV scores 5.0 and 4.0). By contrast, the men ECG leaders of Bhuttapur were quite satisfied with the PMEG's overall performance and its monitoring of UPIDP implementation and WASH delivery (average CV scores 7.4 and 8.1).

In Bhuttapur, the PMEG was felt to be most successful and relevant by the ECGs. ECG members and leaders confirmed that the relationship between the PMEG and the TMA had been and still was moderately important, with mutual accessibility and shared control. Also, the relationship between the PMEG and the DCO had been and still was moderately important. The PMEG thus still existed and remained functional one year after project closure. In Lutkaran, despite their negative individual scorings, ECG leaders valued the PMEG very highly in the group discussions and still found it very important and accessible even one year after project closure, putting them in control. Also, the relationship of the PMEG with the TMA and the local government departments had remained relatively important, with the PMEG remaining moderately accessible and in control even after project closure.

#### **TEXT BOX 9 – A TRANSGENDER MEMBER OF THE PARTICIPATORY M&E GROUP ON THE PERFORMANCE OF THE GROUP IN BHUTTAPUR (PUNJAB)**

*'The PMEG is still quite active and doing its duty. For example, recently the motor of the water plant burned out and we got it repaired. There is a pressure group that makes sure things get done in the community regarding WASH. We requested AGAHE [Oxfam's present partner who succeeded UFAQ Development Organization] to provide a clean water plant. The budget of Rs. 3.9 million has been approved and the construction works have started. Recently the annual cleaning of the canal was carried out by the Municipal Chairman. (...) The PMEG took the water supply case that had been pending for many years to the National Accountability Bureau (NAB). This concerned the construction of a scheme for the provision of clean drinking water that had been approved for Rs. 730 million. The government departments responsible had spent this budget without doing any work on the water supply. The Punjab Health Department went through all the files and collected evidence of mistakes and corruption at all levels of the decision making. The officials responsible have now promised to complete the water supply scheme soon. The PMEG has given a press conference around this in Multan.'* Transgender PMEG member in Bhuttapur

Nobody, however, had ever seen any report or any other sort of information about the PMEG's monitoring activities and results. This was also confirmed by the PMEG members, who told the researchers that the reports had been sent to UFAQ, which had also organized all of its meetings and activities. This may partly explain some of the negative scoring or dissatisfaction with the functioning of the PMEG despite the ECG members' and leaders' acknowledgement of its relevance and value as a social accountability mechanism.

*In Kotla Haji Shah (the comparison Union Council in Punjab), nobody in the Mohallah knew about any monitoring. The district-level PHED (Public Health Engineering Department) officer believed that the communities monitored the WASH services and solved the problems in their Mohallahs by themselves.*



## 5.4.4 Adequate WASH delivery due to citizenship, government responsiveness and social accountability (link 4 in the Theory of Change)

### Delivery on citizens' priorities

#### SINDH PROVINCE

According to former staff of CSSP (the local partner), schemes in Dadu had been approved by the District and implemented through co-funding for: the construction of a drainage line in Bukhari Mohallah; the construction of drainage line and a latrine in the public primary school office of Excise Mohallah; the rehabilitation of a disposal point of a drainage line in Chanoshahabad Mohallah; the construction of a latrine at the government's public school in Shahani Mohallah; the construction of 17 latrines and the installation of 10 hand pumps in Bagri Mohallah; street pavements with concrete cement blocks in Buth Mohallah; the installation of 30 hand pumps and solid waste bins and the provision of 60 solid waste kits and jackets and caps for sanitary workers in both UC #3 and UC #4; the rehabilitation of solid waste trolleys of the TMA; and the provision of a levelling machine to the PHED. With the start-up fund, CSSP and Oxfam further co-funded the installation of 50 hand pumps, 100 waste bins, and four communal latrines in girls' schools. The PMEG members confirmed the construction of latrines, street pavements, drainage and sewerage works, and the installation of hand pumps in UC #3 as well as in UC #4 (also verified by the PMEG and CSSP meeting records and monitoring reports).

The men from the Mohallah-level ECGs in UC #3 mentioned the street pavements and the installation of hand pumps and waste bins. The women talked about the construction of latrines and installation of hand pumps. The men from the Mohallah-level ECGs in UC #4 mentioned the construction of toilets for the women teachers and the students at a boys' primary school, street pavements and the installation of large waste bins in every Mohallah, the filling of the sewerage pond, the construction of a drainage line, and a tree plantation. They also reported that a water plant had been promised by the Municipal Chairman, but due to his sudden death the works had not been started and therefore drinking water remained a problem yet to be solved. The women talked about the installation of toilets in their homes by CSSP, the repair of sewerage lines, the installation of hand pumps, and regular cleaning of streets by government sanitary workers.

#### TEXT BOX 10 – BEFORE AND AFTER...

*'Before the intervention of CSSP, our streets were filled with mess and garbage was heaping up. Mosquitoes were all around. CSSP helped to clean our streets.'*

*'TMA sanitary workers came to pick up the garbage during the project time, but now they are not coming anymore, and the groups don't go to the TMA office anymore to complain.'*

Female Mohallah-level ECG members from UC #3)

Both the women and the men in both Union Councils reported that all approved WASH schemes had been successfully completed, except for the drinking water supply in UC #4. In UC #3 there was still a problem with the installation of a drainage system for the Bagri community in Bukhari Mohallah, due to a dispute over land. Moreover, both the women and the men had noticed a decline in sanitary services since the end of the project. While the ECGs had been active and the municipal and TMA authorities cooperative and supportive *during* the project, they felt that everything had stopped working after project closure. The men from UC #3 therefore felt that the delivery of approved WASH schemes and services had not been entirely satisfactory (average CV score 4.8).

The men from UC #4 were more positive (average CV score 6.1), but reported a lack of drinking water and also a decline in waste collection and sanitary cleaning services since the end of the project. Particularly the women from

both UC #3 and UC #4 were quite satisfied with the delivery of the approved schemes and services (average CV scores 9.0 and 9.3). Both the women and the men from both UC #3 and UC #4 reported that overall the schemes were still functioning well after two years, and that all are accessible to everyone in the Mohallahs. Only the men in UC #3 felt that the WASH schemes and services did not meet the special needs of people with disabilities, women and girls, transgender people, children, nomads, minorities and other vulnerable groups (average CV score 3.1). The women disagreed and were very positive (average CV score 8.8). Also, the men and women in UC #4 were positive about this (average 7.9).

The government officials and the PMEG members were also quite positive about the effective and satisfactory delivery on the communities' WASH priorities (average CV scores 8.8 and 7.6), and felt that the special needs of people with disabilities, women and girls, transgender people, children, minorities and other vulnerable groups had been adequately met (average CV scores 8.7 and 7.4). They confirmed however that the issue of drinking water had not yet been solved in UC #4, and that while UC #3 now had latrines due to the efforts of CSSP it still lacked a proper drainage system in Bukhari Mohallah because of a land dispute. The local authorities further reported that they had not received any complaints about the functioning of the WASH schemes from the communities, which they took as an indicator of satisfactory delivery. The PMEG members confirmed that all the schemes were functioning well and that overall, people were satisfied.

*By contrast, no WASH schemes or works have been implemented in the Mohallahs of UC #2 (the comparison Union Council in Qambar Shahdad Kot, Sindh). Nobody could access any WASH facility in the area. People from UC #2 who participated in the research reported that there had been a community protest about the lack of drinking water and basic facilities, but the government hadn't responded. The male Mohallah members and the UC leaders told the researchers they had heard about the approval of a clean water supply scheme for their UC after some engineers had visited the UC, but so far nothing had been done. The local government officials confirmed that newcomers were largely excluded from the municipal schemes and did not receive any WASH services, as the existing water supply scheme could only provide drinking water to half of the city's population due to power outages/losses. The lack of funds did not allow them to construct new WASH schemes, but only to maintain the existing ones. They felt this was done well and met the community's expectations (average CV score 8.3). They also felt that the schemes sufficiently met the special needs of vulnerable groups (average CV score 7.7). People complain when there is any issue, they said. However, the people in the Mohallahs argued that they had simply stopped complaining because the government never responds.*

## PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

The final project report mentions that seven out of the 12 improvement schemes that had been prioritized and proposed through the ECG's Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plans (UPIDP) in Musaffargarh were approved and incorporated in the Annual District Development Plan, with a government budget allocation of approximately Rs. 6 million, or over £44,000. It further mentions that 17 schemes were implemented with the Oxfam start-up fund, and three new water filtration plants were installed. In addition, an unspecified number of existing water filtration systems were rehabilitated and upgraded, and an unspecified number of water collection points were restored with other funds obtained by the ECGs.

