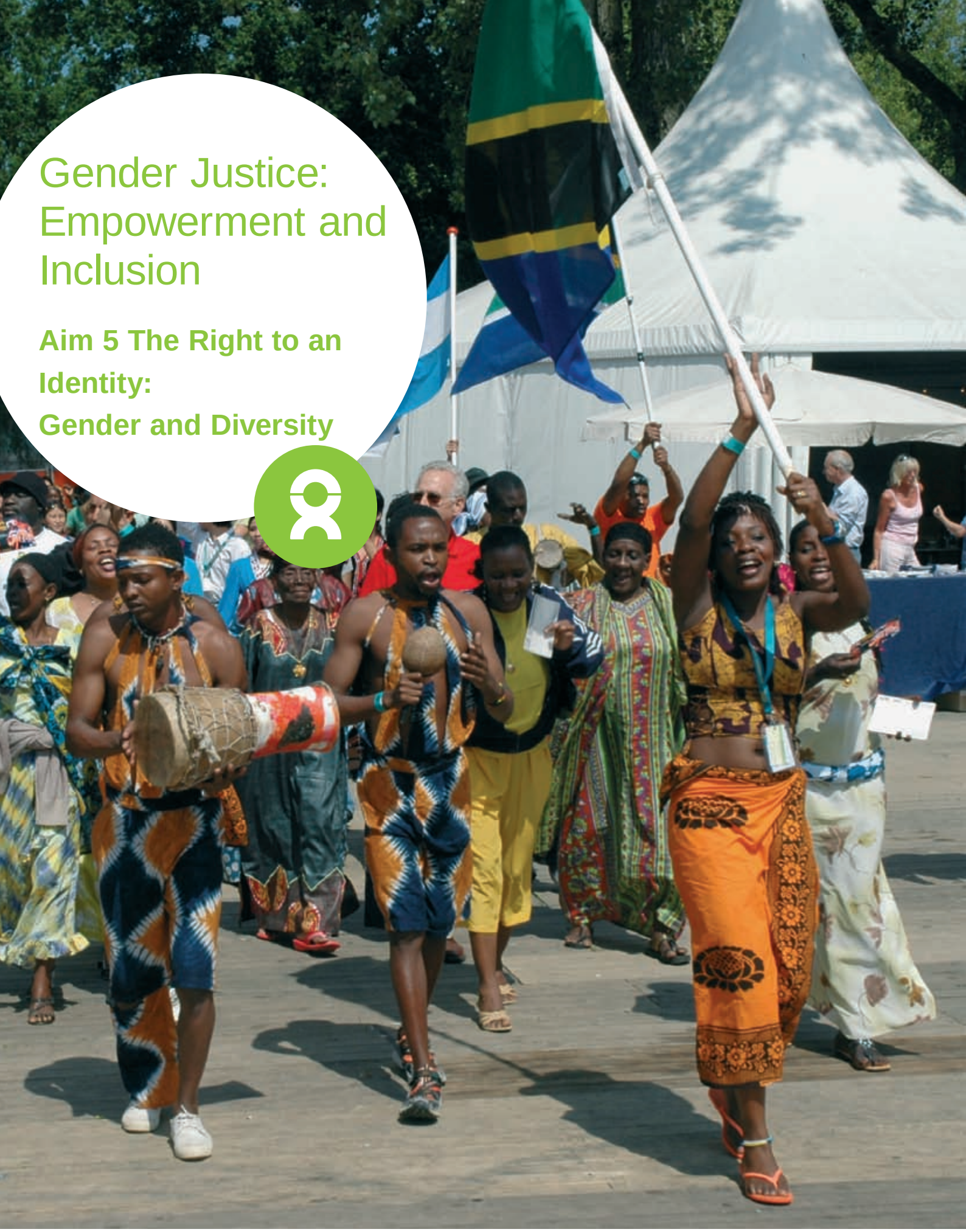

Gender Justice: Empowerment and Inclusion

Aim 5 The Right to an Identity: Gender and Diversity

Gender and Diversity

Oxfam Novib

Oxfam Novib

Gender Justice: Empowerment and Inclusion

Aim 5 The Right to an Identity: Gender and Diversity

What is happening
in Africa
(& elsewhere)
is because
the men
did not listen
to the women
& the women
did not listen
to the women
either
& because
the people did not listen
to each other
& themselves
& because
nobody listened
to the children
&
the poets.

Alice Walker

Preface

Why achieving gender justice is so tough. And possible.

Gender justice is about changing deeply embedded beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour.
It is about changing the belief that girls are worth less then boys. Then we can stop selective abortion and the murder of girl babies at birth.
It is about changing the belief that girls are the property of men. Then we can stop child labour, childhood marriages, exploitation of women, violence and rape.
It is about changing the belief that women should not control their own sexuality. Then we can stop genital mutilation, cervical cancer, hiv& aids and the prejudice against the female condom.

Instead we will begin to believe that girls are worth spending money on: for the education and health of fifty million girls working instead of going to school. For the half million women who die yearly in childbirth.
We will believe that naturally women should be paid equitable wages for work, not much less then men.
We will convince women and men that women should be present in equal numbers as men, at decision making levels in governments, corporate board rooms and civil organisations.

We need to believe and convince others that everyone will benefit from transforming patriarchical power structures into democratic practice: in the family, at community level, at country level - and at global level where the democratic deficit is possibly the worst at present.
Everyone will benefit because violence and lack of health and education leads to enormous loss in human, economic and democratic sense.
Women and men sharing decision making is likely to lead to less wars, a better environment, and more inclusive democracies. Which in turn means that indigenous peoples, marginalized groups, people with different abilities or sexual orientations can feel accepted and can live to their full potential.

Transformation of deeply entrenched patterns is difficult but possible when all sides of any social divide begin to recognize that they can gain more by change: in terms of humanity, security and justice.
That was how slavery was abolished. How apartheid was changed.
That is how men and women will realize the advantages of gender justice.

Sylvia Borren

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Introduction

Oxfam Novib (ON) has a longstanding tradition of being committed to women's rights and gender equality. In the 1980s a few change agents inside the organisation began to promote internal organisational change in favour of women and in the 1990s gender mainstreaming took hold: policies, goals and tools were formulated and designed and ON was increasingly recognised as a leader in the field of Gender Justice.[1] In 2001 there was a positive evaluation of the results of ON's gender policy. It also included some lessons learned.[2] Women's rights and gender equality had become well articulated in policy and strategy. However, especially from 2000 onwards, a lack of focus, drive, consistency and expertise persisted at the level of implementation (Sprenger 2006:3).

In 2001 ON changed its business model, in line with Oxfam International (OI), into five Aims[3] and Strategic Change Objectives (SCO).[4] Women's rights and gender equality were placed under Aim 5 'The Right to an Identity: Gender and Diversity' and became a cross-cutting objective.[5] OI's SCO for Gender Justice reads:

> "Many more women will gain power over their lives and live free from violence through changes in attitudes, ideas and beliefs about gender relations, and through increased levels of women's active engagement and critical leadership in institutions, decision-making and change processes (OISP 2006:30)."

And ON's goal on Aim 5 runs:

> "Women, ethnic and cultural minorities and other groups oppressed or marginalised because of their identity, enjoy equal rights and status" (ON Business Plan (BP) 2007-2010:29).

During this last period the achievement of women's rights and gender equality became increasingly connected to the notions of active citizenship, inclusive democracy, gender justice and transformative leadership, interconnecting Aim 4 with Aim 5.

