

# Turning Promises into Progress:

Gender equality and rights for women and girls -  
lessons learnt and actions needed

This is an extract from the report *Turning Promises into Progress*. To access the full report please visit [www.gadnetwork.org](http://www.gadnetwork.org) or [www.gaps-uk.org](http://www.gaps-uk.org)

## Introduction

2015 represents an important moment for gender equality and women's and girls' rights. It is twenty years since the landmark Beijing Conference on Women and fifteen years since the ground-breaking United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security was adopted. In light of these key milestones and as the post-2015 development framework is agreed and implemented, three UK Networks – the Gender and Development Network (GADN), Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS), and the Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights Network UK - have come together to assess progress and make recommendations for turning the promises made into progress.

Over the last two decades there have been many new commitments and increasing political rhetoric on gender equality and the realisation of rights for women and girls, but limited real progress in achieving either. In our report, [Turning Promises into Progress](#), we conclude that this is, in part, because the underlying causes of gender equality have not been addressed and there was insufficient political will to make the changes needed on the ground.

Every woman and girl experiences discrimination differently, and resources should be particularly focused on those facing multiple discriminations such as on the basis of their income, sexuality, ethnic group or disability. But there are also shared realities, universal themes and common lessons. Most striking is the need to tackling the underlying barriers that perpetuate gender equality and prevent transformative change. Unequal power relations between genders are a fundamental way in which societies are organised; yet failure to recognise these social relationships has led women and girls to be labelled as a 'vulnerable group' to be protected. In this way, the status quo remains unchanged and discriminatory social norms and unjust social and economic structures continue to hinder progress.

Part two of the report looks at progress and challenges across eight areas relevant to gender equality: women, peace and security; violence against women and girls; sexual and reproductive health and rights; political participation and influence; education;

women's economic equality; unpaid care and social norms. While spotlighting specific issues, it is also important to underline the interconnectedness of gender inequality and recognise the underlying causes that impact across issue areas and span political, social, economic, cultural and environmental spheres. The recommendations throughout the report are therefore inter-linked and mutually reinforcing. While the actions are intended to be relevant for all women and girls, specific attention must be given those who are the most marginalised, and who face multiple discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, disability and marital status. Recommendations made are aimed at the broader international community with relevance primarily to official international institutions and governments but also to civil society organisations (CSOs) and the private sector. This document is an extract from the report – the issue section on 'Women, Peace and Security'. For the full report please visit [www.gadnetwork.org/turning-promises-into-progress](http://www.gadnetwork.org/turning-promises-into-progress) or [www.gaps-uk.org.uk](http://www.gaps-uk.org.uk).

## Part two: Section 4

### 4. Women's Participation and Influence in Decision Making

*"In the meetings, it was all men and then me, little Bertha. My chair was in the corner, outside their circle. I sat there and listened in meeting after meeting, wondering when I would be invited to speak. After a whole month had passed by without my saying a word, I finally went up to one of the leaders and asked him when they would let me contribute. He said 'Bertha... you have had a whole month to move your chair into the circle..!' That was my first lesson in politics: I learnt that not only can I not let them exclude me - I also mustn't exclude myself. They put my chair in the corner, but it is up to me to move it - both literally and politically speaking."*

Bertha Zapeta, from the indigenous organisation Makatitlan, Guatemala.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1 The Issues

Governance systems, structures and processes are ultimately weaker where they do not fully include women's voices and perspectives. Women's equal and meaningful participation and influence in decision making at all levels, and in both formal and informal spaces, is fundamentally a question of social justice – women have the right to participate in decisions which affect their lives. In turn, women's political participation and influence, and lack thereof, promotes and impacts public perceptions of women as leaders and decision makers. Women's participation and influence in decision making requires responsive and accountable governance to ensure that the priorities, skills and needs of women are reflected in the policies, laws, institutions and service delivery by community, local, national and international governance structures.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of this issue in achieving gender equality has not always been recognised, and when it has been, the definition of 'women's political participation' has frequently been too narrow, focussing primarily on the numbers of women represented in national institutions, particularly national parliaments. However, there is growing

recognition that numerical representation of women is insufficient. Women must be empowered to put forward their priorities, opinions, experiences and needs in order to have influence over decision making. Greater acknowledgement is needed that participation and meaningful engagement in decision making should occur at all levels, including international, national, local, community and household levels in both formal and informal settings.

**Women’s participation** refers to women’s ability to participate equally with men, at all levels, and in all aspects of household, public and political life and decision making, including activism.<sup>3</sup>

The term ‘**participation and influence**’ refers to the **equal and meaningful participation** of women in decision making. This means considering not only if women are represented but also the extent to which they are able to be actively involved and influence decision making processes through their participation.

Women’s unequal access to resources and opportunities, in addition to discriminatory social norms across societies and gendered power imbalances within households and communities, impact on women’s participation and influence at all levels of decision making, including the extent to which they are perceived as effective leaders. These barriers prevent many women from pursuing opportunities to participate in public or political life, and undermine the extent to which they are able to be involved in, and influence, decision making processes from the household to international levels. Women from poor and marginalised groups, such as ethnic minority and indigenous women, disabled women and older women, are often further excluded from decision making processes.