Overall, ECG members (both women and men) were relatively satisfied with the delivery of the approved WASH schemes and services in Bhuttapur (average CV score 6.7), but not so satisfied in Lutkaran (average CV score 4.3). The PMEG members were left somewhere in the middle (average CV score 5.3), while the government officials were quite negative (only 0.3) and reported that while progress had been made with respect to hygiene, access to safe drinking water was still a major problem. ECG leaders from both UCs were most satisfied with the schemes built by UFAQ with the project's start-up fund, as they felt these were properly implemented and delivered on time.



The women in Bhuttapur mentioned improvements in access to clean water, sanitation and hygiene, and attributed these to UFAQ's interventions, such as installing water plants and providing handcarts for garbage picking for the Tehsil's sanitary workers. The men in Bhuttapur estimated that about 50–60% of the approved schemes had been adequately delivered and were still functioning well in their Union Council, and 50% of the community members now had access to clean water and proper sanitation. They believed that the schemes had been successfully implemented where the ECGs and local officials had worked well together and built positive relationships. To them, successful delivery depended on the level of effort ECG leaders put into building these relationships and following up on the works. Both the women and the men in Bhuttapur felt that all available facilities were equally accessible to everyone, without discrimination, and met the special needs of vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, women and girls, transgender people, children, etc. (average CV score 7.2).

The men and women in Lutkaran reported the successful implementation of schemes for street cleaning, sewerage repair, drainage and drinking water supply. Accepted schemes had been implemented with the help of social activists in the ECGs and UFAQ. For instance, two water plants had been installed by the ECGs with support from UFAQ. One of these plants was dysfunctional by the time of the evaluation due to security issues, which partly explains their negative score for satisfactory delivery. Overall, the ECG members felt that there had been a lot of improvements in their Union Council in the past three years, due to people's increased awareness and ability to lobby the local government authorities. Both the women and the men in Lutkaran confirmed that everybody – including vulnerable groups with special needs, such as people with disabilities, women and girls, children, transgender people, minorities, etc. – had access to all the available services, without any discrimination, but found that the WASH schemes and services insufficiently met the special needs of vulnerable groups (average 4.5), and explained there are no special arrangements for any of these groups.

According to the PMEG members, accepted schemes had been executed successfully with the active participation of the community, ECG members and local officials. These included: waste removal and street cleaning, public washrooms at the hospital and the Revenue Board Office, street pavements and streetlights, drainage lines in some Mohallahs, cleaning of the main drain of Muzaffargarh and rehabilitation of a park. They estimated that 10% of people in the two Union Councils now had access to clean water and proper sanitation. Although some services had been provided to all Mohallahs (such as the handcarts for garbage removal, which could not be found in other parts of the city), the Mohallahs with the most powerful lobby groups had gained the most. Overall, the PMEG members felt that there had not been any discrimination and the needs of vulnerable groups (such as people with disabilities, women and girls, transgender people, children, etc.) had been adequately met (average CV score 6.7). Also, the government officials felt that the WASH services adequately meet the needs of vulnerable groups (average CV score 7.3).

*No WASH schemes or works had been implemented in the Mohallahs of Kotla Haji Shah (the comparison area). Nobody could access any WASH facilities in the area. People were using unsafe sources for drinking water. Each home had its own drain system. The Numbardar<sup>37</sup> donated land for a tube well for safe drinking water, announced by the provincial government, but it was still pending. This was confirmed by all stakeholders involved in the research.*

*The PHED (Public Health Engineering Department) of the district of Layyah reported that 12 clean water schemes were functional, but these were all in rural areas and largely insufficient. A sanitation and sewerage system existed, but it was not optimal and still needed a lot of work. Only 20 to 25% of the district had clean water and 25 to 30% had access to the sanitation and sewerage system. Campaigns had started in many areas for raising awareness around WASH.*

## 5.4.5 Changes in relationships due to adequate WASH delivery (link 5 in the Theory of Change)

### Trust and equality

#### SINDH PROVINCE

Both the women and the men from the Mohallahs in both UC #3 and UC #4 expressed their confidence in the ECG leaders, but only for those that had been active and cooperative. Both also found the ECG leaders relatively accessible, although in general the men felt they had more access to their leaders and more control over the relationship than the women. Both also found that the ECG leaders had been elected in a fair and transparent way, and they were able to make changes in case of misbehaviour or underperformance (average CV score 8.7 in UC #3 and 8.0 in UC #4), although the women were slightly less positive than the men, particularly in UC #4. In UC #4, people mentioned that they had gained independence from ‘the goodwill of noble persons’ or middlemen, as they now can lean on their ECG leaders to help them solve their problems. All were also quite positive about their ECG leaders’ knowledge and sensitivity to the special needs of vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, women and girls, transgender people, children, minorities, etc. (average CV scores 9.0 in UC #3 and 8.4 in UC #4). The local government officials were all anonymously quite positive about this (average CV score 8.7).

All ECG members also confirmed that all active ECG members were eligible for ECG leadership provided that they are residents (not temporary visitors), can write proposals and go to the Union Council office to attend the UC-level ECG meetings. All confirmed that transgender people, people with disabilities, homemakers or anyone else could become an ECG leader if they met these criteria. The women from the Mohallahs in UC #4 mentioned that therefore only *‘educated and active women, who can go to the offices for meetings without their husbands’* can become leaders. All ECG members also felt that the ECGs paid sufficient attention to the specific needs of disabled people, women and girls, transgender people, minorities and other vulnerable groups.

In their individual scorings, ECG members in UC #3 agreed with the statement that vulnerable groups do not need special attention for their specific needs (average 7.5). In the group discussions, they argued that sufficient attention is already paid to these groups, therefore no further special effort is needed. The men for instance said that the focus of the ECGs is on the needs of low-caste communities, while according to the women special attention also goes to the issues of disabled people and minorities. The Bukhari Mohallah was mentioned as the example: most ECG members there were from the Bagri community, a low-caste Hindu community, and the ECGs there were very active and successful.

The ECG leaders in UC #3, as well as the ECG members and leaders in UC #4 and the local officials of Dadu city, all rejected the idea that vulnerable groups would not require any special attention for their specific needs (average CV scores 3.1, 2.2 and 0.0 respectively). In UC #4, ECG leaders emphasized that the ECGs must focus on marginalized and vulnerable groups because no one else is supporting them, and they gave the example of a special hand pump that had been installed at the house of a disabled person.

*The picture of trust in leadership, equality and sensitivity to the special needs of vulnerable groups looked entirely different in UC #2 (the comparison Union Council in Qambar Shahdad Kot). The people in the Mohallahs there reported that they don't have any leaders, and don't trust anyone. According to the men, 'Some people are educated, but are not solving our issues or helping in solving the problems'. According to the women, 'Nobody thinks about others or about solving the issues of the community'. Both the men and the women from the Mohallahs felt that women cannot be leaders because their culture does not permit women to go to offices, and because women also have no education and therefore don't have the capacity to discuss the problems of the community. According to the UC leaders, people don't trust one another because the community lacks cohesion.*

#### **TEXT BOX 11 – THE LACK OF COHESION AND TRUST IN UC #2 (SINDH)**

*'They are from different castes and villages and not united to choose a leadership. We visit offices, but the people do not believe us. They think that we work only for ourselves. Officers do not respond to us and therefore issues don't get solved. Because things don't get solved, people don't trust us.'* Union Council leaders in UC #2

### **PROVINCE OF PUNJAB**

Both women and men ECG members and leaders in both Bhuttapur and Lutkaran expressed their confidence in the leaders of both the Mohallah- and the UC-level ECGs, and felt they were more accessible and were listening to people's needs and working better than other leaders. All groups found that the ECG leaders were elected in fair and transparent ways, and felt they had the power to make changes to the leadership in case of misbehaviour or underperformance (average CV score 7.5 in both Union Councils).

All groups also confirmed that anyone – including transgender people, people with disabilities, homemakers, etc. – could become a leader, provided that the person is literate, honest, confident, reliable, responsible and hardworking, and has the right relationships with government officials and other resourceful people. They said that even women homemakers and young women can become leaders so long as they 'can give enough time' and 'have permission from home' to do social work. One woman in the group discussion in Lutkaran declared that she would not recommend nomads for leadership, saying, '*They have no permanent status so cannot be selected as leaders. Nomads are not part of us.*' Another woman responded that if nomads have the above-mentioned qualities, then they are eligible for leadership as much as others.

The ECG members in Bhuttapur were far more positive than in Lutkaran about their ECG leaders' capacity to influence government, mobilize resources and get the Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plans (UPIDP) implemented (average CV score 8.8 compared to 5.4). The government officials did not entirely agree with this (average CV score 4.3). The ECG leaders themselves felt that they did have the capacity (average CV score 6.2 and 6.7), but admitted that some of the leaders hadn't been performing well due to personal issues and capacity constraints.

