TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP FOR WOMEN’S RIGHTS (TLWR)

LESSONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FROM OXFAM’S EXPERIENCES
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

This document mapped Oxfam’s Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights’ work until 2015 with the intention of providing suggestions, impetus and a programmatic framework useful for the development of interventions or a program on TLWR to complement and drive Oxfam’s efforts to bring about transformation in gender relations for women’s rights. The aim of promoting gender equality and women’s rights as integral components of development efforts is enshrined in Oxfam International’s Strategic Plan (2013-19), articulated in the objective: ‘More poor and marginalized women will occupy key positions of power and influence in communities and organizations, providing transformative leadership in support of women’s rights.’

SIGNIFICANT LESSONS FROM OXFAM’S TLWR WORK

More work needs to be done for the language, meaning and programmatic implications of TLWR to become better understood, established and more consistently practiced across Oxfam. The growing influence within Oxfam of notions and methods associated with power and transformation create healthy conditions – and greater need – for the development of a coherent program framework for TLWR.

Oxfam understands TLWR both as an approach and a strategy. As an approach, TLWR is based on solid feminist values that help programs acquire and retain a strong and principled Gender Justice identity. As a strategy, TLWR is now mostly used in standalone initiatives focusing on politics and governance as an ‘entry point’, but the examples analyzed for this report clearly show its effectiveness for supporting more thematic or holistic programming and for being ‘mainstreamed’.

METHODOLOGY

This mapping document has been devised through a combination of desk-based analysis of examples of Oxfam’s work on TLWR and other background documents, as well as discussions and interviews with various Oxfam staff. This was an open ended process that allowed for continuous questioning of the purpose, methods and conclusions of this mapping exercise.

INES SMYTH
Independent consultant

This paper was commissioned by the Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights Group to gather and analyze good practice and illustrative examples of Oxfam’s existing work in TLWR. The aim is for this analysis to be the cornerstone of an Oxfam framework on TLWR, contributing to the creation of a more collective understanding and awareness about Oxfam’s work on the subject. The TLWR Group believes that sharing the knowledge and experience gained from existing projects can help us to sharpen the direction of the TLWR program and identify pitfalls, trends and opportunities.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMMING

This analysis concludes that there is a degree of clarity and consensus on the meaning of TLWR for Oxfam, though it is not yet complete or fully socialized. In addition, in Oxfam there has been widespread adoption of concepts of power and of transformation. This is creating an environment favourable to deepening thinking and practice on TLWR on which it is opportune and timely to build by developing a Global Program on TLWR.

TOWARDS A TLWR FRAMEWORK

Oxfam’s work to date suggests that a framework with the following four pillars – as strategic areas of engagement and points of entry – is suitable to reflect and operationalize Oxfam’s understanding of TLWR:

- Work at individual level for collective purposes
- Support women’s organizations, networks and platforms
- Influence norms, processes, policies and their implementation
- Promote social accountability
WAYS OF WORKING

Under each of the four pillars, the following interrelated ways of working are suggested:

• Context is everything
• Partners are everything
• Keep learning as well as monitoring and evaluating
• Long term engagement with flexibility

RECOMMENDATIONS

Both the pillars and the ways of working in the suggested framework are, in themselves, recommendations on respectively the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of effective TLWR programming. Additional recommendations are:

• More work is required for the language and concepts of TLWR to be agreed within Oxfam, and for their practical programmatic implications to become better socialized across the confederation and within individual affiliates.

• Much more systematic documenting, analysing and cataloguing of work on TLWR is indispensable to learn about achievements and challenges, and as evidence for influencing.

• Encourage the adoption of the TLWR approach and strategies in other sectors beyond women’s political participation and leadership, such as in humanitarian responses and in campaigning initiatives. This could be a means of increasing the holistic nature of Oxfam programming and thereby the likelihood of transformative changes in women’s lives. To ensure this, further analysis of Oxfam’s experience of integrating TLWR principles and practice into ‘mainstream’ programming would be a useful next step.

• Also in relation to developing a TLWR multi-country program, it is important to fundraise for programs of adequate length (several years rather than months), as long term engagement and partnerships are essential to effective implementation and to transformative results. Where shorter funding cycles only are available, that these are conceived as stepping stones in a longer-term, well planned program.

• Explore the relevance of TLWR approaches to gender relations within the household (and care regimes) when focusing on women’s political engagement, as well as other aspects of gender justice.

• The work on social accountability is particularly in need of analysis and learning, so that it can be strengthened, systematised and innovated. The OL Right to be Heard learning companion is a useful tool here.2

• Consider the adoption of the Oxfam Australia MEAL (Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning) framework (or similar) for all TLWR projects and programs across the confederation, to achieve coherence. As a first and necessary step, disseminate and socialise more thoroughly the recently approved Feminist MEAL Principles across the confederation and within different affiliates.

• Learn systematically from past and ongoing regional and global programs (on available themes and sectors) on opportunities and challenges of different types and ways to exploit the former and overcome the latter in TLWR work.

• These recommendations clearly rely on ‘putting our own house in order’, i.e. to employ, institute, and adjust organizational systems to reflect a TLWR approach. Key elements to facilitate this are:

  1. Use all Oxfam’s Knowledge Hubs (especially those on “Women’s Economic Empowerment in Agriculture” and “Violence Against Women”) to promote the socialization of TLWR, and to support learning on TLWR more generally.

  2. Use Oxfam’s formal Gender Justice structures and informal reach to overcome the ‘silos’ which exist within and between affiliates and that are preventing the effective mainstreaming of TLWR approaches and strategies, as well as more holistic gender justice programming.

  3. Continue to seek and promote alternatives to management practices, hierarchical relations, and traditional leadership styles that privilege and reward control and ‘results’. This requires persistence and careful planning.

  4. Encourage and monitor the implementation of the Oxfam International Roadmap for Gender Mainstreaming, to implement internal practices that would greatly support the personal and organizational transformations advocated by TLWR.
In South Africa, a woman is more likely to be raped than learn how to read!!

Susan Vele Ravuku dressed in a t-shirt that raises awareness of the high level of rape in South Africa as compared to the lack of access to education for young girls.

© Neo Ntsomo
The aim of promoting gender equality and women’s rights as integral parts of development efforts is enshrined in key strategies and plans of many organizations, at a variety of levels, and with different approaches, resources and results.

This is the case for the individual affiliates that comprise Oxfam International (OI), and the confederation as a whole. Its most recent strategic plan (the Oxfam International Strategic Plan, or OSP) includes the following goal on gender justice (GJ):

‘More poor and marginalized women will claim and advance their rights through the engagement and leadership of women and their organizations; and violence against women is significantly less socially acceptable and prevalent’.

The OSP has also adopted the following objective as a way of breaking down the ambitious overall goal:

‘More poor and marginalized women will occupy key positions of power and influence in communities and organizations, providing transformative leadership in support of women’s rights.’

This objective reflects the confederation’s intention to continue its efforts towards greater and lasting equality between men and women, and the full realization of women’s rights, through working on transformative leadership for women’s rights (TLWR), among other approaches and strategies.

Oxfam’s theoretical and practical work on TLWR has a rich and long history. It has benefited from the endeavours of women’s rights organizations, feminist activists and academics; from reflecting on its own milestones; and from concrete experiences in many countries where Oxfam is present, with diverse partners and allies.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

This report sets out to assist the OI TLWR group and Oxfam staff to better understand and learn from the Confederation’s program investments in this area to date (see TORs attached in Appendix 1). The report is intended to provide an initial mapping of TLWR work in order to offer suggestions, impetus and a programmatic framework for the development of an ambitious global program on TLWR. This is intended to complement and drive Oxfam’s efforts to bring about the transformation of the pervasive gender inequality that limits women’s wellbeing, confidence and potential, reproduces negative masculinity traits, and contributes to the inequity dominant in contemporary societies.

This introduction and methodological section are followed by:

- A brief presentation of Oxfam’s evolving understanding of the notion of TLWR (Section 1);
- Lessons on key ways of working on TLWR adopted by selected projects and programs (Section 2);
- Lessons learned from Oxfam’s work (representing diverse regions/countries and affiliates) leading to a proposed framework with programmatic areas for cross-regional programming/scale-up, and the possible development of a global program (Section 3);
- A summary of conclusions and recommendations emerging from the lessons reviewed (Section 4);
- Annexes with TORs, key reference documents, and summaries of the project and program case studies and the questions that have guided this enquiry.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this work involves almost exclusively the review of many documents from Oxfam and from external sources, including 10 case studies (listed in Appendix 3). Such a rich body of reflections from feminist-inspired publications and other material offered considerable background information, clarification and inspiration. Oxfam’s documents include conceptual material through which the organization has attempted to clarify the meaning of TLWR, and proposals, evaluations and other reports referring to the projects or programs selected as case studies.

Occasional interviews with Oxfam staff took place to fill gaps in our information concerning projects or programs, and capture as far as possible aspects which often escape formal reporting. Questions were developed for this purpose (attached in Appendix 4).
Interactions with members of the TLWR Group were part of the methodology, in an open-ended process allowing for continuous questioning of the conceptual bases of this undertaking, the methodology, the questions, and the number and types of case studies.

The selection of the projects and programs to analyse for the purpose of extracting lessons raised issues which went beyond methodology, and helped shape the enquiry. This selection had the following characteristics:

- TLWR Group members felt that the most interesting learning and program experiences were being captured in examples focused on women’s political leadership and participation, rather than other aspects of gender equality work such as gender-based violence or women’s economic empowerment.

- Nine of the ten concerned standalone projects and programs, rather than those that try to mainstream gender considerations in other field and sectors.

- While we tried to be inclusive of smaller affiliates, more examples came from larger affiliates where investment in programming – and in the ability to document experiences – is relatively greater.

- Several examples had to be excluded because of the unavailability of sufficient relevant information. Others may have not been identified at all, despite our best efforts.

The aforementioned points raise questions about the extent to which ideas and practices associated with TLWR are currently being adopted and transposed to other sectors in Oxfam (such as economic empowerment and gender-based violence), and priorities and goals not only in development but also humanitarian responses and influencing work. They also pose questions about Oxfam’s knowledge management – whether sufficient care goes into effectively collecting, analysing and disseminating information on projects and programs on TLWR or other issues and approaches.

A final clarification: this study is not intended to compare or evaluate the effectiveness, efficiency or impact of the programs or projects selected as case studies.

Naima Hammami, 60 years old, the first elected woman in the executive board of UGTT (Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail – National Trade Union Centre of Tunisia). She celebrates with colleagues at UGTT HQ in Ben Arous. © Ons Abid / Oxfam Novib
Concern for women’s leadership has long been central to Oxfam’s work. Much thought has been devoted to clarifying the meaning of the term, so it could be employed (by staff, partners and allies) with maximum clarity to develop, implement, evaluate and communicate the program work that contributes to gender justice. However, disparities have remained in understanding, approaches and experiences among different affiliates, countries and levels of the confederation. This has created an urgent need to consolidate Oxfam’s perceptions and practice, reflecting a similar set of debates in the wider gender and governance development sectors.

In 2010, an enquiry carried out by an external consultant clarified the understanding of TLWR in ways described below (see Pitman 2010:3). It concluded that Oxfam’s overall conceptualization of transformative leadership is about the fundamental transformation of power. Since then, the agreed meaning and terminology of TLWR has changed, from a focus on women’s leadership (with an acknowledgement that this should be transformative) to transformative leadership of men and women for the purpose of achieving women’s rights, amongst other things.