#### What does the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) Say?

- Take measures to ensure women’s equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision making.
- Increase women’s capacity to participate in decision making and leadership.<sup>4</sup>

## 4.2 What’s happened in the last 20 years?

### Growing Recognition

Over the past two decades, women’s right to participate fully and equally with men in all aspects of decision making has been enshrined in a number of human rights instruments, international resolutions, national constitutions and laws (see box below). Significantly, the proportion of women in national parliaments was included in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as one of the key indicators for the achievement of gender equality.

There is also an emerging recognition that numerical representation must be coupled with influence, and that engagement in decision making at all levels is an essential tool for achieving gender equality.<sup>5</sup> However, as discussed below, measurement of women's political participation has continued to focus largely on the numbers of women in national parliaments.

### **Some progress on numbers at the national level**

In recent years, women's representation in formal political position has increased. For example, as at January 2014, there were 15 female Heads of State.<sup>6</sup> Women's representation in national parliaments has also improved. In 1997, 11.7 percent of national parliamentarians were female. By October 2014, female representation (combining lower and upper houses) had increased to 21.8 percent.<sup>7</sup> However, this is not consistent across countries, regions and contexts. The Middle East and North Africa, the Pacific and Asia have particularly low representation of women in national parliaments, with 16 percent, 16.2 and 18.4 percent respectively.<sup>8</sup> Post-conflict countries also lag behind the global average.<sup>9</sup> Based on current trends in representation, women will not be equally represented in parliaments until 2065, and will not make up half the world's leaders until 2134.<sup>10</sup>

### **International Frameworks on political participation and influence**

The equal right of all people to participate in public affairs is protected by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 25) and is enshrined in UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) Article 7 which stipulates that Governments should take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life and Article 8 which provides for the participation of women in international organisations and decision making. Important supplementary agreements rights include Gen Rec. No. 25 (2004) of the CEDAW Committee; UN General Assembly Resolution 66/130 (2011) on Women and Political Participation; and UNSCR 2122 (2013) and the African Women's Rights Protocol (Article 9).

The Millennium Development Goal 3 (gender equality and women's empowerment) includes as an indicator the "proportion of seats held by women in national parliament".

UNSCR 1325 and subsequent Women, Peace and Security (WPS) resolutions have been an important development at the policy level, calling for the equal participation and full involvement of women in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace (see Part two: Section 1 on WPS).

Some regional frameworks have set specific targets for the representation of women in decision making such as the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Gender and Development (2008) which requires that "States Parties shall endeavour that, by 2015, at least 50 percent of decision making positions in the public and private sectors are held by women".

Affirmative action is key. For example, quotas have contributed significantly to progress that has been made in increased numerical representation of women in parliaments and local government structures.<sup>11</sup> Research shows that unless women constitute a minimum of one quarter to one third of a body's membership, their meaningful participation can be limited.<sup>12</sup> Increasing the numerical representation of women through quotas can also contribute to changes in institutional culture and improve attitudes towards the legitimacy and value of women's leadership.<sup>13</sup> A 30 percent target for female representation as a minimum (as mandated by the United Nations Economic and Social Council) would help to enable women to reach the critical mass required to impact decision making. However, there are well-documented concerns that quotas do not guarantee increased influence for women and it is therefore critical that numerical targets form part of a broader comprehensive approach.<sup>14</sup>

### **Numbers do not necessarily mean influence**

Women play a vital role in decision making structures. Research shows that female parliamentarians are more likely than men to prioritise social issues such as child care, equal pay, parental leave, and pensions and issues such as reproductive rights, physical safety, and violence against women and girls.<sup>15</sup> However, an overall increase in the numbers of women in politics has not in all cases led to women's active involvement or allowed them to influence decision making processes. Yet, current measures and targets in relation to women's representation in decision making continue to focus on numbers. For example, the female representation in parliament indicator in MDG 3 does not measure whether women are able to meaningfully participate once elected or women's wider engagement in public life.<sup>16</sup>

### **Continued focus on national levels**

Despite some improvement in the representation of women in formal national political processes, women continue to be marginalised in other decision making spheres. At local levels, women remain under-represented numerically and lack influence in the structures and institutions that govern their everyday lives. Women account for only 20 percent of elected councillors; and hold mayoral positions in only 10 of the world's 195 capital cities.<sup>17</sup> Although this is slowly changing, initiatives over the past 20 years have tended to focus on promoting women's participation in formal, national level political processes rather than women's participation at local or community levels. Significantly, where gains have been made by women at the local and community levels, these often go unrecognised due to a lack of comprehensive data collection.<sup>18</sup>

## **4.3 Challenges and way forward**

To make real progress, there are a number of areas which require urgent action to empower women, and girls as appropriate, to participate in and influence decision making at all levels. Importantly, the measures required must be context-specific and determined in consultation with women and girls. For example, barriers to women's participation in decision making may be exacerbated in humanitarian and conflict-affected settings. However, conflict-affected environments can provide new space for

women as systems and governance structures are being rebuilt <sup>19</sup> (see Part two: Section 1 on WPS).