The ECG members in Bhuttapur were also more positive, compared with those in Lutkaran, about their ECG leaders' awareness and sensitivity to the special needs of vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, women and girls, transgender people, etc. (average CV score 7.6 compared to 5.7). On the other hand, the ECG leaders in Bhuttapur were less positive about this than in Lutkaran (average CV score 5.2 compared to 7.6) and explained that their attempts to support these vulnerable groups had been undermined by influential people and higher-level officials who refused to acknowledge that these groups have special needs. Indeed, all local government officials entirely supported the idea that no special attention or treatment is needed for these groups (average CV score 10). ECG leaders in both Union Councils on their part firmly disagreed (average CV score 1.3), while the ECG members generally felt that fair and equal attention had been paid to the WASH needs of all community members, without discrimination, and

that no special arrangements were needed for vulnerable groups (average CV score 6.0 in both Union Councils).

*The women in the Mohallahs of Kotla Haji Shah (the comparison Union Council in Layyah) felt that people with disabilities could not be leaders because of their mobility issues, but that people from all other groups could become leaders – including homemakers who ‘would be good leaders because they are used to managing their households so they know how to manage things well.’*

*The women did not believe that any of the leaders in their Union Council represented or defended their priorities and needs with regard to WASH. They felt that generally the leaders were incapable of influencing higher-level government bodies, mobilizing resources, and attracting experts and service providers to address the communities’ WASH needs (average CV score 2.2). By contrast, the Council and Tehsil officials felt they were fully capable (average CV score 10). The women further felt that the leaders were unaware of and insensitive to the special WASH needs of vulnerable groups (average CV score 3.4), while the Council and Tehsil leaders felt they understood and addressed them very well (average CV score 10). Last, the women firmly disagreed with the idea that vulnerable groups would not require special consideration for their specific WASH needs (average CV score 2.4), while the local officials said they did not know (which was contradictory to their earlier scorings).*

## Relationship with local government

### SINDH PROVINCE

According to the reports of CSSP (Oxfam’s local partner in charge of the IUWGA project in Sindh), there had been an important improvement in communities’ relationships with the government line

#### TEXT BOX 12 – THE LACK OF TRUST IN KOTLA HAJI SHAH (PUNJAB)

*‘No, we don’t have trust in them. They make decisions on a political basis. They only want to know about our issues and problems on election days for getting votes. They otherwise don’t care. They give jobs, water pumps and sewing machines to their relatives.’ Women from the Mohallahs in Kotla Haji Shah*

departments, which indicates the empowering value of the ECGs. Before the project, there was a deadlock in relationships between the communities and the local authorities and in particular the Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA). All improvements are attributable to the functioning of the ECGs. Communities are now confident to lobby the government offices, share their issues and concerns, and hold the authorities accountable for addressing the issues, which in and by itself is a major achievement. This was also confirmed by the TMA officials.

The ECG members from both Union Councils admitted that none of the relationships with local government authorities had existed before the project, and therefore all should be considered as a positive improvement. The ECG leaders

however generally felt that the relationship with the TMA had improved insufficiently, as the TMA was mostly still inaccessible. The elected Councillors were found highly accessible, with the ECG leaders having a greater influence, but this relationship was found less important. The relationship with the Municipal Chairman (MC) was also found less important and less accessible, but this was attributed to the fact that the MC had only come into power in the last year of the project.<sup>38</sup>

The ECG members in both Union Councils generally felt that they have not gained any more insight into the local government’s plans and budgets for WASH in their area than three years ago (average CV score 9.8), so there has been no improvement in terms of transparency. Moreover, they felt that District and Tehsil authorities don’t have much of a better understanding of the communities’ WASH needs than three years ago (average CV score 6.6), indicating that local government remains far removed from these marginalized communities. This was also confirmed by the local government officials (average CV score 8.7).

In UC #3, both the male and the female ECG members reported that the relationship with local government authorities had improved *during* the project, but weakened again after the project closed, as the contacts between community and government and the service delivery to the Mohallahs declined. In UC #4, the male ECG members and leaders reported that, due to the efforts of the ECGs, local government authorities are privileging less their political party members and constituents in conducting WASH works. The women ECG members reported that the press/media had become more accessible but it was not trustworthy, as its members request payments for writing about people's issues while refusing to write anything negative about the government.

*In UC #2 (the comparison Union Council), however, the situation described by the people from the Mohallahs shows a much more negative picture, resembling the situation in UC #3 and UC #4 before the project. They said they had no relationship with the local authorities, and the situation had only worsened in the past years. Union Council leaders said government officials are only interested in their community when it is election time. The local government officials claimed that people are satisfied since they have not heard any complaints.*

## PROVINCE OF PUNJAB

In both Bhuttapur and Lutkaran, ECG members and leaders (both women and men) felt that generally there had been a significant improvement in relationships between the communities and the local government authorities at the level of Councillors and the TMA. This was also confirmed by the government officials, who attributed the improvement to the functioning of the ECGs, which they said form '*a bridge between the people and the government*'. The Councillors and the TMA had become more accessible (from low to moderate) and the community had gained some influence and control over the relationships (from zero to low), due to the people's improved awareness and organization around their rights.

In Bhuttapur, ECG members and leaders reported that UFAQ (Oxfam's local partner in charge of the project in Punjab) had gained influence on the District Council Officer (DCO) during the project. Consequently, there had also been a positive change in their relationship with the DCO in terms of importance and accessibility (from low to moderate), attributable to both UFAQ's interventions and the work of the ECGs (established by UFAQ/Oxfam). Their relationships with the government authorities had remained important even one year after project closure, due to the ongoing activism of some ECG leaders. The members highly valued the accessibility of health workers from the Health Department, and of social activists who had become Councillors or ECG leaders. Also, UFAQ had maintained a relationship with both the local government authorities and the ECGs. However, UFAQ had become significantly less accessible (from high to low) after project closure, and the government's accessibility had declined (from moderate to low) after UFAQ's departure, resulting in a decline in ECG activity.

In Lutkaran, there was no mention of a relationship with the DCO, and the male members generally felt that the change in the relationships between the ECG leaders and the TMA and Councillors had been insufficient; therefore, ECGs had ceased functioning. The male ECG leaders further explained that Council-level government had only been established in the last year of the project.

Overall, ECG members and leaders felt that the communities did not have any more insight into the government's plans and budgets for WASH in their area than before (average CV score 7.0 in Bhuttapur and 6.4 in Lutkaran), and the local government authorities did not have any better understanding of the communities' WASH needs (average CV score 6.6 in Bhuttapur and 6.0 in Lutkaran). The government officials were left somewhere in the middle (average CV scores 5.0 and 5.5). The women in Lutkaran did not entirely agree that government had not gained a better understanding of communities' needs (average CV score 4.7). They felt that people were generally biased against the officials. In the ECG meetings with the officials, they had observed that some officials were kind and eager to help and had a positive attitude towards the ECGs; this had opened their eyes and built trust. Moreover, the training the women had received from UFAQ had



made them more aware of their citizen rights, which had helped them to engage with the government and build positive and collaborative relationships.

All ECG members and leaders confirmed that UFAQ had been tremendously important to the communities for building relationships with local authorities that did not exist before, which remained very important to date. All groups also confirmed that UFAQ had always been in control of all the relationships, and therefore, without its presence and engagement, relationships could not survive. Because this engagement and accessibility had declined after project closure, the relationships between the ECGs and the government authorities had also declined.

*According to the women from the Mohallahs of Kotla Haji Shah (the comparison Union Council in Layyah), there is no relationship between the communities and the local government authorities. The Council and Tehsil leaders reported a huge distance between government and communities, and no relationship.*

## Impact and sustainability

The District officials in both Dadu (Sindh) and Muzaffargarh (Punjab) reported a significant difference in WASH delivery and the relationships in the Union Councils where the project had been implemented compared to other Union Councils in their districts. People were well informed and actively engaged in the project Union Councils. There was increased interaction between citizens and government officials. The communities came to know the process of writing applications and working with the TMA for solving issues and implementing WASH schemes. People were also more aware of the need for WASH and how to make use of the schemes. CSSP's final report mentions a decrease of 24% in water-borne diseases observed by the District Health Department and private healthcare facilities<sup>39</sup> in UC #3 and UC #4 as the result of the project interventions and the way WASH was delivered to the communities.

