Introduction

‘I believe that men and women are created equal and therefore should be treated equally in all matters. The time is past when women couldn’t raise their voice against violence. Through seminars, discussion and raising awareness, by working with the media, I want to help local women influence local decision makers. Being a woman leader has helped me accomplish my goals and I will continue the struggle, with or without a platform.’

Razia Sultana, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, one of 50 Women Leader Group members supported by RHV partner, Aurat Foundation

We start on a positive note, hearing one woman’s passion in speaking out against violence against women and girls (VAWG). Razia is one of the thousands who, with Raising Her Voice’s (RHV) support, has increased her confidence and leadership skills to inspire others to take action, and support each other in speaking out against a culture of VAWG at all levels of society.

Integrating approaches to address VAWG/Gender-based Violence (GBV) is not only essential in good governance programming, but in all of Oxfam’s work. One of the lessons noted in a synthesis of 40 evaluations of Oxfam GB’S Sustainable Livelihoods programmes was ‘evidence of unintended negative impacts on women resulting from a failure to implement effective strategies for identifying and managing the potential repercussions of challenging existing gender relations… and anecdotal evidence that in a limited number of cases, GBV against women was triggered or exacerbated by the programme.’ The report goes on to recommend integrating strategies to manage the potential repercussions of challenging and changing traditional gender roles.

The rich RHV experience documented here, reflecting many years of work by women’s movements, Oxfam staff, activists and allies, provides valuable guidance for governance and active citizenship programming across the Oxfam confederation and for other organizations working in similar areas.

A wealth of examples from 45 RHV partners and 450 coalition member organizations highlights the critical relationship between women’s political leadership, participation and VAWG/GBV. Practical strategies from our partners for tackling VAWG/GBV through work directly linked to women’s political leadership and participation are shared throughout, demonstrating the recognition of VAWG/GBV as both a barrier to engaging in this work and often a tragic consequence of women’s political participation.

The examples seek to prove beyond all doubt that tackling VAWG/GBV is non-negotiable, not just in RHV but all programme thinking, by examining what has changed for women and girls facing violence in the 17 RHV countries and how RHV is changing that.

In Bolivia for example, RHV partners and Oxfam, as part of a wider women’s movement, have lobbied successfully for a Political Violence Law, which explicitly seeks to protect women candidates from the threat
and reality of political violence. In Nepal, 90 per cent of RHV participants in a 2012 control group study reported being actively involved in efforts to check and stop violence compared to 0 per cent from villages not involved in RHV. Furthermore, the analysis offers guidance on how to integrate work addressing VAWG/GBV into all programmes and campaigns, by explicitly recognizing and tackling the barrier that it represents to women’s participation and leadership across all of Oxfam’s work – whether working through the lens of resilience, sustainable livelihoods, or humanitarian protection and assistance.

In the words of a local woman leader engaged in RHV in Pakistan, ‘Restoring one right helps to protect other connected rights ... thus women’s right to identity ensures their subsequent access to justice, health care, education and right to vote.’

Gender-based Violence and Women’s Participation and Leadership: The Facts

Seeking to understand what is responsible for Razia’s transformational change, and thousands like hers, we will briefly revisit the current landscape of violence to remind ourselves of its pervasiveness and the need for this kind of work. VAWG/GBV is responsible for more deaths and injuries in the world of women aged between 15 and 44 than cancer, malaria, traffic accidents and war combined. This violence – experienced by one in three women and girls worldwide and often for sustained periods – can take the form of beatings, sexual assault, rape, mutilation, physical and emotional torture, slavery and murder. It is a global phenomenon, a shared shame: in the UK, on average two women every week are killed by a current or former partner.

In countries where justice systems function poorly and the police are seen as more of a threat than a protection, violence against women and girls is committed with impunity.

RHV partners in Nigeria tell us ‘the police regard domestic violence as a “private” or “family” matter, police stations are places where women are likely to get raped again, and the prosecution rate is negligible. A culture of silence prevailed until the concerted intervention of civil society organizations, government agencies and social institutions under various platforms.’

