

THE RAISING HER VOICE GLOBAL PROGRAMME

By Duncan Green

Raising Her Voice (RHV) is a new kind of Oxfam ‘global programme’, assembling a portfolio of projects in a similar field, working in different countries and regions.¹ From 2008–13, the RHV portfolio supported 19 projects across four continents, 17 national² and two regional,³ working to ensure that women’s voices influence decision making about services, public spending, policies and legal frameworks.

This case study draws heavily on reflections from the programme’s final evaluation report, summary and other Raising Her Voice learning materials (see Notes/Further Reading).



BACKGROUND

The grim litany of statistics that underpin the Raising Her Voice (RHV) programme are well known, but bear repeating. Women work two-thirds of the world's working hours,⁴ produce half of the world's food,⁵ but earn less and own less. On average, women earn half of what men earn.⁶ Despite recent progress, women comprise two of every three adults in the world that cannot read and write.⁷

Gender based violence is ubiquitous, with a knock-on effect on women's participation. Globally, in July 2014 there were only 18 elected women heads of state, and 22 percent of parliamentarians were women.⁸

Discrimination begins even before birth, through selective abortion, and continues on into childhood and school, as this RHV quote illustrates:

When my brothers went to school I had to stay back home to help my mother in household work. I was just an unimportant little girl who would, one day, get married and go to another house to bear and raise children and perform household chores. It took a lot of courage just to convince myself that I was no less important than others.
RHV interviewee, Harimaya, Nepal

BUDGET

RHV received £5.8 m in funding over five years, from DFID (£5m) and Oxfam GB (£0.8m). Split between the numbers of partners and projects, and after global coordination costs, this averaged just under £22,000 per partner per year, and just over £50,000 per project. Not surprisingly perhaps, RHV's own analysis showed that its most effective projects operated on larger (£120,000 pa) budgets. However, evaluations of projects with much smaller budgets (c. £40,000 pa) such as Uganda, Nigeria and the Gambia, recognised the value of RHV funding as a catalyst for nascent national coalitions.

RHV has provided the platform and legitimacy for CSOs to collectively advocate for legislation of the VAPP (Violence Against Persons Prohibition) Bill... In turn, the Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAW) campaign has increased the support for the RHV project through the huge momentum created around the VAPP Bill and by expanding its partnership base and outreach.
Fiona Gell, 2012⁹

MONITORING, EVALUATION AND LEARNING

With its focus on long-term and collaborative processes of social transformation, unequivocally demonstrating the gains of programmes like RHV is notoriously difficult. The three-sphere model, though introduced half-way through the programme's evolution, has helped overcome some of the obstacles.

Several country evaluations have found creative ways of understanding and demonstrating impact and contribution. For example, the evaluation of RHV Nepal (unpublished) used a comparator group to show the dramatic changes in capacities, confidence, and community support witnessed in RHV villages compared to those where the project had not been active. RHV partners in Guatemala developed formal accountability reports for the women they worked with and for local authorities, as a way of modelling the type of transparency that they themselves were calling for.

The RHV evaluation provides useful reflections for the monitoring of future governance projects – including the importance of allowing sufficient time for the development of individual and collective frameworks that find context-specific ways of identifying and articulating the changes sought. At global level, the RHV team were committed to documenting learning about both the processes and the strategies used by RHV activists, partners, and coalitions. Case studies, thematic reflection papers, and blogs and videos from the women involved are available on the RHV community site (www.raisinghervoice.ning.com).

THEORY OF CHANGE

The RHV theory of change positions the projects within feminist theory, recognizing that entrenched male domination and power is the context for women's limited participation and voice.

