Power Up!
Midterm Review Report

1 November 2023

POWER UP!

Table of Contents

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAAS	Ahmi Amchya Arogya Sathi (Power Up! partner in India)
CAL	Coalition of African Lesbians
CMI!	Count Me In!
CRTDA	A Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action
FEA	Feminist Economic Alternative
FGD	Focus group discussion
G@W	Gender at Work
IATI	International aid transparency initiative
JASS	Just Associates
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, bisexual, trans, queer and intersex plus
MEL	Monitoring, evaluation and learning
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MFA	Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
OBOL	Our Bodies, Our Lives
OECD DAC	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Assistance Committee
PEKKA	Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga
PU!	Power Up!
SCS	Strengthening Civil Society policy framework
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
TOC	Theory of Change
WHRD	Women's Human Rights Defenders
WRO	Women's Rights Organisation

Executive Summary

1 Power Up! and the Power of Women

A strong civil society ensures vibrant and healthy civic space, strong democracy and rule of law. It is also key to attaining the sustainable development goals. Womxn and lesbian, bisexual, trans, queer, agender and intersex plus (LBTQI+) activists and feminist organisations play crucial roles in maintaining strong civil society,[1] but they are increasingly under pressure from decreased funding, a rise in authoritarianism, restrictive legislation, increasingly rigid social norms, and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV).

Acknowledging this narrowing space, in 2020 the MFA established a Strengthening Civil Society (SCS) policy framework and the Power of Women funding instrument to improve the social contract between government and citizens by building the capacity of civil society organisations to stand up for citizens' needs and rights. The Power of Women funding instrument aims to:

- prevent and eliminate sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls,
- strengthen women's leadership and participation in decision-making in public and private spheres, and
- strengthen women's economic empowerment and the related economic climate.

Power Up! is one of four programmes funded under the Power of Women between January 2021 and December 2025. It envisions a just, equitable and sustainable world in which all womxn are free to express themselves, are free from violence, have access to and control over economic resources, and have a voice and power in the decisions that affect them and their lives. With €11 million, it operates in 17 countries, and is implemented by a consortium of three womxn's rights organisations (WROs): Just Associates (JASS, the consortium lead), Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), and Gender at Work (G@W).

2 Objectives of the Mid-term Review

As programme implementation is currently at its midway point, Power Up! has commissioned a combined internal-external, mid-term review of the programme, the aim of which is to highlight results gained and lessons learned between January 1, 2021 and June 30, 2023 with a view to strengthening promising approaches during the second half of implementation. The review focuses on programme-wide results related to the three outcomes of Bodies, Voices and Resources. Its overall objectives are to:

- understand the extent to which programme outputs and outcomes have been achieved to date and are contributing towards the SCS basket indicators;
- validate the programme theory of change (TOC), especially within the shifting context of womxn's rights organising;
- interrogate the degree to which partnerships within the implementation consortium and between the consortium and the MFA are configured to forward the feminist aims of the programme, and make related recommendations; and
- identify lessons learned and make programme, operational and policy recommendations not only to strengthen impact and sustainability, but also to feed into potential new programming.

---

[1] In this report the term LBTQI+ is used to emphasize the needs and rights of lesbian, trans, bisexual and queer womxn, and people whose gender expression is woman identified. Consistent with other PU! documentation, the term "womxn" is used to include young womxn, non-binary, intersex and trans people because they, like womxn, face gender-based discrimination and oppression by the patriarchal system.

The review meets these objectives and examines the degree to which project activities are on track and achieving results by answering seven evaluation questions that are meant to explore effectiveness, relevance, coherence, impact and sustainability from a feminist perspective. The seven questions are as follows.

1. What progress has been made towards the expected outcomes and outputs so far?
2. What power and agency shifts have womxn observed over the last two-and-a-half years?
3. To what extent have the WROs supported by the programme succeeded in creating space for feminist demands and positions?
4. What were the challenges and lessons learned from the implementation of the projects? And how has the context influenced implementation?
5. Does the TOC remain relevant and valid to the diverse realities and priorities of the partners and womxn Power Up! works with? And what evidence is emerging on the sustainability of the programmatic work?
6. How have the Power Up! consortium members and partners been working together towards building collective power and movements?
7. What has and hasn't worked well in Power Up!'s partnership with the MFA? And what is needed to improve it moving forward?

The review relies on a modified feminist evaluation methodology in order to answer these questions and generate related findings.

3 Key Findings

3.1 Context

The programme operating context remains as complex as at baseline, despite an abatement in the prevalence of COVID-19. While some gains have been made in relation to bodily autonomy and control over economic resources, programme partners are increasingly retreating to safe positions, shifting to new tactics, or strengthening safety and security protocols to address the unexpected. Long-term knowledge, solidarity and alliance building work is providing Power Up! with a foundation of assets that are being successfully harnessed to maneuver through this precarious context.

3.2 Validity of the Theory of Change

The programme theory of change (TOC) remains relevant because it allows Power Up! to track complex, holistic change across a variety of disparate implementation contexts, and to respond to womxn's and LBTQI+ people's advocacy agendas even as tactics or strategies change. In this way, the TOC is able to capture and articulate non-linear change and results simultaneously in Bodies, Voices and Resources based on results that are important to womxn and LBTQI+ people and their definitions of success.

While it is difficult to draw inferences around the degree to which sets of countries are progressing along similar change pathways, or to identify common strategies used across countries, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, Myanmar, Palestine, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe have all relied on spaces of solidarity and support for womxn or LBTQI+ people as an output-level precursor to change. There has also been strong use of knowledge building and alliance building across countries and regions of focus.

3.3 Outcome-Level Results to Date

Power Up! outcome results at mid-term show promising progress that sets the programme up well to catalyse results in the second half. A core group of country programmes including Cambodia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, Mozambique, Myanmar, Palestine, South Africa and Tunisia are seeing complex change in how womxn and LBTQI+ people analyse and use power and knowledge; ally with others; and act strategically to change social norms, policy implementation or laws. These programmes are generating or strongly poised to generate outcome-level results commensurate with the midway point of the programme as originally conceived. Although change is occurring at the output level, Honduras, Kenya and Zimbabwe show little evidence of outcome-level results. There is no qualitative evidence of change in Benin, Rwanda or Uganda.

3.3.1 Laws, Policies and Strategies Blocked, Adopted or Improved

Power Up! has seen six laws, policies or strategies blocked, adopted or improved in the first half of the programme against a mid-term target of eight. Each of these results improves or enlarges civic space by harnessing resources at national or international levels, providing Indigenous womxn and girls with leverage to claim their rights, and expanding notions of bodily autonomy. In addition, Power Up!'s knowledge, solidarity and alliance building activities provided a base of assets that womxn and LBTQI+ people used to pivot quickly in crisis circumstances. Results in this area show not only the degree to which feminist movement building and lobbying and advocacy work are long-term processes, but also the benefits of undertaking steady and sustained work to build and mobilise power on a daily basis.

3.3.2 Creating Spaces for Feminist Demands

An analysis of 35 change pathways showed 31 instances in which WROs supported by the programme succeeded in creating space for feminist demands and positions at the outcome level. The bulk of these were formed at the informal and formal community level, and at the formal village or municipal level. Womxn are now leading in highly visible public forums, forming cross-regional alliances, and shaping agendas as well as participating or raising their voices. Given the relative paucity of womxn's presence in these spaces at baseline, this represents significant progress over the first two-and-a-half years of the programme.

There is a risk inherent in this result, however. Sustaining pressure and leading in many potentially complex or risky spaces may lead to burnout. As womxn and LBTQI+ people continue to lead and leverage spaces, the safety and security activities under output 5.2.1 and self- and group-care strategies outlined in the risk register become ever more important.

3.3.3 Changes in Agency and Power: Womxn's perceptions of power actors' attitudes and behaviours

Womxn are beginning to see changes in power actors' perceptions, attitudes and behaviours, although with caveats in relation to Voices and Resources. Changes are seen in all three of social, political and economic spaces, made by family members, village level informal influencers, male village and community development committee members, police and justice institutions, school administrators, union leaders, paramount chiefs, regional or national government officials, donors and the general public via social media campaigns. Data under outcomes related to womxn's perceptions of how power is used shows that results are newer or more tenuous compared to the above two outcomes. Over the next two-and-a-half years, it may be necessary to repeat activities or repeatedly engage the same power actors in order to reinforce change. Given the degree to which change in power actors' attitudes is

necessary to support womxn's and LBTQI+ people's collective action, mitigate risk in public spaces and generate change to laws, policies and norms, slow and careful action may be seen as supporting programme sustainability.

3.4 Partnerships to Support Feminist Change

3.4.1 Partnering as a Consortium

Power Up! consortium members joined together under an assumption that when feminist organisations work together, their collective action will catalyse results for movements and grassroots actors. The programme has put a number of systems and processes in place in order to do this. With the departure of the Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL) as a key case in point, Power Up! has shown that it can apply feminist principles in order to achieve win-win outcomes for feminist actors in stressful situations.

The Power Up! consortium is effectively applying feminist principles in order to challenge how power operates but is less consistently applying principles so as to substantively transform power. Based on the perceptions of its members, the consortium has not fully come into its own as an entity that offers value beyond the work that each member does.

Power Up! has experienced a number of operational challenges related to tight timelines and high donor demand that are typical when working on bilaterally funded programming in a new consortium. Members have different structures and their own strategic objectives. This presents challenges to communicating and sharing information, consistently applying feminist principles to transform power, and undertaking co-learning and co-development processes in ways that give voice to Southern partners. To mitigate these challenges, Power Up! should continue to work on the feminist economic alternatives strategy, seek opportunities for face-to-face mutual exchange and learning (about each other,

and members' expertise and ways of doing things), and reflect on where and how each consortium partner leans into or leans out from strategic leadership.

3.4.2 Partnering with a Bilateral Donor

Aspirations to forwarding feminist aims through the relationship between Power Up! and the MFA encounter similar limits as those encountered within the consortium. Key informant interviews showed a lack of alignment between Power of Women strategic partners and the MFA in areas such as strategic programming goals; the degree to which feminist approaches inform development work; and monitoring, evaluation and learning. Civil society and the MFA use policy production and advocacy cycles that are not always compatible. Information flows loosely among levels of organizations and between them. While many aspects of the relationship between Power Up! and MFA are regulated by the partnership agreement, joint advocacy, learning and similar activities are regulated by informal rules around how donors and recipients should act in a relationship.

There is good evidence that Power Up! and the MFA communicates and collaborates well where their interests align. Most saliently for this review, the MFA supported Power Up! in its decision to end its agreement with CAL, and the two entities used similar principles of operating when working with one another to ensure that the close-out was conducted to the best possible end. In other words, in the key crisis that has affected the programme to date, Power Up! and the MFA partnered.

At the same time, some friction may arise when Power Up! steps outside of how it is expected to act as a recipient and pushes back around the frequency of embassy engagement or participation in different types of MEL activities. Power Up! can draw on existing strategies to mitigate possible tension by dialoguing to confirm the details of the engagement strategy with embassies and providing them with concrete information around where Power Up! can add value.

3.4.3 Partnering with a Bilateral Donor

Aspirations to forwarding feminist aims through the relationship between Power Up! and the MFA encounter similar limits as those encountered within the consortium. Key informant interviews showed a lack of alignment between Power of Women strategic partners and the MFA in areas such as strategic programming goals; the degree to which feminist approaches inform development work; and monitoring, evaluation and learning (MEL). Civil society and the MFA use policy production and advocacy cycles that are not always compatible. Information flows loosely among levels of organisations and between them. While many aspects of the relationship between Power Up! and MFA are regulated by the partnership agreement, joint advocacy, learning and similar activities are regulated by informal rules around how donors and recipients should act in a relationship.

There is good evidence that Power Up! and the MFA communicates and collaborates well where their interests align. Most saliently for this review, the MFA supported Power Up! in its decision to end its agreement with CAL, and the two entities used similar principles of operating when working with one another to ensure that this step was conducted in a way to achieve the best possible end. In other words, in the key crisis that has affected the programme to date, Power Up! and the MFA partnered.

At the same time, some friction may arise when Power Up! steps outside of how it is expected to act as a recipient and pushes back around the frequency of embassy engagement or participation in different types of MEL activities. Power Up! can draw on existing strategies to mitigate possible tension by dialoguing to confirm the details of the engagement strategy with embassies and providing them with concrete information around where Power Up! can add value.

4 Recommendations

This section provides a summary of recommendations, while the full text is offered in Section 7 of the main report.

4.1 Recommendations for Power Up!

4.1.1 Strategic programming

Programming Recommendation 1: Advance LBTQI+ programming

Prioritise actions to **launch and consolidate LBTQI+ programming** in Benin, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe in order to fulfill the programme's LBTQI+ strategy.

Programming Recommendation 2: Deepen work on norms and social change

Deepen and prioritise current programming that focuses on social norms change, discursive change, demystifying stereotypes or raising awareness around power and bodies. Deepening or putting greater emphasis on this type of programming builds sustained power at the individual level, provides a base for support in the face of pushback, allows partners to pivot in times of change and builds up the vision of the world womxn and LBTQI+ people want to see when they lobby or create space.

Programming Recommendation 3: Strengthen and diversify safety and solidarity actions

The mid-term review shows that strong safety networks protect activists and WROs in contexts of ongoing precariousness and mitigate the potential for burnout.

Programming Recommendation 4: Continue to support feminist knowledge production, and highlight the role it plays in change pathways

Knowledge production has played multiple roles in making change at numerous points across the change pathways examined for this review. It boosted womxn's self-confidence and power, changed the views of power actors, provided the basis for planning FEAs, or was itself an output of other activities. Given its seminal role in making change, it is recommended that Power Up! continue to emphasise knowledge production by capturing the role of this work in formal reporting structures.

Programming Recommendation 5: Strengthen monitoring, evaluation and learning

Power Up! uses well-tested and recognised methods of feminist monitoring, evaluation and learning to track results. Its MEL activities give voice to local womxn and LBTQI+ people, organisations and movements based in the Global South. At the same time, it is recommended that Power Up! put in place mechanisms and resources necessary to carry out routine, programme-level MEL functions consistently, with a view to being able to tell a cohesive impact story when either formative or summative milestones arise.

Programming Recommendation 6: Include a greater focus on how feminist alliances and movements are built and sustained in the learning agenda

Power Up! supports alliance and movement building as a key strategy, but data sourced for this mid-term review had less information on this strategy when compared to others. It is recommended that Power Up! track where new networks and alliances have been forged within and as a result of the programme and the diversity and quality of these relationships.

Programming Recommendation 7: Continue the feminist economic alternatives initiative

Continue to develop programming on feminist economic alternatives. Primary data indicated high levels of support for Power Up! to continue developing strategic actions around feminist economic alternatives as a method of contributing to the Power of Women funding instrument.

4.1.2 Operations and Relationship Management

Operational Recommendation 1: Strengthen communications and work planning

Strengthen communications and information flows by mapping who "needs to know" and devising communication strategies to reach everyone, developing central repository for key documents, socialising the roles of different committees and working groups. Consider translating key documents into Bahasa Indonesia and Portuguese, among other languages. Devise and disseminate an internal, consortium-level programme management work plan.

Operational Recommendation 2: Convene face-to-face to build a programme identity

As time and resources permit, consider more frequent face-to-face meetings in order to engage in co-creation and co-development of Power Up! processes, structures and strategies, leaning on each consortium members' expertise.

Relationship Management Recommendation 3: As lead partner, play an interlocutor role

Partnership survey and key informant interviews provided almost universal support to JASS in its role as interlocutor and relationship manager with the

MFA. It is recommended that other consortium members continue to support JASS in this role.

Relationship Management Recommendation 4: Continue to be pro-active in Power Up!'s relationship with the MFA

Develop a series of briefing materials to provide a programme overview and country-specific information to MFA staff. This ensures that the MFA has accurate information on hand when they advocate, mitigates staff turnover, and builds greater understanding around Power Up!'s feminist approach to help embassy staff tailor their engagements. Identify creative ways to share work plans, schedules of key dates and related information about lobbying and advocacy processes with MFA. Begin discussions around the types of expertise required for external evaluators in preparation for the final evaluation.

4.2 Recommendations for the MFA

4.2.1 Strategic Programming

Programming Recommendation 1: Support programme approaches that embed safety, crisis management and counter-pushback strategies

Power Up! includes safety, protection and solidarity mechanisms that are integrated into all phases and stages of advocacy work as a "cross-cutting theme." Assuming that MFA will work in high-risk focus countries under the new feminist foreign policy, well-resourced, flexible embedded safety strategies have the potential to prevent burnout and harm to local activists, and to protect programming investments.

Programming Recommendation 2: Establish mechanisms to support adaptability and sustain consortia

Where policy instruments or theories of change are based on an assumption that WROs working in consortium will add value to the impact of an initiative, establish funding, fund administration and partnership mechanisms that provide consortium members with the time and space to set up requisite systems, structures and strategies.

Programming Recommendation 3: Support synergies among strategic partners

MFA is strategically placed to act as a creditable convenor given its long history of supporting feminist movement building. To support localisation, develop programming that intentionally links global, regional and local feminist movements and Dutch civil society entities together to carry out joint actions.

4.2.2 Operations and Relationship Management

Relationship Management Recommendation 1: Engage strategic partners using a tailored, transparent strategy

Take a tailored approach to invitations for national-level activities. Hold events that allow MFA and consortium staff to deepen their mutual understanding of the opportunities and challenges that feminist and LBTQI+ movements face. Identify ways in which stakeholder consultations can be implemented using participatory, co-creation or learning approaches, and be transparent when there is no room to move beyond information extraction.

Relationship Management Recommendation 2: Support grassroots participation in safe, strategic engagement

Work with MFA safety and security, information technology and related teams to review safety and security protocols and situational analyses in preparation for working with marginalized groups, especially LBTQI+ people. Ensure that engagement activities are appropriately compensated and universally accessible.

Relationship Management Recommendation 3: Share information about policy and advocacy processes with grassroots and national WROs

Identify creative ways to share work plans, schedules of key dates and related information about lobbying and advocacy processes with feminist activists at grassroots and higher levels. Similar discussions could be expanded to include all SCS strategic partners and the Dutch NGO lobby if feasible.

4.2.3 Policy

Recommendation 1: Ground the development of the feminist foreign policy in the extensive, long-standing, global evidence of what works to promote womxn's, girls' and LBTQI+ people's rights, as reflected in this review

Integrate feminist principles and objectives into trade and diplomacy as well as development policy. A more integrated approach ensures that grand challenges related to climate change, information technology or security can also be addressed from a feminist perspective and in a holistic manner.

Centre feminist movements, WROs and LGBTQI+ organisations as legitimate, experienced and innovative change leaders across a broad range of sectors. This allows policy to remain anchored in the needs, rights and strategic interests of grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people. It also allows for greater local ownership of development agendas by the "majority world".

Feminist lobbying and advocacy work takes decades to shift laws, policies or attitudes, and includes a wide variety of actors and alliances at multiple levels. Make long-term investments in programming that promotes movement building across borders, and takes an intersectional approach. This includes continued flexible funding for organisational capacity building, sustainability, safety and well-being of womxn and LBTQI+ activists.

Include parameters that define how MFA development, diplomacy and trade staff will conduct relationships and business in a more feminist manner. In the development stream, this could include codifying a more relational or co-development approach to partnerships. It may also mean adopting accountability frameworks that centre downwards accountability.

Recommendation 2: Prepare for internal change in advance

Lay the groundwork for policy launch and implementation in advance by shifting internal systems, structures and capacities in advance, including building capacity to incorporate feminist MEL approaches into monitoring, evaluation and results measurement functions.

Recommendation 3: Confirming the SCS theory of change

The findings in this report support certain aspects of the Strengthening Civil Society policy framework, including a focus on informal spaces and social norms change, working through local actors, and aiming to preserve as well as improve or enlarge civil society. However, the framework supports womxn's and LBTQI+

people's rights without directly centring their leadership and significance in change making at the heart of the theory. It is recommended that future policy instruments retain a focus on gender equality and womxn's rights, and specifically highlight the roles that feminist movements play in change-making.

Recommendation 4: Base funding on an assessment of strategic impact

Base programme funding on a strategic assessment of where the strategy or programme approaches under consideration add most value, not on funding in a set group of countries. Limiting to a certain set of countries may also limit the policy objectives that can be obtained to the conditions present in those countries.

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Partnership and Description of the Programme

A strong civil society ensures vibrant and healthy civic space, strong democracy and rule of law. It is also key to attaining the sustainable development goals. Womxn and lesbian, bisexual, trans, queer, agender and intersex plus (LBTQI+) activists and feminist organisations play crucial roles in maintaining strong civil society.[2] They are key to womxn's, girls' and LBTQI+ people's empowerment. They have the potential to set structural change towards gender equality in motion, and ensure that civil society and civic space is diverse, representative and inclusive of feminist agendas and rights.

Despite their importance, feminist and LBTQI+ organisations are increasingly under pressure from decreased funding, a rise in authoritarianism or retreat of the state, restrictive legislation, increasingly rigid social norms, and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Economic upheaval, lagging recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, and environmental crises exacerbate the situation. The space for feminist and LBTQI+ organisations to play their crucial role continues to shrink, and their existence remains precarious.

Acknowledging this narrowing space, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) established a Strengthening Civil Society (SCS) policy framework to improve the social contract between government and citizens by building the capacity of civil society organisations to stand up for citizens' needs and rights. Within this framework, the Power of Women funding instrument aims to:

- prevent and eliminate sexual and gender-based violence against women and girls,
- strengthen women's leadership and participation in decision-making in public and private spheres, and
- strengthen women's economic empowerment and the related economic climate.
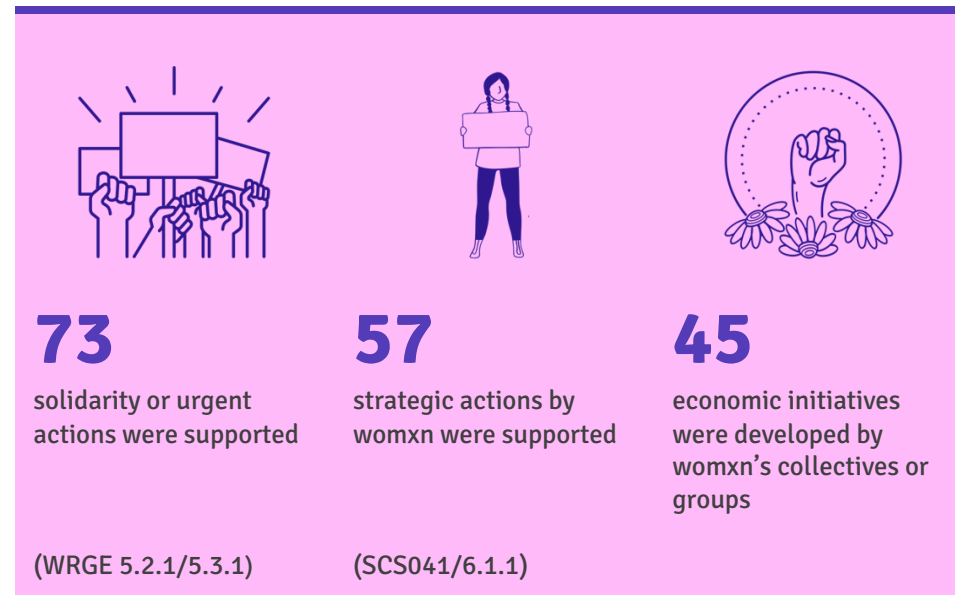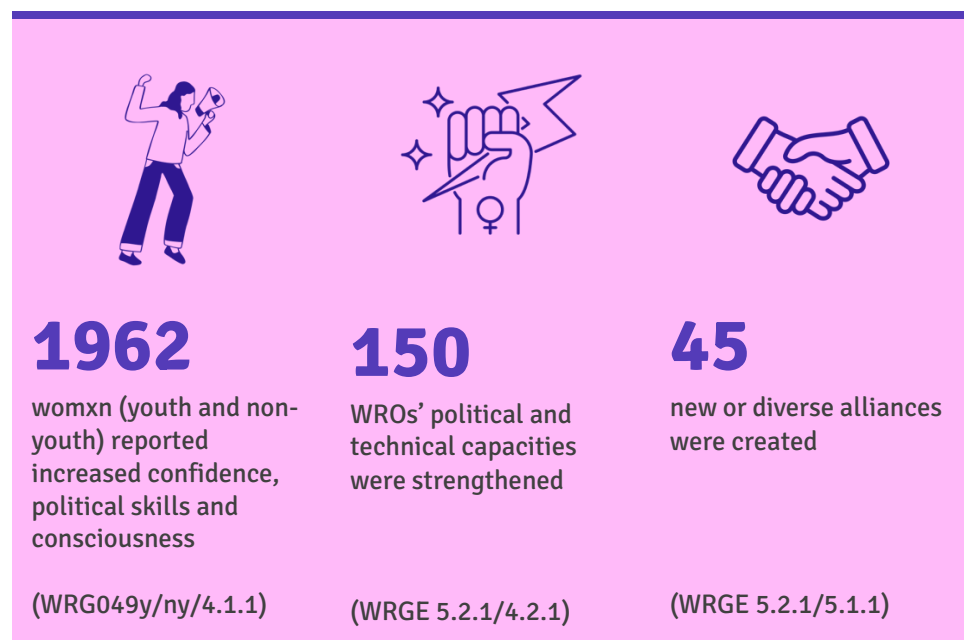
Under this funding instrument, Power Up!, a five-year, €11 million programme that began in 2021, responds to these policy objectives by working to increase the collective influence and impact that womxn and LBTQI+ people have on laws and policy, the public discourse and social attitudes, and to contribute to the full realization of womxn's rights and gender equality.

Power Up! is implemented by a consortium of three womxn's rights organisations (WROs): Just Associates (JASS, the consortium lead), an organisation that supports feminist movement building and that is rooted in the Global South; Yayasan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), a national womxn-headed family empowerment network in Indonesia; and Gender at Work (G@W), an international feminist network that builds transformative cultures of equality and inclusion. Until September 2022, a fourth partner, the Coalition of African Lesbians, a queer, pan-African feminist organisation, was also a member of the consortium.

Power Up! works in six regions and 17 countries (MFA priority countries in bold): East Africa (**Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda**); Southern Africa (**Malawi, Mozambique,** South Africa, **Zimbabwe**); West Africa (**Benin**); Middle East and North Africa (**Lebanon, Palestine, Tunisia**); Southeast and South Asia (Cambodia, India,

---

[2] In this report, the term LBTQI+ is used to emphasize the needs and rights of lesbian, trans, bisexual and queer womxn, and people whose gender expression is woman identified. Consistent with other PU! documentation, the term "womxn" is used to include young womxn, non-binary, intersex and trans people because they, like womxn, face gender-based discrimination and oppression by the patriarchal system.

Indonesia and Myanmar); and Mesoamerica (**Guatemala, Honduras**). East Africa, Southern Africa and Southeast and South Asia are focus regions, where the bulk of funds are spent and work takes place. West Africa and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) are emerging regions with a narrower funding envelope and scope of work, and Mesoamerica is a strategic region that provides opportunities for learning and exchange with other regions. The programme works with 50 primary partners representing rural womxn, HIV+ womxn, sex workers, womxn workers, Indigenous womxn, womxn protecting forests, women heads of households, and members of the LBTQI+ community. In addition, in 2022, at the output level,

73
solidarity or urgent actions were supported

(WRGE 5.2.1/5.3.1)

57
strategic actions by womxn were supported

(SCS041/6.1.1)

45
economic initiatives were developed by womxn's collectives or groups

1962
womxn (youth and non-youth) reported increased confidence, political skills and consciousness

(WRG049y/ny/4.1.1)

150
WROs' political and technical capacities were strengthened

(WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1)

45
new or diverse alliances were created
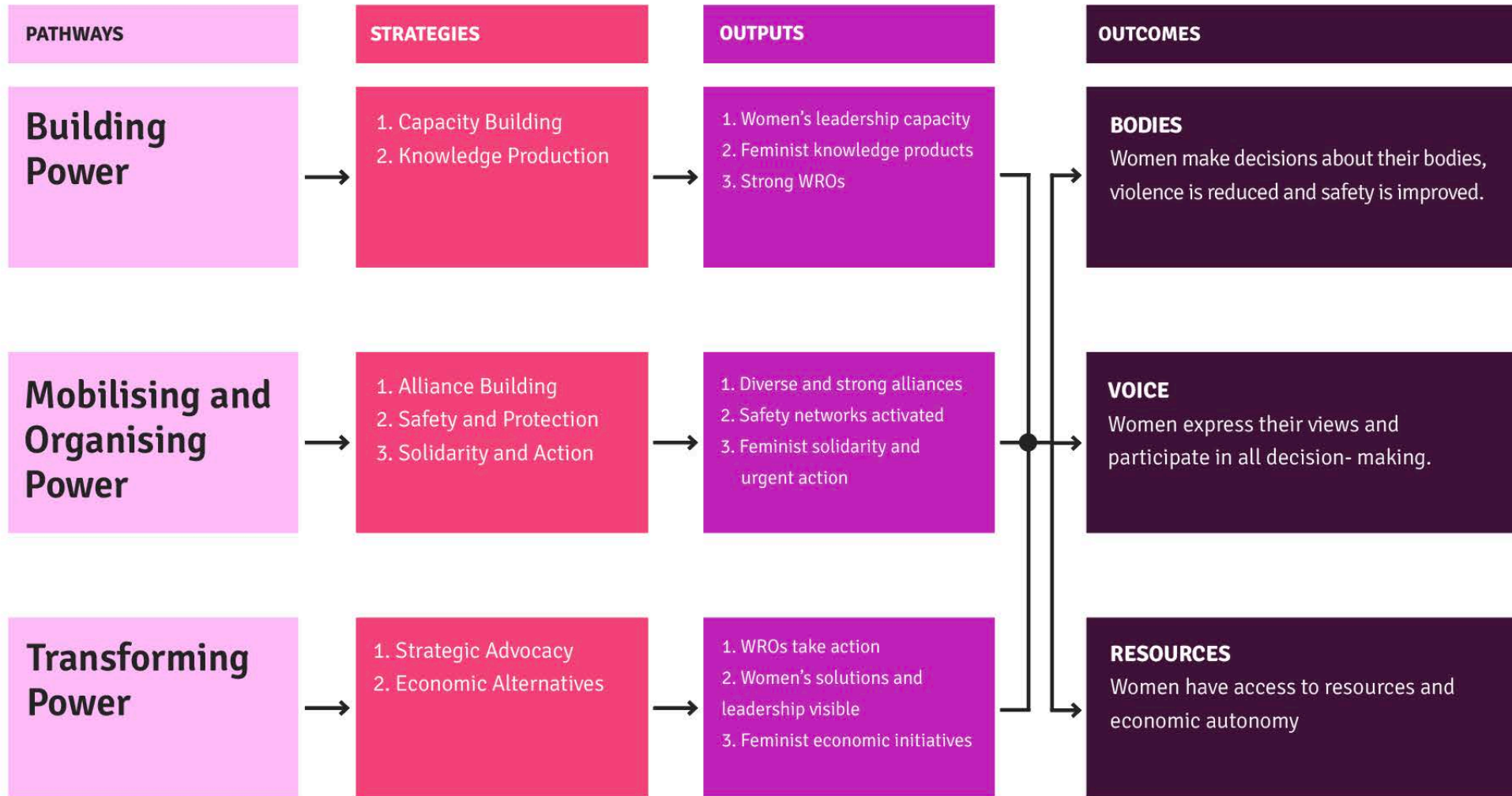
(WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1)

1.2 The Power Up! Theory of Change

Power Up!'s vision is a just, equitable and sustainable world in which all womxn are free to express themselves, are free from violence, have access to and control over economic resources, and have a voice and power in the decisions that affect them in all aspects of their lives. Its strategic objective is to increase collective influence and the impact womxn have on laws and policy, the public discourse and social attitudes and narratives that cause discrimination, violence and exclusion, contributing to the full realization of womxn's rights and gender equality.

