TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP FOR WOMEN’S RIGHTS
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Oxfam understands transformative leadership for women’s rights 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. Transformative leadership for women’s rights directs others (men and women) 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)’.

In simple terms, transformative leadership for women’s rights is a process of people working together to transform systemic oppression against women – with the ultimate goal being the realization of gender justice and women’s rights1. A number of important principles differentiate it from much of the current development and private sector work on women’s leadership. Firstly, a TLWR approach supports thinking about men as well as women from all walks of life as champions and leaders for gender justice and women’s rights – both as individuals and in their organizations and networks. Working creatively with diverse allies within and across sectors, keeping in mind intersectionality, has proven critical to achieving women’s rights in full. Secondly, it is clear about its end goal – more activists, leaders and organizations working together explicitly to promote a women’s rights agenda. We prioritize this focus on promoting a women’s rights agenda over a broader social justice agenda because the experience of gender mainstreaming has taught us that unless we are explicit about our end-goal of gender equality, transformative changes are significantly harder to conceive or achieve. Moreover, a TLWR approach also helps us to mature our program support for really smart, safe and effective influencing and accountability work. Finally, a TLWR approach also supports rethinking what we understand by ‘leadership’ – recognizing that women’s activism and leadership is born and matures in many different places: in church and savings groups; as first responders in emergency situations; in climate change or access to justice activism; in committees and networks; as community chiefs and parish elders; as well as in more visible, formal political processes. A TLWR approach helps us to pay greater attention to the quality, equality and inclusiveness of our power, practice and partnerships in each of these different kinds of leadership spaces – recognizing that how we work is as important as what we do.

The aim of the Global Program Framework on Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights is that more women will obtain and exercise their political, economic and social rights through the practical application of transformative leadership for women’s rights. Oxfam believes this will happen through the increased engagement of individuals, civil society, private sector organizations and governments to support TLWR. TLWR programs will work across four primary outcome areas – with a fifth cross-cutting ‘HOW’ we work – that together make up the TLWR five program ‘pillars’:

I. Build individual knowledge and transformative leadership practices for collective impact.

II. Build sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms.

III. Support collaborations to influence social norms and informal decision-making processes.

IV. Support collaborations to influence formal decision-making institutions, processes, policies and their implementation.

Concerning the previous four program pillars:

V. Increase social accountability in all TLWR pillars to advance women’s rights.
INTRODUCTION

The Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights working group of Oxfam International is proud to present a new Global Program Framework. The Framework was developed to help us deliver our strategic ambition on Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights (TLWR).

This Framework has been developed both to support colleagues wanting to integrate TLWR principles and approaches into programs and campaigns, as well as those developing stand-alone Gender Justice programs in support of TLWR. It is not intended to be the ‘rulebook’ for how Oxfam designs programs but rather what we hope will be a valuable guide and practical prompt for colleagues and partners seeking to start out or mature their program approach in this important area. This will of course look very different in the very diverse contexts in which we work. This Framework reminds us of Oxfam’s commitment to support women’s participation, activism and leadership in all areas of their lives – be it in the economic, social, legal, cultural or political sphere. This Framework is therefore designed to be as useful – and as adaptable to local contexts – as possible for colleagues working to promote TLWR in each and every one of the Oxfam Change Goals: in our humanitarian responses, campaigns and long-term programming. Whether we are working through the lens of Active Citizenship, Women’s Economic Empowerment, Governance, Resilience or humanitarian protection and assistance, integrating Transformative Leadership For Women’s Rights framework is essential in all of Oxfam’s work by explicitly recognizing and tackling the barrier that it presents to women’s participation and Leadership.

The following pages explain clearly what Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights is, why Oxfam promotes it, the practical program lessons learned to date, and introduces a proposed TLWR Theory of Change, program strategies and learning questions, and five propositional program objectives.

The TLWR Global Program Framework has been developed by a team of consultants from Gender at Work alongside members of the Oxfam International TLWR working group. It is grounded in learning from years of rich and diverse TLWR programming carried out with our partners across Oxfam – learning from what is also summarized in the 2015 TLWR Lessons Learned paper.

When and how to use the Framework: the framework is intended to be a useful reference point at key moments in the design, review and evaluation of programs, campaigns and humanitarian responses – as well as for use in strengthening our own organizational and leadership practice. The framework is designed to complement Oxfam’s gender mainstreaming approach. It supports us with practical ways of thinking and better understanding how we can embed TLWR work aimed at promoting gender equality and new styles of leadership in everything we do. The five TLWR pillars are closely interconnected but on their own, can act as useful prompts for different teams at different moments in planning and implementation cycles. Work on one or two of the pillars can help us build the skills, confidence and partnerships required to move on to more transformative elements of other pillars over time.

If you are looking for guidance for integrating TLWR into your individual or team management and leadership practice, then pillars 1, 2 and 5 should be most useful for you. Oxfam Canada’s The Power of Gender-Just Organizations Toolkit provides a practical set of tools and approaches for embedding more transformative leadership practice in your work. The Oxfam International’s Leadership Development Pathway, currently under completion, also embraces and builds on TLWR principles and practice in how we grow leadership in the organization.

Colleagues looking for guidance in integrating TLWR into Oxfam’s organizational practice and that of our partners – or those seeking to strengthen gender justice through Oxfam’s role as convener and broker in different sectors – should find pillars 2, 3 and 5 most useful. The ‘Power of Gender-Just Organizations’ Toolkit above and the recent TLWR Research Backgrounder also provide countless practical examples.

If you are looking for guidance for integrating TLWR into programs, then all five pillars will be relevant for you. Oxfam’s 2015 TLWR Program Learning paper and the ‘Raising Her Voice’ website are also full of examples of TLWR programmes in practice. For Humanitarian colleagues and partners, the ‘Gender Leadership in Humanitarian Action’ is a comprehensive resource for transformative work on gender and TLWR in emergency responses.

This Global Program Framework has also been through a process of validation by a variety of country and regional teams as well as other key internal and external stakeholders with expertise in TLWR, and is now available for use by any Oxfam team or partner organization seeking to develop their TLWR work and thinking. We would therefore welcome any feedback on how you have used this Framework to support your work, and how we – the TLWR working group – could do more to strengthen it further.

As such, this Global Program Framework is intended to be a living document: the TLWR working group will review it and its application and value after approximately one year in order to improve it with insights and experience from programmatic practice.
What women’s rights advocates have known for years is finally widely accepted in the development community: worldwide, autonomous women’s movements have been vital to achieving women’s rights. They have been responsible for institutionalizing feminist ideas, values and principles into international norms. These feminist values include views that:

• The personal is political – issues once considered private (e.g. sexuality, gendered division of labor in the home, domestic violence) are political. Responsibility for their transformation lies with society at large, not with the individual. These beliefs and values that we want to see in the world at large must be reflected in how we live our own lives.

• Individual and social transformation are interconnected.

• There is no social justice without women’s empowerment.

• Unequal gender power relations must be transformed – women and other marginalized genders should be empowered.

• All forms of exclusion and oppression (e.g. on the basis of age, sexual orientation, caste, class, sexual identity and orientation, dis/ability) are interconnected and should be transformed.

• Transformative leadership for women’s rights and transformative change cannot happen without involving and engaging strategically with men and boys.

• Decision-making processes and structures must be democratic.

Specifically, collective action based on feminist assertions such as these has catalyzed government action worldwide and has been a deciding factor in policy developments that have advanced women’s rights and changed widespread attitudes, beliefs and social norms along the way. Research into 40 peace processes since the end of the Cold War has shown that where women’s groups exercised weak or no influence – in fact, an agreement was almost always reached in these cases and had a greater likelihood of being implemented. However, even within civil society organizations, there is deep concern that the norms of the international development ‘industry’ have hindered the practice of transformative leadership and movement building by contributing to short-term thinking through a focus on short-term ‘project’ planning. Concerns for organizational stability, particularly among women’s rights organizations, are becoming more urgent in the face of uncertain and more restrictive funding.

A critical mass of women in political leadership has been credited with tangible achievements in increasing access to services such as water, education and childcare. In most world regions, the proportion of seats held by women doubled between 2000 and 2014. However, women still only held around one in five seats in lower and upper houses of legislatures, and significant obstacles remain for women in office and in decision-making positions. Political institutions at all levels often feature well-established, patriarchal norms and are dominated by men. While some women challenge these norms and stand for women’s rights, more often than not women bend to fit these masculine norms. Furthermore, it is not automatic that elected women will share or serve the interests of other women. Gender bias against women in positional leadership, such as political representation, directly affects their ability to perform. Forms of bias include intentional exclusion as well as less overt forms, including women not being seen as leaders, roles and responsibilities being assigned according to gender norms rather than skills and capabilities, and a lack of role models for women in leadership. With the possible exception of systems where decisions are made by consensus, the legitimacy and authority of women representatives as leaders is often undermined due to norms that undervalue their participation.

The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) commit States to ‘ensure women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life’. Advocates for women’s rights and gender equality are committed to costing and adequately resourcing national policies, strategies and plans on gender equality across all sectors of public expenditure linked to the SDGs.
They stress the importance of multi-stakeholder partnerships to ensure adequate resourcing of women’s rights institutions and organizations at all levels to advance gender equality, women’s empowerment and the rights of women and girls.