This shift is due to external and internal influences. The most powerful external influence is the thinking of Srilatha Batliwala, derived from both personal interactions with Oxfam staff and some direct funding contributions for partnership. Her way of thinking implies that TLWR is about both fostering personal change that can equip women and men to lead transformatively, and transforming the architecture of power within organizations and movements and the wider world. It thus entails change at the individual, institutional and systemic levels. The ‘4 Ps’ (power, politics, principles/values and practices) offer a framework for this comprehensive, transformational change. These ideas have started to shape the approach Oxfam is taking to the notion of leadership – a significant achievement, given the persistent lack of agreement about how far Oxfam wants to and is able to align itself with feminist principles.

Internally, these developments coincided and interacted with Oxfam’s gradual adoption of concepts of power as the central explanatory principle behind poverty and inequality, as reflected in the OSP’s title: ‘The Power of People against Poverty’.

As a consequence of these evolutions, and reflecting the 4 Ps, TLWR has been defined as:

‘An approach and strategy for social justice which challenges and transforms power relations and structures (in all their different manifestations) into an enabling environment for the leadership potential of individuals [purpose]. It embodies the principles and values of human rights, gender equality, participation, consultation and respect for the dignity of all people. TLWR directs others to bring about fundamental change, and facilitates collective efforts to transform inequitable institutions whether it is in the home, the community or more broadly [practice].’

‘Approach’ means the key concepts, values and terminology that underpin the understanding of TLWR and of how change happens; ‘strategy’ refers to a specific set of plans and activities to achieve certain TLWR goals. This understanding of TLWR as an approach and a strategy highlights that it is both an end in itself and one of the means to achieve the larger goal of gender justice.
SIGNIFICANT LESSONS FROM OXFAM’S TLWR WORK

All programs and projects included in this analysis aim explicitly at bringing about the kind of personal (of both men and women), collective and structural changes that define TLWR. However, various forms of words are used: the Nigeria Baobab example mentions ‘female transformative leadership’; the report on Raising Her Voice (RHV) in Bolivia uses ‘feminist leadership’; the AMAL documentation talks of ‘women’s transformative leadership’. This demonstrates that, while there are healthy conditions within Oxfam for the development of a coherent TLWR framework, more work needs to be done to establish clearly and consistently the language used to describe TLWR and its meaning and programmatic implications across the organization.

1. LESSONS ON TLWR AS AN APPROACH

TLWR as an approach relies on and reflects feminist principles, concerns and language, especially in its focus on power and rights. This is more explicit in some cases than in others: for example, in the references in the AMAL reports to feminist activities, movements and organizations; in the name of the platform chaired by the two partners in the Baobab project in Nigeria (the ‘Nigeria Feminist Forum’); and in Oxfam Canada’s ‘Engendering Change’ material, which totally orients its language around feminist ideas and terminology. Important lessons can be drawn from this adoption of feminist thinking:

- It helps programs ground themselves in a strong and principled pro-“gender justice” identity, and avoid the ‘reductive and instrumental’ approach that affects most work aimed at combating gender discrimination and promoting women’s rights, most commonly in relation to women’s economic empowerment.

- It points to the need to consider the home, or the household, as a necessary site for TLWR analysis and interventions, especially when focusing on women’s political engagement. Much of the work using women’s political leadership as a point of entry tends to focus on individuals – as formal or informal leaders, for example – and the community, with only occasional reflections on the way in which household relations inhibit or facilitate women’s political engagement. By contrast, interventions aimed at promoting women’s economic empowerment are more frequently aware of and responsive to the role played by household gender relations in determining economic outcomes. There are various reasons for this difference, notably the effectiveness of feminist economists in challenging the ‘black box’ view of the household.

- TLWR is not yet a feature of Oxfam’s economic justice or humanitarian response projects, and the extent to which associated values, approaches and strategies have been adopted is still unclear, though it is felt to be limited. The causes and consequences of this gap in understanding need to be considered carefully, as there is scope to create value for economic justice and humanitarian programming by building on and learning from the transformative impacts of strong TLWR work.

Despite the clear usefulness of adopting a TLWR approach based on feminist principles, our examples also show that challenges are common:

- It is difficult to translate this approach into daily practices due to issues of compatibility with dominant (in Oxfam and among partner organizations) management practices, hierarchical relations and traditional leadership styles that privilege control and tangible results. We have learned that organizational change and capacity building is “not a linear path” and persistence is necessary.

- Large regional or global programs (for example, Raising Her Voice and AMAL) show that complex institutional arrangements experience additional challenges, not only in running smoothly and on time, but also in ensuring that principles permeate and influence evenly.
• Funding practices with short-term horizons run counter to the deep transformation the approach requires. The five-year period of the Canada program appears the minimum to see changes emerge and take root.

• It is unrealistic to think that in any organization all staff members may internalize the values associated with TLWR, even among ‘value-based’ organizations such as Oxfam and its partners. A plan to socialize TLWR notions more consistently across all affiliates, offices and teams will have to be smartly devised and creatively planned through gender justice networks and allies and with strong resourcing and OI leadership support – possibly learning from the experience of the Latin America and Caribbean region. We hope that the process of developing this framework will provide Oxfam with increased clarity and confidence to develop and implement such a plan.

2. LESSONS ON TLWR AS A STRATEGY

Beyond sectoral strategies

There is a tendency in development projects and programs to focus exclusively on one sector or theme – for example, economic empowerment of women, their political participation, or gender-based violence (GBV). One reason is the need to render interventions and investments manageable at all stages; another is the encouragement of donors with their chosen priorities. According to Duncan Green, blame also lies with organizational structures in which ‘people are still organized into and identify with their tribe within Oxfam – by function (humanitarian response, long-term development, research, advocacy, MEL etc.) or theme (health, education, WASH)’.

When considering TLWR as a strategy, most Oxfam examples reviewed for this report focus more on the overall goal of gender equality in politics and governance, and less on livelihoods, GBV etc. At the same time, the implementation in practice of such projects or programs often goes beyond the given sector and includes interventions and activities addressing a broad spectrum of issues, especially those related to income and livelihoods. This is largely because work on TLWR naturally starts with women identifying their specific needs and concerns. The issues prioritized (e.g., GBV, lack of equal access to land, care responsibilities) will, of course, vary hugely depending on the context. Designing the programs and interventions from the issues prioritized by women themselves also helps to increase the likelihood of them effectively addressing the interconnectedness of key gender justice issues through a better understanding of how women experience these intersecting realities in their everyday lives.

For example, the ‘Increasing Income for Fish Workers in Odisha’ project in India gives explicit attention to women’s concerns about income and livelihood by forming self-help groups and providing members with revolving funds and training; the establishment of fishing procurement and processing centres; consultations with stakeholders including traders, service providers and the private sector; and pilots to promote poultry rearing and vegetable production. The inclusion of income and livelihood work in the activities of AMAL in Tunisia was on a much smaller scale: they were only topics of theatre performances and a subject for debate. Since the AMAL intervention was not specifically focusing on the aspect of economic empowerment, yet it had been raised as a crucial issue for the project’s participants, the AMAL team decided to cover it through subgranting projects, and, in the joint advocacy strategy, by focusing on the essential needs of women as a way to promote their leadership. GBV is a large component of the Indonesia Gender Justice Program, and the main focus of Responding to Gender-Based Violence in the Highlands (Papua New Guinea).

Other sectors, such as education, infrastructure and basic services, are often included in the work illustrated by the examples. By using women’s political participation and leadership as a point of entry rather than a narrow sectoral focus, the examples manage to overcome the ‘silo’ approach typical of much gender work. As we will see, this holistic approach is encouraged by the way in which many of the projects or programs work with women’s organizations which tend to conceive, plan and deliver programs in a more rounded and coherent way. The examples analysed here offer suggestions for a framework and ways of working that can help to overcome the challenges involved in adopting more holistic programming – which, for Oxfam (see OSP), is part of a rights-based approach to development.

Towards a framework for TLWR

Our analysis of Oxfam’s work suggests that the following four pillars form a suitable program framework to reflect and support Oxfam’s commitment to feminist and human rights principles.

The pillars are proposed as areas of strategic engagement and points of entry for Oxfam, to provide the necessary focus while leaving open the
possibility of including additional areas of work to make programming more holistic, respond to local contexts and mainstream TLWR thinking into non-GJ work. While TLWR is a means to achieve the larger aim of gender equality, the framework’s activities focus more narrowly on strengthening transformative leadership itself.

### I. WORKING AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FOR COLLECTIVE PURPOSES

While the ‘personal’ and ‘individual’ level are often used interchangeably, these terms can have subtly different connotations: changes at the ‘personal’ level tend to imply private thought processes, whereas changes at the ‘individual’ level are often more about what individuals publicly do. There is clearly overlap, however, and this program feature arguably emerges most strongly and often from the examples examined. For example, AMAL’s workshop report (September 2014) concluded that progress at personal level has ‘high levels of impact on lives of individual women we’ve accompanied’. In Nicaragua, the project evaluation records 100% achievement for ‘increasing women’s and youth’s personal and political capacity’ through a combination of activities: training, public campaigns, engagement with the authorities, and establishment of transversal alliances.

All such experiences start from women gaining self-esteem as a crucial first step towards recognizing and realizing one’s rights. Under a TLWR approach, working at the personal level begins with exploring, challenging and reshaping the values we hold as individuals – whether as Oxfam staff, partners, decision-makers who are targets of our influencing, or members of the public. The tradition in which TLWR is rooted – the work of Srilatha Batliwala and feminist thinking more generally – emphasizes the importance of the self for social change, including the need to nurture self-care, balance and self-esteem, and to align embracing values with translating them into coherent personal and professional practices. Put simply, how we work is as important as the work we do.

Personal welfare needs to be nurtured especially when the work itself may threaten it. In the PNG example, it became necessary to allocate funds for counselling for staff exposed to the traumatic GBV work they were involved with.

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<th>WORK AT INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FOR COLLECTIVE PURPOSES</th>
<th>SUPPORT WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS, NETWORKS AND PLATFORMS</th>
<th>INFLUENCE NORMS, PROCESSES, POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION</th>
<th>PROMOTE SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY</th>
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<td>Change the attitudes of men and women</td>
<td>Core support and organizational strengthening</td>
<td>Influence the development and implementation of policies relevant to TLWR that directly or indirectly address gender discrimination</td>
<td>Institutionalize systems and spaces for accountability</td>
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<td>Build the political and civic knowledge of women and men</td>
<td>Flexible support to women’s rights platforms and networks</td>
<td>Change negative social norms on women’s leadership roles and capacities</td>
<td>Promote community women and their champions’ direct engagement in social accountability for women’s rights</td>
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<td>Develop women’s and (where appropriate) men’s practical and strategic skills</td>
<td>Support linkages between women’s organizing at different levels</td>
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<td>Research and assess innovative approaches for social accountability</td>
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Personal growth can create results at collective level, for example by shifting the norms of communities and entire nations in ways that enable individual women to improve their positions. Collective results can be seen in all institutions, not only the political – from the household to movements, religious groups and state institutions. As the example of fisherwomen in India illustrates, it can apply to economic institutions which determine livelihoods.

As an evaluation of Raising Her Voice put it: ‘Women pointed to isolation and vulnerability as a strong barrier to their participation in decision-making spaces, and conversely the opportunity to share and work collectively with other women and women’s groups as a factor in gaining confidence to raise their voices effectively’. Working at the personal level can bring about change most effectively when complemented by other actions, such as public campaigns and influencing efforts, covered later in this report.

