



TOGETHER  
WE CAN:  
POWER UP!

Programme Baseline Report  
2021

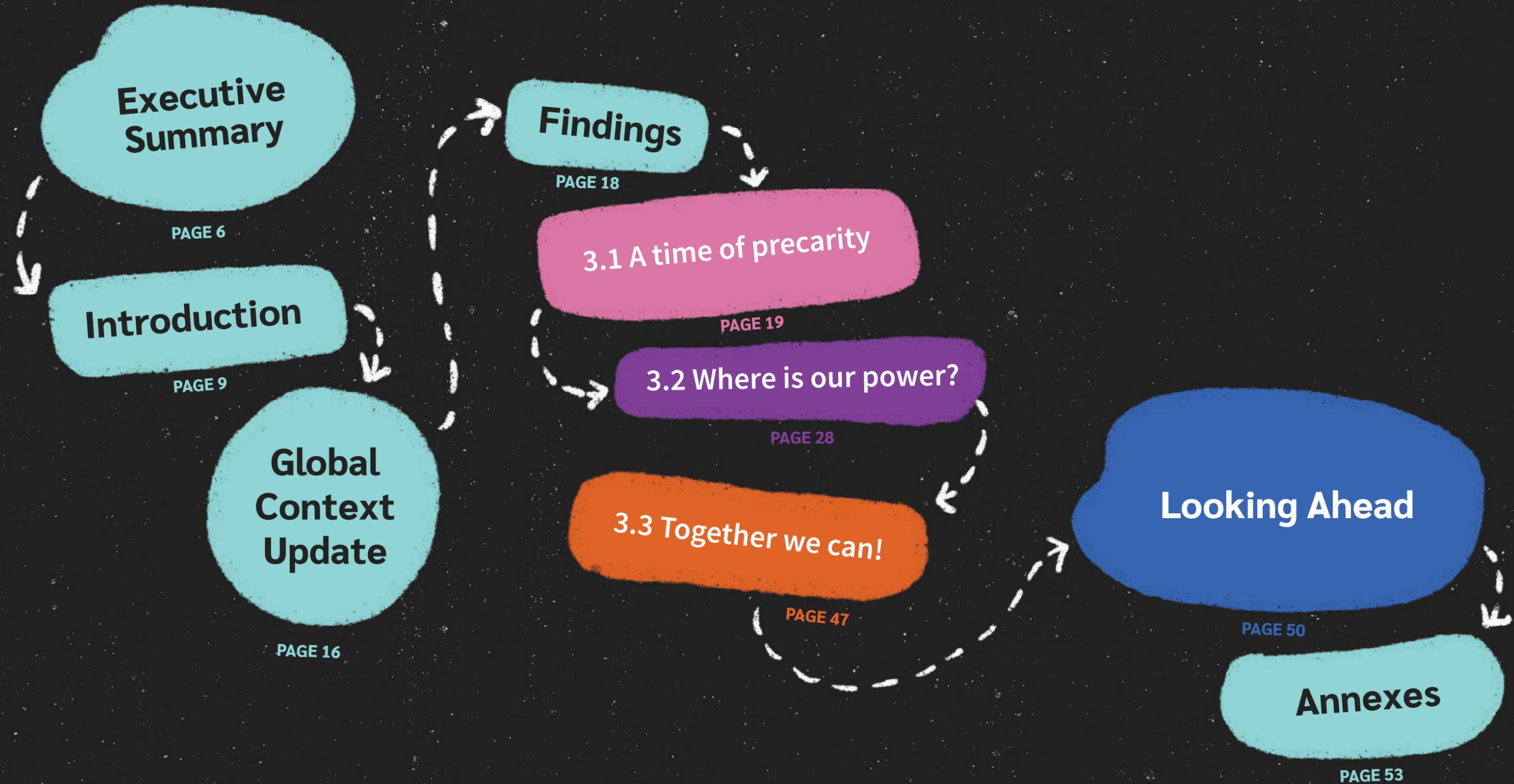
This baseline report has been prepared on behalf of the Power Up! Consortium members, Just Associates (JASS), Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL) and Gender at Work (G@W). Thank you to all the Power Up! members, partners and allies for engaging in the baseline process and joining the consortium on this learning journey; your passion and commitment for a just and equitable world forms the bedrock of this report.

We wish to thank Marinda Wiedeman, external evaluation consultant, for preparing the methodology framework and further for data collation. Erin Palmer edited the report and Karen Vinalay designed and illustrated the report to make the findings come alive. Ipsita Divedi provided process illustrations during data collection that are peppered across this report.

Thank you to the Power Up! MEL Advisory Group led by Gender at Work for steering this complex process to ensure the methods, dialogues, findings, analysis and report narrative were informed by feminist principles and set Power Up! on the right course.



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TOGETHER WE WILL MAKE THE WORLD  
A RICH AND BEAUTIFUL PLACE.

Movement building song from India, sung by a participant at the close of the South and South-East Asia Regional Dialogue.

# Abbreviations

<b>CAL</b>	Coalition of African Lesbians	<b>PEKKA</b>	Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga
<b>CSOs</b>	Civil Society Organisations	<b>PU!</b>	Power-Up!
<b>DV</b>	Domestic Violence	<b>SGBV</b>	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
<b>FGM</b>	Female Genital Mutilation	<b>SRH</b>	Sexual and Reproductive Health
<b>G@W</b>	Gender At Work	<b>SRHR</b>	Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights
<b>GBV</b>	Gender-Based Violence	<b>ToC</b>	Theory of Change
<b>HRD</b>	Human Rights Defender	<b>VAW</b>	Violence Against Women
<b>IATI</b>	International Aid Transparency Initiative	<b>VAWG</b>	Violence Against Women and Girls
<b>JASS</b>	Just Associates	<b>WHRD</b>	Women Human Rights Defender
<b>LBQ</b>	Lesbian, Bisexual and Queer Women	<b>WRGC</b>	Women's Rights and Gender Equity
<b>MEL/ MEAL</b>	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning	<b>WRO</b>	Women's Rights Organisation
<b>MENA</b>	Middle East and North Africa		

# Executive Summary

## Introduction to the Programme

The Power Up! (PU!) Consortium is a group of four women's rights organisations: Just Associates (JASS, the consortium lead), an organisation that supports feminist movement building, rooted in the Global South; the Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL), a queer, pan-African, feminist organisation; Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), a national women-headed family empowerment network in Indonesia; and Gender at Work (G@W), an international feminist network that builds transformative cultures of equality and inclusion.

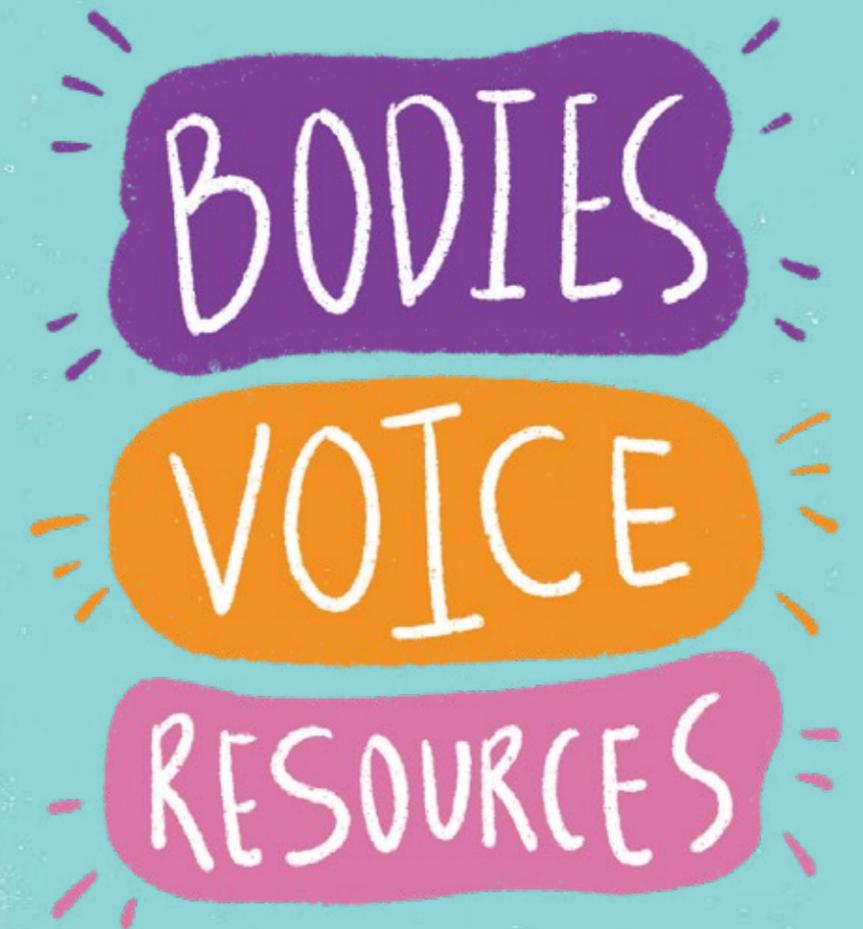
Power Up! works with **50 partners in 17 countries**, including women<sup>1</sup> human rights defenders (WHRDs) and women's rights organisations (WROs) particularly those that represent constituencies that have been structurally excluded in their communities and social movements.

Power Up! **builds, organises, mobilises, and transforms** power in three strategic areas—**bodies, voice and resources**—aligned to the objectives of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MFA) grant instrument, the **Power of Women Fund**<sup>2</sup>.

## Baseline Study Objectives and Methodology

The objectives of this baseline study were (1) to re-assess, revise, and validate the programme theory of change (ToC) and performance measurement framework (PMF) that were prepared as part of the Power Up! proposal; (2) to collect quantitative and qualitative data with which to analyse the baseline situation and indicator values at the output and outcome level, linked to the MFA Netherlands' thematic results framework basket indicators; and (3) to inform the development of monitoring tools to collect process and impact data from across the programme.

PU! uses feminist and participatory approaches to planning, monitoring, evaluation, and learning (PMEL), that put women's experiences, perspectives, and assessments of change at the centre of approaches to monitor progress and impact, and to learn



<sup>1</sup> For Power Up!, 'women' includes young women, non-binary and trans people because they, like women, face gender-based discrimination

<sup>2</sup> Power of Women Policy Document available at [Policy Framework Strengthening Civil Society | Policy note | Government.nl](#)

from the programme. Efforts were made to build feminist PMEL principles into the baseline design. To ensure broad participation and to collect quantitative and qualitative data, the study used two primary data collection methods—virtual regional dialogues and an electronic survey—augmented with desk research.

### **Power Up! During a Time of Precarity**

The baseline desk review and context analysis confirmed and reinforced the analysis that was done at the proposal stage, to show that women in PU! countries and regions are living in a time of precarity that severely limits their ability to access their rights and places them at risk. This context of precarity was seen across all three strategic agendas of PU!: bodies, voice and resources, exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic. The stories told by women in the partner dialogues confirmed that in many PU! countries, women, WHRDs, and the organisations that support them lack bodily safety and protection from the state and often face violence and human rights abuses directly perpetuated by state actors. They described ways that current political institutions at all levels are currently structured to reinforce gender-unequal social norms and practices that effectively limit women's and WROs' meaningful participation in formal political spaces. Participants in partner dialogues also described how women's lack of access to land and other economic resources has been intensified by the encroachment of large corporations and extractive industries, as well as by the consequences of climate change.



### **Relevance of the Action**

The PU! ToC continues to be relevant at the time of implementation. The problem analysis included in the PU! proposal remains valid. The logic of the programme ToC also remains valid overall that building capacity, knowledge, and resources of women and WHRDs and their organisations and strengthening their ability to organise and mobilise through collective and collaborative actions and safety networks will contribute to transforming power through increased capacity for strategic advocacy and for promoting economic alternatives.

### **Capacities to Deliver on the Strategic Pathways**

Most importantly, the baseline gives voice to the tremendous courage, energy, and resilience of women, WHRDs and their organisations to fight for social justice and the rights of all women, especially the most structurally excluded. The baseline data indicate that PU! members, partners, and allies have a good level of capacity, particularly their capacity to design and implement advocacy strategies and to engage in alliances and collective action with others. The data also shows that members, partners, and allies are well networked at the national level. Current levels of capacity and levels of actions related to their agendas documented in the baseline will only be enhanced through programme implementation.

### **Documenting Change**

The quantitative data collected in the baseline study has been used to help set indicator values at the output and outcome levels (midline and endline), which are linked to the MFA thematic results framework basket indicators. Related to this, the baseline exercise has pointed to the need for the PU! consortium MEL team to finalise the methodology and tools for collecting data for qualitative indicators, so that the change and impact on individuals and organisations can be documented across the programme countries as well as the collective impact of the programme at regional and global levels.

## Looking Ahead

At the same time, the baseline findings highlight three programmatic areas that could be strengthened in order to improve programme outputs and outcomes:



Greater programmatic focus on the internal work to build inclusive cultures within partner organisations as a way of contributing to building the health and strength of feminist movements

Improved programmatic understanding across PU! partners on economic alternatives and how they are informed by feminist economics



Greater programmatic emphasis on leveraging PU! relationships to support networking and alliance building at the regional and global levels across the consortium members and partners



Finally, the model of working with an external technical evaluator and a small internal baseline evaluation team, supported by a consortium-wide MEL reference group, has challenged thinking on how to bring the consortium's feminist principles into its MEL practice, while still managing accountability requirements—a conversation that is likely to continue throughout the course of programme implementation.

## 1.0

# Introduction

The Power Up! (PU!) Consortium is a group of four women's rights organisations: Just Associates (JASS, the consortium lead), an organisation that supports feminist movement building, rooted in the Global South; the Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL), a queer, pan-African, feminist organisation; Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), a national women-headed family empowerment network in Indonesia; and Gender at Work (G@W), an international feminist network that builds transformative cultures of equality and inclusion.

**Power Up! builds, organises, mobilises, and transforms power in three strategic areas aligned to the objectives of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MFA) grant instrument, the [Power of Women Fund](#)<sup>3</sup>:**

1. Prevention and elimination of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against women and girls, addressed through PU!'s **bodies** agenda.
2. Strengthening women's leadership and women's participation in (political) decision-making, addressed through PU!'s **voice** agenda.
3. Strengthening women's economic strategies for economic resilience and stability, including access to and control of resources and land, addressed through PU!'s **resources** agenda.

Power Up! is being implemented in six regions: East Africa (Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda); Southern Africa (Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe); West Africa (Benin); Middle East and North Africa (Lebanon, Occupied Palestinian Territory, Tunisia); South-East and South Asia (Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Myanmar); and Mesoamerica (Guatemala, Honduras). The **four member organisations** ('members') are collaborating and mobilising as the Power Up! Consortium to work closely with **50 primary partners in 17 countries** ('partners'), including women<sup>4</sup> human rights defenders (WHRDs) and women's rights organisations (WROs) (see Annex 1 for a list of partners and where they work), particularly those that represent constituencies that have been structurally excluded in their communities and social movements. These include, but are not limited to, those identifying as lesbian, gay and bisexual (LBQ), HIV+ women, sex

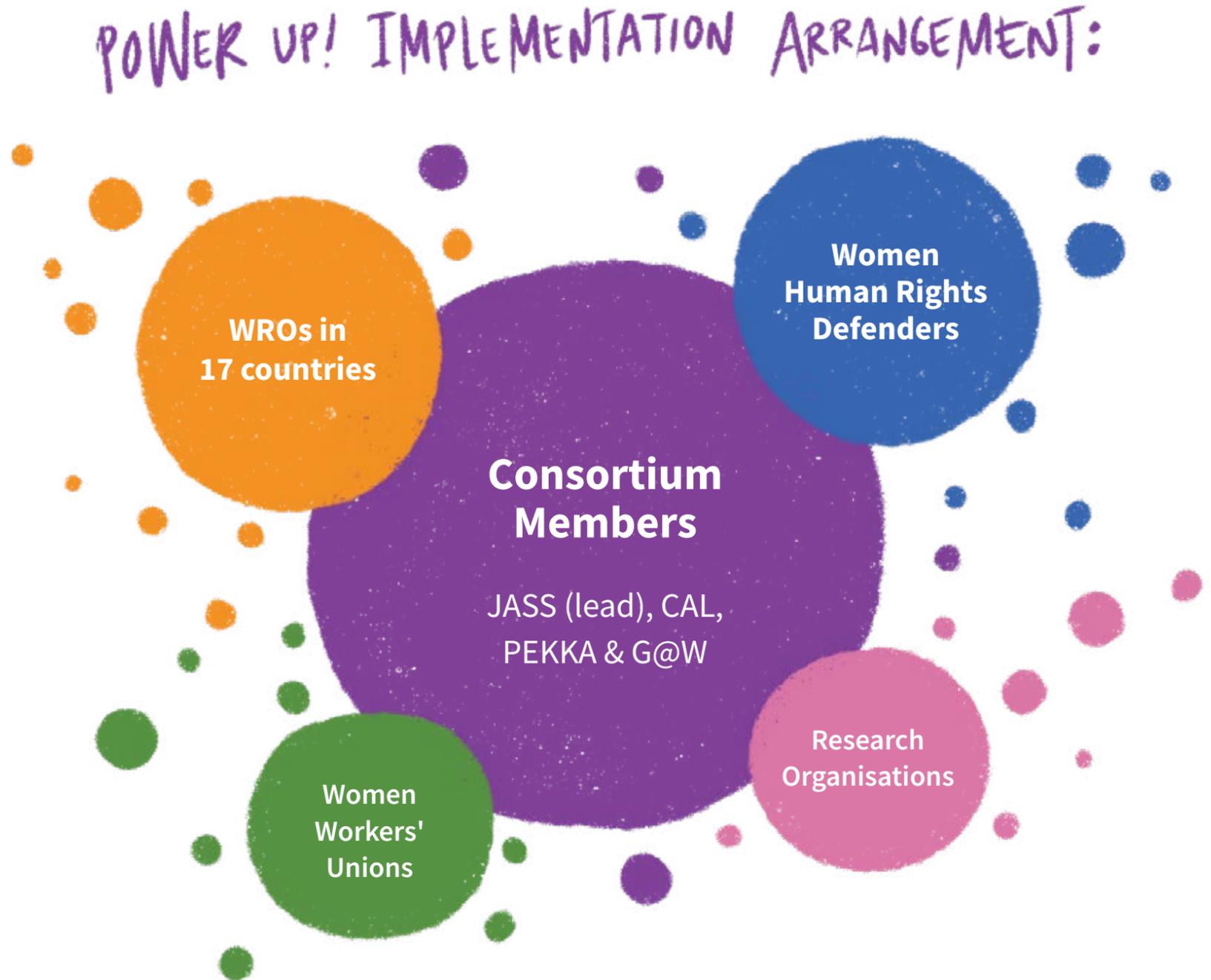
<sup>3</sup> [Power of Women policy document available](#)

<sup>4</sup> For Power Up!, 'women' includes young women, non-binary and trans people because they, like women, face gender-based discrimination

workers, women workers, Indigenous women, women in rural areas, women protecting forests, and others. At MFA's recommendation, the number of countries was reduced from 22 to 17 to better meet programme objectives.

PU! members and its 50 primary partner organisations, whose activities the programme tracks closely, together deliver the programme in partnership with **allies** such as other WROs, WHRDs, research organisations, and workers' unions at the country level.

Figure 1



## 1.1 Theory of Change

As depicted in Figure 2, below, PU! envisions *a just, equitable and sustainable world in which all women are free to express themselves, are free from violence, have access to and control of economic resources and have a voice and power in the decisions that affect them in all aspects of their lives.*

PU! aims to contribute to this vision by increasing the influence and impact women have on laws and policy, public discourse and social attitudes, and narratives that perpetuate discrimination, violence, and exclusion. To support this strategic programme objective, PU! activities will advance three outcomes related to bodies, voice and resources.

PU! proposes three interrelated pathways of change—building, mobilising and transforming power—that define the programme’s structure, strategies and outputs. These pathways of change are aligned with the CSO advocacy phases as identified in the MFA policy framework (p.5): activation, mobilisation and participation.

### Building Power

This pathway builds grassroots feminist leaders’ organising capacity and collective power through feminist movement-builder schools that foster critical awareness and political analysis, movement-building and advocacy skills, and shared democratic leadership, and strengthen the capacity of their organisations to achieve their visions of change.

### Organising and Mobilising Power

This pathway is about systematically linking PU!’s capacity-building processes to sustained movement strategies that bring in more people, forge broader alliances, and mobilise joint action. Using the power analysis framework as the basis, the programme will engage with a broad range of allies to analyse contexts and issues, map power actors and interests, and develop multi-level strategies and direct action.

### Transforming Power

In amplifying transformative demands and grassroots women-led solutions, PU! focuses on global solidarity, strategic communications and publications to impact policy, shift public debates, and influence agenda-setting. Beyond laws and policy, PU! promotes changes in the public discourse, social attitudes and narratives that legitimise and reinforce discrimination, violence and exclusion, and behavioural change.