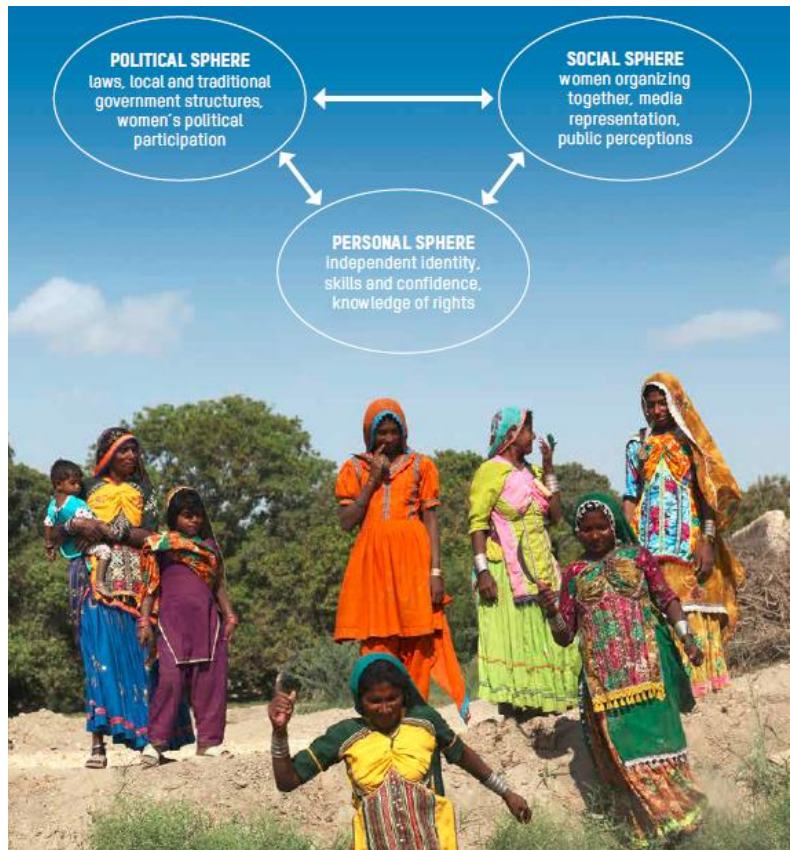
Beyond the basic commitment to enhancing women's voice in governance, RHV began life without an explicit theory of change. By the mid-term review in 2011, an underlying pattern was discernible, resulting in the proposed (and later adopted) programme level theory of change.

The theory (see Figure 1) identifies three broad spheres – personal, political and social – which influence women's opportunities to participate in governance, and which need to change in order to strengthen women's voices.

The **political** spaces need to be more open, inclusive and representative of women. This includes public and customary laws, policies, structures and decision making processes, the mechanisms by which women can claim and uphold their rights and interests.

For a woman to create, access and take up opportunities for participation and influence, she needs personal capacity, self-esteem and confidence. The RHV theory of change highlights the need to work on this sphere, to redress the situation whereby the political and social spheres have strong influence over a marginalized woman's ability to participate, influence and secure her rights, but she has little opportunity to influence them back. This is also critical in enabling 'less powerful' women to communicate their priorities and challenge the assumptions made by the 'more powerful', be they men or women.

Figure 1: Raising Her Voice Theory of Change



After months sleeping 'under the sky' following a dispute with her landlord, Neetan Kohli (far-left), Women's Leadership Group (WLG) member in Hatri, Hyderabad, has returned to her home and to work in the fields, with the support of the WLGs (2012). Photo © Irina Werning. Source: J. Repila (2013)¹⁰

The **social** sphere supports and embeds changes in attitudes, relationships and behaviours. It includes norms promoted or upheld by cultural and religious institutions and the media, as well as the strength and capacity of the women's movement and civil society to support women with a platform to raise their voices. Building the collective voice recognizes the benefits for individual women of 'safety as well as strength in numbers'. The women's movement as well as being a powerful force for change also provides protection for the vulnerable and isolated, especially when working in more volatile contexts e.g. Pakistan, Honduras.

The evaluation confirmed that RHV projects have been most effective where all three spheres are clearly addressed – usually in partnership with others – and where complementary work was carried out to link pressure for change at local, district and national and international levels. This does not mean that each project must work in all three spheres, rather that projects need to acknowledge that changes in one sphere are not in themselves sufficient to shift the structural barriers to women's full and effective participation in decision-making. Project design and power analysis should therefore be mindful of how specific interventions link to or will work towards broader engagement across the other spheres – either by the same project over time, or in alliance with others.

The theory of change proved useful in several ways:

- It provided guiding principles for RHV, capturing the arenas in which change in women's voice occurs. It 'kept it simple' – very important for hard pressed staff and partners. In the words of one Oxfam staffer, interviewed for the final evaluation, the theory of change 'provided a simple front end to a complex process of how change happens in women's lives'.
- By being very top line, it allowed a variety of RHV programmes to recognize their work within it, while also pointing to new ideas and possibilities
- Quite independently of any suggestions from Headquarter staff, several national RHVs used the theory of change to help design 'course corrections' to improve their work, either in response to improved understanding, or to events and changes in the context.

But the three-sphere model falls short of being a full theory of change. It omits a number of important aspects, which could have helped build more imaginative and effective strategies. These include:

Context: With or without civil society action, the context both of women's lives and of the norms that govern their role is changing fast. This includes the rapid expansion of literacy and basic healthcare, women's increasing role in the paid workforce, and normative shifts on issues such as violence, rights and the appropriate role of women in society. It also includes some of the negative developments in recent years, including backlashes against women's rights¹¹ and the abuse of quota systems.