In their response to whether there is a need for scaling up Oxfam and partner's WASH governance model within the districts, government officials in both Dadu (Sindh) and Muzaffargarh (Punjab) felt that the focus should remain on the urban areas,<sup>40</sup> in particular the suburbs and slums, for two important reasons. First, these areas form the biggest threat to public health due to the exponential population growth, and people and officials lack awareness and capacity to address the problems. So that is where the focus of capacity building for participatory citizen engagement and governance should be. Second, the administrative structure and functioning in these urban areas is (due to the new Local Government Acts, cf. Section 5.1) significantly different from the rural areas, and therefore require a different model for citizen engagement in government planning and budgeting.

To ensure that the positive outcomes as described above are sustained, the officials argued that *'the ECGs should not be limited to the project duration: there should be continuity of their work'* and *'there should be ongoing support from civil society organizations to the communities to motivate people and engage them as citizens'*. Officials in Muzaffargarh also mentioned the need for economic incentives for people to remain engaged in social development work.

Oxfam's international and regional WASH experts agreed that more time and effort is needed, and that social empowerment should be linked to economic empowerment. Moreover, there is a need to achieve a critical mass of citizen engagement to enforce downward accountability from local government and get communities' WASH plans and proposals incorporated into the District's Annual Development Planning to ensure sufficient funds. To achieve this, the WASH governance model would need to be implemented in more Union Councils, to increase the scale. Additional



data collected from a non-project Union Council called Ladhana, neighbouring the comparison Union Council Kotla Haji Shah in Layyah, seems to suggest the same.

In Ladhana, another initiative was found that in many respects resembled Oxfam and partner's WASH governance model, but it was focused on *rural* (not *urban*) development and was *broad*er than WASH. Although the data on this case could **not** be used as a comparison for assessing the IUWGA project's impact contributions,<sup>41</sup> it may still be useful for learning about 'what's next' to improve the model further and aim for greater impact and sustainability. From the mixed group discussions in Ladhana, it appeared that, at least in this Union Council, the initiative's model was more mature but suffering similar problems to Oxfam and partner's model.

The initiative in Ladhana is part of what is called the Rural Support Programmes Network (RSPN),<sup>42</sup> which is well known in Pakistan due its scale and impact. According to the head of the Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) in Lahore, who conducted the field inquiries for this evaluation, the RSPN's major success is attributable to three important factors:

- its holistic approach linking social and economic empowerment;
- its focus on building community-driven institutions called Local Support Organizations (LSOs); and
- its achievement of scale through the networking of LSOs into associations.

In Ladhana, some members of an LSO were found to be, among other things, working on WASH. The LSO was relatively successful (average CV score 7.1) as it had given people a voice (average CV score 8.7). Similar to the ECGs, the LSO had no restriction on membership, as long as people were actively engaged. Nearly half of the members were women, and membership rules were found to be clear and fair (average CV score 8.3). Leaders were elected fairly and transparently every three years and trusted by the members (average CV score 7.0). Meetings for discussing problems and planning actions were held on a monthly basis, and decisions were made by voting. LSO leaders met with District and Tehsil government officials three to four times a year, and were generally found reasonably capable of influencing the government and mobilizing resources (average CV score 6.6).

Like the project Union Councils, however, the local government's responsiveness scored quite low (average 3.3) due to a lack of capacity and funds. A drinking water plant had been installed in a school, paid for by the community, and the LSO had been able to solve minor WASH problems, but for bigger constructions such as sewerage it needed the help of the District. Reportedly, the Union Council had not received any funds or support from the District because its chairman was part of the opposition. The LSO had an accountability group that monitored its activities (including on WASH) and seemed to be better known and owned by the community (average CV score 6.4 and score 7.4) than the Participatory M&E Group (PMEG) in Oxfam and partner's WASH governance model, but less focused on ensuring effective delivery on the promises made by the local government and service providers (average CV score 5.4).

This case shows that effective citizenship initiatives, implemented over longer periods of time and at scale,<sup>43</sup> can reach greater levels of maturity and empowerment (e.g. building people's self-confidence and increasing trust in the community's ability to resolve complex problems), but in and

#### TEXT BOX 13 – THE DIFFERENCE IN THE PROJECT UNION COUNCILS, ACCORDING TO DISTRICT OFFICIALS

In Dadu, the officials gave the example of a water treatment plant that had been constructed in a Union Council that was not part of the project: *'The community members don't make proper use of the treated water. They waste safe drinking water to wash their vehicles. People also stole the sanitary fittings of the tanks. The scheme was damaged by the community. If there would have been an ECG, this would never have happened. The ECG would have taken care of that scheme, and made people aware of its importance. In Union Councils without ECGs, there is no awareness and responsibility.'*

by itself cannot address the fundamental problem of lack of capacity and accountability on the part of local government. Other mechanisms are needed to address this problem.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To fully appreciate the value and effectiveness of Oxfam and partner's urban WASH governance model, it is essential to understand the context. Pakistan is, in terms of government structure, extremely complex. A decentralization process has taken place in the last five years, involving the devolution of responsibilities from the provinces to the local government levels and a reform of the local government structure. This reform happened in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh right at the time that the Improving Urban WASH Governance and Accountability (IUWGA) project was implemented (April 2015 – March 2017). Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs) were formed and relationships between communities and local authorities built in the period when a battle was raging for local power: Pakistan's first local democratic elections took place in the project area in the last year of its implementation (cf. Section 5.1.1).

The challenges this project faced were immense, and its achievements in terms of political empowerment and adequate WASH delivery on citizens' priorities are therefore impressive. In only two years, the project was quite successful at organizing communities around their citizen rights and responsibilities, and enabling women to engage in community planning and advocacy. But due to the lack of government responsiveness and accountability, and the dominant norms and gender patterns, the efforts have proven insufficient to render the achievements sustainable. Participatory citizenship and empowerment require more time, thus more and persistent effort, with special attention paid to both the formal and informal aspects of gender (cf. Hillenbrand, Karim, Wu, & Mohanraj, 2015, p. 11). Moreover, other interventions and mechanisms are needed to address the issues of local government capacity, answerability and responsiveness (cf. Ali, 2018, p. 5).

### TEXT BOX 14 – LOCAL GOVERNMENT CAPACITY AND REVENUE

*'Effective local governments in Pakistan cannot exist without substantive fiscal and administrative devolution. They also need capacity development to enhance their responsiveness and effectiveness. The issues of capacity and revenue generation are interlinked: the increased capacity of local governments can enable them to raise more of their own resources; the greater availability of their own resources in turn increases their capacity to more effectively address the needs of their constituencies.'*

(Ali, 2018, p. 5)

With the local government reforms and elections now coming to an end, there is a window of opportunity to further improve and develop this model, make it sustainable and enable it to go to scale. As a rights-based organization known for its transformative 'poverty-to-power' work,<sup>44</sup> Oxfam cannot walk away after investing merely two years in building and testing a promising new model without seeing it through. Therefore, the following actions are recommended:

- A. Continue providing limited support to the Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs) in Muzaffargarh and Dadu,** focused on organizing the groups and further building their relationship with the new local government authorities responsible for WASH.
- B. Make improvements to the urban WASH governance model in Lahore by:**
- **strengthening its gender strategy**<sup>45</sup> by working on both formal and informal gender aspects and integrating the four powers ('power to', 'power with', 'power within' and 'power over') (Cf. Hillenbrand, Karim, Wu, & Mohanraj, 2015: pp. 10-11);
  - **investing more in building the capacity of the Participatory M&E Groups (PMEGs)** to engage the ECGs and local authorities in the monitoring and evaluation of its activities and results;
  - **adding an economic empowerment component** that is centred on WASH but creates clear economic benefits of being organized in order to render the ECGs more sustainable.
- C. Expand the project with:**
- **an accountability and transparency component** that could help to build planning and budgeting capacity of the Municipal/Town Committees and Union Councils and provide them with tools for annual participatory development planning and reporting;
  - **a technical capacity-building component** that provides tools for ongoing mapping of urban expansion (e.g. community-led mapping: <https://www.iied.org/urban-development-too-complicated-for-us>) and for making WASH plans and budgets accessible to the communities via an online portal already developed by the project.
- D. Build a powerful coalition** with international partners<sup>46</sup> and donors<sup>47</sup> that can help with these new components by providing the necessary expertise or even leading on these new components and mobilizing the necessary resources.
- E. Test the improved and expanded model in different contexts**<sup>48</sup> to learn how it can be implemented and sustained under different circumstances, and thus develop a robust and improved 'proof of concept'.
- F. Build a movement that can further promote and support the adoption of the model in other cities,** through:
- **building a critical mass of ECGs** as strong, sustainable, elected urban grassroots community organizations at the Mohallah and Union Council levels, centred around WASH but with clear social and economic benefits of organization on a sustainable basis (thus combining social with economic empowerment);
  - **linking the ECGs of the different urban areas into a network** and building its ECG leadership capacity to sustain the urban grassroots movement.<sup>49</sup>

#### TEXT BOX 15 – SUMMARY OF THE IUWGA PROJECT'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Outcomes in terms of adequate and satisfactory delivery on the communities' WASH priorities were quite impressive. Nearly all of the approved WASH schemes in Dadu and part of the approved schemes in Muzaffargarh had been successfully completed. Drinking water was still lacking in UC #4 (Dadu), and in both Districts there had been a decline in the sanitary services after project closure. But apart from this, all other implemented schemes had been working well to date. The evidence on effective citizenship, government responsiveness, social accountability and changes in relationships moreover shows the empowering value of the way in which these outcomes were achieved, which would not have occurred without the mechanisms put in place by the project. Communities and authorities in all project Union Councils found the Effective Citizen Groups (ECGs) highly successful and of great value. The ECGs enabled people to collectively undertake action to resolve their WASH issues, and gave them a voice. Through the ECGs, people felt empowered to engage with government. Particularly women felt empowered by their increased awareness of their rights and the communities' recognition of their roles as citizens.