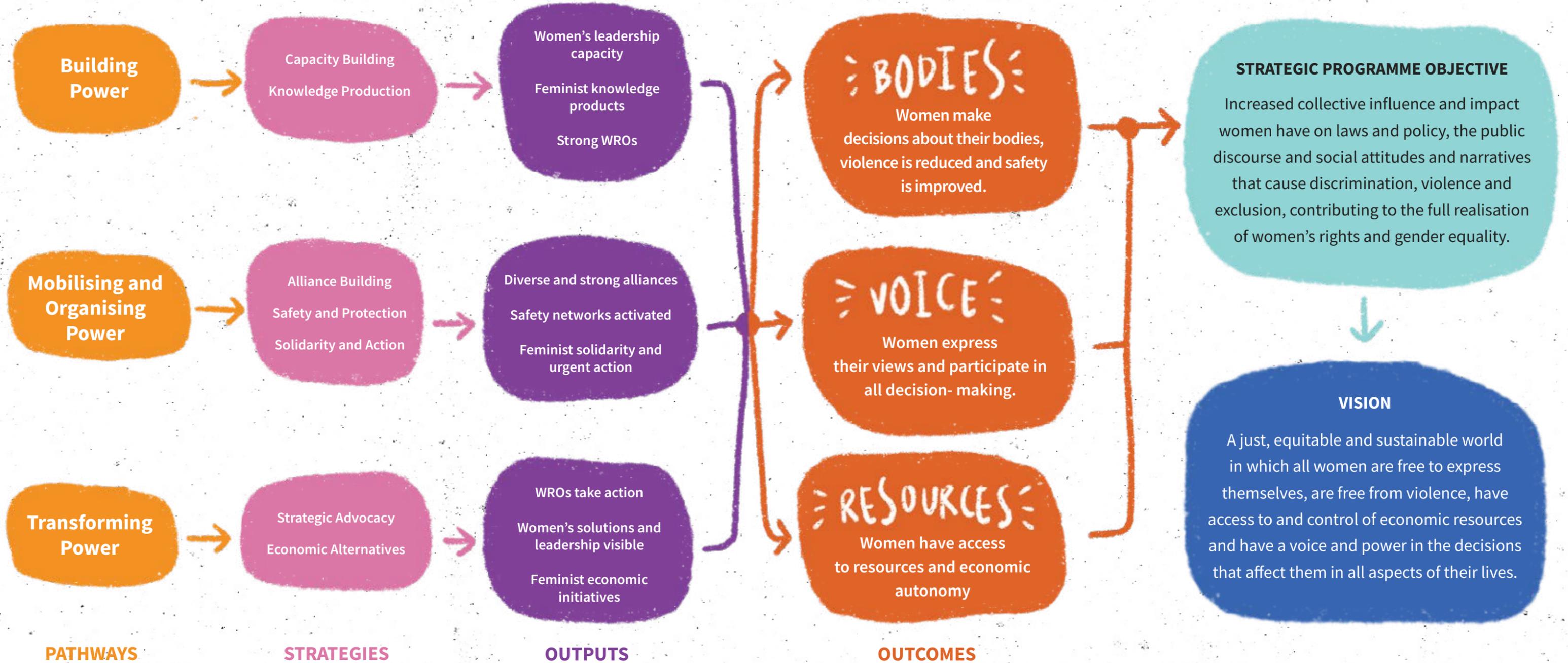
The ToC is based on PU!’s thesis that women have proven that they can play an essential role in bringing about social change but need support to build a cohesive and sustained feminist movement that can work in a coordinated and collaborative way to effect long-term change. Since ‘...poverty, inequality and exclusion are caused by power asymmetries,’<sup>5</sup> the response must integrate an understanding of how power operates in the contexts where PU! works and identify strategies that both address power directly and build women’s collective power and safety.

Therefore, PU! combines feminist movement building with comprehensive power analysis tools that allow women to understand and address the multifaceted and complex realities of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), their exclusion from decision-making and access to natural and financial resources, and the perpetuation of harmful social norms that justify inequity and violence. The programme is designed to support the construction of the necessary collective power, strategic leadership, and advocacy strategies of women and their organisations and movements to lead change. Women’s capacity to sustain pressure and influence policies, resources, institutions, and social norms is essential to the advancement of gender equality and women’s rights.

<sup>5</sup> Strengthening Civil Society Theory of Change, page 1

Figure 2: Power Up! Programme

# ≡ THEORY OF CHANGE ≡



## 1.2 Baseline Methodology

The objectives of the baseline study were (1) to re-assess, revise, and validate the programme ToC and performance measurement framework (PMF) that were prepared as part of the Power Up! proposal; (2) to collect quantitative and qualitative data with which to analyse the baseline situation and indicator values at the output and outcome level, linked to the MFA Netherlands' thematic results framework basket indicators, as a basis for measuring progress and understanding contextual shifts over the course of the programme; and (3) to inform the development of monitoring tools to collect process and impact data from across the programme.

The following is a brief outline of the methodology; for more detail on the process and how this study meets the criteria set out by the MFA, please see Annex 2.

### 1.2.1 Approach

PU! uses feminist and participatory approaches to planning, monitoring, evaluation, and learning (PMEL), that put women's experiences, perspectives, and assessments of change at the centre of approaches to monitor progress and impact, and to learn from the programme. Efforts were made to build feminist PMEL principles into the baseline design.<sup>6</sup> These included, for example, taking a developmental evaluation approach that engaged an external evaluator to work closely with a small internal team of feminist evaluators who are embedded in the programme and are well placed to accompany programme monitoring and learning throughout implementation.<sup>7</sup>

Data collection methods prioritised the creation of safe spaces led by experienced feminist facilitators in order to gather rich, qualitative information from participants in their own voices through structured conversations in the form of virtual dialogues. These spaces also provided moments for participants to share and

learn from each other about their experiences and approaches and, in spite of COVID-19, to dispel their sense of isolation by building solidarity and making connections across WROs from different countries. These approaches guided the process of collecting data and validating information with partners (WHRDs, sub-grantee WROs, allies, collectives, research partners, and others) in all six regions and 17 countries. This type of inclusive process will be used in PMEL throughout the programme.

In line with feminist perspectives that transformative change happens in ways that are complex, messy, and non-linear, the Consortium PMEL Working Group, which also served as the reference group for the evaluation, decided to adopt a design that prioritised qualitative methods to capture women's voices and agency. There was a discussion in early stages of the design to select a non-PU! country as a comparison "control" group for measuring programme impact; this approach was rejected in part because it does not align with PU! feminist values of solidarity, fairness, and social justice. (See Annex 2).



<sup>6</sup> See for example, *Global Affairs Canada's experimentation with Feminist Evaluation*

<sup>7</sup> L. Haylock and C. Miller, *Merging Developmental and Feminist Evaluation to Monitor and Evaluate Transformative Social Change*, *American Journal of Evaluation*, Volume: 37 issue: 1, page(s): 63-79

### **1.2.2 Data collection**

To ensure broad participation and to collect quantitative and qualitative data, the study used two primary data collection methods—regional virtual dialogues and an electronic survey—augmented with desk research.

#### **Regional Dialogues**

Five regional dialogues were held between 11th and 23rd August 2021, one each for Mesoamerica, Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Southern Africa, and South and South-East Asia, and one for East and West Africa combined. A standardised workshop guide was developed and used in all five dialogues by feminist process facilitators to create sufficient space and time for participants to think about and reflect on how they would contribute to achieving PU!'s outcomes. The virtual dialogues brought together more than 90 participants from over 40 PU! members, partners, and allies across the 17 countries, and provided a space for validating the contexts in which they operate and surfacing rich detail about how they are responding to those contexts.

#### **Electronic Survey**

An electronic survey, available in six languages, was sent to 131 potential respondents, including consortium members, partners, and the broader network of allies, WROs and WHRDs that the members and partners are working with to deliver the programme. The aim of the survey was to assess current capacities to build, organise, mobilise, and transform power and to map

the networks at country, regional and global level that WROs use to focus attention on priority issues. The survey garnered a 47% response rate, which is considered reasonable for an electronic survey. It was sent out in the last week of August 2021, after the regional dialogues, which helped members and partners mobilise respondents. It was initially open for two weeks but was extended by a week to ensure a greater response rate.

#### **Desk Research**

In addition to the above primary data collection methods, secondary data was collected through desk research to provide deeper understanding of the country-specific contexts. This report presents data primarily from the workshops and the survey. A series of country profiles forthcoming in 2022 will further locate actions against situational analyses of key issues in each country.

All data collection was conducted virtually and electronically between July and September 2021. The COVID-19 pandemic had an impact on the data collection timeline, as well as on the choice of methodology, since in-person methods were not possible due to constraints on travel. PU! hopes that once global travel constraints have been relaxed, implementers and researchers will be able to monitor the programme's impact on the ground and provide greater depth and a human face to the findings.

The baseline study was conducted by a joint team of an external evaluator and internal evaluators, supported by the Power Up! Coordinator and MEL officer. The external evaluator led the development of the baseline methodology, ensured it met the IOB standards, developed the survey tool, collected secondary data, and did the initial data analysis. The internal evaluators (from Power Up! learning partner, Gender at Work) developed the methodology for the regional dialogues, ensured that feminist principles were adhered to, and did the final analysis and interpretation of data. A MEL reference group made up of PU! Consortium members provided oversight to ensure the evaluators understood the diversity of partners and their different ways of working that were relevant for both data collection and analysis.

Figure 3

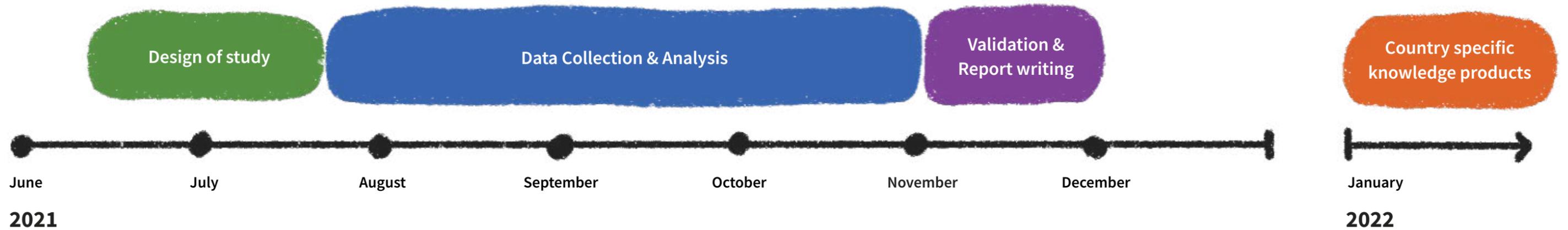
# POWER UP! BASELINE DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

**Qualitative Data**  
5 regional dialogues  
Over 40 organisations  
Over 90 participants

**Quantitative Data**  
62 responses to an  
electronic survey in  
6 languages

**Desk Research**  
Situational data from  
17 countries

WRD AND WHRD VOICE HEARD CLEARLY  
DURING THE DATA COLLECTION PHASE



## 2.0

# Global Context Update: Not yet a post-COVID world



During the five regional dialogues, PU! consortium members and partners mapped the current context within which the programme is being implemented in all six regions. The broader global context continues to be the same as described in the project proposal. However, the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the vulnerability experienced by women, making the activities of the PU! programme more relevant than ever.

### 2.1 A challenging global context

Global progress towards gender equality is being undermined by ‘insufficient progress on structural issues at the root of gender inequality, such as legal discrimination, unfair social norms and attitudes, decision-making on sexual and reproductive issues, and low levels of political participation.’<sup>8</sup> Women’s rights activists and WHRDs face continued harassment, violence, arrest, and detention for engaging in human rights work. The climate for LBQ communities continues to be hostile, with the criminalisation of homosexuality in many contexts.

Fuelling these structural inequalities is rising authoritarianism, conservatism, fundamentalism, and organised nationalism that has emboldened white supremacist/right wing actors. Increased political repression, combined with closing civic space, state-sponsored surveillance, and an economic downturn, is exacerbating inequalities and leading to increased gender-based, homophobic, and transphobic violence. The rise of militarised repression is a reality in many of the countries. Consortium members also reported the continuing detrimental consequences of climate change and environmental destruction on the lives of women in developing countries. However, despite these challenges, WROs and WHRDs are responding with survival, sustainability, and transformative strategies.

<sup>8</sup> Progress of Sustainable Development Goal 5 in 2019

## 2.2 Impact of COVID-19

In 2021, the COVID-19 pandemic continued to exacerbate existing social and economic crises, with a particularly sharp impact on women's lives, as described below.

**Increased SGBV and reduced access to services:** COVID-19 has exacerbated the impact on women's bodies. Lockdowns and restrictions on mobility, introduced as public health measures, have resulted in an increase in sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), in particular for members of the LBQ community. They have also reduced women's access to sexual and reproductive health (SRH), psychosocial, legal, and other support services.

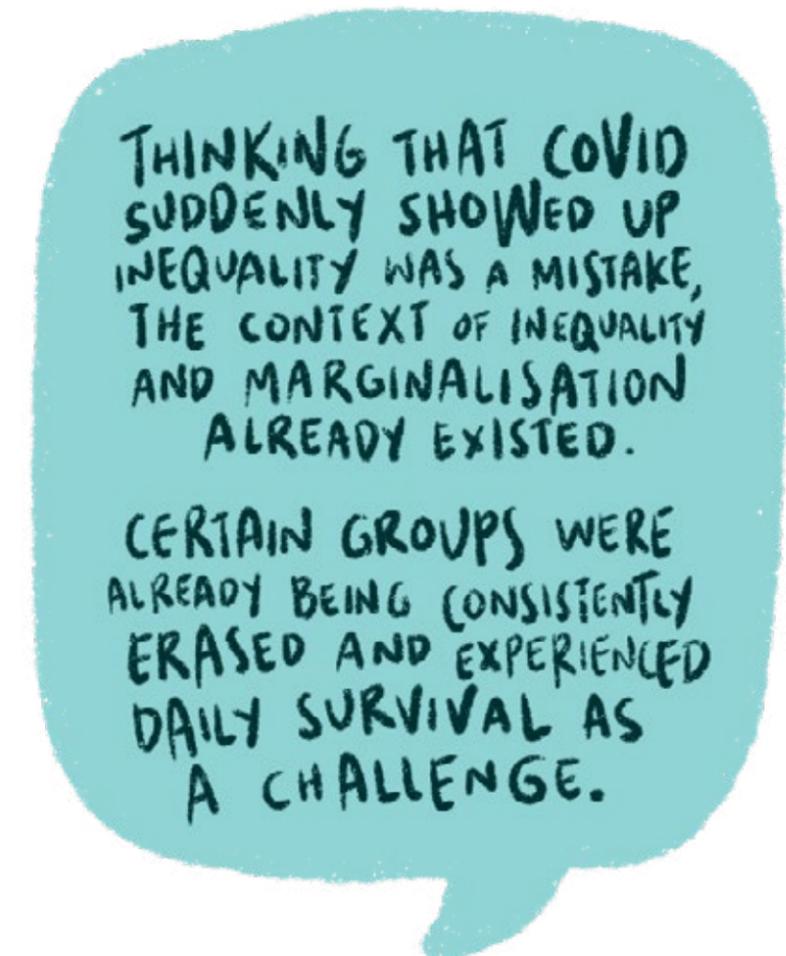
**Economic insecurity and a reassertion of traditional gender roles:** COVID-19 has sharpened economic divides, with the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer,<sup>9</sup> particularly threatening women's access to resources. Countries with already threadbare social safety nets and precarious labour markets have left the structurally excluded even more destitute than before. Lockdown measures have led to a loss of income, leaving many immobilised and desperate. COVID-19 lockdowns have also threatened sex workers' economic survival and led to increased incidents of violence and arrest. LBQ activists from across Africa have reported loss of income and resulting precarity. Women are also bearing the unpaid burden of caring for the sick in the face of absent or inadequate service delivery in many countries.

**Privatisation and surveillance:** In many developing countries, the response to the COVID-19 pandemic has been marked by the absence of the state in ensuring the welfare of citizens. This has led to privatisation of healthcare and information infrastructure, exposing communities, especially women, to the greed of corporations and the information technology (IT) industry, often resulting in infringement of privacy.<sup>10</sup>

**Impact on WROs and WHRDs:** Consortium members and partners indicated that WHRDs have been hit hard by the pandemic, as women's voice, activism and participation have been directly affected by repressive government response measures, such as increased surveillance and reduction in mobility. This is borne out by emerging evidence.<sup>11</sup> In Honduras, women opposing the extractive industries fear for their lives due to increased surveillance, now justified as a COVID-19 control measure. COVID-19 has also reduced funding to community-based and grassroots groups, with donors opting to fund more visible and/or established organisations with infrastructure that could survive the pandemic.<sup>12</sup> Many organisations reported that these restrictions meant they had to turn to domestic funding options to continue operations. Reduced funding has had a direct impact on WHRDs' ability to organise and mobilise.

PU! members and partners noted that while it is important to be aware of how COVID-19 has exacerbated existing inequalities, it is also necessary to acknowledge that the challenges the programme

is tackling are sustained and have been felt for a long time. The implementation of the programme is and will be impacted by the current global health crisis and its overall mandate continues to be complex. However, members felt that the new normal has forced organisations to innovate and PU! has been very effective in initiating the programme in spite of these challenges.



Participant in the East and West Africa regional dialogue

<sup>9</sup> <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621149/bp-the-inequality-virus-250121-en.pdf>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.brookings.edu/techstream/the-dangers-of-tech-driven-solutions-to-covid-19/>

<sup>11</sup> <https://ishr.ch/latest-updates/ngo-forum-impact-covid-19-human-rights-africa/>; <https://www.theiwi.org/gpr-reports/the-other-shadow-pandemic>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/women-rights-organisations-hit-harder-funding-cuts-and-left-out-covid-19-response>

### 3.0

# Findings

This section of the report presents analysis and findings based on qualitative and quantitative data from the regional dialogues and the survey. It provides a narrative that substantiates the baseline and target values in the performance measurement framework (see Annex 4).

Section 3.1 focuses on the country contexts as reported by participants in the regional dialogues and respondents to the survey. Section 3.2 details the self-assessed capacities of WROs, as reported through the survey and regional partner dialogues, to respond to their contexts and pursue activities under the programme's three pathways. Section 3.3 details how the pathways and strategies, through the outputs, are expected to contribute to the achievement of the programme outcomes.



## 3.1

# A time of precarity

## Threats to WROs and WHRDs

During the regional dialogues, PU! members, partners, and allies identified the most pressing challenges they are facing. This section details some of the specific contexts in countries where the programme is operating, confirming the precarity that WROs and WHRDs are currently facing. The section is organised by the programme's three strategic agendas: bodies, voices, and resources. However, participants emphasised that these domains are interconnected and should not be seen in isolation. The section also reports on the impact current contextual challenges are having on the lives and livelihoods of WHRDs and women's rights activists in all regions.

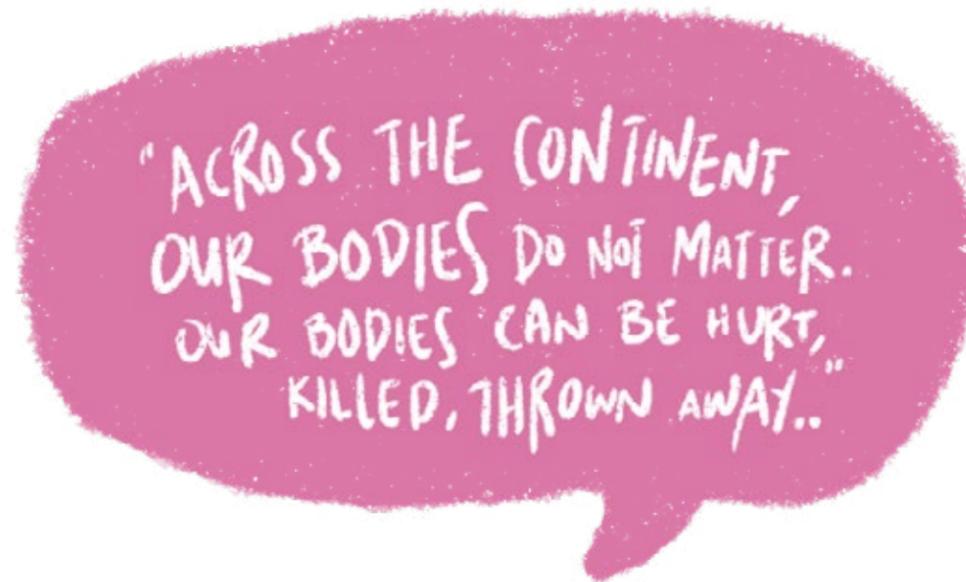


### 3.1.1 Bodies

*Outcome 1: Women make decisions about their bodies, violence is reduced, and safety is improved.*

Gender inequality manifests in reduced bodily autonomy, violation, commodification, and objectification of women's bodies. New data from the WHO shows that violence against women and girls (VAWG) remains pervasive. Across their lifetime, one in three women (around 736 million women globally) are subjected to physical or sexual violence by an intimate partner or sexual violence from a non-partner—a number that has remained unchanged over the past decade.<sup>13</sup> Since the outbreak of COVID-19, emerging data and reports from those on the front lines show that VAWG, particularly domestic violence, has intensified.<sup>14</sup>

**Scarring the body:** SGBV is prevalent across all PU! countries and increased during the COVID pandemic. SGBV is perpetrated by intimate partners, other civilians, and the state and its representatives. PU! partners from Indonesia, for example, reported rapes by public officials, including the police; online violence; sexual violence perpetrated by family members



Participant in East and West Africa regional dialogue

and colleagues; a prevalent rape culture in academia; and a particularly high rate of sexual violence against girls, including female genital mutilation and child marriage. SGBV is also prevalent in Mesoamerica and Southern Africa, including high rates of femicide in Honduras.

**Traditional socio-cultural norms:** Patriarchal norms, practices and customs undermine women's bodily autonomy in almost all PU! countries. In Cambodia, these include restrictions on mobility and dress and differential access to education. In Myanmar, the concept of *hpon* attributes superiority to men within the home and in society. Partners in many settings reported working against harmful patriarchal norms and attitudes that regard female bodies as 'excluded, discriminated against, unvalued, violated, and ... eliminated' (Participant in East and West Africa partner dialogue). Throughout the Southern Africa region, gendered economic deprivation—combined with harmful patriarchal norms, cultural practices, and traditions that undermine women's rights—translate into high rates of SGBV and child marriage. Harmful patriarchal norms, attitudes, and behaviours similarly undermine women's bodily autonomy in the MENA region. In Tunisia, this results in stigmatising single mothers as immoral, abandoning elderly women who are not protected by legislation, and discriminating against disabled women and girls.