These latest developments and the introduction of new concepts mean a stock taking and commitment to place women's rights and gender equality back centre stage, and a focus on rethinking strategies and practices. In 2006 it had been nine years since ON's last gender policy document "More power, less Poverty" was published. Over the last six years gender slowly became less visible, as if a "gender vanishing act" was taking place. An OI evaluation on gender mentions the decline in attention to gender equality:

> "While Oxfams have good gender policies in place, and have created systems to ensure women are not forgotten, at the program development and

1 *A gender practice with partners was developed via the traffic light system, a gender&diversity audit was published, the Gender en Route Project was done and the gender linking&learning track. See Novib 1996, Novib 1997, Mukhopadhyay 2006.*

2 *See Nugteren 2001, Brouwers 2001.*

3 *Aim 1 The right to a sustainable livelihood, Aim 2: The right to basic social services, Aim 3: The right to life and security, Aim 4: The right to be heard – social and political citizenship and Aim 5: The right to an Identity – gender and diversity.*

4 *OI establishes three institutional goals: 1. Cooperation for global citizenship. 2. Promotion of economic and social justice and 3. Quality and coherence, OISP 2000.*

5 *The OI Strategic Plan 2007 distinguishes four Strategic Change Goals (SCG): Economic Justice, Essential services, Rights in crisis and Gender Justice, and the 5 Aims.*

> implementation level Oxfam's work is, with a few notable and shining exceptions, mediocre in terms of its potential contribution to gender equality – in both cross-cutting and stand alone programming. There's no doubt that moving beyond mediocrity on the gender equality file requires a level of knowledge, energy, commitment, and willingness to challenge the status quo that is organizationally and even personally demanding."[6]

The main reason for this situation is that gender mainstreaming has yielded unsatisfactory results; it has gone off track and the small step by step changes that are achieved do not inspire people or organisations to do more. The focus has been too much on gender mainstreaming only as a cross-cutting strategy, aiming for everyone and every initiative to advance gender equality. In some sense this led to a 'gender fatigue': the wish to put gender into everything and get everyone to apply it, made gender mainstreaming a hollow notion without people capturing that gender equality is about the change of power relationships between men and women and the transformation of patriarchal and excluding identities.[7] Today many development co-operation organisations share this view. It is one of the reasons why in April-May 2006 ON held an organisational assessment about its promotion of women's rights and gender equality. The purpose of this assessment was "to develop key proposals that could enable ON to significantly improve its performance in the area of women's rights and gender equality as a key ingredient towards a just world without discrimination, and possibly even play a leadership role in this pursuit" (Sprenger 2006:3).

One of the findings in the assessment report is that the already mentioned, newly introduced concepts in ON's Business Plan and also some policy statements and strategies related to Aim 5, are not clear to all ON staff and some people question how they related to one another. Sprenger then recommends a definition of Oxfam Novib's current position on Gender Justice (idem:13). Therefore, the objectives of this paper are:

- to define ON's position on Gender Justice.
- to clarify key concepts used in ON's BP in relation to Gender Justice.
- to establish the relationship between concepts and policy strategies related to Aim 5.

The first part contains a conceptual explanation of ON's interpretation of Gender Justice. Gender, justice, gender equality, equity and intersectionality will be brought together under this overarching notion. In the second section several policy statements related to Aim 5 and three strategies 'STOP', 'MOVE OVER' and 'DIFFERENT TOGETHER', will be presented and explained, establishing connections with the conceptual part. The third and last part of this paper gives ideas about how to implement ON's policy on Gender Justice, internally and together with partners through the three intervention strategies: Civil Society Building, Direct Poverty Reduction and Policy Advocacy.

6 *Stuart 2005:30.*

7 *See for a detailed explanation of the failure of gender mainstreaming and lessons learned Sprengers 2006:4-5, and also Rao, Arruna and David Kelleher, 2005.*

1 The conceptual clarification of Gender Justice

1.1 Gender

Like many other development organisations ON has passed through the different approaches of Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD) and gender mainstreaming. In the late 90-tees a discussion about masculine identities took place inside ON, leading to the conclusion that if Gender Justice is to be achieved, also work to transform patriarchal masculine identities has to be done. An example of ON's efforts to mainstream gender is the 'Gender en Route project', which was implemented with 35 partners from seven regions around the world, as well as inside ON.[8] The main lessons learned from this project were that mainstreaming should include the active promotion of women getting into leadership positions inside the organisations and that the mainstreaming of gender at the organisational level does not automatically lead to the mainstreaming of gender at the programme or project level.

Because gender mainstreaming efforts have not been all that successful and even have had some negative consequences, ON feels the need to renew and promote the attention to the still continuing discrimination and subordination of women and other excluded groups. That's the reason ON wants to position itself today with the concept of Gender Justice. This notion overarches and includes the achievement of women's rights, gender equality and equity, gender mainstreaming, masculinities and respect for diversity. To understand the idea of Gender Justice, it does no harm to explain once again the meaning of Gender. Ann Oakley defined it as early as in 1972, when she stated:

> "'Sex' is a biological term: 'gender' a psychological and cultural one. Common sense suggests that they are merely two ways of looking at the same division and that someone who belongs to, say, the female sex will automatically belong to the corresponding (feminine) gender. In reality this is not so. To be a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, is as much a function of dress, gesture, occupation, social network and personality as it is of possessing a particular set of genitals" (Oakley 1972:158).

A distinction is made between the biological and physical differences between men and women, and the socially and culturally determined identities. As multiple authors have written, this distinction is connected to the differences in power men and women have regarding the election of the opportunities and freedoms life offers, *women being systematically in a subordinate position*. This aspect is reflected in the following definition:

> "The concept of gender makes it possible to distinguish the biological, sexual differences between women and men, from the socio-cultural differences. The biological differences cannot be changed; they have the character of destination.

[8] *This project consisted of the application of the 'nine-tool box', an organizational instrument with nine boxes filled with questions about the organization's gender policies and –culture. The organizations involved in the project went through this 'gender trajectory' and it has improved their gender policies and practices, especially at the technical, practical level. See Mukhopadhyay et al 2006 and Brouwers 2001.*

> Culturally determined differences are the functions and roles adopted or received by men and women respectively in a certain society. These differences can be transformed and vary, according to political influences and the evolution of the opinion.
>
> Gender refers to the qualitative and interdependent character of the position of women and men in society. The relationships between both genders are characterised by power and domination, and that determines the opportunities men and women have during their lives."[9]

The socio-cultural construction of the identities of people based on sex stems from a patriarchal gender ideology which for centuries has lain at the centre of human socialisation worldwide. This ideology assigns more status, value and power to the male and the masculine and is reproduced first in the family, where during primary socialisation processes it is mostly the mother herself who communicates the subordination and discrimination of women. Together with other family members, she passes on patriarchal[10] values to her children, constructing the feminine identity as 'other' and subordinate to the masculine, legitimising customs, traditions, beliefs, cultural practices and laws that discriminate women. Afterwards this process is reinforced by secondary socialisation processes which take place at school, at work, in the community, the public domain and in religious institutions.[11]

Patriarchal culture imposes ways of being, feeling, thinking, behaving and acting on individuals that limit both men and women to diverge from this model. Society (politically, economically, socially, culturally) is moulded along the lines of patriarchy. All kind of rules (the law), customs and (religious) beliefs maintain this system. To be different, not to obey the rules, is difficult and will be punished in one way or another. This results in relatively fixed identities: women should be submissive, obedient, 'pure', loving and caring, sensual, comprehensive, emotional, little ambitious, hard-working, altruistic, silent, suitable to fulfil certain occupations only and born to have differential access & control over resources. Men on the contrary have to be dominant, rational, sexually virile, manly, ambitious, not suitable to fulfil 'feminine' tasks, born to have the right to own, etc. These composite identities differ from culture to culture, but have in common that the most valued and powerful characteristics are considered essential elements of an ideal male identity, complemented asymmetrically by a composite of ideal female characteristics which forms its necessary counterpart, but ultimately possesses much less bargaining power.

The aim of ON is to transform patriarchal, exclusive cultures and social relationships into inclusive systems where men and women can freely determine their identity. Politically and socio-culturally all people should have equal opportunities and space to choose who they are and how they behave. If this is not the case, measures should be taken to change that situation. These assumptions do not imply that women necessarily have to become like men or men like women, but they do mean that women should be able to enjoy their basic rights (move around freely, work, study, decide about her own sexuality, participate in politics, etc.). And men should gain access to their own ways of being, not always having to perform, like

[9] *Ostergaard, 1991. Translated from Spanish into English and adapted by the author. See also Moser 1993:3, Braidotti et. al. 1995.*

[10] *Exclusive, discriminative, hierarchical, authoritarian.*

[11] *Restrepo 1992, Antrobus 2004.*

'real men' (economically, politically, sexually and physically) and being able to show sensitiveness and establish other, more enriching relationships with their beloved.[12]

Stronger women
Build stronger
nations
Zainab Salbi, Rwanda[13]

1.2 Justice and Gender

Equity and justice are key principles in the realisation of rights and are at the heart of all of Oxfam's programmes. *Justice* implies fairness, reason, honesty and legitimacy for each citizen to have equal access to all the assets needed to live a life in dignity. Most of these assets are defined and included in international human rights declarations and conventions and in national legislation.[14] Working with a Rights-based Approach (RBA) implies that, on the one hand, work has to be done to hold States accountable for the realisation of the civil, political, economic, cultural and social human rights of all their citizens and that, on the other hand, both men and women, as subjects of rights, have to be enabled and in an equal position to claim them.