Programme outcomes closely reflect the three aims of the Power of Women funding instrument. They focus on transformation in the three arenas of Bodies, Voices and Resources. The full TOC is pictured below.

Theory of Change

PATHWAYS	STRATEGIES	OUTPUTS	OUTCOMES
Building Power	1. Capacity Building 2. Knowledge Production	1. Women's leadership capacity 2. Feminist knowledge products 3. Strong WROs	**BODIES** Women make decisions about their bodies, violence is reduced and safety is improved.
Mobilising and Organising Power	1. Alliance Building 2. Safety and Protection 3. Solidarity and Action	1. Diverse and strong alliances 2. Safety networks activated 3. Feminist solidarity and urgent action	**VOICE** Women express their views and participate in all decision-making.
Transforming Power	1. Strategic Advocacy 2. Economic Alternatives	1. WROs take action 2. Women's solutions and leadership visible 3. Feminist economic initiatives	**RESOURCES** Women have access to resources and economic autonomy

The TOC is based on three interrelated pathways of change that define the programme's structure, strategies and outputs. Each pathway, described below, incorporates intentional strategies to address the cross-cutting themes of gender, youth and climate change. Power Up! is dedicated to meeting specific goals related to womxn's and LBTQI+ rights and gender equality. As such, the theme of gender equality is central to the programme. Young womxn's involvement in WROs and feminist movements is seen as key to ensuring that movements are diverse, representative and sustainable. The programme's Output 4.1.1, for example, specifically measures youth participation. Climate change is seen as a contextual factor that shapes the ability of WROs and movements to act.

In 2022, Power Up! drafted a feminist economic alternatives (FEA) strategy to serve as a framework for programme-level initiatives, as well as a platform for working with Power of Women and Strengthening Civil Society strategic partners who are also pursuing this kind of programming. Although not articulated as such, the strategy sets out a theory of change related to how FEAs operate and what change they potentially make to womxn's lives and broader market systems if implemented as outlined. For this reason, the discussion of Power Up! pathways below integrates key components from the FEA strategy.

Building Power

This pathway uses feminist popular education, action research and solidarity building to strengthen grassroots feminist leaders' organising capacity and collective power. Feminist movement-builder schools foster critical awareness and political analysis, advocacy skills and shared democratic leadership, and strengthen the capacity of WROs organisations to achieve their visions of change. As further work on FEAs developed over 2022, this pathway has also come to include strategies to support womxn to exercise the power and control necessary to shape the terms upon which they engage with social and economic

structures; and to create spaces for womxn to learn from each other about building collective leadership and broad FEA alliances.

Organising and Mobilising Power

Power Up! uses the same accompaniment techniques as under Building Power to generate new or support existing partnerships and alliances, and to design and implement safety and solidarity strategies in an effort to insert womxn and their agendas into key public and community spaces, thereby changing those spaces. This pathway is about systematically linking Power Up!'s capacity building processes to sustained movement strategies that bring diverse people together, forge broader alliances, and mobilise joint action. Relevant FEA strategies include building bridges across sectors and issues to bolster cross-movement alliances, and ensuring that womxn's leadership and perspectives are central and visible in broader economic agendas.

The SCS framework acknowledges that changes to social, community and online spaces are just as important as change in formal governance, legislative or policy spaces. Accordingly, Power Up! aims to transform social norms, communities, workplaces, online spaces, public opinion and womxn's experience of power relations in private lives, in addition to more formal advocacy and lobbying arenas. Change in this variety of spaces is necessary not only to fulfill womxn's human rights, but also to ensure vibrant, supported and sustainable feminist movements.

Transforming Power

In amplifying transformative demands and solutions led by grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people, Power Up! focuses on global solidarity, strategic communications and publications to impact policy, shift public debates, influence agenda setting, and challenge power holders for change. Beyond laws and policy, Power Up! promotes changes in the public discourse, social attitudes

and narratives that legitimise and reinforce discrimination, violence and exclusion, and behavioural change. Related FEA strategies intend to raise the voice, visibility and collective power of the womxn leading economic work, to reduce barriers, and to create the enabling conditions for FEAs to prosper.

The TOC includes 12 assumptions, updated as part of the validation of this mid-term review. They are as follows.

- Feminist popular education is a movement-oriented approach to catalysing change efforts that allows people most affected by a problem to define, shape and lead the solutions.
- Eradicating violence requires resource redistribution and strengthening democratic practices; this is possible through strengthening womxn's and LBTQI+ people's leadership and support in decision-making.
- Effective change requires strong and varied alliances and connections across borders and issues. *Updated*
- Creating safety and support networks sustains womxn's and LBTQI+ people's collective leadership and power.
- Womxn's and LBTQI+ people's grassroots organising strategies for transforming economic power better serve communities and care for natural resources.
- Informal cultural and social norms co-determine womxn's and LBTQI+ people's access to the opportunities, rights and entitlements provided through changes in the formal domains. So, change in the informal domain of culture or belief can trigger both positive and negative changes in behaviour of power holders and thus in formal policies.
- Multiple representations of diverse marginalised voices in advocacy are both possible and desirable. Feminist and LBTQI+ movements do not speak with a single voice, and no one institution, social movement or individual can appropriately represent by itself the interests of an entire group.

- There are many "false solutions" that are embedded in the existing norms of economic, social and political systems that need to be named and exposed. Feminist advocacy challenges these existing narratives by offering counter narratives that focus on what the transforming power looks like in practice.
- Change ultimately happens on the ground and in womxn's and LBTQI+ people's lives, and therefore, efforts must be locally rooted and driven. Many of the arenas where change matters most for womxn and LBTQI+ are local, and decision-making takes place in multiple arenas, not just the legislative. International advocacy can have a much greater impact if aligned with and complementary to the struggles anchored in specific communities. *Updated*
- The ability of womxn rights organisations and LBTQI+ collectives to work in consortium in order to drive forward their change agendas depends on their structures, financing and capacity. Not all consortium members will be ready to act with the same speed and some may require additional capacity building, organisational strengthening and other support before they are fully ready to implement. *Updated*
- Transformative advocacy efforts require an integrated approach that targets visible, hidden and invisible power. Many development efforts focus on visible power, but other hidden forces and social norms can prevent change from taking place even when there is success in the visible sphere. In addition, a context of authoritarianism, retreat of the state, and/or state co-option requires a change strategy that goes beyond the visible. *Updated*
- Feminist analysis and knowledge building is required to reveal and challenge informal and formal cultural and social norms, as well as "false solutions" that are embedded in the existing norms of economic, social and political systems. *New*

The Power Up! TOC differs from a traditional cause-and-effect, unidirectional hypothesis in that it has been specifically designed to track complex, non-linear and holistic change based on grassroots womxn's and LBTQI+ people's experiences. A strategy or activity implemented under one output may lead to change in multiple areas. A perceived gain towards outcome-level change may be followed by work to achieve an output under another strategy in order to meet a longer term aim. Acknowledging that structural change takes time, especially in areas such as changing social norms related to gender identity and sexual orientation, and that activism is risky, this TOC also allows for situations where women's human rights defenders (WHRD) or WROs may need to enact safety strategies or repeat similar types of activities to consolidate change. It also allows for situations in which activists may need to retreat or try a new tactic in the face of mounting pushback. Acknowledging this, the programme's three outcomes are not necessarily linked to any one change pathway, and change generated through one strategy may lead to results in any or all of Bodies, Voices and Resources. This has certain implications for results analysis and programme progress, as discussed starting in Section 2. Comments on the validity of the TOC can be found as part of the conclusions in Section 6.

1.3 Mid-term Review Objectives

Power Up! is currently midway through its implementation cycle. Accordingly, the consortium has undertaken a combined internal-external, mid-term review of the programme, the objective of which are to:

1. understand the extent to which programme outputs and outcomes have been achieved to date and are contributing towards SCS basket indicators;
2. validate the programme TOC, especially within the shifting context of womxn's rights organising;
3. interrogate the degree to which partnerships within the implementation consortium and between the consortium and the MFA are configured to

forward the feminist aims of the programme, and make related recommendations; and
4. identify lessons learned and make programme, operational and policy recommendations not only to strengthen impact and sustainability, but also to feed into potential new programming.

This review has multiple aligned uses. The MFA will use it to compare actual against expected results, understand how country context affects programming and operations, inform the development of a proposed feminist foreign policy, and feed into future policy frameworks. The Power Up! consortium will use the review to understand the degree to which project outcomes are being met, validate the TOC, refine implementation strategies, and understand the degree to which programming centres grassroots womxn's and LBTQI+ people's needs and rights.

1.3.1 Scope of the Review

The review covers the period from January 1, 2021 to June 30, 2023, in which just over one third of the total programme budget was spent. It focuses on program-wide results related to all three outcomes and considers all potential change pathways identified in the TOC. The review relies on qualitative and quantitative data from all 17 Power Up! countries, but it does not include an in-depth analysis of quantitative results against output- and outcome-level indicators for each country. Instead, it provides an overview of country-level changes in context and risk mitigation, and describes country-level results in the context of overall programme progress. Qualitative results have been identified in reference to outputs and outcomes from the Power Up! performance measurement framework and the corresponding SCS and Women's Rights and Gender Equality basket indicators.

While basic budget data was used as a reference for analysis, it is not within the scope of this review to calculate value-for-money or return on investment, or to review sub-granting mechanisms. Likewise, this review does not compare observed changes against control cases or against findings from independent systematic reviews. Finally, given the review's original inception (summarised in Annex 1), it is outside the scope of this review to repeat the WRO and feminist movement health and capacity building needs assessment conducted at baseline; to examine the maturity or sustainability of alliances supported through Power Up!; or to engage in business viability assessments as part of determining the sustainability of initiatives under the Resources outcome. It is outside the scope of this exercise to evaluate all aspects of programme financial, economic, social and environmental sustainability.

The review focuses on three Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development – Development Assistance Committee (OECD DAC) evaluation criteria — effectiveness, relevance and coherence, with some initial discussion of the potential for impact and sustainability. Definitions for each evaluation criterion combine select elements from traditional evaluation methods with those more common to feminist evaluation. This allows the review to provide insights that can be used to forward Power Up!'s overall learning agenda, which examines how the programme builds collective power across the three key outcomes, how economic models may be re-imagined, and how feminist approaches add value to working in consortia whose aim is to strengthen feminist movements. The methodology section below describes how each criteria is conceived of and applied to the review.

2 Methodology

2.1 Research Design

This mixed internal-external review employs a methodology based on the principles of <u>feminist evaluation</u> and a mixed methods research following data collection and analysis techniques widely accepted across social and other sciences. A mid-term[3] review reference group representing all consortium members fed into the review's inception report, set evaluation questions, identified key issues for analysis, and designed some of the research elements, as described below. It also supported the review process by providing critical reflection on key analysis and findings. An external evaluator designed key analytic frameworks (Annexes 4 and 5), undertook data analysis, designed and implemented key informant interviews, and drafted conclusions and recommendations. In line with feminist principles, the data was triangulated and validated with programme staff from all consortium members.

The evaluation questions are answered by analysing a mix of secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources include programme reports, correspondence, work plans, budgets and quantitative results data produced from the beginning of 2020 to March 2023. Primary sources include a mixed-methods partnership survey, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and creative submissions designed especially to answer the evaluation questions. Primary data collection took place in July and August 2023. No new quantitative data related to programme outcome and output indicators was taken for the period between January and June 2023, as partners will shortly be required to gather this data for Annual Report 2023.

An overview of this research design can be found in the review matrix below (Table 1). Subsequent sections introduce the review's evaluation questions, and provide further details related to data sources and data collection and analysis methods.

---

[3] Feminist evaluation centres the idea that gender, race, class and other inequalities are structural and systemic, and that one of evaluation's prime functions is to contribute to the removal of these structural barriers. As such, feminist evaluation is an inherently political activity. Feminist evaluation welcomes multiple ways of knowing and acknowledges that the evaluators' lived experience influences knowledge generation. In this type of evaluation, those intended to benefit from the development intervention set the evaluation questions and methods, collect data, and generate new knowledge for their own uses. Further details of feminist evaluation can be found in the following resources.

OECD-DAC. (2022). _Global Affairs Canada's Approach to Feminist Evaluation Practices_. Development Co-operation tips — Tools, insights, practices. OECD-DAC.

Podems, D., & Negroustoueva, S. (2021). _Feminist Evaluation_. Better Evaluation.

Podems, D. (2014). <u>Feminist Evaluation for Non-feminists</u>. In Brisolara, S., Seigart, D., Sengupta, S. (2014). _Feminist Evaluation and Research: Theory and practice_. The Guilford Press.

Podems, D. (2010). <u>Feminist Evaluation and Gender Approaches: There's a difference?</u> _Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation. 6_(14).

Table 1: Review Matrix

Evaluation Criteria	Review Question	Target Groups	Methods/Data Sources
Effectiveness, sustainability	RQ1. What progress has been made towards the expected outcomes and outputs so far?	Target group (unit of analysis) named in outcomes and outputs and related indicators (through the data collected through annual reporting and other data sources where they exist).	Review of existing data against all qualitative and quantitative indicators in the performance measurement framework carried out over the last 2 years of the programme. Text analysis. Sources: Baseline report, annual reports, IATI tracking sheets, deep dive conversations, regional dialogues
	RQ2. What power and agency shifts have womxn observed over the last two-and-a-half years?	Womxn engaged in project by consortium members and implementing partners	Review of existing data against all qualitative and quantitative indicators Sources: Deep dive conversations, regional dialogues, creative submissions
	RQ3. To what extent have the WROs supported by the programme succeeded in creating space for feminist demands and positions?	Implementing partners and WROs	Review of existing data against all qualitative and quantitative indicators Sources: Deep dive conversations, regional dialogues, creative submissions, annual monitoring data from annual reports
Coherence	RQ4. What were the challenges and lessons learned from the implementation of the projects? And how has the context influenced implementation?	Consortium members and implementing partners	Sources: Regional dialogues, partnership survey, key informant interviews
Relevance, sustainability	RQ5. Does the TOC remain relevant / valid to the diverse realities and priorities of the partners and womxn we work with? And what evidence is emerging on the sustainability of the programmatic work?	Consortium members	Sources: desk review, deep dives, regional dialogues, sense-making session
Effectiveness	RQ6. How have the Power Up! consortium members and partners been working together towards building collective power and movements? What lessons have been learnt about the challenges and opportunities of a consortium model?	Consortium members and implementing partners	Sources: Partnership survey, key informant interviews
Coherence	RQ7. What has and hasn't worked well in POWER UP!'s partnership with the MFA? And what is needed to improve it moving forward?	MFA staff and headquarters and at embassies, partners in the Power of Womxn funding envelope	Source: Key informant interviews, sense-making workshop, desk notes from correspondence, approval letters and agreement documents

2.2 OECD DAC Review Criteria

This review focuses on programme effectiveness, relevance and coherence. These criteria were chosen because they are the most aligned with the programme's overall learning agenda, and because they are most likely to provide robust information that can be used to strengthen implementation in the latter half of the programme. Each criterion has been modified to reflect the principles that underpin feminist monitoring, evaluation and learning. Impact and sustainability are addressed as secondary themes. Review questions were designed specifically for this mid-term review as part of reflection exercises conducted during an inception workshop held in Cape Town in 2023. Each question includes elements related to gender, youth and climate change as cross-cutting themes.

Effectiveness

This review examines the degree to which project activities are on track and achieving results as compared to the situation described in the baseline report (2021) and to commitments made in annual plans. For each of the four questions below, effectiveness is defined by the extent to which grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people indicate that changes are significant and meaningful according to their own definition of rights, needs and strategic interests. Based on context analysis, the review also considers instances where WROs or activists may need to retreat, shift tactics or consolidate positions over time as on track and achieving results. These are all strategies that potentially lead to building or maintaining power even though they are not reflective of unidirectional progress.

Review Question 1: What progress has been made towards the expected outcomes and outputs so far?

This question focuses on achievement against the program's outcome and output indicators. Progress is linked to basket indicators from the SCS policy framework and the Women's Rights and Gender Equality policy note. In this review, given time limitations and the programme-level focus, a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of outputs is out-of-scope; however outputs for each country were used to build change pathways, allowing for a qualitative analysis of change at that level.

Review Question 2: What power and agency shifts have womxn observed over the last two-and-a-half years?

According to the research questions designed at inception, Review Question 2 was meant to focus on the degree to which womxn's perceptions of power actors' narratives, attitudes and behaviours have changed over the last 2.5 years. This question has since shifted to more broadly consider changes to womxn's and LBTQI+ people's own power and agency in addition to shifts in interpersonal or systemic power. Given time constraints, this review focuses on the original question while providing qualitative data that illustrates changes to womxn's and LBTQI+ people's own lives. In this way, results discussed in relation to indicators 1.3, 2.3, 2.4, 3.3 and 3.4 are linked to these research questions.

Review Question 3: To what extent have the WROs supported by the programme succeeded in creating space for feminist demands and positions?

This question entertains results related to Women's Rights and Gender Equality International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI) indicators 1.2, 2.2 and 3.2, which measure space created for feminist demands and positions on violence against womxn, participation, and economic rights and justice.

Review Question 6: How have the Power Up! consortium members and partners been working together towards building collective power and movements?

Effectiveness is also determined by the degree to which the Power Up! consortium builds a cohesive programme that, in turn, supports or adds value to WROs and feminist movements. This question examines the degree to which programme-level strategies and joint learning has contributed to movement building.

Relevance

Relevance is determined by the degree to which the programme's TOC is valid, and the degree to which programme interventions respond to womxn's and LBTQI+ people's own stated needs and rights, as expressed in Review Question 5.

Review Question 5: Does the TOC remain relevant and valid to the diverse realities and priorities of the partners and womxn we work with? And what evidence is emerging on the sustainability of the programmatic work?

Coherence

The review examines the degree to which programme approaches and activities are aligned with the operating context, and the degree to which the programme has developed synergies and linkages to contribute to the overall SCS policy objective. The two related questions are as follows.

Review Question 4: What were the challenges and lessons learned from the implementation of the projects? And how has the context influenced implementation?

Review Question 7: What has and hasn't worked well in Power Up!'s partnership with the MFA? And what is needed to improve it moving forward?

Sustainability

This mid-term review looks at the potential that the programme has to support the sustainability of feminist movements in order to provide recommendations that can be used to consolidate activities over the next two-and-a-half years. Sustainability is defined as the degree to which individual and collective power, grounded in grassroots womxn's and LBTQI+ people's realities, has been built sufficiently to push back, hold the line, or make gains in civic space. At mid-term, it is not expected that the programme will see many deep or sustained changes to interpersonal dynamics and structure, but this review does consider the degree to which womxn and LBTQI+ people are able to repeatedly use or apply gains from one point in a change pathway to generate subsequent changes. Data related to review questions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7 inform an assessment of sustainability.

The cross-cutting themes of gender, youth and climate change are examined especially in discussions of effectiveness, relevance and impact. For example, WRO leadership building and alliance formation are analysed to determine the extent to which young womxn are engaged and seen as legitimate. The discussion on Resources outcomes looks at the degree to which feminist economic alternatives include climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies.

2.3 Data Sources and Data Collection

2.3.1 Secondary Sources

This review considers over 60 secondary sources, including external sources that describe the operating context, programme framework documents, workshop report-backs, correspondence, annual work plans, budgets and IATI spreadsheets. About half of all sources were subject to text analysis using the review's evaluation questions and various analytic rubrics, and have been used as evidence towards findings. The majority of these were produced between late 2021 and November 2022. Annex 2 lists these core documents and shows how they relate to the evaluation questions.

Secondary quantitative data used for this review was drawn from available IATI data for 2021 and 2022, and from the baseline and two annual reports. This includes performance measurement data in which the baseline was set to zero for all indicators in order to more readily identify Power Up!'s contribution to programme interventions. It includes one set of outcome-level IATI data from 2021 and two sets of output-level data from 2021 and 2022. The outcome and output reporting chart found in Annex 8 has been generated by aggregating this data.

It should be noted that, in accordance with MEL practice for annual reporting, when partners count the number of times space has been created for womxn and LBTQI+ people they are often counting a multiplicity of spaces including village development committees, meetings with governors or police, or workshops held by unions. This method of counting trends towards higher numbers of spaces. On the other hand, the numbers responding to indicators in Section 3.3 (on results) were generated by counting the number of times the change described in the indicator was seen in a country-level change pathway based on primarily qualitative information spanning the entire data set. This means that the number of times spaces were created is somewhat limited by the number of change pathways under consideration. This method of counting, which is also

used for outcome results reporting against indicators 1.2, 2.2 and 3.2, generates lower numbers. Further discussion on the effects of these two methods of counting may be found in the Sections 2.7 (data limitations) and the recommendations.

2.3.2 Primary Sources and Data Collection Methods

The mid-term review used four techniques to collect quantitative and qualitative data from a range of programme partners and stakeholders in 11 countries in July and August of 2023. These were focus group discussions with womxn's human rights defenders or WRO leaders (called deep dives), focus group discussions with implementing partner leaders (regional dialogues), a mixed-methods partnership survey with consortium managers and directors, and key informant interviews with staff from the MFA and Power of Voices strategic partners. A mix of internal and external feminist facilitators designed and administered all data collection except the key informant interviews, which were designed and administered by an external evaluator. These methods are consistent with the approach used to measure baseline.

Sampling for all data collection techniques was purposive in order to include a variety of perspectives while staying within review operational parameters. Countries were chosen to include those of focus to both the MFA and Power Up!. They were selected to represent the work of all consortium members and to include Power Up!'s focus and strategic regions. Table 2 below shows which type of data was collected from each country.

Table 2: Data Collection Technique by Country

- **Deep Dives** (teal)
- **Regional Dialogues** (pink)
- **Key Informant Interviews** (yellow)

Map labels: Netherlands, India, Lebanon, Myanmar, Tunisia, Palestine, Cambodia, Indonesia, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa

Data from the deep dives and regional dialogues was collected by a combination of feminist facilitators internal and external to Power Up! In all methods, questions were designed in such a way as to build up a story of change in respondents' own words.

2.3.2.1 Deep Dive Focus Group Discussions

Deep dives were meant to explore how womxn and LBTQI+ people have experienced changes in power and agency over the last two-and-a-half years, to observe whether these changes can be linked to work done through Power Up!, and to compare actual change to what was predicted in the TOC. Five deep dives were held with 40 womxn's rights activists, LBTQI+ activists and WRO leaders in Indonesia (13 womxn), Lebanon (5 womxn), Malawi (11 womxn), Myanmar (5 womxn) and South Africa (6 womxn). Respondents were chosen based on the degree to which they would be able to speak to changes that had occurred since the beginning of the programme. Data was collected by feminist facilitators who were both internal and external to the programme, and analysed by an external evaluator. The discussions allowed for observations around whether changes listed as important to meeting the programme's policy objective were the same as those considered important to womxn themselves.

Regional Dialogue Focus Group Discussions
The purpose of these dialogues was to interrogate the degree to which context has influenced programme implementation, to identify ways in which shifts in individual and collective power have created space for feminist demands, and to consider sustainability. The dialogues were attended by 20 leaders (19 womxn, one man) from partner research and sub-granting organisations. Again, countries and regions were chosen to include a balanced mix of priority and strategic regions, include programming led by all consortium partners and include a sample of the MFA countries of focus. Respondents were chosen in part on their ability to describe change since the inception of the programme. Data was collected and analysed by the same mix of people as for the deep dives.

Partnership Survey
The purpose of the survey was to assess the degree to which the consortium is implementing the programme using feminist principles, sharing power amongst its members, and generating value to feminist movement building. The survey

was also an opportunity for JASS, as consortium lead, to garner 360° feedback on its performance. The survey included quantitative and qualitative questions and was administered at the end of July 2023 to 26 managers, executives and technical specialists involved in consortium management and daily operations. About equal numbers of staff from G@W, JASS and PEKKA responded. JASS designed and administered the survey and an external evaluator analysed quantitative and qualitative data and drew conclusions for this review.

Key Informant Interviews
The objectives of the interviews were to identify the nature of partnership among donors and grantees in feminist advocacy programming, and to understand the degree to which the current partnership in Power Up! encourages increased public and political space for womxn in civil society. Interviews were conducted with five MFA staff and four leaders from Power of Women strategic partners between July 13 and August 9, 2023. The data collection instrument was designed and the interviews were administered by an external evaluator. MFA informants were chosen based on their position of influence on programme implementation and on the depth of their participation in Power Up! activities.

Creative Submissions
These submissions offer womxn and LBTQI+ activists with an opportunity to express changes in their lives in their own words or by using media of expression that are most comfortable for them. Other data sources are cross-referenced against creative submissions to ensure that the results of greatest import to womxn and LBTQI+ people are emphasised as priority in the analysis of review questions 1, 2, and 3, and to compare and contrast responses to deep dives and regional dialogues. Submission questions were purposefully left very broad and open so as to not lead respondents. Invitations to participate were cast broadly in areas where JASS and G@W operate with an aim of receiving two submissions per country, and a sample size of not more than 20 was set for Indonesia given the size of the programme. Power Up! staff explained the exercise to respondents and collected demographic data, but did not take part in the creative process itself. Submissions were then transcribed and translated as necessary by a mix of people belonging and external to the programme.

2.4 Data Analysis using a Modified Feminist Approach

Qualitative data was analysed by tagging, sorting and grouping narrative statements according to recurring themes using three frameworks: an analytic rubric that centres feminist concepts related to power, lived experience and systemic inequality (see Annex 4); the performance measurement framework; and the evaluation questions.

Rigour was established through group sense-making and validation exercises that involved stakeholders who play different roles in the programme. During sense-making, over fifteen people used the same tags to construct and analyse a selection of change pathways and possible contributions. Given the complexity and non-linear nature of the TOC, and given the degree to which observed changes are simultaneously relevant to multiple outputs or outcomes, this exercise did not apply a binary if-then logic to construct change pathways. Instead, participants mapped the ways in which different combinations of actions led to multiple types of change. Stakeholders who were not familiar with work in a specific country used the same tagging process as those who were very familiar with the work to ensure that claims of results were validated beyond a small group of internal actors. The external evaluator then repeated this analytic method for multiple change pathways across all 17 Power Up! countries as a means of testing for replicability.

Regional dialogues and deep dives were analysed by separating and sorting statements based on the degree to which they responded to outcome indicators. The frequency with which sentiments linked to the indicators was then tallied

and marked against the total number of participants. Quotes in the report have been edited for clarity. Creative submissions were analysed using the same narrative analysis process as for deep dives.

To analyse data from the partnership survey, the external consultant pre-prepared an analytic rubric, found in Annex 5, that sorted quantitative and qualitative survey questions into key thematic areas or sub-questions under RQ6. Quantitative data was processed into percentage response rates for each response option in each question. Somewhat agree and wholeheartedly agree responses are aggregated in the analysis in Section 4 because, for all questions except one, both of these options were chosen more frequently than either of the disagree options. For qualitative data, unique narrative statements were sorted according to key themes, and the number of statements counted. Responses draw their significance from the frequency with which certain ideas occurred, not the number of people who expressed those ideas.

Findings were compared against statements of intent from the original programme proposal as well as findings from the baseline and quantitative target tracking sheets in order to determine programme progress.

2.5 A Discussion on Bias

This review is rooted in the principles of feminist evaluation, which gives primacy to womxn's and LBTQI+ people's lived experience and celebrates multiple ways of knowing. The aim is to highlight results that are important to those who are meant to benefit from programme activities based on their definition of 'result'. This shifts the benchmark for what is considered bias away from standard definitions. Instead, bias is considered to be generated when ways of knowing are not rooted in the lived experience of grassroots activists. With this in mind, selection bias, respondent bias and evaluator bias are discussed below.

Selection Bias

Countries involved in primary data collection were chosen to allow for a variety of womxn's and LBTQI+ people's experiences from different social, economic and political contexts to be represented in the analysis of programme results — where datasets were large or rich enough to respond to the evaluation questions. Countries were also selected based on the degree to which respondents had the time and partners the capacity to participate, and with the safety and security of activists in mind. This is potentially biased against countries where less programming is ongoing or where fewer results are in evidence. This was mitigated by gathering data from womxn and LBTQI+ people involved in a broad range of programme activities. Secondary sources were used to construct and examine all change pathways in all countries in order to identify areas where progress may be slower.

Respondent Bias

Respondents were invited to participate in deep dives and regional dialogues based on whether they have participated in programme activities since inception. This potentially introduced positive bias towards the programme. This bias was mitigated in three ways. First, interview questions were structured in such a way as to allow respondents to tell their own story. Respondents were asked to describe change over time without initially linking it to a specific cause. Second, creative submissions allowed womxn to provide data in their preferred manner and to address change without prompting. Third, during data analysis, statements that read as general or scripted praise for the programme were discounted. To be included in the dataset, statements needed to answer basic questions around what happened, how it happened, and why it happened, and to show a sequenced process of change. This ensured that statements are detailed enough to be part of a tagging exercise where they can be compared and contrasted against other statements in order to identify any bias they may hold.