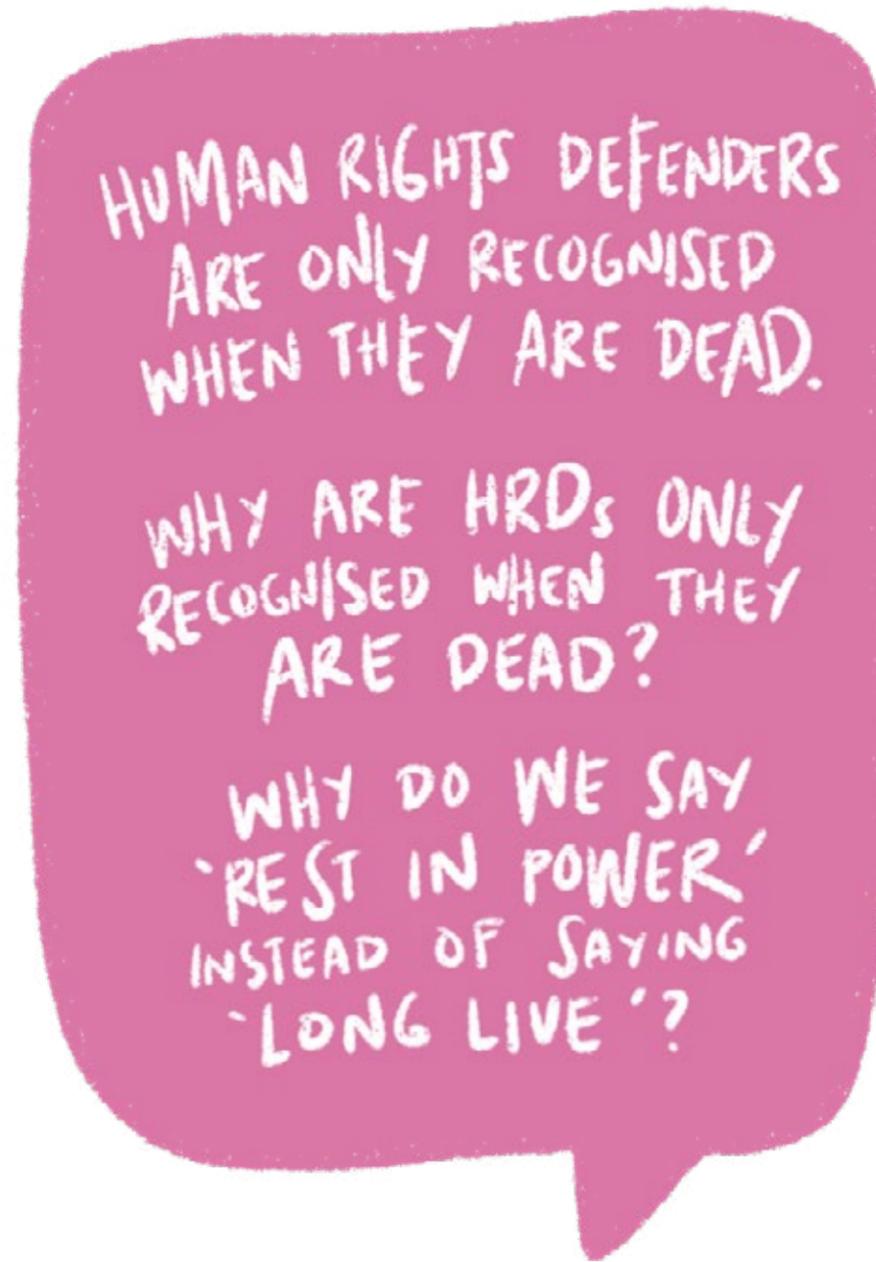
<sup>13</sup> <https://www.who.int/news/item/09-03-2021-devastatingly-pervasive-1-in-3-women-globally-experience-violence>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/in-focus-gender-equality-in-covid-19-response/violence-against-women-during-covid-19>

**Bodies on the margin:** The consequences of homophobia, exemplified by economic exclusion and violence perpetrated by society and the state, intersect with the categories of bodies, voice, and resources. During the regional dialogues, partners reported that members of the LBQ community face discriminatory laws and practices in many of the PU! countries. They emphasised ‘the body as a site of struggle’ and their efforts to promote bodily autonomy, in relation to self-determination, especially for members of the LBQ community and sex-workers.

In Uganda and Ghana there is persistent discrimination and criminalisation of the LBQ community. Ugandan LBQ human rights defenders who are living in the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya<sup>15</sup> described harrowing conditions, including inhuman treatment, a lack of shelter for women and children, rape of women and queer refugees, arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of WHRDs, living in constant fear of violence and death, and having no access to basic goods or sanitary products. They described feeling hopeless, isolated, and desperate as they have failed to receive support from the UNHCR, the Kenyan government, and local rights groups. Hate crimes, including ‘corrective rape,’ remain prevalent in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Same-sex marriage is criminalised in Zimbabwe.

**The reproductive body:** Access to SRH services in many PU! countries remains limited. In East and West Africa, teenage pregnancies and unsafe abortions are prevalent, as abortion is criminalised in most countries. Women in Lebanon, negatively



Participant in East and West Africa regional dialogue

affected by the collapsing state infrastructure, including health services, are experiencing an impact on their SRH such as having no access to sanitary products, increased unsafe abortion, increased cost of contraception, inadequate pre-natal services resulting in high maternal mortality rates, and increased prevalence of malnutrition during pregnancy.

In Southern Africa, the region most affected by HIV/AIDS (with South Africa having the highest reported infection rate in the world), women have limited access to SRH services. Women are also more likely to be infected because of exposure to violence, lack of bodily autonomy, and lack of access to contraception. Sex work is illegal in many PU! countries, marginalising this structurally excluded group of women, reducing their access to SRH services, including contraception and antiretroviral drugs, reducing their ability to earn a living, and increasing their exposure to violence and harassment. Restrictions during COVID lockdowns threatened their economic survival and led to increased incidents of violence and arrest.

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.voanews.com/a/africa\\_kenyas-lgbtq-refugees-face-threats-attacks-kakuma-camp/6194375.html](https://www.voanews.com/a/africa_kenyas-lgbtq-refugees-face-threats-attacks-kakuma-camp/6194375.html)

### 3.1.2 Voice

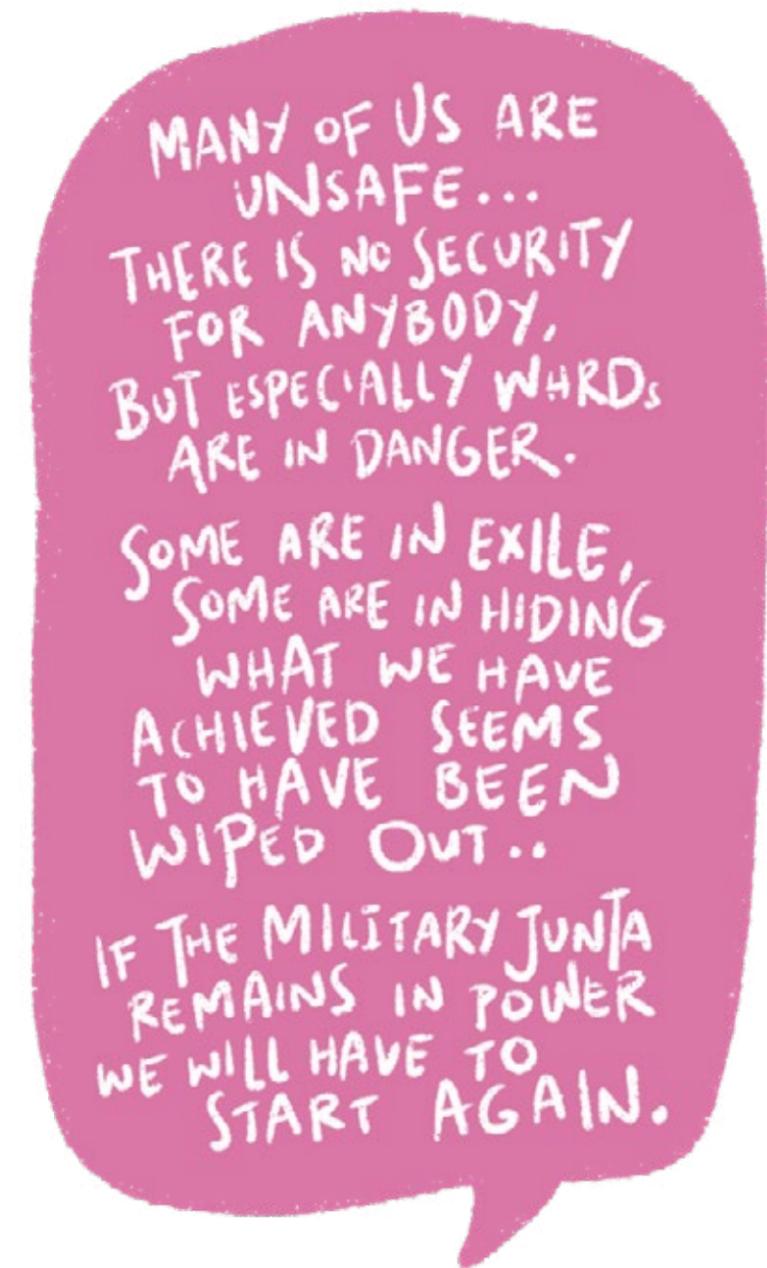
#### *Outcome 2: Women express their views and participate in all decision-making*

Lack of political power and voice are closely linked to violations of women's bodies and inequitable access to economic resources. Participants in the dialogues mapped the ways in which the lack of voice influences the context they are working in.

**When 'space' does not mean 'voice':** Women are generally excluded from, or under-represented in, political decision-making and leadership structures. However, even where women have gained access, or where structures have been created to enhance women's voice, the impact is marred by context and inequality. For example, women's committees created to promote women's participation in forestry and governance in India have been ineffective because the committees were not resourced or appropriately capacitated. Dialogue participants pointed out that women in Africa continue to be under-represented in political decision-making and numbers do not necessarily lead to greater political presence. In Rwanda, for example, known for exceeding the women's quota in parliament (60%), the benefits have not been visible in lower political structures, such as district and municipal bodies.

**Losing hard-won ground:** In several PU! countries there has been a rise in populism and a retreat to conservatism, which has had disastrous impacts on women's participation in public life. Tunisian activists spoke about advances that may be lost as the political space decreases and populist sentiments increase. Progressive legislation, such as the legalisation of abortion in the 1950s, compulsory education for women and girls since the 1950s, and legislation that led to Tunisia being the first country in the region where women were represented in parliament and accounted for 46% of local councillors, is under threat.

The Tunisian experience demonstrates the extent to which the economic and political context, coupled with the effects of the global health crisis, can derail WROs and previous gender equality gains. The political context and related changes in distribution of power and systems of government have a direct and immediate effect on the status of women and the ability of WROs to function. In Myanmar, for example, compounded crises—including the military coup, related economic decline and the effects of COVID—have had decidedly detrimental effects on human rights and women's rights in particular. Activities by women and other civil society organisations have been severely curtailed. Partners from India reported similar issues resulting from the actions of the ruling right-wing government and the onslaught on rights activists and human rights defenders, which have led to a back-sliding of fundamental rights guaranteed in the constitution.



Participant in South and South-East Asia regional dialogue

**Entrenched patriarchy in decision-making:** Patriarchal attitudes within communities and society more broadly also prevent WHRDs from engaging directly with decision-makers. This has a negative impact on the space and voice women have in political processes. PU! partners in some Southern African countries expressed ‘complete panic’ about what they see as a closure of civic space for WROs. Religious leaders and religious fundamentalism were key factors contributing to women’s subordination in many Southern African countries, as well as in Indonesia. In Lebanon, patriarchal norms have systematically excluded women from political participation. In Honduras, patriarchy within mixed-gender peasant organisations is prevalent, with male leaders limiting women’s participation and considering women who speak up as dissidents. Women remain under-represented in the leadership structures of Indigenous rights groups, where decision-making is still largely a male prerogative. Women leaders, even those in very senior positions, are not taken seriously when they interact with external stakeholders.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DO NOT TAKE THE VOICE OF WOMEN OR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE INTO ACCOUNT..

IF YOU ARE WEARING A SUIT, THEY WILL PAY ATTENTION TO YOU. IT IS THE SAME IN THE ORGANISATION WOMEN ARE NOT LISTENED TO.

MY MALE COLLEAGUE, WHO IS NOT EVEN A LAWYER TALKS TO EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS AND GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES BECAUSE THEY LISTEN TO HIM.

Participant in Mesoamerica regional dialogue

### 3.1.3 Resources

#### *Outcome 3: Women have access to resources and economic autonomy*

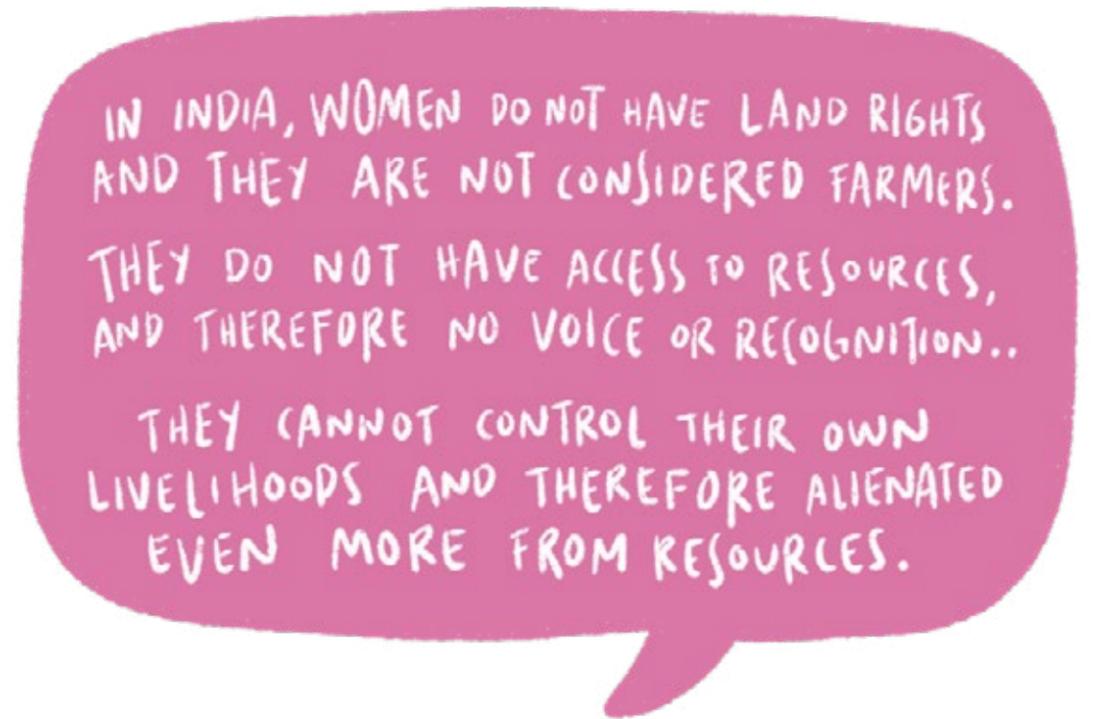
In the regional partner dialogue, participants from Southern Africa spoke about the ‘body as a site of struggle’ and the interconnectedness of body and resources. They argued that violations of bodily autonomy were inversely related to women’s economic dependence, as women with access to land, other productive resources, or independent incomes are less likely to experience SGBV.

Women’s access to resources in PU! countries is compromised by multiple factors and it is estimated that, at the current pace of change, it will take 257 years to achieve equal economic participation and opportunities for women.<sup>16</sup> Patriarchal norms and cultural practices contribute to women’s inequitable access to resources and economic opportunities. Men continue to be paid more, are more likely to be employed, and are less likely to be employed in precarious jobs or the informal

sector.<sup>17</sup> Women are less likely to own land or the homes they live in.<sup>18</sup> Various reports show that those in the LBQ community face even greater economic inequality.<sup>19</sup>

**Land and resource dispossession:** Although women are not legally prevented from owning land in many countries, patriarchal customs lead to dispossession. Prevailing norms do not view women as landowners or controllers of natural resources. In Malawi and South Africa, for example, widows lose access to their husband’s land, which passes either to in-laws or children. In India and Honduras, women struggle to access forest land and other natural resources, despite legislation that guarantees their rights to them. Compounding women’s alienation are land grabs by large corporations and the state and ongoing degradation and diversion of natural resources. Mining and megaprojects, such as hydro-electric dams, monoculture, and other extractive industries, dispossess women, loot community resources, lead to food insecurity and poor health, and contribute to accelerated environmental decline.

The consequences of global warming and climate change are evident in extreme weather events such as droughts, fires, and floods. This has exacerbated the effects of centuries of land and resource dispossession among Indigenous women in particular.



Participant in South and South-East Asia regional dialogue

<sup>16</sup> Global Gender Gap Report 2020. pg.6

<sup>17</sup> WEF. 2015. Why gender and income inequality are linked. And UN Women. 2017. UN Women and the World Bank unveil new data analysis on women and poverty.

<sup>18</sup> From the PU! Project Proposal. Supported by country level data presented in Part Two of this report.

<sup>19</sup> From the PU! Project Proposal.

**Feminisation of poverty:** Globally, poverty has a woman's face and, as noted in Section 2, this has been further exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. In South and South-East Asia, women's limited access to land and natural resources, and the consequent detrimental effect on their capacity to generate livelihoods or achieve food security, contributes to the feminisation of poverty.

Women who are engaged in subsistence agriculture struggle to access basic resources such as fertiliser and seeds, exist with rudimentary production techniques, and have no or limited access to markets. Economic deprivation is aggravated by frequent droughts and the increase of extreme weather conditions due to climate change. However, even in cases where development initiatives are undertaken, women remain excluded. PU! partners from Malawi recounted how women small-scale farmers are excluded from local development funds and leadership positions.

Southern Africa is the poorest region in the world. It is therefore not surprising that economic exclusion and poverty are key concerns for PU! partners in the region. In Zimbabwe, already precarious economic conditions and continuous cycles of hyperinflation have been exacerbated by the global health pandemic.

Unemployment among women is high across all PU! countries. Partners from Cambodia, South Africa, and Tunisia noted that women are more likely to be employed in informal sectors of the economy, which leads to a violation of their rights and precarity.

For example, voluntary food handlers in South Africa, who are not recognised as workers, are not unionised or protected by labour rights.

In Lebanon, where only 33% of women participate in the economy, the pandemic has resulted in job losses. The ongoing refugee crisis in neighbouring countries is creating tensions between refugees and Lebanese citizens over constrained resources due to lockdowns. Participants noted that refugee women suffer from unrecognised rights and subordination in their families and within camps, which has been made worse during the lockdown. They live in crowded camps with multi-generational families and must cope with poor infrastructure, lack of water and sanitation, lack of SRH services, and high levels of SGBV.

**Paucity of funds:** WROs' ability to successfully transform the systemic and structural inequalities they face is hampered by resource constraints. Participants in the dialogues pointed to the funding approach in Africa, which commits to funding gender equality while simultaneously holding binary views of gender. The implication is that LBQ rights defenders struggle to access funding and often lack the resources to cover basic costs, such as office rent.

Almost all survey respondents reported that insufficient funds and lack of financial sustainability were impeding factors. Of the respondents, 39% said their organisational capacity and

functioning was moderately constrained by funding shortages and 46% said their organisational capacity was considerably constrained due to funding shortages, while as many as 13% said their capacity was extremely constrained.

**Figure 4**

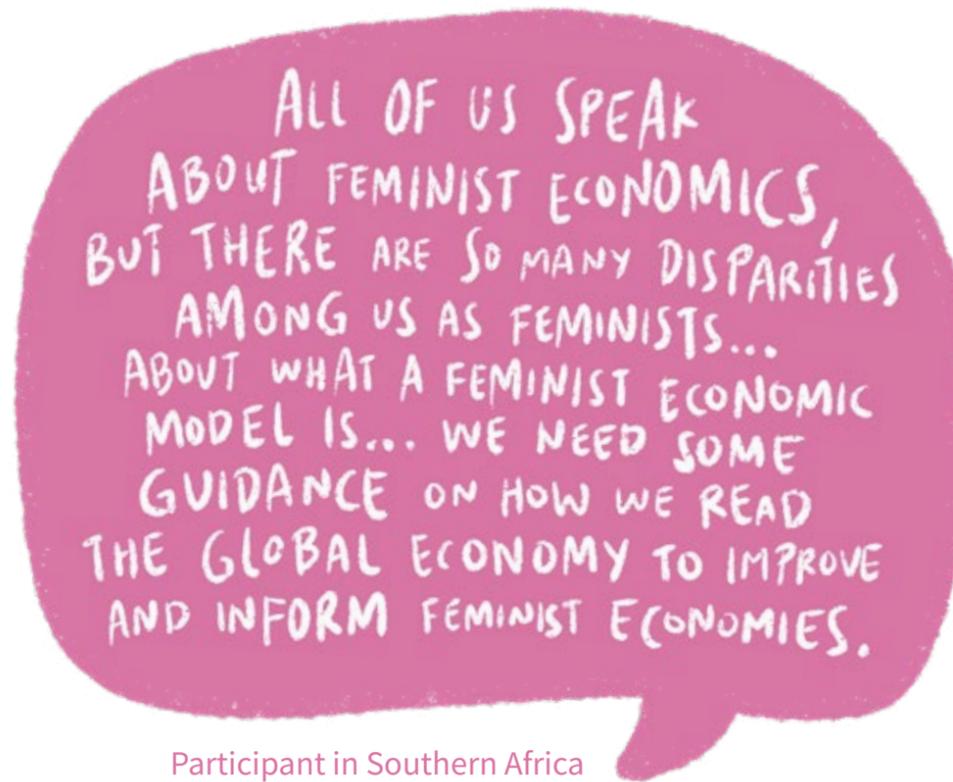
To what extent is your organisation's functioning or capacity negatively affected by funding shortages?



Partners pointed to the lack of consensus among WROs about the meaning of feminist economics. This is due to a failure to fully account for inter-country and inter-regional differences; insufficient consideration of historical, political, or economic context; or adherence to economic models that have failed dismally, which ultimately undermines the movement.

**Marginalising some concerns:** Views about the health of the movement revealed some fissures that have led to exclusion and reduced access to resources that acutely impact women who are structurally excluded. LBQ rights defenders, for example, pointed out practices within the women’s movement that often exclude LBQ rights and issues, resulting in under-representation of the community in leadership structures. Younger women’s rights activists pointed to practices that exclude them within the women’s rights sector, particularly inter-generational power struggles. Conversely, some established WROs and WHRDs expressed concern about the lack of younger women in the women’s movement.

**Relationships within the women rights sector** are relevant to the ability of WROs, CSOs and WHRDs to network, build alliances, increase their impact, and create a context that is more conducive for action. At baseline, only 23% of partner organisations described the levels of trust between WROs, WHRDs, activists, and CSOs in their countries as high. The remainder either described levels of trust as average (64%) or low (13%).