These agreements could be important galvanizing factors for the development community at large. But what will it take for these agreements to be implemented and to foster transformation rather than more of the same? In both the formal and informal spheres, there is a great deal that remains to be done to ensure leadership that enables personal and collective transformation, actively confronting power inequalities and offering alternatives. More support is needed for transformational leadership with the active intention to advance women’s rights, including through understanding the contexts and processes within which leadership takes place, and strengthening enabling environments for their leadership to succeed among a wider range of key actors, sectors and institutions. Then we may learn about possibilities to deepen and quicken the pace of change for women’s rights and ultimately the rights of all who are marginalized and oppressed on the basis of social identity.

Oxfam’s work with partners on TLWR across the confederation has provided us with rich learning about the WHAT and HOW principles and practices required for effective TLWR programming. These include:

TLWR is fundamentally about promoting a women’s rights agenda – for transformative change for gender justice. It goes beyond a focus on numbers of women in positions of leadership and power to focus on strengthening the quality and intention of that leadership.

This means strong support for collective leadership that promotes women’s rights – for safer and more effective influencing within women’s movements and with allies in other critical sectors.

At an individual level, it requires support for developing women leaders’ technical and influencing skills, negotiation and consensus building, drawing on the best of our governance analysis, techniques and strategies to support transformative change.

It also means paying new attention to the politics and practice of power – rethinking leadership, and modelling and supporting more equal and inclusive leadership styles as individuals, movements and organizations – including within Oxfam and our partners.

But TLWR is also about engaging men more effectively as partners and leaders for women’s rights.

Finally, we know we cannot do any of this without transforming the political, economic and social systems and institutions we work in – creating the enabling environment necessary for gender equality and women’s rights to live and breathe.
Oxfam Lessons Learned and Value Added

Both within its change goal on Gender Justice, focused on the advancement of women’s rights, and across its other rights-based change goals to end poverty, Oxfam prioritizes helping to build the capacity of the organizations of poor people, with a particular focus on women’s leadership, and attitudes and beliefs concerning gender. These organizations work on a wide range of issues, from economic justice to violence against women, to humanitarian response to active citizenship. Within its complementary goals on active citizenship and gender justice, Oxfam encourages women, youth, Indigenous people, and other marginalized and discriminated against groups to participate in and influence decision-making processes that affect their lives; to strive for political leadership; and to help women to occupy key positions of power and influence, both in communities and in organizations, by providing transformative leadership in support of women’s rights. Oxfam is committed to seeing more women and men, civil society and private sector organizations, as well as governments, actively engaged in advancing women’s leadership, women’s rights, gender justice, and eliminating violence against women. This requires strategies that advance TLWR as a core means of achieving gender justice and other goals.

Since the confederation established a Gender Justice change goal in 2008, Oxfam has placed more explicit attention on building leadership and collective action at scale based on many of the feminist values and principles stated above. For instance, at individual and community levels, it has supported grassroots women’s leadership development through ‘Raising Her Voice’ – a widely documented 17-country program which achieved considerable results beyond women’s political leadership by addressing personal and collective transformation, rooting itself in specific contexts, and fostering innovative coalitions that have created enabling environments for women’s leadership to succeed. At organizational levels, Oxfam’s ‘Engendering Change Program’ supported the capacity development of gender-just organizations in Central America and Cuba, the Horn and East Africa, and Southern Africa. The program showed that gender-just organizations do better, more effective programming when focusing on the creation of capable women/community leaders; understanding the context they work in, including possibilities for collaboration; and engage in internal and external reflection and learning17.

This Global Program Framework builds on lessons learned from Oxfam’s own program approaches and strategies to advance transformational leadership for women’s rights, as well as those of other cutting-edge organizations18.

1. Lessons Learnt: Program Approach

• A twin-track approach helps add breadth and depth: Supporting women’s autonomous organizations – known to be important for more transformative agenda setting – whilst also helping women to exert greater influence in mainstream institutions and helping men to take action on women’s rights, are all needed.

• A learning, flexible and adaptive program design is important: The terrain of transformation is one of complex change, often requiring experimentation and innovation rather than a ‘one size fits all’ approach. Whether as a program approach or a strategy, the flexibility to adapt in real time to emerging issues and changes in context is important, particularly given that many Oxfam partners work in fragile states and conflict-affected settings. However, this needs to connect to the longer term, less appealing but critical work of women’s rights organizations to train and mentor women and men in claiming their rights and to understand and respond to structural and practical gender justice issues that impact on their everyday lives.

• Flexible and ‘innovation’ funds should be considered: Funding for organizations to experiment is an excellent way to inject much-needed flexible funding, particularly into women’s rights organizations. This is a challenge given the current climate of shrinking unrestricted funds, but it has been shown to yield important outcomes.

• Management arrangements need to reflect the transformative nature of change: Challenging status quo management practices, hierarchical relations, and traditional leadership styles that privilege control and tangible results – even within women’s rights organizations – is an important ongoing practice. It requires experimentation, new ways of thinking, being and doing, and ways of dealing with conflict and backlash.

• Using leadership as a point of entry helps overcome development silos: Because it goes beyond a narrow sectoral focus, focusing on leadership helps to overcome silos apparent in much gender work in part because it is often driven by women’s rights organizations that take a more holistic approach to gender equality.
2. LESSONS LEARNT: PROGRAM STRATEGIES

A. Funding and strengthening institutional capacity

• Capacity building and organizational support: In many places Oxfam works on building partner organizations’ capacity in gender analysis and strategies. Feedback via a partnership satisfaction survey underscored that ‘Oxfam should increase its support to women’s leadership development programs and increase the funding for gender equality projects and programs’19. Capacity development is particularly crucial at a grassroots level.

• Deep transformation requires time: Short-term funding horizons lead to project-oriented approaches to strengthening leadership that generally run counter to knowledge of the kinds of attention and time needed to support transformational change within individuals and groups. Three to five years appears the minimum to see changes emerge and take root in practice.

• Economic opportunities may strengthen leadership outcomes: It may be important to include income generation in objectives for women alongside transformational leadership development strengthening. This is also part of ‘meeting people where they are at’ by building on personal development (and meeting basic needs) to work towards more systemic change.

• Value Added: Within this Global Program Framework, there are several ways in which Oxfam will build on its existing programs and strengths to take these lessons and program experiences on board.

B. Action and peer learning

• Providing space to build feminist consciousness grounds the work: The ‘reductive and instrumental’ approach to strengthening women’s leadership can be overcome with the provision of reflective spaces for individual and collective learning rooted in transnational feminist values and practices.

• Translating transformative leadership principles into action requires practice: There is no one model or toolbox for how to strengthen transformative leadership, whereas there are numerous practices documented to model feminist purpose and values using leadership for women’s rights. The learning mindset helps to put this into perspective.

• Reflection and learning: Oxfam has contributed knowledge on gender and development for decades. Oxfam’s Knowledge Hubs on Active Citizenship, Women’s Economic Empowerment in Agriculture, and Violence Against Women can contribute to new thinking in the field on the pathways between leadership for women’s rights and other development outcomes.

• Leadership development for women must not stop when they reach decision-making positions: Maintaining support for women once they enter formal politics – in order to stay connected to allies in civil society and thereby improve the outcomes of their political work – is critical yet not available. There is a need to continue the leadership development learning opportunities, particularly as demands on women leaders change.

• Knowledge sharing: Oxfam’s established feminist Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) principles and practice mean we are well positioned to offer an in–depth understanding of how transformational change can be measured and its impact evidenced to increase the visibility of the outcomes of building leadership and collective power for women’s rights.

C. Networking, collaboration and coalition building

• Collaboration is an important and under–resource strategy: Very limited attention has been paid to building the skills required to make collaboration work between individuals within women’s rights organizations and among organizations themselves. It is important to design approaches that provide ongoing opportunities to build trusting relationships, openness and continuous learning as part of the work in organizations, networks and – over time – in movements, towards women’s rights.

• Convening power: In many places, Oxfam has played a strong role in building broad–based alliances; creating spaces for networking, debate and influencing; and supporting social movements across a wide range of sectors to build common agendas and collective action at local, national, regional and global levels. Partners would like Oxfam to increase its support for alliance building with other national organizations, and to increase its funding of lobbying and advocacy work20.

• Influencing other donors and NGOs: Through its brand, profile and reputation among donors and INGOs, Oxfam has the power to influence donors to increase their support for women’s rights organizing in general, and TLWR in particular. One strategy for this is Oxfam competing for large pots of funding that can be redirected to women’s rights organizations and to programming that supports longer–term transformational goals. Another is Oxfam’s modeling of more equal ways of delivering core work with the wider sector, an example of which is the introduction of gender balance among frontline food distribution teams in South Sudan which had an immediate positive impact on the numbers of women reached with food aid.
• **Breadth and reach:** Oxfam’s work spans humanitarian, development and campaigning, giving the confederation the ability to develop a collective consciousness of the importance of transformative leadership in advancing women’s rights, whether it be in relation to ending violence against women, providing access to basic services, ensuring the right to be heard, safety and dignity in humanitarian crises, or food justice.

**D. Advocacy and social accountability initiatives**

• **A commitment to intersectionality:** All kinds of discrimination and marginalization need to be considered in power analysis and transformative approaches, not only those based on gender. It is important that specific strategies are made explicit to build the transformative leadership among, for instance, young women, racial and ethnic minorities, and LGBTQIA+ women.

• **Household dynamics influence leadership:** It is clear that a much stronger concern for gender relations within the household should be present when focusing on the ‘women’s political engagement’ aspect of TLWR.

• **A critical mass is needed:** It is unrealistic to think that in any organization or society that all members will internalize the values associated with TLWR, even among value-based organizations. However, a critical mass committed to transforming values into action is important. Strategies to meet people where they are at, and which challenge individuals to make deep change for collective impact, are important.