Evaluator Bias

The external evaluator may hold bias related to their personal interests in womxn's rights programming or related to conclusions they have drawn about what is good or effective international development programming. The evaluator is cisgender, white and located in the Global North. To mitigate these biases, the evaluator continually referred to the IOB Evaluation Quality Criteria, the MFA SCS policy documents, and consortium member feminist analytic frameworks as a method of cross-checking the degree to which findings were informed by criteria related to the original conception of the programme. The review process included key moments for sense-making and validation with the Power Up! mid-term reference group and partners to ensure that findings flowed out of data and analysis. The evaluator is a subject matter expert in research bias, and used evidence-based methods to reflect on their own positionality such as designating sufficient time for writing, analysis and reflection; viewing all the data as an entire package and viewing single sources of data in the context of the whole package; and reflecting on their own positionality within the analysis and writing process.

2.6 Data Limitations

This review is subject to limitations, primarily related to data quality and review scope, that have conditioned how feminist analysis has been used to determine results. Limitations related to assessing contribution, sorting results against output and outcome indicators, using available quantitative data, assessing breadth and depth of change, and assessing sustainability of feminist movements are discussed below.

Contribution

WROs have a long history of effectively organising and achieving results independent of the advent of a specific bilateral programme or funded initiative. Womxn's and LBTQI+ people's lobby and advocacy work is necessarily long term, and involves multiple shifting alliances and actors. Some data clearly indicated where programme interventions began within a context of ongoing activities, and the specific role that Power Up! played was explicitly described. Other data was less specific, and listed grassroots womxn or LBTQI+ people, a partner WRO or community leaders as the main agent. This created challenges when attempting to determine whether a change in question was related to Power Up!'s intervention or to another cause. This has been mitigated by cross-referencing data and verifying with programme staff to more fully understand where interventions were new or ongoing. During sense-making, participants discussed the variety of factors that went into making a change and emphasised the influence of context to mitigate potential false associations.

Results Tagging

Power Up! uses a complex TOC in which one change may be considered a result related to multiple strategies and outcomes. There were some inconsistencies in how results were tagged especially to outputs between two key data sources, the 2021 and 2022 annual reports. From the point of view of seeking holistic change in womxn's and LBTQI+ people's lives, these inconsistencies potentially demonstrate the degree to which change affects multiple aspects of people's experience. Nevertheless, it presents a challenge when comparing and contrasting change over time because it is difficult to construct comparable change pathways and, therefore, to measure depth and breadth of change. It also presents a possibility that either quantitative results will be double counted or that a target may not be reached simply because a change originally associated with a certain indicator was later counted under another. In the case of this review, and specifically for qualitative data, some changes may have been missed, dropped or mislabelled due to these inconsistencies, such that the

volume and depth of change discussed in this report may be different to what has occurred in actual fact. To rectify any inconsistencies, the sense-making exercise and a subsequent verification exercise were specifically designed to confirm which types of change were meant to be tagged to each outcome.

Quantitative Data

This report relies on quantitative data, mostly at the output level, collected for the baseline and the 2021 and 2022 annual reports. There is a full set of output data (baseline, 2021, 2022), but outcome results data was only collected for 2021. To mitigate this and to generate quantitative outcome data for this report, a full list of all potential outcome-level changes across all countries and cumulative for the reporting period was compiled, cross-referenced against other secondary data sources, and verified with Power Up! members. This has potentially created two different outcome datasets that tell a different story related to outcome results, especially for indicators 1.2, 2.2 and 3.2. To reconcile these differences, qualitative data is used to describe the span and depth of change, with almost all relevant examples from change pathways included in the sections on spaces.

Change Pathways and the Depth and Breadth of Change

Using feminist approaches, it is possible to collect and analyse detailed quantitative and qualitative data to understand not only what change occurred, how it occurred, and who influenced it, but also its breadth and scope. This takes time and resources that were well beyond the scope of this review. In Power Up! relevant information is taken by country at the output level, but not for the programme overall at the output level. This means that there is enough data to discuss what change happened and how it happened, but not to fully judge its breadth and depth across multiple countries. This limitation has been mitigated, first, by a thorough examination of change as described in all available data sources for all countries; and second, by choosing report content that represents

the variety, scale and scope of programming as uncovered in that examination in order to build a picture of breadth and depth for the programme as a whole.

As noted in Section 1.3.1 (scope), a survey of WRO and feminist movement health, similar to the one conducted at baseline, was not included in the review methodology at inception. Some data explicitly described WRO strengthening activities and linked these to further change, but other discussions focused on womxn or LBTQI+ people as individuals as key actors. This poses some limits to how the review addresses questions 3 and 6. Data analysis does allow for an assessment of the movement-building process and for the identification of where some WROs have created space, but it is not possible to determine, for the programme overall, whether increasing WRO maturity has contributed to change.

Limitations Related to a Sustainability Assessment

Limitations to the scope of the review have implications for assessing the potential for programme sustainability, including the sustainability of feminist movements, alliances and womxn's and LBTQI+ people's individual and collective power. As noted, it was out of scope to conduct a health or organisational maturity review of WROs, alliances or movements as conducted at baseline. This limits the degree to which it is possible to comment on the sustainability of some of the collectives that Power Up! supports. Second, it was out of scope to assess the health of the cooperatives, enterprises, income generation groups, waste banks and other resource generation activities that partners support. This presents a challenge to understanding the degree of risk that womxn and collectives are taking on in order to subsequently judge whether the individual and collective power that they have built is sufficient to overcoming that risk. As an alternative to these types of analyses, this review assesses prospective sustainability based on the degree to which womxn, collectively or individually, have been able to routinely and repeatedly harness or apply power to fulfill their stated strategic ends.

3 Programmatic Focus of the Partnership Programme

3.1 Relevant Changes in Context

The past two-and-a-half years have seen significant shifts to the Power Up! operating context, the greatest of these being an official end to pandemic status of the COVID-19 virus. At the same time, grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people report continued and increased harassment and violence, loss of income, food insecurity, pressure to conform to rigid ideals, and narrowing civic space. The same conditions of precariousness as described at programme baseline and in annual reports pertain at mid-term and affect how feminist movements are able to operate.

The World Health Organization declared an end to COVID-19 as a public health emergency in May 2023. While this signals an end to many of the public health measures, family care obligations and other restrictions present at programme inception, regional dialogues with womxn's and LBTQI+ rights activists indicate that loss of income, repression, and private and public violence continues. **Malawi** and **South Africa** have seen worsening food insecurity and large-scale unemployment. Partners and union activists in **Cambodia** and **Myanmar** are still struggling to reclaim decent work conditions in the wake of layoffs caused by the pandemic. In an effort to find work, some seasoned union activists have relocated to places where there is employment or where they can be safe. This can leave WROs without key knowledge and skills related to the tactics or strategies necessary to take on complex campaigns in high-risk contexts. Annex 6 provides a country-specific assessment of context using sources and a method similar to that which was used to design the Power Up! proposal. Compared to trends observed at the time the proposal was written, ratings in Benin, Mozambique, Myanmar and Tunisia have all gone down (from green to yellow or yellow to red), while all other country trend ratings have remained the same.

The next three sections provide an update of context as relevant to each of the programme's outcomes. They will show that while the pandemic has officially ended, its ripple effects continue to directly affect what womxn's rights activists and organisations are able to achieve.

3.1.1 Bodies

In deep dive interviews and regional dialogues, activists indicated that violence against womxn and girls is on the rise, even considering pandemic levels. Economic and political uncertainty, state messaging about what constitutes an "ideal woman," and social media reinforces fear and power abuse that stands at the heart of SGBV. In **Malawi**, womxn who live in camps for people displaced by recent cyclones have been sexually harassed and forced to sleep with men to receive food. In **Tunisia**, the Ministry of Women's Affairs has responded to increased violence against womxn by opening more shelters, but they have also increased surveillance over how community service organisations run those shelters.

Backlash, violence and hate speech against LBTQI+ people is on the rise in political and social discourse, and on social media. Backlash has become more frequent, more organised, and more likely to be backed by the state. LBTQI+ people in Kenya, Lebanon, Myanmar, Uganda, Tunisia and Zimbabwe have either seen regressive change to laws or policies, or have been forced to rapidly organise to protect their rights. In Kenya, the murder of Sheila Lumumba — a 25-year-old non-binary lesbian — following the murder of other two queer activists in 2021, surfaced the violence that the LBTQI+ community faces. Uganda now allows the death penalty for acts of what is described as "aggravated homosexuality."

Religious fundamentalists, well-resourced by a global network of corporate actors, continue to push a right-wing architecture that restructures policy and seeks to reshape how gender is understood through the promotion of a carefully laid out anti-gender ideology.

In South and Southeast Asia, Hindu and Muslim womxn's bodies are used as a way to exert religious and faith-based identities and reproductive control. States are increasingly using messaging around the "ideal" or "good" woman to control populations and remove womxn from public space in Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Myanmar and Tunisia, among other countries. In Myanmar, womxn are increasingly silenced back into traditional womxn's roles despite campaigns to stop government-sponsored doxing of women's human rights defenders (WHRDs). State and society increasingly frames feminist groups as co-opted to follow a Western agenda in exchange for funds.

This context not only challenges the safety and security of Power Up! partners, but also adds to the complexity of programming that is designed to shift social norms, values or stereotypes. Country programmes are increasingly forced to stop and consolidate messaging or gains at a certain stage in order to ensure that changes in attitude or social norms will hold sufficiently to allow for onward action.

3.1.2 Voices

There is a clear rise of authoritarianism and militarization in countries such as Cambodia, Guatemala, Myanmar, Tunisia and Zimbabwe, all of which have received downgrades by Civicus since the baseline was conducted.

Regional dialogue participants noted that womxn's rights and LBTQI+ activists

in some countries are beginning to automatically restrain or tone down their actions or edit key messages in order to seem less threatening to those in power. In certain situations, participants worry that this type of vigilance is becoming normalized. In addition, the process of always having to watch what one says takes a toll on activists' mental health. As a result, Power Up! has increased the degree to which it provides emotional support as part of its programming.

State legislation is increasingly used to limit or break civil society. In India, a 2022 judgement by the supreme court aimed at stricter control of inflow of foreign funds to civil society. In the same year, the government of Mozambique drafted a law on the creation, organisation and operation of non-profit organisations that undermines the right to freedom of association and the work of civil society groups.[4] This has strained both the funding and viability of many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) working at the grassroots level. Palestinian womxn's rights activists continue to be hampered by donor country anti-terrorist laws.

Political uncertainty or tense political activity continues to disrupt long-term or steady programming. For example, as of the time of writing, there was no fixed date for municipal elections in Tunisia, putting related training activities for prospective womxn leaders on hold.

3.1.3 Resources

Economic gender inequalities exacerbated during the pandemic have not closed. Workforce participation gaps in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East are wider than before the pandemic. Womxn are more likely to be unemployed or looking for work, and are still overrepresented in the informal and care economies. Many countries in which Power Up! operates have seen economic

---

[4] This draft law is supposedly part of a series of counterterrorism financing measures. See the following resources for more details. Human Rights Watch (2023, February). *Mozambique: Draft law threatens civil society groups.*; Tsandzana, D. (2023, March). *Civil Society Organizations Fight for the Right of Association in Mozambique.* Global Voices; Civicus (2023, February). *Mozambique: 'The new NGO law will be the death of the civic movement.'* Interview with Paula Monjane, Executive Director of the Civil Society Learning and Capacity Building Center (CESC).

downturn, often coupled with high inflation. In Mozambique, GDP continues to fall as the country faces a deepened economic crisis, aggravated by conflict in resource-rich Cabo Delgado province. The war in Ukraine is having an effect on countries like Tunisia, which relies on Ukrainian wheat imports for its staple foods. Grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people are not the only ones affected. In South Africa, ongoing water and power supply issues are beginning to affect civil society operations, as womxn are unable to convene without power. Income losses as a result of the pandemic have put womxn and their families at greater risk of extreme poverty, hunger and food insecurity.

Environmental degradation is becoming a reality in many countries. In India, the availability of forest resources is declining rapidly, due both to degradation and to shifts in property rights away from community control towards state and individual control, further marginalising womxn. In Indonesia, climate change-induced disasters make womxn extremely vulnerable. Cyclones have impacted Power Up! local partners in Malawi, shifting donor and government funds and focus away from long-term advocacy programmes to fund relief work.

This analysis shows that although the height of the COVID-19 pandemic has passed, Power Up! continues to operate in complex, fluid contexts where key factors affecting programme capacity to produce results remain outside of the control of WROs and feminist movements. This requires strategies for change and activism that have in-built safety mechanisms and that allow activists to continually adjust to slower moving trends as well as unexpected crises.

3.2 Changes in Risks and Mitigation Measures

In addition to contextual risks described above, Power Up! closely monitors programmatic, reputational, organisational and data risks, and has designed related mitigation measures. Many of the risks that existed at the beginning of the programme remain, and Power Up! continues to implement related risk mitigation strategies. Over the course of the past two-and-a-half years, Power

Up! has identified a few new risks or modified some of its mitigation strategies. For example, to mitigate risks related to LBTQI+ partners' readiness to engage, JASS and G@W have carried out due diligence processes for new partners and, will use an accompaniment model to support groups as they begin to engage in programme activities. Risks related to WROs being perceived as under foreign influence have been listed as reputational rather than contextual to allow for more intentional and regular engagement with key allies. Organisational risks and mitigations, including those related to corruption, fraud, misconduct and sexual exploitation and abuse, still pertain. To mitigate potential risks related to sub-grant management, JASS and G@W are using competency-based coaching approaches to build capacity based on new partners' current systems and skills. PEKKA runs regular training sessions with staff to socialise the code of conduct, and recently ran a series of workshops on feminist values and ethics in organisational management. More information can be found in the programme's updated risk register, Annex 7.

3.3 Results at the Outcome Level

The section responds in detail to key effectiveness evaluation questions. Changes as observed in qualitative and quantitative data have been compared against the Power Up! and SCS theories of change to determine outcome-level results. The section describes the degree to which programme methods of change, such as feminist action research, power analysis, feminist alliance building or developing economic alternatives, have influenced the changes womxn and LBTQI+ people describe as occurring in their lives. Finally, the section aims to describe the variety of strategies that Power Up! partners and activists are using to preserve, improve or enlarge civic space, be this defined as making change to social norms in communities or to laws in international legal arenas.

Based on a comparison of actual change pathways against the TOC, a core group of Power Up! country programmes — including Cambodia, Guatemala, India,

Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, Mozambique, Myanmar, Palestine and South Africa — are on track and achieving outcome-level results. They are seeing complex change in how womxn and LBTQI+ people analyse and use power and knowledge, ally with others, and act strategically to change social norms, policy implementation or laws informally and formally. While activities are ongoing in Honduras, Kenya, Tunisia and Zimbabwe, complex change across multiple pathways is less in evidence. There is little qualitative or quantitative evidence of change in Benin, Rwanda and Uganda.

Change towards womxn's and LBTQI+ rights is a long-term and complex process conditioned by shifting contexts. To control for changes that could be associated with activities that occurred before 2021, this analysis uses the programming context described in the Power Up! proposal and baseline as its starting point when constructing change pathways and considering rate of change. The analysis evaluates whether change is realistic at the midway point against intentions stated in the programme proposal, the 2021 and 2022 annual work plans, and related strategic planning documents. The sections below provide examples to demonstrate the breadth and depth of change, but do not provide an exhaustive description of all change pathways mapped during data analysis. The changes described in this section relate to the full range of programme output and outcome indicators. Narrative in this section is supported by the quantitative data chart found in Annex 8.

Outcome 1: BODIES
Womxn make decisions about their bodies, violence is reduced and safety is improved

An analysis of change pathways shows that prior knowledge and solidarity building (and organising for this) provided a basis of self-confidence and knowledge that allowed womxn and LBTQI+ people to react and mobilise quickly against harmful proposed laws or policies. Qualitative data from deep dives, regional dialogues and annual reports provides multiple examples of ways in which Power Up! partners and WROs created space for feminist demands related to SGBV, bodily autonomy and sexual and gender diversity by building skills and technical knowledge; conducting power analysis that questions prevailing norms; and engaging with allies or influencers. While womxn are inserting themselves into spaces and influencing agendas related to bodies in a variety of countries, evidence that the spaces themselves are changing is more pronounced in countries where activities began before Power Up! commenced.

Womxn are reporting some changes to power holders' attitudes or behaviours related to Bodies but main data sources characterise this as a slow process. While safe spaces are being formed and knowledge generation is occurring in ways that lead to greater personal and collective power for LBTQI+ people, change in this arena remains at output level. This is to be expected given the context and the state of related initiatives at baseline. The analysis of change pathways indicated that in Cambodia, Lebanon, Malawi, Myanmar, Palestine, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe output-level change in the area of Bodies —specifically changes in womxn's and LBTQI+ people's own conceptions of themselves and their worth — form an important precursor to outcomes seen in all three levels of Bodies, Voices and Resources.

Indicator 1.1
WRGE1.1/WRG002

# of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to eradicate all forms of violence against womxn in public and private life

Qualitative data from annual reports indicates that at least one law was adopted and one was blocked, and one harmful strategy has been blocked since the beginning of 2021.

The [Sexual Violence Crimes](#) bill passed into a law in Indonesia in 2022. This law significantly recognises marital rape, lists men and boys as potentially vulnerable to sexual violence, and sets up stronger supports for survivors. JASS and PEKKA have been working with allies to advocate for the passing of this bill for about a decade. In 2022, Power Up! accompanied members of the Womxn Ulema Congress to organise a mass prayer event to support the enactment of the bill. It was attended virtually by more than 3,000 participants from 50 different cities across Indonesia and supported by 331 institutions (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1). It also accompanied a new ally, Rumah KitaB, to organise the Alliance of Center for Gender and Child Studies in Islamic Universities, a group that demands the enactment of the elimination of sexual violence from academia.

Rapidly changing contexts in Myanmar, Lebanon and Tunisia forced womxn's rights activists to organise quickly as new laws or state actions jeopardised LBTQI+ peoples' rights. In Lebanon, programme partner Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action (CRTDA) joined with allies, who it gained in part by signing the Feminist Charter, to block legislation that would limit the constitutional rights of members of the LGBTQI+ community (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1). As a signatory to the Charter, CTDRA supported a statement that

condemned these human rights violations(SCS041/6.1.1). In 2022, the State Council, Lebanon's highest administrative court, turned down the legislation.

Deep dives and regional dialogues indicate that the prior existence of micro projects to raise awareness across generations around sexuality, romantic attraction, gender identity and LBTQI+ people were a key factor in activists being able to mobilise quickly against this law. Discussions on LBTQI+ issues had already taken place and, because womxn framed activities within the Lebanese context, were well received.

> " I was surprised by the reaction and acceptance that was huge from almost everyone from different sectors. We thought that, since we will be talking about an issue for the first time, it would be risky.

This output-level change paved the way for greater support when the same WRO leaders needed to engage in collective action.

In **Myanmar**, according to the 2022 annual report, Power Up! supported WROs to exert pressure on technology companies such as Telegram, which were being used by the Junta to spread propaganda through open group chats. After just two days of a campaign, state-backed Telegram group chats were closed (SCS041/6.1.1). Again, groups both inside and outside of Myanmar were able to mobilise rapidly and use social media effectively because of prior training and because Power Up! was already supporting activists to continue to communicate with one another even as the coup forced the womxn's movement to spread across borders.

Indicator 1.2
WRGE 1.2/WRG06

# of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on violence against womxn, collective safety and protection and bodily autonomy through agenda setting, influencing the debate or movement building

According to an analysis of change pathways, WROs succeeded in creating space for feminist demands on violence against women and bodily autonomy seven times over the first half of Power Up! Work in Cambodia, India, Indonesia and South Africa provides examples of civic spaces created to allow womxn to take on leadership in safety, or to address SGBV.

In **Cambodia**, according to the second annual report, Power Up! worked with diverse womxn, holding feminist awareness raising sessions to strengthen their ability to analyse power and negotiate rights. Power Up! held dialogue sessions and working groups with male leaders of the Cambodia Alliance of Trade Unions (CATU) to discuss International Labour Organization c190 — the convention concerning the elimination of violence and harassment in the world of work. It created a safe space in which young womxn union leaders could ask critical questions to the (male) leadership (WRG049ny/4.1.1). Finally, Power Up! supported CATU to strengthen its safety and security strategy (WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1). This has resulted in a union that is more likely to prioritise womxn's agendas and needs, and where womxn are more equally active. These actions have informed a core area of work in the Power Up!'s FEA strategy.

In **India**, womxn forest dwellers, including those trained by Power Up!'s partner Ahmi Amchya Arogya Sathi (AAAS) on laws and policies relevant to individual and collective forest rights, are routinely subject to a range of violations and attacks. As womxn's awareness of the Forestry Rights Act increases, womxn are mobilising against SGBV across communities, especially where violence is perpetrated or condoned by State governments (WRGE 5.2.1/5.3.1). In 2022, two incidents of violence against womxn spurred acts of solidarity protests among womxn community leaders and local womxn's rights groups. AAAS and forest dwelling womxn used this as an influencing opportunity in which they informed the State government on the provisions of the Forest Rights Act and advocated for its proper implementation.

According to deep dives, training and organising in the Paradigta Academy, run by PEKKA in **Indonesia**, provided womxn from Lembata district with voice, leadership capacity and technical skills to become members of the local secretariat on disaster management (WRG049ny/4.1.1). SGBV was occurring in shelters set up for villagers after a volcano and flooding, but disaster management committee members did not have the knowledge or skills to address it. Paradigta Academy graduates trained other disaster management committee members about SGBV in emergencies and post-disaster situations in order to see these issues addressed in disaster response (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1).

Power Up! worked with LBTQI+ organisations in **South Africa** to engage in community awareness raising for the first time, and to strengthen relations with justice power holders in order to strengthen safety measures for LBTQI+ people

in Vaal hotspot areas (WRGE 5.2.1/5.2.1). As part of the Soweto Pride March in 2022, activists supported by Power Up! convinced the Deputy Minister of Justice to attend the march and present a memorandum of LBTQI+ peoples' demands for justice to the Dobsonville police station.

Indicator 1.3
qualitative

#Womxn's perception that power actors' narratives, attitudes and behaviours have shifted or improved in relation to bodies

---

There is some evidence from deep dives, regional dialogues and annual reports that womxn perceive slightly greater openness in power actors' narratives, attitudes and behaviours in relation to bodies. Through FPE processes, womxn garment workers and union members were able to start voicing their issues about their bodies to the unions. Historically, the union leaders have decided the agenda for their many garment workers without consulting with local union leaders. Through the FPE process, local union leaders were able to build skills and knowledge on how to bring their issues to the national union leaders, thus challenging the current power structure, ensuring their voices are heard and shifting their own and power holders' perception of power. In **Lebanon,** CRTDA tracked social media chatter after its 2021 and 2022 advocacy campaigns on economic gender-based violence (SCS041/6.1.1). Comments and reactions from the second campaign were slightly more receptive or positive towards gender issues and womxn's rights.

In **South Africa**, voluntary food handlers indicate that community influencers are recognising their worth, and the South Africa Democratic Teacher's Union is rethinking the idea of including voluntary food handlers' issues in collective bargaining. The following narrative illustrates the way that influential community womxn are willing to advocate for voluntary food handlers.
Data related to support to LBTQI+ groups on Bodies indicates that work is still at the stage of generating safe spaces and engaging in preparatory work necessary to engage with power holders. For example, according to the 2021 annual report, CAL and a partner in **Uganda** created safe spaces for LBTQI+ people to problem solve around issues related to SGBV and bodily autonomy. In these spaces, activists shaped messages for advocacy with police, lawyers, doctors and other community leaders to advocate for LBTQI+ rights (WRG045/5.2.1). These sessions not only created awareness on how values and attitudes affect womxn's bodily autonomy; they also equipped LGBTQI+ womxn and sex workers with ideas about overcoming body violation, body shaming, corrective rape, mob justice and other human rights violations (WRG049ny/4.1.1b).

Outcome 2: VOICES
Womxn express their views and participate in all decision-making

Change pathways show womxn and LBTQI+ people changing laws, processes or norms; expressing their views; and leading decision-making, particularly in formal and informal community spaces and formal village or municipal spaces. Womxn and WROs are engaging in agenda setting and bringing about procedural and behaviour change through their involvement in Voices work. In some countries, and especially where womxn and LBTQI+ people have just entered key spaces or are trying to make discursive change, more time may be needed for them to consolidate their positions before moving on to further lobbying or advocacy work. In others, womxn have held leadership positions for some time and are beginning to change or influence agendas, power actors' attitudes, or the nature of the spaces themselves.

In 11 countries,
Womxn are becoming active in public spaces
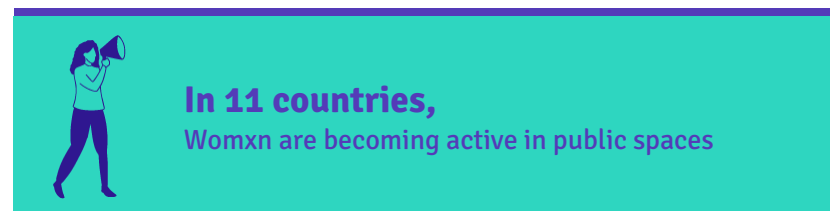
One formal international-level recommendation has been passed under the Voices outcome. In at least 11 countries womxn, and to a lesser extent LBTQI+ people, are inserting themselves into village governance committees, shadow councils, unions and school administration spaces. In Guatemala, India, Kenya, and Myanmar (including from outside its borders), activists working through Power Up! have inserted themselves into high-level, formal public spaces in order to harness funds or gain support from high-level influential actors. Mozambique has seen stronger grassroots to global links and insertion into formal international development spaces to incrementally shift the definition of

economic "development." Womxn and LBTQI+ people in Cambodia, Myanmar and South Africa are either leading or influencing unions.

The starting points for these changes are similar to those seen in Bodies. In particular, in deep dives and regional dialogues womxn themselves highlighted space for feminist consciousness raising, solidarity building and political organising, sometimes related to Bodies or Resources, as key output-level precursors to outcome-level change related to Voices. Some of the outcomes described under Indicator 2.2 are also preconditions for the achievement of results under Resources.

Indicator 2.1
WRGE 2.1/WRG013

# of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote womxn's voice, agency, leadership and representative participation in decision-making processes in public, private and civic spheres

---

Power Up! has seen at least one law adopted in relation to voice, agency or leadership. The United Nations has adopted the CEDAW General Recommendation on Indigenous Womxn and Girls No. 39 in October 2022. This was the first time that a recommendation formulated directly by grassroots, Indigenous womxn — not experts — has been adopted.

The United Nations has adopted the CEDAW General Recommendation on Indigenous Womxn and Girls No. 39 in October 2022

Although the Ix Pop Collective in **Guatemala** had been lobbying for the recommendation's acceptance for over ten years, key programme activities strengthened the collective in order to help it sustain pressure. As described in the 2022 Annual Report, Power Up! strengthened the operational planning, management processes and decision-making skills of 17 organisations within the collective; sponsored knowledge products; and engaged young Mayan and Xinca girls in the advocacy process (WRG049/4.1.1). This strengthened the Collective's engagement with allies at forums or during virtual and face-to-face dialogues. With increased solidarity, the entire group of allies was able to sustain pressure. At the mid-term review sense-making session, participants noted that the resolution is significant because it gives Indigenous womxn and girls a piece of leverage that they can use when fighting against discrimination or seeking legal protection.

In addition to the passing of the resolution, this initiative has also resulted in a stronger feminist Indigenous collective (WRGE5.2.1/4.2.1) and in increased allyship (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1), as the collective's members have increased legitimacy and are welcomed into media spaces. Ix Pop continues its activism in alliances that it formed during the above campaign.

# of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on womxn's voice, agency, leadership and representative participation in decision-making processes in public, private and civic spheres, through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building

In the period under review, WROs succeeded in creating space at least 15 times in the area of voice, leadership and participation in the public sphere. Programmes in Cambodia, India, Indonesia and Malawi created more than one space. In Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, knowledge generation or knowledge building was critical to some of the changes described below. Cambodian womxn union leaders are using evidence of economic trends to support labour negotiations; womxn forest dwellers and voluntary food handlers are generating Indigenous or local knowledge and using it to reframe the discourse around demands for rights; and womxn in Indonesia, Malawi and Zimbabwe have received certain types of technical training that are providing them with formal knowledge necessary to lead others.

> WROs succeeded in creating space **at least 15 times** in the area of voice, leadership and participation in the public sphere.

In **Cambodia** Power Up! ran workshops and dialogue sessions around what feminism and feminist leadership is. Subsequent discussions with male union members and changes to union operating guidelines have strengthened womxn's collective voice as union leaders. According to the 2021 annual report, it also engaged womxn union members and leaders in critical analysis of economic, market and development trends (WRG049y/ny/4.1.1). Regional dialogue participants explained that in the past, womxn would enter labour negotiations without sufficient background information to counter employers' arguments. Knowledge and solidarity produced through Power Up! not only increased womxn's confidence, but also facilitated the creation of an evidence base that womxn used to influence the debate and change decision-making processes by levelling the playing field in labour negotiations.

> " Through this critical analysis on economic trends, it helped [womxn union leaders] build up their confidence to advocate in each factory... The employer threatens that if they demand for better wages, or better working conditions, they [the employer] may move to another country. But understanding the economic trends in the region, it gives [womxn union leaders] a firm position.

In **India,** the programme worked with womxn so that they could gain knowledge of the various laws and acts that can be used to claim forest rights, and provided knowledge and support through the claims process. In 2022, approximately 360 womxn forest dwellers across four states were trained on processes to assert their individual and community forest rights (WRG049ny/4.1.1). The programme also trained womxn in basic group governance and leadership. Annual report data and publications produced through the programme show that womxn have a high degree of knowledge of each act or law, and are able to leverage different acts depending on their lobbying goal. At the same time, training in governance and collective action supported womxn to become leaders on (previously male dominated) Forest Rights Committees, in womxn's resource committees and in other types of local and regional governance spaces (SCS041/6.1.1). Regional dialogues illustrate the degree to which womxn are beginning to shape the agendas of the committees they lead.

> "The journey has gone from being a normal woman to beginning to lead, then being a part of a constitutional body, and then organising and assigning roles and responsibilities. Womxn are taking on decision-making roles as Forest Right Committee members. Experienced womxn are good at articulating and formulating policy, and they are developing young womxn leadership.

Moreover, approximately 80% of the trained womxn have engaged at the Gram Sabha (village council) level in 105 villages, which has enabled their participation in the decentralized gram panchayat development planning processes (WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1).