Amongst the many barriers to development that such violence creates, it severely limits women’s ability to participate in public and political life. Women who live with violence – or the threat of violence – are unlikely to have the confidence or self-esteem needed to participate politically, let alone the mobility, time and resources required. It is one of the reasons that in many countries women are largely absent from public life, and poorly represented in leadership and public decision-making. Worldwide, women hold just 19 per cent of the world’s parliamentary seats, and make up only 16 of its 188 directly elected leaders.

When women’s consciousness and confidence is raised and they do decide to move beyond the confines of the home to participate in more public spaces, this often creates tension within the household and beyond, as their aspirations threaten the established order of power relations, and this can expose them to the risk of further violence. In the 2008 elections in Nepal, for example, 26 per cent of female political candidates faced violence.

Women who succeed in the public sphere, and those advocating for political freedoms (including their male allies), may also be subject to intimidation and violence as a result of their activity. This escalates at times of political instability when existing protection mechanisms can quickly disappear. Women activists challenging the 2009 coup d’état in Honduras faced institutionalized state repression and violence. The women and men who defend and support the lodging of complaints and calls for justice for Honduras’ horrifically high rates of femicide are at immense risk of violence themselves.

In Pakistan, RHV partners tell us that it is partly the increasing risk (both real and perceived) of violence facing women in politics that leads men to restrain their wives from engaging politically.

In 2005, Zubaida Begum, a local councillor working with the AURAT Foundation’s

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programme of community action committees alongside the RHV project, was killed for her activism. Defying the decree of local tribal leaders forbidding women to vote in local elections, Zubaida submitted her nomination papers and was elected unopposed, becoming the first-ever woman politican from the most conservative area of the most conservative province in Pakistan. When local government elections for 2005 were announced, both women and men encouraged her candidature due to her leadership to improve local services. Zubaida again ignored the warning from angry tribal elders and she and her 19-year-old-daughter were gunned down at home days before the election.

‘At national level, including within political parties, discriminatory norms and practices persist in their exclusion of women from resources, spaces for training and education, and the discriminatory ways in which party policies are implemented. Many women have neither the power, money, connections nor networks to even enter the electoral race. At local level violence is exercised ... to either keep women confined in private spaces or, if they are able to take up public roles, define and constrain those roles (to those lacking power and influence).

This impedes any substantial progress for women who, particularly for those who are poor, rural and indigenous, have to struggle against multiple forms of discrimination and violence not only in the home but in the public arena. In a world where men command and women obey, many women rarely dare to participate in political issues.’

Maritza Gallardo, Raising Her Voice Coordinator, Honduras

How Has Change Happened?

The experience of RHV in 17 hugely varied country contexts reminds us that barriers to women’s participation and leadership have much in common all around the world: as well as being structural forms of exclusion, they are deeply rooted, constantly evolving and cannot be effectively overcome without a similarly well thought through, long-term, agile response.

The RHV programme recognizes the complexity of the barriers that women must overcome in their personal, social and political spheres, and the necessary interconnectedness of the pathways for change. Partners have found the simple model of the RHV Theory of Change (TOC) extremely helpful in thinking through more holistic, strategic and, ultimately, more effective programming and partnerships.

In the personal sphere, a woman’s personal capacity and confidence have a strong influence on her ability to act and be heard in the other spheres. In the social sphere, the norms and attitudes promoted and upheld by cultural institutions and the media, and the platforms for action offered by women’s groups and other civil society organizations, determine the extent to which women’s voices can be heard. And in the political sphere, this will be determined by legal frameworks, public and traditional decision-making structures and processes, and access to leaders who can represent the concerns and needs of marginalized women.
The important thing is that the work in each area and at each level reinforces the others: this is when transformative change, like shifts in the balance of power, can begin to happen. Eliminating violence requires transformations of power in institutions at all levels, from the family to the state, which challenge the universal culture of gender discrimination, patriarchy and impunity. It requires transformations in the individual and collective beliefs that condone the social acceptability of VAWG/GBV and in the institutions with a duty to protect citizens from violence whose structures and policies perpetuate it.\textsuperscript{11} As a result, RHV supports work in all three spheres, strengthening women’s capacity and confidence in the personal sphere, and supporting their capacity to act effectively in social and political spheres, thereby helping to make governments more representative and accountable.