• **Involving and liaising strategically with men:** In order to achieve gender justice, men need to be part of the solution. For TLWR, it is crucial to engage with men and boys as they are enmeshed in gendered relations, norms and structures.

• **Involving and working strategically with youth:** In almost all societies, young women and men are generally more open to change, including adopting transformative leadership roles.

3. **MONITORING, EVALUATION, ACCOUNTABILITY AND LEARNING (MEAL)**

‘Transformational change is long-lasting, systemic, sustainable change that challenges structures, culture and institutions that preserve inequality and in justice in the status quo’

Oxfam Program Framework

Oxfam aims to contribute to transformational change, supporting individuals and communities to challenge power equitably and irreversibly, to realize women’s rights. One expression of our commitment to transformation is our efforts to put women’s rights at the heart of all we do. It is a core part of our rights-based approach to development and is informed by feminism. This means that MEAL approaches must reveal contributions Oxfam has made to change, and how these changes happened. So in the TLWR framework, the MEAL systems and approaches should challenge existing power structures, enable us to learn from mistakes as well as achievements, challenge underlying assumptions, and ask ‘why’ changes have occurred.

This kind of transformational change for women’s rights is complex. It is unpredictable and can happen in many different ways. As with other forms of complex social change, changes in gender relations are usually non-linear and multifaceted. What works in one context may have an entirely different effect in another. Change can also be unpredictable. A hypothesis of the results of an intervention is developed based on a good understanding of a context and community, but rarely can the exact outcomes be predicted. Furthermore, changes that seem positive at first may quickly seem to erode. A hard-won victory by community members for women’s land rights can lead to backlashes against activists, or seeming increases in violence against women. Such factors are common among social change processes and MEAL systems must reflect this. They must help to track progress and achievements and capture negative impacts, resistance, reaction and unexpected outcomes.

To help guide MEAL for TLWR and to explain where and how change happens, sample MEAL questions are suggested over short, medium and long-term periods. This is not an exhaustive list but intends to provide suggestions.

**TRANSFORMATIONAL CHANGE INVOLVES GREATER RISKS: TLWR AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN’S HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS**

The prevalence of the patriarchal culture that is so predominant in Latin America means that women human rights defenders face specific risks and attacks, since their activities involve them challenging cultural, religious and social norms.

The most common types of attack against women’s rights defenders are: intimidation and psychological harassment (21%), threats and ultimatums (16%), defamation and smear campaigns (9%), excessive use of force (6%), criminalization and illegal detention (8%). The most attacked women human rights defenders were those who work to protect land and territory, followed by those who support victims of gender-based violence.

Oxfam’s theory of change and logic model concerning transformative leadership for women’s rights (see page 13) is based on core beliefs and experience of supporting transformational change in the lives of women and men through challenging unequal power balances based on gender and other identities. Oxfam believes that transformational change happens through interaction between active citizens and accountable States, through a redistribution of power in society, horizontal and vertical alliances between organizations, and a solid evidence base to make the case for change.

Gender justice is a core goal of Oxfam’s theory of change, and building TLWR at all levels (personal, interpersonal, organizational, movement and society wide) is a central approach and strategy for achieving it. Oxfam aims to promote women’s agency and transformative leadership across all of its work. This commitment is rooted in the understanding that women’s rights are best achieved through both their individual and collective action and power, together with the mobilization of others. To this end, Oxfam places particular emphasis on helping to strengthen the capacity and leadership of women’s rights organizations.

There is no single approach to such complex change, and there is much that needs to be understood about how TLWR practices can be deepened, even within women’s rights organizations themselves. More needs to be understood about the extent to which transformational leadership that benefits women’s rights in different contexts can be integrated into the structures and practices of mainstream organizations, the movements they support, and political institutions. As such, the proposed Global Program Framework ‘theory of change’ is framed around a set of hypotheses on key questions that Oxfam and partners have about how to achieve women’s political, economic and social rights, and the role of transformative leadership in achieving them. Such an approach is guided by feminist principles of Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL) and an emergent learning theory. MEAL questions are embedded within each of the program outcome areas, and a MEAL approach is included near the end of the document.

It is proposed that this Global Program Framework and the learning-oriented questions be used to inform and guide country programs in the initial stages of program design, and as they implement, monitor, evaluate, and learn from such initiatives. This framework will continue to be modified through an iterative process with country programs and partners as the program initiatives are identified, designed and implemented. It is worth noting the intention that all of this work contributes to Oxfam’s overall Gender Justice goal: ‘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.’
**Objective of the Global Program Framework:** Increased understanding and practice of transformative leadership for women’s rights in Oxfam’s programs across the confederation.

**Programmatic hypothesis:**
- Increased understanding and practice of transformative leadership will contribute to the achievement of women’s economic, political, social and cultural rights through Oxfam’s work.

**Learning Question:**
- Building on what we already know, what will it take to increase understanding and scale up practice of transformative leadership that advances women’s economic, political and social rights across the Oxfam confederation?

These hypotheses will be explored by using different combinations of the following program pillars, depending on the context:

I. Build individual knowledge and transformative leadership practices for collective impact.

II. Build sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms.

III. Support collaboration to influence social norms and informal decision-making processes, policies and their implementation.

IV. Support collaboration to influence formal decision-making institutions, processes, policies and their implementation.

Concerning all four pillars above:

V. Promote social accountability in all TLWR work to advance women’s rights.
I. CONSCIOUSNESS AND CAPABILITIES
Build individual knowledge and transformative leadership practices for collective impact
More women and men active in women’s rights organizations and other CSO partners have understood, exchanged, documented and widely communicated experiences and evidence of transformative leadership for women’s rights within their organizations and communities.

II. RESOURCES
Build sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms
More women’s rights organizations have resources and strengthened institutional capacity to practice and implement transformative leadership in their organizations and programs to advance women’s rights.

III. NORMS AND EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES
Support collaboration to influence social norms and informal decision-making processes
A larger constituency of actors is creating safe and enabling environments for transformative leadership for women’s rights to be exercised.

IV. RULES & POLICIES
Support collaboration to influence formal decision-making institutions, processes, policies and their implementation
Increased engagement in, action and accountability for commitments made on gender justice and women’s rights by formal institutions and actors.

V. Promote social accountability initiatives
More systems ensure accountability regarding women’s rights and greater financial support for transformative leadership to advance women’s rights.
I. BUILD INDIVIDUAL KNOWLEDGE AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP PRACTICES FOR COLLECTIVE IMPACT

Louise Nyiranoloz, 42, is president of the hygiene committee and member of the women’s forum. Photo: Eleanor Farmer / Oxfam
I. BUILD INDIVIDUAL KNOWLEDGE AND TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP PRACTICES FOR COLLECTIVE IMPACT

All too often, leadership development programs focus on one-off or short-term training courses without considering sustainable results. They fail to engage with the pre-existing power dynamics where leadership takes place; are unable to allow deep, longer term processes of transformation to take place; or continue support for those who gain positional power (i.e. public office). Through use of this Global Program Framework, Oxfam will build on its support to partner organizations that are already working (or willing to work) on an ongoing basis to strengthen individuals’ consciousness, knowledge and capacity to put feminist values into practice within their organizations for collective impact on women’s rights.

In line with our ‘Right to be Heard’ change goal, our TLWR work seeks to support the integration of the best of our acquired governance expertise into the approaches and strategies employed by activists and leaders for women’s rights. This includes supporting women leaders to develop the hard skills – e.g. conflict resolution, negotiation, consensus building and social accountability tools – necessary for navigating power and influencing more effectively (see Section 5 for details).

Some organizations have found that it takes at least three years to fully embed practices of transformational leadership for women’s rights. This includes engaging in an ongoing process (including training, accompaniment, peer learning and/or mentorship for individuals and groups) to build self-awareness and confidence, knowledge of rights, and power analysis. This also means finding appropriate and safe ways of supporting women activists, leaders and their champions to hold themselves and each other accountable for their TLWR principles, politics and practice. These processes will likely take longer depending on context, as well as types of organizations and their level of commitment to TLWR.

The principles outlined in relation to increasing organizational accountability for HOW we carry out our TLWR activism and leadership also apply in this second pillar. Paying greater attention to the quality and inclusiveness of the activism and leadership of individual women and their male allies – to the practice of their own power – is a fundamental part of a TLWR approach, and is key to effective, sustainable activism and leadership for women’s rights. The ability of TLWR activists to ‘walk the talk’ and inspire others by role modeling a different approach to and quality of transformative leadership is an important feature of how individual leaders can mobilize others alongside them for greater collective action and impact. But this also includes our ability to safely but effectively challenge and change leadership practices – of TLWR colleagues, peers, activists and those in other sectors where there is often a failure to value and include different and diverse perspectives in meaningful ways. In the personal and professional lives of TLWR leaders too, this means supporting them to understand, make visible, and challenge the barriers preventing their activism and leadership.

This also means holding our CSO allies in partner organisations, networks and platforms to account – individually and collectively – for their thinking, policies and actions where these contradict or undermine TLWR principles and practice.

The hypothesis is:

If Oxfam builds individual knowledge and transformative leadership practices for collective impact on women’s rights,

Then we will see the following outcome:

More men and women active in women’s rights organizations and other CSO partners have understood, exchanged, documented and widely communicated experiences and evidence of transformative leadership for women’s rights within their organizations and communities.

Because we have implemented or facilitated the following strategies:

• Action and peer learning processes engaging individuals from women’s rights organizations, other civil society organizations and key actors.