Improvements in the relationships within the communities and between the communities and the local authorities were significant. In all project Union Councils, evidence shows an important increase in people's trust in leadership, equality and sensitivity to the needs of vulnerable groups

in the communities. Through the ECGs, communities established positive relationships with the District-, Tehsil- and Council-level authorities that did not exist before, and gained access to the different departments responsible for WASH. Government officials acknowledged the ECGs' importance and influence. There was also undoubtedly an improvement in the local government's responsiveness to the communities' WASH needs and complaints, in particular where the ECGs had been most active. ECG leaders regularly met with Tehsil Municipal Administration (TMA) and District Council (DC) officials to submit applications for resolving their WASH issues and following up on the implementation of approved schemes. ECGs actively monitored the performance of sanitary service providers, filing complaints and demanding retributive action or regulation for addressing issues of corruption and ill performance. In Muzaffargarh, the Participatory M&E Groups (PMEGs) had played an important role in supporting the ECGs in all of this and following up with the government authorities to ensure they adequately responded.

*The evidence from the comparison Union Councils shows that the project has indeed made a difference: there was no form of organization and no cohesion, or engagement of women whatsoever. People distrusted each other and their Union Council leaders, and had entirely given up on government and leadership. There was no sign of any interactions between the communities and local authorities, no WASH works, no monitoring, and no government response to the communities' requests and complaints.*

Yet government responsiveness in the four project Union Councils remained limited, and declined after the end of the project. Local authorities lacked the capacity and funds to meet the needs. Many of the ECGs' applications were rejected, and many Mohallahs remained underserved. Communities' complaints about the WASH schemes and services were often left unaddressed. Consequently, ECG functioning declined and many ECGs became inactive after the project ended. ECGs' requests and proposals were mostly not incorporated into the District's and Tehsil's annual plans and budgets, and there had been little or no change in terms of transparency. The fundamental lack of capacity, answerability and transparency on the part of local government authorities undermined the potential and sustainability of Oxfam and partner's urban WASH governance model, which the PMEG by itself was unable to prevent or address. Moreover, the evidence also showed that no fundamental changes had occurred in the conditions that limit women's participation and perpetuate their marginalization. Overall, women were still found less suitable for ECG membership and leadership, because of their domestic and care duties, and felt more constrained than men did in their interactions with their leaders. Furthermore, women ECG leaders had been unable to sustain their ECG meetings and activities after the end of the project.

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# ANNEXES

## Annex 1: Overview of methods, sources and participants

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	UNION COUNCIL	METHOD AND SOURCE	GENDER	#
Punjab	Layyah	<i>District-level</i>	KII Public Health Engineering Department (PHED)	male	1
			KII Sanitation Engineer Municipal Committee	male	1
		Kotla Haji Shah (KHS)	GI Local Government UC	male	3
			CV Mohallah UC Welfare Society	female	10
			CV Mohallah Female	female	6
			RA Mohallah Male	male	7
			CV Mohallah Youth	mixed	7
			RA Mohalla Youth	mixed	
		Ladhana	CV UC Local Social Organization Mixed	mixed	7
			RA UC Local Social Organization Mixed	mixed	
	Muzaffargarh	<i>District-level</i>	GI District Government	male	4
			KII TMO	male	1
			GI PMEG	male	3
			KII PMEG	male	1
			KII PMEG	male	1
			KII PMEG	trans-gender	1
		Bhuttapur	CV Mohallah Female	female	8
			RA Mohallah Female	female	4
			CV Mohallah Male	male	11
			RA Mohallah Male	male	6
			CV UC Female	female	5
			RA UC Female	female	3
			CV UC Male	male	7
			RA UC Male	male	
			KII UC ECG	female	1
		Lutkaran	CV Mohallah Female	female	4
			RA Mohallah Female	female	8
			CV Mohallah Male	male	7



			RA Mohallah Male	male	5
			KII Mohallah ECG	female	1
			CV UC Male	male	5
			RA UC Male	male	6
			CV UC Female	female	2
			RA UC Female	female	9
			KII UC ECG	female	1
			KII UC ECG	female	1
Sindh	Dadu	District-level	GI PMEG	male	5
			GI TMA & LG	male	6
		UC #3	CV Mohallah Female	female	8
			RA Mohallah Female	female	
			CV Mohallah Male	male	8
			RA Mohallah Male	male	
			RA UC Female	female	4
			CV UC Female	female	
			CV UC Male	male	6
			RA UC Male	male	
		UC #4	CV Mohallah Female	female	9
			RA Mohallah Female	female	
			CV Mohallah Male	male	10
			RA Mohallah Male	male	
			CV UC Female	female	6
			RA UC Female	female	
			CV UC Male	male	4
			RA UC Male	male	
	Qambar Shahdad Kot	District-level	GI LG	male	6
		UC #2	CV Mohallah Female	female	12
			CV Mohallah Male	male	9
			CV UC Leaders Mixed	mixed	4
TOTAL:				244	

## Annex 2:

### Aggregated Constituent Voice (CV) scores

Constituent Voice (CV), also called Constituent Feedback (see [www.keystoneaccountability.org](http://www.keystoneaccountability.org)), is a lithe and low-cost methodology for systematic listening to, and engaging in dialogue with, key constituents in the development process as the basis for performance monitoring, giving them real voice in defining, assessing, explaining and debating success. CV scores are on a scale from 1 to 10, with lower scores indicating statements seen as less true and higher scores indicating statements seen as more true, as shown below.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NA		Absolutely untrue		Kind of untrue		Kind of true		Absolutely true		

Aggregated CV scores are presented in the following tables. Scores for positive statements are shown in black text and scores for negative statements are shown in red text.

Geographic Area				CV Scores on Effective Citizenship								
Province	District	UC		ECG purpose & success		ECG member-ship	Voice & empowerment					
				S1			S2	S3	S4		S5	
				ECGs	Loc Gov				ECGs	ECGs	ECGs	Loc Gov
Punjab	Muzaffargarh	Buttapur	(Project)	7.1	3.0	8.5	8.6	7.0	4.0	6.7	0.7	
		Lutkaran	(Project)	6.2		6.9	7.5	8.1		5.6		
	Layyah	KHS	(Comparison)	1.3	0.0	0.0	NA	1.4	1.7	1.3	0.3	
		Ladhana	(Non-Project)	7.1		8.3	8.7	5.0		5.3		
Sindh	Dadu	UC3	(Project)	8.2	7.0	7.1	8.0	8.0	2.7	6.8	9.2	
		UC4	(Project)	9.1		8.3	8.4	8.6		9.2		
	QSK	UC2	(Comparison)	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	4.3	0.0	2.3	

Geographic Area			CV Scores on Government Responsiveness									
Province	District	UC	Citizen's influence					Transparency		Capacity		
			S3 (answerability)		S4 (responsiveness)			S1		S2		
			ECGs	Loc Gov	ECGs	Loc Gov	PMEG	ECGs	Loc Gov	ECGs	Loc Gov	PMEG
Punjab	Muzaffargarh	Buttapur (Project)	4.2	3.3	3.7	4.0	3.0	3.4	1.5	5.3	7.3	2.7
		Lutkaran (Project)	3.3		4.4			2.7		2.6	7.3	
	Layyah	KHS (Comparison)	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.3		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
		Ladhana (Non-Project)	5.4		9.3			5.4		3.3	0.0	
Sindh	Dadu	UC3 (Project)	0.0	0.0	1.4	3.2	2.8	0.0	0.0	1.5	6.0	3.4
		UC4 (Project)	0.0		1.5			0.8		1.1	6.0	
	QSK	UC2 (Comparison)	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.7		0.0	3.3	0.0	5.8	