The absence of context from the theory of change did not mean that the subject was absent. Long before the mid-term evaluation identified the theory of change, national RHV projects were using context-specific mapping and analysis to design both interventions and monitoring and evaluation plans. However, the theory of change oversight was a missed opportunity to compare and develop these skills across the RHV programme – and a missed opportunity to develop a more systematic, explicit understanding (and robust monitoring, evaluation and learning framework) through which to strengthen RHV partner and Oxfam's own understanding of how change happens in women's lives when they take a more active role.

Critical junctures: The theory of change is a somewhat steady state depiction of reality, but experience shows that many shifts in women's voice occur linked to 'critical junctures', such as wars, elections, or other shocks. In Honduras, for example, the 2009 coup left a divided popular movement (including women's organizations), deeply divided over whether to engage with the state or boycott it. Oxfam provided a neutral physical space for women's organizations to come together and helped them to work out areas of agreement and develop a twin-track approach of 'visible and invisible' policy influencing.

Critical junctures also occur both at the project level (e.g. linking up different approaches to increase effectiveness) or at the individual and household level, where shocks (accidents, divorce, the death of a partner, child or parent, unexpected expenses for funerals, weddings etc.) play a major role in life trajectories, while small victories and advances can have a

transformative impact. At whatever level the microscope is set, change processes are seldom smooth.

Allies and stakeholders: The theory of change does not explicitly call for an analysis of the wider drivers and blockers for expansion in women's rights (state officials or elected representatives, private sector, faith organizations etc). But this is more a conceptual than a practical barrier, as these emerge in any case from different country experiences. To do political influencing work effectively, RHV had to understand blockers and champions and work in smart alliances. The fact that this is not captured in the theory of change may merely have been a missed opportunity for programme-wide learning.

Oxfam's change strategy

All RHV projects focus on four broad areas of work:

- enabling poor and marginalized women activists to network, campaign, and advocate;
- working with public institutions and decision making forums, including traditional structures;
- empowering civil society organizations to achieve poor women's rights as citizens, through awareness raising, capacity building, and training.
- disseminating lessons and good practice through innovative media and communications work.

The work is based on local partner organizations. In some countries, these were established Oxfam partners. In others, (e.g. Nepal) new partnerships were established. In the Africa regions, a portfolio focused on advocacy around the Maputo Protocol¹² was developed by Oxfam GB's Pan-Africa office and the coalition Solidarity for African Women's Rights ([SOAWR](#)),¹³ of which they are a member. This involved SOAWR members in eight countries, some of whom had no previous relationship with Oxfam.

While specific national strategies were context-specific, the processes, broad framework and theory of change were increasingly consistent across the various RHV country projects.

Work on personal empowerment is the bedrock for all change processes, recognising the importance of women's knowledge and confidence in their ability to influence power relations and decision making.

For women's participation and leadership to be meaningful, investment is required to 'grow' the political confidence and influencing capacities of women activists, including power mapping, social audits and mentoring, as much as increasing the number of women in decision making spaces.

This core of activists and leaders needs long-term support to be effective as leaders, change agents and role models. A scatter gun approach of ad hoc interventions targeting large numbers of women does not lead to sustainable benefits.

Explicit attention must be given to developing a wide range of strategies to reduce the risk of violence for women and provide them with protection and support. Not only because the threat of violence negatively impacts on women's participation, but because successful

governance programming, which challenges the status quo, can provoke backlash. In the social sphere 'changes, especially in relation to networking and solidarity, are the glue enabling greater changes in the other two'.

Collective action and voice is critical for women's safety, for demands to be made unapologetically and for them to be taken seriously by those in power. The RHV evaluation found some of the strongest and most sustainable impact was where projects contributed meaningfully to the strengthening, collaboration, and organization of civil society organizations working for women's rights.

It was a huge challenge to acknowledge each other and stop labelling. Women do not necessarily trust each other, so you need to build bridges to strengthen the demands of all women without discrimination.

RHV Bolivia¹⁴

Alliances and coalitions

Greatest leverage is achieved through building broad-based and creative alliances which, although time consuming, are essential for strengthening the collective action needed to shift the structural and attitudinal barriers to effective governance.