Gender Justice is about the eradication of injustices committed against women and girls because they are female. It combats the violations of their human rights that are caused by discrimination mechanisms rooted in gender inequality or inequity. Equality is about opportunity. It means that women should have equal rights and entitlements to human, social, economic and cultural development and an equal voice in civic and political life. Equity is about outcomes. It means that the exercise of these rights and entitlements leads to outcomes that are fair and just. The term gender equity denotes the equivalence of outcomes in the lives of men and women, recognising their different needs and interests and consequently requiring a redistribution of power and resources. In that sense gender equity moves beyond equality of opportunity, because it requires transformative change. That is why gender equity goals are often seen as being more political than gender equality goals (Derbyshire 2002).

When gender justice is applied, equity and equality between men and women will be achieved, but also self-esteem and self-determination of women, and respect for their different and combined roles in child-rearing and economic, social and cultural responsibilities. It implies:

- Just economic conditions for men and women (taking into account formal and informal working hours, equal pay, labour conditions, control and access of assets, food security, etc.)
- Equal access to education, health services, water and sanitation and institutional decision-making power with respect to those services.
- Equality and justice in the assistance and protection in case of humanitarian crises, with women's participation and leadership in planning and implementing.

12 *Amartya Sen's 'capability to lead the kind of lives we have reason to value'.*
13 *Salbi, 2006:253.*
14 *The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, UN 1979), Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (UN 1993), for example.*

- Equality and justice in civil and political participation, with the goal to achieve transformative leadership at different levels of society, by and for women and men.
- Self-determination of women in their sexuality, reproduction and lives or lifestyles.

I want to have the freedom of being a man.
Even today as a woman,
I cannot walk my mother to the hospital
In the middle of the night
By myself
Naida, Afghanistan[15]

1.3 Intersectionality and Diversity

The debate about Gender Justice is also about diversity, which forms an integral aspect of Aim 5, because identity-construction processes are not only based on sexual differences. Race, class, physical and psychological health, sexual orientation, age and ethnic descent play roles too. These features can mingle in one person and together they form a multi-facetted, layered, dynamic and unique identity. Sex is a constant variable in the human species and that variable intersects with the other

[15] *Salbi 2006:142.*

ones. The composition of a person's identity by sex and other characteristics and the mutual relationship between these variables is called *intersectionality*. This theoretical paradigm is "an analytical tool for studying, understanding and responding to the ways in which gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege" (AWID 2004:1). Intersectional analysis aims to expose "the different types of discrimination and disadvantages that occur as a consequence of the combination of identities…..It aims to address the manner in which racism, patriarchy, class, oppression and other systems of discrimination create inequalities that structure the relative positions of women" (idem:2).[16]

Report card on Equality in the United States

	Circa 1980		**Circa 2000**	
	White	*Black*	*White*	*Black*
Maternal deaths (per 1000 births)	6,7	21,5	2,1	17,1
Infant mortality rates (per 1000 births)	10,9	22,2	5,2	14

Source: UNDP 2004:71

But intersectionality also brings in a positive view on identity, equality and power. It is a theoretical tool that helps to explore diversity and accept it as fundamental to the development of human rights in a world in which identity should be a source of recognition and inclusion rather than marginalisation. The application of intersectionality to our work brings about a global understanding of oppression, privileges and human rights, resulting in the aim to transform excluding values, norms, rules and legislation and to eradicate discrimination. It connects women's claims for their equal rights to achieving the promise of human rights for all. Intersectionality therefore can be used to build "a global culture of human rights from the grassroots to the global level… …Just as there are no human rights without women's rights, there are no women's rights without indigenous people's rights, the rights of the disabled, of people of colour, and of gays…" (idem:3). This implies the use of a bottom up approach to programme and project planning and the consideration of personal accounts, testimonies and data disaggregated not only by sex but where possible also reflecting other identity characteristics.

1.4 Collective (identity) rights and individual women's rights

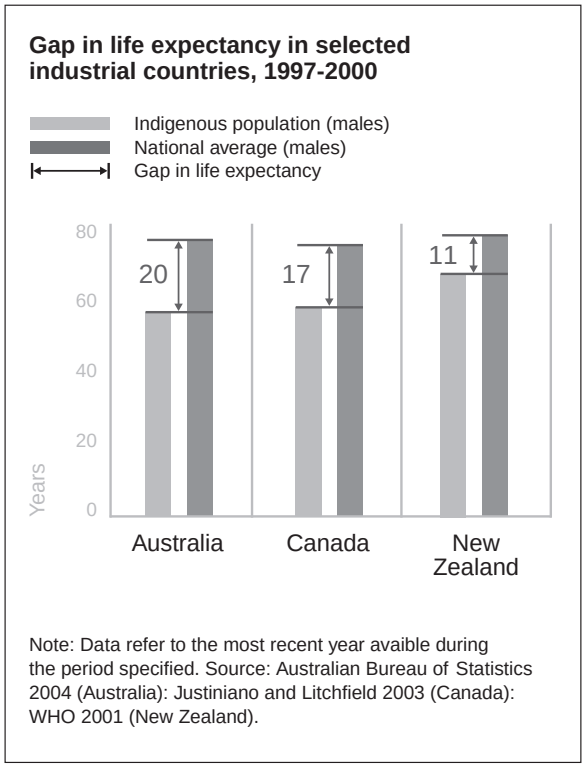
Inside Nation States ethnic groups, indigenous peoples, LGTBI communities and people with disabilities often occupy the lowest economic and social positions and are discriminated. The exercise of their civil and political rights is limited, and so are their cultural, economic, social, sexual and reproductive rights.

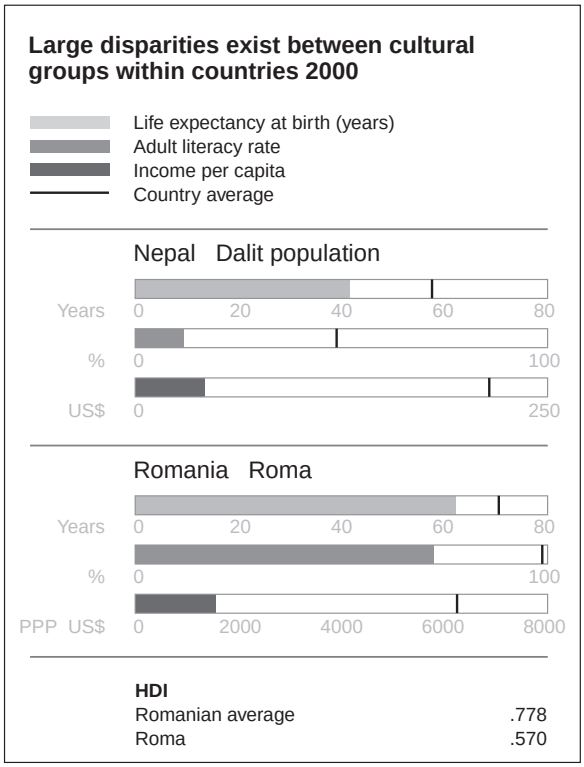
Therefore ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples assert the collective right of self-determination, to 'freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development' (UN 2006, article 3). ON adheres to the Right to an Identity and by doing so establishes its commitment to support these groups and peoples and promote the achievement of their rights.

However, the assertion of the right to a specific, cultural group identity is not without its dangers. History shows that it may lead to the dangerous contention that the

[16] *See also Okin 1999, Hoogte 2004.*

own identity is to be valued over the identity of other ethnic, religious or LGTBI communities. The recent war in the Balkans, the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian people, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Hitler's Germany are examples of terrible (and very different) conflicts where identity politics played a role. States sometimes politicise ethno-national identities and impose an ideological system on other groups or peoples in society, who are referred to as "a wholly alien other, with a voice that is heard as 'sickness, inferiority or evil" (Cockburn 1998:215). In that mode identity politics generate oppression and genocide and we know all too well how such a situation can trigger Gender-based Violence (GBV).





Taken from UNDP 2004:29 and 36

In Bosnia a particular kind of aggression was committed against women and men, one that had a great deal to do with identity and patriarchy. Thousands, perhaps tens of thousands of women, and also men, were raped. These rapes conveyed a common message valid everywhere and at all times: humiliation of the losers by the winners, exploiting negative aspects of masculine cultures and expressions of a perennial contempt for women. But they aimed also to destroy the enemy nations' culture, undermining family relationships by making Bosnian women pregnant with babies with 'Serbian blood' running through their veins, thus linking motherhood with nationalism. The phenomenon of nationalist motherhood was also seen in fascist Germany and Italy, and currently it exists in some Islamic groups, where women give birth to children to serve the nation and they raise them to serve in war.