• Making visible and challenging gender discriminatory organizational and social norms.

CHANGES AT INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FOR COLLECTIVE IMPACT – NEPAL

‘A few years back when I visited their villages, these women used to hide their faces when I asked them to say something. Now within a year or two, things have changed completely. Now I have to be well-prepared before I go to hold a discussion session with them.’ Village Development Committee Secretary, Nepal

BUILDING INDIVIDUAL KNOWLEDGE – GUATEMALA

‘We need political education. Otherwise, once we manage to have dialogue and they start talking to us about things like municipal budgets, it’s like jumping out of a plane with no parachute. If they are talking about infrastructure, I have to know about infrastructure. If they are talking about territorial rights, I have to know about territorial rights.’
• Engaging in initiatives to develop new norms that model feminist principles, values and practice of transformative leadership.

• Communicating clearly, widely and effectively lessons in advancing transformative leadership for women’s rights.

• Accessing and using innovative mediums to exchange the latest thinking, challenges and lessons (e.g. online discussions, articles, meeting spaces).

• Strengthening the political, civic, and human rights knowledge of women’s rights activists and leaders, and their ability to navigate and influence power holders effectively.

Sample MEAL questions to know what/if any difference has been made? 24

Short Term:

• Do women and men report increases in their ability to: Undertake gender and power analysis? Better understand their basic rights and entitlements? Have improved leadership, decision-making and respectful confrontation skills? Be better able to organize, collaborate and collectively strategize?

Medium Term:

• What changes have there been to men’s and women’s confidence in their leadership abilities?

• To what extent are women activists and leaders demonstrating greater capacity to influence decision makers and decision-making processes?

• What changes have there been to men’s and women’s interests and skills in aligning feminist values and actions within their organizations?

• To what extent are women activists and leaders engaging with and influencing informal and formal decision-making/ accountability processes (local/sub-national/national level)?

• To what extent do the work plans, priorities, policy positions and campaigns of TLWR allies/ networks reference and incorporate women’s rights organizations’ own analysis and campaigning priorities?

Long Term:

• What influence has more women role modeling more effective, inclusive leadership styles had on the enabling environment for other aspiring women activists and leaders?

• What changes have there been to men’s confidence in their abilities to challenge patriarchy and promote positive gender norms and leadership for women’s rights?

• How have these changes been achieved? What has enabled or hindered them?

• What has Oxfam’s contribution to this outcome been?

WORKING AT THE PERSONAL LEVEL – OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY

Considerable investment in time, finances, expertise, and emotional commitment need to be made to work at the personal level of TLWR, so frequently ignored in other type of interventions. In the OPT, leaders from the four women’s organizations partners in the AMAL program brought many challenges of working as leaders in the complex Palestinian context, including lack of time for personal reflection. They worked with Gender at Work to consider the link between personal (feminist) values and organizational norms; with skills in ‘Respectful Confrontation to stay engaged with others in a peaceful way and practice feminist leadership principles in environments which may be seen to be incompatible with those’ and on how to change the ‘deep-culture’ of the organization including the creation of spaces to ‘speak one’s truth while surrounded by dominant norms of efficiency and control’.
II. BUILD SUSTAINABILITY OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, NETWORKS AND PLATFORMS

Women attending a workshop familiarizing local female leaders with the ILO Convention 169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989, to help them understand their legal rights.

Photo: Tineke D’haese/Oxfam
II. BUILD SUSTAINABILITY OF WOMEN’S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, NETWORKS AND PLATFORMS

There is significant evidence of the effectiveness of women’s rights organizations and movements impacting women’s rights. There is also evidence that many women’s rights organizations are under threat, with challenges from inadequate funding to political and religious fundamentalist repression or backlash. Core and flexible funding to organizations is particularly scarce, placing their survival and sustainability in jeopardy. This context hinders organizations’ abilities to adapt to changing contexts and emerging events, and taking advantage of opportunities for transformation. Special attention must be paid to building the sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms because they are under particular threat and, as the evidence shows, a vibrant women’s movement is the greatest contributing factor for gender justice policy reform. Our TLWR program evaluations also demonstrate how collective action is critical for women’s safety as activists and leaders.

Oxfam therefore seeks to strengthen the organizational capacity and sustainability of women’s rights activism, with particular focus on those from new and growing movements. When promoting and fundraising for this strategy, Oxfam will strive not to compete with these organizations and movements.

Finally, in order to be sustainable, a TLWR approach also recognizes the importance of building reflection and accountability spaces, and mechanisms within and between women’s rights organizations, networks and movements, to safely and constructively address differences and tensions where these exist.

This is where our ‘internal accountability’ principle – the ‘HOW’ we work or fifth pillar – comes into play in this first pillar of our TLWR framework, because attention to the quality, equality and inclusiveness of our activism and leadership – to the practice of power by organizations and the individuals in them – is fundamental to the effectiveness of TLWR programming and approaches. It is also critical to the health, resilience and sustainability of local and global action and movements for women’s rights. Increasing the internal accountability of organizations, movements and platforms is therefore a core component of a TLWR approach – as well as the organizational openness, representativeness and inclusivity required to deliver it.

The hypothesis is that:
If Oxfam builds sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms,

Then we will see the following outcome:
More women’s rights organizations have resources and strengthened institutional capacity to practice and implement transformative leadership in their organizations, and programs to advance women’s rights.

Because we have implemented or facilitated the following strategies:
• Core and flexible funding to women’s rights organizations and networks, particularly those run by young and marginalized women.
• Ongoing organizational coaching, mentoring and peer exchange.
• Aligning systems and structures to enable collective transformative leadership.
• Strengthening collaboration skills and practices.
• Collective reflection, action and peer learning processes that help to surface and change deep patriarchal and oppressive organizational cultures.
• Strengthening practices of self and collective care as part of organizational sustainability.
• Strengthening relationships and trust within organizations and networks.

Sample MEAL questions to know what/if any difference has been made?

Short Term:
• How have the budgets of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms changed?
• How have organizational training, coaching and mentoring programs changed? What practical steps have been taken to advance feminist values in recruitment, training, promotion and leadership opportunities?
To what extent are women’s rights organizations, movements and platforms accountable to their members and to those they represent? What is the level of ambition, space and resource to address this over time?

Medium Term:
• How have their organizational policies, structures and processes changed to enable more distributed leadership to include leadership of younger women?

• How have their organizational policies, structures and processes changed to enable more distributed leadership to include those from marginalized or discriminated groups?

Long Term:
• What changes have there been to decision-making in the organization? For example, are there changes to who is making the decisions? Are there changes to what women make decisions about?

• How have these changes been achieved? What has enabled or hindered them?

• What has Oxfam’s contribution to this outcome been?

Program Example in Papua New Guinea
The ‘Pacific Women Initiative’ in PNG allocates grants to different members of the network. While the grants are held by the Oxfam country office as a central pool, partners retain significant discretion in their allocation – from sponsoring tribal peace treaties to outreach activities.

Program Example in the Middle East and North Africa
The AMAL program in the MENA region includes – through its regional component – 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 CSO initiatives identified by the same organizations.
III. SUPPORT COLLABORATION TO INFLUENCE SOCIAL NORMS AND INFORMAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES, POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

September 26: Day for the decriminalization of abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean, legal abortion rights of Nicaraguan women. Photo: Tineke D’haese/Oxfam
III. SUPPORT COLLABORATION TO INFLUENCE SOCIAL NORMS AND INFORMAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES, POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

In addition to changes at the individual and organizational levels, Oxfam prioritizes systemic change which includes the development and implementation of both formal and (often invisible) informal structures.

The programs we design and the strategies, partnerships, and activities required to deliver them in different contexts (and the MEAL frameworks necessary to learn from and measure their impact) will vary significantly depending on the formal and/or informal focus of our work. Most Gender Justice programs recognize the importance of working with stakeholders in both areas to effectively and sustainably challenge and change ‘the rules of the game’ by opening up these spaces and institutions to better promote women’s rights.

Working in the informal sphere (i.e., norms and behaviors formed by public opinion – school, media, and civil society; influential opinion formers such as relatives, local leaders, or celebrities; customary and religious practices) is an essential part of creating a positive enabling environment for TLWR.

Social norms and practices can either prevent or facilitate the implementation of policies and deeper transformation. For example, public perceptions of the value and legitimacy of women’s leadership can have a ‘make or break’ effect on the desire of women to stand for election. The same is true of the risks of household and/or political violence for those women activists, campaigners, and leaders – and their male allies – speaking out on gender justice issues and women’s rights. Similarly, media coverage of issues that represent women’s perspectives and experiences in all areas (e.g., infrastructure, agriculture, mining and military expenditure) rather than just ‘domestic’ issues, help to make visible the impacts these issues have on women’s lives – and start to demonstrate the value of a more representative analysis.

Civil society organizations influencing and collaborating with other key actors (religious leaders, schools, private sector) also play an important role in these processes to create these enabling environments:

‘An enabling environment for transformational leadership that advances women’s rights is crucial – leaders are less likely to succeed if they are operating in organizations with oppressive structures, processes and policies. This is multi-directional – transformative leadership benefits and contributes to enabling environments for others to lead, towards the ultimate goals of realizing women’s rights and social justice.”