PEKKA's Akademi Paradigta trains Indonesian womxn in law, rights, lobbying and advocacy. In the mid-term review sense-making session, participants explained that PEKKA is expanding the diversity of womxn involved in the programme beyond its traditional focus on womxn who head their own households, widowed, divorced or single womxn, to include womxn factory workers or farmers. Akademi Paradigta prepares womxn to participate in village governance meetings, especially those where development planning takes place (WRG049y/ny/4.1.1). As with forest dwelling womxn in India, in deep dives Paradigta graduates positioned themselves as normal womxn who now have a

good awareness of village governance and finance, and have become extraordinary womxn who take an equal role in public decision-making.

> "When we talk about women as the head of the household, we were nothing back then. Now we are able to speak with the local government and we're acknowledged by the local government and by the community members.

Another thing, as Pekka women, we are regular housewives and mothers. We have little educational background. We didn't take part in village discussion but now we are taking part in it.

A narrative from the creative submissions shows how "normal women" graduates from Paradigta are building relationships with leaders from multiple government agencies at regional levels in order to secure resources. In other words, womxn who are often stereotyped as rural, poor or sitting outside the normal social order are asserting themselves in formal spaces.

> "Since the inception of Paradigta Academy classes in Kendal Regency, coordination and communication with the government have become highly intensive. This is evident by their presence during the opening of each new batch of classes.
>
> This year is particularly special, as we paid a visit to the office of the Regional Secretary along with the Head and Secretary of the Department of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. We were escorted by the Secretary General of the Office of Population Control, Family Planning, Women's Empowerment, and Child Protection. The response [to a description of Academy activities] given by the Regional Secretary was very positive. It was suggested that we promptly create a proposal and engage in discussions to submit it in 2024."

PEKKA has also mobilised women to enter public governance spaces through its work to strengthen cooperatives. For example, in 2021 it trained 19 cooperatives and associations in managing their organisations, building networks, and advocating to the government (WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1). They were trained to attend official meetings in villages and districts, which eventually resulted in cooperative leaders accessing seats at village development planning meetings. Entry into governance spaces also occurs as a result of activities described under the Resources outcome below. For example, as recounted by a womxn waste bank leader,

> "I got invited to government officials' events as a resource person and as an inspiration for people. I got paid for speaking in front of the public. I was invited by the governor of West Nusa Tenggara, as governor's wife wanted to see our waste bank."

Through all of these avenues, PEKKA womxn leaders are now on the village consultative council, serving as the secretary of the village family welfare program, or as village treasurer or community empowerment agents, or taking up positions at regional or higher levels (WRGE 5.2.1/5.3.1). Once in office, womxn influence the development agenda by securing funds for health, anti-SGBV, education or environmental projects that benefit village womxn generally.

Power Up! partners in Indonesia have also supported the Muslim womxn scholars (Ulema) movement on Islamic University campuses to strengthen leadership skills and reflect on Islam's teachings about gender equality. According to the 2022 Annual Report, Power Up! co-facilitated workshops with 29 Ulema womxn to strengthen their leadership and held a reflective workshop meeting with 10 new womxn Ulemas (WRG049ny/4.1.1b). The Ulema womxn shared that being part of a collective and participating in these co-organised workshops fostered their self-confidence and desire to further study Islam's recognition of gender equality. Some participants went on to promote the messages to their students and on social media.

In **Kenya** CAL, and JASS, supported the LBTQI+ refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp after two shelters housing trans refugees were torched, resulting in deaths. Power Up! enabled consortium members to work on joint actions with local activists. JASS and CAL issued a joint statement urging UNHCR to provide emergency support to injured refugees, and a subsequent statement outlining the poor response of UNHCR and the African Human Rights Commission. They also engaged in a Twitter campaign and online petitioning to pressure the UNHCR (WRGE 5.2.1/5.3.1). As a result of this campaigning, two international philanthropic foundations provided funding for LBTQI+ people's basic needs. In this case, a variety of campaign activities led to increased visibility and garnered the support or action of both political and philanthropic actors.

According to sense-making exercises, Power Up! supported four LBGTQI+ and WROs in **Kenya** to restart after their funding and operations were affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. The organiszations met face-to-face, re-energized, developed institutional recovery plans and revised work plans for the post-pandemic situation (WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1). In 2022, one grantee, World March for Women, supported some of their members in ward, national assembly and senate elections. According to Power Up! results analysis charts, the organisation indicated that power analysis allowed them to gain confidence to participate.

> *"As a collective, we have more power. The government has included us in committees that make decisions about disaster relief. We carry many women's voices to the District Council. We are part of the government's disaster response team, and we are a referral point for other women who need support. The government recognises the work we are doing."*

In **Malawi**, womxn adapted the Our Body Our Lives (OBOL) critical feminist analysis used in times of relative stability to respond to the Ana and Gombe cyclones (WEGE 5.2.1/5.2.1). Their ability to adapt outside of government structures brought them to the notice of the government disaster relief managers. As one deep dive participant noted,

Action research and work with allies in **Mozambique** has created space to engage and led to greater voice and representation for womxn from the often marginalised north. Power Up! supported OPHENTA, a Mozambican feminist association, to convene a Northern Forum on Gender in Niassa. The forum included a wide variety of WROs, activists, government officials and CSOs, and featured sessions on economic empowerment alternatives, the impact of climate change, and womxn's access to land. It generated a position document and an advocacy plan to influence the regional development approach that the government of Mozambique is seeking to adopt (WRGE 5.2.1/5.3.1). These activities are now part of a core area of work under the program's FEA strategy.

According to the programme's IATI tracking sheets, as the coup unfolded in **Myanmar** in 2021, Power Up! supported 10 WROs, including the same womxn who campaigned against Telegram under Outcome 1.1 above, to share their context analysis and challenges in order to gain the support of high-level power

holders through three virtual dialogues with the Special Rapporteurs on the situation of human rights in Myanmar and on Human Rights Defenders, the Dutch Embassy in Myanmar and the One Billion Rising Campaign (SCS041/6.1.1). As part of the dialogues, Power Up! produced a global statement favourably supported by 100 allies and partners.

Throughout the crisis, Power Up! has continued to support labour organisations to raise awareness around the role of womxn in the garment sector and in civil society. Based on this, one organisation transitioned towards a collective young leadership approach to organising that offered greater safety, resilience and sustainability in the face of new challenges. The change has transformed the organisation by training young womxn, regenerating leadership, and ensuring the continuation of the movement (WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1). Now, young womxn are the next-in-line leaders in an arena traditionally dominated by men.
In **Palestine**, the Tulkarem Womxn Community Center (TWCC) was originally created by the Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development (PWWSD) to function as a physical space for womxn. TWCC sits on the Tulkarem Community Accountability Commission, a body of civil society organisation (CSO) representatives working closely with the municipality of Tulkarem to plan and design community initiatives. The Center holds dialogues, workshops and discussions with young womxn's/womxn's groups to raise awareness around gender and womxn's rights issues related to the division of labour and employment, gender-based violence, and the role of youth in protecting womxn (WRGE049y/ny/4.1.1).

A 2023 Power Up! partner activity update indicates that womxn were able to use these new skills as they participate on Shadow Councils, groups that parallel and follow municipal governance processes from a critical feminist lens. Regional dialogues explained the significance of Councils to their members.

Through the Councils, womxn have a place to explore prevailing social attitudes and develop critical awareness; and to build skills necessary for lobbying,

advocacy and municipal planning. Women are able to express themselves freely [about taboo topics] as they stated in the trainings, in a more creative way.

Shadow Councils have lobbied during International Women's Day, Labour Day and the 16 Days of Action (SCS041/6.1.1). Tulkarem also formed Youth Councils to act like the Shadow Councils, this time engaging young womxn. As Shadow Council members participate in public governance processes and develop joint activities with municipal and governorate leaders, they are seeing their issues put onto municipal government agendas and finding this an effective method of engaging in a very restricted context.

We can see that women are more engaged in Shadow Councils. They are interested in setting up more Councils in their villages.

Seven members of the Shadow Councils successfully ran for local office in early 2023.

In South Africa, solidarity and alliance building has contributed to voluntary food handlers advocating for themselves and inserting themselves into spaces in order to further their ends of more dignified and decent work. They are accessing unions, the Education Labour Relations Council and the Public Service Co-ordinating Bargaining Council, and have generated other new and diverse alliances with school governing bodies, church groups and a community-based organisation to address their precarious situation (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1). While significant collective action such as unionisation or overall change to contracts is yet to be seen, deep dive narratives such as the one below shows that increased allyship provides individual womxn with power to advocate for better working conditions, paid sick leave or unemployment benefits.

Finally, according to the 2021 annual report, in **Zimbabwe** Power Up! worked with 22 sex workers, land defenders and womxn living with HIV who are part of womxn's circles to strengthen their collective approach to using photography and a WhatsApp group to gather evidence about SGBV before opening case files with the police. Before the programme started, they were using photography in a way that put themselves and other marginalised womxn and girls at risk and their organising was ad hoc. According to results tracking sheets from 2023 and the creative submissions, this has resulted in sex workers being invited into community and governance spaces (WRGE 5.2.1/5.2.1).

> We get invited to different meetings by the authorities. This inclusion in consultation processes as sex workers has been good for us. It is still a process for society to fully accept us but we are glad with the current progress. At times we are requested to send a few sex workers to represent our views and concerns on different matters. We have national elections in Zimbabwe this year and I took my stand to contest.

Womxn's perception that power actors' narratives, attitudes and behaviours have shifted/improved in relation to voice

Annual reports and regional dialogues provide some examples of instances in which womxn's rights activists perceive attitude or behaviour change among community members and the general public, local or regional leaders, male union organisers, (male) village governance committee leaders and school administrators. Fourteen statements from 8 out of 40 womxn who participated in deep dives also describe their perceptions of attitude shifts in social and political spaces. As in the Voices work described above, power actors' changes come about through a variety of means depending on the local context, in general, evincing increased value for womxn and their leadership in public spaces.

In **Cambodia**, according to the 2021 annual report, male leaders recognised the value of a participatory, feminist approach to leadership and have started changing their perceptions, including women in strategic decision-making, getting feedback from different trade unions and labour activists, and supporting womxn leaders (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1).

Forest dwelling womxn in **India** see a shift in how they are perceived by male forest rights committee members, and community members in general. In the first year of the programme, according to the 2021 annual report, womxn and

men in communities recognised the significance of women and modified the governance rules of forest rights committees to ensure that women were represented equally. By the end of 2021, almost half of members on each committee were women. In regional dialogues 18 months later, participants indicated that "at the village level especially, [womxn] are an important part in terms of making and preparing development plans for all the village's institutions."

Based on the deep dives and creative submissions from **Indonesia**, womxn perceive support from community and governance bodies for gaining an education, general leadership and activity in public life, and for playing different types of governance roles generated through womxn's participation in PEKKA's core mobilisation packages, the Paradigta Academy and mentoring younger womxn. For example, womxn's participation in village level governance was endorsed in Lembata when a village head issued a decision letter requiring the involvement of womxn in the village forum. Saliently, this support remains as womxn take on positions or activities in spaces with increasingly more formal power (i.e. move from sitting on a village development committee to acting at a regional level). As deep dive respondents themselves indicated,

"I was entrusted to be the head of the village. The community members are amazed because they see me working as a leader and they like, oh, women can also be a leader."

"I got invited to government officials' event as a resource person and a mover inspiration for people. I got paid for speaking in front of the public."

"Back then, we used to be called widows (janda), a negative term [for] husband stealer. The community sees us now as an entity that is more positive. They will associate us with women of high capacity, with skills. We are now acknowledged. We are no longer janda, we are the women head of the household."

Womxn also indicated that they are beginning to reclaim and assign more positive meanings to terms that perpetuate negative stereotypes of widows or other single women.

In **Lebanon** , womxn's micro projects and workshops to change social norms or question stereotypes about gender equality and womxn's rights are accepted because they are seen as generating social capital, especially for those currently facing economic or geographic restrictions.

> People accepted our initiative [to raise awareness of womxn's rights] especially when they knew what they were about. They began to send their daughters to participate since there are not many events like it in the area we worked in.

Finally, voluntary food handlers in **South Africa** recount increasing solidarity and support from Amakhozikazi (womxn community leaders), community influencers and some school and union leaders. The programme ran a series of community dialogues aimed at critically analysing the division of labour, nutritious and indigenous foods, decent work conditions, contracting and other topics in order to challenge stereotypes. Through these dialogues, and the use of different types of knowledge products, stakeholders have begun to see voluntary food handlers as professionals who carry out an important and professional job feeding children. The FEA strategy lists support to voluntary food handlers as a key area of work to take forward.

Regional dialogues and deep dives also pointed to a need to continue engaging with power actors in order to overcome resistance. Womxn in Cambodia

encountered fear that taking a feminist approach to union organising would mean that unions would only address "womxn's issues." Womxn in Myanmar described some of the backlash they face as activists in their communities or places of work.

> " "In our culture, when you work on the gender equality, you'll have a lot of enemies. They will always tell you why gender equality? And they'll make fun of you and they will make it difficult for you."

Thus, while womxn have perceived improvements in power actors' attitudes or behaviours when compared to the situation at baseline, they may not perceive that these improvements are sufficient to sustain outcome-level change. This should be considered not as a comment on programme progress, but on the degree to which change in this area requires long-term, sustained action.

Indicator 2.4 qualitative

Womxn report experiences of increased ability to participate and express their views safely as a result of involvement in Power Up!

Building knowledge, solidarity and alliances supports womxn and provides them with safety as they navigate difficult discussions in public spaces. Illustrations from the deep dives and regional dialogues used to report against Indicator 2.2 above provide examples of womxn in India, Mozambique and Palestine claiming their own power or working with other womxn to speak up about issues of import to them. In addition, womxn in **Indonesia** consistently report increased confidence to engage in decision-making, planning and governance exercises at village and higher levels after training and collective support facilitated by PEKKA. Solidarity work through OBOL in **Malawi** has increased womxn's ability to hold their own in discussions with local and paramount chiefs around land.

During the deep dives, womxn from **South Africa** described the degree to which facilitated dialogues in solidarity groups and with community influencers, and the production of videos and knowledge briefs legitimised their knowledge and reinforced confidence or self-esteem to speak in public.

> " I remember the first time we gathered as Amakhosikazi. We shared different types of food, culture and other things as part of discussing our work as VFHs. I never thought I could teach others about the knowledge I have of food and culture. However, I was able to do it. They heard me and appreciated it.

Other data from deep dives indicates the complexities that arise when womxn and LBTQI+ people begin to insert themselves into new or contested spaces. For example, sex workers in **Malawi** experienced initial backlash from clients after they went to police to demand justice for violence. Further negotiations, dialogue and police involvement were required in order to generate the desired level of safety. In deep dives and regional dialogues in the MENA region, respondents described the need to move slowly and repeat activities or hold more workshops in order to consolidate initial gains, especially related to delicate conversations around gender roles, gender identity and sexuality. In other words, especially where changes are desired in social spaces, Power Up! activities under Voices tend to be more focused around preserving space rather than improving or enlarging it.

Outcome 3: RESOURCES

Womxn have access to resources and economic autonomy

Key change pathways related to the Resources outcome vary slightly from those seen in Bodies and Voices. Knowledge building, solidarity, individual to collective power and alliances are still important precursors, but **capacity to sustain pressure on power actors, environmental justice and, most saliently, strategies that take an integrated approach are of greater import to generating results**. This integrated approach represents a departure from standard women's economic empowerment or income generation approaches. While standard approaches do look to achieve a variety of results related to personal or collective empowerment, these gains are accessed through groups or activities that are initiated primarily for economic gain within current market systems; profit increase through participation in this system remains the priority objective throughout. Indicators of success may be tied to global development indicators established by technical experts rather than defined by womxn themselves.

The approach in Power Up! represents a departure in two ways. First, the point of entry to economic, social or political assets is through processes whose primary goals are to build individual and collective power, critical consciousness and solidarity to make change to root causes. Again the route to change is not unidirectional. In Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Malawi and South Africa, some type of change related to Voices in public spaces (as described in the section above) is a precursor to change in Resources, while in Indonesia and Lebanon change in Resources has led to change under Bodies or Voice. Second, activities are focused on making collective gains across a broad spectrum of issues as grassroots womxn define them and in a way in which social, political or economic gains *cannot be separated from one another*. In deep dive and regional dialogue discourse, womxn describe Bodies, Voices and Resources benefits together in the same idea.

> WROs succeed **9 times** in creating space for feminist demands and positions on womxn's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives

With this in mind, findings in this section support the premises behind Power Up!'s feminist economic alternatives strategy.

Indicator 3.1
WRGE 3.1/WRG024

# of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote womxn's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives

Qualitative data indicates that at least two laws, policies or strategies related to womxn's economic rights have been blocked, adopted or improved during the period under review. Select gains from PEKKA's work in **Indonesia** to secure portions of public budgets at village and regional levels demonstrate outcome-level change under this indicator, as PEKKA womxn either have access to village or regional decision-making bodies or sit on them, and are thereby setting economic development agendas and harnessing village and regional funds. The discussion under Indicator 3.4 below illustrates the degree to which changes under Voices and Resources combine in order to produce this result.

Over the last two-and-a-half years, PEKKA leveraged a cross-movement strategy to connect with the Indonesian Women Ulema Congress (KUPI), culminating in the formulation of a *fatwa* by KUPI that demands the involvement of civil society in ensuring the sustainability of the environment. Given the scale and span of alliance-building this involved, and the significance of *fatawa*, this can be considered an outcome-level change.

Indicator 3.2
WRGE 3.2/WRG028

# of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on womxn's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives, through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building

> 2 laws, policies or strategies related to womxn's economic rights have been blocked, adopted or improved during the period under review

Power Up! has created space for feminist demands related to economic rights and justice at the outcome level nine times across all change pathways. As in the discussion on Indicator 2.2, this section shows the variety of spaces that are created when programming is rooted in the economic interests of grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people. These examples also show the degree to which Resources results cannot be separated from social and political gains that womxn list as important to their own lives.

Through the Solidary Resourcing mechanism set up by JASS, womxn from the entertainment and sex industries were resourced to build connection with the community. The funding as well as feminist movement building work provided the ability for womxn to travel to communities and share their social justice messages through their artwork. Furthermore, they were able to advocate for changing policies and implement a public campaign. (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1). The performances provided income and the songs kept workers and activists united during strikes. By working with local actors, Power Up! partners were able to engage in feminist analysis with a new set of allies — actors and musicians — and to insert messages into new types of advocacy spaces.

In **Mozambique** Power Up! staff participated in the 14th Women's World Congress that brought together national and international feminist academics and activists to debate, reflect and propose alternative perspectives on African feminisms. This provided an opportunity for Power Up! to strengthen networks with allies interested in feminist economic alternatives and continue constructing a discourse centered on the intersection of conflict, entrepreneurship and womxn-led solidarity (WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1). Feminist leaders from national WROs and networks OPHENTA, GMPIS and Fórum Mulher, were encouraged to present their experiences and reflections in dialogue with organisations that design economic policies and programmes, and provide financial resources. During the congress, Power Up! produced a video of participant reflections on womxn's economic empowerment and feminist economic alternatives. It has been used by OPHENTA and Aliadas: Women Voice and Leadership Programme, as an advocacy tool, allowing for work done under

Power Up! to influence womxn's rights programming funded by another bilateral donor.

In 2022 Power Up! organised action-learning sessions attended by the British High Commission, GIZ, Oxfam, Fórum Mulher and Aliadas (WRG049ny/4.1.1). Taking an integrated approach, these action learning sessions have, in part, highlighted linkages between the State economic development agenda and SGBV. The Power Up! video recorded at the 14th Women's World Congress was shown at a first session and served as a basis for subsequent discussions on economic alternatives. OPHENTA and GMPIS attended a second session early in 2023; and the Foundation for Community Development, chaired by Graça Machel, organised a one-day conference on feminist economic alternatives in June 2023. As a participant from the key informant interviews explained, these discussions were significant because they broke down silos and planted the seeds of new alliances.

> " There are islands of work, rather than dialogue, so we take the resources and we invest them in dialogue.

Womxn from the grassroots level, NGO officers and gender advisors from bilateral donors critically questioned the current economic system together, helping gender advisors from bilateral agencies learn about the needs and priorities of womxn working at grassroots level and giving the latter access to new donor spaces.

Grassroots womxn in **India** originally came together to advocate for forest rights and to participate in and influence governance and decision-making spaces, but eventually formed self-help groups, gauged market demand for their goods,

made decisions on pricing, and negotiated sales of forest products. This knowledge and improved confidence has led womxn to organise outside of the Prime Minister's Vandhan Scheme so they can make their own pricing decisions without the influence of men.

In programme reporting and narratives, this work occurs at the same time as forest rights claims are being pursued, showing the degree to which capacity building, awareness raising and solidarity are leading not only to womxn collectively asserting themselves as leaders on forest rights committees, but also as market actors. In other words, change related to Resources is linked to change under Voices.

In **Indonesia**, according to the second annual report, PEKKA leaders supported the creation of new space by sharing their experiences and methodologies for cooperative management with an LGBTQI+ organisation in Bandung. This inspired the organisation to launch their own savings and loan activity modelled on PEKKA's cooperative principles (WRGE 5.2.1/5.3.1). It also supported PEKKA's strategies to diversify its membership.

According to the 2021 annual report, intergenerational space and dialogues convened by Kadirat, Power Up!'s partner in **Tunisia**, mitigated social isolation of older womxn, provided them with a source of income and enabled young women to gain new income generating skills to sustain them during periods of unemployment (WRG049/4.1.1). Deep dives indicate that this work has since

expanded to include womxn survivors of SGBV, who are also building self-esteem and breaking out of isolation as a result of learning new income generation skills. Here, change related to Resources is intertwined with change related to Bodies.

Indicator 3.3
qualitative

Womxn's perception that power actors' narratives, attitudes and behaviours have shifted or improved in relation to resources

---

Deep dives, creative submissions and regional dialogues provided a number of examples of womxn's perceptions that power holders' attitudes regarding womxn's resource control or economic activity had shifted in Cambodia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and Tunisia. In the deep dives, 19 of 40 participants described the degree to which men, community members, school administrators and government officials have either directly advocated for resources on womxn's behalf, or provided public recognition or access to resource related decision-making spaces.

In **Lebanon**, CRTDA built cooperative leaders' ability to use their own judgement and business skills in order to make independent procurement and management decisions (WRGE 5.2.1/4.2.1). This built womxn's confidence to build or rebuild their cooperatives. Family support for womxn's income generation activities outside of the home is key in this context. In deep dives, cooperative leaders said that they felt supported by men, family members and communities, in part

because they have demonstrated that they can run enterprises successfully and because those enterprises have a community benefit.

> " There is another positive feedback we received especially from men. They express that they are proud of what we do, and that if we need their help, especially young men.

> " The community at large encouraged us, and we received a lot of encouragement for our work. Some even offered to support us, not financially but through any service they can provide us with.

Although five womxn indicated general support, one indicated that community members still somewhat consider economic activity outside of womxn's prescribed role.

> " People keep telling us, why do you have to work this hard, it is not your job. Our reaction is that this is our responsibility, and we started it because we feel committed to it. We are improving If people do not like it, it is up to them. I like what I am doing and that I am serving my community and village.

In deep dives and creative submissions from **Indonesia,** womxn indicated that community members and government officials at local, regional and national levels are changing attitudes and behaviours towards widows, divorced women and other single women as regards economic activity. Programme activities and mechanisms associated with these changes are discussed in Section 3.4. In a majority of statements, womxn mixed description of multiple types of benefits together, such that gains in public decision-making, education, SGBV prevention or informal community leadership are mixed with economic benefits, as demonstrated by the following example.

> " The general public, the community members, they trust us more now, for example we've managed to established cooperative savings and lending, and also the educational package to actually help people who are not enrol in school to get a formal education degree. The government started from the village level up to the national level. They really saw in us a good initiative.

Womxn have experienced some stigma related to starting up waste bank businesses, but this was mitigated by the success of the enterprises.

> " We were initially being made fun of, but when they saw the result, they wanted in. We are also very much supported by our local government, especially our families.

In **Malawi**, deep dive participants indicated that the attitudes of chiefs and government officials have changed as regards access to resources. Womxn came together and took action outside of government relief schemes to rebuild their houses, food gardens and incomes after the Ana and Gombe cyclones using the basic power analysis and feminist knowledge building activities that are used every day in OBOL groups (WRGE 5.2.1/5.2.1). This brought the group to the notice of government officials.

> " [We are] rebuilding homes, no longer dependent on the government for support, but we do complement their efforts by supporting other women in need. We have also received many awards from the district government.

South Africa shows a variety of types of community formal and informal advocates generated through community dialogues and knowledge generation activities. Output and outcome data from Power Up! annual reports and other desk documents described the degree to which community influencers and school administrators and others began to question stereotypes about voluntary food handlers after community dialogues (WRG049ny/4.1.1 and WRGE 5.2.1/5.1.1). Participants from regional dialogues described how this has translated into concrete action or advocacy for voluntary food handlers on the part of power actors.

Womxn have used collective power to persuade school administrators to advocate for their rights.

> " Previous VFHs were complaining about the UIF [unemployment insurance] issue. This got me thinking about the current VFHs. I started speaking to them informally, alerting them to the potential problem and advising them on how to avoid it. The food handlers approached the school regarding UIF and work uniforms. As a result, the principal has started the process of getting them registered for UIF.
>
> Regarding the UIF issue, our principal was not cooperating at all. However, the Power Up! process and the WhatsApp group helped us fight. While the principal did not want to go to the Department of Labour for help, he eventually sorted out our paperwork. Power Up has empowered us to organise ourselves.

Another group of VFH banded together and approached a district coordinator to apply for unemployment insurance.

Womxn report that actions they have taken have led to increased access to resources (natural and financial) as a result of involvement in Power Up!

Womxn, especially in Indonesia, Malawi and South Africa, report having taken actions to increase access to natural and financial resources, again, at the same time as or after having made gains related to Bodies and Voices. These examples show the degree to which womxn must occupy a number of types of civic spaces simultaneously in order to sustain pressure.

PEKKA has been organising widows, divorced women and single women to organise as community and formal leaders and access resources through business initiatives and village development funds since its inception. Its work has always included components of personal empowerment, solidarity building, leadership development and entrepreneurship. In Power Up!, PEKKA's work sits at a crossroads of economic empowerment, environmental stewardship and governance. Regional dialogues and deep dives show that even though the work is framed under Resources, the results that are most significant to womxn may have to do with environmental justice, changes to the family division of labour, personal confidence, or participation in community decision-making as described under Outcome 2.2 above.


PEKKA runs community-based business classes, Kelas BISA KITA. In 2021, according to the annual report of that year, 139 womxn from 23 districts attended these classes and learned how to process organic waste and household waste into compost, make soap from used cooking oil, and process inorganic waste into products with economic value (WRGE 049ny/4.1.1). In 2022, 200 womxn were taught financial management and how to produce cooperative financial reports in Kelas BISA KITA. Graduates formed alumni groups and went on to engage in post-graduation community activities such as launching waste banks, cleaning up rivers, or engaging in anti-violence campaigns.
PEKKA introduced PEKKA PRODUKSI (small, locally resourced enterprises) that sell their products through PEKKA MART, supported by a community-owned capital institution (PEKKA Simpin), so that the results of the business can be enjoyed by the people who own the business. In 2022, according to that year's annual report, four new Pekka Marts were formed and two new Produksi units were established.

PEKKA barter markets also act as a platform where womxn can buy and sell basic goods or products from home-based businesses to other members, in order to make use of endogenous supplies on hand, reduce reliance and risk on sourcing raw material from outside a specific community or region, and keep economic returns within the community (WRGE 5.2.1/6.3.1). The initiative was motivated by economic precarity brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, but has also assisted womxn facing other crises.

> "
> PEKKA opened up barter market in several areas. We helped provide for the needs women during the flood [in East Nusa Tenggara] with the barter system. The barter market is where we exchange goods with other goods instead of money. PEKKA MART and PEKKA cooperative are the core of it and these women [produce several items] for exchange. We used the supply chain solidarity system within this barter economy. All organic products are locally produced.
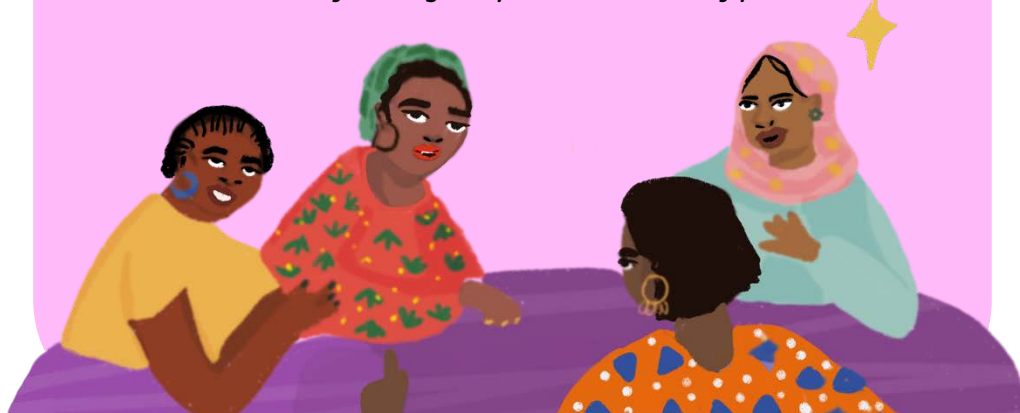
Finally, PEKKA has worked with community womxn leaders to establish waste banks as an initiative that is intended to have both economic and environmental results. As described in the 2021 annual report, womxn use a cooperative model to collect inorganic recyclables from community households, process it and sell it (WRGE 5.2.1/6.3.1). Proceeds are saved within the cooperative. In deep dives, regional dialogues and annual reports, womxn emphasize non-economic benefits related to the local environment, education, or community.

Five of 13 womxn emphasised results related to education.

> "
> Now, we have children who did not go to school previously but graduated from university...

Despite some stigma encountered from collecting and selling waste, womxn recognise the initiative as a method of breaking a local vicious cycle in rural Indonesia, in which male money lenders seek out womxn whose husbands work abroad, or who are widows or divorced, and involve them in loans with exorbitant interest rates.

> " Women in my community, every time they see a motorcycle passing by their house, they would hide. I asked them why. I figured it out how I can liberate women from [loan sharks]. In our cooperative savings and loan, we pay IDR 10000/month, just less than $1. It's hard for us to provide a loan for each other but then we tried to fix that. ...We developed the idea of the waste bank and now we have 20 of them in 4 districts.

These examples illustrate the degree to which change pathways in Indonesia are non-linear, and the degree to which one initiative or activity nets economic, political and social results.