In South Africa, explicit attention to the development of a multi-sectoral approach to the way in which women experience HIV, AIDS, violence, and poverty has changed the way that RHV partner [POWA](#)¹⁵ and coalition members – many with little experience of addressing these interconnected issues in their full complexity – now work.

Working with men: Signing up the powerful by forging constructive relationships from the outset with influential male opinion leaders and shapers was crucial.

RHV Nepal rewarded male champions through media coverage of visits to and support for community initiatives benefitting women. In Nigeria, targeted influential individuals in the media joined project steering groups and acted as core campaign partners. More strategic political and media partnerships have helped to bring key opinion shapers on board.

Research and evidence: The power of evidence-based advocacy is clear from the experience of numerous RHV country projects that used social audits to show underinvestment in, or poor quality of, local services and map (non)compliance with commitments to women's rights.

Examples include a political manifesto analysis of policy relating to Female Genital Mutilation in The Gambia, or audits of nine health centres and three hospitals in Guatemala. In Chile, annual public surveys were used to shape influential campaigns on women's participation, with both strong political legitimacy and high levels of public support – so that 'the voice on the street and in the countryside is backed by the voice of academic authority'.¹⁶

Sub-national government: In terms of scale, some of the best results were obtained by linking community activism with sub-national and national calls for change to address the 'missing middle' of governance processes. In Pakistan, Women Leader Groups have worked at community, district and national level to bring invisible women's voices directly and strategically to those with decision making power (see the 'Raising Her Voice Pakistan Programme' case study in this series.).

Unashamedly feminist (eventually). But getting the entry point right is important to avoid backlash against perceived radicalism. RHV programmes used a range of different strategies. Projects in Nepal, Indonesia, Albania and Armenia deliberately worked within the framework of rural development programming –and were less explicit about goals around women’s participation and leadership. However, over the five years of the programme, RHV staff and partners in each of these countries (except Albania) have described increasing confidence amongst women coalitions, activists and leaders. This has included confidence to both design and communicate their work using language and analysis that place inequalities of power (and the sheer frustration at the obstacles and resistances faced in challenging these) much more explicitly at the centre of project approaches and stakeholder engagement.

This has meant that the way in which demands for greater accountability are articulated have become more explicitly located within a women’s rights framework. For example, Pre-election campaigns in Nigeria, Mozambique and Pakistan employed ‘Vote for the Domestic Violence Bill or We Won’t Vote for You’ slogans to promote legal reform and express the sheer frustration of women activists. RHV campaigns also show a growing confidence related to the awareness (by women and decision makers alike) of the very real potential power of women voters as an increasingly educated, politically aware voting bloc.

Formal politics: Many projects engaged directly with political parties. In South Africa and Honduras, RHV women’s networks signed agreements with newly elected councillors to ensure that representatives delivered on a list of clearly articulated commitments made on priority issues. RHV partners and activists have also taken advantage of decentralization and constitutional review processes, and used public interest litigation to further prise open spaces to advance women’s rights.

Confrontation v cooperation: All RHV projects recognize the need for a mix of the two approaches, depending on context (including risk) and strategy. If anything, the trend has been to move towards more assertive, confrontational tactics over the course of the programme.

In Nigeria, successful advocacy for the passing of the 2013 Violence Against Persons Prohibition Bill, led by RHV partner [WRAPA](#),¹⁷ included hiring a former legislator to navigate the corridors of power, text message barraging of ministers and highly publicised mock tribunals.

WIDER LESSONS

There are several potential benefits to the global programme approach: These include

- Fund-raising: donors need to disburse funds in large (by NGO standards) volumes and at high speed. But over-large grants and short timescales can impose severe strains on small CSOs. A global programme approach can square the circle.
- The chance to pilot approaches in one country, then adapt and try again in another. The best cross-fertilization is often not planned – RHV in Honduras picked up a 2011 study from RHV Nepal, translated it into Spanish, and used it to develop its thinking

on working in the personal sphere. Chances for direct cross-country exchanges were, however limited by lack of funds.

- Country programmes are motivated by being part of a global change process
- RHV programmes acted as agents of change within their wider Oxfam teams. Oxfam in Nepal, for example has adopted the 'Reflect' methodology¹⁸ developed by its RHV team and now uses it across its entire (much larger) programme.
- It becomes easier to link up global advisers with country staff.

But there are also challenges: national programmes typically stress the specificity of context, and the need to keep a low profile as part of being respectful and supportive to local CSOs, whereas a global programme naturally draws attention to the common denominator – in this case Oxfam. Moreover, effective communication, whether internal or external, requires clear, simple and common messages, often coming into conflict with a desire for national nuance. This cognitive dissonance can easily lead to tensions within global programmes and requires careful handling.