Oxfam has significant experience of bringing together diverse actors to influence social norms and processes. It has brokered and facilitated the creation of networks and coalitions that are able to promote transformational changes. More attention is needed to develop leadership for collaborations that cultivate collective energy, creativity and power for women’s rights as part of an overall influencing approach. Special attention is needed to ensure the safety and security of women human rights defenders who are often under significant threat for their activism.
**The hypothesis is that:**
If Oxfam supports initiatives to influence social norms, informal decision-making processes, policies and their implementation,

**Then we will see the following outcome:**
A larger constituency of actors is creating safe and enabling environments for transformative leadership for women’s rights to be exercised.

**Because we have implemented or facilitated the following strategies:**
- Developing individual and collective capacity for safe and effective influencing and advocacy.
- Increased women’s participation and representation in informal decision-making spaces.
- Supporting women activists, leaders and human rights defenders and their male allies to work safely and without fear – both as individuals and as groups.
- Convening social movements and political actors with women’s rights organizations around gender justice.
- Strengthening opportunities to network and broker collaborations between organizations, sectors and movements to build common change agendas and actions.
- Challenging negative social norms regarding women’s leadership roles and capacities within political processes and establishing positive new norms.
- Engaging strategically with men and boys, challenging their traditional roles and responsibilities in the private, public and political spheres.
- Influencing policies that directly or indirectly address gender discrimination (e.g. constitutional gender equality principles, media regulation, VAWG legislation) and ensuring implementation thereof.

**Sample MEAL questions to know what/if any difference has been made?**

**Short Term:**
- To what extent does Oxfam partner with diverse organizations that represent women’s interests or can influence outcomes that will impact substantively on women?
- What are the types of organizations, what geographic area do they represent, and what constituency do they represent?
- What has Oxfam’s contribution to this outcome been?

**Medium Term:**
- What measures have been taken to protect women as leaders and human rights defenders individually and as groups?
- What changes can be seen in levels of family support for women and men’s campaigns/ activism for women’s rights?
- To what extent has the project contributed to changes in media coverage of priority issues raised by women activists and leaders?

**Long Term:**
- How have women’s rights organizations worked, individually or in collaboration with other organizations, to influence policy and practice change?
- How has the acceptance of women’s leadership by cultural, customary and religious leaders changed?
- To what extent have attitudes and behaviors towards gender equality changed among targeted community members?
- How have knowledge and attitudes changed towards men’s and women’s leadership capacities and roles within organizations?

**WORKING WITH LOCAL CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS – UGANDA**

“In terms of leadership, we’re leading well but with problems on land rights, women have no voice. [But] if we can use local cultural institutions, they can influence great changes…our clan developed a constitution with a lawyer advising us, and approving it. We set up good procedures for women who’ve been widowed….and for many other things.”

Parish Elder and male champion, Northern Uganda

**WOMEN INFLUENCING ACCESS FOR HEALTHCARE – TUNISIA**

“In the villages of Kef and Kasserine, the women’s demand was to have clear and transparent eligibility criteria for the free/ reduced-fee healthcare cards and for these women to be represented in the Commission deciding on individual’s eligibility to access these cards. The director of the Tunisian Union of Social Solidarity, after lobby meetings, pledged to fulfil this demand nationally - not only in these villages - and to have NGOs represented in the committee. Now we are working to ensure the Director’s words are converted into actions and that the women themselves be represented in the Commission.”

AMAL Tunisia
IV. SUPPORT COLLABORATION TO INFLUENCE FORMAL DECISION-MAKING INSTITUTIONS, PROCESSES, POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

A Youth Forum on health rights in Zugdidi, Georgia. Photo: DEA/Oxfam
IV. SUPPORT COLLABORATION TO INFLUENCE FORMAL DECISION-MAKING INSTITUTIONS, PROCESSES, POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

Changing institutions and policies is credited with change on a wider scale – and is critical to Oxfam’s understanding of how change is secured and sustained. Throughout history, women’s rights activists and their male allies have locked often hard-won gender equality gains into WASH31 committee policies, village development plans, district budgets, provincial laws or Electoral Commission regulatory codes. This tactical focus on policy and legal change recognizes the often ongoing strength of resistance and active challenges to gender equality – and the need to secure gains made in laws and policy whenever possible. It should be noted, however, that these gains take time and are often secured through negotiation and the making of strategic, pragmatic concessions in order to open doors, or to protect and progress the spirit and ambition of future legislation.

Once secured, turning commitments made on paper into actions and investments represents the critical second stage of building institutional leadership for gender equality. Section 5 outlines a TLWR approach to developing smart, safe and creative ways of turning commitments into action and resources for gender equality.

As well as Oxfam’s fundamental belief in the importance of active citizenship, Oxfam’s Theory of Change also recognizes the central role of accountable, effective and inclusive States – the formal institutions and processes by which decisions are made. ‘Often, (Oxfam’s) main contribution is in the space between the two, brokering contacts between people’s organizations and state bodies (as well as with the private sector), and creating ‘safe zones’ in which they can discuss problems and solutions.’

Whilst TLWR programming helps to find creative ways to influence, challenge and change the formal, institutional ‘rules of the game’, our experience also demonstrates the value of developing new, more collaborative relationships with those in positions of power.

Often, this will involve paying attention to the way in which programs connect strong community-level TLWR work to sub-national and national calls for longer lasting, more systemic change – thus addressing the ‘missing middle’ of many governance programs. The approaches we use will, of course, depend on the particular context and history of each community or country.

Where States are weak, ineffective or undemocratic, we recognize the need to think and work differently. In contexts where armed/ militant groups are an integrated, accepted part of formal decision-making processes for example, non-state actors play a powerful, legitimate role in the way in which policies are formulated, security is provided, taxes collected, and services delivered. Our TLWR power analysis therefore needs to find context appropriate ways of recognizing and engaging safely and effectively with these key actors whilst working on a long-term vision for how this relationship will change over time in line with parallel work to strengthen State capacities. Our analysis needs to go beyond a classical analysis of formal and informal institutions and changes in policy, beliefs and practice to incorporate context specific analysis of powerful actors such as armed/ militant groups which shape local and national politics, economy and culture.

This framework provides different routes to envisioning the most effective focus areas for programs and partnerships in fragile and conflict affected States – but also recognizes the windows of opportunity for systemic change in support of women’s rights presented by ‘critical junctures’ such as elections, changes in
leadership, natural disasters or conflicts. Similarly, mounting evidence of the
positive impacts of women’s leadership on peace processes helps us make the
case for greater TLWR representation at these critical moments for putting in place
the building blocks for a country’s future.32

For a TLWR approach to be effective and for changes to laws and policies to
be sustained, the institutions themselves may also have to change. Political
institutions at all levels often feature well-established, patriarchal norms and
ways of working, and most are still dominated by men. This has a significant
impact on the physical, political and emotional space (and resources) available
to women’s rights activists and leaders looking to navigate and influence them.
Much work has been done on temporary and permanent quotas as a means of
significantly increasing women’s formal representation, but institutional cultures
and practices inevitably take longer to shift. A TLWR approach encourages us
to think about how we can support women – and their male allies – to use their
leadership to hold institutions to account for commitments made, and in so
doing, create more enabling environments for women’s participation and formal
representation.

The hypothesis is that:
If Oxfam supports initiatives to influence formal decision-making institutions,
processes or policies and collaborates and/or holds them to account on their
implementation,

Then we will see the following outcome:
Increased engagement in, action on, and accountability for commitments made on
gender justice and women’s rights by formal institutions and actors.

Because we have implemented or facilitated the following strategies:
• Increased women’s participation and representation in formal decision-making
  spaces.
• Securing women’s rights and women’s strategic priorities in local, sub-national
  and national laws, policies and budgets.
• Protecting women’s fundamental rights and freedoms from erosion in times of
  political and social change.
• Supported institutional reform to create more enabling environments for women’s
  participation and leadership.

• Supported initiatives to strengthen institutional political will, state capacity
  and resources for full implementation of gender equality commitments at all
  levels.
• Ensured that institutions themselves protect women activists, leaders and
  their male allies and enable them to work safely and without fear.
• Strengthened opportunities to network and broker collaborations between
  informal organizations, sectors and movements and formal institutions and
  agencies to sustain gains made on common change agendas and actions.

Sample MEAL questions to know what/if any difference has been made? 33

Short Term:
• Have leadership meeting times or spaces been altered to allow for more active
  participation by women?
• Are more women aware of how decision-making structures function
  (including their rules, protocols and processes) and how to participate in
  and influence this?
• What changes have there been to the way in which information is designed
  and provided to meet the information needs and realities of women in target
  communities?
• To what extent have opportunities for decision makers and women in target
  communities to meet increased?

Medium Term:
• Have the numbers of women in decision-making positions/ structures
  (community, district, provincial, national level) changed in the project lifetime
  (in total and as a proportion of posts/ seats)?
• What have been the changes to community leadership structures to allow
  for greater active participation by women? How have these changes been
  achieved? What has enabled or hindered them?
• How have policies and laws been introduced/ amended to respond to women’s
  strategic priorities (local/sub-national/national level)?
• How have budgets increased to implement policies and laws responding to
  women’s strategic priorities (local/sub-national/national level)?
• To what extent are targeted decision makers (local government officials, service providers, religious/traditional leaders, political candidates/party members) taking action to represent women’s stated priorities in their work?

Long Term:
• How has the acceptance of women’s leadership by government leaders changed?
• To what extent are institutions enforcing laws and policies on issues relating to women’s strategic priorities (e.g., development/implementation of regulations, systems and procedures for monitoring and enforcement)?
• What has Oxfam’s contribution to this outcome been?