The **Malawi** change pathways are some of the most complex in Power Up!. They begin with womxn engaging in feminist critical analysis; learning about technical issues related to food production, income generation or HIV management; and building confidence and solidarity. From here, gains related to Resources or Voices may lead to gains in bodily autonomy or justice for SGBV; or gains related to Voices and Bodies may lead to greater control of income sources or land. This complexity is confirmed in creative submissions, where the narrative stories that womxn tell weave activities and results related to all of these areas into one unified discourse without distinguishing linear or binary cause-and-effect. In all instances, womxn are acting against a backdrop of increased food insecurity, environmental degradation and land insecurity.

Five of eleven womxn in the deep dives were involved in classic village savings and loan and income activities that allowed them to recover from personal crises, earn a steady income, educate children, and mitigate climate change

(WRGE 5.2.1/6.3.1). Once they are more stable, womxn have gone on to support others to pursue claims related to SGBV, inheritance or land control. The following respondent recovered from a personal crisis, and then began to advocate for womxn who had also been abandoned by their husbands.

> " I was recently divorced and came back with nothing. In OBOL I learned about power and financial independence. The group received some start-up capital from Power Up!. I started ordering and selling vegetables, and my life started to change. I started farming and had a bumper harvest. ...a woman whose husband abandoned her... while she was pregnant. I reached out to this woman [and] took her to the village headman.

In these instances, knowledge production and solidarity building led to increased resources, which in turn led womxn to insert themselves into public decision-making spaces or advocate for bodily autonomy or further resources.

Womxn in Malawi have been experiencing economic difficulties due to the COVID-19 pandemic's economic impacts, such as rising food and fertiliser prices, as well as the desertification of the country due to climate change. According to the 2021 annual report, OBOL womxn decided to get trained on producing organic manure and fertiliser as a way to save money and use more environmentally friendly farming practices (WRG049ny/4.1.1 . The training was led by the Malawi Ministry of Agriculture and Power Up!, and enabled the women to make fertiliser themselves, saving them money and reverting to a

more sustainable method of soil improvement. As agricultural technical training is often designed for male heads of households, the fact that womxn received training directly from the Ministry is a step to shifting social norms.

Most saliently, the 2021 annual report and deep dives described ways in which womxn have increased control over land in a context where it is becoming an increasingly contested commodity. Womxn have been inspired by other OBOL group members to acquire land and begin farming on it, rather than relying on their husbands for resources (WRGE 5.2.1/6.3.1).

Deep dives and creative submissions also include stories of womxn persistently approaching clan or village leaders in order to reclaim land lost in divorces or appropriated by relatives, or to claim land as a resource through which to make a living. This excerpt from a creative submission demonstrates how one woman applied concepts from Power Up! Power analysis to recognise a problem and generate her own solutions with support from allies.

HEALTHY AND NUTRITIOUS FOOD FOR YOU

> " I had issues of land ownership and control, which belonged to my parents. When they passed on, the land was grabbed when I was young, I felt that was normal but after the training that I participated in... I realized that I need land for farming. After reflecting on how best I can return my land by using the strategies that I learnt during the training, I said to myself it is never too late. I collaborated with the land tribunal committee and traditional Leaders who helped me to get the customary land back. Through that now, I have access, ownership and control since I have papers certifying my land and my signature on it.

Similar to the stories above, one woman convened other womxn who were also destitute and organised the group to start having meetings with traditional leaders. The womxn lobbied for land ownership and advocated for the inclusion of womxn in customary land committees. Based on these efforts, a woman was included in the Customary Land Committee in Chiradzulu. This is a significant victory for womxn's rights in a context where decreasing amounts of arable land are held in tight control by customary male leaders.

In a final discussion, the change pathway in **South Africa** shows work to build womxn's individual and collective power and knowledge, along with changes in attitude among community members and alliance building combining to advocate for pay, benefits or unemployment insurance for voluntary food handlers. Narrative from five out of six deep dive participants included examples in which a combination of personal confidence, collective action and support from outside influencers is all used to make change.

> " We were also so grateful for our work that we hardly spoke against anything or anyone. One day in the storeroom, we overheard the teachers discussing our presence in the food storeroom [i.e. assuming that the food handlers would steal the school's food]. They questioned why we were in the room. We approached our coordinator to help us resolve the issue, and I was able to point out the people who said it. I would not have been able to address this issue had it not been for Power Up.
>
> In the first week of April, I visited the Education District to ask for help with our UIF claim. We were met by the district coordinator, Lauretta, who informed us that we should be speaking to our previous school's principal and not us. She then contacted our principal to let him know how he should help us. I then bumped into someone who looked at me, told me I looked different from other food handlers and advised me to start a small business using my UIF money. Power Up has enriched me and given me power and dignity on the inside and the outside. I now have a presence that I have never had before.

These examples are illustrative of the roles that Resources results play in complex change pathways. As with Bodies and Voices, these pathways begin with knowledge and solidarity building, and may then flow directly to Resources activities or move to gains under Bodies or Voices before addressing Resources.

Results under indicators 3.3 and 3.4 demonstrate the degree to which womxn perceive of change occurring simultaneously and in an integrated way in all areas. Discussion under these indicators also show that pressure must be sustained in all of these areas all at once in order for change to occur. For example, actions to secure food and generate income in Malawi cannot be separated from actions to access and control land. Voluntary food handlers are harnessing allies in community and more formal spaces simultaneously in order to generate resource gains. The FEA strategy references the pluralist underpinnings of FEAs. This Resources discussion highlights the case in point.

3.4 Sustainability and Feminist Movement Building

At mid-term, this review provides an assessment of prospective sustainability using the key questions outlined in Annex 9. The focus is on the degree to which changes made to date are positioning the programme to meet its stated outcomes by the end of 2025, based on the understanding that those outcomes are centred around building womxn's and LBTQI+ people's individual and collective power; supporting feminist movements; influencing norms, decision-making, laws and practices related to womxn's and girls' rights; and sustaining vibrant civil space. The Power Up! TOC posits that where power is built, mobilised, organised and transformed, womxn and LBTQI+ people will be able to make decisions about their bodies, express their views and access resources. This assessment focuses on the degree to which womxn and LBTQI+ people have been able to harness, use or apply power gained through the programme to date, in order to judge whether they will be able to continue to harness power in the same ways — all contextual circumstances being equal — once Power Up! ends. Just as the above discussion on results assumes that change is complex and non-linear, and that activists may need to retreat, consolidate or shift tactics in order to stay safe and meet their ultimate goals, so too does this assessment assume that results may be sustained by retreating, consolidating or shifting tactics.

3.4.1 Overall Assessment

Based on the framing above, there is evidence that power gained through capacity building and knowledge production is sustained and has been used to build further power related to safety networks, solidarity and economic initiatives. Deeper or more systemic change has occurred in Cambodia, Guatemala and Malawi in such a way as to indicate that the previous changes required to make these deep changes are sustainable. For example, CATU has adopted a feminist leadership model, signalling that prerequisite norms and behaviour changes have occurred and held for long enough to trigger this structural shift. Similarly, Ix Pop's capacity to sustain pressure increased and sustained over a period of time sufficient for the UN to adopt a general resolution. The discussion in Section 3.3 (outcomes) provides a number of examples in which womxn, including young womxn and Indigenous womxn, in Cambodia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Malawi and Palestine continually and routinely use the net benefit of increased individual and collective power to advocate, make decisions, or influence agendas in key spaces.

3.4.2 Sustainability through Repetition

Initiatives in Mozambique, South Africa and Tunisia demonstrate the repeated use of individual power, but there is less evidence that collective power has been repeatedly used. Mozambique has initiated dialogues and networking that is challenging dominant economic discourse and donor–recipient power dynamics, but, at the midway point, a shift to transforming discourse related to economic development among a broad set of influencers has not yet occurred. South Africa shows evidence of individual and collective application of power, but more work may be needed for changes to be associated with the function of voluntary food handling rather than with specific VHF cohorts. Given the degree to which change takes time in feminist movement building, this type of sustainability is reasonable at mid-term.

There is some evidence that sustainability is in the process of being built by repeating activities or consolidating gains, especially in highly precarious contexts. Partners in the MENA region are using different types of workshops, youth engagement and micro projects to reinforce changes in attitude gained in initial feminist consciousness-raising activities in contexts where pushback is particularly strong.

There is less evidence of repeat action or of one change informing another in ways that build or sustain power in other programme countries. Activities are occurring, but they have not rolled out to the extent where it is possible to determine whether their gains will sustain over time. Given that more actions are planned, especially in Benin, Honduras, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe, for the latter half of 2023 and into 2024, an end-line review of sustainability may draw different conclusions.

3.4.3 Sustainability through Adaptation

Examples from Cambodia, Malawi and Myanmar show how gains at one point in a change pathway have been applied in a way that sustains or builds power in another. In Cambodia, womxn union organizers and garment workers are applying and adapting critical consciousness and power analysis skills to challenge male dominance in unions, negotiate with employers, or form new alliances with artists as they seek alternate sources of employment.

In Malawi, womxn adapted techniques and strategies consolidated through individual and collective action to see gains in community governance and economic spaces to recover from the Ana and Gombe cyclones. As one attendee of the Malawi deep dive illustrates,

> "We were all depressed with the cyclone, and we didn't know if something new would come up. What we normally do [in an Our Bodies Our Lives (OBOL) session] is draw our bodies, [answering the questions] what is wrong with this body? What is happening with this body? A lot of issues came out, like mental instability, food insecurity. [We asked ourselves] what can we do? Working from where womxn are; centring womxn. They know their problems and solutions. Do not underestimate that. [Womxn] cannot afford to buy food and can not depend on government. [We] asked, what can we do to have something sustainable? So we started with food gardens which are organic. We are not using fertiliser from government because it is too expensive. All this knowledge came from womxn.

In creative submissions, another woman demonstrates how the group used collective power and OBOL's power analysis to decide where to start in their own recovery process.

The independence that womxn showed in this instance provided them with legitimacy and voice when they did engage the government entities responsible for disaster relief. Womxn from the deep dives have been included on government disaster relief committees and they present related issues to the district council. This is an example of how repeated changes or gains in one or more areas have been applied to a situation of risk in a way that resulted in further gains under Voices. The skills, critical analysis and solidarity found in

OBOL groups was sustained through two environmental crises.

Similarly, Myanmar shifted from using social media and information technologies for internal campaigning to using them to build solidarity and to try to hold space as organisations moved out of the country. In other words, the mobilising tactics or strategies have been sustained, even if they are applied to different initiatives or if results are in unanticipated areas.

3.4.4 Sustainability of Discursive Change

There is evidence of sustained change in attitude, norms or behaviours (among at least one key influencer) in Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, South Africa and Tunisia. Union leaders, police, community influencers or male committee members are making space for womxn's demands in ways that support stable change. For example, in Indonesia a village head issued a letter requiring the involvement of womxn in the village forum. Acknowledging that context very much affects sustainability beyond the control of programme partners in this area, there is some evidence of dominant narratives beginning to be disrupted in Lebanon, Palestine, South Africa and Tunisia. Campaigns to change public perception of SGBV had a warmer reception in 2022 than in 2021 in Lebanon, and community influencers, school administrators and union officials are acting on behalf of voluntary food handlers in South Africa.

In summary, Power Up! demonstrates a wide range of sustained changes in womxn's personal lives and in informal and some formal collectives. Womxn have sustainably entered and taken on leadership roles in public spaces. The programme is well positioned to consolidate gains and see sustainability in programming in the core countries of Cambodia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, Mozambique, Myanmar, Palestine and South Africa.

4 Partnership Collaboration

4.1 Leading from the Global South and Working in Consortium to Build Collective Power

When the Power Up! consortium was formed, members set out to build an entity that goes beyond a typical consortium model and deeply embodies a feminist approach. This is reflected in the Power Up! memorandum of understanding, which includes key principles such as embracing diversity, promoting openness and transparency, and crediting grassroots partners. Based on requirements under the Power of Women funding instrument, and as outlined in the original programme proposal and the first annual work plan, the partnership was intentionally designed to shift and share power and promote leadership from the South.

This section examines the degree to which the consortium has met this original intent, and describes challenges and opportunities that the consortium has encountered during its first two-and-a-half years of operations. It examines how power is shared, the degree to which programme management embodies feminist principles, and the degree to which the consortium is adding value to the Power of Women programme as a whole. The section includes an analysis of the impact of CAL's departure. The bulk of data for this section is drawn from the partnership survey, which was analysed using methods outlined in Section 2.

4.1.1 Local Ownership, Leading from the South and Sharing Power

Data indicates that Power Up! is to a large extent led from the South, and that power is shared relatively equally among consortium members. Ninety-two percent of respondents to the partnership survey agreed or somewhat agreed that mechanisms are in place to ensure that partners meaningfully and equally participate, and 80% agreed or somewhat agreed that the consortium upholds equal power relations. Seventy-six percent of survey respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that the consortium has kept discussions about power at the heart of its practice. Of 28 qualitative statements on Global South leadership and equality, 23 described the consortium as equal because each member provides support to the others. Internal documents from meetings and workshops show that Power Up! has developed a number of processes to implement feminist principles in daily management, and that it routinely reflects on the degree to which it is systemically moving towards Global South ownership.

At the same time, some survey responses indicated that more could be done to concretely and consistently shift power. Consortium members are aware of power dynamics and have implemented some strategies to change them, but these are not applied consistently or with sufficient breadth and depth to deeply transform North–South, South–South and lead member relationships. As one respondent indicated,

> **Addressing power needs to be an ongoing process and built into all aspects of consortium coordination and exchange.**

Responses indicated that more could be done to hire technical staff and consultants from the Global South, hold meetings at times that are convenient for all partners, and incorporate a variety of work discourses and styles into meetings and everyday interactions. In summary, while the programme is implementing some good practice to challenge power, more could be done to effect the broad-scale changes needed to put power firmly in the hands of the Global South.

4.1.2 Programme Management that is Feminist

While Power Up! staff (including consultants, contractors and associates) are attempting to manage programme processes using feminist principles, the degree to which they are able to do so is tempered by the ground realities of implementing a bilateral development programme.

In the partnership survey, 88% of respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that the consortium has promoted and practiced a culture of openness, respect, transparency and mutual accountability. Seventy-two percent agreed or somewhat agreed that the programme is co-created and co-implemented. Eight out of 15 related qualitative statements signalled that JASS was good at generating space for all members to learn, or that members felt they were contributing equally. Another five signalled that the lead partner dominates both in terms of routine management functions and in terms of programme strategies and approaches. Six statements acknowledged that JASS is in a challenging situation, constantly holding multiple tensions related to feminist principles, donor requirements, accountability and power sharing.

> JASS needs to constantly hold the tension between showing up and holding the politics of Power Up! with creating space for others.

> It is a balance of trying to fulfill its obligations as lead partner while creating space and mechanisms for shared leadership as a consortium.

Survey results indicate that JASS is embodying feminist principles on the most important occasions. Key informant interviews emphasised JASS's value as an effective mediator between the MFA and programme management. Of the six partnership survey statements that reflected on Executive Committee leadership of crises such as COVID-19 and the departure of the Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL), all were positive.

According to the partnership survey, feminist principles are slightly less in evidence in some of the more routine aspects of programme management. Seventy-eight percent of respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that there is sufficient communication among consortium members, and 76% agreed or somewhat agreed that financial aspects of the partnership, such as how the operations budget is distributed across the consortium, have been managed transparently. Of 39 narrative statements related to communications, information flows, transparency and decision-making, 25 indicated that communications could be improved.

The Power Up! baseline notes that consortium partners operate using different organisational models, and offices and staff or associates are spread widely across the globe. In addition, analysis of the partnership survey, key informant interviews and secondary source material indicates that Power Up! staff have different expectations around the degree to which the programme should enact feminist principles within the bilateral funding model. The findings above indicate that current communication practices may not be overcoming the challenges that these disparities create. Survey responses also pointed to the degree to which open and transparent communications, decision-making and work planning is challenged by the pace of programme implementation, where tight deadlines preclude the type of advanced and thoughtful communications necessary to engage in feminist co-creation and power sharing.

> … how we model feminist principles through our engagement in the consortium… is not always easy or even possible when it comes to dealing with donor demands that require quick and near impossible response times.

In summary, while Power Up! generally applies feminist principles to programme management and is able to apply these principles in times of crisis, disparate operating models, weaknesses in communication, and the time crunches — often experienced in bilateral programming — dilute the consortium's ability to apply feminist principles consistently in everyday interactions.

4.1.3 The Value of Working Together

This section examines the degree to which working as a feminist consortium is generating value added to the consortium and the Power of Women funding instrument.

Consortium Collaborations with other Power of Women Partners

At inception, Power of Women partners initiated a number of steps to work together and add value across the funding envelope as a whole. The group mooted establishing a buddy system to support those with less experience working with the MFA. They convened and issued a briefing note on what it means to work in feminist consortia, and envisioned regular meetings to pursue joint political agendas, advance feminist MEL or identify emerging good practice in movement building. Respondents in key informant interviews and the partnership survey noted that one of the values of working in partnership across a funding envelope is to exchange and learn about good practice in feminist movement building and womxn's rights advocacy. They described these initial conversations as a good start, but noted that operational limits and the exigencies of programme implementation have left little room for valued learning or other joint actions.

Collaborating on Feminist Economic Alternatives

In the fall of 2021, Power Up! decided to pursue a programme-level initiative to develop feminist economic alternatives. This was one of two possibilities for consortium-level action; the other was to build a program-level campaigning mechanism. This initiative was implemented through Count Me In! (CMI!). Power Up! and CMI! define FEAs as multiple expressions of resistance, imaginings and solutions that address the need for just economic transformation from a feminist perspective.

2022 was a consolidation year for Power Up! FEA learning. Power Up! generated a literature review and an approach paper. Jointly with CMI!, it held a roundtable and learning event hosted at the MFA, including 45 attendees who were a mix of local partners and consortium representatives from the SCS strategic partnerships. An FEA strategy was developed, aiming to engage in cross-movement dialogues and connecting womxn to regional and economic forums; share learning and gain entry into traditional economic spaces; engage with donors and other power holders at the international level; and generate a compendium of learnings. As the literature review shows, feminist economic alternatives are a relatively new concept. Through the work described above, Power Up! has contributed a concrete articulation of the concept that is potentially useful to any organisation interested in alternatives to standard women's economic empowerment or income generation programming.

Power Up! chose to develop work on FEAs instead of building a programme-level feminist campaign platform. In doing so, the programme demonstrated effectiveness and relevance. Power Up!'s emerging FEA work is compatible with existing programme structures and activities — it does not require new coordinating structures or activities to be added, and it is founded on economic strategies that were developed in the Global South.

Waking up from crisis; the barter market cultivates *stronger economic* and *planet-sustaining* alternatives in East Flores, Indonesia.

The Power Up! Consortium Building Collective Power

Power Up! consortium members were all relatively new to one another when the programme began. Secondary sources such as workshop meeting minutes indicate that Power Up! has taken deliberate steps so that members can learn about each other, contribute their strengths, and build a shared identity. The process of establishing the consortium was a heavier lift than originally anticipated, and much time over the last two-and-a-half years was spent adjusting to working in a consortium.

In the partnership survey, 76% of respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that consortium members have been more impactful as a result of being part of the programme, as opposed to implementing on their own. Of 21 narrative statements related to the value of working in consortium, 14 list gains related to global reach, cross-regional cooperation, learning more about how to work with bilateral donors, testing out feminist models of leadership, and increased visibility.

> " We have been able to leverage more connections, visibility, reach through working together.

Seven statements, however, indicated that the programme has not yet "gelled" in order to provide value beyond the expertise of any one consortium member. They described the consortium structure as an added burden that outweighed any potential value of working together. In addition, each individual member must engage in more layers of complexity and risk in a consortium model. As one partnership survey respondent described,

> [where the] consortium has been less valuable is in the inordinate and intensive amount of time spent on the coordination on a number of simultaneous and parallel processes — there is the coordination within the consortium and coordination among our own organisational partners.

In 24 statements, respondents indicated that the greatest value of entering into a feminist consortium is to learn from one another. The responses defined learning as more than reflecting on good practice and implementation science against programme results. Instead, respondents valued learning to strengthen skills, deepen understandings of organisational culture and priorities, share advocacy strategies, build confidence, and learn more about what it is like to work with a bilateral donor.

> It is very interesting if consortium members can learn from each other and from other member organisations, and meet their respective partners.
>
> A deep sense of shared understandings of what is happening deeply where we work so that it is well understood why we make the choices and decisions we make — care and safety prioritising for work in hostile contexts, for example.

A possible reason why the programme has not yet evolved into something that is greater than the sum of its parts is because it has not had sufficient time or opportunity to engage in this type of learning. Six of 24 related statements from the partnership survey, along with statements from key informant interviews with other Power of Women strategic partners, described the degree to which operational constraints and external demands have crowded out space for learning.

> The workload this year has been extraordinarily hectic. It often feels that we are always lurching to meet an MFA requirement or deadline with very limited space for engaging meaningfully with our programme partners, convening internal reflections on what we are learning, or advancing… strategic priorities.

These findings reinforce the idea that feminist partnership and meaningful work on deep culture takes time, and may not always be compatible with donor policy or budget cycles, or country-level contexts. Power Up! is taking visible steps to attempt to carve out required time through regular learning workshops and the pursuance of a joint feminist economic alternative strategy. Other actions that the programme can take to strengthen a feminist consortium model are discussed in the recommendations section of this report.

Lessons from Partnering with the Coalition of African Lesbians

Power Up! originally involved four members, JASS, PEKKA, G@W and the Coalition of African Lesbians (CAL). CAL had strategic responsibility for programming related to LBTQI+ rights, and took the lead on working in the East Africa region of focus (Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda). It was also responsible for building connections in the emerging West Africa region (Benin).

In 2021, Power Up! began to monitor the degree to which CAL was able to meet its obligations under the consortium's memorandum of understanding. Critical gaps in leadership and financial instability led Power Up! to end its partnership with CAL in September of 2022. It is beyond the scope of this mid-term review to provide a detailed assessment of the management or value of this departure. Secondary sources, key informant interviews and the partnership survey indicate that a wide variety of stakeholders were in accord with the actions the Executive Committee took, and that JASS handled the incident in the best spirit of feminist partnership. The purpose of this brief section is to comment on the potential impact of this departure in light of results discussed elsewhere in this review.

CAL's departure has had a somewhat significant, although not unrecoverable, impact on programme progress to date. Given the size of the budget originally dedicated to CAL's work, the significance of the loss may be seen more in strategic programming and results rather than expenditures. Little to no progress has been seen in Benin, Rwanda and Uganda, and only small progress is recorded in Kenya and Zimbabwe (where other ground realities may also be causing programme slowdowns). While programming in other countries has seen output and some outcome-level results along multi-step change pathways, activities meant to benefit LBTQI+ partners have yet to demonstrate the same progress. Work on LBTQI+ rights is relatively more visible in programme documents from 2021 and early 2022 when compared to documents produced after the organisation's departure. In other words, CAL's departure resulted in a

significant stalling of work in a strategic geographic region. It also left a capacity gap in a strategic programming area, including in accessing regional and global formal institutions such as United Nations' human rights mechanisms, and in strategic leadership in LBTQI+ advocacy. Finally, while Power Up! consortium members supported CAL and managed the contractual obligations related to the departure, work on consortium-level learning or group formation was put on hold.

Some progress has been made towards recovering from the departure. Power Up! devised a plan to cover the countries and programming that CAL was responsible for and adjusted the related budget. JASS and G@W committed to completing due diligence processes in the first quarter of 2023, and related activities are relatively on track. Resourcing was provided to partners in Uganda and Kenya, and new partnership arrangements were concluded with LBTQI+ organisations in Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe, but delays were experienced in formalizing the partnerships in Benin and Rwanda.[5] To kickstart work in Southern and East Africa, Power Up! held a regional convening with over 50 participants from 20 LBTQI+ organisations from Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe to build a collective analysis of the current reality of LBTQI+ organising and bolster pan-African solidarity.

Until activities and spending are fully back on track, Power Up! remains in a somewhat risky position where it is forced to make trade-offs between meeting contractual obligations, engaging in strategic activities related to FEA or other key areas, and learning and growing as a consortium.

---

[5] These partnership agreements were concluded after the time period considered by this review; in July 2023 for Benin and September 2023 for Rwanda.

4.2 Partnership Between the Power Up! Consortium and the MFA

In order to comment on the relationship between the MFA and the Power Up! consortium, this section provides a high-level overview of the degree to which MFA and Power of Women strategic partners' values, policies and strategic agendas are aligned; and where key actors indicate successes and points of tension. The section draws on key concepts of partnership and power dynamics, and uses secondary sources such as e-mail exchanges, and the partnership agreement alongside findings from 11 key informant interviews, to inform its analysis and conclusions.[6]

Based on this analysis, in general, Power Up! and the MFA exhibit a healthy working relationship in which dialogue and relative flexibility are used to navigate areas where values, principles, strategic goals or operational realities are unaligned. Points of tension may arise as each party navigates power in the relationship, but source documents indicate that parties are able to work towards mutually satisfying ends in times of stress or crisis.

4.2.1 Alignment in Policy and Practice

Strong partnerships exhibit close alignment in relation to values, principles and strategic directions, as much as in policy or programme approaches to trade, diplomacy and development.

An analysis of key informant interviews indicates that there is medium to low alignment between the MFA and Power of Women strategic partners. All parties share common values such as contributing strengths and expertise to meet common goals. The MFA and strategic partners agree they are working towards the same goals: womxn's and LBTQI+ people's rights, grassroots organising, the development of feminist economic alternatives, and womxn's leadership in public spheres. At the same time, the MFA respondents were more likely to place an emphasis on the partnership agreement and on MFA-generated policy as the core foundation for partnership, while civil society interviewees were more likely to emphasize feminist principles of mutual accountability, trust or co-development as a basis.

While a potential lack of alignment in the arenas of trade and diplomacy was of concern to interviewees, these issues were not prioritised as much as alignment in the areas of strategic programming, the degree to which feminist approaches inform development work, and MEL. For example, Power Up! works in nine countries that are not of focus for the MFA and, in some countries, works in regions where Dutch embassies have little to no presence. While work in these countries is of importance to sustain pressure and consolidate regional gains from the perspective of Power Up! consortium members, it is perceived as creating a barrier to partnership for the MFA at the embassy level. Key informants indicated that it is difficult for MFA officials to support civil society programming or interests in places where they have no mandate to work.

Key informant interviews suggest a lack of alignment around the strategic importance of feminist development as an approach to poverty alleviation. For Power of Women strategic partners, feminist approaches are central to their work and feminist transformation is their *raison d'être*. For the MFA, feminist approaches, gender equality and womxn's rights are positioned within a framework to strengthen civil society more generally.[7] The MFA has supported WROs and feminist movement building since the mid-2000s, but, according to interviews, key feminist development concepts and approaches have yet to filter strongly into the day-to-day work of MFA staff. Embassy focal points must constantly switch among gender mainstreaming, womxn's economic empowerment and feminist approaches to development depending on the initiative in hand. This is seen to be creating an environment of inconsistency where MFA interactions with strategic partners are sometimes strongly supportive of feminist approaches and at other times harmful to them. Strategic partners then alternate among strategies that comply or resist.

Perhaps the widest area of divergence between the MFA and civil society respondents lays in the area of monitoring, evaluation and learning. First, data uses and learning agendas diverge. The MFA uses data, in part, to show impact at scale and demonstrate the value of investment to a domestic audience. MFA accountabilities for MEL flow upwards to parliament. SCS strategic partners said that they used data to prove the efficacy of programme approaches to grassroots womxn's lives or gather evidence to fight against conservatism or extremism. Especially when using a feminist MEL approach, accountabilities flow downwards to grassroots womxn. Second, there is a lack of alignment around what constitutes good practice in MEL in a programme such as Power of Women. Based on secondary sources that outline the MFA's strategic approach to learning within the SCS policy framework, MEL agendas by and large reflect standard approaches that centre Western scientific notions of objectivity,

verifiability and quantitative fact. Power Up! MEL centres womxn's and LBTQI+ people's experiences and defines "results" as actions that unstick outstanding issues or inequalities in social norms or power relations across multiple arenas. When key informants described the donor–recipient relationship in this area, points of tension came not from the lack of alignment around the MEL approaches themselves, but from the power dynamics involved as the MFA and civil society attempt to resolve foundational differences in approach. This tension, along with other misalignments discussed here, directly influences what is and is not working in the strategic partnership.

4.2.2 What is and is not Working in the Strategic Partnership?

What is Working

Civil society interview respondents acknowledged that the MFA is a relatively flexible and responsive bilateral donor, and its long and steady track record in womxn's rights programming lends it credibility and trustworthiness. Compared to other donors, it provides latitude in strategic decision-making and is willing to engage when civil society questions administrative requirements. Based on the data sample, the MFA and Power Up! representatives have been able to forge and maintain strong personal working relationships characterised by open communications. Power Up! staff have appreciated embassy responsiveness when asked to lobby with national governments; MFA appreciates Power Up!'s leadership in the areas of feminist MEL and FEAs, and shows some openness to dialogue around embassy engagement. **Most saliently for the conclusions of this review,** the

MFA supported Power Up! in its decision to end its agreement with CAL, and the two entities used similar principles of operating when working with one another to ensure that this step was conducted in a way to achieve the best possible end. In other words, based on available evidence, **in the key crisis that has affected the programme to date, Power Up! and MFA collaborated**. Where the MFA and Power Up! interests align, collaboration can be effective.

What is not Working

At the same time, Power of Women remains a funding instrument managed by a bilateral donor according to formal and informal rules generated by that donor. This power dynamic continues to present challenges to the working relationship between Power Up! and the MFA.

In interviews, strategic partners universally described Power of Women as administratively burdensome and laden with last-minute, uncoordinated requests. They described the relationship with the MFA as extractive and top-down. The MFA has seen a high staff turnover, creating a barrier to trust building and basic programme decision-making. There was no distinct start-up phase to the programme, allowing little time for consortium members, already isolated due to COVID-19 restrictions, to do the required work of forming, storming and norming necessary to build the relationships that underpin results from strategic, programme-level initiatives.

Information flow is an issue at all levels and in all arenas, be this between headquarters and satellite offices, or between the MFA and civil society. In some cases, this forms a barrier to being able to apply feminist approaches to development work. In others, it has potentially put LBTQI+ and womxn's rights organisations in harm's way.