A global programme proposal should be kept as open as possible at the beginning and allowed to gel and evolve. That means not being too prescriptive about what national offers are included in the initial proposal, even if that makes fund-raising more difficult.

It should also be as long as possible. RHV was a five year programme, which played a crucial role. A typical three year programme would have allowed national RHV teams to form, establish partnerships and make some initial interventions, but many of the most innovative work was carried out in years four and five, as staff and partners learned and adapted their strategies, becoming more assertive for example in shifting from a less 'political' focus on community development and improving local services to more explicitly challenging gender inequality and household and community power relations.

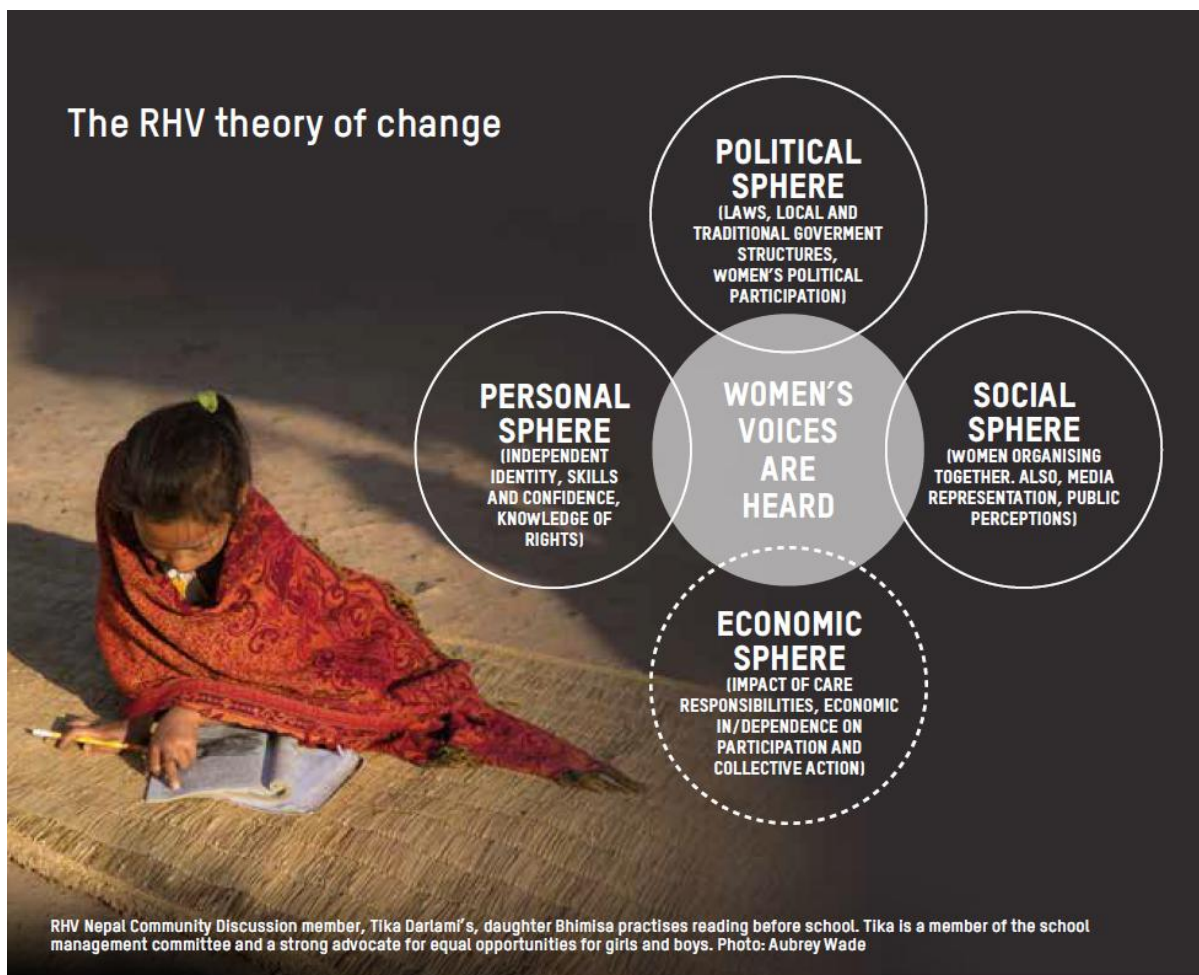
The programme can be encouraged to evolve a coherent theory of change that will guide its future work by building in a 6–2 month inception period for consultation and design at national level.