Collective identity rights can also contradict the individual rights of the people belonging to the collective.[17] Similar to the nationalist motherhood concept, some indigenous peoples assign women the role of 'culture bearers', for example in their

[17] *Collective rights are non-reducible rights which pertain to collectivities as such in order to protect their potentially threatened collective interests. Collective rights cannot be reduced to an aggregate of individual rights, to a specific kind of individual rights or to the rights of a merely fictitious collective identity. The subject of a collective right is the collectivity (Galenkamp 1993:18-19).*

clothing, language and very important, in the transmission of cultural knowledge to their children. They are the guardians of a 'true' identity and represent the collective to be protected by the demand for the right to an own identity. By doing so, collective identities make their essence felt through female gendered icons. For this reason the call for individual women's rights and gender justice may underpin the cultural politics of the groups struggle, generating resistance towards individual women's rights and gender justice (Radcliffe 2000:8). Some indigenous women also argue that these notions do not apply to non-Western cultures because they originate in Western middle class society and refer to problems of Western women only. They interpret their rights in a different way, as the following quote illustrates:

> 'The priority of indigenous women is their struggle as peoples and not only as women…. We belong to a people, to a collective entity and that's why the struggle of indigenous women is different from the women movement's struggle. It is a struggle of peoples in which indigenous men and women claim to be recognized as peoples, be recognized as collective subjects of rights' (Pacari 1998:66).[18]

When the collective becomes more important than the individual, the danger exists that cultural practices and beliefs harmful to women become justified and are left uncontested, because the individual's rights would go against the right to have an own, collective identity.

Generally speaking women, people with disabilities and LGTBI-people from ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples belong to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society. Nevertheless in national and international legislation their specific rights have not been dealt with.[19] This is partly due to the complicated nature of the issue: "Rights for indigenous women go to the heart of questions about how to reconcile one identity with others, when each facet of identity requires certain rights that may or may not be compatible with others" (Radcliffe 2000:10). Another reason is that it is extremely difficult for indigenous women who are involved in the struggle for their communities to survive to assert Gender Justice, which is seen by many indigenous men and women as dividing the movement. It has been (and still is) troublesome enough to maintain the indigenous movement as such politically strong, so divergence from the ethnic model cannot be allowed.

However, since the 1990s changes began to emerge. Groups of Zapatista women, for example, have accepted the challenge to face the defence of the right to their own culture *vis-à-vis* the Mexican state while at the same time they question essentialist and static perceptions of 'culture' and 'tradition' inside their communities that have negative implications for the realisation of women's rights. These women formulated the Women's Revolutionary Law, a Charter (1994) that contains ten articles about the rights of indigenous women (Hernández 2002).[20] And in Bosnia Rada, a Serbian woman who participated in the women's project Medica, now deflects motherhood away from nationalism, linking it with feminism and diversity:

> 'If mothers have a cosmopolitan democratic spirit they can educate their children in that, independently of their husband. Or if they are religious, they can teach

[18] *See also Beijing Declaration of Indigenous Women 2005, although article 36 recognizes that indigenous laws, customs and traditions may be discriminatory of women.*

[19] *From 2004 onwards a Task Force Indigenous Women is functioning at UN level with the aim "to integrate and strengthen gender mainstreaming as regards indigenous women's roles and the special concerns of indigenous women as an emerging key issue in the work of the UN system, taking into account the recommendations of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at its Third Session" (E/2004/43).*

[20] *See also Deere and León 2002.*

> that other religions have equal value, that it's a richness that there are many religions, but in a spirit of equality. So women aren't just powerless living in patriarchy. If we have the confidence and the courage' (in Cockburn 1998:221).

The position of ON is that individual human rights have to be respected, also within the context of collective identity groups. Cultural or ethnic reasons can never justify the violations of fundamental human rights of individuals, even where collective values dominate individual ones. However, it must be stated too that ON finds the promotion of respect for diversity very important and it is clear to the organisation that indigenous or other minority group's ethnic, cultural or ideological values can mean a source of inspiration, which enrich and contribute to the search for a more inclusive world where Gender Justice is feasible and people who do not fit into heteronormative, white, patriarchal Christian or Muslim society are not marginalised.[21]

> *"Our spirituality and our responsibilities define our duties. We understand the concept of sovereignty as woven through a fabric that encompasses our spirituality and responsibility. This is a cyclical view of sovereignty, incorporating it into our traditional philosophy and view of our responsibilities. It differs greatly from the concept of Western sovereignty which is based upon absolute power. For us absolute power is in the Creator and the natural order of all living things; not only in human beings... Our sovereignty is related to our connections to the earth and is inherent."*
> Sharon Venne, cited in Smith 2006[22]

[21] *This viewpoint will be elaborated further in paragraph 2.4 under ON's third strategy 'Different together'.*
[22] *Smith is Cherokee and a professor of Native American Studies at the University of Michigan. See Cunningham 2006.*

2 ON's Gender Justice Policy: Statements and Strategies

2.1 Policy statements

ON's commitment to Gender Justice has been translated into several policy measures and strategies for the implementation of Aim 5 (ON's BP 2006). Per 2006 Aim 5 has become mandatory for all core countries and the regional work. The following guidelines have been drawn up to support this:

1 In 2010, 15% of total grant-making is in support for Aim 5.
2 In 2010, 70% of all participants of programmes are women (ON BP 2007-2010:37).

The first statement implies that in 2010, and preferably as early as possible, Oxfam Novib will spend 27 million euros a year on Aim 5, which is 5% more than in 2006. The increase in the budget allocated to Aim 5 is a way to create the multiplier effects that will help all ON's partners to promote Gender Justice, which is not limited to only Aim 5; it forms part of all of ON's work and the 15% has to be used to its maximum to improve this and also strengthen the work on diversity issues.

The second point implies that 70% of the participants in the programmes or projects of partners supported by ON should be women (as direct beneficiaries). This figure was originally derived from UNDP's Human Development Report 'Gender and Human Development' and still appears in many publications and websites: 'Women constitute 70 percent of the world's 1.3 billion people living on less than $1 a day' (Rath 2005).[23] For ON this is the rationale behind the 70% figure. It is impossible to accept the fact that only 10% of the total money of a programme, or sometimes only 0.1% of the activities, is spent on or directed at women, when it is known that women are the main ones to shoulder and suffer poverty. That is why the organisation wants to make sure that its financial support to partner's results in benefiting mainly women, not in their role of victims or beneficiaries, but as empowered democratic programme participants (Borren 2005). The 15% and 70% measures are meant to better reach ON's overall mission: the reduction of poverty and the fight for social justice.

In addition to the Business Plan, the Strategic Programme Management instrument (SPM)[24] mentions the following points about ON's Gender Justice Policy:

- The Strategic Program explains how unequal power relations between men and women, as described in the context analysis, will be redressed. In the strategic choices a reference will be made to the components of the Social Watch Gender ranking, which is based on:
  - Gender and education (ratio female-male wages; female school enrolment)
  - Gender gap in economic activity (ratio female-male wages; female participation in workforce)
  - Empowerment of women (percentage of women in parliament).

[23] *"Of the estimated 1.3 billion people living in poverty, more than 70% are female. This feminization of poverty is the tragic consequence of women's unequal access to economic opportunities" (UNDP Development Report 1995:4) See also ICFTU 2005, ILO 2007, and United Nations Population Fund 2005.*

[24] *This instrument has to be applied by every department. Every bureau has got its own SPM, where the points mentioned here should be reflected.*

- Oxfam Novib works only with counterparts that collect sex disaggregated data, which ensures that the 70% target can be monitored. When necessary, Oxfam Novib provides support to counterparts to set up sex disaggregated M&E systems.
- Women's organisations are part of the counterpart portfolio. If their number is less than 15% of the total counterpart portfolio, the Strategic Programme explains why, and how the Aim 5 gender justice goals are reached through other means.
- Capacity building work within the Strategic Programme will focus on the identified weak points of the 7 criteria used in the Gender Traffic Light (GTL).[25] By the year 2010 all counterparts with whom Oxfam Novib has had a relationship of 4 years or more score green on the gender traffic light, or Oxfam Novib's funding will be wound down (SPM 2006:18).
- The Strategic Programme shows how the oppression, exclusion and marginalisation of women, ethnic and cultural minorities, because of their identity, is being opposed; how strategies against violence, for gender mainstreaming and for 'different together' transformative strategies are designed and executed.
- The Strategic Programme includes lobby activities to enhance gender equality and promote women's rights based on CEDAW and the national action plan based on the Beijing 1995 conference;
- The Strategic Programme describes how gender-based violence is opposed with a focus on preventing violence (SPM 2006:21).