Both the MFA and civil society face key operational constraints that restrict the degree to which lobbying, advocacy, learning or monitoring and evaluation activities may be considered truly joint. Donor policy development processes are often long and involve multiple layers of process. Civil society does not have the capacity (or the strategic interest) to participate in these processes using a full co-development approach. Extractive consultations regarding pre-determined policy solutions are not a viable alternative. Civil society organisations are involved in lobbying or influencing in multiple arenas and with multiple stakeholders, of which bilateral donors are just one and may not be the most important. Given extremely tight budgets, there is a pressure on civil society to ensure that every joint action produces value added.

Similarly, there are perceived or actual limits around the degree to which the MFA is able to adapt MEL activities to incorporate more feminist approaches. In interviews, MFA respondents demonstrated awareness that their MEL systems are heavy, but also positioned themselves as without power to change those systems. Civil society respondents appreciated that MFA requirements are somewhat less burdensome than other donors, but also clearly stated that Power of Women requirements are not right-sized to fit the goals of the funding instrument. Some civil society respondents noted that their quantitative reporting could be strengthened.

The Embassy Engagement Strategy

In an effort to navigate some of these dynamics, Power Up! produced an embassy engagement strategy that uses a series of rankings and criteria to prioritise which Power of Women or SCS activities it will engage in. The strategy is applied to activities that sit outside the partnership agreement. These include global and regional learning activities, third-party monitoring and a meta-evaluation of SCS programmes. In the name of participatory co-development, the MFA frequently invites civil society to take part in these activities. It is expected that recipients will participate in the name of co-creating learning or

co-creation of the Dutch feminist foreign policy.

Partnership activities that fall outside of a formal agreement, regulated by informal rules and norms, potentially generate risk for all partners, but especially for parties with less formal power. In this context, any measure to bring greater formality or visibility to the rules of engagement is positive because it explicitly codifies the values and principles upon which the partnership is based, and it helps to mitigate risks that any party may face. In this light, the engagement strategy has the possibility to become a pro-active measure to articulate the joint values and principles on with the MFA and Power Up! relationship is based, and to mitigate risks that could be incurred in initiatives that remain outside of the partnership agreement.

At the same time, based on key informant interviews, the creation and circulation of this engagement strategy is outside of the box of normalised relations between donor and recipient. If implemented as written, it potentially creates barriers for MFA allies who would like to use Power Up! lessons learned to inform future policy development. In interviews, the role reversal where the funding recipient sets the terms of engagement was marked, not necessarily as negative, but as something new or "outside the box." The role reversal has created tension as the civil society partner is now taking the lead in direction setting and communication in arenas where some of the greatest strategic programming misalignments have been noted.

This tension, or current uncertainties over the embassy engagement strategy are not insurmountable, again because the MFA and Power Up! operate on the basis of good personal relationships, some basic alignment around ultimate goals, and because when it has mattered, the two parties have demonstrated that they can work together using common principles.

5 Lessons Learned

This mid-term review points to key lessons related to the Power Up! TOC and related implementation pathways and strategies, as well as ongoing learning related to working in consortia. The lessons highlighted here are meant to compliment questions and reflections that Power Up! is already engaging in through its learning agenda and regular reflection exercises, and to compliment lessons already highlighted in the 2021 and 2022 annual reports.

5.1 Programmatic

Lesson on the TOC

At the programme level, change pathways are even more complex and multidirectional than originally hypothesized in the TOC, especially where more than one consortium partner implements programming in parallel and/or implements programming together. Change takes place quickly at grassroots levels, and change pathways reflect the many strategies that activists implement in order to maximise opportunities for change while staying safe or responding to pushback or setbacks in other areas.

Lessons on the Pathways and Strategies

There is value to programming that deepens one single change through repeat engagements or preserves space for civil society. This work provides a foundation for quick action and builds sustainability in the face of pushback.

Reclamation of indigenous knowledge and building intergenerational knowledge are vital programming components that cut across all contexts and themes. This type of knowledge is key to making discursive change.

Solidarity and urgent actions rolled out as a result of climate disasters helped Power Up! to make a stronger and clearer link between climate change and the creation of feminist economic alternatives as a means to think of more sustainable ways of living, and as safety nets for women in the face of global warming and increasing inequalities. However, ongoing risk analysis and environmental scans are needed to be better prepared for emergencies

Programming that takes a holistic approach, simultaneously addressing social, political and economic issues, is more likely to reflect the realities of womxn's lives and allows them to act towards results as they define them.

Lesson on MEL

For a complex initiative run in 17 countries, programme-level MEL requires steady and sustained support, not only in the form of consistent expertise and leadership, but also via common data collection, management and analysis structures.

5.2 Partnership Collaboration

Working in Consortium

While many feminist organisations work in collaboration with one another in networks or on advocacy initiatives, it cannot be assumed that this provides a solid basis for a working relationship in a consortium. Even organisations that are well known to each other require time to agree on a strategic agenda, build consortium structures, work out the mechanics of cooperation, and develop joint mitigation strategies in the face of potential risk when they begin working in consortium. Womxn's rights funding models that assume automatic ability to collaborate potentially weaken the very organisations they are meant to strengthen.

Consortia include in-built shared responsibility, including for risk. Even though one member is the signatory with the donor, all partners are affected by crises and must work together to solve collective problems.

Practicing feminism in consortia means making space so that mainstream women's rights organisations can be cognisant of the contributions of others, such as organisations of women with disabilities and young women-led organisations or LBTQI+ organisations. It is necessary to find strategies to embrace diversity, restate common values, and set parameters in a way that all feel included, welcome and safe.

Working with a Bilateral Donor

To buffer issues that may arise when shifting power dynamics in relationships with donors, ongoing engagement and dialogue and a phased change management strategy can mitigate potential pushback.

6 Conclusions to the Power Up! Mid-term Review

This mid-term review has examined the extent to which outcomes have been achieved as anticipated in the programme baseline and performance measurement framework. The review has also compared pathways of actual change against the TOC, identifying the degree to which Power Up! strategies have allowed womxn and LBTQI+ people to harness and use individual and collective power to make change in policies, laws, social norms or markets. This section provides conclusions linked to each of the review questions, while Section 7 follows with recommendations.

6.1 Context

The programme operating context remains as complex as it was at baseline, despite an abatement in the prevalence of COVID-19. Key economic and political factors, such as inflation or economic downturn, government instability or increasing authoritarianism, remain outside of programme control. WHRDs and feminist and LBTQI+ movements are seeing an increase in fundamentalism and a retrenchment of conservative values that jeopardises basic safety and reshapes social norms. Incidents of environmental crises are occurring with greater frequency. Programme partners have been required to quickly shift tactics, ramp up safety and security protocols, or change activity locations, in order to mitigate issues caused by these contextual factors.

6.2 Validity of the TOC

This mid-term review finds that the TOC remains relevant to programme objectives because it reflects the variety of changes that grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people see in their lives. It allows Power Up! to track complex, holistic change across a variety of disparate implementation contexts and as the context of womxn's rights organising shifts. The pivots or shifts that occur when organising is affected by cyclones or deepening conservatism, or when a new opportunity or alliance presents itself, can still be mapped along the TOC in order to demonstrate how womxn and LBTQI+ people harness power from one phase to another. The TOC has demonstrated being broadly applicable across the country contexts for which there is sufficient information to construct and assess change pathways.

The change pathways that were constructed as part of this review mapped very closely onto the TOC. Change starts by building individual and collective power, including by creating spaces that conscientise, build solidarity, and generate feminist knowledge. From here, womxn and LBTQI+ people directly engage power actors individually or in groups, or they become involved in formal alliances or informal collaborations to move into different social, political or economic spaces. At this stage, no two change pathways look alike. Some are fairly short and direct, and are leading to increased access to resources or strengthened international alliances in two to three steps. Others take multiple turns, or routes to change, crossing over one another as womxn and LBTQI+ people engage in multiple tactics, take advantage of new opportunities, or regroup depending on what will further their aims. Here, the ability of the TOC to track change that takes place in multiple directions becomes an advantage.

Given the above, it is difficult to provide generalized insights around the degree to which sets of countries are progressing along similar pathways and showing similar results, especially given that half of programme countries are pursuing more than one pathway. Much change still rests at the output level, and the

closer towards outcomes, the greater degree of divergence or of actions that potentially contribute to more than one goal. Cambodia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Malawi, Myanmar, Palestine, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe have all relied on spaces of solidarity and support for womxn or LBTQI+ people as an output-level precursor to further change in all three of Bodies, Voices and Resources. This upholds a related assumption that changes to stereotypes or norms at the grassroots level allow womxn and LBTQI+ people to sustain pressure. Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Mozambique, South Africa and Tunisia all have strong feminist knowledge building components that either aim to make or have unexpectedly resulted in discursive change. Cambodia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Lebanon and Myanmar have relied on WRO or alliance development as a platform for further action.

The TOC includes space for knowledge production, which has been a key precursor to building or mobilising power in at least six countries. In annual reports, deep dives and regional dialogues, feminist popular education, action research, evidence generation and technical skills building were listed as seminal in building individual and collective power, especially in relation to Indicators 2.2 and 3.2 on creating spaces. The programme removed output indicator 4.3.1 because there is little value in measuring the number of knowledge products. This does not describe the key role that knowledge plays in change processes. At the same time, the lack of any indicator or mechanism for discussing the role of knowledge production is a missed opportunity.

6.2.1 Reviewing TOC Assumptions

A number of TOC assumptions are particularly key to changes observed at mid-term. Data shows womxn and LBTQI+ people in India, South Africa and elsewhere constantly pivoting or using a wide variety of formal and opportunistic alliances in order to further their aims. This demonstrates how effective change requires strong and varied alliances across issues. Activists in Lebanon, Myanmar and Zimbabwe have created safety and support networks

that sustained womxn's and LBTQI+ people's collective leadership and power. Power Up! work in Indonesia demonstrated the degree to which womxn's and LBTQI+ people's grassroots strategies for transforming economic power better serve communities and care for natural resources. Results include instances where change in informal social norms, community institutions or power led to changes in more formal settings, as womxn, including HIV+ womxn and sex workers, shifted stigma or challenged stereotypes in order to access justice from police or become leaders on land committees. This review's definition of sustainability confirms that multiple representations of diverse marginalised voices in advocacy are both possible and desirable as this leads to initiatives that are grounded in grassroots womxn's and LBTQI+ people's lives and can pivot based on context.

6.3 Outcome Level Results to Date

6.3.1 Analysis of Progress by Country

Based on analysis of change pathways, a core group of country programmes, including Cambodia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Lebanon, Mozambique, Malawi, Myanmar, Palestine, South Africa and   Tunisia (with reference to its intergenerational programing), are seeing complex change in how womxn and LBTQI+ people analyse and use power and knowledge, ally with others, and act strategically to change social norms, policy implementation or laws in communities, unions, village governments and other spaces. Programme strategies such as generating feminist knowledge; building individual power, safe spaces and solidarity; strengthening alliances; and developing economic alternatives that are rooted in womxn's lives are crucial to spurring on this change.

There is less evidence of change in Honduras, Kenya and Zimbabwe. Financial and activity variance reports indicate that work in Mesoamerica was focused on

the promotion of the CEDAW general recommendation and regional heart-mind-body activities, and that feminist popular education activities in Honduras were impacted by challenges with virtual platforms. Early gains in Kenya have not seen sustained support due to CAL's departure. Power Up! encountered issues obtaining permits to operate LBTQI+ programming in Zimbabwe.

While initial activities took place in Benin and Uganda, there is no qualitative evidence of change in Benin, Rwanda or Uganda. All three are countries for which CAL was initially responsible.

6.3.2 Analysis of Progress against Programme and SCS Indicators

The bulk of outcome-level change in Power Up! aligns with the outcome levels as described in the Strengthening Civil Society TOC flowchart.

At mid-term, Power Up! has seen **six laws, policies or strategies blocked, adopted or improved;** three in related to Bodies, one to Voices and two to Resources. This is three-quarters of the anticipated mid-term target of eight and almost half of the anticipated target for the end of the programme. In all but one instance, while Power Up! clearly played a role in strengthening WROs, alliance building, and supporting strategic actions, these results are in part the culmination of work that began in some cases a decade previously. This not only demonstrates the degree to which achieving the medium term impact of inclusive laws, policies or norms requires the long-term collaboration of many actors, but also provides a benchmark against which to set expectations for the remainder of the programme. Two results, in Lebanon and Myanmar, confirm the value of long-term, ongoing work to build knowledge and alliances, as this work enabled the programme to pivot quickly in order to block a law in Lebanon and harness funds for womxn's rights in relation to Myanmar.

Change pathways include **31 instances in which WROs supported by the programme succeeded in creating space for feminist demands and positions at the outcome level** over the period under review; seven related to Bodies, 15 related to Voices and nine related to Resources.[8] The bulk of these occurred at the informal and formal community level, and at the formal village or municipal level. They include union leadership, participation on forest rights committees, membership to elected positions at village and regional levels, leadership on Shadow Councils, membership in customary land control groups and participation on disaster management committees. In these spaces, womxn are negotiating for decent work conditions, making land claims, harnessing village development funds to meet womxn's and girls' needs, opening space for dialogue on womxn's rights, and increasing sex workers' and HIV+ womxn's access to and control over land. Given that most change related to LBTQI+ people remains at output level, data provides less evidence that they are inserting themselves into spaces in ways that are associated with outcome-level change.

While this is evidence that womxn are sustainably participating and influencing agendas, there is less evidence that the spaces themselves are changing towards sharing power or allowing for more democratic process. As with outcomes related to law and policy change, the nature of the spaces themselves are more likely to have changed in instances where there has been a long-term relationship between grassroots activists and partners, or among activists, partners and consortia members. In some change pathways, transforming spaces is the goal, while in others insertion into and leadership in a particular space is an end in itself or is the first step in achieving another goal. Over the next two years of the programme, it will be necessary to track the degree to which womxn's actions in these spaces led to social, policy or economic change along multiple pathways.

Womxn have inserted themselves into a wide variety of spaces. On one hand,

---

[8] Again, the method used to count number of times space was created differs in this report than the one used to generate IATI data. This number was generated by counting the number of times space creation occurred at the outcome level in the change pathways under review. For this reason, this section does not include a comparison against targets set at baseline.

this reflects the degree to which the programme is rooted in womxn's own interests and agendas, and demonstrates the spread of civic space that they are occupying. In countries such as Cambodia, India, Indonesia and South Africa, where occupying space is the culmination of a variety of previous gains or outputs, this presence also demonstrates womxn's capacity to sustain pressure. They have been able to garner the support of family, harness new knowledge, lobby with local officials, or shift public opinion in order to now lead. There is a risk inherent in this variety, however. Sustaining pressure and leading in too many forums or in complex and risky spaces may lead to burnout. As the programme continues to see gains in spaces, the safety and security activities under output 5.2.1 and self- and group-care strategies outlined in the risk register become ever more important.

Womxn, and to a lesser extent LBTQI+ people, are beginning to see **changes in power actors' perceptions, attitudes and behaviours**, although with caveats around change being slow in relation to Voices and Resources. Changes are seen in all three of social, political and economic spaces, made by family members, village level informal influencers, male village and community development committee members, police and justice institutions, school administrators, union leaders, paramount chiefs, regional or national government officials, donors, and the general public via social media campaigns. Change ranges from actors signalling that they are thinking about womxn's rights in new ways to taking personal risks and changing regulations, laws or norms at a structural level. Given data available for this review, it is difficult to provide an in-depth analysis of spread and depth of change. Data also did not include distinct perceptions from LBTQI+ people. Womxn's narrative indicates that, compared to the changes in laws, policies or spaces, some of the changes made in this area is very new. Country programmes in India, Lebanon, Mozambique, Palestine, South Africa and Tunisia are engaging with some of their key constituents for the first time, and initial attitude changes have yet to solidify into concrete actions that will hold under pressure.

Deep dives, regional dialogues and to a certain extent annual reports universally

record the ways in which **womxn perceive their own power and agency to have increased**. Older womxn, younger womxn, HIV+ womxn, sex workers, widows and divorced women, Indigenous womxn and others are refinding self-worth, gaining or constructing knowledge, and taking inspiration from other womxn through the feminist popular education and action research undertaken in the programme. As womxn stated during deep dive sessions,

> " I see myself as an autonomous person worthy of self-care and self-love. I have the strength to speak.

> " I never thought I could teach others about the knowledge I have of food and culture. However, I was able to do it. Power Up taught me to stand in front of lights and cameras, I never thought I would do that.

6.4 The Value of Partnerships

6.4.1 Partnering as a Consortium

In the main, the Power Up! consortium is effectively applying feminist principles in order to challenge how power operates among a diverse mix of womxn's rights organisations. The consortium has articulated a set of common ways of working that assists its members in navigating North–South, South–South or lead

member dynamics.

The degree to which these ways of working are consistently and deeply applied so as to substantively transform power is challenged by differences in organisational culture, the operational demands of managing a complex bilateral programme, and weaknesses in communication and information flows. Primary data indicates that when pressed for time, the consortium reverts to interpersonal relations that reinforce a Global North, English language status quo.

From its inception, Power Up! consortium members have aspired to form a collective identity that allows it to build collective power and support feminist movements. It attempted to mitigate challenges related to COVID-19 pandemic travel restrictions and the relative newness of the partnership by holding virtual and face-to-face learning sessions and engaging in intentional learning exchanges. In addition, Power Up! has pro-actively reached out to other Power of Women and Strengthening Civil Society strategic partners to initiate learning days and develop strategy on feminist economic alternatives.

Despite these actions, responses from the partnership survey indicate that, at mid-term, a collective identity has not yet emerged as strongly as consortium members expected. Respondents universally indicated that the key to building collective power is having time and space to share organisational cultures, learn from one another's expertise, exchange good practice, and struggle with key feminist questions. This learning has taken second priority to meeting contractual obligations, managing donor relationships, and supporting CAL's departure.

6.4.2 Partnering with a Bilateral Donor

The MFA prides itself on being a relatively flexible and responsive bilateral donor with a long and steady track record in womxn's rights programming. It provides relative latitude in strategic decision-making and is willing to engage when civil society questions administrative requirements. The Gender Equality Task Force is perceived as supportive in furthering feminist agendas.

At the same time, key informant interviews point to a lack of alignment among the MFA and the strategic partners who implement under Power of Women in the areas of strategic programming; the degree to which feminist approaches inform parties' development work; and monitoring, evaluation and learning. In addition, a number of barriers prevent collaboration in ways that will forward the feminist aims of the programme. Donor requirements remain burdensome to Power of Women strategic partners, forcing them, as illustrated in Section 6.1.3, to make trade-offs between compliance and building feminist collectivity. Aspects of the working relationship that exist outside of the partnership agreement are not formalised or codified, leading to some minor frictions when actors do not behave as expected. Bilateral donors and civil society (writ large) tend to follow different processes of lobbying and advocacy, making it difficult to co-develop or synchronise policy positions or lobbying activities. Key informant interviews indicate that information flow between levels and among actors is not always smooth.

Most saliently for the conclusions of this review, the MFA supported Power Up! in its decision to end its agreement with CAL, and the two entities used similar principles of operating when working with one another to ensure that this step was conducted in a way to achieve the best possible end. In other words, based on available evidence, **in the key crisis that has affected the programme to date, Power Up! and** the **MFA collaborated**. Where the MFA and Power Up! interests align, collaboration can be effective.

7 Recommendations

7.1 Recommendations for Power Up!

7.1.1 Strategic Programming

Programming Recommendation 1: Advance LBTQI+ programming

Prioritise actions to **launch and consolidate LBTQI+ programming** in Benin, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe in order to fulfill the programme's LBTQI+ strategy. This may require making trade-offs with strategic programming priorities such as the feminist economic alternatives strategy, depending on consortium member bandwidth.

Programming Recommendation 2: Deepen work on norms and social change

Deepen and prioritise current programming that focuses on social norms change, discursive change, demystifying stereotypes, or raising awareness around power and bodies. Results related to laws and policies under Bodies, and results under womxn's perception of power actors' changes in attitudes and behaviours under Voices and Resources demonstrated the value of programming that works to raise awareness around the basics of womxn's and LBTQI+ people's rights, and to change related social norms and discourse. Power Up!'s engagements with LBTQI+ groups between 2021 and mid-2022 were also concentrated in this area. Deepening and putting greater emphasis on this type of programming builds sustained power at the individual level, provides a base for support in the face of pushback, allows partners to pivot in times of change, and builds up the vision of the world womxn and LBTQI+ people want to see when they lobby or create space.

Programming Recommendation 3: Strengthen and diversify safety and solidarity actions

This recommendation is made not due to a perceived gap in current safety and solidarity work, but because this review has shown that strong safety networks protect activists and WROs in a context of ongoing precariousness and mitigates the potential for burnout. The safety strategies embedded into activities within the first two-and-a-half years of Power Up! have the potential to sustain activists, WROs and movements beyond the end of the programme.

Programming Recommendation 4: Continue to support feminist knowledge production, and highlight the role it plays in change pathways

Knowledge production, be this reclaiming Indigenous peoples' languages, centring nutrition in traditional foods controlled by womxn, or generating products for an international meeting with Special Rapporteurs, played multiple roles in making change at various points across different change pathways. It boosted womxn's self-confidence and power, changed the views of power actors, provided the basis for planning FEAs, or was itself an output of other activities. Given its seminal role in making change, it is recommended that Power Up! continue to emphasise knowledge production. Furthermore, it is recommended that the programme identify a way to capture the role or impact of this work in formal reporting without making substantive changes to the current performance measurement framework.

Programming Recommendation 5: Strengthen monitoring, evaluation and learning

Power Up! uses well-tested and recognised methods of feminist monitoring, evaluation and learning to track results. Its MEL activities give voice to local womxn and LBTQI+ people, organisations and movements based in the Global

South. The MEL system has a strong reflexive learning function, which is key to generating knowledge in feminist methodologies. At the same time, it is recommended that Power Up! put in place mechanisms and resources necessary to carry out routine, programme-level MEL functions consistently, with a view to being able to tell a cohesive impact story when either formative or summative milestones arise. It is recommended that Power Up! begin preparing now for the programme-level evaluation exercise in 2023.

Programming Recommendation 6: Include a greater focus on how feminist alliances and movements are built and sustained in the learning agenda

Power Up! supports alliance and movement building as a key strategy, but data sourced for this mid-term review had less information on this strategy when compared to others. It is recommended that Power Up! track where new networks and alliances have been forged within and as a result of the programme and the diversity and quality of these relationships.

Programming Recommendation 7: Continue the feminist economic alternatives initiative

Continue to develop programming on feminist economic alternatives. Primary data indicated high levels of support for Power Up! to continue developing strategic actions around feminist economic alternatives as a method of contributing to the Power of Women funding instrument.

FEMINIST ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVES

care for womxn's lives and the planet.

7.1.2 Operations and Relationship Management

Operational Recommendation 1: Strengthen communications and work planning

Strengthen communications and information flows. Map where key staff[9] from each consortium member are located geographically and in each members' organisational chart in order to devise systems that reach everyone who needs to know. Develop a central or common repository for key programming and operational documents. Re--issue the terms of reference for management committee meetings and other working groups. Use real-time, online communications tools to convey key decisions or messages from executive committee meetings or discussions with the MFA. Allow sufficient time for document review and other meeting preparations. Consider translating key documents into Bahasa Indonesia and Portuguese, among other languages. Devise and disseminate an internal, consortium-level programme management work plan. Mark down consortium members' religious and national holidays to ensure that key activities do not fall on these days.

Operational Recommendation 2: Convene face-to-face to build a programme identity

As time and resources permit, consider more frequent face-to-face meetings in order to engage in co-creation and co-development of Power Up! processes, structures and strategies, leaning on each consortium members' expertise.

Relationship Management Recommendation 1: As lead partner, play an interlocutor role

Partnership survey and key informant interviews provided almost universal support to JASS in its role as interlocutor and relationship manager with the MFA. It is recommended that other consortium members continue to support JASS in this role.

Relationship Management Recommendation 2: Continue to be pro-active in Power Up!'s relationship with the MFA

When feasible, develop a series of briefing material, videos or other knowledge products that focus on describing Power Up!'s feminist approach(es) and work at the country level in concrete and practical terms. MFA staff turn over frequently, and programme-level annual or mid-term reports may not provide details on country-level operations that are useful to MFA staff when lobbying on behalf of civil society. This type of information builds greater understanding around Power Up!'s feminist approach to help embassy staff tailor their engagements.

Identify creative ways to share work plans, schedules of key dates and related information about lobbying and advocacy processes with MFA. This could take the form of an online learning event in which stakeholders describe "a day in the life of" key lobbying or advocacy actors within the MFA and in Power Up! Similar discussions could be expanded to include all SCS strategic partners and the Dutch NGO lobby if feasible.

Begin discussions around the types of expertise required for external evaluators, in preparation for the final evaluation. Work with the MFA to solve potential blockages in procurement processes and support the creation of a pool of evaluators with expertise in feminist evaluation.

---

[9] This term is intentionally used to include anyone who is paid in any function to work towards Power Up! objectives including those at the coordination unit, people who bill part of their time to Power Up! but are staff of a consortium partner, associates, consultants, contractors and village-level operatives.

Collective power
and collective protection
go hand-in-hand.

7.2 Recommendations for the MFA

7.2.1 Strategic Programming

Programming Recommendation 1: Support programme approaches that embed safety, crisis management and counter-pushback strategies

Power Up! includes safety, protection and solidarity mechanisms that are integrated into all phases and stages of advocacy work as a "cross-cutting theme." This has allowed activists in Lebanon, Malawi and other countries to exercise individual and collective power in insecure contexts. Assuming that MFA will work in high-risk focus countries under the new feminist foreign policy, well-resourced, flexible embedded safety strategies have the potential to prevent burnout and harm to local activists, and to protect programming investments.

Programming Recommendation 2: Establish mechanisms to support adaptability and sustain consortia

Where policy instruments or theories of change are based on an assumption that WROs working in consortium will add value to the impact of an initiative, establish mechanisms that provide consortium members with the time and space to set up requisite systems, structures and strategies. This could include extending the funding application period to allow applicants more time to forge initial working relationships, extending the start-up phase to allow a participatory "build" period with local WROs, or allowing for the gradual phasing in of new activities or gradual engagement of new partners over the first year of the programme (i.e. the consortium may begin initial activities with one to two stronger partners over the first six months, then begin gradual

involvement of other partners over time). It could also include establishing mechanisms to coordinate MFA asks or to reduce reporting and administrative burdens.

Programming Recommendation 3: Support synergies among strategic partners

MFA is strategically placed to act as a creditable convenor given its long history of supporting feminist movement building. In order to remain grounded in grassroots womxn's and LBTQI+ people's realities, localisation activities require strong links from local to global levels. Key informant interviews and source documents for this review show that while Power of Women strategic partners are making some regional, transnational or international links to engage in strategic programming, more could be done. For example, programming, designed and led by feminist movements, that intentionally links global, regional and local feminist movements and Dutch civil society entities together to carry out joint actions, could be developed as a stand-alone fund or embedded into a broader policy framework.

7.2.2 Operations and Relationship Management

Relationship Management Recommendation 1: Engage strategic partners using a tailored, transparent strategy

Take a tailored approach to invitations for national-level activities. Feminist organisations are willing to contribute to scoping or evaluation missions, learning events or other embassy initiatives provided that there is a concrete value added. Hold events that allow MFA and consortium staff to deepen their mutual understanding of the opportunities and challenges that feminist and LBTQI+ movements face.

Identify ways in which stakeholder consultations can be implemented using participatory, co-creation or learning approaches, and be transparent when there is no room to move beyond information extraction. Consider administering a survey, using asynchronous online collaboration tools, or asking for written feedback to save time in consultation processes.

Relationship Management Recommendation 2: Support grassroots participation in safe, strategic engagement

Work with MFA safety and security, information technology and related teams to review safety and security protocols and situational analyses in preparation for working with marginalised groups, especially LBTQI+ people.

Ensure that engagement activities are appropriately compensated and universally accessible. Provide adequate notice to allow partners time to travel to session and make related arrangements. If it is not possible to provide written notice, adjust the objectives and expectations for the session.

Relationship Management Recommendation 3: Share information about policy and advocacy processes with grassroots and national WROs

Identify creative ways to share work plans, schedules of key dates and related information about lobbying and advocacy processes with feminist activists at grassroots and higher levels. This could take the form of an online learning event in which stakeholders describe "a day in the life of" key lobbying or advocacy actors within the MFA and in Power Up! Similar discussions could be expanded to include all SCS strategic partners and the Dutch NGO lobby if feasible.

7.2.3 Policy

Recommendation 1: Ground the development of the feminist foreign policy in the extensive, long-standing, global evidence of what works to promote womxn's, girls' and LBTQI+ people's rights, as reflected in this review

Integrate feminist principles and objectives into trade and diplomacy as well as development policy. A more integrated approach ensures that grand challenges related to climate change, information technology or security can also be addressed from a feminist perspective and in a holistic manner.

Centre feminist movements, WROs and LGBTQI+ organisations as legitimate, experienced and innovative change leaders across a broad range of sectors. This allows policy to remain anchored in the needs, rights and strategic interests of grassroots womxn and LBTQI+ people. It also allows for greater local ownership of development agendas by the "majority world".

Feminist lobbying and advocacy work takes decades to shift laws, policies or attitudes, and includes a wide variety of actors and alliances at multiple levels. Make long-term investments in programming that promotes movement building across borders, and takes an intersectional approach. This includes continued flexible funding for organisational capacity building, sustainability, safety and well-being of womxn and LBTQI+ activists.

Include parameters that define how MFA development, diplomacy and trade staff will conduct relationships and business in a more feminist manner. In the development stream, this could include codifying a more relational or co-development approach to partnerships. It may also mean adopting accountability frameworks that centre downwards accountability.

Recommendation 2: Prepare for internal change in advance

Lay the groundwork for policy launch and implementation in advance by shifting internal systems, structures and capacities. This includes building capacity to incorporate feminist MEL approaches into monitoring, evaluation and results measurement functions; providing training packages, placemats or guidance notes explaining the difference between gender equality, women's economic empowerment and feminist approaches to development for programme management and subject matter expert teams; modifying supplier lists to include third-party contractors with skills in feminist development approaches; and preparing and socialising a communications strategy.

Recommendation 3: Confirming the SCS theory of change

The findings in this report not only validate the Power Up! TOC but also support certain aspects of the Strengthening Civil Society policy framework, including a focus on informal spaces and social norms change, working through local actors, and aiming to preserve as well as improve or enlarge civil society. Despite a long and proven track record supporting womxn's and girls' rights and gender equality, however, MFA support to feminist organisations is positioned as just one component within a more generalised framework. This leaves no mechanism through which to demonstrate how womxn's rights and LBTQI+ movements shape or lead civil society in change making as seen in Power Up!'s programming in Guatemala, Myanmar and elsewhere. It is recommended that

future policy instruments retain a focus on gender equality and womxn's rights, and specifically highlight the roles that feminist movements play in any future theories of change.