Other insights emerge from the Oxfam examples:

- **Work to change the attitudes of both men and women**, to uproot notions that deny women the right to a voice, autonomy, economic security and safety. These efforts can result in enhanced women’s confidence, self-esteem and opportunities to speak out and take action, and men’s tangible commitment to questioning power relations and their roles. Many of our program examples indicate the need to do more on men’s engagement in Gender Justice endeavours but offer few lessons. The Pakistan RHV program identified that “Involving men to create an ‘enabling’ environment for women at household and community level was absolutely pivotal in broadening their support base and helping with logistics.”27 In Indonesia, this was more specific and targeted (see Box 2) and relied on strong relations with an organization of men (Laki Laki Baru or New Men). As TLWR emphasizes on working with Women’s Rights Organizations (WROs), the need for creative partnerships with and support to men’s organizations generates questions – for example, on the extent to which scarce funds for work on GJ, and WROs in particular, need to be protected.
• **Build women and men’s political and civic knowledge and information base.** This can entail diverse activities. For example, in the RHV experience in Uganda, partner Akina Mama wa Afrika worked in coalition to translate and disseminate the Maputo Protocol in local languages to facilitate access for members of the many networks involved. Targeted paralegal training at grassroots level gave women (and men, but with more mixed results in terms of changes in attitudes) increased knowledge of their rights, including to property. The results achieved by this project also illustrate possible challenges of this type of activity, such as overcoming differences in different stakeholders’ capabilities in areas such as finances and communication. The regional AMAL program made varied and considerable investments in this, reaching hundreds of individuals and groups. In Tunisia, the partners ATFD (Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates) and AFTURD (l’Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement) and LET (Ligue des Electrices Tunisiennes) were supported to increase their skills in communicating on gender, amongst others for illiterate audience. In turn, these partners trained youth leaders in women’s rights. In Morocco, among many similar initiatives, partners (the Democratic Association of Women in Morocco, Association for Third Millennium, Al Nakheel Association and Democratic Union for Women’s Rights) were instrumental in training 603 leaders, the majority women, in gender-sensitive budgeting at municipal level. **Develop and use practical skills** that augment women’s ability to be and be seen to be capable leaders at different levels (including organizational and administrative), with different roles and degrees of formality. The project implemented by the fisherwomen network Samudran, and supported through Oxfam India by the United Artists Association, appears to have achieved remarkable results in terms of increasing household income and women’s awareness of their rights and ability to demand them. They have done so through fisherwomen organizing themselves in federated structures – local self-help groups linked to village institutions, then to district federations – and acquiring relevant information and skills which they used to improve the effectiveness of their fishing work and diversify their livelihood strategies. A similar lesson emerges also from the project in Nicaragua implemented by the Association for Survival and Development (Asociación para la Sobrevivencia y el Desarrollo Local – ASODEL), the Chinandega Women’s Movement (Movimiento Mujeres de Chinandega - MMCH), and the Nicaragua Network for Local Development and Democracy [Red Nicaragüense por la Democracia y el Desarrollo Local] with the support of Oxfam Intermón. Building the capacities of women and youth in the municipality of Chinandega to better engage with authority was a central objective, but new knowledge and skills needed to be put into practice for the investments to pay off. The evaluation concluded that building capacity is not only about ‘training workshops’ but also the opportunity to practice lessons and knowledge. A second lesson, also from the India example, is that technical skills on accounting, finances and business provided the fisherwomen with the necessary confidence.

**Box 2. Engaging men in Indonesia**

The mid-term evaluation (MTE) of the GJ program in Indonesia provides insights into how men were involved and can be involved in other TLWR endeavours. The program’s clear focus on engaging men facilitated not only a more concentrated intervention but also reflections and learning on its efficiency, effectiveness and impact.

Activities varied at different levels and were mostly delivered through the coalition Laki Laki Baru (New Men). In communities, coalition members were involved as trained facilitators in detecting violence against women (VAW). At district level, for example in Lombok Timor, a competition on the ‘ideal man’, making extensive use of media, attracted public attention. Some partner organizations, such as LBH Apik and Yaboki, trained men as community paralegals to handle gender-based violence cases. The MTE considers the use of community paralegals as ‘one of the most effective methods in reducing violence and in handling its occurrence quickly, cheaply and in the best interest of women and children’. The activities of such paralegals have been integrated into government programs, which promises well for the sustainability of the work and its outcomes.

The MTE concludes that the work of the men’s coalition has been instrumental in generating peace within families, and has positively influenced ‘in the end’ women’s capacity to ‘take part in public activities, decision making, and leadership roles in targeted communities’.
to be part of decision making in the household [for example around children’s education] and to act collectively to tackle community problems such as alcoholism.32

II. SUPPORTING WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS, NETWORKS AND PLATFORMS

There is abundant evidence that women’s organizations have an indispensable role in promoting gender equality. They are better able than mixed organizations to create spaces for women to discuss what is important for them. Simply enabling women to think about themselves is a huge achievement: as one put it, “I’m so used to only thinking about my kids.”33

The OSP commits Oxfam strongly and explicitly to supporting women’s organizations, including “by giving:

- Core support to women’s rights organizations (WROs) to strengthen organizational capacity and sustainability of new or growing movements”, to “access to influence those responsible for advocacy, law reform and implementation”, and using “direct influence of global, regional and national level duty bearers in alliance with WROs”.34

Most of the examples show that women’s groups and movements are better suited than mixed organizations to deploy creative and experimental ‘transformative leadership’ practices that strengthen confidence and self-awareness, and from which lessons can be applied to other institutions. These examples are less explicit in identifying specifically what kind of WROs are best suited to this, but they indicate that WROs with which Oxfam shares a similar understanding of TLWR are an obvious start. The presence and viability of such organizations varies greatly across countries and regions, due to historical and contextual reasons which are beyond the scope of this paper. Both WROs and mixed organizations with different or broader approaches and concerns would require careful assessment and exploration to identify possibilities for mutual learning, support and collaboration.

The examples are helpful in indicating how Oxfam supports chosen WROs. Oxfam Canada directed its entire GJ program to ‘contributing to the capacity of women’s organizations and other civil society organizations to defend and promote women’s rights, priorities and interests, and to advance gender equality’. The Indonesia program saw supporting women’s movements as a ‘focus area’. For AMAL, building the capacity of women’s organizations is one of four objectives. For RHV in Bolivia, ‘strengthened and coordinated women’s organizations’ was a planned output.

Oxfam Canada’s Engendering Change program is perhaps the most ambitious undertaking; it funded the organizational capacity building of over 60 partner organizations in East and Southern Africa, the Americas and Asia, as well as their programming work on women’s rights. The program’s theory of change posits that partnerships are more effective in promoting gender equality at the local or community level when partners’ organizational structures, policies, procedures, and programming are stronger and more democratic. Two main elements relevant to TLWR characterize this work:

- The use of carefully crafted and properly socialized tools and systematic cycles of capacity building, especially those for assessing capacities, were essential in providing a plan for what needed to be done and the means for partners and Oxfam to know whether it had happened and with what results, thereby promoting mutual accountability.

- The program’s feminist orientation encouraged a long-term and flexible approach that provided three key types of funding: core funding, capacity building, and programming funding for partners. This allowed partners to work on areas that were most relevant to their organizational mandates and expertise. This reinforced their ability to take an integrated, holistic approach.

Another effective feature of many good governance programs is supporting linkages between women’s organizations operating at different levels. Oxfam’s work in Indonesia, for example, focused on promoting the presence of women’s organizations at different levels and strengthening the links between them – from village, district, and provincial to national and international level. The areas in which such organizations engaged were identified by women themselves and included national and local issues around GBV (domestic violence, child abuse, trafficking, under-age marriage and polygamy), access to services (health and education) and participation and leadership in formal and informal decision-making bodies. Activities were extremely varied, including awareness campaigns and formal and non-formal policy advocacy from the village to national levels; peer approaches between men to challenge abusive behaviour; supporting the effective handling of GBV cases in communities by formal and informal authorities; and the training and deployment of paralegals.
Core financial support to women’s organizations is always critical – especially in TLWR, as funds are harder to raise than in other aspects of gender work. In Nigeria, Oxfam Novib financed the execution of activities and institutional overhead costs of both main partners (Baobab and AfA), and the costs of coordination between them.

The examples show that much can be achieved by supporting looser platforms and networks which come together for specific, bounded purposes, rather than necessarily organizations with fixed staff, offices and formal structures and status. Diverse examples including Uganda’s Coalition for African Women’s Rights, the Bolivian Women’s Platform, and the Highlight Women Human Rights Defenders Network in Papua New Guinea illustrate that:

• Networks and platforms offer venues for individual women and groups with diverse interests to reach enough consensus to collaborate on a joint plan or purpose. They can bridge gaps, for example in promoting intergenerational learning, which is essential to the longevity and creativity of feminist movements. In Nicaragua, ‘The intergenerational relations and exchanges between young and adult women in municipal networks created awareness of the importance of the exchange of knowledge and of the exercise of shared leadership’.35

• Networks of different organizations and women of different origins and backgrounds can create space for specific groups of women. The Colombia report36 reflects on the situation of black and ethnic minority women in the country, and in the region more generally, and considers the spaces which have opened to their participation and ‘power’ since the Constitutional Reforms of 1991 and the Black Communities Law of 1993, the obstacles they still encounter in accessing positions of power because of their colour and race, and the strategies adopted to overcome them. One insight was the need to make visible ‘the other’ among diverse women with no access to power; recognizing the diversity among women has been a fundamental strategy in this example.

• Loose networks of women can collect under one roof considerable technical expertise which would be out of reach to an individual organization or group.

• They can remain active and effective during lengthy legislative and other processes, often in different locations – which can be difficult or impossible for a single organization to sustain.

III. INFLUENCING

Influencing policy development, reform and implementation for the promotion of women’s rights is a way to achieve sustainable change at scale. Our case studies point to several lessons, notably to create and support strong and effective coalitions. In Nigeria, partner Baobab had learned from previous experiences that policy influencing efforts will fail unless they can rely on a ‘viable women’s movement’; Oxfam’s support to strengthen the Nigerian Feminist Forum was seen as the springboard which allowed individual organizations to engage effectively and consistently with state and non-state actors.

RHV in Pakistan adopted perhaps a more subtle and difficult form of influencing: women members of district-level ‘women leader groups’ (WLGs) pursuing election as Union Councillors and bringing to bear direct pressure within political parties. Though fraught with risks, influencing political parties from within can have transformative effects by affecting policy development37 and structures. With the support of Oxfam and the Aurat Foundation (AF), which promotes women’s empowerment and citizens’ participation in governance, the WLGs brought together local women described as being well connected and educated. The WLGs organized themselves into thematic sub-groups focusing on education, health, legal rights and social networking, and AF enhanced the skills and confidence of the members through training, exchange visits and information sharing. The personal characteristics of the WLG members and the WLG activities brought together personal skills, confidence and legitimacy – all frequently areas of weakness in the influencing efforts of conventional women’s leadership programs.