The Business Plan also mentions three complementary strategies for the implementation of ON's Gender Justice Policy. In the next paragraphs these strategies will be further defined and explained.

2.2 Strategy 1: STOP IT

The STOP strategy is a *stand alone strategy*, which focuses on the *stopping of GBV*, like rape and other forms of sexual abuse, human trafficking and female genital mutilation.[26] It is about the promotion of the *sexual and reproductive rights* of women and men, because it is in this field where many gross violations take place, especially in conflict situations where power differentials change the relationships between men and sexual rights, also of men, are violated.[27]

Sexual and reproductive rights were defined and discussed in Cairo and Beijing and have been a topic for the World Health Organisation and many NGOs all over the world. Almost all documents and international declarations emerging from these conferences and discussions refer to the sensitive and difficult issue of GBV, and many commitments to fight the phenomenon have been made. Oxfam Novib follows the UN-definition of GBV, which, in its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993), defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life." Accordingly, "violence against women encompasses but is not limited to the following:

[25] *The GTL is a tool that is meant to assess partners in their performance on gender justice. It consists of seven criteria. If a partner scores a no to more than two of the criteria, the traffic light turns from green to yellow and the program officer will start a dialogue about gender justice with that respective partner to see how this can be changed. A partner never can have a score of 5 or more no's, because then funding will not take place or has to be stopped.*

[26] *Oxfam Novib has a long standing tradition with partners of working on GBV: domestic violence, rights of sex workers, change of traditional cultural practices which are harmful to women, human trafficking, GBV in conflict situations and the lobby for changes in (inter)national legislation favourable to women.*

[27] *See for example Carpenter 2006, Oosterhoff 2004.*

GBV, HIV and AIDS

An important dimension of GBV is its direct connection with the rapid spread and 'feminisation' of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. In South Africa almost 57% of people living with HIV or AIDS are women and girls, and in Zambia and Zimbabwe three quarters of all young people (15-24 years) living with HIV are girls and young women (Oxfam America 2005:2). Physically and biologically women are more susceptible to HIV and AIDS because men's semen contains a high concentration of the virus to which the nature of the vagina is receptive: it exposes more skin to potential infection and it is easily torn when violent and forced sex occurs. This is also the case when practices as 'dry sex' occur, a widely spread habit in Southern Africa, because of the assumption that men enjoy sex more in this way. This custom has to do with the fact that women are supposed to be submissive to male pleasure in sexual matters and of course, do not have a say about their own sexual pleasure. Another astonishing practice is the rape of young girls and children under 12. It is, a phenomenon that is driven by beliefs of 'purity' and the hunt for a cure for AIDS.

GBV, HIV and AIDS are related also because women who are beaten by their husbands or boyfriends, or are emotionally or financially dominated by their partners, are more likely to be infected than those who live in non-violent households. In Tanzania HIV-positive women are two and half times more likely to have experienced violence by their partner than the HIV-negative women. Furthermore women pay a high price for being the first to know their status – triggering violence from their partners *(Oxfam America 2005:8-9).*

a Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
b Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution;
c Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs." (Articles 1+2).

GBV must be stopped because, as the UN Millennium Project affirms, "Gender-based violence directly jeopardises the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) related to gender equality and the empowerment of women, infant and maternal health and mortality, and combating HIV and AIDS" and "freedom from violence, especially for girls and women, is a core right and essential to the ability to lead a productive life."

The concept of GBV provides a new context in which to examine, understand and combat the longstanding phenomenon of violence against women. It shifts the focus from women as victims to gender and the unequal power relationships between women and men as the basic underlying cause of violence, a situation that is created and maintained by gender stereotypes. This interpretation of violence against women involves, together with the rights-based approach, changes in the way GBV has to be fought: assistance and counselling to women and men victims of GBV (needs based approach), but also action and work directed at the prevention of GBV, fostering changes in discriminatory and sexist attitudes, behaviour, religious beliefs and ideologies which justify or accept GBV, legislation, jurisprudence and the way the law is implemented, and men and women have to be encouraged to be change agents, who seek justice and have the perpetrators of the crimes change or be punished. It is important to realise that the STOP strategy does not stand on itself; it is one line of action, which will be complemented by the two other strategies to be explained in the following paragraphs.

> *There exist forms of violence*
> *that affect not just the body. They assassinate love,*
> *enjoyment, and the spirit. They destroy*
> *individual and collective life, not just one time,*
> *but many times*
> (Colombia, mural in Chiquinima, Tolima department)[28]

2.3 Strategy 2: MOVE OVER

'MOVE OVER' refers to the old mainstreaming activities and means that *institutional space has to be created to reach the objectives of Gender Justice*. According to the United Nations mainstreaming is

> "the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of

[28] *Salbi 2006:101.*

> all policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."[29]

Strategy two is thus about the equitable distribution of resources (access to and control over budgets, education, land, credit etc.), power (for example by seeing to it that women fill representative bodies and top ministerial positions for at least one-third and for minorities to be represented proportionally) and space (an equal share in decision-making).

For ON this implies the continuation of the efforts to promote the integration of Gender Justice issues in partner organisations and their programmes or projects, in State machineries, at the community and family levels and in markets. It is also about improving the Gender Justice situation in the own organisation and cross cut gender in the five Aims, campaigns and lobby work. As said before, important advances have already been made in this respect. Partners have undertaken action to take up gender justice issues in their organisations and work, and the *Make Trade Fair Campaign* has successfully integrated important Gender Justice aspects in its messages.[30] Moreover, today many people who work in ON are capable and sensitive about Gender Justice and they certainly have a great willingness to improve and strengthen it in their work. Those are important foundations for further guidelines to "get gender mainstreaming right".

An example of ON's mainstreaming efforts: numbers related to gender targets[31]

	Information based on annual plans				
	2001	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*
% women's organisations of total	11%*	11%* (159 of the 861 organisations pay attention to improving the position of women)	12%* (and 60 cps score >70% aim 5)	55 cps score >70% aim 5.	11% as counted manually by researcher.
% of women direct beneficiaries	60%	54%**	57%**	58%**	56%

CPS = Counterparts

It has always been widely acknowledged that gender mainstreaming can only work when it is based on two interconnected strategies: the promotion of women's rights specifically, including the support for women's rights organising and advocacy, and secondly, cross-cutting and integrated work, making sure that everyone and every activity advances gender equality. This two-track approach means that both the institutional integration of gender justice *and* the specific support for women's rights and against GBV should receive attention (STOP-strategy). With the MOVE OVER strategy ON wants to continue its gender mainstreaming efforts, connecting it to the implementation of the two other strategies. The three together have to reinforce each other and form a shared project to make a real difference in the lives of people and to achieve the ambitious objectives set out in the Business Plan 2007-2010.

29 *ECOSOC (1997/2).*
30 *See Mukhopadhyay 2006 for example, and Oxfam International 2004.*
31 *From Sprenger 2006:16.*

* *Indicates the % of total budget, not % of organizations.*
** *Based on data Quality and Control department (not annual reports).*

2.4 Strategy 3: 'DIFFERENT TOGETHER'

The 'STOP IT' and 'MOVE OVER' strategies are still conceptually rooted in the dependent and subordinated position of women. Women are more victims of GBV exercised by men than men are, and therefore special measures to counteract this phenomenon have to be taken. And mainstreaming means the improvement of the conditions and positions of women: men having to 'move over' to make more space for women. Although in these strategies women are certainly not seen as only victims, the emphasis is not on women as the authors of their own destinies or of that of their communities, countries or world. This position makes women less able to make connections with allies, because by claiming their human rights, they seem to take away space and privilege from men, in this way becoming an enemy rather than an ally with whom current negative, unjust situations can be changed into positive and just ones.

The third strategy 'Different Together' seeks to change this win-loose option in a win-win situation. It is a transformative strategy which aims at changing exclusive patriarchal politics and practices (globally, regionally, nationally and locally) to facilitate the social transformation of society as a whole. The ultimate aim is to change values, beliefs, attitudes, opinions and practices towards *inclusive democracies* where people's identities are respected because of what they are, which means that they do not have to correspond to an imposed ideal and that the intersection of identities is valued in a positive way. The notion of inclusive democracy implies a new democratic social contract, based on the ethic of human rights and on the belief that all the world's citizens have a role to play in working towards a better world where men and women, black and white, hetero and homo and the sick and healthy can live and

work without being discriminated. In an inclusive democracy people are encouraged to build sustainable communities at the local, national, regional and global levels, where participation and diversity is encouraged and with transparent power structures, checks and balances.