Participant in Southern Africa regional partner dialogue

**Digital Divide:** PU! partners in East and West Africa, Southern Africa, Mesoamerica, and MENA mentioned that inadequate access to information and communication technology, infrastructure, internet connectivity, and the costs of data limit their options and strategies, which has undermined their effectiveness in the context of COVID-19. In Guatemala, WROs reported that disseminating information to women in rural areas has become more challenging during the pandemic, a responsibility the government has completely abdicated. In Lebanon, the detrimental social and economic fallout of the Beirut explosion and the global health crisis has led to infrastructure issues, such as intermittent access to electricity and the internet, that are isolating WROs.

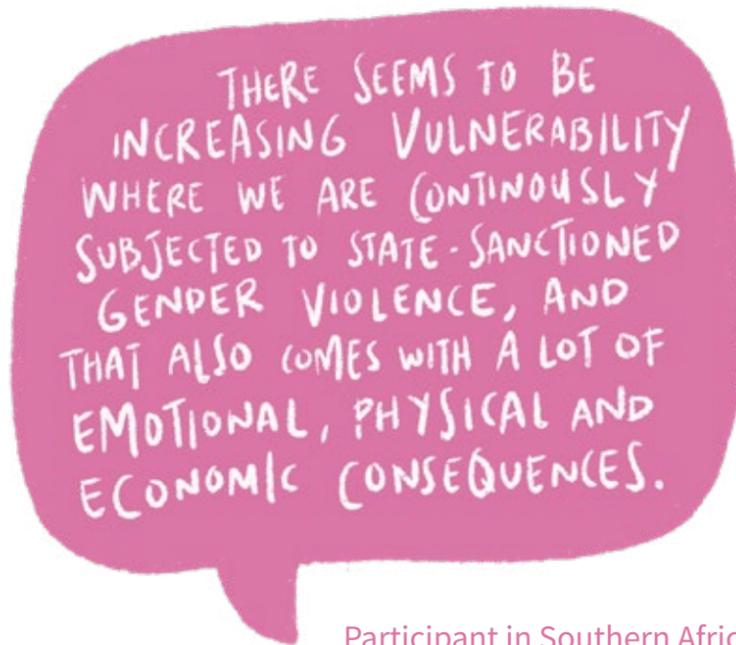
Figure 5

How would you describe the level of trust between Women's Rights Organisations (WROs), Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs), activists and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the country/ countries in which your organisation works?



### 3.1.4 Paying a high price: Impact on WHRDs

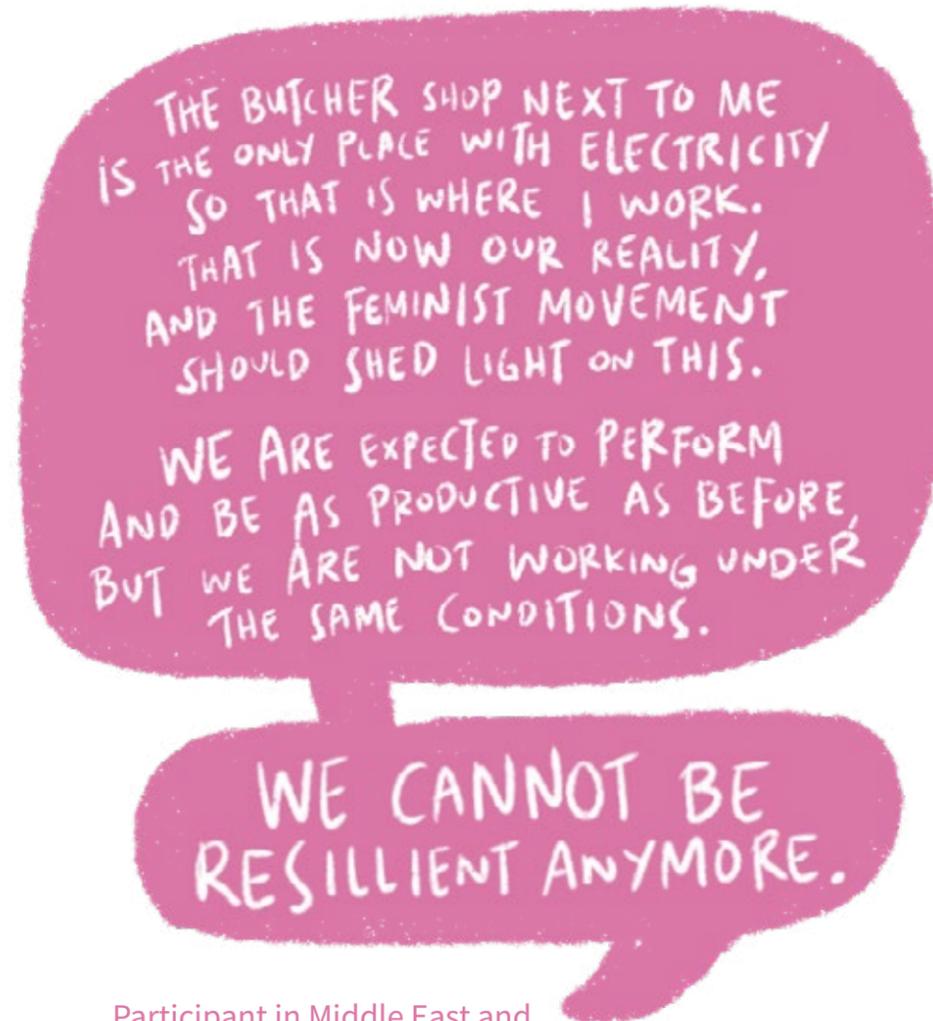
Many WHRDs and activists spoke about the impact on their bodies, voice, and resources due to the work they do to protect women's rights.



THERE SEEMS TO BE INCREASING VULNERABILITY WHERE WE ARE CONTINUOUSLY SUBJECTED TO STATE-SANCTIONED GENDER VIOLENCE, AND THAT ALSO COMES WITH A LOT OF EMOTIONAL, PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES.

Participant in Southern Africa regional dialogue

Many of the individuals participating in the dialogues reported experiencing trauma and other psychosocial stress because of their work. They spoke about loss of trust, high levels of fear, feelings of hopelessness and isolation, and alienation. This has had a negative impact on intimate and other social relationships, and on engagement with the world in general.



THE BUTCHER SHOP NEXT TO ME IS THE ONLY PLACE WITH ELECTRICITY SO THAT IS WHERE I WORK. THAT IS NOW OUR REALITY, AND THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT SHOULD SHED LIGHT ON THIS. WE ARE EXPECTED TO PERFORM AND BE AS PRODUCTIVE AS BEFORE, BUT WE ARE NOT WORKING UNDER THE SAME CONDITIONS.

WE CANNOT BE RESILLIENT ANYMORE.

Participant in Middle East and North Africa regional dialogue

PU! partners recognised that WHRDs and HRDs are subject to trauma and in need of self-care and healing. Although they work to provide such psychosocial services within the sector, they often lack the resources to do so. This is an area requiring urgent intervention.

Regional dialogue participants also reported gaining and growing from their experiences as WHRDs and HRDs. For many, their work has been a source of personal empowerment, joy, and pride. Overall, PU! partners are motivated to work together to bring about change.



BEING AN ACTIVIST CHANGED MY LIFE AND HOW I SEE MYSELF AS A WOMAN. I REALISE NOW THAT PATRIARCHY INFLUENCED ME FROM THE DAY I WAS BORN, BUT I HAVE LEARNED THAT WOMEN DO NOT HAVE TO STAY IN THE BEDROOM AND KITCHEN. FEMINISM HAS CHANGED ME DRASTICALLY.

Participant in South and South-East Asia regional dialogue

## 3.2

# Where is our power?

Capacities to deliver on the programme pathways to build, organise, mobilise, and transform power

The PU! ToC assumes that the capacity of organisations and individuals to sustain pressure and influence policies, institutions, resource distribution, and social norms is essential to overcome the situation of precarity for women described in Section 3.1. The programme is designed to build among organisations and movements the collective power, strategic leadership, advocacy strategies, and women's resilience necessary to lead change. It will do this through three pathways articulated in the ToC: **building power, mobilising and organising power, and transforming power**. This section provides an overview of current capacities and gaps among programme partners in relation to these areas.



### 3.2.1 Building power

As highlighted in the ToC, PU! seeks to equip activist leaders and WROs with the confidence, information, advocacy skills, strategies, and connections they need to organise women for democratic change and navigate risky contexts. It does this by supporting organisational and individual capacity building and leadership training, and by building new knowledge to support smarter thinking and responses to inequality, violence, and women's rights challenges.

#### Programme outputs related to building power:

- Output 4.1 Increased leadership capacity and organising skills of women to bring about change in their lives and communities.
- Output 4.2 Enhanced capacity of WROs to design and implement effective strategies and articulate collective political agendas.
- Output 4.3 Women are equipped with tools, methods, research, evidence and learning from practice to inform strategy and action.

#### Strengthening individual capacities

It is often difficult to differentiate between capacity building and training initiatives that target WROs and those directed to individual women who may or may not belong to those WROs. The baseline survey did not include questions to establish the current capacities and capacity gaps of individual women, since it was designed to capture perceptions of organisational-level capacity. Nevertheless, PU! offers specific sets of capacity building, training, and accompaniment directly to individual women, the impact of which will be monitored over the course of the programme by tracking 'the number of women (youth/non youth) who report increased confidence, political skills and consciousness' (output indicator 4.1.1a/b). In addition, a cohort study will provide a deeper understanding of changes individual women experience over the course of PU! implementation. The tools for monitoring individual-level changes are still being developed by the PU! MEL team.

As described in the ToC, capacity building and training initiatives to increase women's confidence, political skills, and consciousness are central to building the capacity to sustain pressure and influence policies, institutions, resources distribution, and social norms. The following examples illustrate the kinds of leadership and knowledge capacity gaps that PU! partners are seeking to address.

#### Strategic leadership development

The regional dialogues showed that PU! partners in India and Lebanon are preparing women to participate in local level elections and serve in leadership positions in local government structures. In South Africa, partners will work to increase the number of women in key decision-making positions and structures by educating women on electoral systems and democracy and encouraging them to vote for candidates who will represent their issues. Other partners in Southern Africa, as well as in South-East Asia and in Mesoamerica (such as the Alquimia schools for Mesoamerican rural and Indigenous women land defenders) focus on building feminist leadership, collective power, and strategies for resistance, safety and justice. In Honduras, PU! partners are investing in training women leaders and activists to increase their effectiveness in advocating for their rights and in reaching structurally excluded women.

I AM CHOOSING TO TRAIN MYSELF FIRST AND THEN MY COLLEAGUE WHO SUPPORTS ME A LOT. JASS AND OTHER WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS ARE SUPPORTING US. WE HOPE TO PULL COMMUNITY WOMEN OUT OF ANONIMITY. IT IS QUITE COMPLICATED TO ACCESS THEM AND WORK WITH THEM. WE ARE STRUGGLING BUT WE ARE FINDING WAYS TO REACH THESE WOMEN.

Participant in Mesoamerica regional dialogue

The regional dialogues also provided examples of how partners have identified and are responding to the need to build young women's leadership, including, as shown by the baseline survey results, within their own organisations. In Cambodia, partners will challenge organisational norms around inter-generational space and dialogue and purposively support young women in leadership; in India and Guatemala, they will work with a future generation of leaders and feminists to use rights-based approaches; and in Indonesia, they will create a forum where young activists can provide each other with support and counter threats from the state and society together.

In Tunisia, PU! partners will create clubs for older women, women living with disabilities, and uneducated young women to educate them about democratic rights and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship so they can develop their voices and influence in political spaces. As noted throughout this report, many partners are also working directly to build leadership skills among LBQ women.



A KEY ISSUE FOR US IS THE PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR LBQ AND FEMINISTS, SO THAT THEIR PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT CAN BE SUPPORTED, BECAUSE LET'S FACE IT, MANY LBQ WOMEN HAVE TO DEVELOP SELF-ESTEEM AND LEADERSHIP AND GAIN THE CAPACITY TO SPEAK PUBLICLY.

Participant in East and West Africa regional dialogue

#### **Political analysis (visible and invisible power)**

Developing the skills for power analysis, including the relationships between visible and invisible power (described further in Section 3.2.3) is a key component of the PU! approach. In Malawi, for example, PU! partners will provide rights education for women to challenge patriarchal norms as part of their leadership-building approach. Partners will initiate consciousness-building activities among women and create space for women to influence the content of the initiatives and interventions.

#### **Alternative feminist models on economic empowerment**

The baseline process highlighted the strengths and gaps of partner organisations in terms of economic empowerment and alternative feminist economic models. All PU! partners described how they are actively supporting their constituencies—particularly young women's groups, women workers' groups and women's cooperatives—to develop and get funding for their economic initiatives and collective entrepreneurship. In Indonesia, partners are transforming inequitable education systems by providing education programmes for adult women through a special school that values both formal and informal education. These programmes are aimed at supporting alternative approaches to women's economic empowerment and promoting women's



WE WANT TO END SEXUAL AND ECONOMIC VIOLENCE. WOMEN DON'T KNOW WHY THEY ARE BEING VIOLATED. THEY THINK IT IS NORMAL, NATURAL, AND CULTURAL. WE WANT TO CHANGE THIS. WE WANT TO SEE THAT WOMEN HAVE EQUAL POWER.

Participant in Southern Africa regional dialogue

participation in decision-making. In the face of the current economic crisis in Lebanon, partners have pivoted their activities to provide small-scale women farmers with direct financial support, equipment, access to land, and links to local markets through existing cooperatives. Capacity building and leadership training activities will be extended to women refugees from the Occupied Palestinian Territory to broaden impact and promote inclusion. In Tunisia, a unique inter-generational business model seeks to identify older women who can transfer traditional knowledge and skills—such as rose water distillation, sweet making, and embroidery—to younger women.

**Strengthening organisational capacities**

PU! brings a feminist lens to organisational capacity strengthening<sup>20</sup> that meets organisations where they currently are (context, needs, size, politics) and focuses on strengthening their capacities to strategise and engage in advocacy, collective action, and movement building. Therefore, the baseline design sought to determine partner organisational capacity largely in relation to PU!’s assumptions about what it takes to shift power so that women and their organisations have increased collective influence and impact on laws and policy, the public discourse, and social attitudes and narratives that cause discrimination, violence, and exclusion.

PU! seeks to strengthen WRHDs’ and their organisations’ capacities to (1) identify and organise around common interests

across identity, generations, and movements; (2) define solutions and create demands that advance these interests strategically; (3) carry out the relevant power analysis to inform advocacy strategies; and (4) do the deeper systemic analysis of the intersections among economic and political disempowerment, bodies, and violence.

At the organisational level specifically, PU! strengthens WROs’ capacities to (1) do their own feminist policy research; (2) shape and advance policy advocacy initiatives; and (3) create inclusive organisational practices that foster participation and leadership by diverse and often structurally excluded women (queer, Indigenous, HIV positive) who are a vital part of women’s struggles for justice. Much of the organisational capacity building support PU! provides happens through sustained organisational and political accompaniment. PU! also provides support as needed in strategic planning, building organisational resilience, feminist praxis, alliance building, strategy development, and reflective learning. The programme provides training and support for activist networks, particularly those composed of young women.

**Overview of PU! partners**

Annex 1 provides a list of all PU! partner organisations and networks. The baseline survey has helped to provide a more detailed picture of these partners. Most PU! partners are non-profit organisations (42%), community-based organisations (29%), and national networks or coalitions (16%).

**Figure 6**

Which of the following best describes your organisation?



<sup>20</sup> PU!’s capacity-building strategy adheres to the policy framework’s principles for capacity strengthening (strengthening civil society ToC, MFA, p.5).

**Current capacity of WROs:** Baseline survey questions were designed to capture the extent to which partners are currently reflecting feminist principles of inclusion and diversity in their organisational governance, representation, and reach, as well as their perceived capacities to support advocacy, influencing, and collective action.

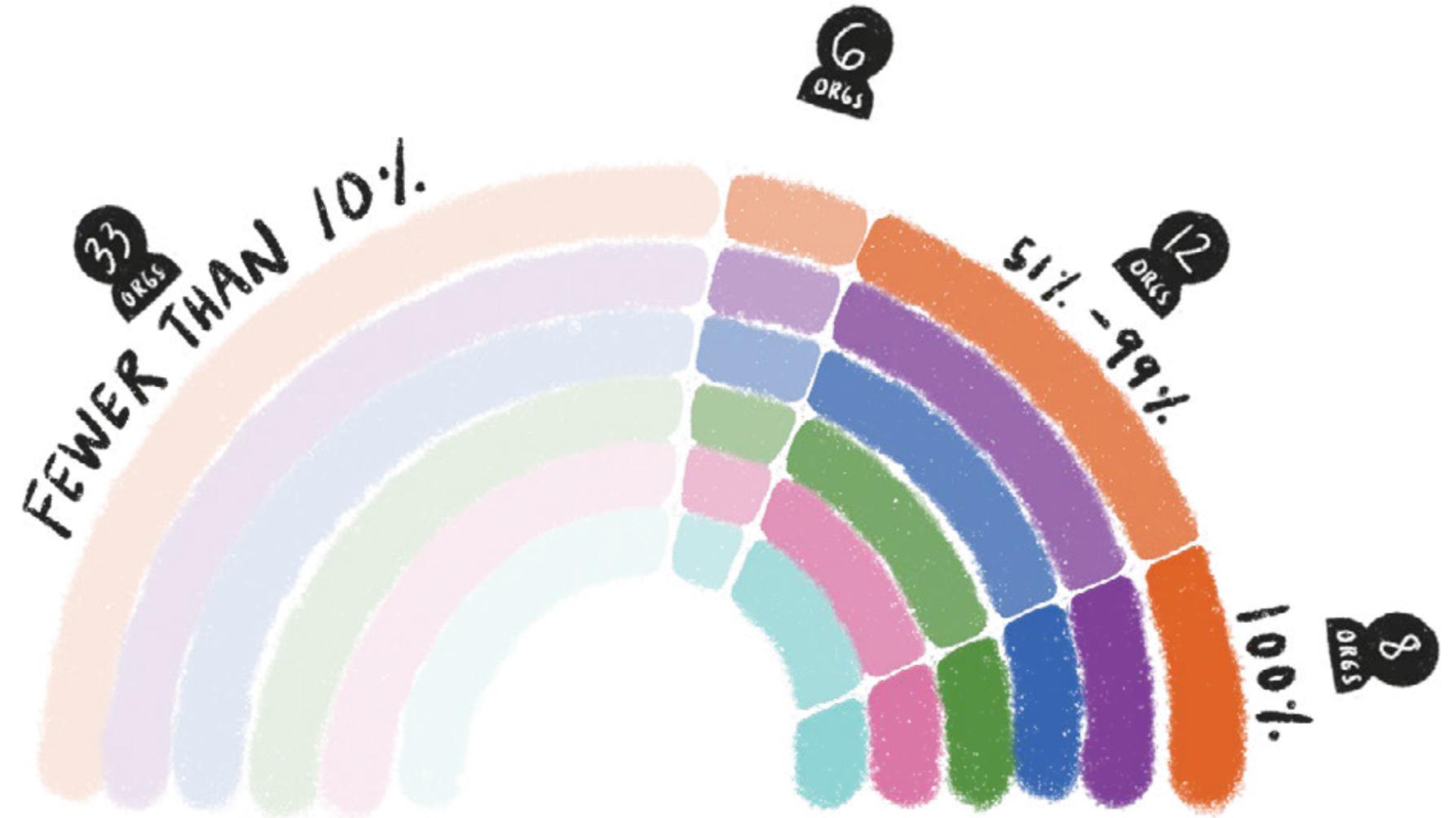
**Governance, representation, and reach:** The governance structures of partner organisations comprise mostly women. Almost half (44%) of partner organisations have governance structures comprising only women. For a further 11% of partners, women account for between 91% and 99% of the governance structure, while in another 10% they account for between 81% and 90%.

LBQ people are not well represented in partner organisations' governance structures. In 56% of partner organisations, LBQ people make up fewer than 10% of the governance structure. LBQ people form between 51% and 99% of the governance structures in only 20% of partner organisations. Of the organisations that responded to the survey, 14% are LBQ rights organisations and their governance structures comprise exclusively LBQ people.

Only 18% of partner organisations have governance structures with youth representation exceeding 81% and only 11% are composed entirely of youth. Approximately 23% of partners' governance structures include fewer than 20% youth, while 41% include fewer than 50%.

**Figure 7**

Percentage of organisations' governance structures comprised of LBQ persons  
(59 organisations that responded to this question)



On average, partner organisations reach, serve, or support 2,525 women per annum, with a wide range across organisations, from 20 women to 95,000. Not surprisingly, women are the primary target group of partner organisations, with only one organisation reporting that women are not their main focus.

Partner organisations report being highly inclusive of youth, with only 3% saying that their work is not inclusive of youth. The remaining 97% always (50%), most of the time (34%), or some of the time (13%) ensure the inclusion of youth in organisational work.

These findings suggest PU! organisational strengthening support can work to build greater representation of youth and LBQ women in governance structures.

**Leadership capacity:** In view of PU!’s focus on feminist leadership building, it is interesting that only 6% of survey respondents rate their organisational leadership as ‘very capable,’ which suggests that the majority (94%) of partner organisations could benefit from capacity building in this area. Of these respondents, 65% said their organisation’s leadership is capable, but there is room for improvement; 24% said that capacity building is required; and a small group (5%) said that extensive capacity building is required. This finding confirms that PU!’s emphasis on building women’s leadership capacity requires further exploration during implementation about specific organisational leadership capacities that need to be built during the course of the programme.

**Figure 8**

Which of the following best describes your organisation's leadership?



**Resilience and adaptive capacity:** All partner organisations describe themselves as resilient—29% say their organisations are very resilient, 37% say they are resilient, and 34% say they are somewhat resilient. ‘Resilient’ was specifically defined as an organisation’s ability to withstand or recover quickly from difficult conditions.

Most respondents also considered their organisations to be adaptive to change and competent to find solutions to challenges (97%). Approximately 16% of respondents said that their organisations were very effective at adapting to, or finding solutions to, challenges; 47% said they were effective; and 44% said they were somewhat effective. Only 3% assessed their organisations as ‘not so effective,’ and none assessed them as ‘not effective at all.’