The RHV global mid-term evaluation\textsuperscript{12} (MTE) found that country projects that were working across all three spheres had the greatest impact on women’s meaningful participation and leadership. Similarly, working in all three spheres is essential for tackling GBV/VAWG. The MTE evaluators noted “A lesson for all gender and governance programmes is to make sure that good balance is achieved across the different spheres.” For example, the RHV project in Uganda realized that successfully influencing legislation at the national level would make little difference to women’s lives if the project did not also engage with grassroots women and support them to use that legislation to claim their rights. It is now piloting in-depth capacity building with 90 activists in three targeted communities in Mityana, Apc and Luuka Districts. Since the MTE, many projects have used the analysis to adapt and refine their programming, to redress the balance of work in the personal, social and political spheres. In Mozambique, where there has been a strong (and singular strategic) focus on public-awareness raising around the 2009 Domestic Violence Law, they have developed an innovative way to audit progress of the four ministries responsible for the Law’s implementation. Using ‘scorecard’ findings they compare ministry performance and hold them to account on commitments they have made. This shows...
a shift from working exclusively in the social sphere to connecting this to programming in the political sphere. RHV partners in South Africa, Nepal, Pakistan, Honduras, Armenia and Guatemala have all shifted to a deliberate new engagement with political parties. Similarly, many RHV projects strengthened their work at the personal level. For example, in Honduras, Bolivia, Nepal and Indonesia, partners facilitated focussed reflection and analysis of intra-family power dynamics, and divisions of household roles and expenditure as a powerful mechanism for exploring barriers, including feared or real violence.13

Part of the added-value that RHV brings is to facilitate linkages between these different levels: supporting grassroots and national coalitions and movements, and developing alliances to bring women’s collective voice to international debate and policymaking.

Central to this is the need for context-specific analysis of the centres of power that act as barriers to women’s political participation and leadership – and our understanding of the interplay between them.

‘Violence impedes any substantial progress for women who, particularly for those who are poor, rural and indigenous, have to struggle against multiple forms of discrimination and violence not only in the home but in the public arena.’

Maritza Gallardo, RHV Honduras

Given the interconnectedness of women’s political participation/leadership and VAWG/GBV, our work on governance can only be truly effective if it seeks to address both areas of work in a holistic way.

Raising Her Voice in the PERSONAL sphere: Identity, skills and confidence, knowledge of rights

RHV experience tells us that personal change is at the heart of any transformation in the social and political spheres.

‘I was speaking very little before. Now I can express my thoughts and speak out in public. I have my own vision and can initiate something on my own.’

Project participant, Armenia

In the personal sphere, alongside RHV’s work to build women’s awareness of their rights, confidence and self-esteem, and their understanding of how to influence policy processes, networking and lobbying, there is also a need to provide a network of support for women who have experienced VAWG/GBV.

RHV Strategies in the personal sphere to address VAWG/GBV as a barrier to increasing political participation and leadership include:

1. Creating safe and supportive social spaces for women to collectively analyse their experiences of violence, build their confidence to reject the notion of it as ‘normal’ and socially acceptable, and to challenge the attitudes and values which condone and sustain it.

In Nepal, community discussion classes (CDCs) have enabled women to explore and challenge the cultural acceptability of VAWG/GBV and have begun to gain the support of their families and local men. An evaluation showed that 40 per cent of participants have become actively engaged in work to end domestic violence. In the three year project period CDC members from 81 villages solved 448 cases of VAWG and referred a further 106 to
the police, courts, village development committees and other bodies.

2. Building women’s individual capacity to play a role in influencing policy on VAWG/GBV.

After training in advocacy and lobbying skills by RHV partners in The Gambia, grassroots women leaders, with a number of men (as strategic allies), formed grassroots pressure groups to ensure the implementation of the African Women’s Rights Protocol. One of the issues that the group has agreed is a series of actions in the event of a girl or woman being raped; these include discussing with the mother and daughter to confirm who is responsible, report and obtain a medical report, report this to the Village Chief and, in the event of him not taking action, inform the local administration and then the police.