At the same time this implies a rethinking of democratic theory and practice because 'community' and the politics of community may be dangerous illusions that assume that consensus is possible. Connolly introduces the concept 'agonistic' democracy, which settles for the difficult reality of unavoidable, unending, careful, respectful struggle.

> "A practice of democracy… …that responds to the problematic relation between identity and difference… Let me call [he says] this political imaginary 'agonistic democracy', a practice that affirms the indispensability of identity to life, disturbs the dogmatization of identity, and folds care for the protean diversity of human life into the strife and interdependence of identity/difference".[32]

Diversity – from divisive to inclusive

On 27 April 1994 the people of South Africa founded a nation on the pledge that we would undo the legacy of our divided past in order to build a better life for all. It was not a pledge that we made lightly. For generations, millions had been deliberately reduced to poverty. And to perpetuate itself, the apartheid system that claimed to be ordained from on high was sustained only by brute force, robbing us all of our humanity – oppressed and oppressor alike.

For decades we had fought for a non-racial, non sexist society, and even before we came into power in the historic elections of 1994, our vision of democracy was defined by the principle, among others, that no person or groups of persons shall be subjected to oppression, domination or discrimination by virtue of race, gender, ethnic origin, colour or creed.

Once we won power, we chose to regard the diversity of colours and languages that had once been used to divide us as a source of strength. We ensured that the basic law of our land, our Constitution and Bill of Rights, promoted unity and gave unique attention to social and economic rights. Our path of inclusiveness was not new, nor had it been chosen in haste. For decades the African National Congress had promoted national unity, and even at the height of oppression, when racial interaction led to prison and death, we never gave up on our aim to build a society grounded on friendship and common humanity.

Now, although laws no longer enforce the old divisions, they are still visible in social and economic life, in our residential areas, in our workplaces and in the growing inequality between rich and poor.

When we took on the project to transform society, one of our rallying cries was "freedom from want". Our goal was to banish hunger, illiteracy and homelessness and ensure that everyone has access to food, education and housing. We saw freedom as inseparable from human dignity and equality. Now the foundation for a better life has been laid, and construction has begun. We are fully aware that our freedom and our rights will only gain their full meaning as we succeed together in overcoming the divisions and inequalities from our past and in improving the lives of all, especially the poor. Today, we are starting to reap some of the harvest we sowed at the end of a South African famine.

Many in the international community, observing from a distance how our society defied the prophets of doom and their predictions of endless conflict, have spoken of a miracle. Yet those who have been closely involved in the transition will know that it has been the product of human decision.

Nelson Mandela
In: UNDP 2004:43

[32] *Cited in Cockburn 1998:215.*

The embarkation in the project to establish inclusive democracies in today's world implies that ON has to foster and support *transformative leaders*, real change agents who are to ensure that their capacity for action around poverty and development goals is effective. To be a change agent means that the effects of internalised powerlessness are to be overcome and a shift has to be made from domineering power to new non-domineering forms that can benefit society as a whole. It is important for all subjects of change processes to be able to apply their power to challenge oppressive, exclusive structures of power and positively strengthen the thinking, practice and effectiveness of change agents of all kinds (Pearce 2006:15-16).

Transformative leaders are men and women of all colours, creeds, ages and sexual orientations with the ability to transform power and with imaginative, political strategies, who are able to truly facilitate and stimulate local solutions and who create an enabling environment. This leadership exists or can be developed in every person. It is about people who know how to listen, share their power and create power for women or other marginalised people. It is about accepting differences and contradictions within the women's movement too, being really inclusive and promoting everyone's participation. That requires good communication and deep respect for others.[33] A big challenge is for women to place themselves more centrally in these debates and conflicts. Can they develop a vision and a practice of transformative leadership that is value driven, not exclusive – and extended to men, youths and people of diverse backgrounds and with intersecting identities?[34]

An important aspect of the third strategy is the *strategic networking and partnering of and between different social movements*, civil society organisations and NGOs, like the women's movement, human rights or environmental organisations, (international) development co-operation agencies, migrants and refugees institutions or trade unions. Strategic in the sense that strong linkages with leading actors focussed on differing areas of social or economic justice work, build greater support for the women's movement and provide new opportunities to advance Gender Justice. The struggle for social justice requires diverse organisations and actors to work together to achieve the shared goals, weaving Gender Justice into circles where leadership is exercised in a traditional, patriarchal way. Going beyond the boundaries of the own organisation or movement permits the connection with a broad range of social justice networks; in this way it will be easier to set agendas and influence and shape priorities. This is in line with OI's aim to strengthen women organisations by finding new ways of making connections between levels, sectors and people, putting the different social movements in contact with each other and forging links between what happens locally, nationally, on the own continent and globally.

> *"The incredible alliances, coalitions and joint efforts made by civil society…must all be built upon and strengthened. To do this effectively, we need to focus on the considerable areas of agreement that exist between many civil society organizations working for a just, secure and equitable planet, and to respectfully agree to disagree around the finer points of strategic, tactical and even possibly ideological differences."*
> Kumi Naidoo, Secretary General, CIVICUS.

[33] *Antrobus (2004:166) defines transformational leadership as a "feminist leadership with a passion for justice, a commitment to change things, beginning with oneself".*

[34] *Sources: Report of the expert meeting on Transformational Leadership. 23rd of February 2006, KIT, Amsterdam, Oxfam Novib, Borren 2005 and 2006.*

3 The implementation of the Gender Justice policy

Civil Society Building, Direct Poverty Reduction and Policy Advocacy

3.1 The STOP-Strategy

For ON this strategy implies an explicit support to women's rights organisations and -movements around the world, with the aim to counteract the already mentioned negative side-effects of gender mainstreaming, one of them being a considerable decline in the support for these organisations, in this way undermining its own support-base so crucial for making it happen.[35] This does not mean a return to the Women in Development (WID) approach, which focussed on women from the angle of making development projects more efficient. Neither does it only imply the empowerment of women and the promotion of women's leadership. Organisations to work with under this strategy are progressive organisations, networks or movements that have an overt focus on reproductive and sexual rights and GBV. They can be organisations run by and only for women, but also mixed organisations with specific GBV or sexual rights programmes which involve men in their target groups. There are also men's organisations that work on the prevention and elimination of GBV and the change of masculine identities from a women's rights perspective. Aim 5 should not close its doors to these organisations either. The work of those organisations has to focus clearly on one or several of the following elements:

- the prevention of GBV;
- the support to people victim of GBV;
- lobby and campaign work on (international, national, local) changes in legislation or customary law with respect to sexual and reproductive rights and GBV;
- the sensitisation of judges, lawyers, religious leaders, the police, military and other people who have to see to the implementation of the law.
- awareness raising and empowerment of marginalised men and women to put them in the position to assert their rights.

GBV or women's programmes inside ethnic minority- or indigenous organisations deserve special attention because the intersecting identities of women and people with a different sexual orientation often bring them in an extremely difficult position.

For the different bureaux of ON a first activity could be to realise *a call for project proposals with a strong focus on one or several of the 5 points mentioned above*, in countries where previous gains are under attack and where CEDAW and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women have been ratified.[36] A second step to take is *the mapping and consultation of organisations, movement and networks* that comply with the same criteria, with the aim to identify new interesting and innovative organisations and obtain a better overview of what organisation do or aspire to do (do they work on GBV or sexual and reproductive rights?). This mapping

[35] *Clark 2006.*
[36] *Especially focusing on countries that made important reservations to CEDAW.*

has to pay specific attention to distinct cultural contexts in a region or country and the different levels the organisations work at.

The mapping could help to overcome a weakness of the women's rights organisations and the women's movement worldwide, which was pointed out at the AWID/Hivos conference 'Women's Rights – Unfinished Business: What should International NGOs be doing?'[37] Here emphasis was given to the lack of connections between organisations and groups that work at the grassroots or local levels with regional and (inter)national organisations.[38] Furthermore it was stated that donors and (women's) funding institutions mainly support the bigger women's rights organisations who lobby and work at an (inter)national level. But it is important to notice that international conventions and national laws in favour of women can only be applied when there is an active support-base of local organisations that promote the implementation of the newly won rights. So the mapping will enable the *strategic connection of groups and movements at different levels to strengthen each other's work*.