Some examples show eagerness to use innovative ways to communicate and campaign, disseminating information to change individual attitudes and social norms, including caravans and performances alongside social media and traditional media such as radio and TV. The many organizations and feminist networks involved in the regional program on TLWR implemented by Intermón in Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru together totalled 1153 appearances in national and local media.38 The activities of the nearly 300 young people (53% of whom were women) participating in the building of shared agendas for the TLWR work in Nicaragua included plays, films, competitions and youth festivals through which they brought to public and official attention how issues such as sexual and reproductive health, employment and education concern youth and women.
The Uganda RHV program had some success in influencing the government to ratify, domesticate and implement The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, better known as the Maputo Protocol, employing a wide range of strategies: formation of national coalitions and links to pan-African ones, research and preparation of briefings, direct lobbying, engaging with different forms of media, and changing opinions at different levels. While it is difficult to isolate the most effective factors, one element can be singled out: the purposes and activities associated with this work were complementary, they built on those the coalition members had already been engaged for a number of years e.g. Millennium Development Goals, CEDAW) and fully complemented their core mandate of promoting women’s rights.39 This resonates with what this report maintains to be effective ways for Oxfam to work on TLWR: partnerships that respect and build on existing priorities of women’s organizations as partners, and engage in long-term, sustained work at scale. As the final evaluation of the global RHV program put it: ‘...given that increases in women’s voice and influence will happen over the long term and the entrenched nature of the barriers and challenges, the work must be understood in long-term and collaborative terms... truly effective strategies need to be designed in cognisance of the fact that RHV partners control only their part of something bigger, complex and longer term.’40

AMAL carried out regional advocacy with a public awareness campaign on the importance of women’s participation and leadership in political decision-making, and focused advocacy to increase support of major donors to WROs in promoting women’s leadership. This was complemented by policy change at the national level. The approach to influencing taken in Tunisia – working mostly with the Tunisian Women for Research and Development Association (l’Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement), the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (Association Tunisiennes des Femmes Démocrates), and the Tunisian League of Women Voters (Ligue des Electrices Tunisiennes) – reinforces the earlier point that changes at the personal level (in self-esteem, confidence, attitudes etc.) are foundational to transformative leadership. Tunisian women in Kasserine, Kef and Azmour are advocating for their social rights, practicing transformative leadership on two levels:

- Personal, by expressing increased confidence and ability to speak publicly and voice their opinions, after a series of capacity building initiatives; and
- Collective, by joining collective action to voice their demands.41

IV. SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Social accountability focuses on specific aspects of transformative leadership: ‘ways to building accountability that relies on ordinary citizens and their organizations managing public resources, and demanding accountability from governments and other relevant institutions. Strategies include participatory budgeting, public expenditure tracking, citizen monitoring of public services delivery, citizen advisory boards, and of course lobbying and campaigns for change in such services’.42 Many such strategies are very familiar to gender and women’s rights practitioners, including some working in programs and projects mentioned here.

The work of RHV in Bolivia, for example, aims not just for accountability but also to fundamentally change the relationship between citizens and the state and between service users and providers. The Effectiveness Review carried out in 2014 demonstrated that the Women’s Platform [supported by Oxfam and its partner IFFI - Instituto de Formacion Feminina Integral or Women’s Training Institute] used social accountability strategies to ensure that the municipality of Cercado institute regular meetings to allow citizens to monitor public spending. RHV was also directly involved in the research and publications of the Observatory for Gender Equality on gender-sensitive budgets. Long-term, persistent pressure from IFFI and the Women’s Platform also led the municipality to approve a budget line to support legal services specializing in family violence and gender discrimination. This reinforces the point made in this report that long-term engagement and support to women’s platforms is essential to work on TLWR. The Effectiveness Review notes: ‘As an anecdote, many informants mentioned that, other than the media, the Women’s Platform was the only civil society organization invited and present during the assembly all night plenary sessions when the vote on the final consideration of the text of the Statute project was held.’43

RHV in Pakistan also had an element of social accountability built in. Many of the 1,500 women who had become members of the WLGs in the various districts, and many more people associated with these groups, took part in activities which involved
district-level ‘accountability fora’, led by the partner AF. These fora address one or more important issues in multiple districts, for example district-level budgets, or details of publicly funded development schemes meant to benefit women. It is clear that for women leaders and others, the ability to carry out such a task relies heavily on the considerable investment made by RHV in their civic knowledge, leadership skills, self-awareness and confidence. Social accountability work has also the potential to help tackle issues of minority groups of which RHV has experience.44

As a result a stronger sense of accountability for progress on gender justice may now exist among government representatives, which may in turn make such social accountability exercises more effective in the future. The evolution of a more collaborative engagement with policy-makers and service providers has been shown to be valuable in many projects. Women leaders who have emerged from RHV have to some extent been integrated into governance structures, in various committees of their district councils, showing the possibility for a more fluid relationship with formal governance structures.

Though clear evidence is not available, it appears that there are plans to focus more on this aspect of RHV work in Pakistan in the future. A new proposal indicates that Oxfam Australia plans to develop a more strategic intervention across the same districts, supporting women leaders to become better able and more willing to appraise the performance of elected representatives in their constituencies around gender justice.

One of the projects45 implemented in Nigeria by the Oxfam partner Baobab focuses on creating the conditions for community women – rather than women’s organizations and their leaders – to promote quality service delivery in their constituencies while also building female political candidates for political office. The project trained 50 democracy monitors in two states to better understand budget processes, and held activities to change attitudes towards women’s active political participation. It is said to have led to opening up spaces for community women to participate in governance in the Niger-Delta.

Almost all the countries participating in the AMAL programs have elements of social accountability work. Examples include: in Morocco, the formation of a local network of gender-sensitive budgeting in the South East, and a working group intended to monitor the municipal budget; in Tunisia, strengthening women’s monitoring of government policies and plans at the local level; and in OPTI, the creation of spaces through which young leaders could meet with political representatives. However, so far there is only scattered information about the results of this work. There is great interest in the ongoing AMAL program to link up all the countries, and strengthen and innovate social accountability strategies and tools among staff and partners. Systematizing this work will bring great benefits. It will be important to make sure that future evaluations do not neglect – as the MTE to some extent did – to examine systematically both the process learning and the documentation of AMAL’s impact.
LESSONS ON PROGRAM WAYS OF WORKING

This section summarizes lessons that emerged from the ways of working adopted by the example projects and programs for making the elements of the proposed framework more effective and overcoming challenges.

Context is everything

The social and economic context can justify the choice of type of intervention. For example, the focus of the work of the Samudram Women Fish Workers Federation in India was dictated by the need to overcome the consequences for local households and communities of the depletion on fish stocks, conditions of indebtedness of fisher folks, poor infrastructure and exposure to natural disasters. Context also influenced specific aspects of the project: for example, Cyclone Phailin required partners to advocate to the government for humanitarian aid, and the contacts and skills acquired then have remained useful to current influencing efforts on fisheries matters.

In some cases, local circumstances have meant considerable delays and interruptions. This is particularly so in situations which are known to be fragile and vulnerable to state weakness, the threat of conflict, or natural, financial or other crises. This has

BOX 3. TLWR IN BOLIVIA, A FAVOURABLE BUT COMPLEX CONTEXT

Promoting Women’s Citizenship for Change in Urban Intercultural Spaces in Bolivia, part of the global RHV program, aimed to strengthen the leadership and overall capacities of women and institutional members of the Women’s Platform, with technical support from the Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral Women’s training Institute, towards greater participation in and influence on political processes in Cochabamba. The project’s theory of change foresaw changes in the personal, institutional and social spheres, matching the overall RHV theory of change and reflecting a TLWR approach as understood by OI.

This project and its achievements need to be understood against its historical context. As the Effectiveness Review points out, the political transformation initiated by Evo Morales after the 2005 election led to processes and institutions that promoted participation across classes and ethnic groups, and strong relations between the government and social movements. These conditions were certainly favourable to the focus and approach of the RHV program. However, the government mistrusted NGOs, especially international ones, which were occasionally questioned about their activities and accused of political interference. And women’s organizations still needed to constantly renew their efforts to overcome women’s persistent disadvantages in terms of political participation.

Adding to the complexity, demands for inclusive political processes came mostly from urban groups, with rural women’s unions and indigenous organizations being more concerned with broader agendas such as livelihoods. Part of the purpose of forming the Women’s Platform was to bridge these differences through events and opportunities for coordination. The Effectiveness Review considers coordination and building of bridges between women’s organizations and movements one of the key successes of the program.
been the case for the AMAL regional program, which has experienced delays because of the politically and socially unsettled conditions of the region, especially in Yemen.

In other cases the context has opened up spaces favourable to promoting women’s presence in the public arena, though with some limitations in terms of the sustainability of certain gains, and with the need to remain alert to whether women’s presence is active, effective and autonomous or simply tokenistic. For the Promoting Women’s Citizenship for Change in Urban Intercultural Spaces project in Bolivia (part of the RHV program, as shown in Box 3), the Constitution of 2009 gave states more autonomy to develop policy and legislation and enabled civil society to better participate in the decentralization process.

Another important lesson is that an organization’s or program’s internal context can affect the conduct and results of TLWR work. The MTE of the AMAL program reflects that ‘the heavy program management structures and the difficulty of communicating among the various partners was also expressed by the regional team... The program structure itself makes it difficult and confusing’. Finding solutions to this problem is beyond the scope of this report. However, it is clear that ambitious multi-country programs on TLWR need to consider how to marry scale with effective and manageable structures and systems which reflect the leadership values integral to a TLWR approach. Complex new programs such as AMAL are also often expected to be completed and give results in an unrealistically short timeframe.

Taking context more broadly, the presence of a strong and autonomous women’s movement results not only in the growth of pro-women’s rights legislation, but also in the more widespread adoption of and familiarity with feminist and progressive language and ideas among development actors and the population at large – often a considerable obstacle to TLWR approaches and strategies. The Oxfam Intermón LAC regional program has invested in workshops and publications which link feminist thinking and development practices, so insights can be circulated within and outside Oxfam.

**Partners are everything**

Building on issues discussed in Section 2, the choice of partners is an essential step in the promotion of TLWR. The Pakistan RHV project chose partners exactly for their “culturally sensitive policy of promoting personal transformation”, though this is not always easy or possible.

If transformative change can be achieved only through long-term engagement, well-established partnerships also offer many advantages to TLWR. RHV in Pakistan’s partnership with the AF built on and scaled up an existing 20-year relationship with Community Action Committees, giving the new WLGs a local foundation, support and legitimacy that they would otherwise not have had.

Similarly, the fact that Oxfam Novib has supported the Nigerian organization Baobab for 12 years is seen in a recent evaluation to have allowed the partner to remain coherent as a national organization focusing on women’s struggles. This partnership is based on open and frequent dialogue, as well as the provision of core support. However, Baobab’s almost exclusive reliance on Oxfam Novib’s funding has resulted in it being highly influenced by Oxfam Novib’s priorities and has limited its capacity to develop its programs on the basis of more localized analyses of conditions on the ground.

Partnerships for TLWR and beyond are much more effective when they build on the partner’s priorities. Innovation remains possible within boundaries of respect and common sense. Even when based on shared visions, effective partnerships are never easy: for example, where several organizations collaborate, disparities in their experiences are almost inevitable. This was the case for AMAL, especially in terms of partners’ capacity to adopt and implement the stringent Oxfam requirements on MEAL – developing this capacity was not built into the program design but had to be planned during implementation. The wider learning is for Oxfam to provide a space to negotiate and set joint MEAL requirements with partners that they agree on, see the necessity of and are willing to gain experience on.

Perhaps more seriously, collaborating organizations may have conflicting opinions on how best to approach one or more aspects of the work, or have different references altogether. We need to be conscious of this in our planning, providing the needed space for dialogue and trust-building among organizations before expecting joint results. In the Morocco AMAL program, there was difficulty in working together on one national advocacy strategy as a result of a competition for leadership among women’s organizations despite their common vision and objectives. This underlines the importance of introducing feminist transformative leadership deep in the culture of feminist organizations. It was resolved by agreeing that each institution would contribute to joint national activities, but mobilize independently at local level.
Tensions among women’s NGOs can, as highlighted in documentation from the Baobab Nigeria project, ‘constitute an obstacle to their effectiveness in promoting the interests of women in general and the agenda of female political participation in particular’. Solutions lie in being aware of these tensions, understanding their causes and addressing them as early as possible, and investing time at the outset in developing among partners clarity and agreement – or, if this is not possible, acceptable compromises – on key values and approaches.