3. Scoping at the outset of all programme planning to identify support networks and services for survivors of violence.

In Mozambique, RHV partners have lobbied for separate spaces in police waiting rooms for women reporting violent crimes. Without this kind of personal support, women threatened by or experiencing violence may be reluctant or unable to engage with initiatives such as RHV.

4. Drawing on existing guidelines to build into programme planning and monitoring and evaluation framework strategies to protect those working on or engaging with processes to overcome VAWG/GBV.

AWID have developed guidance on supporting and protecting Women Human Rights Defenders and there are guidelines for conducting research on violence against women, including ethical considerations and minimizing harm to respondents and research staff.14

Raising Her Voice in the SOCIAL sphere: Women organizing together, working with the media, opinion leaders and vested interests

In the social sphere, RHV is helping to create a supportive environment for women to challenge gender stereotypes and social norms that condone VAWG/GBV by working with civil society organizations, particularly women’s organizations, at local, district and national levels to raise public awareness around the rights of women to live lives free from violence.

VAWG/GBV has proven to be an effective rallying calling for women’s organizations and civil society organizations enabling them to find their collective voice and put aside tribal, party political, religious and socio-economic differences.

RHV Strategies in the social sphere to address VAWG/GBV as a barrier to increasing political participation and leadership include:

1. Strengthening women’s collective voice: RHV projects have formed strategic alliances with women’s organizations with experience of tackling VAWG/GBV. Learning from each other, RHV projects have deepened their understanding of unequal gendered power relations as the root cause of VAWG/GBV, whilst women’s organizations with experience in working on VAWG/GBV have developed political agendas and advocacy plans articulating the demands of women for protection from violence.

In Pakistan, RHV partners set up 30 district level ‘women leader groups’ to bring together women elected representatives and increase their influence, dialogue and relationships with key stakeholders in government and civil society. In each group, 50 women who are representatives of different political parties, community and civil society organizations came
together for the first time on one platform, developed mutual trust and strengthened the collective voice of local women. The women leaders think alike on many women’s rights issues despite different ideological and party political backgrounds, and have worked together to resolve local problems, such as violations of women’s employment rights and cases of domestic violence.

‘It is said that one and one is eleven, alone, one person is only one, but, when another person joins, they gain the power of eleven.’
Razia Mudasser, Women Leader Group, Attock, Pakistan

2. Strengthening the advocacy capacity of RHV projects and partners for anti-VAWG/GBV policy change.

In Honduras, a national coalition, La Tribuna de Mujeres contra los Femicidios, has brought together eight organizations and networks to develop a national campaign against the murder of women. The campaign is raising awareness of VAWG/GBV and demanding that public authorities make a strong commitment to reducing impunity. Already, the number of women reporting incidences of violence is increasing at municipal level, as women become more confident that they will be taken seriously.

3. Raising public awareness to increase understanding of the rights of women to violence-free lives. Working with the media and using drama have been innovative RHV strategies.

In Nigeria, RHV organized a mock tribunal, where women spoke publicly about their real experiences of violence. Although some victims used an alias and requested not to be video-recorded, about 90 per cent of the women confidently and openly testified. This exposed the devastating consequences of violence against women. Rosemary shared her story: ‘Violence against women is real. As an acid bath survivor, I testify to that. It is not just the physical abuse but also the psychological trauma I go through whenever I realize I have to face society wearing this face. With the support I have been receiving from [RHV partner] WRAPA, I am finding it easier to cope.’ The tribunal highlighted the failure of the formal justice system and increased public and political support for the passage of the Violence Against Persons Prohibited Bill.

4. Raising awareness and engagement with those in positions of influence, including men, religious and traditional institutions, and political parties on the issue of VAWG/GBV, and working to challenge men on the division of labour with women in order to ‘free’ women up for greater political participation and leadership.