IT'S A VERY INTERESTING CONTEXT, THINKING OF THE HISTORY OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANISING, PARTICULARLY FEMINIST ORGANISING. THIS CONTEXT THAT WE ARE LIVING IN IS PROBABLY REQUIRING US TO UNLEARN SO MUCH ABOUT ORGANISING, TO THEN LEARN ABOUT WHAT TO DO.

Participant in Southern Africa regional dialogue

**Figure 9**

How do you rate the financial sustainability of your organisation?



Partner organisations (97%) are also very confident about their organisational systems and processes, which 37% described as strong and 60% described as average. Only 3% indicated that their organisational systems and processes are weak. Partner organisations (92%) are also confident about their planning capacity, with 34% describing it as strong, 58% describing it as average, and only 8% describing it as weak.

The one area in which partner organisations lack confidence is financial sustainability. Here, an almost inverse pattern is evident, with 42% rating their organisation’s financial sustainability as weak, 52% as average, and only 6% as strong. In line with global trends on funding for WROs, and as noted in Section 2, insufficient funds and lack of financial sustainability were identified as constraining factors for all but one of the organisations that participated in the survey. This finding confirms the ToC in two ways: first, the emphasis on building organisational capacity in resource mobilisation, and second, the emphasis on advocacy and influencing for greater resources for WROs to do their important work.

When asked to describe their organisations’ access to economic resources and opportunities, 30% said that their access was not constrained by discriminatory norms or laws, while the remainder (70%) said that their access to economic resources and opportunities was constrained by these things. Of the latter group, 46% described their access as somewhat constrained,

and 24% as significantly constrained. This finding confirms global trends related to access to resources for WROs, and LBQ organisations in particular, which are constantly underfunded due to discriminatory social norms.<sup>21</sup>

The regional partner dialogues also highlighted that PU! partner organisations would value more spaces for reflection and learning on effective feminist strategies to build their capacity and foster greater resilience. They looked to PU! to provide such learning spaces, particularly in relation to feminist economics and feminist economic alternatives.

<sup>21</sup> See for example, <https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/Development-finance-for-gender-equality-2021.pdf>; <https://fundlbq.org/chapters/how-are-donors-supporting-lbq-groups/>

### Capacity to undertake effective advocacy and influencing:

The baseline survey provided insights on current capacity levels in various areas related to organisational capacity to undertake effective advocacy. For example, partner organisations reported on current capacity to develop feminist advocacy strategies, with most respondents (78%) describing organisational capacity as good (41%) or average (36%). The remaining 23% reported that they could benefit from capacity building support, with 8% describing organisational capacity as poor and 15% stating that capacity building support is required.

Most partner organisations (76%) consider they have the capacity to implement feminist advocacy strategies. Almost half (42%) described organisational capacity to implement feminist advocacy strategies as 'good,' while a further 34% described organisational capacity as average. The remaining 24% indicated a need for capacity building in this regard, with 5% describing organisational capacity as poor, and 19% specifically saying that capacity building support is required.

### Capacity to undertake feminist economic and political

**analysis:** Approximately 25% of respondents indicated that their organisations require capacity building support to 'conduct economic and political analysis (from a feminist perspective).' The remaining 70% were fairly (49%) to very (21%) confident about their organisation's capacity to conduct economic and political analysis.

**Figure 10**

How would you rate your organisation's capacity to implement feminist lobbying and advocacy?



Survey results suggest that 37% of partner organisations require capacity building in terms of 'understanding the global economy from a feminist perspective,' with 29% specifically saying capacity building in this regard is required and a further 8% saying organisational capacity is weak in this area. This was also evident in the partner dialogues, and one of the recommendations emerging from the workshops was that PU! should focus on developing capacity and shared knowledge around feminist economics. Of the remainder, 46% described their organisational capacity to understand the global economy from a feminist perspective as average, while 16% described it as good.

Overall, the findings suggest that PU! partners are strategically positioned to deliver effective and impactful advocacy and influencing activities that are informed by feminist economic and political analysis. At the same time, there is scope for further work to support understanding of the global economy from a feminist perspective. This aligns with PU!'s efforts to build economic alternatives that are informed by feminist economics.

**Credibility and influence with key actors:** The baseline survey sought to gain insights into partners' perspectives on how they are positioned vis à vis key actors. Partner organisations were asked how they thought each of the key sectors (government, private sector, and civil society) viewed the level of credibility of their organisations. They were also asked how they thought the women they support viewed their credibility. How partner organisations

are perceived by different actors is likely to shape the effectiveness of their advocacy and influencing work, though the effects are expected to be context- and issue-specific.

At baseline, half of respondents (51%) said that governments viewed their organisations as credible. Of these, 8% said the government viewed their organisations as very credible, 27% as credible, and 16% as somewhat credible. Only 27% said that governments did not view their organisations as credible, with 6% saying governments see their organisations as not very credible, and 21% saying governments saw them as not at all credible.

Another approximately 21% of partner organisations do not know how governments perceive them. At first glance, these responses may appear at odds with perspectives shared in the regional partner dialogues on how women-led organisations are often dismissed by political leaders; however, they may also indicate that partner organisations believe political leaders know they are credible and informed political actors, but that they nonetheless choose not to listen to them.

Results for private sector perceptions suggest slightly higher rates of perceived credibility. More than half of partner organisations (61%) said that the private sector viewed their organisations as credible. Of these, 6% said they were seen as very credible, 21% as credible, and 34% as somewhat credible. Only 24% said that the private sector viewed their organisations as not credible, of which 13% said they viewed them as not very credible and 11%

as not at all credible. Another approximately 15% of organisations did not know how the private sector perceives their organisational credibility.

Perceived organisational credibility within the civil society sector is reportedly absolute (100%). Of all respondents, 25% of partner organisations said the CSO sector perceived their organisations as very credible, 57% as credible, and 16% as somewhat credible. One organisation did not know how the civil society sector perceives its organisational credibility.

The perceptions of target communities and groups (that is, the women who partner organisations work with or support) are also reported as 'very high' (near absolute), with only 3% saying that their organisations are viewed as not very credible. The remainder (97%) said their organisations were viewed as credible by their intended beneficiaries, with 54% saying very credible, 34% credible, and 8% somewhat credible.

Only 6% of respondents thought their organisations were 'excellent' at influencing government, while 32% thought their organisation's ability to influence government was weak (32%) or average (61%). Partner organisations are even less confident about their ability to influence the private sector, with only 5% saying their organisations were 'excellent' at influencing the private sector, while 42% thought their organisation's ability to influence the private sector was weak, and 53% thought it was average.

Partner organisations, however, have high confidence in their ability to influence civil society. Only 8% rated their organisational capacity as 'weak' in this regard, while 39% thought their organisations' capacity to influence civil society was 'excellent,' and a further 53% said it was 'acceptable.'

**Figure 11**

How would you rate your organisation's ability to influence the private sector?



Survey participants' assessments of their organisations' abilities to demand or influence agenda setting and debate at the national level aligns with their assessments of their organisations' abilities to influence societal sectors—none of the respondents thought their organisation was 'extremely' influential, while only 27% said their organisations had considerable influence on agenda setting and debates at national level. The remainder (74%) expressed doubts about their ability to influence the national agenda, with 57% describing their influence as moderate, and 16% saying they had no influence.

Although participants were slightly more confident about their organisations' abilities to demand and influence agenda setting and debates at the local level, the results follow a similar pattern: 2% said their organisation had no influence; 52% said their organisation had moderate influence; 43% said their organisation had considerable influence; and only 3% said their organisations was extremely influential.

**Figure 12**

To what extent is your organisation able to influence agendas at the national level



Overall, it appears that the majority of PU! partners believe they have the capacity to design and implement advocacy strategies that are politically informed yet are less confident about their ability to influence national level policy makers and legislators. This is consistent with the findings from the regional partner dialogues that WROs find it difficult to gain access to or to be heard by national level political actors. At the same time, it may also reflect the fact that many PU! WROs are operating at the grassroots level and are less connected with national level advocacy and influencing.

**These findings have contributed to the work plan process of target setting for the number of WROs (political and technical capacities) strengthened by PU! (output indicator 4.2.1).**

### Building knowledge

Knowledge production is another theme under the building power strategy. Specifically, the ToC conceptualises knowledge production as building alliances with thought leaders, generating feminist research, and using evidence for advocacy.

Among partner organisations, approximately two thirds (67%) gave their organisation's ability to conduct feminist research a positive rating, with 36% describing their organisational capacity as good, and a further 31% as average. The remaining 33% could benefit from capacity building in this regard, with 7% describing their organisational capacity as poor and 26% explicitly stating that capacity building is required.

**Figure 13**

How would you rate your organisation's ability to conduct feminist research?



PU! partners also reported that currently, on average, they produce approximately 20 knowledge products per year, with knowledge products defined as 'research outputs, tools and methods for learning, guidelines, traditional and social media releases, academic articles, videos, podcasts, webinars, radio programmes, books and any other knowledge products.' This information supported target setting in the annual planning process for **output indicator 4.3.1a/b, # of feminist knowledge products (including tools and methodologies) on power, feminist movement building strategy and feminist analysis of bodies, voices and resources created by PU! to women (youth/non-youth).**

During regional partner dialogues, participants underscored the importance of generating feminist research and feminist knowledge that is rooted in the needs of the constituencies WROs seek to serve and that does not further the distance between knowledge makers and the subjects from whose lives the knowledge is derived. PU! will therefore prioritise support to generating and disseminating such knowledge products.

The following are some examples from the regional partner dialogues of the capacities that need to be strengthened and the strategies PU! will use to build those capacities. In Guatemala, partners will build their capacity to challenge dominant societal narratives that shape norms and attitudes with participatory research, such as collecting women's oral history. In Eastern

and Western Africa, partners will focus on strengthening their research skills to accurately map context, changes to that context, and how context impact WROs, and then modify their strategies accordingly. Partners in the region cautioned against creating a reactive narrative that blames COVID-19 for inequality, instead recommending investment in research and documentation that surfaces the historical roots of inequality and marginalisation. Partners in Southern Africa will build capacity to conduct research and analysis to give an authentic voice to the experience of queer African women and the challenges women in Africa face, and to find solutions to these challenges. They will strengthen their approaches to communication and advocacy using feminist knowledge products in traditional and social media. In Lebanon, PU! partners will build networks between activists and academics to strengthen capacity for activists to influence academic content and mainstream narratives, especially more gender-inclusive decision-making in the new economic context.

The baseline findings validate the emphasis that the ToC places on knowledge production and suggests that partners have multiple strategies in place for it. PU! is currently working to develop a knowledge strategy at the programme level that clearly articulates the priorities for knowledge production and an accompanying plan that links to the programme learning agenda.

### 3.2.2 Organising and mobilising power

As underscored in the ToC, PU! will link capacity building processes to sustained movement building strategies that organise women, forge broader alliances, and mobilise joint action. Using power analysis tools, the programme will engage with a broad range of allies—including strategic donors and INGOs—to analyse contexts and issues, power map actors and interests, and develop multi-level strategies and direct action.

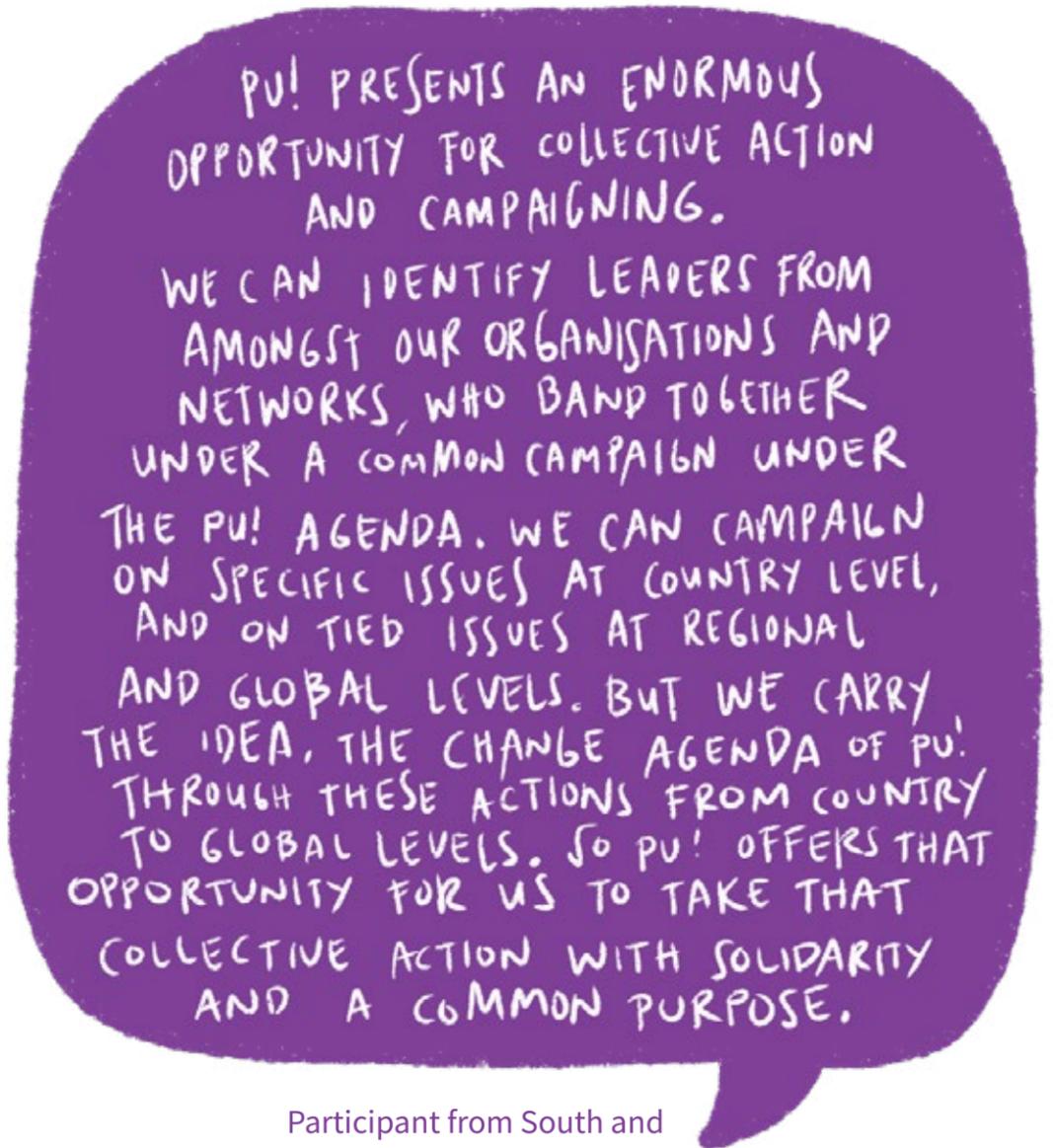
#### Programme outputs related to organising and mobilising power:

- Output 5.1 Strengthened and new collaborations with diverse alliances to support women's leadership and feminist agendas
- Output 5.2. Strengthened community, national and regional safety networks to provide support/ safety for women in high-risk environments.
- Output 5.3 Increased feminist solidarity and urgent action responses.

PU! combines feminist movement building with comprehensive power analysis tools that enable women to address the multifaceted and complex realities of SGBV, their exclusion from decision-making in many countries and contexts, their inequitable access to national and financial resources, and the perpetuation of harmful norms that are used to justify violence and inequality.

Movement building strategies will include building bridges with other WROs in PU! countries regionally and globally. The desk research and regional dialogues highlighted the need for movement strengthening, particularly within and across movements, as well as for attention to the health of the movement through care and healing, greater understanding, and solidarity.

This section summarises baseline findings related to PU! partner current capacities to organise and mobilise power.



PU! PRESENTS AN ENORMOUS OPPORTUNITY FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION AND CAMPAIGNING. WE CAN IDENTIFY LEADERS FROM AMONGST OUR ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS, WHO BAND TOGETHER UNDER A COMMON CAMPAIGN UNDER THE PU! AGENDA. WE CAN CAMPAIGN ON SPECIFIC ISSUES AT COUNTRY LEVEL, AND ON TIED ISSUES AT REGIONAL AND GLOBAL LEVELS. BUT WE CARRY THE IDEA, THE CHANGE AGENDA OF PU! THROUGH THESE ACTIONS FROM COUNTRY TO GLOBAL LEVELS. SO PU! OFFERS THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO TAKE THAT COLLECTIVE ACTION WITH SOLIDARITY AND A COMMON PURPOSE.

Participant from South and South-East Asia regional dialogue

### Capacity to build alliances and pursue collective action

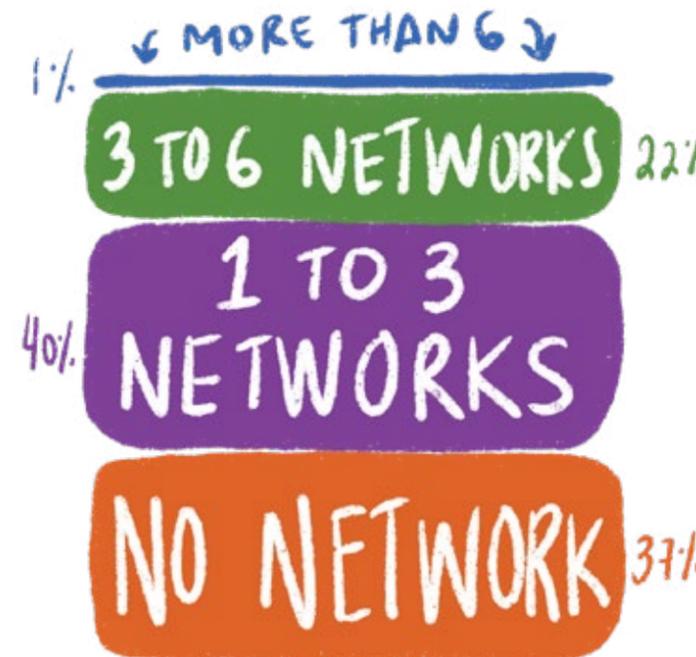
The survey queried organisations about their current capacities to identify issues of interest, build alliances, and develop joint agendas for change. At baseline, only 37% of PU! members, partners, and allied organisations who participated in the survey were very confident of their capacity to build collective approaches and broad alliances around common women's rights agendas, while a further 47% considered their capacities average in this regard. The remaining 16% indicated that they require capacity building. Of these, 6% said their organisation's capacity to build collective approaches and broad alliances was poor, while 10% specifically said 'we require capacity building.'

PU! partners demonstrated a high-level of confidence (88%) in their organisations' capacity to identify and organise around common interests and across different identities, with 61% describing their organisations as having 'good' capacity at baseline. A further 27% considered their capacities average in this regard, while only 11% thought their organisations required capacity building.

Most respondents (83%) were also confident about their organisation's capacity to organise around common interests across different generations—at baseline only 52% rated their organisational capacity as 'good,' while a further 31% rated their capacity as average. Of the minority (18%) who indicated that capacity building support is required, two organisations rated

**Figure 14**

How many global women's/human rights /LGBTQI alliances or networks is your organisation currently part of?



their capacity as poor (3%) and nine respondents (15%) said their organisations require capacity building.

The survey also sought to capture the extent to which participating organisations are part of networks and alliances at local, regional, and global levels. A large number of participating organisations (90%) are part of women/human/LBQ rights alliance or networks at the local level. Of these, 15% are members of more than six alliances/networks, 35% belong to between three and six of them,

and a further 40% are members of between one and three. WROs also reported being part of regional alliances, but fewer WROs reported being part of global networks and alliances. See Figure 14 for details.

The findings suggest that PU! partners are confident about their ability to organise and mobilise around common interests, across organisations, and across different identities and generations. PU! partner organisations are already engaged in alliances and networks at national and regional levels. This confirms the value of PU!'s plans for supporting networking and alliance building at the global level across consortium members and partners.

Responses to the baseline survey were used during the annual work planning process to develop midline and endline targets for **the number of new/diverse alliances created by PU! (output indicator 5.1.1)**. PU! monitoring will seek to track where new networks and alliances have been forged within and outside of the PU! programme and the diversity and quality of these relationships and alliances.

The regional partner dialogues also highlighted current partner capacity for coalition building and collective action, as evidenced by the strategies they are implementing. At the same time, the examples reinforce the role for PU! to play in building solidarity among networks and alliances across partner countries and regions.

Consistent with the survey responses, examples reported by PU! partners in the regional dialogues were primarily focused at the local, national, and regional levels. A shortcoming of the regional dialogue process was that some of the PU! global alliance-building commitments were not captured though, as indicated above, the baseline findings confirmed the importance and value of this component of the programme. More detail on these commitments can be found in the Annual Workplan for 2022 and are referenced in Section 4 of this report.

PU! partners work in different ways to strengthen and build new and diverse collaborations and alliances. In Cambodia, partners are mobilising factory and garment workers to demand better working and living conditions, and to facilitate connection among these women to ensure they are not alone. The strategies will be flexible and will also seek to build collectives and alliances for young women and the LBQ community.

In India, partners are building women's negotiating capacity through alliances. One example is the Women Farmers' Rights Forum, which includes WROs, CSOs, researchers, WHRDs, HRDs, and community representatives. The forum amplifies the voices of community-based networks and women's collectives, particularly in policy-making and other public spaces, and in direct dialogues with national government departments and the media. PU! partners in East and West Africa hope to re-energise regional alliances to change dominant narratives. Plans include an

autonomy project to empower HRDs and WHRDs to advocate for the rights of women in Africa to control what happens to their bodies. The project addresses all the interlinking issues of bodies, voice, and resources and focuses specifically on the LBQ community.