Recommendation 4: Base funding on an assessment of strategic impact

Base programme funding on a strategic assessment of where the strategy or programme approaches under consideration add most value, not on funding in a set group of countries. Limiting to a certain set of countries may also limit the policy objectives that can be obtained in the conditions present in those countries.

Annexes

Annex 1: Excerpts from the Power Up! Mid-term Review Inception Report

Version 2 - 24th April 2023

Research Design

1.1 Objectives of the Mid-Term Review

The overall objective of the Mid-Term Review (MTR) is to inform Consortium Members of lessons learned and identify areas of improvement to strengthen the latter half of the five-year partnership. This will enable them to continue to monitor their progress ahead of their endline evaluation in 2025. More specifically, the two key objectives of the evaluation are:

- To validate the theory of change and assess the progress made towards outcomes and outputs over the last 2.5 years
- To reflect on learning and capture changes that have resulted from the partnership

The MTR aims to provide an opportunity for learning and reflection to help identify areas for improvement and development of the programme ahead of the endline evaluation. It will also make it possible to support the PU! PMEAL team to set up a monitoring and evaluation system that would support data collection for the endline evaluation.

1.2 Evaluation Design and Approach

The evaluation adopts a feminist and participatory approach to planning, monitoring and evaluating the impact of the programme and its engagement with key stakeholders. It puts the experience, leadership and solutions of womxn at the centre of its inquiry and considers the power relations at each point of the evaluation, from its design to the analysis and reporting of findings. As a result, the evaluation will take a mixed-methods approach to addressing the research questions, capturing the perspectives and experiences of key stakeholders in the project and ensuring that womxn's stories and insights are at the heart of the evaluation.

The following section presents the proposed research design for the MTR, reflecting the feedback of key stakeholders and consortium members at the MTR workshop sessions that took place in Cape Town in April 2023.

1.3 Methodology

We propose using an adaptive approach to our research, learning from the data and our analysis of its results, from each other as researchers, from the Power Up! Consortium, and its partners. We prefer to keep our structure nimble, allowing agility to move in a different direction if the data suggests so. These plans are therefore subject to change: we will adapt our methodology as we progress throughout the project, sharing our ideas with Power Up! regularly for feedback and reflections.

Throughout the process, we will select creative, feminist and participatory research tools and approaches that are relevant to each research methodology. Key stages include:

- Literature Review
- Reflective Conversations with Womxn
- Focus Group Discussions with Implementing partners & WROs
- Online Surveys with Consortium Members & Implementing Partners
- Sense Making Workshop (August)
- Final Validation Workshop with Consortium members (September)
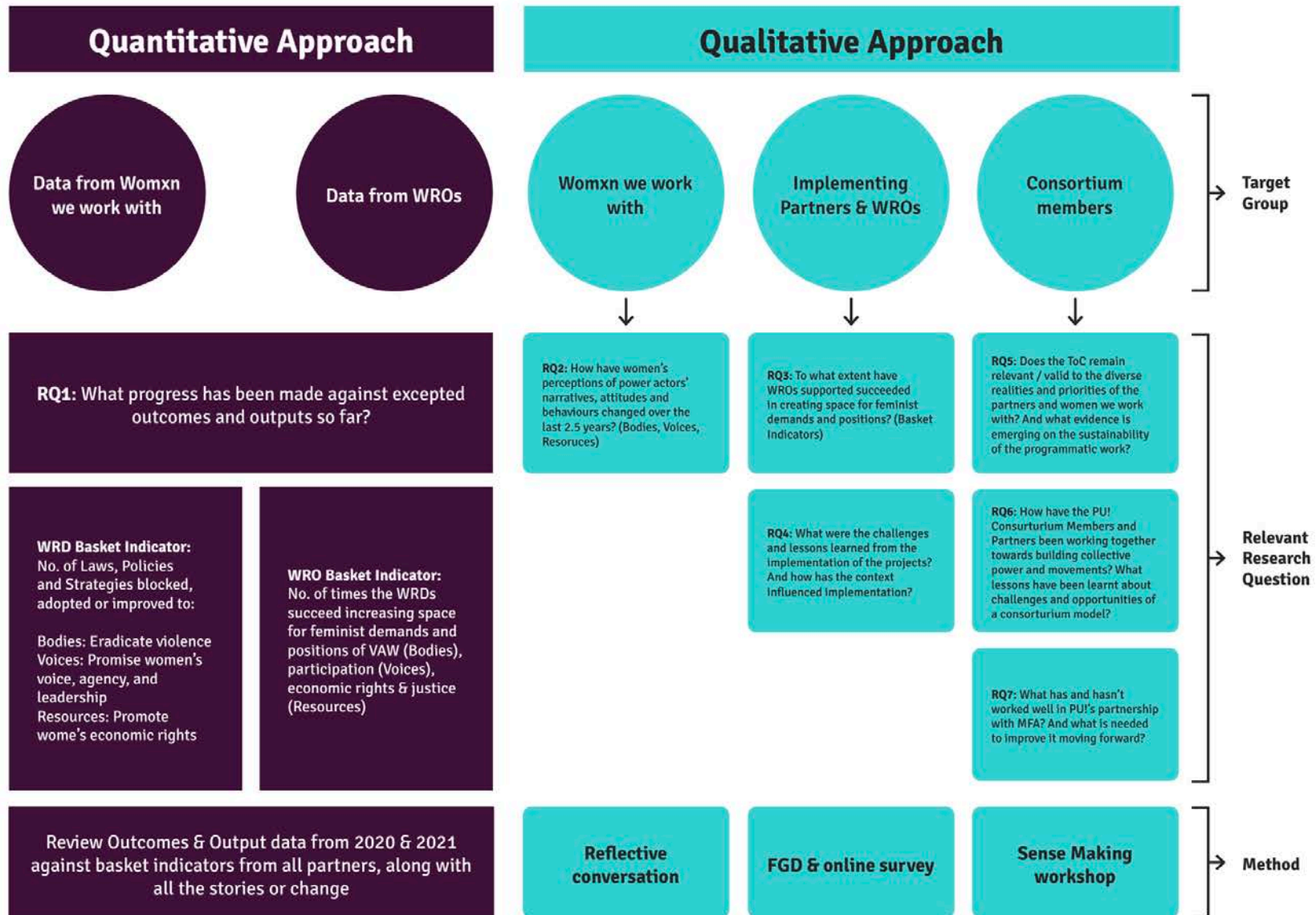
1.5 Sampling Approach

The three key target groups for the evaluation include: Womxn we work with, Implementing Partners & women's rights organisations (WROs), and Consortium Members. We propose to specifically focus the evaluation on participants who have been engaged in the PU! Programme from its inception in 2021, and as a result have seen some evidence of its development so far. As we do not have the resources to engage with all of the 17 programme countries, a sampling method is needed to justify the countries and partners we prioritise for engagement.

Our initial approach to sampling will be to prioritise countries where there is alignment between the MFA's priority countries and regions and those included in the Power Up! Programme. We therefore propose to focus our sampling and evaluation on eight countries with overlap between the MFA priority countries and the Power Up! Consortium partner countries of focus. We will also adapt this sampling approach on an ongoing basis in response to feedback and recommendations by the consortium and the insights being uncovered through the research. The following table summarises the possible priority countries for the evaluation and the Consortium Members that work within them:

- ● PEKKA
- ● JASS
- ● G@W

The evaluation approach focuses on three target groups who will need to be selected from the appropriate counties:

- • **Womxn we work with (Reflective Conversations)** - each consortium partner will select one group of women from one of the countries listed above for the Reflective Conversations.
- • **Implementing Partners & WROs (FGDs & online survey) -** each consortium partner will select one implementing partner from one of the countries listed above for the focus group discussions. Other implementing partners and WROs will be selected by consortium partners for the online survey.
- • **Consortium Members (Sensemaking workshop)** - Consortium partners will nominate who they believe should be represented at the sensemaking workshop.

Annex 2: List of Information Sources

Where Used in Review	Documents Reviewed
All Sections	Together We Can: Power up! Programme baseline report, 2021
	Power Up! Annual Report 2021
	Power Up! Annual Report 2022
	PU! MTR Evaluation Questions
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (n.d). Policy Framework for Strengthening Civil Society. Original call for proposals under the Power of Women funding instrument
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (n.d.) Policy Document Women's Rights and Gender Equality: Power of Women
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. (2019). Executive Summary of the Strengthening Civil Society Theory of Change: Supporting civil society's political role. MFA.
	Government of the Netherlands. (2022). IOB Evaluation Quality Criteria.
	Extra information on the SCS MTRs (including its assessment by the MFA)
Methodology	Power Up! Mid-term Review Inception Report
	Power Up! MEL suite of documents including performance measurement framework, MEL Guidance Toolkit (November, 2022), IATI target trackers, etc.
	PU! Program-level Learning Questions and MTR Evaluation Questions
	Batliwala, S. (2019). All About Movements: Understanding Why Building Movements Creates Deeper Change. CREA. https://reconference.creaworld.org/all-about-power/

	Ecorys. (2020). Addressing Root Causes (ARC) Programme Final Report. Ruudvan Soelen, Rotterdam.
	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Assistance Committee. (2022). Global Affairs Canada's Approach to Feminist Evaluation Practices. OECD-DAC Development Cooperation Tips, Tools, Insights, Practices Series.
	Podems, D., & Negroustoueva, S. (2021). Feminist Evaluation. Better Evaluation.
	Podems, D. (2014). Feminist Evaluation for Non-feminists. In Brisolara, S., Seigart, D., Sengupta, S. (2014). Feminist Evaluation and Research: Theory and practice. The Guilford Press.
	Podems, D. (2010). Feminist Evaluation and Gender Approaches: There's a difference? Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation. 6(14). ISSN 1556-8180
	White, H., & Philips, D. (2022). Addressing Attribution of Cause and Effect in Small n Impact Evaluations: Towards an integrated framework. International Initiative for Impact Evaluation Working Paper 15. DOI: 10.23846/WP0015
RQ1, RQ2, RQ3	Notes on Progress to Inform Annual Report 2022 from Cape Town Meeting
	Power Up! Collated Data from Pre-testing of MEL Guidance January - October 2022
	CRTDA 2022-2023 Annual Narrative Report
	Cajegas, L. (n.d.). The Power of Women Powering Up in Indonesia. Brief describing PEKKA's approach and results.
	Feminist Economic Alternatives: Literature Review September 2022
	Feminist Economic Alternatives: Power Up!'s Approach
	Power Up! (2022) Feminist Economic Alternatives: Power Up!'s Strategy 2023-2025
	Various Power Up! Narrative sorting and analytic tables from 2021, 2022 and 2023
RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 and Annex 8	Power Up! IATI 2021 and 2022 results charts
RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ5	IATI Charts 2021 and 2022
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2021). Strengthening Civil Society IATI Indicator Guidelines: Power of Voices Partnerships focusing on women's rights and gender equality.
RQ1, RQ2, RQ3, RQ6	Roundtable Discussion and Learning Event on Feminist Econoimc Alternatives, 2022
	Power Up! Women Advocate for Bodies, Voices and Resources Original Programme Proposal and Power Up! Updated Programme Document (October 2022)
	Power Up! 2021, 2022 and 2023 Annual Plans and related annual planning documentation and budgets
	Power Up! Dutch MFA and Embassy Engagement Strategy Presentation

RQ4, Risk	Civicus. (2023). Mozambique: 'The new NGO law will be the death of the civic movement.' Interview with Paula Monjane, Executive Director of the Civil Society Learning and Capacity Building Center (CESC).
	Firmin, A, Pousadela, I. M., and Tiwana, M. (2023). 2023 State of Civil Society Report. Civicus.
	Human Rights Watch. (2023, February). Mozambique: Draft law threatens civil society groups. Human Rights Watch.
	Tsandzana, D. (2023, March). Civil Society Organizations Fight for the Right of Association in Mozambique. Global Voices.; Civicus. (2023, February).
	World Economic Forum. (2022). Global Gender Gap Report 2023. World Econoimc Forum. ISBN-13: 978-2-940631-97-1
RQ6	Power Up: Women Advocate for Bodies, Voices and Resources Consortium Agreement/MOU
	Various Power Up! 2021 and 2022 annual consortium coordination meeting minutes, presentations and notes (January 2022 coordination meeting minutes, 2021 joint planning session, etc.)
	Strengthening Civil Society: Integrating gender in our practice inputs from the Power Up! consortium. Brief from Power of Women strategic partners convening
RQ6, RQ7	Power Up! and CMI! Roundtable Discussion learning event on FEA Report
RQ7	Various pieces of correspondence between the MFA and Power Up! beginning with the original granting agreement letter and including communications related to CAL's departure
	Government of the Netherlands. (2022). Do What We Do Best: A strategy for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
	Tant, E., & Rodriguez, D. J. T. (2022). How to Partner with Feminist Movements for Transformative Change. ODI Policy Brief. Used to form KII questions.
Sustainability	Coffman, J., Barsoum, G., Lopes, A., & Gantz, M. B. (2021). Advocacy that Builds Power: Transforming policies and systems for health and racial equity. Center for Evaluation Innovation.

Annex 3: Data Collection Tools

Deep Dive Agenda

PU! Mid-Term Review

Tuesday, 1 August 2023 **DEEP DIVE** 1:00pm - 3:00pm Jakarta | 8:00am – 10:00am CET | 7:00am – 9:00am WAT Zoom link - https://genderatwork-org.zoom.us/j/88659202443 Facilitators & Tech: Nkechi Odinukwe & Aayushi Aggarwal *Interpretation/translation in Bahasa*	

Time	Session
@ 0-11 mins	Welcome, Grounding and Introductions
@ 12 mins	Reviewing Deep Dive Objectives and Setting Expectations
@17 mins	Thinking about Power Purpose: To explore how participants have experienced changes in their power because of their engagement/participation in the Power Up! Programme. Framing Questions: What shifts in power /agency have womxn observed over the last 2.5 years? (Bodies, Voices and Resources)? What shifts, if any, in narratives, attitudes and behaviors of power holders have been observed? How these changes have happened.
@25 mins	Sharing of experiences (in Plenary)
@53 min	Additional Reflections Purpose: To probe more deeply on areas that have received less attention in the discussion up until now Framing Questions: What other changes in the areas of Bodies, Voice and Resources have participants experienced or seen in their lives and the lives around them? What has contributed to these changes?
@65 mins	Closing
@75 mins	End

Details around process to be shared during the session

Regional Dialogues Agenda

PU! Mid-Term Review

Friday, 28 July 2023 **ASIA REGIONAL DIALOGUE** 2:00pm - 5:00pm Bangkok | 9:00 am - 12:00 pm SAST-CET | 10:00 am EAT - 1:00 pm EAT |12:30pm – 3:30pm IST Zoom link - https://genderatwork-org.zoom.us/j/82265587641 Facilitators & Tech: Eleanor du Plooy, Hendrica Okondo, Aayushi Aggarwal *Simultaneous interpretation/translation in Bahasa and Hindi available*	

Time	Session
@ 0-7 mins	Welcome, Grounding and Introductions
@ 15 mins	Reviewing Meeting Objectives and Setting Expectations
@30 mins	Session 1: Reflecting on the programme to date Purpose: To reflect on programme contexts and highlights that influence thinking about the future. Framing Questions: What contextual changes have happened since the launch of Power Up! that affects project implementation? What is a story emerging from this initiative that represents what we have learned about implementing Power Up!?
@60 min	Session 2: Looking at Changes in Power and Space Purpose: To explore how shifts in power occurred for women participants in the programme and how women's rights organisations have created space for feminist demands. Framing Questions: What shifts in power /agency have womxn observed over the last 2.5 years? (Bodies, Voices and Resources)? To what extent have the WROs supported by Power Up! succeeded in creating space for feminist demands and positions?
@90 mins	Session 3: Exploring Relevance and Sustainability Purpose: To gather participants' views on relevance & future sustainability of Power Up! Framing questions: How can Power Up! become even more relevant to the communities (and the womxn) it serves? What can the PU! Consortium members and partners do (or change) in the way we implement the next part of the project to ensure the sustainability of this initiative?
@120 mins	Closing

Details around process to be shared during the session

Creative Submissions Agenda

Introduction

Hello from <Agency Name!>. At this current moment, the programme is in the midst of a mid-term evaluation, a moment to reflect on the work that has been conducted in the last 2.5 years, by you, your organization and us together as a collective.

We are reaching out because we would love to hear from you. Stories matter to us. This is an opportunity to share. Our aim is to provide you with the opportunity if you would like to volunteer to talk about your experiences, what you have learnt and what has been an aha moment in the last two and a half years. This will enhance our understanding of your work and context. While we encourage you to, we understand that sometimes sharing means reliving something really difficult and we can provide counseling services if you need. If you require psychosocial support, please contact <name of coordinator from agency>.

The purpose of collecting your stories is simple: We don't feel that we can truly represent what has happened in the last 2.5 years, and the changes, achievements, and challenges without your voice. We would like to encourage submissions in whatever formats are suitable for you. You can tell us your stories in the form of a photo, video, voice note, drawing, or anything you think best represents your story. Feel free to be creative.

As evaluators, we will safeguard your stories, and share them if you allow us to. If you would like to remain anonymous, or have your story only used as a point of reference, rather than potentially having it shared, please do let us know below.

Consent

<Agency Name> is collecting a range of data to amplify your leadership/voice, track our impact, ensure we are accountable to our donors and support our influence agendas. As a feminist consortium, we are committed to ensuring we have informed, ongoing consent for the use of your data (personal information, quotes, stories and visuals including photos and videos). We recognise that the women we work with live in risky contexts and safety is our primary concern. We recognise and support your right to determine how we use your data, how you are identified and to withdraw your consent at any time.

Please ask any <Insert Agency Here> team member if you are unsure about sharing some information, or have any questions. You can contact us at any time to change your permission; no story will be developed or published without your consent. **INSERT RELEVANT CONTACT DETAILS HERE.**

Name		Organisation	
Country		📞#1	
📞#2		Email	

Age	Under 18	Gender	Woman
	18-24		Non-binary
	25-34		Transgender
	35-44		Man
	44-55		Prefer not to say
	Over 55		Other:_____

Identities: JASS recognises we have multiple identities, please tick the relevant box for any that apply to you.

Lesbian Bisexual Transgender Queer Intersex	Women Human Rights Defender (WHRD)
Woman living with HIV	Activist
Rural woman	Informal trader/worker
Urban woman	Faith leader
Young woman	Traditional leader
Indigenous woman	Donor/funder
Woman worker	Social justice/human rights leader
Sex worker	UN/statutory body representative
Popular educator/facilitator	Trade union leader
Woman farmer	Government representative
Land/territory defender	Other: _____

Consent: Please share your consent for us to use your information and contributions during this activity. Please check/tick each item to show that you agree to what is required, or leave it blank if you do not agree.

The purpose of this consent form has been explained to me and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

I have read and understood the information in the consent form

I agree to let PowerUp! include my **quotes/photos/videos** (*cross out any you do not want PowerUp to use*) in printed/online materials including on PowerUp!'s website, social media (**facebook, twitter, instagram and linkedin**) and email communication (*cross out any you do not want PowerUp to use*).

I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time. I will communicate to <insert name of agency> if I would prefer not to appear on any materials.

I understand that I do not have to use my real name

I would like to be described as: (please tick and fill in as you prefer)

Name as above	Participant from country (as above)
Nickname (chosen by you; please write below)	Activist
Pseudonym (automatically assigned by our secure online server, and not your real name)	Women's rights activist
Anonymise (automatically assigned by our secure online server, so your information is always protected)	Feminist Activist
Event participant (e.g. JASS workshop participant	Queer activist
Member of organisation (as above)	
Other (please state):	

Disclaimers:

If we use your quote(s) for our publication, we will contact you for your approval of the quote(s)

If JASS writes a more detailed case study/ article about you with identifying or personal information we will contact you for further permission and make sure you receive a copy of the final version.

JASS does not take/share photos of children; faces of children in any photos/videos will be blurred out.
Signature	

Additional notes (Agency):

Guiding Questions:

These questions do not have to be used, but we offer them as a way to help guide your thinking if it will be helpful to you.

Tell us about what your life has been like in the last 2.5 years. We want to hear about the good, the bad and the everyday.

Let's talk about your individual power. Has the way you've participated in your community/ society in the last 2.5 years positively or negatively changed? If so, how and why?

Let's talk about your collective power with others you've worked with. Has it changed? Do you have more or less power to make decisions? Do you have more power to talk about your views? Do you have more power to access resources and services? Can you tell us a bit more about how you've been navigating the power holders in your society?

Tell us about a moment where you realized something had changed in the last 2.5 years <with the PowerUp! Programme>.

Consortium Partnership Survey

Introduction

As we are at the midpoint of implementation of the PU! program, this seems like a good time to assess not just the outcomes of our joint work, but also the partnership's ways of working and the intentions with which we set out to build a feminist partnership. In this spirit, we share the below survey which, as you will see, revisits the principles that we stated in our partnership agreement.

We will also explore how we feel so far about the coordination and structure of the consortium, our roles and contributions, decision making processes, etc. We would also like to take this opportunity to gain some feedback on JASS role as lead of the consortium, and learn what can be improved. Please take a moment to answer it as honestly and transparently as possible. The survey is anonymous. It is also an opportunity to review our collaboration as it still allows swift improvements to be made for the following 2.5 years that we will be working together.

Section 1:

Please rate the following statements on a scale from 1-4 (completely disagree, disagree, somewhat agree, wholeheartedly agree). These statements are for how we have all collaborated and contributed to the consortium.

As the Power Up! consortium we:

1. Have mechanisms in place for ensuring all partners meaningful and equal participation.
2. Have fun while working together.
3. Open spaces for internal dialogue and I feel comfortable bringing up difficult issues to address any tensions.
4. Have promoted and practiced a culture of openness, respect, transparency and mutual accountability.
5. Have co-created and co-implemented this programme with all members, their local organizations and with the constituencies with whom we work.
6. Have been collectively responsible and accountable for ensuring the terms of our agreement have been fulfilled, including timely submissions of financial and narrative reports, and of our contributions to PU!
7. Have kept discussions about power at the heart of our practice, especially in how we operate within the consortium.

The following statements are about the structure and design of Power Up!

The Power Up! Consortium:

8. Upholds South-South partnership, considering equal power relations, and addressing language and time justice,
9. Has an Executive Committee has demonstrated cohesion and clear decision-making when it has come to overall strategic direction, challenges or conflicts.
10. Has a Coordination Unit that has supported partners to stay on track, plan and prepare for the big moments.
11. Has sufficient communication between members and Power Up! Committees
12. Together, has handled the financial and money aspects of the partnership transparently and with a willingness to find practical and fair solutions.
13. Has been more impactful in our work to build, mobilise, organise and transform power as a result of being part of the Power Up! Consortium
14. Has a programme design that is still relevant despite the changing global context.
15. JASS has modeled leadership through the Power Up! Consortium as the lead partner.

Section Two:

This next section is to provide space to expand on the day-to-day functioning of the PowerUp Consortium

16. How do you feel about the functioning of the Consortium (communication, transparency, committees events, coordination, MEL)?
17. What information do you feel you need to better contribute to the consortium?
18. Reflecting on the power, resources and time that we share as partners, would you say we've worked as equally as possible or are there ways we can improve?
19. How has JASS performed as the lead partner? Are there areas for improvement? If so, what are they?

Section 3:

This next section will provide the opportunity to speak to the partnership aspects of the PowerUp Consortium:

20. In which ways has it been valuable to work in a consortium model to achieve our goals? In which ways has it not been valuable?
21. Through working with other consortium members, what have you learned about yourselves as an organisation? What are your strengths and what are your limitations?
22. What have you learned about what it takes to work together and build collective power (resources, relationships, strategies, negotiation, compromise, political alignment) in the consortium model?
23. How have we understood the power dynamics that exist in North-South partnerships, and is our partnership demonstrating that these can be challenged?
24. Based on your experience in working within the Power Up Consortium, what would you communicate about partnership with the MFA?
25. Do you have any final comments about how to improve your experience with Power Up!?

Key Informant Interview Rubric

Power Up! Mid-term Review
Key Informant Interview Guide
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dates: Between July 10 and July 21, 2023

Time: Interviews will last 60 minutes, and be scheduled at a time convenient for the interviewee.

Place: Virtual, over a secure Zoom link. Alternatives (Teams, WhatsApp, etc.) may be found if Zoom is not an acceptable platform.

Audience: Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff at headquarters (3) and embassies (3 – 5)

Objectives:

Identify the nature of partnership among donors and grantees in feminist advocacy programming, and understand the degree to which the current partnership in Power Up! encourages increased public and political space for womxn in civil society.

Identify what's working and what could be strengthened in the partnership between the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Power Up! consortium over the next 2.5 years.

Free, Prior and Informed Consent, Confidentiality, Privacy

To be discussed and obtained at the beginning of the interview. Data handling will be aligned with PIPEDA guidelines (Government of Canada private sector data management guidelines compatible with international standards).

Question Rubric for Ministry Staff

Key Theme	Question
Policy development, coherence, impact	To what degree have you see PU! generate change in civil society spaces (formal, political, social, community, norms, etc.)? — i.e. is the project serving the original policy intent? Probe around degree to which this has taken place as a result of in-country advocacy work (WROs, but also mission?) In what way is this MTR expected to **inform policy development** going forward? (other uses of this MTR) What degree of alignment is there in the lobbying and advocacy work done by Power Up womxn's rights groups and the diplomacy, trade and policy work done by the Dutch MFA? Has that alignment shifted since the beginning of the partnership? What role has PU! played in the overall Strengthening Civil Society program? Is there any way this role could be strengthened or modified over the next 2.5 years? Probe PU!'s role, esp. vis-à-vis other SCS partners.
Partnership, shifting power	What does partnership mean to you? (principles, values, practices of partnership) To what extent have you personally and/or MFA colleagues been required to change your behaviour (practices, policies) in order to enact this vision of partnership over the last 2.5 years? What strategies have you used to balance meaningful participation and overburdening? (reporting requirements, embassy collaboration, other) What else has or has not worked well in the partnership between MFA and PU!? What can be done to strengthen partnership over the next 2.5 years?

Annex 4: Analytic Rubric to Construct Change Pathways

Power Up! qualitative data was sorted into story boards or charts by output indicator. In this way, the data was sorted according to the basic flow of the TOC. Data from baseline and successive years was colour coded to be able to identify change under each output across time. Data was then analysed across the charts in order to construct pathways of change. Once pathways of change (many not linear – one change under output 4.1.1 or 4.3.1 may have led to change under 5.2.1 and 6.1.1, eventually leading to outcome changes in Bodies and Resources. Knowledge production under 4.3.1 may have led to increased capacity under 4.1.1 before going on to alliance building under other outputs) were mapped, they were compared and contrasted to identify key trends and triggers of change using the tagging guide below. Data analysis then moved on to answering the following questions.

1. What types of change or change pathways are being seen in each country? How many change pathways can be seen? Are the change pathways fairly simple/straightforward/linear or are they complex (going back-and-forth among outputs/change phases)? Why?
2. In countries where there was more than one change pathway, the tags and concepts below were used to answer the question:
3. What is motivating change in each pathway? Are there common trends? What factors in womxn's and LBTQI+ people's lives and in the external context may be motivating these changes, based on available data?
4. The evaluator counted the frequency with which different tags occurred across a sample of change pathways to identify key levers of change at the programme and the country level. This information was fed into results around what programme strategies are effective or working to generate change.
5. Change pathways were compared and contrasted across countries to try to identify common trends. Countries were sorted into ones where little change or little complex change had occurred and ones where substantive complex change had occurred. This information was fed into conclusions around which countries were making more or less progress towards results.
6. Some attempts were made to compare and contrast change pathways across countries. Where this was possible, results are described in Section 3. There were limitations to this exercise as the type of activities implemented in each country, plus other context issues such as consortium member approach, political or social environment, womxn's stated needs, etc. made many countries' change pathways unique.
7. The above analysis was performed using the annual reports for 2021 and 2022 plus all relevant primary data sources and quantitative information from IATI. Once the change pathways and preliminary results were constructed, the evaluator went back to original source documentation and a sense-making session and two verification sessions were held to cross reference findings against other sources of analysis.

Tags Used to Assign Meaning to Power Up! Qualitative Data

Tag	Explanation Use this tag any time you see an example of...
Feminist definition of capacity building	Political accompaniment, capacity building, coaching or mentoring that is done in a feminist way or rooted in feminist principles.
Individual to collective power	A time where first, a womxn builds and increases her individual power; and, second, this leads to an increase in power among a group of womxn, or within an alliance.
Capacity to sustain pressure	A situation where the increased capacity of an individual or a WRO has allowed that person or organisation to keep up the pressure for change in a long-term or sustainable way. For example, a cooperative strengthens its governance and succession planning and this, in turn, leads to it having more sustainable funding and a better ability to participate in alliances in the long term.
Inserting oneself or one's organisation in new or strategic spaces	A womxn's human rights defender or a WRO is able to get themself introduced into and then make change in an organisation, situation or network that is currently male-dominated or does not use feminist perspectives in its work. For example: WROs entering into dialogue with trade unions; widows joining and speaking up at village development committee meetings
Increasing acceptance of diversity	Members of the womxn's rights movement have actively included and allied with womxn with disabilities; women from the LBTQI+ community; or women from a marginalised culture, language group or religion.
Centring advocacy and policy agendas on local women's interests and experiences	Regional, governmental or international advocacy or policy agendas beginning to reflect the agendas and interests of local women. For example, a United Nations Special Rapporteur advocates for economic opportunities for LBTQI+ women as part of national economic plans.
Safety	An initiative working to increase safety or security, be this in a humanitarian response; through developing an organisational safety plan; advocating against violence against womxn, etc.
Environmental and economic justice	Changes that lead to greater environmental and economic justice.
Pushback against the pushback	WHRDs, WROs or other organisations pushing back against increasing fundamentalism, colonialism, conservativism or authoritarianism.

Annex 5: Sorting Guide and Analytic Rubric for Partnership Survey

| Changing power, leadership from the South, South definitions of leadership in evidence | 1. Have mechanisms in place for ensuring all partners meaningful and **equal** participation.

7. Have kept discussions about **power** at the heart of our practice, especially in how we operate within the consortium.

8. Upholds **South–South** partnership, considering equal power relations, and addressing language and time justice,

15. **JASS has modeled feminist leadership** through the Power Up! Consortium as the lead partner.