Another conclusion of the AWID report on money flows for women's rights organisations, is that grants for women's causes are generally small and go to NGOs that only manage US$ 50.000-100.000 a year. Considerable amounts of money go to bigger organisations that usually work on a more global or international level. So an important body of women's rights and gender justice work finds itself situated in small, under-funded organisations where money is a main problem. The conclusion is

[37] *Held in Amsterdam 15-17 November, 2006.*
[38] *See also Orock 2007.*

that international donors and their funding counterparts *should provide more financial support to women's groups and women leaders with mobilisation power amongst women on the ground* as active change agents.[39] In this sense *capacity building in fundraising* becomes important too, making people aware of new aid modalities and playing a role in the facilitation of access of counterparts to certain funds that otherwise would not be easy to find (OECD, for example).

ON has decided to foster changes in behaviour and attitudes tolerant of GBV, through *broadening the WE CAN end all Violence against Women campaign*.[40] The bureaux could first do an *exploration with existing or new partners of the possibilities for working on this campaign (a consultation round)*. It is important to link up the campaign activities with existing programme activities of NGOs, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), *especially women's organisations or movements*, the latter ones because they have the expertise, knowledge and experience in GBV issues and are aware of sensitive cultural specificities. This is almost a precondition for the success of the campaign, because it is only in this way that links can be forged and connections made to current issues (FGM in Somalia for example or GBV in conflict situations).

In the long-term the idea is that the *WE CAN end all Violence against Women* campaign will be connected to other campaigns and programmes, for example to the GCAP and Fair Trade campaigns and also to local, national, continental and global events and happenings. The intention is to expand the *WE CAN end all Violence against Women* campaign into a *WE CAN build Inclusive Democracies* campaign, with a strong footing in local organisations and by establishing links between different social movements.[41] Here again the necessary connection to women's organisations or movements comes to the foreground, because the experiences with the GCAP-campaign teach us that women's agendas have to be included from the onset and that Gender Justice has to be integrated in the campaign strategies, targets, membership and mobilisation from the beginning: "The insufficient articulation of advocacy issues in terms of Gender Justice results often in underused coalition-building with women's rights advocates" (Reisen et al. 2006:55). *Co-operation and consultation is needed between the regional bureaux, MSS and lobby, Linkis and partners on the broadening of the WE CAN campaign. A co-ordinated plan should be developed.*

In summary, in 2010 ON will be supporting new partners with innovative projects and programmes on GBV and sexual and reproductive rights. Clusters of organisations will work and collaborate strategically on these issues and link and learn mutually, interchanging best practices through the *KIC project*.[42] The partner portfolio will also represent a bigger amount of smaller women's or men's groups or organisations with a focus on GBV, and their capabilities in effective fundraising will be increased. Moreover the *We Can end all violence against women* campaign is being implemented in Europe, Africa and Latin America, in addition to Asia where it began. All this requires internal strategic collaboration inside ON (different bureaux, partners, MSS, Linkis and Popmob) and with OI.

39 *See also OI SP 2001-2004:44 and ON BP 2007-2010:30. Hivos is already applying this strategy.*

40 *The WE CAN campaign was first discussed and has been started up by Oxfam Great Britain in Asia. At the moment it runs in Bangladesh, India, Shri Lanka, Nepal, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and it is executed by an alliance of community rooted NGOs.*

41 *The World Social Forums for example (ON BP 2007-2010:12+30).*

42 *KIC (Knowledge Infrastructure with and between Counterparts) aims to improve the performance in terms of quality, effectiveness and efficiency of the activities of counterparts by facilitating the active sharing of knowledge.*

3.2 The 'MOVE OVER' Strategy

3.2.1 Oxfam Novib internally

As stated before, at the ON's institutional level the efforts in gender mainstreaming have to be continued and strengthened. With regard to the recruitment and selection of staff the Business Plan sets the target that by the end of 2010 one-fifth of staff has to represent the ethnic and cultural diversity in the Netherlands[43] and ON's international orientation, and the apportionment of men and women will be maintained at an average of one-third men and two-third women, and 50/50 in management functions (BP 2007-2010:101).

ON allows flexible work-time schedules and has facilities for breast feeding. Moreover policies on sexual harassment, pregnancy, maternity and paternity leave and a policy for the care of sick and/or old family members are in place. However, the Gender and Diversity audit which was applied to ON in 2000 revealed that the organisational culture in ON not always favours diversity and gender equality. Personnel policy and the organisational culture can be improved with respect to the understanding of differences and equal opportunities regarding fulfilment and promotion for all employees.[44]

ON's Diversity Policy, dated from 2002, states that if ON wants to realise the potential value added of a socially varied, multicultural workforce, the recruitment of people with disabilities and international staff should be a priority. The latter group because it is necessary to have people who speak the mother tongue of the different partner organisations ON relates to and understand their socio-cultural background. Another element in the recruitment of new staff is the consideration of Gender Justice sensitivity of both men and women, which should have a decisive influence in the decision about hiring the person or not. To reach the set goals *a favourable environment through an increase in knowledge of P&O officers and confidential counsellors, about the rights of women and ZMV people should be strived for.* Moreover it is time to *repeat the Gender and Diversity Audit, an investment on internal capacity building that was done some years ago, and to update ON's Diversity Policy.*

Important continues to be the *appointment of specific gender experts* in the organisation who explicitly promote and facilitate the updating, formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the Gender Justice Policy. Right now ON has a group of around 20 Gender and Diversity focal points (GeDi) working throughout the different departments and gender expertise is present in management positions. However, the GeDis can only be successful and held accountable when they acquire *official status and a clear job description that includes time, resources, credibility and space to promote the implementation of the Gender Justice policy.* In addition, time and money are needed for *learning and exchanging knowledge*. Management plays a role here. Committed to Gender Justice it has to take on responsibility and make time, capacity and funds available for facilitating the GeDis to get the possibility to do their work on Gender Justice and participate in workshops, platform meetings, seminars and conferences.

[43] *The so-called ZMV group, which means Zwart (black), Migrant and Vluchteling (Refugee). ZMV feminists introduced this notion in the late 1980-tees. It covers different groups, distinguishing the various backgrounds of newcomers in the Netherlands and also includes people who have been living there for longer but still experience discrimination or favouritism. The term 'black' does not refer to skin colour but is used to designate political colour and, above all, to emphasize that it takes a long time to change the interpretations and opinions attached to differences between people.*

[44] *See Verboom 2002. The organisation does not provide child care arrangements anymore as since 1-1-2007 the Dutch State pretends to take care of that.*

Another task related to internal gender mainstreaming is the *capacity building on Gender Justice and Diversity of all staff*, who have expressed the need for training and personal development programmes, for example in the use of international and national legal obligations on gender equality and women's rights in campaign and lobby work. The question was also mentioned of how to raise politically and culturally sensitive issues in partner countries.[45] Opportunities should be created for Programmes Officers, lobbyists and campaigners for *exchanging best practices* on dealing with gender insensitive partners and with seemingly gender neutral topics. The *KIC project* has to play a role in this respect, bringing Oxfam Novib's programme officers, lobbyists, campaigners and counterparts together, in order to increase understanding with regard to the conceptualisation and strategies, for example in specific campaign areas.

These measures imply that by 2010 ON's organisational culture towards women and ZMV-people has been improved, meaning that their specific rights are employed naturally. Staff is also more aware of gender and diversity issues and knows better how to handle the multicultural setting ON represents. The level of knowledge of all staff on Gender Justice is improved, which is effectively reflected in partner portfolios, project proposals, campaigns and lobby work. GeDis feel they have more space and opportunities to strengthen the Gender Justice approach in their bureaux. The KIC portal too reflects practices and experiences about best ways of promoting Gender Justice in different areas of work.

3.2.2 The mainstreaming of gender in the five aims, all partners… and their activities

ON's work on improving the position and conditions of women, LGTBI people, ethnic groups and people with disabilities has to be reflected in the four other basic rights ON distinguishes. Making micro-finance and food security activities sensitive to gender justice and diversity, forging trade arrangements favourable to the specific economic and cultural situation of each group, promoting the delivery of good and gender or culturally suitable essential services, paying attention to the specific situation and needs and capabilities of women, children and culturally diverse people in times of disaster or conflict and promoting their active citizenship, is all surely necessary to achieve the 70% target of women beneficiaries set out in ON's goals for the year 2010. For this the mainstreaming of the Gender Justice approach has to be strengthened in:

Aim 1
– Triple Jump
– (campaign) partners
– WTO negotiations
– Stop EPA campaign
– Lobby for Corporate Social Responsibility

Aim 2
G-CAP
(campaign) partners
health sectors
Lobby

Aim 3
– Control arms campaign
– people building peace campaign
– partners
– military, police
– lobby activities

Aim 4
judiciary
partners
lobby activities

[45] *For example sexuality when dealing with HIV, AIDS and Gender Justice issues in Islamic countries/communities. See also Reisen et al. 2006.*

Some initiatives to do this have already begun, as the innovation fund for project proposals that combine education, GBV, HIV and AIDS in a new, creative way. And in the Horn and West Africa bureau special grants are available for partners who want to promote initiatives on female leadership or women's rights.