The omission of the economic sphere from the RHV theory of change was a deliberate move to balance Oxfam's traditionally strong focus on a livelihoods and markets systems approach to women's empowerment. While this was largely justified by the programme's results, in that the focus on power and politics did unlock considerable progress both in voice and in the economic sphere, there was a cost: progress in the economic sphere (both in the paid and unpaid economy) is often an important factor in women's ability to exercise voice and/or participate. Women's care responsibilities and lack of financial autonomy seriously affect their ability to participate in project activities and to take up positions of community or political leadership. The costs, albeit small, involved, for community groups and national coalitions alike, in convening meetings, running activities and supporting women's participation and attendance also impact heavily on the likelihood of these spaces continuing to function once funding comes to an end.

The RHV (internal) project completion report therefore concluded that 'Future governance projects seeking to strengthen decision making processes and institutions must therefore

explicitly address the significance of changes in the economic sphere on women’s lives – and its intersections with changes in each of the other three’ (see Figure 2, the revised theory of change diagram). However, the programme team recognise the value of focusing first and foremost on the relationship between the personal, social and political spheres as an entry point to future transformative women’s empowerment programming. The economic sphere is therefore represented within a dotted line.

Figure 2: Revised RHV theory of change



Source: © Oxfam, 2013

The RHV theory of change has also helped Oxfam GB to strengthen the way in which the organization conceptualises its work on women’s rights. The rich and diverse experience and documentation of RHV learning (about both process and thematic) and project impact has given those working on gender justice in Oxfam – and many beyond – the confidence, evidence and experience from a range of different approaches with which to slowly broaden the way in which Oxfam talks about, understands and develops new work on women’s rights.

CONCLUSIONS

The RHV programme shows the added value of bringing together multiple country programmes on similar issues where adequately resourced spaces and support enable us to

reflect on, share and evolve programme experience so as to strengthen effectiveness and impact. RHV experience also demonstrates the importance of using this encounter to discuss and develop an explicit theory of change – especially where change is complex, long-term and harder to monitor and evidence.

FURTHER RESOURCES

GTF158 Raising Her Voice Project Completion Report, 28th June 2013, http://api.ning.com/files/G1Wl3V1oZWaOUdxH5rNzafGCAOPjgQy7NusoqNq9BddmtYR9TYbofkz4O*A309N8hpOUcgKuBCatbbc97cSyyRaP6lrJtEJU/1.GTF158RaisingHerVoiceProjectCompletionReport.pdf (accessed 12 October 2014).

Beardon, H. and E. Otero (2013) 'Women's Right to be Heard: an evaluation of Oxfam GB's 'Raising Her Voice' Portfolio (Final Evaluation) <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/womens-right-to-be-heard-an-evaluation-of-oxfam-gbs-raising-her-voice-portfolio-301544> (accessed 12 October 2014).

Beardon, H. and E. Otero (2011) 'Women's Right to be Heard: an evaluation of Oxfam GB's 'Raising Her Voice' Portfolio (Mid-Term Evaluation)', http://api.ning.com/files/KIfTU2r1qC*GF6B1vxfVus4vPS9MEZ1BAafefGJKIJCjZ*yzrNucq bIJG00XBtylbr5IG78piDGQMqEOO*pJhGDvghs65n/1.GTF158RaisingHerVoiceMidTermEvaluationFINALREPORTJune2011.pdf (accessed 12 October 2014).

Gell, F. (2012a) 'Lessons from Implementing Global Programmes in OGB', April 18 2012, (internal memo).

Gell F. (2012b) 'Strengthening Governance Programming through Tackling Violence against Women and Girls: Raising Her Voice in Nigeria' <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/strengthening-governance-programming-through-tackling-violence-against-women-an-269173> (accessed 12 October 2014).

Green, D. (2013) 'What's the added value of bringing together projects on the same issue in lots of countries?' <http://oxfamblogs.org/fp2p/what-are-the-advantages-of-multi-country-global-programmes-compared-to-standard-one-country-models/> (accessed 12 October 2014).

Brown, E and Repila, J. (2013) 'Raising Her Voice: The power to persuade', summary of final evaluation, Oxford: Oxfam GB, <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/raising-her-voice-the-power-to-persuade-305120> (accessed 12 October 2014).

Repila, J, Gell, F, and Brown, E, (2012), 'Strengthening Governance Programming Through Tackling Violence Against Women and Girls: Learning from Oxfam's Raising Her Voice programme', Oxford: Oxfam GB. <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/strengthening-governance-programming-through-tackling-violence-against-women-an-269174> (accessed 12 October 2014).