18. Reflecting on the power, resources and time that we share as partners, would you say we've worked as equally as possible or are there ways we can improve?

19. How has JASS performed as the lead partner? Are there areas for improvement? If so, what are they?

23. How have we understood the power dynamics that exist in North-South partnerships, and is our partnership demonstrating that these can be challenged? | Statements:
equal/not equal
aware of power/acting to change power/other
Statements related to JASS leadership use or reflect the original principles in the Consortium MOU |

Unique feminist practices in Consortium management and leadership	4. Have promoted and practiced a culture of openness, respect, transparency and mutual accountability. 5. Have co-created and co-implemented this programme with all members, their local organisations and with the constituencies with whom we work.	
Ways in which the needs of individual Consortium partners are met	21. Through working with other consortium members, what have you learned about yourselves as an organisation? What are your strengths and what are your limitations? 22. What have you learned about what it takes to work together and build collective power (resources, relationships, strategies, negotiation, compromise, political alignment) in the consortium model?	Statements: Learning at individual/personal level – out of scope Learning related to individual consortium members – out of scope Learning about working in a consortium – grouped by keyword/common theme to inform Lessons Learned section, cross-compared with notes from Power of Women learning day held in 2021
Good management practice	6. Have been collectively responsible and accountable for ensuring the terms of our agreement have been fulfilled, including timely submissions of financial and narrative reports, and of our contributions to PU! 10. The Coordination Unit has supported partners to stay on track, plan and prepare for the big moments.	Statements: Work planning strengths/weaknesses Budget transparency yes/no Committee collaboration strengths/weaknesses//Decision-making strengths/weaknesses MEL strengths/weaknesses Communication strengths/weaknesses Information flows yes/no/to whom/strengths/weaknesses

	11. There is sufficient communication between members and Power Up! Committees. 12. Together, we have handled the financial and money aspects of the partnership transparently and with a willingness to find practical and fair solutions. 16. How do you feel about the functioning of the Consortium (communication, transparency, committees, events, coordination, MEL)?	
Managing Conflict and Risk	3. Open spaces for internal dialogue and feel comfortable bringing up difficult issues to address any tensions. 9. The Executive Committee has demonstrated cohesion and clear decision-making when it has come to overall strategic direction, challenges or conflicts.	All statements related to CAL departure and COVID-19 grouped.
Is this the right configuration/terms and conditions for a Consortium?	13. We have been more impactful in our work to build, mobilise, organise and transform power as a result of being part of the Power Up! Consortium. 20. In which ways has it been valuable to work in a consortium model to achieve our goals?	Statements: Valuable/not valuable Value defined as a combination of: Consortium is achieving aspiration of/by being greater than its parts, it is contributing to the agendas of feminist movements as defined by grassroots womxn, and to the Power of Women as articulated by other SCS strategic partners (see question "What is a good partnership?" in RQ7 interview rubric). Consortium is achieving its collective goals/vision as it stated this in proposal and baseline
		Consortium is working towards SCS policy framework objective Note, the notion of "value" as in value for money or return on investment was not interrogated. This is outside of the scope of this review.
Relationship with the MFA	24. Based on your experience in working within the Power Up Consortium, what would you communicate about partnership with the MFA?	All statements related to work with MFA pulled and used to answer RQ7

Annex 6: Update on Operational Context by Country

This chart reproduces the civic space and trend rating table presented with the Power Up! proposal to determine the degree to which context has changed in the countries where Power Up! operates. Ratings under the civic space column were kept the same as at the proposal stage, and trend ratings were modified based on current context. When comparing the trend at proposal to trends observed at mid-term, context has remained relatively the same in all countries except Benin, Mozambique, Myanmar and Tunisia, in which it has deteriorated.

Country	Original Civic Space	Trend at Proposal	Trend at Mid-term	Observations
Benin	green	green	yellow	Recent adoption of several laws and policies aimed at improving respect for womxn's rights, including the recent legalisation of abortion. Nevertheless, LBTQI+ inclusion is still not widely accepted.
Cambodia	red	red	red	Continued suppression of all forms of dissent. Continued crackdowns on union activity. Threats and intimidation of journalists seen ahead of the March 2023 election.
Guatemala	yellow	red	red	The country has among the highest number of mining concessions that impact and violently displace communities, particularly indigenous communities.
Honduras	red	red	red	Feminist activists determined to address structural and patriarchal violence have joined the administration of the first female president elected after 12 years of right wing coup government. On the other hand, CSOs, WHRD, journalists, LBTQI+, land/environmental defenders, rural and indigenous womxn continue to be targets of violence, harassment and assassinations.
India	yellow	red	red	State increasingly encourages fundamentalism and uses a purity discourse to polarize and politicise key issues. It uses religion and restrictive articulations of an "ideal" woman to maintain political hold. Indigenous people are under continuous threat of eviction, violence, harassment and land grabs.
Indonesia	yellow	yellow	yellow	Fundamentalism and use of religion as a method of political hold and population control remains critical. On the other hand, Parliament approved a comprehensive law addressing sexual violence, after sustained mobilisation and pressure from civil society in April 2022.
Kenya	yellow	yellow	yellow	Severe legal restrictions against LBTQI+ people; feminicide and VaW; police brutality, displacement of communities due to extractive projects; crackdown on CSOs, journalists and activists.
Lebanon	yellow	red	red	Long-lasting effects of the economic crisis. Increasing political instability and lack of faith in politicians. Very precarious situation for LGBTQAI+ organisations. Peaceful gatherings of LBTQI+ people have been banned, and hate speech is on the rise. WROs continue to face backlash. Morality is being used as an argument to divert the population from economic issues.
Malawi	green	yellow	yellow	Environmental disasters have compounded deepening economic crisis and food insecurity.
Mozambique	yellow	green	yellow	Continued instability in the north of the country given a combination of government and extractive activities, and activists continue to face risks. The government maintains a narrative of economic prosperity in the face of food insecurity.
Myanmar	red	yellow	red	The ongoing rule of a military Junta coupled with economic downturn is making the situation for civil activists increasingly precarious. Moral arguments and discourse related to a restricted view of the "ideal" woman are used to control the population, and, along with harassment, violence and unlawful arrest and social media smear campaigns are used to generate a chill among activists and citizens alike.
Palestine	yellow	red	red	Palestinian CSOs feel targeted from different sides and democratic space has been shrinking, especially in the absence of a national legislative council and the failure to hold elections.
Rwanda	red	red	red	The ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front exerts total control over political space in Rwanda. Independent media and civil society are weak, and political space is extremely limited.
South Africa	green	yellow	yellow	The government tends to be responsive to demands although often lacking in implementation. High levels of repression and use of force during COVID-19 lockdown measures. Electricity, water and other services have collapsed.
Tunisia	green	green	yellow	This ranking has been downgraded from green to yellow given increasing use of authoritarian methods of national governance and the rise of popular backlash against LBTQI+ people.
Uganda	yellow	red	red	Government continues to limit free access to information and social networks, freedom of expression and association with HRD being subjected to threats, intimidation and harassment. A new law allows the death penalty for acts of homosexuality and more severe punishments for those who advocate for LBTQI+ rights.
Zimbabwe	red	red	red	Increasing use of surveillance, legal restrictions on efforts to secure livelihoods, unlawful detentions to suppress opposition, crackdown on journalists. Direct lobbying and advocacy, including protests, are at risk.

	Risk	Proposed Mitigation Measure
Contextual	**Political instability, upheaval, backlash and pushback** by government, conservative religious, political and corporate actors may increase risks to activists and WROs, making it difficult for them to organise or speak out. Furthermore, these may be accompanied by harassment (in physical & digital spaces including cyber attacks), gender-based violence, criminalisation of their work, or in a worst case scenario, arbitrary imprisonment and/or killing.	Power Up! members will offer continuous political accompaniment to WHRD and local partners, providing activists with the tools, support and knowledge to understand how power operates and what mix of strategies are useful in organising in repressive contexts. Power Up! will provide capacity building for WHRD in risk assessment (including risks related to organising in digital spaces), human rights instruments and collective safety strategies. An outcome of this would be strengthened partner emergency alert mechanisms. Power Up! will consolidate national and local-to-global alliances, including protection networks, both for the safety of activists and to facilitate fast action for protection. This includes strengthening ties with media, public officials, Dutch embassies, UN staff, international protection organisations and CS groups to spotlight cases and issues.
	Backlash in families and communities when women, especially LBQTI persons, speak out and become politically active. Women activists especially LBQ women experience bodily harm, arbitrary arrest & detention and gender-based violence when in prison.	Design, implement and monitor social norms change interventions that seek to stop harmful practices and transform gender and social norms of family and community members. Explicitly monitor unintended negative outcomes that POWER UP! interventions contribute to; implement measures to mitigate risks & address negative consequences that women face/experience from engaging with Power Up!
	Climate related risks such as flooding affect partners' ability to deliver their work as assets can be damaged and project areas, women and WROs and target power holders become inaccessible and/or unable to engage.	If possible, integrate flood-related risk reduction plans and activities in Power Up! by linking with local government disaster risk reduction plans/activities. Design and plan activities outside the monsoon/rainy season. Plan alternative ways to continue implementing activities if areas become inaccessible (e.g. hold online meetings, hold meetings/events & transport participants to non-flooded areas)
Programmatic	**WHRDs withdraw from their roles and involvement in their organisations and the programme.** This might be due to stigma or the political climate or economic insecurity.	Integrate basic needs into movement building strategies. Furthermore, apply international media strategies together with key allies to increase
	In addition, increased care burden and economic pressure on women due to COVID-19 impacts may limit their participation or may lead to their withdrawal from Power Up! activities.	the visibility, public recognition and political support of WHRDs. Sustain alliances with counsellors, legal professionals, organisations that provide direct support (e.g. Urgent Action Fund) and support WHRD networks (e.g. IM-D) to access help from diplomats and other officials. Sub-granting as a strategy to support partners and ramp them up. As well as connecting with partners to opportunities for funding and enabling them to establish relationships with possible funding sources and donors. Adapting PEKKA's award-winning model of women-led economic cooperatives, an alternative to micro-financing by promoting savings and building economic power vs loans and debts, while strengthening independence and confidence and reducing stigma.
	Newly supported LBQTI+ groups and collectives' **readiness to engage** in a consortium model of partnerships may vary across countries affecting their ability to (fully) engage & contribute to the POWER UP! strategic agenda, also taking into account they are already operating in a harsh political environment.	The scoping and due diligence process will aim to identify the level of readiness of LBQTI+ groups/collectives and the kind of support that they need to be able to engage effectively & maximise their participation in Power Up!. In support of Power Up!'s movement building work that ensures autonomy of WRDs and LBQTI+ activists, our political accompaniment work will help ensure that activists, WROs and LBQTI+ groups will be equipped to engage in Power Up! activities.
	Outcomes may take more time to be achieved in countries where **LBTQI+ partnerships are new** and work started in 2023.	Build on current and continuing work with LBTQI+ partners and closely monitor this work. Provide support as needed to ensure effective delivery of programmes.
Reputational	**Reputation and relationship risks** when being affiliated with a foreign donor government. Members of collectives and individual supporters might question the integrity of Power Up! consortium as foreign donor funding can be perceived as largely conditional and heavily driven by donor interests. This may lead to mistrust and might weaken the relationship between Power Up! members and the WROs and collectives that they support. On the other hand, national government actors (especially in authoritarian & Muslim countries) may perceive Power Up! consortium members as "instruments of the north", bringing in foreign concepts and values (on women's & LBTQI+ rights, gender equality) that threaten local culture and family values.	Regularly inform network members and individual supporters about Power Up!'s autonomy and critical engagement with MFA and embassies; maintain an open dialogue with partners. Ensure local partners' safety when engaging with Dutch embassies. Maintain contact with government actors; contextualise Power Up! messages that encourage engagement vs backlash. Develop alternative positive narratives that help counter anti-rights / anti-democratic movements.
Organisational	**Funding constraints** lead to organisational crisis or difficulties in implementing/ carrying out activities. The current climate for many local partners relates to finding sustainable resourcing for their work.	Leverage positive shifts in funding models including building of consortiums for funding applications. Sub-granting as a strategy to support partners and ramp them up. Also connecting partners to

Risk	Mitigation
	opportunities for funding and enabling them to establish relationships with possible funding sources and donors. Strengthen MEL framework and fundraising strategies of Power Up! consortium partners.
Financial risk related to **sub-granting**, e.g. fund embezzlement, corruption, etc.	Power Up! developed and uses sub-granting assessment tools and sub-granting agreements that address anti-corruption, anti-laundering & SEAH issues. Quarterly monitoring of sub-grants has been specifically integrated to Power Up!'s financial monitoring and consortium members touch base frequently with partners to be alerted of issues well in advance. For new partners taken on in 2023, JASS and G@W will use a competency-based coaching approach that is aligned with industry good practice to build partner capacity and ensure robust financial management.
A **case of misconduct, corruption or fraud** on behalf of the lead party or other consortium partners may undermine legitimacy of the consortium's social change efforts.	Support consortium members to develop and implement a whistle-blower policy. Also periodically review and update key policies (sub-granting handbook, financial policies and procedures manual, human resources handbook, etc.). Over the last two years, partners have engaged in accompaniment to build good practice of applying feminist values and ethics into daily operations, and to socialize new/strengthened sub-granting structures and processes amongst staff. Carry out annual counter fraud and anti-corruption training with all consortium key staff members. Establish transparent leadership and work dynamics, and develop a transparent financial system and working systems based on codes of ethical conduct. Power Up! members to practice reporting risk(s) at the moment that there is suspicion of misconduct, corruption or fraud; design mitigation measures ASAP & monitor progress.
Burnout and safety risks faced by staff members. Staff members face multiple responsibilities and burdens. The demands involved in achieving real results while juggling responsibilities to families and communities in the private sphere can lead them to exhaustion and a sense of deep frustration and even despair. The additional stress of COVID and needing to address basic needs and health in their families and communities enhances this.	Carry out periodical risk analysis at country level and adopt prevention measures, including at the offices and staff´s homes. Prepare for urgent interventions to deal with physical & political risks that occur periodically. Integrate self-care and community care, providing practical ways to deal with burnout by providing space for staff to tap sources of inspiration and artistic expression to renew energies, imagination and hope. Re-examine staff expectations in light of the slow process of social change, setting more realistic work plans and goals, and celebrate the steps taken toward those goals.

		Risk	Mitigation
			Leadership teams ensuring staff are supported to take their leave, are addressing their own personal needs and health, feel supported and connected within their organisations.
Data		**Breaches in data protection and information security lead to exposure of local partners, activists and WHRDs.** As surveillance and censorship increase, the insecurity of digitally stored and/or digitally transmitted information can be a major problem for WHRDs in many countries, particularly given our increased reliance on internet-based communications platforms for implementation of programme activities.	Establish an internal protocol for digital security and data protection, based on security assessment carried out by Protection International (JASS, 2018). Decide who has information security oversight within the consortium. Budget for information security. Use end-to-end encrypted Chat, email and Conferencing Tools (e.g. Wire, Signal, ProtonMail). Offer accompaniment to all staff to increase digital security in their homes and workplaces. Offer practical, hands-on workshops and long-term IT and digital assistance to staff and key WHRDs.

Annex 8: Output Reporting by Country

	Basket Indicator		Sub-indicator Code	Baseline All Indicators	Benin		Cambodia		Guatemala		Honduras		India		Indonesia		Kenya	
					2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023
					Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual
1.1. BODIES: # of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to eradicate all forms of violence against womxn in public and private life	WRGE 1.1	# of governmental policies & strategies blocked, adopted or improved to eradicate all forms of violence against womxn and girls in public and private life	WRG002	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
1.2. BODIES: # of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on violence against womxn, collective safety & protection and bodily autonomy through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building	WRGE 1.1	# of times that CSOs succeed in creating space for CSO demands and positions on violence against womxn and girls, through agenda setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building	WRG006	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	25	1
2.1. VOICES: # of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote womxn's voice, agency, leadership and solutions, and representative participation in decision-making processes in public, private and civic spheres	WRGE 2.1	# of governmental policies & strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote womxn's voice, agency, leadership and representative participation in decision-making processes in public, private and civic spheres	WRG013	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
2.2. VOICES: # of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on womxn'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	WRGE 2.1	# of times that CSOs succeed in creating space for CSO demands and positions on womxn'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	WRG017	0	0	0	100	1	60	3	60	0	110	1	245	0	110	0
3.1. RESOURCES: # of laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote womxn's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives	WRGE 3.1	# of governmental policies & strategies blocked, adopted or improved to promote womxn's economic rights, empowerment and entrepreneurship	WRG024	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.2. RESOURCES: # of times that WROs succeed in creating space for feminist demands and positions on womxn's economic rights, economic justice and alternatives, through agenda	WRGE 3.1	# of times that CSOs succeed in creating space for CSO demands and positions on womxn's economic rights, empowerment and entrepreneurship, through agenda setting, influencing the	WRG028	0	0	0	0	0	110	0	110	0	250	0	1035	88	10	0

Indicator	Basket Indicator	Sub-indicator description	Sub-indicator Code	Baseline														
setting, influencing the debate and/or movement building		debate and/or movement building																
4.1.1 a, b and c: # womxn (youth/non-youth) who report increased confidence, political skills and consciousness as a result of POWER UP! interventions	WRG049y	# of individuals (female & youth) with strengthened capacity (knowledge and skills) to advance womxn's rights and gender equality	WRG049y	0, 2525 womxn from beforehand	0	2	375	84	80	167	80	148	750	210	7000	3743	60	77
4.2.1. # of WROs (political and technical capacities) strengthened by POWER UP!	WRGE 5.2.1	# of CSOs (not youth or womxn led) with strengthened capacity to advance womxn's rights and gender equality	WRG047	0	0	0	10	3	20	4	20	4	5	80	75	47	15	5
5.1.1 # of new/diverse alliances created by POWER UP!	WRGE 5.2.1	# of CSOs (not youth or womxn led) with strengthened capacity to advance womxn's rights and gender equality	WRG047	0	0	1	5	9	20	10	20	5	370	7	125	27	25	10
5.3.1 # solidarity/urgent actions supported by POWER UP!	WRGE 5.2.1	# of womxn led CSOs with strengthened capacity to advance womxn's rights and gender equality	WRG045	0	0	0	10	0	25	1	25	1	0	5	15	17	10	7
6.1.1 # of actions by womxn supported by POWER UP!	SCS041		SCS041	0	0	3	10	1	30	1	30	1	25	10	90	66	125	23
6.3.1 # of economic initiatives developed by womxn's collectives/groups as a result of POWER UP! interventions	WRGE 5.2.1	# of womxn led CSOs with strengthened capacity to advance womxn's rights and gender equality	WRG045	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	25	162	10	0

	Basket Indicator	Sub-indicator Code	Baseline for all Indicators	Lebanon		Malawi		Mozambique		Myanmar		Palestine		Rwanda		South Africa		Tunisia		Uganda
				2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025	2023	2025
				Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target	Actual	Target
1.1. BODIES	WRGE 1.1	WRG002	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1
1.2. BODIES	WRGE 1.1	WRG006	0	10	0	50	0	45	0	65	1	10	0	80	0	45	0	10	0	80
2.1. VOICES	WRGE 2.1	WRG013	0	1	0	10	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
2.2. VOICES	WRGE 2.1	WRG017	0	95	0	110	0	105	0	85	3	95	0	210	0	165	0	95	0	210
3.1. RESOURCES	WRGE 3.1	WRG024	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.2. RESOURCES	WRGE 3.1	WRG028	0	10	0	55	0	70	0	5	4	10	0	30	0	80	0	10	0	30
4.1.1a, b and c	WRG049y	WRG049y		110	62	50	329	85	33	15	10	110	0	165	0	1225	286	110	0	165
4.2.1	WRGE 5.2.1	WRG047	0	10	22	10	6	10	3	10	7	10	0	10	0	10	15	10	0	10
5.1.1	WRGE 5.2.1	WRG047	0	40	3	5	13	30	3	50	15	40	0	40	0	125	24	40	0	40
5.3.1	WRGE 5.2.1	WRG045	0	15	2	10	17	5	1	20	11	15	0	25	0	5	4	15	0	25
6.1.1	SCS041	SCS041	0	15	4	25	12	135	18	5	1	15	0	105	0	260	2	15	0	105
6.3.1	WRGE 5.2.1	WRG045	0	5	6	25	26	5	0	10	1	5	0	25	0	5	1	5	0	25

Annex 9: Criteria for Assessing Sustainability

This mid-term review assesses prospective sustainability based on a combination of select OECD–DAC criteria and feminist frameworks for assessing the strengths of feminist movements. The following questions were used.

- Is it likely that womxn's individual and collective power will hold over time, and in the face of potential backlash or changes in formal or informal contexts at community or higher levels? In deep dive and regional dialogue data related to outcome indicators 1.3, 2.3, 2.4, 3.3 and 3.4, what did womxn say about their own capacity to use individual and collective power into the future?
- Was there evidence in the change pathways of formal or informal collectives repeatedly using power acquired through the programme over time and across multiple circumstances? Did individuals or collectives adapt skills, knowledge or power to take on different or more complex or risky advocacy activities (i.e. sustainability of behaviour change as an indicator that womxn are able to exercise power)?
- What evidence is there from the data that womxn and LBTQI+ people perceive that their individual or collective power will last beyond a specific advocacy moment, or that they have benefitted from the advocacy initiative in ways that go beyond its stated purpose?
- Based on data sources, what indications do power actors give that their changed attitudes towards womxn's and LBTQI+ people's rights will remain the same under pushback?
- Once Power Up! finishes, is it likely that womxn's rights and LBTQI+ organisations, collectives, alliances and movements will be able to fulfill the objectives set out in their own strategic direction-setting documents (or equivalent) within the timelines and parameters they have set; and hold in the face of funding shortages, pushback, shrinking space for civil society, etc.?

Section 1.2 on the TOC underlines the degree to which change is non-linear and complex, and includes consolidation, retreat or actions to strengthen security strategies as change that is as valuable as change from an output towards an outcome. With this in mind, this assessment does not consider programme progress to be unsustainable in situations where activists have had to abandon gains or switch tactics in order to address factors in context or react to pushback. Instead, the assessment examines how activists have applied power gained from somewhere else in the change pathway to these situations.

This assessment does not consider resilience or trade-offs as traditionally defined by OECD–DAC evaluation criteria.

Annex 10: Alignment with the Relevant IOB Criteria

IOB Review Criteria	Assessment
A reference group oversees the review	**Aligned** A mid-term evaluation reference group was formed representing all three consortium members, including programme managers and MEL specialists. It included an external consultant who provides general oversight to Power Up! MEL activities. The reference group provided the external evaluator with advice at weekly touch-base meetings as well as during sense-making and validation sessions. The reference group commented on two drafts of the report. As feminist MEL values internal learning and reflection for downwards accountability, this mix of internal and external perspectives allows the programme to ensure that the review generates lessons of value to grassroots feminist activists.
Independence of evaluators	**Aligned** The external evaluator was not involved in the design or implementation of the intervention and is not affiliated with consortium organisations. The external evaluator has not worked for the MFA or been involved in setting its policy. This review took a combination internal-external approach such that programme staff participation on the reference group and in designing and implementing some data collection was balanced by the presence of an external consultant on the reference group and the use of external facilitators in data collection activities.
Description and context of the intervention	**Aligned** A thorough context analysis has been generated, with information and analysis updated from a context analysis conducted in 2022. This section focuses on social, political and economic factors that influence programme implementation and sustainability. Qualitative baseline data are not presented in detail but the progress is compared to commitments as articulated in the original and to key findings in the baseline at strategic points throughout the review. The country-level context assessment from the programme proposal was updated. The TOC is presented in detail, and certain sections have been updated to incorporate the theory of change for the programme's new feminist economic alternatives strategy. A critical reflection on the TOC is offered as part of the review's conclusions.
Validation of assumptions underpinning the TOC	**Aligned** The programme's TOC assumptions were formulated using an external literature review. The mid-term review reference group critically reviewed TOC assumptions during a participatory validation workshop. The TOC was reviewed based on documented knowledge and learning generated through the programme using tested feminist methodologies. The external evaluator examined quantitative and qualitative data to identify evidence of where and how assumptions operated in change pathways. The Power Up! TOC and findings were compared and contrasted against the SCS TOC. A reflection on the validity of the TOC, including its assumptions, is offered in the report's conclusion. It is outside the scope of this review to test TOC assumptions against systematic literature reviews, in part because these types of reviews are not routinely conducted on feminist movement building programming. A related keyword search of Google Scholar, ProQuest, Jstor and ResearchGate found no returns.
Review's objectives	**Aligned** Review objectives and uses are clearly described in Section 1.3 of the report. Both knowledge and action objectives have been included.
Scope of the review	**Aligned** The scope of the review lists the evaluation period, proportion of budget spent and geographic focus for the review. This section clearly indicates what outcomes and outputs will be reviewed in the evaluation, and describes which results chains and parts of the TOC are considered.
OECD–DAC review criteria	**Aligned** The three focus criteria (effectiveness, relevance, coherence) and two secondary criteria (impact, sustainability) were chosen because these are the criteria that will provide information most useful to informing the second half of programme implementation. These criteria allow for a demonstration of the degree to which WROs and LBTQI+ communities are benefitting as anticipated from the

	intervention. The review evaluates cross-cutting themes such as gender equality, climate change and youth as these are most closely related to the TOC.	
Evaluation questions	**Aligned** Seven evaluation questions are spread across five evaluation criteria, with the majority of questions focused on determining progress to date. The questions are synchronised with the review's feminist methodology in that they centre the knowledge generation enterprise in the perceptions of womxn and LBTQI+ activists themselves.	
Research design	**Aligned** The research design is clearly elaborated and follows a theory-based evaluation approach. A modified feminist evaluation methodology, along with standard qualitative data analysis techniques, is used to replicate analytic methods and establish analytic rigour based on the co-creation of shared meaning. Triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data has been emphasised throughout the analysis. Findings from peer-reviewed literature and bilateral donor evaluation activities are provided as justification for this approach. The review matrix shows how each data source and data collection method contributes to answering the evaluation questions. The methodology was carried out in a manner aligned with the original inception report, which was also rooted in feminist approaches and principles. The final methodology was scaled back to fit into existing resources and time.	
Methods for effectiveness	**Aligned** This review adopts a theory-based approach and focuses on assessing effectiveness of the strategies as indicated in the TOC. Causal pathways that reinforce or contribute to the achievement of outcomes have been validated. The approach for analysis was formulated before data was collected. A thorough context analysis was used to identify external factors potentially affecting results. Focus group discussion and key informant interview questions were specifically designed to uncover or describe change without leading respondents to link that change to programme interventions. As part of data analysis, when the narrative did not clearly demonstrate that a result was linked to one of the programme strategies listed in the TOC, that result was excluded from analysis. The evaluator validated the causal chain step by step using an analytic process described in the methodology.	
Indicators or result areas	**Aligned:** Qualitative indicators were generated and tested against the TOC and its assumptions prior to the review period, and in response to lessons learned from the first and second annual reporting cycles. Quantitative indicators at output and outcome levels exist, are SMART, and are a direct reflection of the TOC. They are also aligned with SCS and Power of Women policy instrument IATI basket indicators.	
Sampling strategy	**Aligned:** The choice of countries was made using purposive sampling based on strategic considerations such as representation of the broad range of Power Up! work across geographic locations and focus and strategic regions. At inception, a sample was chosen to ensure overlap between MFA priority countries and Power Up! partner countries of focus. The final sample achieved this overlap and also navigated practical considerations related to overburden and "survey fatigue" on the part of programme partners. At the individual level, respondents were chosen from amongst those who had been with the programme since its beginning in order to be able to discuss change over the full two-and-a-half years. Respondents were also chosen to represent different intervention areas and types of actors. It was not possible to involve all 17 countries due to time and budget limitations.	

Analyses	**Aligned:** The methodology section elaborates on data analysis methods used for both qualitative and quantitative data. Key analytic rubrics or tagging guides are included in annexes and detailed descriptions of feminist analysis practices are included.
Evaluation matrix	**Aligned:** The review matrix specifically links evaluation questions to data sources, indicators, results areas, methods and information sources. The matrix shows the anticipated method and information source for each evaluation question.
Independent information sources	**Aligned:** External sources were consulted to verify programme implementation context and evaluation methods. The report relied on a mix of sources directly involved and information sources. Allies who did not receive programme funding were interviewed. External evaluations of prior womxn's rights funding instruments (Dutch MDG Fund, FLOW 1, FLOW 2, MAMPU, WVL Phase 1) were considered in an assessment of what is and is not possible in terms of programme design and results-to-date.
Triangulation	**Aligned** The review includes a comparison and critical reflection of results based on two or more sources for results described for each country under each output and outcome. A mix of quantitative and qualitative data from over three data collection methods has been used and analysed/triangulated. Data on the same event or result was collected from the point of view of two or more people. Results were not compared with similar results gleaned from other programmes or a literature review as this was outside of scope.
Discussion of bias	**Aligned:** The review includes a discussion of selection, respondent and evaluation bias. The methodology explains how data collection and analysis techniques were designed and implemented so as to mitigate the bias of any one stakeholder group.
Transparent methodology	**Aligned:** A detailed description of review methodology including research design, OECD–DAC evaluation criteria, data collection and analysis methods, sampling details and analytic rubrics have been included in the report and related annexes.
Conclusions answer the questions	**Aligned:** Research questions, or close paraphrases, function as headers in the conclusions section.
Conclusions based on findings	**Aligned:** Key findings were highlighted as writing proceeded, and conclusions were constructed to specifically address these findings. During data analysis, striking or recurring points were tagged as key to findings and conclusions. When reviewing findings and conclusions for cohesion, content from these sections was cross-referenced against these tags.
Validation of conclusions	**Aligned:** Two validation sessions were held to discuss assumptions, conclusions and recommendations, and to check for possible biases and limitations in the construction of conclusions. Given the time and resources dedicated to this review, it is not possible to test against other high-quality impact assessments. As noted above, systematic reviews of feminist movement building programming are not routinely conducted.
Usefulness of the recommendations	**Aligned:** Recommendations are based on conversations related to operational feasibility and strategic priorities held with both Power Up! consortium members and the MFA. Recommendations have been shaped by a validation section at which likelihood of implementation was discussed. The evaluator has 20 years of experience implementing complex gender equality and womxn's rights programming.
Readability	**Aligned:** The report is written in plain language. It includes illustrative examples and clear headers and leaders to guide the reader through the document. The report contains an executive summary with objectives, an evaluation matrix, conclusions and recommendations.