Never stop learning... or monitoring and evaluating

M&E systems are important for learning, as suggested by the acronym MEAL, but they are not the only ways to generate learning from projects and programs. Learning is a commonly heard term in development: Oxfam, for example, labels itself a ‘learning organization’. However, in practice Oxfam initiatives on TLWR have seldom included systems and resources that allow for methodical learning, as illustrated by the struggle encountered in this exercise to identify sufficient material from which to extract lessons.

Nonetheless, our examples show in different ways how important learning is, especially when derived from timely and appropriate study and analysis. The Pakistan RHV case stresses that study and analysis in advance of a project or program will help learning about women’s rights deficiencies, who the formal and informal power holders are, and thus the structures and relations that need to be changed to lead to transformation. In this case, a collaborative country-level analysis revealed the barriers and opportunities for change that informed the TOC and the program design, and periodic risk assessment reviews helped maintain consciousness of the threats inherent in working in a country with high levels of violence against women.

The global RHV program incorporated learning components at all stages, not just for communications purposes but firmly grounded in a shared interest in learning from collective experience. This included identifying clear outputs, outcomes and financial and human resources for the purpose (though from Oxfam rather than the donors, and centralized in HQ and not extended to country level due to limited resources). The informative and influential material generated by the program (reports and reflections, blogs, films, website etc.) could not have been achieved without learning being planned and resourced from early on, or a deliberate focus on the way in which regional meetings and learning initiatives were planned and resourced. It explains why, in the selection of the case studies for this exercise, projects from the RHV portfolio were often suggested, though not necessarily chosen.

A similar commitment to knowledge creation is displayed by the AMAL program, which includes the following explicit outcome: Oxfam, its partners and others generate and share knowledge, to strengthen women’s participation and leadership approaches in the region and globally. AMAL has undertaken research (the results are not yet publicly available) in four countries on the subjective experiences of women in poverty, to generate a better understanding of transformative leadership. The generating and sharing of knowledge through research is necessary not only to inform concrete aspects of program design and implementation, but also to deepen appreciation of key principles and concepts; AMAL’s research results will be particularly important because of the contribution of women in poverty to this understanding, which is basic to a feminist approach to learning.

Both AMAL and RHV have included cross-program and cross-country initiatives, with meetings and exchanges and the use of social media. The multi-country nature of global and regional programs makes such means of direct learning – rather than, or in addition to, research or written reports – imperative given the challenges of continuous and effective communication. Investing in such learning activities has the potential to yield extremely rich comparative and nuanced knowledge, useful in itself as well as for furthering networking and as evidence for influencing and future programming.

Different lessons can be learned from a report on the Peruvian part of Oxfam Intermón’s gender justice work in four countries, which addressed questions relevant to TLWR on how women’s organizations have been created through a process of turning relations of subordination into more democratic ones. Through a collective sharing of ideas, activities and exchanges, leaders and their organizations became subjects rather than objects of the investigation: defining the questions and seeking answers, thereby creating more democratic and transformative forms of enquiry. The report – organized around a complex matrix of themes, tools, participants, concepts and sources – covers issues of power and leadership, starting from the home and power relations within it. It is illustrated by life histories and photos of various women activists.

The report is rich in insights. It does not shy away from difficult questions about tensions and conflict between women, professional and personal relations with men who normally dominate the sites of power
and decision-making women are entering, and the considerable dangers that women activists experience, including assaults and assassinations. However, its conceptual complexity and length (265 pages) raise doubts about its accessibility to those for whom its lessons may be useful, including those who contributed. The report itself stresses that ‘women’s knowledge has struggled to be transmitted, elaborated and developed’.

Further lessons emerge from looking at M&E practices in the examples, despite the documents available – including MTEs, final evaluations, workshop reports and case studies – being arbitrarily assembled rather than comprehensive. In several cases (including the India and the Indonesia projects and the MTE of AMAL), they adopted the conventional approach of considering relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability, impact and coherence, linked to the use of logical frameworks. While this approach can help to give more rigorous and reliable results, the information tends to be fragmented and difficult to combine into more integrated insights. It may not adequately capture the personal and intangible changes that are integral parts of TLWR, and the complex, unpredictable and multi-directional nature of changes in gender relations. To address this challenge, OI’s GJ Management Team has produced a helpful Practice Note that provides guidance on feminist MEAL approaches.

Oxfam’s Effectiveness Review methodology (applied to the Bolivia RHV case study and five other RHV projects) allows for a more in-depth understanding of change, especially through a ‘process tracing’ methodology that digs into the relationship between an evolving historical context and the given intervention. However, it is time-consuming and costly, and as it focuses on only a selection of the agreed outcomes – validated by community group discussion – it provides only a partial view of the changes brought about by the intervention.

To summarize the lessons on monitoring, evaluation and learning in TLWR work:

- While there is no shared MEAL approach for TLWR in Oxfam, three useful sets of guidance exist: Oxfam’s Feminist MEAL Principles, providing a helpful introduction to key values, feminist approaches and concepts of power in relation to evaluation; the aforementioned feminist MEAL Practice Note; and Oxfam Australia’s framework of suggested hierarchy of results, outcomes and indicators.

- Detailed plans to generate knowledge with earmarked resources should be indispensable but are still not systematically used.

- It would be wise to use a combination of methodologies, tailored to circumstances and the nature and purpose of the undertaking, to monitor, evaluate and learn. These could include, for example, the Most Significant Change methodology, adopted by Oxfam Novib to evaluate its Gender Mainstreaming and Leadership Trajectory.

- Learning and communication mechanisms and processes must echo principles of inclusiveness that are core to TLWR, as the Oxfam Intermón examples in Latin America show: the emphasis on intergenerational links and bringing together rural, urban and indigenous movements reminds us that gender justice must be seen as part of the larger social justice context, in what feminists call intersectionality.

- Learning and communication mechanisms must be accessible (in language, length and style) to those who have contributed to the creation of knowledge or who can make practical use of the lessons. They must also be convincing for those we seek to inform and influence.

- Learning and communication mechanisms must be able to reach many people in a short time (through, for example, social media), while not being ephemeral, so that the lessons endure.

- Conventional M&E methodology must be employed in line with basic program quality principles: for example, it must rely on baseline information (which was absent or unavailable for the examples reviewed, other than AMAL) and power analysis. Non-compliance with the norm of carrying out a gender power analysis across so much of Oxfam work raises questions about incentives and sanctions. M&E techniques should, as much as possible, be complemented by approaches and documentation that speak to a broader range of human emotions than is normally the case.

- Given the complexity of the change many TLWR projects seek, the ‘less is more’ principle may apply in the development of outcomes and indicators. It is better for Oxfam and partners to honestly, robustly and creatively assess our contributions in a small number of key areas than to assess them poorly in many areas. This may be particularly necessary when working with smaller partners or on more intangible areas of change in women’s lives.

Long-term engagement with flexibility

Transformative change takes time, as repeatedly illustrated by our examples. The correlation between
length of engagement and impact on transformation was clearly shown in the evaluation of Oxfam Canada’s Engendering Change:

‘Those programs with the longest exposure to the EC program and approach were found to have achieved the most deep-seated change’.57 The final evaluation of the RHV program concluded that: ‘Change in women’s abilities to participate, influence and lead the decisions that affect their lives takes time. Funded projects should be conceived as stepping stones on a path towards a well thought through, longer-term, process of change’.58

This idea of stepping stones in a long-term process is visible in practice in the India project. The initial concern was only for increasing incomes of fishing households, but over the initial three-year period it became clear that the potential existed for a transformative leadership approach that eventually led to the results obtained.59

Casting future work in terms of ‘stepping stones’ should encourage Oxfam to base a global TLWR program on previous and ongoing initiatives that have already demonstrated the potential for transformative change.

Long-term commitment to a particular endeavour does not mean that strategies and ways of working will remain fixed. On the contrary, given the complexity and changeability of contexts and inevitable challenges in partnerships, programs and projects must from the start indicate how and to what extent they will remain flexible and responsive to changing incentives. Good learning mechanisms can provide evidence on why and where adaptations or more fundamental changes are necessary.

This is particularly important for multi-country programs, where conditions are bound to be more heterogeneous and complex. For example, in its second year of implementation, the Yemen AMAL project found it necessary to shift its advocacy focus from women’s access to social services to women’s representation in local and national decision-making bodies.

The use of flexible grants appears to be a good mechanism for innovation. It grants a high level of autonomy to partners, which is essential for a transformative approach to partnerships. The Pacific Women Initiative in PNG, for example, allocates grants to different members of the network: while the grants are held by Oxfam’s country office as a central pool, partners retain significant discretion in their allocation, from sponsoring tribal peace treaties to outreach activities. The regional component of the AMAL program includes the use of a one-year Innovation Fund with five partnerships for projects designed to respond to local issues by engaging with more informal activism and initiatives identified by civil society organizations. At the time of writing, this element of the program had commenced too recently to show results.

An approach that is systematic and long-term yet flexible is not easy to plan or secure funding for – or to achieve, yet it seems to lead to considerable impact.

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**BOX 4. OUR SEA OUR LIVING: M&E FROM THE HEART**

In November and December 2014, a team composed of an independent consultant and Oxfam staff carried out a participatory final evaluation of a project implemented in the Odisha State of India during the previous three years, aimed at empowering traditional marine women in all aspects of life and fostering solidarity among themselves with a special focus on marine resources, conservation and sustainable fisheries. The team reviewed and evaluated relevance, efficiency, effectiveness sustainability and impact. They presented their findings under the headings of the project’s ten expected results in the detached, technical and objective tone commonly expected of evaluation reports.

Additionally, however, a consultant was recruited to produce a separate document describing the history, activities and results of the project with extensive use of photos, maps, graphs and figures, and several short portraits of individual fisherwomen with their own statements and reflections. The language, images and presentation of this document make it accessible to more varied and less specialist audiences, engendering stronger emotional responses. It represents a useful complement to the evaluation report.
This exercise aimed to provide suggestions, impetus and a programmatic framework for the development of an ambitious, multi-country program on TLWR which would complement and drive Oxfam’s efforts to bring about transformation in gender relations. The methodology was based on desk analysis of examples of Oxfam’s work on TLWR and other background documents, as well as discussions with various Oxfam staff. This was an open-ended process that allowed for continuous questioning of the purpose, methods and conclusions of this exercise.

The analysis concluded that there is a degree of clarity and consensus on the meaning of TLWR, though it is not yet complete or fully socialized. There has been widespread adoption in Oxfam of concepts of power and transformation. This is creating an environment favourable to deepening thinking and practice on TLWR, and an opportunity to develop a global program.

Oxfam understands TLWR both as an approach and a strategy. As an approach, TLWR is based on solid feminist values that help programs acquire and retain a strong and principled identity, and the coherence demanded of multi-country programming. As a strategy, TLWR is now used mostly in standalone initiatives with politics and governance as an entry point, but the examples analysed for this report clearly show its effectiveness for supporting more holistic programming and for being mainstreamed.

Oxfam’s work analysed in this exercise suggests that a framework with the following four pillars – as strategic areas of engagement – is suitable to reflect and operationalize our understanding of TLWR:

1. Work at individual level for collective purposes;
2. Support women’s organizations, networks and platforms;
3. Influence norms, processes, policies and their implementation;
4. Promote social accountability.