WOMEN IN DISTRICT-LEVEL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS – PAKISTAN
The Raising Her Voice project in Pakistan intentionally focused its support on 1,500 women in district-level leadership positions, recognizing their immense social capital and effectiveness in securing both practical solutions to poorer constituents’ needs (70% of the ‘50 Women Leader Group’ members secured district-level investments for development schemes in their communities) as well as their ability to influence longer-term systemic change in district, provincial and even national level spaces and institutions. The 2012 National Women’s Manifesto, for example, included the call for elections to be declared null and void in constituencies where fewer than 10 percent of registered voters were women. In the run-up to the May 2013 elections, ‘In KP and FATA regions... where ANP party workers were found to have stopped their women from voting, the Women Leaders Group and Community Action Committee raised it with [party] leadership who consequently took action against those party leaders/workers who had stopped women from casting votes.’
V. PROMOTE SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY INITIATIVES IN ALL FOUR TLWR PILLARS

Garment factory workers march in the streets of Phnom Penh. They demonstrate for better wages and working conditions and their rights as an employee. Photo: Kimtong Meng/Oxfam Novib
V. PROMOTE SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY INITIATIVES IN ALL FOUR TLWR Pillars

This element of the TLWR Global Program Framework is different from the four foundational pillars in that it provides the critical ‘HOW’ complement to the ‘WHAT’ of individual and collective action and informal and formal institutional engagement articulated in the first four pillars.

Given the lack of implementation of so many commitments to women’s rights, promoting social accountability is a key element of Oxfam’s approach to strengthening transformative leadership for women’s rights. Oxfam has developed a range of gender and governance resources to help country teams and partners strengthen the way in which we plan and deliver creative and effective influencing and accountability work for women’s rights.

Social accountability is about the ability of individuals, groups, and civil society to hold power holders to account for their actions and inactions. This includes, most obviously, the implementation of laws, policy making, and the management of public resources. However, increased accountability of – and positive engagement with – a range of actors and institutions in the formal and the informal spheres is also needed: from key family decision makers, village elders and religious and traditional leaders, to local and district councils and health or school committees, through to political parties, parliaments and other cultural and financial institutions that have power and influence over the extent to which women can exercise their rights and access justice in any particular context.

Social accountability initiatives – such as education about women’s legal rights, civic participation in budgeting processes, or public hearings on policies – can be important approaches to challenging power structures when promoting gender equality and women’s rights by creating more space for women’s demands to be heard and prioritized. We recognize that the women’s rights champions and partners we work with understand how power works, where it lies and how to influence it. Our body of well-documented program learning shows how we can apply social accountability strategies for TLWR in practice:

- By finding ways of increasing the accountability of political parties as well as formal parliamentary and sub-national decision makers;
- By supporting women to develop solid networks within formal political spaces (e.g. through the creation of women’s caucuses and portfolio committees) as well as within their local constituencies and supporters; and,
- By ensuring that in fragile and conflict-affected contexts – and in stable contexts where political and religious extremisms make the ‘political’ nature of Oxfam’s women’s rights work even more critical – we invest in the skills necessary for navigating tensions confidently in the external context.

This will also require a small but specific budget in every project to ensure the safety of women activists, leaders and human rights defenders we work with, who may be threatened even more because they participate in our programs. This budget should be used creatively and according to local contexts with, for example, personal and online security training; partnerships for – and secure but accessible signposting to – appropriate support and services for women at risk; spaces for peer advice and strategizing; small contingency funds; and, strong policy positions for Oxfam providing guidance in emergency cases built into our approach as standard.

The hypothesis is that:
If Oxfam promotes social accountability initiatives to advance women’s rights and gender justice in all its interventions,

Then we will see the following outcome:
More systems ensure accountability to women’s rights and greater financial support for transformative leadership to advance women’s rights.
Because we have implemented or facilitated the following strategies:

• Women’s, civil society and other organizations will advocate for increased allocation of resources for women’s rights, and other key actors will support their advocacy.

• Institutionalized systems and spaces that promote accountability among leaders for women’s rights.

• Donors will increase their financial support for transformational leadership for women’s rights.

• Innovative approaches for social accountability will have been further researched, and learning from existing good practices built into all future program design.

**WOMEN’S PLATFORM – BOLIVIA**

An Effectiveness Review carried out in 2014 demonstrated that the Women’s Platform (supported by Oxfam and its partner IFFI, Instituto de Formación Feminina Integral (Women’s Training Institute)) used social accountability strategies to ensure that the municipality of Cercado instituted regular meetings to allow citizens to monitor public spending. The ‘Raising Her Voice’ program was also directly involved in the Observatory for Gender Equality research and publications on gender-sensitive budgets. The long-term and persistent pressure from IFFI and the Women’s Platform also led the municipality to approve a budget line to support Municipal Legal Services (SLIMs) specializing in family violence and gender discrimination. This reinforces the point that long-term engagement with and support for women’s platforms is essential to work on TLWR. The Effectiveness Review concluded that: ‘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 night-long plenary sessions when the vote on the final consideration of the text of the Statute project was held.’

Sample MEAL questions to know what/if any difference has been made? 15

**Short Term:**

• What changes have there been to the awareness of women and TLWR allies of the existence of relevant women’s rights protection, commitments and resources available (local/sub-national/national level)?

• What changes have there been to awareness of, and capacity for, policy (and practice) change that advances women’s rights among:

  × Communities and community leaders?

  × Civil society and government actors? (For example, are duty bearers aware of policy changes relating to property or asset ownership rights?)

• How have advocacy initiatives implemented by women’s rights organizations influenced these changes?

**Medium Term:**

• What changes have there been to support for, and acceptance of, policy (and practice) change that advances women’s rights among:

  × Communities and community leaders?

  × Civil society and government actors?

• How is this support expressed? (For example, are there protocols issued relating to women’s health rights?)

• How have advocacy initiatives implemented by women’s rights organizations influenced these changes?

• How effective have actions been by TLWR champions and their allies/ networks to influence community/district/provincial/national budgets to secure financial resources for women’s rights issues?

• How effective have the actions of TLWR champions and their allies/ networks been to hold governments to account for gender justice commitments made?

• To what extent are targeted decision makers involved in actions to promote women’s rights? What changes can be seen in the attitudes and practice of service providers in relation to the women’s rights priority issues raised by TLWR activists and leaders?

**Long Term:**

• How have these changes been achieved? What has enabled or hindered them?

• What has Oxfam’s contribution to this outcome been?
SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY – MOROCCO, TUNISIA, YEMEN & OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY

Almost all the countries participating in the AMAL program have elements of social accountability work. In Morocco, a local network was formed for gender-sensitive budgeting in the South East, and a working group established to monitor the municipal budget. In Tunisia, the focus was on strengthening women’s monitoring of government policies and plans at the local level. In OPT, spaces were created through which young leaders could meet with political representatives.

We intend this to be valuable not only for stand-alone Gender Justice programming but also for the wealth of mainstream programs and campaigns seeking to strengthen support for women’s leadership and women’s rights in program design and practice.

TLWR Working Group Findings

Our evaluations of both stand-alone and mainstream programs show us that transformative change can be achieved when TLWR is a deliberate part of the program approach, and not just a strategy. For example:

• Numerous program resources and case studies have been developed to support colleagues to learn from experiences elsewhere. Oxfam’s TLWR working group seek to share this information as a key part of its advisory offer to the confederation, alongside practical advice and support to program teams seeking to develop, strengthen or mature their TLWR practice.

• As an easy first step, Oxfam’s campaigns and development and humanitarian programs would benefit hugely from reaching out to, and hearing from, existing TLWR actors and allies about how to integrate these approaches better in practice. For example, Oxfam’s role in the Myanmar DPECHO resilience consortia has focused specifically on supporting local level TLWR in Disaster Risk Reduction committees. This has evolved over time to include men and has seen considerable success in the ways women engage in Disaster Risk Reduction activities.

• Many colleagues still need persuading of the value of more transformative approaches. Gender Justice and Governance program staff, with active support from Program Leadership across the confederation, must work more closely with all colleagues across Oxfam to support this goal and process.

• ‘Light touch’ gender reviews have proven to be a useful, low-cost strategy for integrating TLWR – helping to promote a much more critical understanding of how change happens in women’s lives, and making practical program improvements to address this.