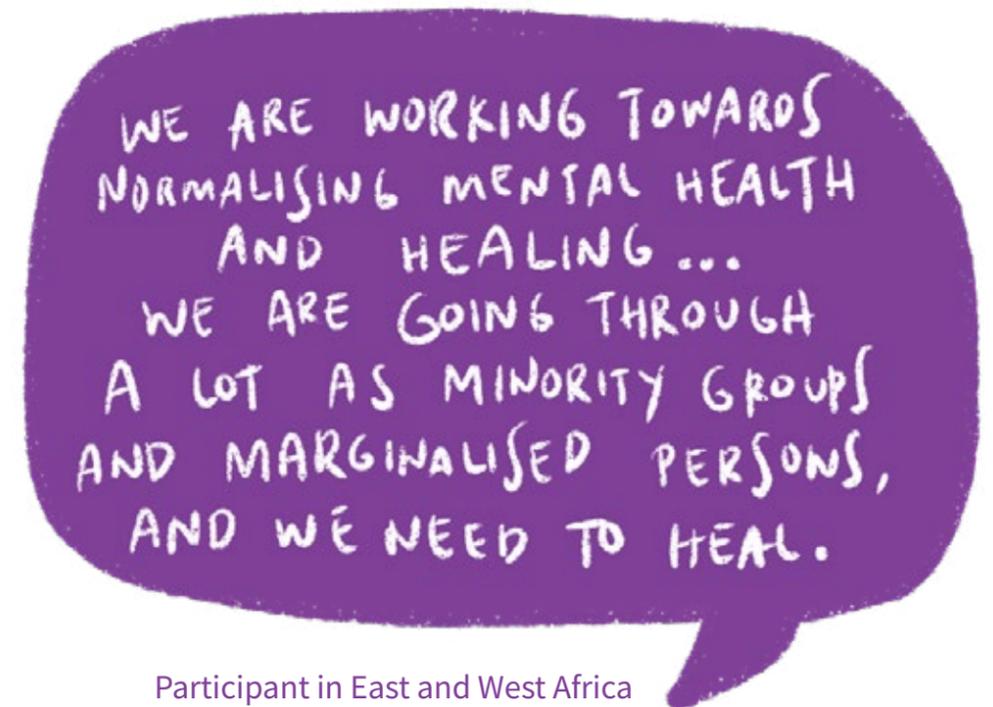
In Mesoamerica, partners will run feminist schools to promote network building at multiple levels, from community to international, involving a diversity of stakeholders from academia, international human rights bodies, international development agencies, and local authorities.

#### **Safety and protection networks**

The PU! programme will promote and facilitate collective protection strategies that ensure the wellbeing and resilience of activists and movement organisations so they can continue their vital work with greater safety. PU! partners who responded to the survey reported that, on average, they currently implement approximately 21 strategies to ensure the safety and protection of women. This information contributed to the target setting exercise done as part of the 2022 work planning process for the '**number of safety networks created/supported by PU!**' (Indicator 5.2.1.)

The regional partner dialogues provided contextual information about the kinds of safety and protection networks that are planned as part of PU!. In Cambodia, partners will provide protection for members of the LBQ community. In Benin, a

psychosocial support centre to promote the mental and physical health of structurally excluded groups such as sex workers and the LBQ community has been established and its work will be supported under the PU! programme. A key emerging focus is developing interventions that focus on the mental and physical health of activists to mitigate the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.



Participant in East and West Africa regional dialogue

WE TRY TO USE FOOD AS SOMETHING THAT CONNECTS US WE HAVE BRUNCH TOGETHER. IN MOZAMBIQUE WE CALL IT MATA BISHOO... WE MEET AT SOMEONE'S HOUSE TO SHARE FOOD, AND TO DISCUSS A SPECIFIC TOPIC REGARDING PATRIARCHY OR SOMETHING THAT CONCERNS US AS WOMEN IN THIS SOCIETY.

THIS COLLECTIVE IS MADE UP OF DIFFERENT WOMEN DOING DIFFERENT THINGS. WE SEE THIS AS A SOURCE OF ENERGY AND INSPIRATION A PLACE WHERE WE RECHARGE OURSELVES TO ACTUALLY HAVE THE STRENGTH TO DO THE THINGS WE NEED TO DO INDIVIDUALLY OR OUT OF THE SPACE OF THE COLLECTIVE.

Participant in Southern Africa regional dialogue

Partners identified the need to engage in vaccine education programmes to reduce vaccine hesitancy, particularly for sex workers and members of the LBQ community, while also protecting these vulnerable groups from harassment at public health facilities. Many partners spoke of the need to create safe spaces for women that promote self-care and mutual support.

The lack of safety for women and WROs extends from the family to social and institutional domains. Partners across the world spoke of the state as an aggressor and of feeling unsafe, including fears of violence and loss of life. WROs everywhere expressed the need to remain vigilant and constantly innovate to survive.

WE REALISE THAT IT IS DIFFICULT, AND WE CONTINUE WITH THE TASK TO SENSITISE, RAISE AWARENESS, INFORM OURSELVES, HEALING OURSELVES. IT IS NOT EASY BECAUSE THE OPPRESSOR AND THE OPPRESSED ARE INTERNALISED INTO OUR BONES OF MEN, OUR COLLEAGUES, OUR PARENTS AND OUR BROTHERS.

Participant in Mesoamerica regional dialogue

In some contexts, such as Myanmar, which is currently besieged by a military coup, WROs are looking for solidarity and safety nets outside the country. Myanmar-based WROs have been building and sustaining a network of organisations consisting of approximately 100 local NGOs and WROs that promote gender equality and women's empowerment. Since the coup, they have found new ways to challenge military-backed patriarchy and have formed alliances with other movements, such as the garment workers unions. They have seized the moment offered by the protest movement to challenge harmful social norms. One mark of their success has been scenes of boys and young men participating in recent protests wearing women's clothing (a taboo for men), thereby challenging long-held norms around masculinity. Regional alliance building efforts to create safety nets will be directed toward supporting recently exiled WHRDs, as well as those inside the country.

### Feminist solidarity and urgent action response

One measure of feminist solidarity is the extent to which WROs support other organisations and their agendas. When asked how many other organisations they support, 76% of organisations responding to the survey reported that they currently support between one and ten CSOs, WROs or WHRDs, while a further 8% support between ten and twenty.

Respondents were also asked to estimate the number of dialogues and exchanges they engage in that involve issues outside of their organisation's primary focus in an average year. This indicates to some extent the ability of PU! partners to engage in cross-movement building efforts that can demonstrate feminist solidarity and action. The survey found that 30% of organisations participate in more than six dialogues per year, 43% in one to three, and 23% in three to six, while 5% do not participate in any such dialogues.

In the face of global challenges, the need for solidarity and shared action in critical moments, including joint media strategies and support for urgent cases of violence against defenders and other women, is a priority for the PU! programme. The results of the survey confirm the need for this type of engagement by PU! and there may be scope to expand the number of CSOs, WROs, and WHRDs supported by partners. **The programme's contribution to solidarity and urgent actions will be measured by the 'number of solidarity/urgent actions supported by PU!' (Indicator 5.3.1.)**

**Figure 15**

How many Civil Society Organisations, Women's Rights Organisations, or Women Human Rights Defender organisations does your organisation currently work with or support?



The regional dialogues provided examples of actions organisations are planning in this regard. In Cambodia, partners highlighted their efforts to push back on new legal limits on women's movements. PU! Africa partners will prioritise engagement with the broader women's rights/feminist movement to address the needs and rights of the LBQ community. The impact of COVID-19 on this community has been devastating and the need for feminist solidarity and urgent action is acute. Partners in East and West Africa described organising at the grassroots level within communities as an effective strategy because it increases citizens' awareness, creates safe space for political discussion, and enables the development of strategies that do not directly engage the government.

The baseline process highlighted the role for PU! in supporting urgent action response and this was a focus of the 2022 work planning exercise. One concrete step is that the PU! Consortium will explore the option of a developing a charter to ensure urgent actions can be supported under the umbrella of the programme.

### 3.2.3 Transforming power

Following the logic of the PU! ToC, strategies for **building power** and for **organising and mobilising power**, described above, contribute to **transforming power**.

This aligns with PU!’s movement building approach to advocacy and influencing, which is rooted in a feminist analysis of how transformative change happens—through power shifts in multiple arenas, from more visible forms of power, such as legislative spaces, to the less visible spaces where power operates, such as informal cultural and social norms.

From a movement perspective, building capacity for advocacy and influencing includes building the capacity of people and organisations and mobilising them to impact specific decisions or advance specific agendas. For deep and lasting change to happen, strategically engaging with ideas and narratives is as vital to transforming power as changes in laws and policies. For the PU! programme, this work includes both the internal movement work of freeing and healing people from damaging, dominant ideas about women—

including queer, Indigenous, black, HIV-positive, poor, old, young, and disabled women—and the external work of disrupting those same ideas as they are promoted and manipulated in public narratives and social norms. For this reason, PU! works to influence religious and traditional leaders, women’s movements, and other social justice movements to take on feminist agendas.

The ToC names two key strategies related to transforming power: strategic advocacy and economic alternatives.

#### **Programme outputs related to these strategies:**

- Output 6.1. Increased actions of women using their collective power to demand rights, increase access to resources and ensure collective safety.
- Output 6.2. Increased visibility of women’s experiences, leadership, perspectives, solutions and demands.
- Output 6.3. Women’s collectives/ groups create feminist economic alternatives.

#### **Strategic advocacy and economic alternatives**

The contextual analysis emerging from the baseline process confirmed that there are many advocacy agendas common to PU! partners—violence against women; sexual and reproductive health and rights, including abortion rights; women’s economic rights and economic justice; land rights and environmental and climate justice; safety and protection of WHRDs; and freedom of assembly and expression. The baseline process also highlighted the specific advocacy agendas of LBQ women and LBQ WHRDs. It also surfaced the extent to which partner organisations are working with refugees, including refugees from countries that criminalise non-conforming gender identity and expression and the advocacy work they are doing in support of LBQ rights.

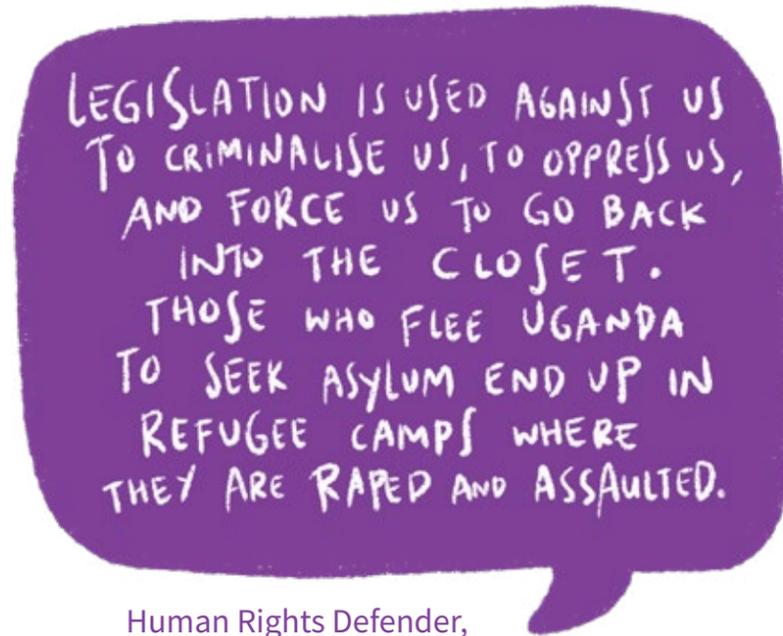
As shown in Section 3.2.1, PU! partner organisations are, for the most part, experienced in advocacy and influencing around their feminist agendas and confident about influencing key actors, though less so in relation to influencing national level political actors. The baseline survey provided an indication of the frequency of advocacy initiatives and actions they undertake:

- On average, partner organisations engage in 27 advocacy initiatives per year.
- On average, partner organisations undertake 31 actions to engage in or to demand women’s rights per year.

This information helped to establish targets for the ‘# of actions by women supported by PU!’ (output indicator 6.1.1.), which is a measure of ‘increased actions of women using their collective power to demand rights, increase access to resources and ensure collective safety’ (Output 6.1).

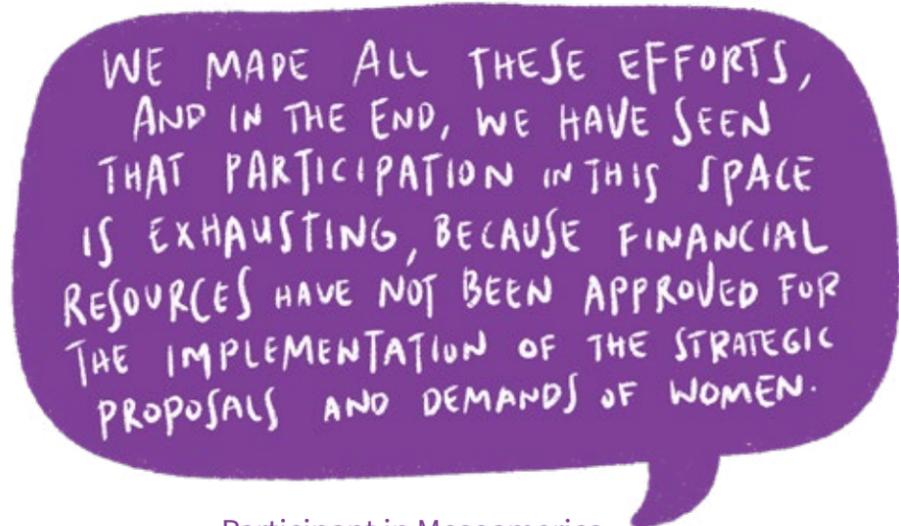
The regional partner dialogues provided greater insight into the type of actions that are and will be supported by PU! and the opportunities and challenges to women using their collective power. Not surprisingly, WROs from all PU! regions highlighted that advocacy work sometimes focuses on holding on to ground they had won in the past or regaining ground they have lost in the context of the backlash against women’s rights and shrinking civic space. The regional partner dialogues also highlighted a limitation in the survey design, which largely focused on measuring more traditional forms of policy advocacy, and the disconnect at times between policy advocacy and WROs’ influencing strategies.

The regional partner dialogues noted the contextual realities and mitigating strategies that partners use in conducting policy advocacy work, in addition to ambivalence about the value of policy advocacy itself.



LEGISLATION IS USED AGAINST US TO CRIMINALISE US, TO OPPRESS US, AND FORCE US TO GO BACK INTO THE CLOSET. THOSE WHO FLEE UGANDA TO SEEK ASYLUM END UP IN REFUGEE CAMPS WHERE THEY ARE RAPED AND ASSAULTED.

Human Rights Defender,  
East and West Africa regional  
partner dialogue



WE MADE ALL THESE EFFORTS, AND IN THE END, WE HAVE SEEN THAT PARTICIPATION IN THIS SPACE IS EXHAUSTING, BECAUSE FINANCIAL RESOURCES HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STRATEGIC PROPOSALS AND DEMANDS OF WOMEN.

Participant in Mesoamerica  
regional partner dialogue

Some PU! partner organisations noted that they purposely do not engage directly with government departments and agencies because such engagement is experienced as ineffective and potentially dangerous. Again, these strategies must be understood within the context in which many PU! partner organisations are working in countries that are either ranked in the CIVICUS civic space index as ‘repressive or closed’ or ‘unstable and unpredictably repressive.’<sup>22</sup> Even in contexts where civic space is more open, policy advocacy is seen as only one of many strategies for influencing change.

As noted throughout this report, PU!’s approach to advocacy and influencing includes broader efforts to shift narratives and to challenge and reframe social norms that perpetuate gender inequalities. These relate, for example, to societal norms about women’s leadership, women’s political participation, women’s rights and access to land, and social norms and related narratives that render sex work and informal and reproductive work invisible and outside of policy debates on quality employment, labour rights, and protection for women.

Many PU! partners are working in conservative political environments to shift narratives around LBQ women’s rights by raising awareness and changing norms, with the knowledge that, in the short term, legislative change is out of reach. Likewise, PU! partners have identified the ambivalence of many WROs to LBQ women as a problem that needs to be addressed as part of

<sup>22</sup> The PU! Programme Proposal gives the CIVICUS index rating for the full list of PU! countries.

tending to the health of the movement. PU! partners are actively engaging with the broader women's rights and feminist movement to shift the narratives about who is included in feminist spaces and advocacy. Related to this are efforts to shift binary definitions of gender that influence funding decisions and framing of issues, and narratives about gender equality that limit access to resources and support for the LBQ community.

Finally, the PU! programme seeks to shift the narrative around women's economic empowerment to a more transformative approach that is grounded in feminist political and economic analysis. The baseline findings confirmed just how critical economic alternatives are for supporting women's economic resilience and stability in response to the deepening economic crisis arising from the COVID-19 pandemic. The regional partner dialogues highlighted the tensions within the feminist movement about the extent to which challenging deep patriarchal structures includes shifting narratives and practices related to neo-liberal economics.



Southern Africa regional dialogue

The regional dialogues also reinforced the need to bring a strong, feminist economic and political analysis to climate issues and to challenging the impunity of the extractives industry. This connects to PU! partner priorities for knowledge production, including research and learning priorities.

The proxy indicator for 'women's collectives/groups create feminist economic alternatives' (Output 6.3) is the '# of economic initiatives developed by women's collectives/groups as a result of PU! Interventions' (output indicator 6.3.1).

### 3.3

## Together we can!

Capacity to achieve programme outcomes across the three strategic agendas: bodies, voice, and resources

The baseline process and findings provided PU! with a more nuanced picture of how the change pathways and strategies are expected to support new capacities, tools, knowledge, alliances, safety networks, visibility, actions and economic alternatives (outputs) that will contribute to the achievement of the programme outcomes.



- Outcome 1 (BODIES): Women make decisions about their bodies, violence is reduced, and safety is improved.
- Outcome 2 (VOICE): Women express their views and participate in all decision-making.
- Outcome 3 (RESOURCES): Women have access to resources and economic autonomy.

According to the assumptions underpinning the ToC and driving the strategies of the PU! programme, these outcomes can only be achieved through a transformative, movement-led approach to advocacy that requires an integrated analysis and actions that target visible, hidden, and invisible power. Decision-making takes place in multiple arenas in addition to legislative; many of the arenas where change matters most for women are local. Related to this, global advocacy can have a much greater impact if aligned with and complementary to the struggles anchored in specific communities.

One story shared during the Southern Africa regional partner dialogue highlights the interconnected, holistic approach taken by partners and also, amplifying on this example, illustrates how, across countries and regions, PU! can be seen as a web of interwoven actions and activities:

AS A COALITION OF WOMEN LIVING WITH HIV AND AIDS, WE ARE FOCUSING ON WOMEN'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT. WE ARE DOING WORK ON GBV, WHERE WE ARE TRAINING WOMEN ON GBV ISSUES AND ON WHAT SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE FOR SURVIVORS. WE ARE ALSO FOCUSING ON POLICY CHANGES... WE HAVE ENGAGED THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS THAT ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ISSUES WE ARE ADVOCATING FOR... AND WE ARE DOING ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS... WE ARE INCORPORATING RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS WHO ARE ALSO THE CUSTODIANS OF COMMUNITY LAW.

As part of the baseline process, PU! partners were invited to describe their key advocacy targets to help construct baseline values for outcome level indicators (Annex 4).

Interestingly, these tended to be identified at the national or regional level, despite partner reservations about their capacity to influence change at these levels described in Section 3.2.1. One interpretation for this may be the tendency to equate advocacy and influencing work with national laws and policies, and the framing of the survey questions and the partner dialogues may have reinforced this.

According to the baseline survey, the majority of partner organisations (71%) engage in ten or fewer activities per year to influence laws, policies, and strategies to improve gender equality. Of these, 34% engage in five or fewer, and 37% engage in between six and ten. Only 3% of partners engage in more than 51 such activities per year. These responses suggest that partners are already engaged in a significant level of advocacy activities,

though the results do not indicate the level (community, organisational, national, regional, global) of these activities nor the thematic areas.

The baseline survey also provided partners' perspectives on the impact of their advocacy strategies, though again these were not disaggregated by strategic themes (bodies, voice and resources):

- On average, partner organisations report that their views, experiences, perspectives, solutions, or demands are reflected in traditional or social media 31 times per year.
- On average, partner organisations succeed in creating space for women's rights or feminist demands and positions 30 times per year.
- Partner organisations report that, on average, their organisational positions are taken up 29 times per year (by groups or individuals they are trying to influence).

These findings contributed to the process for **setting the target values in the PMF for related outcome indicators (1.1, 2.1, 3.1 related to the 'number of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved;' and 2.1, 2.2, 3.2 related to 'number of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions')**.

Annex 5 provides an overview of the analysis of information shared during the regional partner dialogues, which was used to establish the values given for the targets at midline and endline related to laws, policies, and strategies. As noted above, while the main focus of advocacy and influencing on the strategic themes (outcomes) supported by PU! partners will focus on shifting political and social narratives (linked to social norms) and creating space for feminist demands and positions through collective action, these efforts will contribute to changes in the specific laws, policies, and strategies in the areas named in Annex 5.

## 4.0

# Looking Ahead

## Summary of findings and conclusions

The baseline context analysis has confirmed and reinforced the analysis done at the proposal stage to show that women in PU! countries and regions are living in a time of precarity that severely limits their ability to access their rights and places them at risk. This context of precarity was seen across all the strategic agendas of PU!: bodies, voice and resources. The stories told by women in the partner dialogues confirmed that, in many PU! countries, women, WHRDs, and the organisations that support them lack bodily safety and protection from the state and often face violence and human rights abuses directly perpetrated by state actors. They described ways that current political institutions at all levels are currently structured to reinforce gender-unequal social norms and practices that effectively limit women's and WROs' meaningful participation in formal political spaces. Participants in partner dialogues also described

how women's lack of access to land and other economic resources has been intensified by the encroachment of large corporations and extractive industries, as well as by the consequences of climate change.



The PU! ToC continues to be relevant at the time of implementation. The problem analysis in the PU! proposal remains valid. The logic of the programme ToC remains valid overall that building capacity, knowledge, and resources of women and WHRDs and their organisations and strengthening their ability to organise and mobilise through collective and collaborative actions and safety networks will contribute to transforming power through increased capacity for strategic advocacy and for promoting economic alternatives.

As described in Annex 4 and highlighted throughout the report, the quantitative data collected in the baseline study has been used to set indicator values at the output and outcome levels (midline and endline), which are linked to the MFA Netherlands' thematic results framework basket indicators. Related to this, the exercise has pointed to the urgent need for the PU! Consortium MEL team to finalise the methodology and tools for collecting data for qualitative indicators (the focus in this report has been on quantitative indicators), including the proposed longitudinal case studies of a cohort of women

programme participants whose capacity will be built to tell their own stories of change, which will help illustrate programme impact.