Under each pillar the following interrelated ways of working are suggested:

1. Context is everything
2. Partners are everything
3. Keep learning as well as monitoring and evaluating.
Recommendations

The pillars and ways of working in the suggested framework are in themselves recommendations on, respectively, the what and how of effective TLWR programming. Additional recommendations:

• More work needs to be done for the language and concepts of TLWR to be agreed and their practical programmatic implications better socialized across the confederation and within individual affiliates.

• Much more systematic documenting, analysing and cataloguing of work on TLWR is indispensable to progress, in order to learn about achievements and challenges, and as evidence for influencing.

• Adoption of the TLWR approach and strategies should be encouraged in other sectors beyond women’s political participation and leadership (e.g. economic empowerment, GBV, care), as well as in humanitarian responses and campaigning initiatives, as a means of increasing the holistic nature of Oxfam programming and the likelihood of transformative changes in women’s lives. Further analysis of Oxfam’s experience of integrating TLWR principles and practice into mainstream programming would be a useful next step.

• In developing a TLWR multi-country program, it is important to fundraise for programs of adequate length (several years rather than months), as long-term engagement and partnerships are essential to effective implementation and transformative results. Where only shorter funding cycles are available, these should be conceived as stepping stones in a well-planned long-term program.

• Explore the relevance of TLWR approaches to gender relations within the household and care regimes when focusing on women’s political engagement, as well as other aspects of gender justice.

• Work on social accountability is particularly in need of analysis and learning so that it can be strengthened, systematized and innovated. The OI Right to be Heard learning companion is a useful tool here.

• Consider adopting the Oxfam Australia MEAL (or similar) framework for all TLWR projects and programs across the confederation, to achieve coherence. As a first step, disseminate and socialize more thoroughly the recently approved Feminist MEAL Principles across the confederation and within different affiliates.

• Learn systematically from past and ongoing regional and global programs, on whatever themes and sectors, about how to approach different types of opportunities and challenges in TLWR work.

These recommendations rely on ‘putting our house in order’, i.e. employing, instituting and adjusting organizational systems to reflect a TLWR approach. Key elements are:

• Use all Knowledge Hubs (especially those on WEEAg and VAW) to promote the socialization of notion of TLWR and support learning on TLWR more generally.

• Use the GJ formal structures and informal reach to overcome the silos which exist within and between affiliates that are preventing the effective mainstreaming of TLWR approaches and strategies and more holistic gender justice programming.

• More drastically, continue to seek and promote alternatives to management practices, hierarchical relations, and traditional leadership styles that privilege and reward control and ‘results’. This requires persistence and careful planning.

• Encourage and monitor the implementation of the OI Roadmap for Gender Mainstreaming to implement internal practices that would support the personal and organizational transformations advocated by TLWR.
Samundram is a state-level federation of women fish workers’ organizations for the development of marine fisher folk living along the coastline of Bay of Bengal in Odisha, India.

The main objectives of the project are:

To ensure the sustainability of Samudram and its institutions through establishing new operational systems and consolidating the already existing systems.

To ensure a sustained source of income and food security for fish workers’ families (collectors and processors) through strengthening access to market and credit systems, promotion of value-added fish products and alternative livelihoods.

To empower women on their rights and ensure active participation of Samudram members in the village development process.

To ensure quality education for children in the schools located within the program area through continuous awareness generation, community mobilization and advocacy work.

The project has been successful in federating women’s institutions from village to state level, setting up processing and procurement systems to enhance women’s access to markets and better pricing of their products, enhancing the capacities of women for management of their businesses, ensuring financial access to formal institutions and eventually setting up as a formal producer company. The project also contributed to political empowerment of women and education of girls, and responded to the Cyclone Phalin crisis.

Achievements of the project include: 3889 poor fish workers (collectors and processors) have access to markets; household income of fish worker communities increased by 245% from Rs. 12,186 to Rs. 29,933; mobilized Rs. 362,000 through government schemes; 237 self-help groups functioning effectively in Ganjam, Baleswar, Jagatsinghpur and Puri districts of Odisha; seven procurement and processing centres established; community members’ capacities built on gender mainstreaming and HIV/AIDS.

Budget size and type of funding
The program was funded by John Davidson Trust and Oxfam. The total budget was 850,500 GBP (estimated, as currency exchange gains and losses vary).

Timeline
The initial project duration was 2008 to 2011, extended till October 2014.

Scope
The project was implemented in 46 villages of Puri, Ganjam, Jagatsinghpur and Baleswar districts in Odisha state of India.

Partnership model
The program was supported jointly by John Davidson Trust and Oxfam India. Oxfam India through its partner organization United Artists Association (UAA) implemented the Samudran project in Odisha, India.
**Management/coordination model**

The Samudran project was formed through a federated model of fish worker cooperatives. UAA implemented it, with Oxfam India managing the partnership. Oxfam India also undertook a final evaluation of the project.

**Other relevant information, if considered necessary**

Samudran has been considered to be one of the demonstrated best practices for gender mainstreaming within Oxfam India’s programs. Oxfam India is now documenting it as case study that will be used within the TLWR trainings and mainstreaming initiatives to enable convergence with gender and other programs such as sustainable agriculture and education.
2. BOLIVIA:
Promoting Women’s Citizenship for Change from Urban Intercultural Spaces in Bolivia (Ciudadanía de las Mujeres para el Cambio desde Espacios Interculturales Urbanos en Bolivia).
- Raising Her Voice, Oxfam GB

Summary of the objective and results expected
The main goal was to promote gender equality in the metropolitan region of Cochabamba through actions to strengthen the leadership and capacity of the women and institutions who participated in the Plataforma de Mujeres por la Ciudadanía y la Equidad (the Women’s Platform) and coordinating their work with related networks at regional and national level. It was expected that this would ultimately lead to greater participation and influence of women from Cochabamba in political decision-making processes.

Budget size and type of funding
£175,000 per annum over five years (100% DFID funded).

Timeline

Scope
Part of a 17-country multi-country program.

Partnership model
Good model of partnership between Oxfam and one high-profile NGO, the Instituto de Formación Femenina Integral (IFFI), a women’s organization based in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The program also involved strong collaborative working with other national women’s organizations as part of advocacy and influencing on key issues but not funded directly through project budgets.

Management/coordination model
Very strong collaborative working – with Oxfam’s support role and specific contribution (especially with regard to connecting to national level advocacy and policy influencing on connected GJ issues).

Other relevant information, if considered necessary
Samudran has been considered to be one of Attempts to secure continuation funding failed, so the country team used unrestricted funds for further work, though reduced in scope. This sought in particular to build on gains made in the project and consolidate them into increased representation in national elections shortly after the program funding ended.


The more detailed (process learning) case study developed as part of the 2011 RHV global program Mid Term Review:
https://storage.ning.com/topology/rest/1.0/file/get/3323182673?profile=original
Audia Pérez, agroforestry producer and Guarani leader from the community of alpotindi, Chaco region, Bolivia.
© Patricio Crooker / Oxfam Intermón
Summary of the objective and results expected

The program organized 1,500 women activists, living and working in their communities, into 50 ‘women leaders groups’ (WLGs) in 30 districts across Pakistan. The aims of the WLGs were: to promote activism within their communities; to defend and promote women’s rights; to represent marginalized women; and to raise women’s collective voice at local and district levels, as well as – with AF’s support – at the provincial and national level.

Budget size and type of funding

£175,000 per annum over five years (100% DFID funded – although the evaluation found that OGB and Aurat Foundation had together contributed an additional 40% of the total funding in the year reviewed in in-kind contributions, e.g. additional staffing).

Timeline

June 2008 to March 2013.

Scope

Part of a 17-country multi-country program.

Partnership model

Good model of partnership between Oxfam and one high-profile national NGO, Aurat Foundation, which has strong historic roots in community volunteerism and activism and excellent media engagement.

Management/coordination model

Strong collaborative working, with Oxfam’s support role and specific contribution clear (training inputs, advocacy door opening at key moments, and above all collaboration on conceptual and programmatic clarity, testing and review of the program as it evolved – a very reflective team. Both OGB’s PM and PO for this program now work for Aurat).

Other relevant information, if considered necessary


And the following videos developed by Aurat: http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/video/women-against-violence-oxfam

http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/video/empowerment-through-inclusion-1

http://raisinghervoice.ning.com/video/id-the-legal-door-to-rights-1

3. PAKISTAN:
Raising Her Voice – Oxfam GB
Rana Ansar is a Member of the Provincial Assembly in Sindh and is associated to Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). Rana was among 1500 women activists across Pakistan who were part of the Women Leaders Groups (WLGs) formed in 30 districts under the project Raising Her Voice implemented by Oxfam and Aurat Foundation between 2008 and 2013. © Sara Farid/Oxfam GB
4. GLOBAL: Engendering Change - Oxfam Canada

Summary of the objective and results expected

To contribute to the capacity of women’s organizations and other civil society organizations to defend and promote women’s rights, priorities and interests, and to advance gender equality. The Engendering Change program included two main components. In the Global South, the methodology focused on capacity building of partner organizations in the Americas, Southern Africa, the Horn and East Africa and Asia. The program supported a significant number of local civil society organizations committed to the advancement of WR/GE in sub-sectors including gender-based violence, food security and rural livelihoods, active citizenship and women’s leadership.

In Canada, Oxfam Canada engaged a growing constituency of the Canadian public in WR/GE issues through Oxfam’s physical and virtual networks of offices, staff and community and campus groups. The program coincided with an explosive growth in social media techniques for sharing information and soliciting feedback, which greatly helped expand program outreach.

Over the five-year period, Oxfam Canada worked with a solid portfolio of 44 partners engaged in strengthening their organizational capacity to reflect and live the values and practices of gender-just organizations. In that time, these partner organizations consolidated their organizational systems and deepened their analysis of WR/GE issues, which led to more gender-sensitive programs, policies and practice. Oxfam Canada developed a Feminist Learning System for the Engendering Change program as well as a capacity building model to support this process, framed around three domains to help partners gauge and measure their strengths and needs as organizations interested in becoming more gender just: organizational transformation, organizational development and technical capacity. Tools were introduced to support this model including the capacity needs assessment tool (CAT) – generally a facilitated process – and annual self-assessment surveys undertaken by individual partners.

Budget size and type of funding

EC was a co-funded partnership arrangement between Oxfam Canada and the then Canadian International Development Agency. As of March 2010, the total value of the Engendering Change program was $17,556,787, represented a combination of CIDA/DFATD contribution of $13,530,000 and Oxfam Canada contribution of $4,026,786.

Timeline

EC covered a 61-month period from 1 March 2009 to 31 March 2014.

Scope

EC comprised country, multi-country, regional and global initiatives. At a country level the program was implemented in 13 countries, in the Americas (Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador and Guatemala), the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania), Southern Africa (Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia) and Asia (Pakistan).

Management/coordination model

The portfolio of partners was organized in the following manner: one-to-one partner organizations; regional programs; country-level multi-partner initiatives; and the global program. The composition of one-to-one partners is: organizations comprised of men and women (i.e. mixed organizations); women’s organizations; and organizations that self-identify as feminist.
Of the 40 partners in the portfolio at the end of the program, 23 were with the program during its entirety, while 10 were with it only during its last two years.

Oxfam Canada was committed to increasing its resource allocation to women’s organizations, and the EC program contributed to reaching this goal. The following table illustrates the number of partners per EC category – mixed organizations, women’s organizations and self-identified feminist organizations – by year and region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Year 4</th>
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</tbody>
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5. INDONESIA:
Gender Justice Program, Indonesia Joint Country Analysis and Strategy (JCAS) – Oxfam Australia (OAU)

Summary of the objective and results expected

The program is divided into four focus areas:

Enabling the women’s movement in Eastern Indonesia to influence actors who can address issues that impact on the lives of women, especially the poor and marginalized.