In Nigeria, following training given to grassroots women leaders to increase their understanding of women’s rights, VAWG/GBV and skills in negotiation and advocacy for women’s inclusion, a group of Hausa women in Kano State drafted plans to curtail VAWG in collaboration with religious and traditional leaders and succeeded in voicing their opinions and initiating a debate on marital rape.
‘The African Women Protocol is actually strengthening our good culture that is gradually fading away in the heart of modernization. Its provisions are not totally strange to our cultures; it is part of our forgotten cultures overtaken by ages.’
Chief Ibiang Enang, traditional ruler from Nko community

5. Using power analysis to inform the creation of strategic and catalytic legal and political spaces: developing political agendas; influencing planning and budgeting; and networking with and supporting progressive allies in government.

6. Developing leadership models that bridge the gap between community-level mobilizing and national-level influencing and lobbying.

The Pakistan model, working with 1,500 local and district government representatives, is a good example of this approach. Razia Mudasser is committed to changing perceptions and raising awareness about women’s role. She claims that ‘women leader groups’ have sparked a sense of accomplishment; women leaders collectively counter incidences of violence or injustice against women. With Razia’s help, the mother of 17-year old Khalida (killed by family members after refusing a forced marriage to an elderly man) took the case to the police and the courts, confronting the traditional decision making body, the Panchayat. Winning their case in spite of strong opposition and harassment led to a landmark ruling and a written commitment from the Panchayat to end so called honour killings. Since then no incidence has taken place in Bahadur Khan in Tehsil, Hazro, Attock District, north west of Islamabad.

Being part of such initiatives in the social domain can give individual women experiencing violence the confidence, capacity and supportive social environment to challenge the unequal power dynamics in their private lives. Equally critical is enabling civil society organizations to act collectively and effectively on VAWG/GBV in the political sphere in order to be able to hold institutions to account on their duty to protect women from violence.

RHV has played an important role in fostering links between strong grassroots organizations and national partners and coalitions. These alliances, when well balanced, can reinforce both the personal and collective power of women.

**Raising Her Voice in the POLITICAL sphere: laws, and local and traditional government structures**

In the political sphere, RHV aims to get the voices of marginalized women heard by: supporting government institutions to engage with women; opening up spaces for active dialogue; strengthening or drafting new laws and policies, and advocating for their passage; and supporting women to participate formally and safely as voters, elected representatives and candidates.

**RHV Strategies in the political sphere to address VAWG/GBV as a barrier to increasing political participation and leadership include:**

1. Advocacy to strengthen anti-VAWG/GBV legislation (with domestic violence laws often as a starting point) including: working with progressive members of parliament to produce drafts; lobbying parliamentarians; and opening up spaces for debate at the highest levels.

In Nigeria, RHV coordinates the campaign of the Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW), which calls for legislation to prohibit VAW in private and public spaces and to provide redress for violations and discrimination. An innovation was the engagement of a Legislative Technical Expert (a former
MP) to use her political contacts and strategic influence to facilitate the reintroduction of the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Bill.

2. Campaign for an end to political violence against women and girls and ensure perpetrators of violence are brought to justice.\(^{16}\)

3. Ensure perpetrators of violence are brought to justice by sensitizing and training law enforcement officers and the judiciary, and holding them to account by monitoring the investigation and prosecution of VAW/GBV cases.

4. Support progressive women to stand for political office and help them develop feminist political agendas, which tackle VAW/GBV; this includes protection for women in elected positions of power or those seeking office.

**Summarizing Raising Her Voice’s learning about strengthening governance programming through addressing VAW/GBV**

The numerous examples in this paper show how governance programmes are strengthened by explicit work to address VAW/GBV.

It has been a moment to pay tribute to the courageous work of so many in the face of so much, and to pull together some of the ingredients for effective governance/VAW/GBV planning. We must not fail to remind ourselves of the shared phenomenon that is VAW/GBV; it knows no cultural, geographical or political boundaries, and affects one in three girls and women worldwide.

**As a result, its consequences are felt in all aspects of daily life, not only as a barrier to women’s political participation and leadership, and as such NGOs and civil society organizations have a responsibility to integrate thinking about effective strategies to address VAW/GB into all areas of their work.** This includes the imperative to explicitly assess how programme interventions and collaboration can increase the risk of VAW/GBV, and how we have a duty of care to minimize these risks and provide protection.