Geographic Area			CV Scores on Social Accountability														
Province	District	UC	PMEG role & success			How social?			PMEG functioning			Accountability					
			ECGs	S2 Loc Gov	PMEG	ECGs	S1 Loc Gov	PMEG	ECGs	S3 Loc Gov	PMEG	ECGs	S4 Loc Gov	PMEG	ECGs	S5 Loc Gov	PMEG
Punjab	Muzaffargarh	Buttapur (Project)	7.4			7.4			8.1			3.2			7.0		
		Lutkaran (Project)	2.5	5.0	6.7	4.6	4.3	5.7	4.0	4.5	6.7	3.4	5.0	4.7	3.7	6.0	6.3
	Layyah	KHS (Comparison)	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
		Ladhana (Non-Project)	6.4						4.3			7.4			5.4		
Sindh	Dadu	UC3 (Project)				0.0						0.0					
		UC4 (Project)	0.0		9.6	0.0	0.0	9.0	0.0		9.6	0.0		9.6	2.5	0.0	8.4
	OSK	UC2 (Comparison)	0.0	0.0		0.0	6.5		0.0	7.7		0.0	3.2		0.0	7.3	

Geographic Area			CV Scores on Adequate WASH Delivery						
Province	District	UC	Delivery on citizen's priorities S1 ECGs	Quality of delivery			Equitable access		
				S2			S3		
				ECGs	Loc Gov	PMEG	ECGs	Loc Gov	PMEG
Punjab	Muzaffargarh	Buttapur (Project)	5.4	6.7	0.3	5.3	7.2	7.3	6.7
		Lutkaran (Project)	5.3	4.5			4.5		
	Layyah	KHS (Comparison)	10.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	1.0	
		Ladhana (Non-Project)	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	
Sindh	Dadu	UC3 (Project)	7.3	6.9	8.8	7.6	6.0	8.7	7.4
		UC4 (Project)	6.0	7.7			7.9		
	QSK	UC2 (Comparison)	9.4	0.0	8.3		0.0	7.7	

Geographic Area			CV Scores on Changes in Relationships										
Province	District	UC	Trust in leadership				Equality		Relationship with local gov				
			S1 ECGs	S2 ECGs      Loc Gov		S3 ECGs      Loc Gov		S4 ECGs      Loc Gov		S5 ECGs      Log Gov		S6 ECGs      Loc Gov	
Punjab	Muzaffargarh	Buttapur (Project)	7.5	6.4	3.8	7.5	4.3	3.7	10.0	6.6	5.5	7.0	5.0
		Lutkaran (Project)	7.5	6.6		6.1		6.4		6.0		6.4	
	Layyah	KHS (Comparison)	2.0	0.9	10.0	0.6	10.0	0.6	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.3	1.3
		Ladhana (Non-Project)	7.0	4.5	0.0	6.6	0.0	5.9	0.0	9.0	0.0	9.1	0.0
Sindh	Dadu	UC3 (Project)	8.7	9.0	8.7	7.0	2.7	5.3	0.0	4.5	8.7	9.7	10.0
		UC4 (Project)	8.0	8.4		8.2		2.2		6.6		9.8	
	QSK	UC2 (Comparison)	0.0	0.0	7.3	0.0	6.0	1.5	0.0	6.8	6.2	7.5	10.0

## Annex 3: UC-specific Constituent Voice (CV) scores

Constituent Voice (CV), also called Constituent Feedback (see [www.keystoneaccountability.org](http://www.keystoneaccountability.org)), is a lithe and low-cost methodology for systematic listening to, and engaging in dialogue with, key constituents in the development process as the basis for performance monitoring, giving them real voice in defining, assessing, explaining and debating success. CV scores are on a scale from 1 to 10, with lower scores indicating statements seen as less true and higher scores indicating statements seen as more true, as shown below.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NA		Absolutely untrue			Kind of untrue			Kind of true		Absolutely true

UC-specific CV scores are presented in the following tables. Scores for positive statements are shown in black text and scores for negative statements are shown in red text.

Project UC Butthapur:

		Effective Citizenship					Government Responsiveness					Social Accountability					Adequate WASH Delivery			Changes in relationships					
		ECG purpose & success	ECG membership	Voice & empowerment			Citizen's influence		Transparency	Governance capacity	PMEG role & success	How social?	PMEG functioning	Accountability		Delivery on citizen's priorities	Quality of delivery	Equitable access	Trust in leadership			Equality		Relationship with local gov	
		S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S1	S2	S2	S1	S3	S4	S5	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	
Mohallah-	Women	5.5	9.8	10.0	6.1	6.6										6.5	6.5	8.3	7.5	8.9	9.1	8.1	6.8	10.0	
	Men	6.9	7.8	8.9	7.6	8.4										4.3	6.8	6.0	7.8	6.2	8.4	3.9	6.6	6.3	
UC-level	Women	7.2	8.2	7.0	6.4	4.0	4.4	4.8	2.8	4.6				0.0					7.2	6.0	5.6	2.2	5.4	5.8	
	Men	8.6	8.0	8.6	8.0	7.8	3.9	2.6	3.9	6.0	7.4	7.4	8.1	6.3	7.0				7.6	4.4	6.7	0.4	7.4	6.0	
District-level	Local Gov	3.0			4.0	0.7	3.3	4.0	1.5	7.3	5.0	4.3	4.5	5.0	6.0		0.3	7.3		3.8	4.3	10.0	5.5	5.0	
	PMEG							3.0		2.7	6.7	5.7	6.7	4.7	6.3			5.3		6.7					
Average ECG		7.1	8.5	8.6	7.0	6.7	4.2	3.7	3.4	5.3	7.4	7.4	8.1	3.2	7.0	5.4	6.7	7.2	7.5	6.4	7.5	3.7	6.6	7.0	
Average Local Gov		3.0			4.0	0.7	3.3	4.0	1.5	7.3	5.0	4.3	4.5	5.0	6.0		0.3	7.3		3.8	4.3	10.0	5.5	5.0	
Average PMEG								3.0		2.7	6.7	5.7	6.7	4.7	6.3		5.3	6.7							

## Project UC Lutkaran:

		Effective Citizenship					Government Responsiveness					Social Accountability					Adequate WASH Delivery			Changes in relationships					
		ECG purpose & success		ECG membership		Voice & empowerment			Citizen's influence		Transparency	Governance capacity	PMEG role & success	How social?	PMEG functioning	Accountability		Delivery on citizen's priorities	Quality of delivery	Equitable access	Trust in leadership		Equality	Relationship with local gov	
LEVEL	GROUP	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S1	S2	S2	S2	S1	S3	S4	S5	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6
Mohallah	Women	5.8	5.0	4.0	7.5	4.0											5.0	3.8	4.3	7.0	5.3	5.5	5.4	4.6	6.0
	Men	7.3	8.0	9.6	8.7	6.9											5.6	5.1	4.6	7.6	6.1	5.3	6.4	6.6	6.1
UC	Women	4.5	5.8	7.5	8.5	6.0	2.8	4.8	0.0				4.0	4.0	2.8	2.8				7.0	7.7	7.0	8.2	4.8	6.0
	Men	7.2	8.6	8.8	7.8	5.3	3.8	4.0	5.4	5.2	5.0	4.6	4.0	4.0	4.6				8.4	7.4	6.4	5.5	7.8	7.4	
District	Local Gov	3.0			4.0	0.7	3.3	4.0	1.5	7.3	5.0	4.3	4.5	5.0	6.0			0.3	7.3		3.8	4.3	10.0	5.5	5.0
	PMEG							3.0		2.7	6.7	5.7	6.7	4.7	6.3										
Average ECG		6.2	6.9	7.5	8.1	5.6	3.3	4.4	2.7	2.6	2.5	4.6	4.0	3.4	3.7		5.3	4.5	4.5	7.5	6.6	6.1	6.4	6.0	6.4
Average Local Gov		3.0			4.0	0.7	3.3	4.0	1.5	7.3	5.0	4.3	4.5	5.0	6.0			0.3	7.3		3.8	4.3	10.0	5.5	5.0
Average PMEG								3.0		2.7	6.7	5.7	6.7	4.7	6.3										