Women’s participation and leadership, enabling women to influence decisions which impact on their lives and their societies.

Reducing the occurrence of gender-based violence.

Increasing the engagement of men in the objectives and efforts of the women’s movement to promote gender justice.

The GJ program contributed to significant improvement in targeted women’s lives as well as the lives of their families and particularly children under their care.

The program has raised awareness on the importance of women’s groups and undertaken critical analysis on gender injustice. It has increased women’s capacity and participation in decision-making, particularly on issues related to their lives, and has increased women’s access to and ability to influence government, customary and religious institutions. Incorporation of principles of non-violence and the rights of women and children into customary systems of regulation (awig-awig) at the village level has been particularly successful.

Women are able to fulfil their rights as citizens, such as through active monitoring of corruption, money-politics at local elections, and the implementation of social protection programs. In terms of networking, this program has strengthened women’s networks, mostly at the local and provincial levels.

The program increases people’s intolerance of GBV including domestic violence, child abuse, trafficking, under-age marriage and polygamy through awareness campaigns and formal and non-formal policy advocacy from the village to national levels. The program is also successful in increasing men’s engagement in promoting gender justice and controlling men’s abusive behaviour, in particular through peer approaches between men and promotion of redefined roles for ‘ideal men’. At the same time, the program supports the effective handling of GBV cases in communities by formal and informal authorities. One factor that contributes to increased effectiveness of the handling of GBV cases is increased networks between police and communities, in particular through training of paralegals to work with police to handle cases in more appropriate ways. This illustrates the importance of the stakeholder approach and working in both the formal and informal spheres.

Budget size and type of funding
Unknown (Oxfam Australia)

Timeline
April 2011 to March 2015 (Mid-term review covers April 2011 to April 2013 only).

Scope
Regional: Eastern Indonesia.

Partnership model
Oxfam involves the program partners in the planning, monitoring and evaluation of the program. The program conducted several meetings for partners at the provincial and national levels in 2013, aimed to promote initiatives for collaboration and mutual exchange among partners at the national and provincial levels. The high efficiency of program implementation has been attributed to the way partner organizations and many community members have been encouraged to find ways to support their own activities.
Management/coordination model

Oxfam managed the project, acted as donor, and worked with partners who implemented.

Other relevant information, if considered necessary

Lessons drawn from the evaluation:

Working on gender justice in customary regulations at the village level is an appropriate strategy to bridge the gap between national policy and practice in communities.

Most activists in the communities have many obligations regarding not only gender justice issues but also other issues, such as health and early childhood, in which they are active. This might be an opportunity to integrate gender justice with these other issues; however, these activists need capacity support to achieve this. In addition, for issues such as GBV and domestic violence, community activists need legal or paralegal knowledge to assist. It is therefore important to consider the burden and many obligations of community activists, recognizing the broad skills and knowledge required to deal with GJ issues but also other issues that arise in the communities where they work.

Men are better able to influence other men’s perspectives on GBV and gender justice through a peer-group approach.

Communities that engage men in promoting gender justice are more likely to have positive results and make good progress.
Summary of the objective and results expected

The overall goal of the program was to “Ameliorate the democratic local governance as a condition to reduce poverty index in Nicaragua and to achieve the Millenium Development Goals”. The final evaluation measures only one of the indicators defined for this overall goal, as a survey is to be undertaken to measure the other. Regarding the indicator “At least 50% of local governments in the influencing area of the project adopt practices that have been requested by women’s and youth networks; participatory budgets and social auditing”, the evaluation indicates that the project was successful with 33% of local governments.

Regarding the objective “An improved prominence of youth and women in the definition and implementation of public policy in alliance with civil society at a national level is assured”, the evaluation remarks that great progress was made in assuring that youth and women’s networks find dialogue spaces with local authorities and position their requests in the media. However, the adversity of the political context and lack of openness to integrating their demands hindered the achievement of project goals.

The project design established three results:

1. Strengthened women’s and youth skills from 12 municipalities in Chinandega to handle effective dialogue with authorities when negotiating their local development agendas. In an interview with adult women in the inter-municipal network MMCH, one said: “The network objective is important. We, ourselves, empower ourselves, give us the strength, when before we did not have it because we did not know the mechanisms and methods, or where to acquire these skills, or be able to identify the needs we had in our regular lives. Now we are acquiring these new experiences, methodologies, opening this space to more women whose eyes were closed.”

2. Women’s and youth networks will have promoted the inclusion of their agendas into local budgets. In an interview with young women in the inter-municipal network MMCH, one said: “It was submitted to the mayor and they committed to include in the budget an allocation for women’s needs. This was the reason the ‘women’s area’ was created. Currently only one or two municipalities in the department do not have a women’s area, and this was an initiative that was raised by our agendas.”

3. Increased the quality of dialogue, analysis and synergy among CSOs at national level in order to generate joint action with local networks in favour of women and youth.

In summary, the evaluation highlights that both youth and women’s networks achieved relatively good results, taking into account Nicaragua’s complex political context, though the achievements differ: youth networks obtained good results in terms of prominence, and women’s networks in terms of establishing the networks themselves. Questions have been raised over the networks’ sustainability, as no strategy has yet been developed to address their dependence on external resources.

Budget size and type of funding

300,000 euros from the EU, 100,000 euros from other sources.

Timeline

The project started in November 2011 and lasted for 27 months.

Scope

This project is implemented at local level, where two of the partners act, and national level, supported by one of the partners.

Partnership model

The project has been implemented by three local organizations: Asociación para la Sobrevivencia y el Desarrollo Local (ASODEL), el Movimiento Mujeres de Chinandega (MMCH) y Red Nicaragüense por la Democracia y el Desarrollo Local, in partnership with
Oxfam Intermón. Together these four organizations take part in the MEL committee, to reflect and make decisions on the project.

Management/coordination model
The project works in a consortium model with different organizations uniting to agree on methodologies and strategies with better efficacy in the implementation of the project. In this space the organizations share knowledge, methodology and experiences and democratically reach consensus. Oxfam is a partner and offers them support and advice, technical and financial.
Women’s leadership and political participation is a priority in the Oxfam in Nigeria Country Analysis and Strategy 2011-2015, with a target to increase the space for women to assume leadership positions in social, economic and political spheres for female transformative leadership towards sustainable development in Nigeria. In this initiative, Oxfam supported women’s transformative leadership by empowering women and girls in selected parts of the country through feminist networks. The objective was to develop their leadership skills and enhance their political participation both as candidates and as voters. It aimed at changing the cultural and social conditioning of women’s minds and emboldening them to aspire for political office. Support was provided for capacity building of selected women to ensure the emergence of an informed, capable and politically savvy cadre of female political aspirants. Specific objectives were also formulated in line with factors inherent in the local Nigerian context. The two results expected were increased women’s leadership, and political participation and lobby and advocacy on women’s rights.

**Scope**

In partnership with Oxfam Novib, the project is implemented in Abia, Imo, Ebonyi, Osun and Lagos States by AfA, and by BAOBAB in the South East and South West regions of Nigeria, which are characterized by patriarchal attitudes, subjugation of women by men and very low participation of women in politics. The project is implemented in two states, Akwa-Ibom and Bayelsa, by Kebetkache Women Development & Resource Centre in partnership with Oxfam Novib. There is also lobbying and advocacy at the national level.

**Partnership model**

Alliances with women’s rights organizations, supporting them through technical advice and grants. BAOBAB and AfA were supported to implement actions individually and collectively to advance the agenda of increased transformative female leadership. These two organizations chair the Nigeria Feminist Forum, an emerging platform that works toward a future where, among other things, women and girls live free from violence and poverty, can obtain an education and control decisions about their bodies. Kebetkache Women Development & Resource Centre is a well-known women’s NGO in the Niger Delta region, working through a “bottom-up” approach to promote the human rights of women and girls with the mission of contributing to the achievement of good governance and sustainable development. ON’s partnership with Kebetkache is to empower women to participate from the community level to local government, state and subsequently the federal level by building their capacity to become democracy monitors and effective political candidates, understanding the intrigues and intricacies of governance and political processes.

**Budget size and type of funding**

300,000 euros from the EU, 100,000 euros from other sources.

**Timeline**

2011 to 2014.
Management/coordination model
Except that it is a grant given and managed by Oxfam Novib (Nigeria), no more information is available.

Other relevant information, if considered necessary
The main stakeholders in the project include the Ministry of Women Affairs, state and national legislatures, policy makers, political parties, donors, women NGOs, networks and coalitions. Targeted beneficiaries include young women selected from tertiary institutions, female political aspirants selected from political parties and women who have retired from public service. These were trained and paired with experienced female politicians for mentoring purposes. Men were also targeted to involve them in value re-orientation and finding and sustaining solutions to the marginalization of women. A major challenge in the implementation of the program has been frictions and tensions among women’s NGOs, which could constitute an obstacle to their effectiveness in promoting the interests of women in general and the agenda of female political participation in particular.

Two young GPI (Girl Power Initiatives) students attending a Saturday class at GPI headquarters in Benin City
© Mies van der Putte/Oxfam Novib
8. LAC:
Training and Empowering Grassroots Women for a New Model of Citizenship in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and Brazil - Oxfam Intermón

Summary of the objective and results expected
The overall objective was "to contribute to the aim that the diverse women in the South America region fully exercise all their rights from their different identities". The specific objective states that: "Grassroots women of diverse identities are organized and politically empowered in Brazil, Ecuador, Peru and Colombia to enforce their rights at national and regional level." In short, it was expected that grassroots women (urban and rural) could improve their participation, leadership and advocacy skills at local, national and regional level, making their voice heard, creating alliances and more effective proposals on the enforcement of their rights and participating in consolidation and strengthening of democracy in their countries and the region. According to assessments made, this goal was achieved.

A regional convention represented an opportunity to advance the articulation of a collective voice of diverse grassroots women, showing their differences and peculiarities, contributing to the interaction between different identities, and taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the various players to develop powerful strategies of participation and influence. The convention recognized the existence of international law defining the rights of women and equality and equity between men and women, adopted by most countries and of great significance for women’s organizations and feminist movement worldwide.

The program’s achievements include the integration of 51 demands from the organizations in areas such as EVAW, food sovereignty, agro-ecology, popular economy defence and human rights into local and national policies in Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil and Peru; 199 national and regional alliances among participating organizations; 746 appearances in local and national media; and more than 16,000 diverse women’s organizations (self-identified as afro-descendants, indigenous, grassroots, mestizas, LGBT collectives, urban and rural) trained in political schools. In 2013 the total beneficiaries were 16,078 women and 1,281 men.

Budget size and type of funding
Total funding was 7,500,000, of which 6,000,000 was funded by AECID and the rest by Oxfam Intermón other organizations.

Timeline
The program was approved by AECID in March 2009. Implementation started in November 2010 in Peru and Colombia; Ecuador started its activities in January 2011, and Brazil in March 2011. The end of the action was 15 April 2015.

Scope
Colombia, Perú, Ecuador and Brazil.

Partnership model
The partners are heterogeneous: 15 women’s organizations and four mixed, including five and three respectively from urban areas, four N60s, one Foundation, one union, one rural and indigenous women organization, one afro-Colombian organization and one rural women organization; nine organizations working with mestizas women, five with indigenous women, seven with afro descendant women, seven with young women, and six including work on sexual diversity.