Oxfam GB (2013) 'Raising Her Voice Tanzania Project Completion Report' (unpublished).

AUDIO VISUALS

Tika's Story is the first hand account of the changes in one woman's life (Tika Darlami, Nepal), who as a wife and mother used to hide her face from strangers, but now is an active member of the School Management Committee now affectionately called 'netaji', meaning 'leader', by her husband. Oxfam GB (2014) 'Tika's Story'

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qzov9zoBPuw&list=UU2SUpeciICP_bakwCCjeN0Q, (accessed 13 November 2014).

RHV Honduras: The video shows two extraordinary women who are members of the movement for peace Visitación Padilla, one of three partners of RHV project. Oxfam GB (2011) 'Raising Her Voice–Honduras' <http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/video/raising-her-voice-honduras> (accessed 12 October 2014).

RHV Pakistan: Case study (one of six) of Atia Batool who, along with her 'RHV 50 Women Leader Group', took action against the undemocratic election of Zakat committees in Hafizabad. Oxfam GB (2011) 'Empowerment through Inclusion: Women in Decision Making – Oxfam' <http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/video/empowerment-through-inclusion-1> (accessed 12 October 2014).

ANNEX: TIMELINE

2006	DFID publishes White Paper, 'Making Governance Work for the Poor'.
2008	DFID fund based on White Paper announced. Oxfam House offers Oxfam GB country programmes chance to submit proposals.
June 2008	Funding approved.
January 2009	New programme coordinator appointed.
March 2009	Sudan RHV abandoned as too politically sensitive.
2010	First RHV Global Learning Event – brings ten project staff together – learning focus on 'making alliances work'.
July 2010 and September 2012	Pakistan floods require revision of programme (see country case study). ¹⁹
Feb 2011:	RHV Nepal peer exchange – programme managers and partners from Tanzania and Uganda. First detailed country case study (later translated into Spanish by Honduras team).
2011	New Global Programme Co-ordinator starts work, with brief to expand global learning element of programme and focus on women's rights.
2011	Mid-term review by Leitmotiv ²⁰ proposes RHV theory of change, rapidly adopted by RHV. It also identifies lost potential synergies at the global level, subsequently addressed in appointment of new Global Programme Coordinator.

2011–12	Three regional learning exchanges held – bringing together African, Latin America and Caribbean, and Asia partners.
Late 2012	DFID puts two countries on ‘watch list’ and threatens to suspend funding in order to force the programme team to fast track (in three weeks) the revision of 12 country and global logframes, indicators and self-evaluation methodologies in line with the recommendations of the mid- term evaluation. RHV staff respond well to the crisis, get the project ‘off the hook’ and before long, KPMG is citing it as a model for DFID’s approach to supporting women’s empowerment.
September 2012	RHV Pakistan hosts peer learning exchange, welcoming staff from RHV Nepal, South African and Asia regional governance adviser (RHV Bolivia programme manager’s visa was not approved).
October 2012	Oxfam fund recruitment of a new Learning and Communications Officer, 80 percent Full Time Equivalent until end November 2013.
January 2013	DFID formally accepts changes in metrics following MTR.
June 2013	RHV funding formally ends.
December 2014	<p>Of the 17 original RHV projects, 11 continue, 5 have come to an end as Oxfam offices have since closed (including Albania, Chile, Aceh) along with RHV in Liberia. Of our 2 regional programmes Oxfam’s support for the Pan African programme continues strongly. Five country projects are supported by unrestricted funds - often evolutions of the original project. Six more, plus the Pan Africa campaign, have secured external funding.</p> <p>RHV has inspired, and directly supported (e.g. through the secondment of the RHV Nepal programme manager to Georgia), programmes in 8 more countries, including Yemen, Tunisia, Lebanon, Northern Iraq and Myanmar and demand from other countries remains high. Oxfam has received proposals (unsuccessful but still seeking funding) from colleagues and local partners in 31 countries including Somaliland, Cambodia, Chad and Zimbabwe with a combined value of £23.</p>

NOTES

1 Other examples of global programmes include My Rights, My Voice (youth advocacy on education and sexual and reproductive health and rights); the Enterprise Development Programme (small and medium enterprise development) and Within and Without the State (accountability in fragile states).

2 Albania, Armenia, Bolivia, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Indonesia Aceh, Indonesia Papua, Liberia, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Africa, Tanzania, The Gambia and Uganda.