## Comparison UC KHS:

		Effective Citizenship					Government Responsiveness					Social Accountability					Adequate WASH Delivery			Changes in relationships					
LEVEL	GROUP	ECG purpose & success	ECG membership	Voice & empowerment		Citizen's influence	S4	Transparency	Governance capacity	PMEG role & success	How social?	PMEG functioning	Accountability		Delivery on citizen's priorities	Quality of delivery	Equitable access	S1	Trust in leadership		Equality		Relationship with local gov		
		S1	S2	S3	S4								S5	S3		S1	S2		S2	S3	S4	S5	S1	S2	S3
Mohallah	Women	5.0	0.0	NA	5.6	5.0									10.0	0.0	0.0	8.0	3.4	2.2	2.4	5.6	5.2		
UC	Men																								
	Women																								
District	Local Gov	0.0			1.7	0.3	0.3	1.3	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0		10.0	10.0					
	PMEG																								
	Average ECG	1.3	0.0	NA	1.4	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0					10.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.9	0.6	0.6	1.4	1.3		
	Average Local Gov	0.0			1.7	0.3	0.3	1.3	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0		10.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		

## Project UC #3:

		Effective Citizenship					Government Responsiveness					Social Accountability					Adequate WASH Delivery			Changes in relationships							
		ECG purpose & success		ECG membership		Voice & empowerment			Citizen's influence		Transpa- rancy	Governance capacity	PMEG role & success	How social?	PMEG functioning	Accountability		Delivery on citizen's priorities	Quality of delivery	Equitable access	Trust in leadership			Equality	Relationship with local gov		
LEVEL	GROUP	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S1	S2	S2	S1	S3	S4	S5	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6
Mohallah	Women	8.8	9.5	9.0	9.3	9.0												9.5	9.0	8.8	7.4	9.4	9.4	8.5	8.5	9.4	
	Men	4.3	5.0	4.1	4.1	2.5												5.1	4.8	3.1	8.1	7.5	3.6	2.5	2.1	10.0	
UC	Women	9.3	4.5	9.0	8.5	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8		0.0		0.0							9.3	9.0	8.5	2.5	3.0	9.3	
	Men	10.0	9.3	9.5	10.0	9.2	0.0	2.8	0.0	1.2		0.0		0.0							10.0	10.0	6.3	3.7	4.5	10.0	
District	Local Gov	7.0			2.7	9.2	0.0	3.2	0.0	6.0		0.0			0.0				8.8	8.7		10.0	8.7	2.7	0.0	8.7	10.0
	PMEG						0.0	2.8		3.4	9.6	9.0	9.6	9.6	8.4				7.6	7.4							
Average ECG		8.2	7.1	8.0	8.0	6.8	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.5		0.0		0.0		7.3	6.9	6.0	8.7	9.0	7.0	5.3	4.5	9.7			
Average Local Gov		7.0			2.7	9.2	0.0	3.2	0.0	6.0		0.0		0.0				8.8	8.7		8.7	2.7	0.0	8.7	10.0		
Average PMEG							0.0	2.8		3.4	9.6	9.0	9.6	9.6	8.4				7.6	7.4							



## Project UC #4:

		Effective Citizenship					Government Responsiveness					Social Accountability					Adequate WASH Delivery			Changes in relationships							
		ECG purpose & success		ECG membership		Voice & empowerment			Citizen's influence		Transpa- rancy	Governance capacity	PMEG role & success	How social?	PMEG functioning	Accountability		Delivery on citizen's priorities	Quality of delivery	Equitable access	Trust in leadership			Equality	Relationship with local gov		
LEVEL	GROUP	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S3	S4	S1	S2	S1	S2	S3	S1	S3	S4	S5	S1	S2	S3	S1	S2	S3	S4	S5	S6	
Mohallah	Women	8.1	8.6	8.9	8.8	8.7												5.8	9.3	7.6	6.0	8.6	9.2	3.1	7.7	10.0	
	Men	9.1	7.9	7.2	8.4	8.1												6.1	6.1	8.2	8.7	9.8	6.8	2.7	5.0	9.1	
UC	Women	9.0	7.8	7.5	8.7	9.8	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.2			0.0			0.0					7.3	7.2	8.8	1.3	6.5	10.0	
	Men	10.0	9.0	10.0	8.5	10.0	0.0	1.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0		0.0	2.5				10.0	7.8	8.0	1.5	7.3	10.0	
District	Local Gov	7.0			2.7	9.2	0.0	3.2	0.0	6.0			0.0						8.8	8.7			8.7	2.7	0.0	8.7	10.0
	PMEG							2.8		2.8	9.6	9.0	9.6	9.6	8.4				7.6	7.4							
Average ECG		9.1	8.3	8.4	8.6	9.2	0.0	1.5	0.8	1.1		9.6	9.0	9.6	9.6	8.4	2.5	6.0	7.7	7.9	8.0	8.4	8.2	2.2	6.6	9.8	
Average Local Gov		7.0			2.7	9.2	0.0	3.2	0.0	6.0			0.0			0.0	0.0		8.8	8.7		8.7	2.7	0.0	8.7	10.0	
Average PMEG								2.8		2.8	9.6	9.0	9.6	9.6	8.4				7.6	7.4							

## Comparison UC #2:

		Effective Citizenship					Government Responsiveness					Social Accountability					Adequate WASH Delivery			Changes in relationships					
LEVEL	GROUP	ECG purpose & success	ECG membership	Voice & empowerment		Citizen's influence	Transpa- rancy	Governance capacity	PMEG role & success	How social?	PMEG functioning	Accountability	Delivery on citizen's priorities	Quality of delivery	Equitable access	Trust in leadership			Equality	Relationship with local gov					
		S1	S2	S3	S4											S5	S1	S2		S3	S4	S5	S1	S2	S3
		Mohallah	Women	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0							10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1	10.0	10.0		
	Men	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0							8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	10.0				
UC	Women																								
	Men	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	10.0				
District	Local Gov	2.0			4.3	2.3	0.0	5.7	3.3	5.8		6.5	7.7	3.2	7.3				7.3	6.0	0.0	6.2	10.0		
	PMEG																								
	Average ECG	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	6.8	7.5			
	Average Local Gov	2.0			4.3	2.3	0.0	5.7	3.3	5.8	0.0	6.5	7.7	3.2	7.3		8.3	7.7		7.3	6.0	0.0	6.2	10.0	

# NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> This was the comparison Union Council in the district of Layyah in Punjab.

<sup>2</sup> The National Accountability Bureau (NAB) is an autonomous and constitutionally established federal institution responsible for building efforts against corruption. Pakistan's parliamentary committee that monitors corruption cases has criticized the NAB, however, for its unwillingness to prosecute former army officers involved in corruption scandals ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Accountability\\_Bureau](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Accountability_Bureau)).

<sup>3</sup> This was the comparison district in Sindh.

<sup>4</sup> For more information about PIALA, its elements, methods and publications, visit the website: <https://collabimpact.org/piala>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Oxfam Program Framework (OPF), pp. 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> We recommend that Oxfam develops a gender-specific strategy for this project with the support of its global and local gender experts, assigns clear responsibilities for its implementation and management, and establishes a MEL framework that can help to create greater visibility and attract more funding. Given the challenges regarding gender equality in Pakistan, extra effort and support is needed from Oxfam GB and Oxfam International. For Oxfam GB's sustainable water team, the project offers an unique opportunity to further pilot a gender-transformative model that not only creates more frequent and intensive opportunities for women to organize and meet and advocate for their water rights, but that also engages men in a dialogue to redefine their gender roles and relations in the new urban context in a way that is culturally appropriate yet also transformative, bringing real gender justice while making their communities more resilient.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, IIED could be a strong partner. IIED's work on urban new settlements has a strong international reputation (cf. <https://www.iied.org/urban>). The director for urban settlements is David Dodman.

<sup>8</sup> For example, DFID, USAID, SIDA, UN-Habitat and (for developing measurement and mapping tools) the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

<sup>9</sup> This would require putting in place a robust impact assessment and learning framework for tracking and comparing the different configurations of 'context, mechanisms and outcomes' of the model to learn how it works best in different circumstances.

<sup>10</sup> Examples are: Slum Dwellers International which is entirely built off urban grassroots organizations in multiple countries in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (cf. <http://sdinet.org/>); the 'Labour Qaumi Movement' of powerless workers in Pakistan, which started in Faisalabad in 2003 and has spread to adjacent districts in Punjab and KP; the RSPN in Pakistan (cf. <http://www.rspn.org/>), which takes a non-confrontational and evolutionary approach to movement building and is focused on rural areas.

<sup>11</sup> Although Oxfam staff and partners also mentioned other outcomes from the changes in the governance system, it was agreed from the outset that the focus of this evaluation would be exclusively on the WASH-related outcomes, given that the project had been selected under the new global 'sustainable water' thematic area.

<sup>12</sup> At the time of the evaluation, implementation had started in two new Union Councils in the City of Lahore in Punjab. The effectiveness review was therefore expected to also generate useful insights for improvement in these new sites in Lahore.