Most importantly, the baseline findings highlight the tremendous courage, energy, and resilience of women, WHRDs, and their organisations to fight for social justice and the rights of all women, especially the structurally excluded. PU! partners are engaged in a multitude of activities that are funded by or intersect with PU! and contribute to the capacity of the programme to seize opportunities for building collective power across partners and regions. The baseline data indicate that PU! partners have a good level of capacity, particularly their capacity to design and implement advocacy strategies and to engage in alliances and collective action with others. Current levels of capacity and levels of actions related to partners' agendas documented in the baseline will only be enhanced through programme implementation.

The baseline findings also highlight three programmatic areas that could be strengthened in order to improve programme outputs/outcomes, as described below.

First, one interesting finding and a potential area for greater focus relates to the possible disconnect between feminist political leadership capacity and feminist organisational leadership capacity, given that survey results indicated scope for improvement in how respondents rate the capacity of organisational leadership. The question of 'how to live feminist values inside feminist organisations,' including building inclusive cultures of mutual respect and care, came up in conversations during the baseline process as an area for attention. The baseline results indicated that, currently, LBQ women are not well represented in the governance structures of partner organisations, apart from LBQ rights organisations. Likewise, youth were under-represented in partner organisations that responded to the survey. One area for improvement in programme design could be to give greater attention to the internal work to build inclusive cultures within partner organisations, as a way

of contributing to building the health and strength of feminist movements.

A second area for attention is creating improved programmatic understanding across PU! partners on ‘economic alternatives,’ conceptualised in the ToC as a strategy for transforming power. While the baseline findings suggest that PU! partners are strategically positioned to deliver effective advocacy and influencing activities that are informed by feminist economic and political analysis, there is less clarity on what it means to bring a feminist political analysis to the global economy. There is scope to consolidate and share research and contribute to new knowledge and knowledge products about feminist economics that bridge the global and the local (economies) and can sharpen PU!’s conceptualisation of economic alternatives, what they look like, and how they can best be supported to flourish, building on examples from PU! partners. In addition, several regional dialogues highlighted PU! partners’ interest in opportunities for programme learning and sharing on themes such as effective strategies for

movement strengthening in the face of the resurgence of patriarchy globally, which has intensified in the wake of COVID-19 and related crises.

A third area for greater programmatic focus relates to leveraging PU! relationships to support networking and alliance building at the regional and global levels across consortium members and partners, in aid of national and local actions and issues. In the face of global challenges, PU! is positioned to amplify solidarity and advocacy for shared agendas in critical moments, including joint media strategies and support for urgent cases of violence against defenders and other women. The 2022 PU! work planning process highlighted plans to respond to this need.

Finally, this baseline study has been a tremendous learning and capacity building process for PU! Consortium members. The model of working with an external technical evaluator and a small internal baseline evaluation team, supported by a consortium-wide MEL reference group, has challenged thinking on how to bring

the consortium’s feminist principles into its MEL practice, while still managing accountability requirements—a conversation that is likely to continue throughout the course of programme implementation.



5.0

# Annexes



**POWER UP!**

## Annex 1: Where we work

### ● SOUTH & SOUTH-EAST ASIA

- 1 India
- 2 Cambodia
- 3 Myanmar
- 19 Indonesia

### ● MESOAMERICA

- 2 Guatemala
- 2 Honduras

### ● SOUTHERN AFRICA

- 2 South Africa
- 2 Malawi
- 3 Mozambique
- 3 Zimbabwe

### ● EAST AFRICA

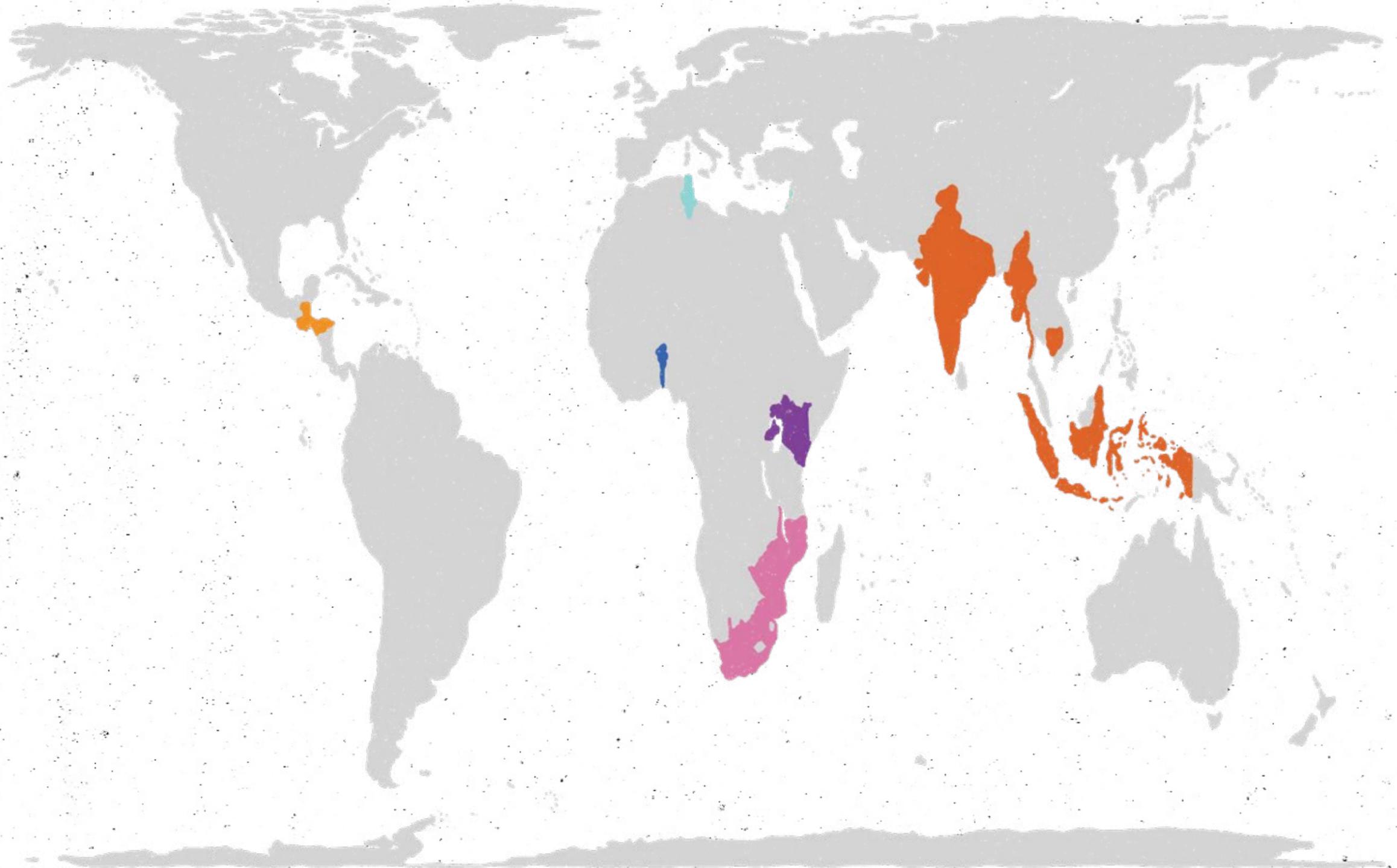
- 4 Kenya
- 2 Uganda
- 1 Rwanda

### ● WEST AFRICA

- 1 Benin

### ● MENA

- 1 Lebanon
- 1 Occupied Palestinian Territory
- 1 Tunisia



This map is based on the [Hobo-Dyer projection](#)

## List of Partner Organisations

### SOUTH & SOUTH-EAST ASIA

India	Amhi Amchya Arogyasathi (AAAS)
Cambodia	Cambodia Alliance of Trade Unions (CATU)
Cambodia	Cambodian Young Women Empowerment Network (CYWEN)
Myanmar	Solidarity Trade Union of Myanmar (STUM)
Myanmar	Sisters2Sisters
Myanmar	Gender Equality Network (GEN)
Indonesia	FAMM Indonesia
Indonesia	Koperasi wanita Tuah Pekka
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka Sekunder Asahan
Indonesia	Serikat Pekka Kabupaten Sijunjung
Indonesia	Serikat Pekka Kabupaten Dharmasraya
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka Sekunder Ogan Komering Ilir
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka Doa Bunda
Indonesia	Koperasi Sri Rezeki
Indonesia	Koperasi Karya Annisa
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka Banyumas
Indonesia	Koperasi Perempuan Mandiri
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka sekunder Bantul
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka sekunder Flores Timur
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka sekunder Bolaang Mongondow
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka Tomassedi
Indonesia	Koperasi Taposaangu Talagi
Indonesia	Koperasi Pekka Mambulilin
Indonesia	Koperasi Pelangi
Indonesia	Serikat Pekka Kabupaten Buleleng

### MESOAMERICA

Guatemala	Mama Maquín
Guatemala	Madre Tierra
Honduras	Central Nacional de Trabajadores del Campo
Honduras	Movimiento Ambientalista Santabarbarensense

### SOUTHERN AFRICA

South Africa	Shayisfuba/Sabatini
South Africa	Labour Research Service (LRS)
Malawi	Our Bodies Our Rights Movement
Malawi	COALITION OF WOMEN LIVING WITH HIV AND AIDS
Mozambique	Feminist Brunch
Mozambique	Por Ela
Mozambique	Kaliodoscopio
Zimbabwe	IYWD
Zimbabwe	FPAR Circle
Zimbabwe	The Masakhane Collective

### MENA

Lebanon	Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action (CRTD-A)
Occupied Palestinian Territory	Doria Feminist Fund
Tunisia	Kadirat

### WEST AFRICA

Benin	Afro-Benin
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### EAST AFRICA

Kenya	UHAI
Kenya	Kakuma/Annemarie
Kenya	National HRD Coalition
Kenya	Minority Women in Action (MWA)
Uganda	FemAlliance
Uganda	FARUG
Rwanda	Nbagaba Sisters Organisation

## Annex 2: Baseline Methodology

The Power Up! (PU!) baseline study was conducted between June and November 2021. The design was agreed during June and July, data gathering conducted between late July and early September, data collation between September and October, and data analysis and report writing in November. Data collection was entirely virtual and electronic.

### 1. Purpose of the baseline study

The objectives of the baseline study were (1) to re-assess, revise, and validate the programme ToC and performance measurement framework (PMF) that were prepared as part of the Power Up! proposal; (2) to collect quantitative and qualitative data with which to analyse the baseline situation and indicator values at the output and outcome level, linked to the MFA Netherlands' thematic results framework basket indicators, as a basis for measuring progress and understanding contextual shifts over the course of the programme; and (3) to inform the development of monitoring tools to collect process and impact data from across the programme.

### 2. Approach

PU! uses feminist and participatory approaches to planning, monitoring, evaluation, and learning (PMEL), that put women's experiences, perspectives, and assessments of change at the centre of approaches to monitor progress and impact, and to learn from the programme. Efforts were made to build feminist PMEL principles into the baseline design. These included, for example, taking a developmental evaluation approach that engaged an external evaluator to work closely with a small internal team of feminist evaluators who are embedded in the programme and are well placed to accompany program monitoring and learning throughout implementation.

Data collection methods prioritised the creation of safe spaces led by experienced feminist facilitators in order to gather rich, qualitative information from participants in their own voices through structured conversations in the form of virtual dialogues. These spaces also provided moments for participants to share and learn from each other about their experiences and approaches and, in spite of COVID-19, to dispel their sense of isolation by building solidarity and making connections across WROs from different countries. These approaches guided the process of collecting data and validating information with partners (WHRDs, sub-grantee WROs, allies, collectives, research partners, and others) in all six regions and 17 countries. This type of inclusive process will be used in PMEL throughout the programme.

It is worth noting that, at the proposal stage, the PU! Consortium said it would set a baseline to track progress at the outcome level by a series of activation and learning sessions focused on the priority regions identified in the proposal (East Africa, Southern Africa, and South and South-East Asia). During the baseline design process, a decision was taken to collect data from all six focus regions of the programme and include WROs and WHRDs from all countries in the data gathering process.

In line with feminist perspectives that transformative change happens in ways that are complex, messy, and non-linear, the Consortium PMEL Working Group, which also served as the reference group for the baseline evaluation, decided to adopt a design that prioritised qualitative methods to capture women's voices and agency. There was a discussion in early stages of the design to select a non-PU! country as a "control" group for measuring program impact over the course of the program, but this was rejected on the grounds that this approach would have distorted claims about what could be attributed to the program, nor does it align with PU!'s understanding of how transformative change happens through collective action across many sites and spaces or its commitment to values of inclusion, solidarity and social justice.

### 3. The Team

The baseline study was conducted by a joint team of an external evaluator and internal evaluators, supported by the Power Up! Coordinator and MEL officer. The external evaluator led the development of the baseline methodology, ensured it met the IOB standards, developed the survey tool, collected secondary data, and did the initial data analysis. The internal evaluators (from Power Up! learning partner, Gender at Work) developed the methodology for the regional dialogues, ensured that feminist principles were adhered to, and did the final analysis and interpretation of data. A MEL reference group made up of PU! Consortium members provided oversight to ensure the evaluators understood the diversity of partners and their different ways of working that were relevant for both data collection and analysis.

### 4. Data Collection

All data collection was conducted virtually and electronically between July and September 2021. The COVID-19 pandemic had an impact on the data collection timeline and on the choice of methodology, since in-person methods were not possible due to constraints on travel. PU! hopes that once global travel constraints have been relaxed, implementers and researchers will be able to monitor the programme's impact on the ground and provide greater depth and a human face to the findings.

To ensure broad participation and to collect quantitative and qualitative data, the study used two primary data collection methods—regional virtual dialogues and an electronic survey—augmented with desk research.

#### 4.1 Regional Dialogues

Five regional dialogues were held between 11th and 23rd August 2021, one each for Mesoamerica, Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA), Southern Africa, and South and South-East Asia, and one for Eastern and Western Africa combined. A standardised workshop guide was developed and used in all five dialogues by feminist process facilitators to create sufficient space and time for participants to think about and reflect on how they would contribute to achieving PU!'s outcomes. The virtual dialogues brought together more than 90 participants from over 40 PU! members, partners, and allies across the 17 countries, and provided a space for validating the contexts in which they operate and surfacing rich detail about how they are responding to those contexts.

The regional dialogues brought together participants from consortium member organisations, in-country and regional partner WROs and WHRDs, and allied organisations involved in delivering PU!. They were guided through a facilitated process to establish a shared contextual analysis related to bodies, voice, and resources (outcomes 1, 2 and 3). The workshop guides were developed internally by the PMEL Working Group, and an example from one region is included at the end of this annex. The sessions served the added purpose of activating PU! with partners and allies, ensuring they had knowledge about the programme, validating the approach, and enabling them to influence how PU! will play out in their context and to connect with other partners and groups to assess synergies.

The dialogue proceedings form the primary basis for the qualitative data included in this report. Quantitative data related to the laws and policies that the programme will aim to influence through advocacy and lobbying were also collated from the dialogues and are included in this report.

#### 4.2 Electronic Survey

An electronic survey, available in six languages, was sent to 131 potential respondents representing more than the 50 program partners listed in Annex 1. The respondents were identified by PU! member organisations based on the number of members, partners, and allies activated at programme inception. Given the small sample size, a preference was given to

reaching as many programme partners as possible rather than random sampling. Respondents included existing and new consortium members, partners, and the broader network of allies, WROs, and WHRDs that the members and partners are working with to deliver the programme. The survey included 44 closed-ended questions to assess current capacities to build, organise, mobilise, and transform power and to map the networks at country, regional and global level that WROs use to focus attention on priority issues. The survey garnered a 47% response rate, which is considered reasonable for an electronic survey. It was sent out in the last week of August 2021, after the regional dialogues, which helped members and partners mobilise respondents. It was initially open for two weeks but was extended by a week to ensure a greater response rate.

Following the principles of inclusion, the survey questionnaire was translated and sent to prospective participants in their language of choice. Participants could also choose whether they wanted to complete the survey using a weblink to an electronic format or using a hard copy to be submitted via encrypted email. The latter strategy was required to preserve the anonymity of respondents working in risky contexts to ensure their protection. Since respondents were assessing their own capacities, it should be noted that there could be social desirability bias and the survey results have been analysed with this consideration.

The table sets out the number of surveys sent out per country, as well as the languages and formats used. After two deadline extensions and follow-ups from PU! member organisations to encourage participation, 62 responses were received (47.3%). All responses were anonymous and confidential, but respondents were asked to disclose the county in which they are based.

#### 4.3 Desk Research

In addition to the above primary data collection methods, secondary data was collected through desk research to provide a deeper understanding of the country-specific context. This report presents data primarily from the workshops and the survey. A series of country profiles forthcoming in 2022 will further locate actions against situational analyses of key issues in each country.

#### 5. Data Analysis

In order to align with the feminist and participatory approaches that PU! practices, data analysis engaged Consortium members and, as much as possible, program partners.

Quantitative data: The electronic survey was administered via a platform called Survey Monkey. This platform comes with built-in basic analysis options. Therefore, it was able to generate graphs and charts as per response by the PU! members. The survey was also exported into an

Country in which partner organisation is located	Language(s) in which survey was sent	Survey format	Number of surveys sent	Number of responses	Response rate
India	Hindi	Hard copy	7	7	100%
Indonesia (plus unknown number sent out by PU! member)	English	Electronic	5	9	Can't be calculated
Cambodia	Khmer	Hard copy	4	3	75%
Myanmar	English	Electronic	1	1	100%
Honduras	Spanish	Electronic	31	9	29%
Guatemala	Spanish	Electronic	7	3	43%
South Africa	English	Electronic	16	2	12.5%
Malawi	English	Electronic	13	2	23%
Mozambique	Portuguese and English	Electronic	7	4	57%
Zimbabwe	English	Electronic	12	4	33%
Benin	French	Electronic	10	2	20%
Uganda (possibly more than one respondent per organisation, or partners forwarded to other partners, or some organisations work but are not located in Uganda)	English	Electronic	3	9	Can't be calculated
Rwanda	English	Electronic	5	2	40%
Kenya	English	Electronic	4	2	50%

Excel spreadsheet, where further analysis was done to inform the findings in the report.

Qualitative data: During the regional dialogues, discussions from the sessions were recorded and notes taken, after which the internal evaluation team coded and compared themes. In addition, non-attributable, representative quotes were selected and included in the report to amplify women's voices.

## 6. Consent, Safety, and Data Storage

PU! is committed to the safety of the women activists and WROs that the programme works with. The following are some of the steps followed to ensure that safety:

- There was extensive engagement between PU! members and their partner organisations regarding the selection of participants for the dialogues.
- All potential participants were consulted and provided with relevant information.
- All those who volunteered to participate in the survey received, read, and signed detailed information and consent forms that had been translated into their language of choice. The forms spelled out the purpose and length of the survey, its anonymity, and participants' right to skip questions. Similar consent forms were given to participants of the regional dialogues to ensure their informed consent to share their experiences and contributions to the PU! strategy agendas.
- Psychosocial and trauma support were available to all dialogue participants and survey respondents. Consortium members in all regions provided a contact person and email address for participants to use, if required.
- Survey responses were anonymous. The survey was sent out as a weblink (ensuring that email addresses and names were not linked to the responses received), in personalised emails, sent from an encrypted email service.
- The respondents cannot be identified on the basis of the database generated from the survey.
- To ensure data integrity and protection of member responses, the evaluator initially managed data storage. At the end of the contract, all saved data was shared with the PU! coordinator, who stored it safely on a laptop computer. Access to the data was provided through the coordinator to those few PMEL members working on the report who needed to verify the findings.

## 7. Limitations and Issues to Consider

The results in this report are presented according to the programme's main thematic areas and strategic pathways. Since data was collated from what participants shared during the regional dialogues, the emphasis on certain aspects, challenges, and strategies varies by region. However, it is important to note that many challenges, areas of work, and strategies occur in all contexts. It is also important to note that although general statements are sometimes made

Country in which partner organisation is located	Language(s) in which survey was sent	Survey Format	Number of surveys sent	Number of responses	Response rate
Lebanon	English	Electronic	3	1	33%
Tunisia	English	Electronic	2	0	0%
Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT)	English	Electronic	2	1	50%
Country not specified	English	Electronic		1	
<b>Total</b>			<b>131</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>47.3%</b>

about regions, these should be interpreted with caution because (1) the sample of participants was too small to generalise findings, (2) the number of countries participating per workshop were not enough to fully represent regions, and (3) there is great variability within regions (for example, openness rankings of South Africa versus other Southern African countries or the levels of economic development in South Africa versus other PU! countries in Africa). The baseline process provided a good reminder of the near impossibility of separating out the different programme strategies as standalone activities that can be easily tracked and evaluated, though as evidenced by the PMF, PU! has been selective in developing outcomes and related indicators to capture some of this work. PU! is best understood as a web of interwoven actions and activities. For the midline and endline evaluations it will be important for external evaluators to consider methods that are best suited to evaluating complexity and contribution to systems change.

PU! will be monitoring changes (positive and negative) related to all strategies and pathways. In relation to legislative changes and targets, PU! acknowledges that members and partners are part of wider feminist movements working to change these laws and policies and that these changes may not happen during the PU! programme. The programme will also be monitoring moments when the narrative is changing and space is being created that will be supportive of environments for progressive laws and policies to be adopted and implemented.

A limitation in the survey design was that it focused largely on measuring more traditional forms of policy advocacy, while the regional partner dialogues noted the contextual realities and mitigating strategies that partners use in conducting policy advocacy work, and their ambivalence about the value of policy advocacy itself. PU!'s approach to advocacy and influencing includes broader efforts to shift narratives and to challenge and reframe social

norms that perpetuate gender inequalities. This will be a focus of the midline review to create a fuller picture of advocacy as part of movement building.

A shortcoming of the regional dialogue process was that some of the PU! global alliance building commitments were not captured, given the focus on national and regional contexts. The baseline findings confirmed the importance and value of this aspect of the programme. The COVID-19 pandemic had an impact on the data collection timeline and the methodology selected. Physical data collection was not possible due to related travel constraints. These restrictions meant that PU! missed out on opportunities to go deeper into discussions with women, whose voices are central in the process, through face-to-face interactions (considering barriers that women might face in providing information electronically). Such discussions would have helped further amplify women's voices and experiences and build upon the regional discussions. The PU! Consortium hopes that a relaxation of global travel in forthcoming years will allow implementers and researchers to monitor impact on the ground and provide greater depth and a human face to the findings.