All these organizations share experiences of participative work with diverse grassroots women, and a common approach to advocacy and social auditing at urban and rural level; all coordinate with other organizations and social movements. All the 19 organizations work with more than 100 grassroots women and mixed organizations.
Management/coordination model

Decisions are taken by a regional committee composed of six women: one representative from each of the countries in the program, one from the South America Region, Oxfam Intermón, and one Intermon program manager, with an annual and renewable mandate. Each country where the program is implemented has its own committee comprising one representative per organization and one from Oxfam Intermón. Meetings take place every two or three months. These national committees decide their participation in regional spaces, choose their representative for the regional committee and develop plans for national activities.

Lourdes Huanca, president of FEMUCARINAP (Federación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Artesanas Indígenas Nativas y Asalariadas del Perú /National Federation of Indigenous Peasant Women Native and Salaried Women of Peru)

© Elva Abad / Oxfam Intermón
Summary of the objective and results expected

The role of RHV in Uganda’s ratification of the African Women’s Rights Protocol was recognized by the African Union: “I wish to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate Solidarity for African Women’s Rights (SOAWR) and all NGO networks in Uganda, who worked for many months, and round the clock at the Kampala Summit, for the ratification of the Protocol”, said Litha Musyimi-Ogana, Women, Gender and Development Director at the African Union Commission. The final evaluation also showed this was largely as a result of sustained advocacy by the Uganda Coalition for African Women’s Rights in partnership with the wider Uganda women’s movement, the regional partner SOAWR, government and development partners. The Domestic Violence, FGM and Trafficking of Persons Bills were also passed into law in 2010 following lobbying from the women’s movement, including the RHV coalition.

Management/coordination model

OXFAM is the donor, providing financial and technical assistance, while AMwA is the implementing agency. The support Oxfam provided to AMwA was based on needs expressed by AMwA. The partnership was at two levels: AMwA had already developed a relationship with the Pan Africa Oxfam in Nairobi and the head office in Oxford, and – unlike other projects, which are negotiated through the country office – URHV was negotiated at headquarters and passed on to the country office. Management of the project was at multiple levels: Nairobi, UK and the country office.

Other relevant information, if considered necessary

The role of RHV in Uganda’s ratification of the African Women’s Rights Protocol was recognized by the African Union: “I wish to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate Solidarity for African Women’s Rights (SOAWR) and all NGO networks in Uganda, who worked for many months, and round the clock at the Kampala Summit, for the ratification of the Protocol”, said Litha Musyimi-Ogana, Women, Gender and Development Director at the African Union Commission. The final evaluation also showed this was largely as a result of sustained advocacy by the Uganda Coalition for African Women’s Rights in partnership with the wider Uganda women’s movement, the regional partner SOAWR, government and development partners. The Domestic Violence, FGM and Trafficking of Persons Bills were also passed into law in 2010 following lobbying from the women’s movement, including the RHV coalition.

Budget size and type of funding


Timeline

Five years, from July 2008 to June 2013.

Scope

Five regions in Uganda: East, West, North, South and Central.

Partnership model

The project developed a strong, diverse coalition with a single identity to campaign for women’s rights in Uganda. RHV, working in partnership with the Uganda Coalition for African Women’s Rights, has seen coalition membership grow to 34 CSOs, faith groups and women activists. The membership of two Muslim organizations has helped hugely to engage Islamic leadership positively at the highest level.
Sarah is the chairperson of a handicrafts group in Bidibidi Settlement. With the help of Oxfam and partner CEFORD the group was established to enable women to earn an income and socialise. The group meets at Sarah’s home and crafts jewellery and reusable sanitary towels. These products are then sold at the local market.

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The Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights Working Group would like to extend its sincere thanks to Ines Smyth for her time and dedication in bringing together learning from across the Oxfam confederation and providing practical recommendations for the future development of this work. We would also like to thank the many individuals from different Oxfam affiliates who participated in interviews and provided information for the development of this document: Ranjana Das, Chioma Ukwuagu, Sharon Thangadurai, Nickie Monga, Emily Brown, and Irene García Muñoz. Special thanks also to Jeanette Kloosterman, Chloë Safier, Sandra Sotelo Reyes, Elselijn Mulder and Shawna Wakefield for their involvement in the earlier drafting and shaping of this paper.

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Oxfam is an international confederation of 17 organizations networked together in 92 countries, as part of a global movement for change, to build a future free from the injustice of poverty:

- Oxfam America [www.oxfamamerica.org]
- Oxfam Australia [www.oxfam.org.au]
- Oxfam in Belgium [www.oxfamsol.be]
- Oxfam Canada [www.oxfam.ca]
- Oxfam France [www.oxfamfrance.org]
- Oxfam Germany [www.oxfam.de]
- Oxfam GB [www.oxfam.org.uk]
- Oxfam Hong Kong [www.oxfam.org.hk]
- Oxfam India [www.oxfamindia.org]
- Oxfam Italy [www.oxfamitalia.org]
- Oxfam Japan [www.oxfam.jp]
- Intermón Oxfam [www.intermonoxfam.org]
- Oxfam Ireland [www.oxfamireland.org]
- Oxfam Italy [www.oxfamitalia.org]
- Oxfam Mexico [www.oxfammexico.org]
- Oxfam New Zealand [www.oxfam.org.nz]
- Oxfam Novib [www.oxfamnovib.nl]
- Oxfam Québec [www.oxfam.qc.ca]

Please write to any of the agencies for further information, or visit www.oxfam.org.
Oxfam adopts the following definition of TLWR: ‘An approach and strategy for social justice which challenges and transforms power relations and structures (in all their different manifestations), into an enabling environment for the leadership potential of individuals (purpose). It embodies the principles and values of human rights, gender equality, participation, consultation and respect for the dignity of all people. TLWR directs others to bring about fundamental change, and facilitates collective efforts to transform inequitable institutions whether it is in the home, the community or more broadly (practice).’

Available at: http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/the-right-to-be-heard-framework—a-learning-companion-25x793


The 2013 OSP objective refers to women, poor and marginalized, providing transformative leadership. The definition given below (see p. 4) shows that Oxfam’s agreed understanding of TLWR is now broader.

In recent years, shaping the directions of such work has been mandated by Oxfam’s G3 leadership as the responsibility of a new working group within the formal architecture of Oxfam. The TLWR Group has the task of providing guidance for ongoing work on TLWR, to raise the profile of current (and future) work within and outside Oxfam, and to develop a framework for a global program. This group is responsible for overseeing the work summarized in this report.

Oxfam global and regional (multi-country) programs are an ‘essential approach for program delivery that can complement and enhance other program (usually country level) design approaches within Oxfam.’ Program management for multi-country (global and regional) programs: A guide to identifying, building and managing successful multi-country programs 2015.2 (draft).

Via Skype, with Ranjana Das in India, Chioma Ikwegu in Nigeria, and Sharon Thangadurai in Cambodia. In person, with Nickie Monga, ACD in OPTI, and Irene Garcia Munoz and Emily Brown in Oxford. My appreciation to all for their fruitful insights, useful information and documents, and patience.

For reasons that are explored in later sections of this paper, especially in Section 2.

See footnote 5 for details. Debates were made available more widely through the publication of a full issue of the Oxfam Gender and Development Journal on ‘Women and Leadership’ Gender S. Development; Volume 8, Issue 3, 2000 Special Issue: Women and Leadership.

Making Women’s Leadership Explicit: A Learning Review.

Such relationships extended – for some affiliates and some individuals – to the influential Women’s Learning Partnership.

For an extended definition of this 4 Ps framework, see “Feminist leadership for social transformation, clearing the conceptual cloud” by Shrilata Batiwala for CREA.


Duncan Green, 28th April 2015 blog.


Interview with Nikki Monga, OPTI Acting ACD.


Since 2014, gender colleagues in the region have organised themselves in a powerful working and advocacy group, sharing a common agenda where gender justice is a priority.

Blog, 5th May 2015.

For Oxfam, influencing means systematic efforts to change power relationships, attitudes and beliefs, and the formulation and implementation of official policies. See presentation on Influencing for impact.

This usually refers to women. However, some of the TLWR work also illustrates the need to change men (especially boys). While resolving the question of the place of men as individuals in this type of project remains beyond the scope of this exercise, it can be said that TLWR work addresses its activities to women but aims at transforming both men and women. Targets of influencing attempts can be specific (for example, husbands and politicians) or general (the wider public).


To better understand the concept of transversal politics, see this link. https://autonomorganisering.noblogs.org/files/2015/12/davis_transversal-politics.pdf

From interview with Nickie Monga (ACD, OPTI).

Concept Note: Pacific Women Initiative: Responding to GBV in the Highlands.


Page 28.

Page 38.

MTE of the Uganda RHV Project, Akina Mama wa Afrika 2011.


Interview with Ranjana Das, Oxfam India Program Coordinator in the Oshawa Office and Manager of the Samudran Project.

OPTI, AMAL Workshop September 2014.

OSP, page 16.


Oxfam Colombia 2014 Empoderamiento y participación política de las Mujeres Negras, Afrodescendientes y Palenqueras de Colombia, page 32.

“Formación y Empoderamiento de mujeres populares y diversas para la Construcción de nuevas ciudadanías en Colombia, Perú, Ecuador y Brasil” October 2010-15 de abril del año 2015.

Akina Mama Wa Afrika 2011 MTR Evaluation of the Uganda RHV.


Advocacy TLWR, Amal 2015.


See page 21.

An example is that of Muslim women’s efforts in Jacobabad District (as documented in Women Leaders: The Journey of change begins here, published by Oxfam in Pakistan) to ensure that Hindu women there were included in the civil registration drive.

Promoting Increased Participation of Women in Politics, with Kebetkache Women Development & Resource Centre, implemented from 2012 to 2014.

The distinction made here between the pillars (or areas of engagement) of the framework and the ways of working is not rigid. Some of the pillars can be seen as ways of working and vice versa.

See page 9.

Evaluation of Baobab for Women’s Human Rights 2014, Baobab and Oxfam.

Case Study Baobab/Afa – ON Annual Report 2012 (Bureau WAF), Oxfam Novib 2012.

The MTR of RHV recommended the development of a specific learning strategy for the program. This was done in 2011, reviewed at different points in time.

De la casa a la política: Escritos colectivos de las mujeres organizadas de Lima, Oxfam.


Initial rounds of ERs were budgeted at circa £10,000 GBP.

Oxfam Australia Strategic Plan Outcome Reporting, MEAL Framework (December 2014).


A term that indicates the way in which different forms of inequality (according to gender, age, class, ethnicity) are connected.

See pages 34–35.


Interview with Ranjana Das 8th May 2015.

‘They are a collection of country programs where it is strategic to ask similar questions and use similar approaches to tackling similar problems’ (page 1) Program Management For Multi-Country (Global And Regional) Programs: A Guide To Identifying, Building And Managing Successful Multi-Country Programming.

They are: explicit awareness and attention to power dynamics – transparency; creating safe environments for expression, self-care, participation, and growth of leadership skills; making hierarchies rational, visible, and open to change; relation building, strong trusting relationships; awareness of self; accountable to the larger goal, vision and constituency; simulating within the changes sought outside; accountability.

If possible a balanced representation of regions/countries and affiliates should be sought.

Oxfam Canada has produced an annual report, Is Oxfam Canada Walking the Talk on our Gender Policy Commitment?, on its progress towards increasing resources to women’s organizations
Sarah is the chairperson of a handicrafts group in Bidibidi Settlement. With the help of Oxfam and partner CEFORD the group was established to enable women to earn an income and socialise. The group meets at Sarah’s home and crafts jewellery and reusable sanitary towels. These products are then sold at the local market. 

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