<sup>13</sup> A Mohallah is the lowest administrative level referring to a neighbourhood generally marked by a particular mosque. A Union Council forms the third tier of local government in Pakistan. Its structure and responsibilities differ between provinces and territories.

<sup>14</sup> More information and examples can be found on: <https://collabimpact.org/contribution-tracing> and <https://collabimpact.org/statistics-in-challenging-contexts>.

<sup>15</sup> It must be noted that the comparison Union Councils were not entirely free from NGO activity. However, no participatory governance or WASH activities had taken place in the selected Union Councils that would compromise their role as a comparison group for the project Union Councils.

<sup>16</sup> Also, the possibility of taking the new project Union Councils in Lahore as a comparison was considered and discussed with the partners. But Lahore is quite different from Musaffargarh and Dadu: more urban, with a better infrastructure, more services that are more widely accessible, also with extreme poverty in the suburbs but with higher levels of friction and distrust within the communities, yet better relationships with the local government. These differences made Lahore a less suitable comparison for Musaffargarh and Dadu.

<sup>17</sup> The Group Interviews (GIs) with the government authorities and with the PMEG members (cf. last column in Table 1) all used the same tools as the Constituent Voice (CV) method. However, it was not called CV because the participants were service providers and duty bearers, not constituents, and because the GIs were held with mixed groups and not with gender-specific focus groups.

<sup>18</sup> An additional method called Relationship Analysis (RA) was also used to investigate the changes in relationships.

<sup>19</sup> **Constituent Voice** (CV) is a lithe and low-cost method developed by Keystone Accountability for systematic dialogue with key constituents in an organisational or governance system (e.g. organization, extension system, governance system) as the basis for performance monitoring. It uses standardized metrics similar to customer satisfaction surveys that, with a representative and large enough sample of participants, can produce statistics and visual data reports. It collects qualitative feedback from different stakeholder groups that are anonymously self-scored by each of the participants in a comparative way, enabling the systematic crosschecking of different viewpoints. In a typical PIALA-based mixed-methods evaluation, CV is used in combination with other methods to research causal pathways from project or programme uptake to impact. In a PIALA-based design, CV typically focuses on the immediate outcomes and empowering value of the various mechanisms put in place or triggered by a project or programme, while our other methods (the participatory and conventional statistics) investigate the higher-level system changes leading to downstream impact. For more information, see also: <https://collabimpact.org/constituent-voice>.

<sup>20</sup> This concerns one of the typical **Participatory Statistics** methods used by PIALA. Local people generate statistics through group-based ‘mapping’, ‘measuring’, ‘estimating’, ‘valuing’ and ‘comparing’, and various combinations of these. They not only measure observable, tangible things but also quantify and qualify observed changes in complex processes and relationships that are otherwise difficult (if not impossible) to measure. Quantification sharpens participants’ analysis and evaluative discussion. When participatory numbers are compiled with a large-enough and representative sample of participants in a series of focus group discussions using the method, they can be subjected to statistical analysis. More information and publications can be found on: <https://collabimpact.org/parti-stats>.

<sup>21</sup> A comprehensive field manual was compiled and provided to the research teams, containing detailed guidance as well as data-capturing sheets for every method and tool, and guidance for the collation and cross-checking of the data from the different sources, methods and tools.

<sup>22</sup> For more information on Participatory Sense-making, see: <https://collabimpact.org/participatory-sensemaking>.

<sup>23</sup> In UC #2, for instance, collecting data at the UC level was impossible in the non-project areas, since no UC-level organisation existed.

<sup>24</sup> This concerns the researchers’ own reflections on the challenges encountered by evaluators.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ali, 2018; Hasnain Ali Abbas, 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Masson, Norton, & Wilkinson, 2015; Sotelo Reyes, 2017.

<sup>27</sup> In the context of this evaluation, people referred to women homemakers exclusively.

<sup>28</sup> The final project report mentions that 7 out of the 12 improvement schemes that had been prioritized and proposed through the ECG’s Urban Participatory Influencing Development Plans (UPIDP) in Musaffargarh, were approved and incorporated in the Annual District Development Plan, with a government budget allocation of approximately Rs. 6 million, which was over £44,000 (cf. Section 5.3.4)

<sup>29</sup> Cf. “answerability” from government to citizens in Figure 1 (Section 2.1).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. “transparency” from government to citizens in Figure 1 (Section 2.1).

<sup>31</sup> In the context of this evaluation, people referred specifically to male-to-female transgenders in local terms. In this report, the gender-neutral term is used.

<sup>32</sup> The CV or ‘Constituent Voice’ scores (CV) are obtained by letting participants in the focus group discussions anonymously score certain statements. CV scores are on a scale from 1 to 10, with lower scores indicating statements seen as less true and higher scores indicating statements seen as more true (see Annexes 2 and 3).

<sup>33</sup> UFAQ was Oxfam’s partner that implemented and managed the IUWGA project Musaffargarh (Punjab).

<sup>34</sup> *Lambardar* or *Numbardar* (Punjabi: ਲੰਬਰਦਾਰ, Urdu: لمبردار or نمبردار) is the hereditary title for village leader in India and Pakistan. It applies to powerful families that have a state-privileged status and has wide-ranging governmental powers, in particular revenue collection and reinforcement of law and order in the village (cf. Wikipedia).

<sup>35</sup> This is partly due to the difficulties encountered in the data collection and collation (cf. Section 4.3).

<sup>36</sup> The researchers asked if there had been any group (other than the usual CSSP staff, TMA officers or ECG leaders) that came to monitor the implementation of the schemes and the quality of work done or attend meetings. They explained that a group had been formed, comprising people from all stakeholders, to monitor the works. But nobody knew about such a group (except the male UC leaders in UC #3) or any monitoring activity.

<sup>37</sup> See end note 32.

<sup>38</sup> In the newly elected local government structure, the Municipal/Town Committees are in charge of WASH in the urban areas. The reform of local government however has been endlessly delayed and to date, the Provinces have remained reluctant to hand over power (responsibilities and resources) to make the new local authorities functional (cf. Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2).

<sup>39</sup> According to CSSP, the District Health Department and private healthcare facilities collect data on water-borne diseases in the district’s UCs on a monthly basis.

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<sup>40</sup> The urban areas comprise a limited number of the UCs with a District. For instance, Muzaffargarh City contains merely five UCs (cf. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muzaffargarh>), while Muzaffargarh District has 93 UCs (cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muzaffargarh\\_District](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muzaffargarh_District)). Dadu City has even fewer – three UCs.

<sup>41</sup> It cannot be part of the comparison group since it did not have similar starting conditions to those of the project Union Councils (cf. Section 3.2.1 for further details).

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.rspn.org>

<sup>43</sup> Note that reaching the scale of the RSPN is not possible in the case of urban development initiatives, since urban areas only cover a small amount of a District's Union Councils. For instance, Muzaffargarh City contains merely five of the 93 Union Councils of Muzaffargarh District. Dadu City has only three Union Councils. Networking and linking ECGs into bigger entities across Districts and Provinces, however, would help communities to build greater confidence and collective power for self-help, and form the basis of developing a movement.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the Oxfam Programme Framework (OPF), pp. 15-16.

<sup>45</sup> We recommend that Oxfam develops a gender-specific strategy for this project with the support of its global and local gender experts, assigns clear responsibilities for its implementation and management, and establishes a MEL framework that can help to create greater visibility and attract more funding. Given the challenges regarding gender equality in Pakistan, extra effort and support is needed from Oxfam GB and Oxfam International. The project offers an unique opportunity to further pilot a gender-transformative model that not only creates more frequent and intensive opportunities for women to organize and meet and advocate for their water rights, but that also engages men in a dialogue to redefine their gender roles and relations in the new urban context in a way that is culturally appropriate yet also transformative, bringing real gender justice while making their communities more resilient.

<sup>46</sup> For instance, IIED could be a strong partner. IIED's work on urban new settlements has a strong international reputation (cf. <https://www.iied.org/urban>).

<sup>47</sup> For example, DFID, USAID, SIDA, UN-Habitat, and (for developing measurement and mapping tools) the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

<sup>48</sup> This would require putting in place a robust impact assessment and learning framework for tracking and comparing the different configurations of 'context, mechanisms and outcomes' of the model to learn how it works best in different circumstances.

<sup>49</sup> Examples are: Slum Dwellers International which is entirely built off urban grassroots organizations in multiple countries in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (cf. <http://sdinet.org/>); the 'Labour Qaumi Movement' of powerless workers in Pakistan, which started in Faisalabad in 2003 and has spread to adjacent districts in Punjab and KP; the RSPN in Pakistan (cf. <http://www.rspn.org/>), which takes a non-confrontational and evolutionary approach to movement building and is focused on rural areas.

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Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

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