## 8. Ensuring Coherence and Alignment with Various MFA Reporting Mechanisms

The baseline approach and methodology align with the content, commitment, and requirements set out in the PU! proposal and PMF, the requirements of the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI), the Strengthening Civil Society Theory of Change Basket Indicators and Results Framework, the IOB Evaluation Quality Criteria of 2020, and the Women's Rights and Gender Equality (WRGE) framework. The PMF (Annex 4) indicates alignment specifically with the WRGE framework. Please see Annex 3 for how the baseline approach and methodology aligns with relevant IOB criteria.

**Power Up! Regional Dialogue Guide**

Finding common ground | Confirming our strategies and goals

Region: South and Southeast Asia

Date and time: 11 August 2021 (Wednesday)

Time: 11.30am-3.30pm Delhi / 1pm-5pm Jakarta/Phnom Penh/ 8am-12am CET

Platform: Zoom (link to follow)

The dialogue is an opportunity:

- For partners to share what they are doing in their country to change agendas around bodies, voices and resources: opportunities, challenges and dynamics
- To understand where partners’ strategies and outcomes align and where they might diverge in order to shape a learning agenda in the coming months
- To initiate thinking on how to take ahead collective action to leverage Power Up! for systemic change at country, regional and global levels

**Session 1: Plenary: Framing the process: 1 hr**

Objective	Process	Expected Outcome
Introduce workshop objectives and principles, ensuring time for introductions, ensuring safe participation and process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Welcome and grounding exercise</li> <li>• Participant introductions</li> <li>• Introduction to Power Up! Theory of Change</li> <li>• What we will achieve and how; Process and principles of dialogue</li> </ul>	Shared understanding of the purpose of the workshop and how we will get there and creating a safe environment for sharing

**Session 2: What does women’s rights organising look like in your context? 1.5 hrs**

Objective	Process	Expected Outcome
To understand how women’s rights organisations are strategizing and organising towards a change agenda around bodies, voices, resources.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Naming/mapping the social and cultural norms in different operating contexts</li> <li>• Sharing the strategies and activities partners are using to shift agendas (norms, attitudes, beliefs, practices) around bodies, voices and resources.</li> <li>• Finding the emerging/ established common challenges and diverging threads: exploring interconnectivity using the G@W framework</li> </ul>	An understanding of where natural alliances and shared agendas might be; to enable networking and sharing of lessons. Building solidarity and possibility for urgent action.
Break	10min	

**Session 3: Framing our advocacy strategies and intentions: What and who are we seeking to change and why? 1 hr**

Objective	Process	Expected Outcome
To understand how partners advocate/plan to for change around bodies, voices and resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Framing what advocacy means to partners</li> <li>• What are the (three) things you are doing to make change happen? Change legislation? Change power holders’ attitudes? Change the environment?</li> <li>• What are your proposed strategies and target groups for advocacy and lobbying over the next five years?</li> </ul>	To allow for sharing of advocacy strategies and identify common challenges and change agendas

**Session 4: Wrap up: 20 mins**

Objective	Process	Expected Outcome
Synthesise workshop proceedings and define follow-on actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parting thoughts from participants on how this process can be sustained</li> <li>• Commitment on how the ideas generated in the workshop will be taken ahead</li> </ul>	Participants leave with a clear idea of what happens next

**Added information:**

Simultaneous translations in Bahasa, Khmer and Myanmar will be provided

### Annex 3: Alignment with relevant IOB criteria

Requirements	Alignment (or deviation with reason)
1. A reference group oversees the evaluation	Aligned: The baseline study was conducted by a joint team of an external evaluator and internal evaluators, supported by the PU! Coordinator and MEL officer. A MEL reference group made up of PU! Consortium members provided oversight.
2. Evaluators are independent	Aligned: An independent external consultant was contracted to join the evaluation team. This consultant was not involved in the design or development of PU! and is not affiliated with any of the organisations in the consortium.
3. Description of the context of the intervention	Aligned: The baseline study provides an extensive problem and context analysis organised by strategic agenda that confirms the rationale of the intervention.
4. Description of the intervention.	Aligned: Section 3.1 of the baseline report is organised around PU!'s outcome areas (bodies, voice and resources) and discusses the external factors that affect the attainment of these outcomes. Section 3.2 is organised around PU!'s pathways of change, which correspond to programme outputs, and discusses the current context of partner capacities.
5. Validation of the assumptions underpinning the ToC	Aligned: A key objective of the baseline evaluation was to re-assess, revise and validate the programme ToC and performance measurement framework (PMF) prepared as part of the PU! proposal. The PU! baseline is aligned to this criteria, as the report indicates the validity of the initial assumptions held in the proposal. See section 4.
6. Description of the objective of the evaluation	Aligned: The baseline study was conducted with three clear objectives in mind, which are spelled out in the report.
10. The research design is clearly elaborated and shows how the research results will contribute to answering the evaluation questions.	Aligned: The methodology section of the report clearly describes the research design, the reasons for choosing it, and the appropriate tools used to collect data, including both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Requirements	Alignment (or deviation with reason)
11. The methods are appropriate to evaluate effectiveness: attribution and/ or contribution (if effectiveness is an evaluation criterion/question)	Since this was the baseline, methods used could not measure the effectiveness of PU! to understand its contribution. However, targets have been set based on indicators to help ascertain the change for women as a result of their engagement with PU! At the same time, the baseline evaluation highlighted the need to move quickly on setting up the longitudinal case studies among a cohort of women reached by the programme. The PU! Consortium made the political decision not to set up a 'control' group in a non-PU! country to compare outcomes with PU! countries as proposed by the external technical evaluator; given the complexity of context, it was not considered an appropriate methodological choice. Similarly, such an approach (i.e. in theory, withholding 'treatment') does not align with PU!'s feminist values of inclusion, solidarity, and social justice.
13. The indicators or result areas are appropriate to capture the planned results along the different levels in the ToC	Aligned: Clear indicators are in place and are linked to the outcome and output levels. They are also presented in the baseline results framework. The qualitative indicators, not reported here, are currently being reassessed with a view to reducing the number from six to three.
14. Justified choice of sample, cases and information sources (e.g. choice of countries, projects, organisations and persons)	Deviation: Convenience sampling was used to select the participants of the regional partner dialogues. Partners were provided adequate information about their participation and had the opportunity to make informed decisions about whether or not to take part in the dialogues, with the understanding that their decision would not affect their work with PU! For the survey, an effort was made to reach as many programme participants as possible, given the small sample size.
18. Triangulation of results from different information sources. This includes a comparison and critical reflection by the evaluator of results from different sources and results from different research methodologies, data collection methods (i.e. interviews, surveys, observations) and data sources (i.e. persons, documents, sites).	Aligned: Different data collection tools were used, including a desktop research template, a peer learning thematic discussion guide for the regional dialogues, and a baseline survey of members and partners. Data from all these tools were brought together during the process of analysing and reporting on finding.
19. Discussion of bias	Aligned: Possible social desirability bias is identified in respect of the survey tool and is considered in the analysis of the results in section 3.2 of the baseline report. Further potential bias is identified in the limitations section of this annex. PU! approach to PMEL subscribes to the view that all evaluators bring bias based on their positionality. The internal MEL team brought a feminist lens to the baseline evaluation.

## Annex 4: Power Up! Performance Measurement Framework

The Power Up! performance measurement framework (PMF) is presented below. It details the baseline values and targets for the quantitative indicators for both outcomes and outputs. Annual, midline, and five-year targets were set taking into account the results of the baseline study and the Annual Workplan for 2022. Although qualitative indicators were developed during the inception phase, the consortium has decided to review them to enable better framing of these indicators and to decide on the level of reporting (either at outcome or output level, or both) and a clear process for capturing the data, including following a cohort of women to capture the stories of change that illustrate programme impact. Part of this review process will be to decide on one to three qualitative indicators that the consortium will prioritise in tracking and reporting, based on the MEL capacities of PU! members and the added value of the indicators to measure change beyond what is being tracked with the quantitative data. After this review exercise, the consortium will provide baseline values and targets for the selected qualitative indicators and prepare a MEL plan for data collection and analysis for both quantitative and qualitative indicators.

Outcome Indicators									
Related Outcome Area		Related MoFA Basket indicator	Power Up! Indicator	Baseline value	Baseline notes	Targets		Target notes Targets are a summation of all consortium members totals in all partner countries.	Partners contributing
Outcome 1 BODIES	Women make decisions about their bodies, violence is reduced and safety is improved	WRGE 1.1	1.1. BODIES: # of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to eradicate all forms of violence against women in public and private life.	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	Midline target 4	Target 2021-2025 8	Considering how long it takes to influence changes on laws/policies/strategies at a national level, this will be a 5 year target (no annual targets).  The reporting measure for this indicator is unique (i.e achievement on a law will only be counted once for example, if in year 2 PU! contributed to an amendment of a law/policy (improved), then any activities thereafter in regard to this improved law will not be counted e.g increasing awareness about the improved law, translation etc	JASS, CAL, G@W
			1.2. BODIES: # of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on violence against women, collective safety and protection and bodily autonomy through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building.	0		Annual target 97	Target 2021-2025 485	There is a higher likelihood of creating spaces many times; hence the assumption is partners might work within the same targets annually (hence multiplied by 5 to get 2021-2025 target). The annual targets are based the 2022 partner workplans.  The reporting measure of this indicator is unique, if the space created has the same agenda/issue or the debate is about the same agenda/issue targeting the same power holders/decision makers then it will be counted once. Spaces created with different power holders even if same agenda will be counted as a different space.	
Outcome 2 VOICES	Women express their views and participate in all decision-making	WRGE 2.1	2.1. VOICES: # of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote women's voice, agency, leadership and solutions, and representative participation in decision-making processes in public, private and civic sphere.	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	Midline target 3	Target 2021-2025 5	Considering how long it takes to influence changes on laws/policies/strategies at a national level, this will be a 5 year target (no annual targets).  The reporting measure for this indicator is unique (i.e achievement on a law will only be counted once for example, if in year 2 PU! contributed to an amendment of a law/policy (improved), then any activities thereafter in regard to this improved law will not be counted e.g increasing awareness about the improved law, translation etc	All alliance members
			2.2. VOICES: # of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on women's voice, agency, leadership and representative participation in decision-making processes in public, private and civic sphere, through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building.	0		Annual target 324	Target 2021-2025 1620	There is a higher likelihood of creating spaces many times; hence the assumption is partners might work within the same targets annually (hence multiplied by 5 to get 2021-2025 target). The annual targets are based the 2022 partner workplans.  The reporting measure of this indicator is unique, if the space created has the same agenda/issue or the debate is about the same agenda/issue targeting the same power holders/decision makers then it will be counted once. Spaces created with different power holders even if same agenda will be counted as a different space.	
Outcome 3 RESOURCES	Women have access to resources and economic autonomy	WRGE 3.1	3.1. RESOURCES: # of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote women's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives.	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	Midline target 1	Target 2021-2025 2	Considering how long it takes to influence changes on laws/policies/strategies at a national level, this will be a 5 year target (no annual targets).  The reporting measure for this indicator is unique (i.e achievement on a law will only be counted once for example, if in year 2 PU! contributed to an amendment of a law/policy (improved), then any activities thereafter in regard to this improved law will not be counted e.g increasing awareness about the improved law, translation etc	All alliance members
			3.2. RESOURCES: # of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on women's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives, through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building.	0		Annual target 338	Target 2021-2025 1690	There is a higher likelihood of creating spaces many times; hence the assumption is partners might work within the same targets annually (hence multiplied by 5 to get 2021-2025 target). The annual targets are based the 2022 partner workplans.  The reporting measure of this indicator is unique, if the space created has the same agenda/issue or the debate is about the same agenda/issue targeting the same power holders/decision makers then it will be counted once. Spaces created with different power holders even if same agenda will be counted as a different space.	

## Output Indicators

Strategy	Related Output Area	Related MoFA Basket indicator	Power Up! Indicator	Baseline value	Baseline notes	Annual target	Target 2021-2025	Target notes <small>Targets are a summation of all consortium members totals in all partner countries.</small>	Partners contributing
Capacity Building	4.1 Increased leadership capacity and organising skills of women to bring about change in their lives and communities	WRG049y	4.1.1a # women (youth) who report increased confidence, political skills and consciousness as a result of PU! interventions	0	Baseline value is at zero because we would like to know Power Up!'s contribution to this indicator during the project period.	2141	8838	The 5 year target is 70% of the amount of women reached per year as indicated in the baseline results. This is separate from the annual targets, which are based on the targets for 2022. The overall annual targets are based in total summation of consortium members annual targets.  The measure of this indicator is unique i.e we will count individual women only once regardless of the number of times we engage them continuously to build their capacities on different skills or topics.	All alliance members
		WRG049ny	4.1.1b # women (non-youth) who report increased confidence, political skills and consciousness as a result of PU! interventions	0	Prior to the intervention, 2525 women were reached on an annual basis.	0	0	Indicator 4.1.1. has been split up into 2 sub indicators for youth & non-youth as PU! to disaggregate the results achieved in both groups. As the main recipients of the intervention are youth, the non-youth sub indicator does not have any own targets and they are set at 0.	
	4.2. Enhanced capacity of WROs to design and implement effective strategies and articulate collective political agenda	WRGE 5.2.1	4.2.1. # of WROs' (political and technical capacities) strengthened by PU!	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	40	40	Of all the WROs that PU! will engage in the period of 5 years, at least 80% of the 50 organisations are expected to report political and technical capacities strengthened (5 year target). This is identical to the annual targets, as PU! will engage with the same partners for the duration of the project.  The reporting measure of this indicator is unique i.e count the WRO once in the project life. For example, if we engage a WRO in year 3 of the PU! project and strengthen their skills on M&E, we will only take into consideration that one time, even if we go back to the same organisation and strengthen their skills on feminist economics in year 4, we shall not count it as it will still be the same WRO.	All alliance members
Knowledge Production	4.3 Women are equipped with tools, methods, research, evidence and learning from practice to inform strategy and action	WRG049y	4.3.1a # of feminist knowledge products (including tools and methodologies) on power, feminist movement building strategy and feminist analysis of bodies, voices and resources created by PU! to women (youth)	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	148	740	The assumption is partners will continue to produce new products per year within a similar number hence the multiplication of annual indicators by five to get the 5 year target.  This Indicator has a unique reporting measure, hence each knowledge products will only be counted once in the project life. For example if we develop feminist tools on capturing voices across diverse settings, this particular set of product (tools) will be counted once regardless of how many formats of the same tool are published.	All alliance members
		WRG049ny	4.3.1b # of feminist knowledge products (including tools and methodologies) on power, feminist movement building strategy and feminist analysis of bodies, voices and resources created by PU! to women (non-youth)	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	0	0	Indicator 4.3.1. has been split up into 2 sub indicators for youth & non-youth as PU! to disaggregate the results achieved in both groups. As the main recipients of the intervention are youth, the non-youth sub indicator does not have any of own its targets and they are set at 0.	All alliance members
Alliance Building	5.1. Strengthened and new collaborations with diverse alliances to support women's leadership and feminist agendas	WRGE 5.2.1	5.1.1 # of new/diverse alliances created by PU!	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	183	915	Based on the ability to establish new /diverse allies annually, the 5 year target was as a result of multiplying annual targets for all countries by 5  The reporting measure of this indicator is unique, new/diverse allies at the different levels will be captured once. e.g if a new alliance is formed in year 1, we shall only take the count for that year, regardless of any other engagements or strengthening activities we have with that alliance in the subsequent years.	All alliance members
Safety and Protection	5.2. Strengthened community, national, and regional safety networks to provide support/safety for women in high risk environments	WRGE 5.2.1	5.2.1 # of safety networks created/ supported by PU!	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	26	130	Based on the ability to establish new safety networks annually, the 5 year target was as a result of multiplying annual targets for all countries by 5.  The measure of this indicator is unique, unique safety networks at the different levels will be captured once. I.e, if one safety network is created in year one, then any other activities that follow subsequently will not be counted. The creation of that one safety network at that point in time is what will be captured. Similarly if a safety network is supported, then the initial support in that year is what will be captured, any other support to that particular network in the years that follow will not be counted in those years.	All alliance members

## Output Indicators

Strategy	Related Output Area	Related MoFA Basket indicator	Power Up! Indicator	Baseline value	Baseline notes	Annual target	Target 2021-2025	Target notes Targets are a summation of all consortium members totals in all partner countries.	Partners contributing
Solidarity and Urgent Action	5.3. Increased feminist solidarity and urgent action responses	WRGE 5.2.1	5.3.1 # solidarity/urgent actions supported by PU!	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	29	145	Annual target for all countries is the summation of all partner planned activities annually. Assumption is same momentum will be used annually, hence multiplied annual target by 5 years. The reporting measure for this indicator is unique, every solidarity/urgent action will be counted once as long as its aimed at the same audience. If the action is with a different audience and different location, then it will be counted as a new action.	All alliance members
Strategic Advocacy	6.1. Increased actions of women using their collective power to demand rights, increase access to resources and ensure collective safety	SCS041	6.1.1 # of actions by women supported by PU!	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	198	910	Annual target for all countries is the summation of all partner planned activities annually. Assumption is same momentum will be used annually, hence multiplied annual target by 5 years. Targets are a summation of all consortium members totals. The reporting value for this indicator is unique i.e we shall document actions taken by women at different levels. e.g if same action happens at the village level, then it will be captured once, if same action by the same women happens at the district level with different stakeholders then it will be counted as a new activity.	All alliance members
	6.2 Increased visibility of women's experiences, leadership, perspectives, solutions and demands	SCS041	6.2.1 # of times women's experiences, leadership perspectives, solutions and demands reflected in Power Up! communication products.	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	66	330	Annual target for all countries is the summation of all partner planned activities annually. The assumption is partners will continue to produce new products per year within a similar number hence the multiplication of annual indicators by five to get the 5 year target. This Indicator has a unique reporting measure, hence women's experiences, leadership perspectives, solutions and demands will be captured once per communication product.	All alliance members
Economic Alternatives	6.3. Women's collectives/ groups create feminist economic alternatives	WRGE 5.2.1	6.3.1 # of economic initiatives developed by women's collectives/ groups as a result of PU! interventions	0	As the indicator measures any new values occurring since the start of the intervention, the baseline value is set at 0.	26	130	Annual target for all countries is the summation of all partner planned activities annually. The assumption is partners will continue to form new economic initiatives per year within a similar number hence the multiplication of annual indicators by five to get the 5 year target. This Indicator has a unique reporting measure, hence we will count unique economic initiatives per year (not cumulative). If a similar initiative happens in a different location with a different group of people then it will also be counted as new.	PEKKA, JASS

**Annex 5: Policies, laws, and strategies identified by PU! partners  
(contributing to OUTCOME-level targets)**

	PU! Area	Policy/Law/Strategy	Block/Adopt/Improve
<b>South and South-East Asia</b>			
Indonesia	BODIES	Sexual Violence Eradication Bill, 2019	Improve and adopt
India	RESOURCES	Compensatory Afforestation Fund Act of 2016 (CAMPA), which outlines institutional mechanisms to protect the rights of forest dwellers when land is “diverted” for “non-forest purposes”	Block or improve to end its contradictory impact of effectively allowing dispossession of forest dwellers.
Cambodia	BODIES	Article 45 of the Cambodian Constitution and Article 3 of the Law on Marriage and Family, which limit the definition of “marriage” as a contract between a “man and a woman”	Improve in support of legalising same-sex marriage, including rights of same sex couples to legally adopt children.
<b>East and West Africa</b>			
Uganda	BODIES	Sexual Offenses Law, 2021	Block the law, which seeks to increase protection for victims of sexual violence and improve criminal justice system support for victims, but also criminalises same sex acts. Those found “guilty” could face a prison term of five years. The act was passed by the Ugandan parliament in May 2021 but has not yet been signed into law by President Yoweri Museveni.
Kenya	BODIES	Kenyan Constitution and Penal Code	Block. Kenyan Constitution declared same sex marriage illegal and in May 2019, a high court ruling upheld sections 162 and 165 of the Penal Code, which outlaws same sex unions and relationships in Kenya.
Kenya	VOICES	Maputo Protocol	Improve. Need for inclusive language (non-binary) in legislation, protocols, and instruments, and for greater protection of women’s and LBQ rights and implementation.

<b>Mesoamerica</b>			
Honduras	RESOURCES	The Escazu Agreement (Regional Agreement on Access to Information, Public Participation and Justice in Environmental Matters in Latin America and the Caribbean)	Adopt. PU! partners are seeking the ratification of the Escazu Agreement, an international treaty signed by 24 nations (not including Honduras) concerning the rights of access to information about the environment, public participation in environmental decision-making, environmental justice, and a healthy and sustainable environment for current and future generations.
Guatemala	VOICES	Law of the Council of Urban and Rural Development	Improve the implementation of this law, which opened municipal spaces to women, and led to the establishment of the Municipal Directorate for Women. Women gained voice but their influence has remained limited. Municipal directorates for women are no longer even participating in elections.
Guatemala	VOICES	New constitution to reflect plurinational nation	Adopt in national discussions on new constitution lobbying to ensure that it reflects Indigenous women and rights (and as a first step to ensure there is information shared with WROs on discussions around the new constitution so they can seek to influence its form).
<b>Southern Africa</b>			
South Africa	BODIES	National Strategic Plan on GBV and Femicide (GBVF, 2020)	Adopt/improve as part of an ongoing effort to ensure full implementation.
Zimbabwe	BODIES	Criminal Law (Codification and Reform Act)	Block/improve. PU! partners in Zimbabwe are challenging various clauses in the Act, arguing that they violate the Constitution, which recognises that Zimbabwe is founded on respect for the recognition of the equality of all human beings and gender equality
Zimbabwe	VOICES	Private Voluntary Organizations Act 63, 1966	Improve. The Act deals with freedom of association, collective bargaining, and industrial relations. CSOs and PU! partners have argued that proposed amendments, which outlaw private voluntary organisations that fund or campaign for any politicians in an election, are an attempt to undermine and regulate civil society by deregistering and closing down CSOs.