**RHV projects have been strongest in addressing VAW/GBV where:**

1. The TOC and programme design explicitly analysed the barrier that VAW/GBV presents for women’s leadership and participation, in order to inform strategies for interconnected action in the personal, social and political spheres.

2. From the outset there are resources and strategies to minimize risks and protect activists, staff and allies.

3. There is country specific power-mapping for effective alliance-building and analysis to develop effective strategies to influence change. This can be explicit about the mutual benefits of working together for RHV partners and women’s organizations already working to end VAW/GBV, and ‘the value of safety in numbers’ especially in fragile and conflict settings.

4. RHV projects have built indicators on VAW/GBV into their monitoring and evaluation frameworks, and allocated resources for focussed reflection and analysis.

RHV experience clearly demonstrates that transformative change takes time. The barriers to women’s participation and leadership are deeply rooted and require holistic, long-term, yet agile, responses. RHV recognizes their complexity and the necessary interconnectedness of the strategies for change to overcome them.

Integrating a multilevel, interweaving programme approach and alliance building can be challenging. However, RHV’s work has shown that it is possible and a lot can be achieved with relatively small resources. RHV country budgets averaged £120,000 per annum (at one end of the scale, The Gambia programme, for example, averaged £35,000 per annum) and yet the transformative and catalytic nature of the work, particularly around strengthening women’s collective voice, has produced
concrete results and represents real value for money – essential as NGO budgets become increasingly constrained by global recession.

Furthermore, natural disasters or political instability can – and do – rapidly reverse the gains of input focussed development programmes. Conversely, investment in developing personal, social and political agency is more enduring; little can take away the confidence, knowledge and passion that grassroots activists and national advocates gain from working together to stand up for their rights and to say ‘no’ to violence.

Being serious about meaningful support for women to raise their voices means explicitly addressing the violence that so many face in their daily lives.

If we are serious about contributing to robust, sustainable and deeply rooted social movements for change, we must not ignore VAWG/GBV anywhere in our work.

This paper has been developed by Jacky Replía (RHV Learning and Communications) on the basis of a more detailed paper by Fiona Gell (Consultant in Gender and Social Development), which drew on contributions from Emily Brown (RHV Global Coordinator), Maritza Gallardo (RHV Honduras), Hadeezah Haruna-Usie (RHV Nigeria), Ines Smyth (Senior Gender Adviser), Jo Rowlands (Senior Governance Adviser) and Adrienne Hopkins (former OGB Programme Learning Officer).

NOTES

1 This discussion paper focuses on the violence faced by women and girls on account of being women rather than other parts of their gender identity, such as their sexual identity. It’s important to acknowledge here both the limits of the paper and the importance of other work around violence against other vulnerable groups, including the gay, bi- and transsexual communities, as well as against boys and men. Gender-based violence (GBV) encompasses all physical, sexual and psychological violence that is rooted in individuals’ gender roles and identities. The most common and pervasive form is Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG). Since the use of these terms is context-dependent, VAWG/GBV will be used throughout the paper

2 Raising Her Voice (RHV) is a five year DFID-funded Governance and Transparency Programme. See http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/ for more about the 17 country projects, videos, resources and blogs. Please note that RHV (and hence the analysis of its relationship to VAWG/GBV) only considers certain forms of women’s political participation and not its full gamut.


5 Women’s Aid, http://www.womensaid.org.uk/domestic_violence/about_womensaid/our_work/facts_figures.html

6 Based on interviews with Hadeezah Haruna-Usie (RHV Nigeria), Maritza Gallardo (RHV Honduras) and Emily Brown (RHV Global Coordinator).


8 ‘Statistics about women for International Women’s day’, http://colalibrary.edublogs.org/2012/03/08/statistics-about-women-for-international-womens-day/


10 Estimated one every 18 hours.

11 O1 Global Program on Ending VAWG/GBV/VAW http://blogs.oxfam.org/en/blogs/12-12-12-ending-violence-against-women-guide-oxfam-staff

12 Lessons from the Mid-Term Evaluation of Raising Her Voice, http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/


15 http://www.contralosfemicidios.hn/quienes-somos/tribuna-de-mujeres

16 For example, the Campaign against Femicide in Honduras.