3 Mercosur (from Uruguay) and Pan Africa (from Kenya).

4 The World Bank and International Finance Corporation, The World Bank Group (2011) 'Women, Business and the Law: Removing barriers to economic inclusion', Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, The Foreword, <http://wbl.worldbank.org/~media/FPDKM/WBL/Documents/Reports/2012/Women-Business-and-the-Law-2012.pdf> (accessed 12 October 2014).

5 Ibid.

6 UN (2010) 'The World's Women 2010: Trends and Statistics', New York: UN, http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/Worldswomen/WW_full%20report_color.pdf (accessed 12 October 2014).

7 UNESCO (2008) 'The Global Literacy Challenge: A profile of youth and adult literacy at the midpoint of the United Nations Literacy Decade, 2003-2012', Paris: UNESCO, p15 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001631/163170e.pdf> (accessed 12 October 2014).

8 Women in National Parliaments (2014) <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> (accessed 12 October 2014).

9 F. Gell (2012) 'Strengthening Governance Programming Through Tackling Violence Against Women and Girls: Raising Her Voice in Nigeria' <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/strengthening-governance-programming-through-tackling-violence-against-women-an-269173> (accessed 12 October 2014).

10 J. Repila (2013) 'The Politics of our Lives: The Raising Her Voice in Pakistan Experience' <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/the-politics-of-our-lives-the-raising-her-voice-in-pakistan-experience-294763> (accessed 12 October 2014).

11 One example was the assassination of Zubaida Begum, local councillor and activist, working with RHV's Pakistan partner, the AURAT Foundation's programme of community action committees as part of a precursor to the RHV project. She was killed in 2005 for defying the decree of local tribal leaders forbidding women to vote in local elections.

12 'Protocol to the African charter on human and Peoples' rights on the rights of women in Africa' http://www.achpr.org/files/instruments/women-protocol/achpr_instr_proto_women_eng.pdf (accessed 12 October 2014).

13 Solidarity for African Women's Rights, <http://www.soawr.org/en/> (accessed 12 October 2014).

14 H. Beardon and E. Otero (2013) 'Women's Right to be Heard: an evaluation of Oxfam GB's 'Raising Her Voice' Portfolio (Final Evaluation). <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/womens-right-to-be-heard-an-evaluation-of-oxfam-gbs-raising-her-voice-portfolio-301544> (accessed 12 October 2014).

15 People Opposing Women Abuse, <http://www.powa.co.za/> (accessed 12 October 2014).

16 Oxfam GB (2013) 'Raising Her Voice Project Completion Report'
http://api.ning.com/files/G1WI3V1oZWaOUdxH5rNzafGCAOPjgQy7NusoqNq9BddmtYR9TYbofkz4O*A309N8hpOUcgKuBCatbbc97cSyyRaP6lrJtEJU/1.GTF158RaisingHerVoiceProjectCompletionReport.pdf (accessed 12 October 2014).

17 WRAPA Nigeria, <http://wrapanigeria.org/> (accessed 12 October 2014).

18 Reflect, <http://www.reflect-action.org/> (accessed 12 October 2014).

19 J. Repila (2013) op cit.

20 Letimotiv Social Consultants, <http://www.leitmotivsocial.com/eng.htm> (accessed 12 October 2014).

© Oxfam International January 2015

This case study was written by Duncan Green. Oxfam acknowledges the assistance of Emily Brown in its production. It is part of a series of papers and reports written to inform public debate on development and humanitarian policy issues.

For further information on the issues raised in this paper please e-mail Oxfam Gender and Governance Adviser (former RHV lead): Emily Brown embrown@oxfam.org.uk

This publication is copyright but the text may be used free of charge for the purposes of advocacy, campaigning, education, and research, provided that the source is acknowledged in full. The copyright holder requests that all such use be registered with them for impact assessment purposes. For copying in any other circumstances, or for re-use in other publications, or for translation or adaptation, permission must be secured and a fee may be charged. E-mail policyandpractice@oxfam.org.uk.

The information in this publication is correct at the time of going to press.

Published by Oxfam GB for Oxfam International under ISBN 978-1-78077-774-12 in January 2015. Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

The Active Citizenship Case Studies are part of a wider Oxfam research project on 'How Change Happens', supported by The Developmental Leadership Program – a global research partnership between the University of Birmingham, University College London and La Trobe University – and the Australian Government.



OXFAM

Oxfam is an international confederation of 17 organizations networked together in more than 90 countries, as part of a global movement for change, to build a future free from the injustice of poverty. Please write to any of the agencies for further information, or visit www.oxfam.org.