In the coming period a start will be made with *a gender base-line study* to assess opportunities and obstacles for increasing the number of women as direct beneficiaries and as important actors for change in programmes and projects of Aim 1 partners. The decision to begin with Aim 1 partners was made because the main part of ON's funds goes to this sector (sustainable livelihoods, micro-finance, trade) while it is precisely here that the gender justice approach is weak. If we explore and find possibilities for improving this, the amount of women reached through the programmes and activities of ON's Aim 1 partners would increase significantly. Other related objectives of the gender base-line study are:

1 Review the application of ON's Gender Traffic Light (GTL) tool to (a selected amount of) Aim 1 partners that score red or orange & the consequent action undertaken by ON or the partner to address this identified risk.
2 Identify 'intervention' or 'entry points' that could possibly make 'Red/Yellow' Aim 1 partners more Gender sensitive/responsive.
3 Revise the GTL.

This last point is necessary because the *GTL is nine years old and needs updating*. It has to be brought in line with the renewed Gender Justice policy and attention should again be paid to its implementation by programme officers, who have expressed their difficulty in applying the same tool to different kinds of organisations (NGOs, networks, campaign partners) and they find the tool susceptible to multiple and varying interpretations.[46] Moreover it is suggested that the tool should be applied right from the start of a new appraisal process.

To improve the mainstreaming of Gender Justice at the institutional level of partners, *pilots have to be done in the implementation of the nine boxes tool*. In past years this tool has been applied in ON's Gender en Route Project (1996-2000) which had a positive evaluation.[47] It seems worthwhile to work with the now improved and broadened version of the tool (twelve boxes, inclusion of HIV and AIDS) with a few selected and strategic partners who are interested in doing this. The twelve boxes tool has a strong capacity building component.

This brings us to another task to be done under the 'move over' strategy, namely the *facilitation of capacity building processes in Gender Justice of partners and consultants*, for example about organisational change and the mainstreaming of gender and diversity in micro-finance, emergency relief, human rights and sustainable livelihoods activities and campaigning. ON has to take on an active approach to *increasing the capacity of international partners on Gender Justice,* because their specific expertise on this issue in economic justice and trade advocacy is limited. Particular attention should be given to the ability of women's organisations to mobilise women in political activity and support women's leadership. The *KIC project* could be used to enhance the capacity of counterparts on gender justice and advocacy.

As for campaigning, at times Gender Justice is perceived as a distraction from the main issues rather than at their core. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Gender Justice as

[46] *In the bureaux LAC and ZA small assessments have been done to look at the way how the tool is implemented.*
[47] *See Brouwers 2001 and Mukhopadhyay 2006.*

a central element in several campaign issues could be improved, especially when data are available, for example about the impact of the liberalisation of trade on women in vulnerable economic situations, particularly in agriculture. For this it is *necessary to continue to conduct case studies and collect sex disaggregated data*, in collaboration with partners and the corporate sector. Another point is that currently no tools are applied to ensure that gender justice is explicitly included in the design of campaign and advocacy strategies. A *first step could be the implementation of the revised GTL at an early stage in appraisal processes and campaign design*. And impact assessments have to have a focus on Gender Justice, by using sex disaggregated data and a variety of indicators, which include at times the number of women as direct beneficiaries, but at other times specific policy approaches that aim for Gender Justice through other target groups (in that case women are indirect beneficiaries). Greater impact would also be achieved if the campaign demands were framed in the context of international obligations on Gender Justice and poverty eradication, such as CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Goals.[48]

The results of these activities will be that by 2010 ON has good and revised tools to support the monitoring and implementation of the Gender Justice policy. Programme officers know well how to apply those tools and partners will have improved their work on Gender Justice issues, which is shown in a significant increase in the number of female beneficiaries and also in cases (practices on the KIC portal) and evaluations that present indicators about changes in attitudes, behaviour, GBV-figures and an improvement in the economic and political position of women, among others. Partners will dispose of good Gender Justice policies and campaigns will reflect Gender Justice in their designs and strategies.

Mapping of organisations

The identification of allies, strategic partners and transformative leaders will be easier when programme officers employ the power cube *in their mapping of organisations*. This power analysis tool was developed by John Gaventa (2005:6-9). It distinguishes three dimensions.

The first dimension consists of three spaces: 1. 'closed spaces' where decisions are made 'behind the scenes' with no participation of the people, 2. 'Invited spaces' where efforts are made to open up and invite people to be consulted and 3. 'claimed or created spaces' where the less powerful (social movements, community associations or people) gather to debate, discuss and resist, outside the institutionalised policy arenas.

The second dimension is the level where the three spaces are contextually rooted: the global, national and local levels (region, village and neighbourhood, private and intimate spaces).

The third dimension is the form of power in the space: visible power which is observable and formal (the rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of decision-making). Hidden power is the way how powerful people and institutions maintain their influence by controlling who is invited to the decision-making arena and what gets on the agenda, and last the invisible power which shapes the 'psychological and ideological boundaries of participation'.

The analysis of power in all three dimensions of the power cube will help understand Gender Justice issues in the different areas of work belonging to the 5 Aims of ON and OI. It will give indications about the kind of power to transform; where, at what level and with whom we have to construct discursive consciousness to change excluding, discriminatory mechanisms for women and girls and other marginalised people and groups. Such an analysis will produce the information needed to avoid tacit confirmation of prevailing norms, relationships and structures that have created and maintain an unjust social order.

[48] *See Reisen et al. 2006.*

3.3 The DIFFERENT TOGETHER Strategy

The mapping of organisations and movements that work on GBV, mentioned under the STOP-strategy, permits simultaneously the *identification of (female) leaders* willing to connect and embark in the project to construct inclusive democracy. *It is important to foster and promote room* for them to get together and work on their own independent agendas. This will include *building strategic alliances with NGOs and CSOs, different from women organisations, including ethnic- and/or minority organisations*, which also may be well equipped to challenge oppressive, structural and deeply embedded cultural practices and abuses. The result of this work will be strengthened (clusters of) organisations that fight against GBV with a specialised network whose dynamics reach partners operating under the other four basic rights/aims of ON, in this way contributing qualitatively to the achievement of the 70% target on Gender Justice.

The *linking and learning between women's organisations and movements and CSOs or NGOs with existing training centres* should be strongly promoted, especially among those based in the South. In particular, the themes of leadership, management skills, masculinity, ethnic diversity and LGTBI issues are of specific interest. Linking and learning around good Gender Justice practices with other donors, such as Oxfam International, Eurostep and the co-financing organisations in The Netherlands (Hivos, DSI-ER, ICCO and Cordaid), has to be intensified too.

The power of the advocacy campaigns on Gender Justice will benefit when it is connected to *organisations and when ON's local-to-global dimensions are more fully utilised*. At the moment the work of specific partners, which have included a meaningful Gender Justice approach, is not adequately used in the co-operation around campaigns. Advocacy campaigns should, where possible, "be undertaken in coalition with counterparts focussing on Gender Justice in that particular campaign area, so as to increase campaign effectiveness by: (i) expanding campaign constituencies, (ii) enlarging outreach of the advocacy and mobilisation of the public, and (iii) activating women for political mobilisation (both in the Netherlands, in developing countries and internationally" (Reisen 2006:57).

Together these actions mean that in 2010 ON is allied to an identified group of strengthened, transformative leaders who occupy positions in partner organisations, CSOs, (I)NGOs, governments, the corporate sector, ethnic movements, etc. They strive for the cause of Gender Justice and inclusive democracies and play an active role in connecting work done on different levels. Campaigns reflect these connections and levels too. Linking and learning programmes between those organisations are being implemented and presented on the KIC portal.

'Transformation' and 'change' can be confusing terms. The former seem to imply deep and significant change. This does not exclude the possibility that 'change' can be deep and significant, but it is not necessarily so, whereas it is with 'transformation'.
In: Mukhopadhyay et al. 2006:13.

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