• Realizing Oxfam’s TLWR ambition will require women and their organizations to be present – and participating equally and meaningfully – in deciding on the scope, design and delivery of all future work in this area.
**LOGIC CHAIN**: Oxfam Global Program Framework on Transformative Leadership for Women’s Rights

Oxfam Gender Justice Goal: 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATEGIES</th>
<th>OUTCOMES</th>
<th>IMPACT</th>
<th>ASSUMPTIONS</th>
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| Funding and strengthening institutional capacity to foster and implement transformative leadership programs and strategies for women’s rights | More women’s rights organizations have resources and strengthened institutional capacity to practice and implement transformative leadership in their organizations and programs to advance women’s rights | Increased understanding and practice of transformative leadership for women’s rights | • Transformational leadership skills/capacities can be built in individuals and organizations  
• Transformation is needed across individual attitudes and consciousness, access to resources, influencing and policy, and deep structures/social norms  
• Context determines the right mix of strategies/outcomes  
• Strengthening individual/institutional capacity can prevent reproduction of patriarchy in feminist orgs  
• CSOs want to engage in strategies to advance transformative leadership for women’s rights  
• Social norms can be influenced |
| Action and peer learning processes and communications, especially among women’s rights organizations and other CSOs | Build sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms | Promote social accountability initiatives: More systems ensure accountability for transformative leadership to advance women’s rights and greater financial support for transformative leadership to advance women’s rights |
| Networking, collaboration and coalition building a wider set of actors to advance women’s rights, including men and youth | Build individual knowledge and transformative leadership practices for collective impact of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms | • | |
| Advocacy and accountability initiatives with formal and informal key power holders to support transformative leadership for women’s rights | Support collaborations to influence social norms and informal decision making processes | • | |
| | Support collaboration to influence formal decision-making institutions, processes, policies and their implementation | • | |
| | | Increased engagement in, action and accountability for commitments made on gender justice and women’s rights by formal institutions and actors. | |
| | | A larger constituency of actors are creating safe and enabling environments for transformative leadership for women’s rights to be exercised | |
| | | More women and men active in women’s rights and other CSO partners have understood, exchanged, documented and widely communicated experiences and evidence of transformative leadership for women’s rights within their organizations and communities | |
| | | More women’s rights organizations have resources and strengthened institutional capacity to practice and implement transformative leadership in their organizations and programs to advance women’s rights | |
| | | Build sustainability of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms | |
| | | Build individual knowledge and transformative leadership practices for collective impact of women’s rights organizations, networks and platforms | |
| | | Support collaborations to influence social norms and informal decision making processes | |
| | | Support collaboration to influence formal decision-making institutions, processes, policies and their implementation | |

**Learning Question**: What will it take to increase understanding and practice of transformative leadership that advances women’s economic, political and social rights?
1. PARTNERSHIPS

In addition to the context and Oxfam’s own internal capacity, partnerships are critical factors in Oxfam’s ability to promote its goals. Oxfam proposes collaborating with different civil society and other influential stakeholders in its promotion of TLWR, to be determined by the context and which aspects of women’s rights the leadership is for:

- **Strategic learning partners** – with key organizations at global, regional, national and local levels that are actively supporting long-term approaches to strengthening TLWR. These are likely to be women’s rights and other civil society organizations that want to learn about, strengthen and practice TLWR.

- **Capacity development partners** – with key organizations that are actively implementing approaches to support critical analysis and capabilities for TLWR to emerge. Such partners could directly support or work collaboratively with country offices.

- **Advocacy and influencing partners** – with key organizations that use positive and collective power to influence political processes and institutions to work for women’s rights. These may be a wider range of organizations including women’s rights organizations, civil society and actors with influencing power (e.g. private sector, religious leaders, education/ labor unions, political groups).

2. BUILDING A STRATEGIC MEAL AGENDA

Gender sensitive and feminist approaches to MEAL (Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning) will be best suited to programs that aim to advance TLWR, either as a strategy or an outcome due to the fact that programs of this nature deal with complex, non-linear changes related to gender and power.

The sample MEAL questions included within each outcome area above provide suggestions on how to frame a program’s learning and indicators around changes occurring and Oxfam’s contribution to them.

There is no single way to measure these changes. Instead, a combination of different methodologies will enable Oxfam staff, partners and stakeholders to understand and communicate about the complexity of changes that are being made by individual men and women, women’s rights and civil society organizations, governments and other key actors. This could include, for example, using tools and methodologies such as ‘The Most Significant Change’, adopted by Oxfam Novib to evaluate its Gender Mainstreaming and Leadership Trajectory, and an adaptation of the Gender at Work framework to look at organizations, networks and movement building outcomes.

These are only suggestions, however. The most meaningful and relevant MEAL frameworks, including indicators, will be developed as close to the program level as possible together with key actors facilitating programs and relevant stakeholders. They will be in line with Oxfam’s Feminist Principles of Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning, which make up part of Oxfam’s Common Approach to MEAL and Social Accountability (CAMSA).

3. A LEARNING SYSTEM

A broad approach across programs that contribute to the Global Program Framework is suggested to enable learning both within and among country programs:

- **Design:** Emergent learning questions are honed within the context of key country programs together with partners on select programmatic interventions, which should ideally take place over at least three years. These should include agreement on baselines and indicators to be tracked on an ongoing basis throughout the duration of the program initiative, and any action learning processes that will be used to capture and process lessons and generate new knowledge.

‘The evaluation of Nepal’s Raising Her Voice (RHV) program used a comparator group to show the dramatic changes in capacities, confidence and community support witnessed in RHV villages compared to those where the project had not been active. RHV partners in Guatemala developed formal accountability reports for the women they worked with and for local authorities, as a way of modeling the type of transparency that they themselves were calling for.’
Building on the contributions of feminist monitoring and evaluation experts such as Srilatha Batliwala and Alex Pittman, the Oxfam Feminist MEAL Principles are based on the understanding that discrimination based on gender identity is structural and systemic and that social justice in any context cannot be achieved without change in power relations. Oxfam recognizes the autonomy and independence of partners in the work we do together, and is committed to a relationship of mutual accountability.

We recognize that evaluations and knowledge are political, transformative change processes are complex, and that change takes time and investment. Thus, Oxfam MEAL should support the generation of knowledge that is meaningful, accessible and useful to those who rightly own it, and should include:

**Planning**

- Examine gender and power relations, why they exist and how they change, and strive to produce knowledge in a way that acknowledges power.
- Be co-designed and co-managed with participants, including agreement on the assessment conclusions and the use of evidence generated.

**Tools**

- Use participatory tools and methods, encouraging broad participation, in particular by removing barriers to participation.
- Rights-based approach.

- Reflective spaces: Specific opportunities within the context of the program are created for partners and their constituents, as appropriate, to reflect on the realities, the purpose and principles of transformative leadership for women’s rights. This may consist of opportunities to share stories, writing workshops and other ways of processing desired changes and how they may or may not be occurring.

- Learning moments: They will have at least two opportunities per year, over the course of three years, to meet and undertake before and after action reviews. The purpose is to reflect on what changes may be occurring and why, and what changes to the programs may be required. Resources should be made available for partners to facilitate their own learning process, as well as process them together with Oxfam and potentially other relevant actors (i.e. other civil society actors, political parties or institutions).

- Sense-making: Formal assessments, process evaluation and informal sense-making opportunities will be built in over the course of the programs, to ensure that big picture learning is processed and shared among partners, as well as beyond. This will be focused on the key learning questions, for instance, that span programmatic initiatives which contribute to the implementation of the overall Global Program Framework.

**Self-awareness and attitudes**

- Acknowledge that persons facilitating evaluative processes should be self-aware and should possess skills including (but not limited to) facilitation, listening, interviewing, and writing/ recording.
- Recognize that time is needed to build trust and understanding.
- Be flexible, adaptable and responsive to context because originally proposed results and related indicators may be revised as people and organizations respond to change.
- Recognize that change is non-linear and complex, thus requiring the tracking and capturing of negative impacts, resistance, reaction, and unexpected outcomes.
- Use both qualitative and quantitative methodologies as well as methods that assess contribution, rather than demand attribution.
- Support strengthening of organizational capacity for meaningful engagement in feminist MEAL.

*Oxfam’s Feminist Principles of Monitoring, Evaluation, Accountability and Learning (MEAL)*
• Learning system: A TLWR learning system would have to ensure that regional and global learning and research spaces are supported to make sure that Oxfam and our partners’ TLWR learning and practice matures and evolves collectively so that it becomes greater than the sum of its program parts.

4. ASSUMPTIONS AND RISKS

Oxfam is committed to effectively supporting its partners to advance TLWR, including through being a strong learning partner and continuing to strengthen its internal staff capacity, leadership and organizational culture to advance women’s rights. In order to ‘walk the talk’, Oxfam will work to improve its own practice of TLWR alongside its partners. Through its programming over the years to strengthen gender-just organizations, TLWR and women’s political leadership, Oxfam has learned the importance of improving its own systems and focusing resources towards more methodological and relevant learning. Through such learning, Oxfam aims to contribute to the global knowledge base on gender justice, and what it takes to achieve and sustain women’s rights.

Several core assumptions underlie this Global Program Framework at the level of Oxfam offices’ organizational support for building transformative leadership for women’s rights. We assume that:

• Oxfam makes increasingly efforts to make stand alone and mainstream gender work supported by systems, staff and organizational capacities.

• Country office staff and partners have been sufficiently involved in conceptualizing and planning programs that aim at TLWR.

• Staff will continue to develop the practical and strategic skills necessary to advance the TLWR agenda internally and support partners externally.

• Staff will work collaboratively with partners to agree areas for joint learning and reflection on the process and outcomes of TLWR.

We also assume that change will be brought about by:

• Challenging unequal gender power relations as the root cause of discrimination and exclusion of women from decision-making that affects their lives.

• Leadership that strengthens: feminist consciousness and capabilities, rules and policies, social norms and practices, and resources to improve women’s rights.

• Stronger and more sustainable feminist and women’s organizations, working in broad and diverse coalitions.

• Mainstream organizations that build enabling environments for TLWR to succeed.

• Integrating strategies that strengthen TLWR in the different sectors that Oxfam works in.

Risks:

• Staff and partner may not feel confident to align feminist values and practice when working with partners.

• Staff and partners may not feel comfortable to model feminist valued and practice with their community counterparts.

• Mainstream organizations are not interested in challenging patriarchal forms of leadership, power relations and organizational culture.

• Backlash by local organizations or governments against women and men for speaking out for women’s rights (resulting, for instance, in more violence against women).

• Women activists, leaders and human rights defenders’ safety and security is threatened further by participation in these programs.

• Short-term funding and project planning prevents the possibility for transformational change.

• Poor organizational documentation and knowledge management practice are obstacles to effectively learning from and evidencing the impact of our TLWR work.

• Some elements, but not all of our TLWR program ambitions, are funded (at country, regional and global levels), meaning that time for learning and exchange is harder to prioritize and should be budgeted for in programs.
Definitions from different Oxfam sources

Change Goal
A change goal is a priority working area for Oxfam. There are six change goals in the Oxfam Strategic Plan 2013–2019:
1. The right to be heard
2. Advancing gender justice
3. Saving lives, now and in the future
4. Sustainable food
5. Fair sharing of natural resources
6. Financing for development and universal essential services.

Domestic violence
Domestic violence is violence that happens in households and intimate relationships. This includes harm to children from witnessing domestic violence. Some definitions also encompass any kind of violence that happens within the family, e.g. violent ‘punishment’ of children and abuse of older family members.

Empowerment
Empowerment is the process of gaining control of the self, over ideology, and over the resources which determine power.

Gender
Gender refers to the characteristics and roles that societies attribute to women and men respectively. Gender is not ‘natural’ – it is constructed by societies.

Gender discrimination
Gender discrimination is discrimination based on gender differences. Examples: Women tend to get paid less than men; some armies exclude homosexual men from service.

Gender equality
Gender equality is the situation in which women and men enjoy the same status; have equal conditions, responsibilities and opportunities for realizing their full human rights and potential; and can benefit equally from the results.

Gender equity
Gender equity is fairness of treatment for women and men according to their respective needs.

Gender justice
Gender justice is full equality and equity between women and men in all spheres of life.

Gender mainstreaming
Gender mainstreaming is a strategy which aims to bring about gender equality in programs and organizations whose main purpose is not necessarily gender justice.

Gender norms
Gender norms refer to the behaviors, roles, and capacities that societies expect from women and men based on their respective gendered identities.

Gender relations
Gender relations are the ways in which a culture or society prescribes rights, roles, responsibilities and identities of women in men in relation to one another.

Gender roles
Gender roles are the roles a society expects from women and men respectively. These roles vary depending on many factors (‘intersectionality’), even within a society.

Gender-based violence (GBV)
Gender-based violence is the use of power to enforce gender norms.

Harmful traditional practice
A harmful traditional practice is a practice that is rooted in a way of thinking or acting that is inherited from the past, and that is likely to damage the health and well-being of persons. For example, FGM/C and forced marriage of teenage girls are harmful traditions.

INGO: International Non-Governmental Organization

Intersectionality
Intersectionality is a methodology for studying the relationships among multiple dimensions of social relationships and people’s identity. Intersectionality holds that different types of oppression – such as racism, sexism and homophobia – do not act independently of one another, but interrelate, to create the ‘intersection’ of multiple forms of discrimination.


Patriarchy
Patriarchy refers to societal structures and practices that institutionalize male power over women and children.

Positional Power
Power deriving from having a title or position giving an individual formal authority over people or money, for instance, in public office or in a leadership position within an organization.
Power
Power can be defined as the ability or capacity to perform an act effectively; a specific capacity (as in 'her powers of persuasion'); strength; authority; might; forcefulness.

Power analysis
In advocacy, 'power analysis' examines the different types and levels of power that play a role in a situation. (Power analysis is also used as a technical term in statistics, with a different meaning.)

Power relations
The concept of 'power relations' deals with how different groups are able to interact with and control other groups.

Rights-based approach
A rights-based approach is a way of working that is based on the idea that all human beings are of equal value and have rights that must be upheld at all times. It aims to ensure that people can claim their rights with the duty bearers. Duty-bearers are actors that are responsible for protecting the rights of others, for example, governments.

Sex
Sex refers to the biological differences between men, women and intersex persons, i.e. the biological, physical and genetic composition with which we are born.

Sexual orientation
Sexual orientation refers to someone’s attraction to a specific gender or genders. For example, someone who is attracted exclusively to people of the opposite gender is heterosexual. Women who are attracted exclusively to women are lesbians. Bisexual persons can be attracted to someone of the same gender or someone of a different gender; asexual persons are not sexually attracted to other people at all.

Social accountability
Social accountability can be defined as an approach towards building accountability that relies on civic engagement, in which it is ordinary citizens and/or civil society organizations who participate directly or indirectly in exacting accountability to put pressure on the state or private sector to meet their obligations to provide quality services. Social accountability mechanisms are separate from conventional accountability mechanisms such as political checks and balances, accounting and auditing systems, administrative rules and legal procedures.

Social justice
Social justice is the fair and just relation between the individual and society. This is measured by the explicit and tacit terms for the distribution of wealth, opportunities for personal activity and social privileges.

Theory of change
A theory of change is a visual or written explanation of how change is expected to occur within any particular context (i.e. community or state) and in relation to a particular intervention (project or program). A theory of change articulates the assumptions that underlie our ideas about how change will occur.

Transformation/ Transformational change
Transformation is fundamental, lasting change. Transformation in Oxfam’s gender justice work refers to fundamental change in the structures and cultures of societies – it is systemic, sustainable change that challenges structures, culture and institutions that preserve inequality and injustice in the status quo.

Transformative feminist leadership
Transformative feminist leadership refers to people with a feminist perspective and vision of social justice who are individually and collectively transforming themselves to use their power, resources and skills in non-oppressive, inclusive structures and processes. Transformative feminist leaders seek to mobilize others – especially other women – around a shared agenda of social, cultural, economic, and political transformation for equality and the realization of human rights for all (Batliwala 2010, p.14).

Violence
Violence is the intentional use of force or power – threatened or actual – against oneself, another person, or against a group or community. Violence either results in, or has a high likelihood of resulting in, injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.

Violence against women and girls (VAWG)
Violence against women is gender-based violence that targets women and girls.

Women’s Rights Organizations (WROs)
A women’s rights organization is one that actively recognises and works to address gender inequality for the realization of gender justice and women’s rights. A women’s rights organization is not ‘just’ working on women’s issues.
1 Gender inequality is the most serious and pervasive form of discrimination in the world; it is almost universal across cultures and countries. It is a key driver of poverty for women and girls globally and represents a fundamental denial of women’s rights. But gender inequality is also expressed in social norms that shape and limit opportunities for men, and which, at their worst, are driving and worsening conflict. When it comes to gender inequalities, everyone loses out. Oxfam is therefore deeply committed to working on Gender Justice in all we do as a central part of our approach to ending poverty—and we know we need to work equally with women and with men in order to do so. However, our work on TLWR recognizes the need for progress specifically towards achieving women’s rights. This is because we know that rebalancing historic, deeply rooted gender inequalities requires focused interventions, support and resources to achieve their aims.

2 http://www.genderatwork.org

3 https://sumus.oxfam.org/node/42280


9 http://raisinghervoice.ning.com


14 Christopher F. Karpowitz, Tali Mendelberg & Lauren Mattill (January 2015) ‘Why women’s numbers elevate women’s influence, and when they do not: rules, norms, and authority in political discussion in Politics Groups and Identities


16 Jean Lau Chin, Bernice Lott, Joy Rice. ‘Women and Leadership: Transforming Visions and Diverse Voices’

17 Oxfam Canada (2012). ‘This is What Gender Just Organizations Look Like’


20 Keystone Partnership Survey [2014]

21 The interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender as they apply to a given individual or group, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage

22 Oxfam International Strategic Plan [2014-2019]


24 The sample MEAL questions are taken from Oxfam Australia ‘Gender Justice Result 2.1 TLWR MEL Framework, FINAL.’

25 This should always be defined by women themselves, but could include knowledge, skills, confidence, access and levels of influence

26 Oxfam Strategic Plan (2014–2019)

27 These sample MEAL questions are taken from Oxfam Australia ‘Gender Justice Result 2.1 TLWR MEL Framework, FINAL.’

28 Sometimes, as with traditional and religious leaders, or in contexts where armed/ militant groups are an integrated, accepted part of formal decision-making processes, non-state actors play a powerful, legitimate role in the way in which policies are formulated, security is provided, taxes are collected, and services are delivered. Our TLWR power analysis therefore needs to find context-appropriate ways of recognizing and engaging safely and effectively with these key actors whilst working on a long-term vision for how this relationship will change over time in line with parallel work to strengthen State capacities

30 The sample MEAL questions are taken from Oxfam Australia ‘Gender Justice Result 2.1 TLWR MEL Framework, FINAL.’

31 WASH: Water, Sanitation and Hygiene

32 Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace. UN Security Council High Level Review of Resolution 1325

33 The sample MEAL questions are taken from Oxfam Australia ‘Gender Justice Result 2.1 TLWR MEL Framework, FINAL.’

34 See Oxfam’s Right to be Heard Framework; National Influencing Guidelines; Gender and Social Accountability: Ensuring Women’s Inclusion in Citizen-led Programming related to Extractives Industries, and Increasing women’s influence on decision making, and Gender Responsive Budgeting (in development, OGB 2016)

35 The sample MEAL questions are taken from Oxfam Australia ‘Gender Justice Result 2.1 TLWR MEL Framework, FINAL.’

36 OGB’s multi-country ‘My Rights, My Voice,’ ‘Within and Without the State’, and ACCRA, OGB’s flagship climate resilience programs, have all invested in gender reviews [around GBP£5,000 each]. In HECA, this is taking the form of an Oxfam International ‘light-touch gender review’ of the region’s governance program as part of a wider gender and governance learning initiative [2016]
September 26: Day for the decriminalization of abortion in Latin America and the Caribbean, legal abortion rights of Nicaraguan women. Some of the beneficiaries from Amifanic are taking part.

*Tineke D'haese/Oxfam*