**In all contexts though, it is important that women's equal and meaningful participation in decision making at all levels is recognised as a fundamental human right and valued as an important end in itself.**

### **Tackling discriminatory cultural and social barriers**

Discriminatory social norms, including attitudes towards women's participation in decision making, act as a fundamental barrier to women's influence in public and political life (see Part two: Section 8 on Social Norms). Politics, public office and decision making at all levels are often viewed as the preserve of men and negative attitudes towards women's participation perpetuate myths that women cannot or should not take on leadership roles or participate in decision making. Research conducted in 70 countries showed a statistically significant relationship between the number of women represented in parliament and public attitudes to women in politics.<sup>20</sup> Discriminatory social norms also impact on women's participation in community life and decision making within the household. This includes limitations on women's freedom of movement, acceptance of male violence against women, unpaid caring responsibilities and other discriminatory perceptions as to women's role in society.

Women's transgression against these discriminatory social norms can also result in violence. For example, VAWG can increase as women move into public and political life limiting their freedom of movement and impacting on their safety and security.<sup>21</sup> In 2013, Bolivia passed a law against political VAWG recognising the seriousness of explicit threats and security risks faced by women candidates and campaign activists.<sup>22</sup> In Afghanistan, a 25 percent quota has led to some progress in women's representation in the lower house of the national parliament, but threats to the safety of female politicians still restrict their ability to participate fully in public life.<sup>23</sup>

**Programmes and policies to support women's participation must tackle discriminatory social norms that are a barrier to women's participation in decision making at all levels. This should include attitudes that perpetuate the myth that women are not suitable public and political leaders. This will require a long-term approach and must continue once women become leaders.<sup>24</sup>**

### **Measuring meaningful influence, and participation at all levels**

Beyond top-line data, which captures the representation of women in national parliaments, measurement of women's influence in decision making at other levels, including local and household decision making, is frequently missing from international datasets. Measurement needs to go beyond this in two key ways.

Firstly, data on the participation of women in local governance structures should be comprehensively captured. For example, there are gaps in data on women's participation in local or community politics and community organisations as well as informal or traditional governance mechanisms. There is also a shortage of nationally collated data on intra-household decision making, for example in relation to control over income or control over family planning decisions.<sup>25</sup> There have been some encouraging developments, such as the partnership between UN Women and United Cities and Local Governments to collect local data on women's participation and to create a world observatory to track gender equality at the local level,<sup>26</sup> as well as the development of more innovative measures such as the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index, which include indicators to measure community leadership.<sup>27</sup> Work is also being carried out by women's rights organisations to establish local level indicators.<sup>28</sup>

Secondly, data collection must also capture the extent to which women can equally and meaningfully participate in decision making at all levels. This includes measuring changes in attitudes towards women, and tracking advances in policy or legislation that have been effected or influenced by women.

**Indicators for women's political participation must go beyond the measurement of numbers of nationally elected officials to reflect the influence of women in all levels of decision making, including local, community and household. An internationally-accepted indicator related to local level participation and influence is needed to increase progress in this area.**

### Women's participation in local decision making structures

Supporting women's local level participation and leadership is crucial because it is at this level that many of the decisions that affect women's lives are being made.<sup>29</sup> Women's equal and meaningful participation is essential to ensure that the needs and priorities of women are reflected in local decision making processes. For example, in Nepal, over 40 percent of women involved in a women's leadership programme in community decision making reported being able to positively influence their village and district development committees, compared to just two percent in comparable non-participating villages.<sup>30</sup>

Local level participation can also provide critical opportunities for women to assume leadership positions which are often overlooked such as in non-governmental organisations, clubs and community centres.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, women's influence often takes place through informal mechanisms such as self-help groups, women's rights organisations and networks community groups and cooperatives, which are typically missing from measures of, and interventions to increase, women's participation and influence in decision making.

**Interventions should include a focus on women's influence in local and community decision making bodies where it often has the most direct impact on women's lives.**

## **Access to resources, social networks and education**

Women often lack access to the financial resources and social networks necessary to run for political office or to make the most of other opportunities to participate in public, political, economic or social life. Inequalities in access to education or training can also undermine women's confidence to participate in decision making as well as their opportunities to do so.<sup>32</sup> The same barriers apply to local level decision making spaces and processes. Supporting women's capacity to negotiate and influence effectively is key to increasing the efficacy of women's leadership once in positions of power.<sup>33</sup> As a result, some women's rights organisations deliver long-term ongoing support to women leaders at all levels, through initiatives such as leadership capacity-building programmes, mentoring, and technical and legal advice.<sup>34</sup>

**Direct support to women should take a long-term approach that begins long before and continues once women have access to decision making spheres.<sup>35</sup> It should include a range of apprenticeship opportunities that empower women by supporting their skills, confidence and networks to participate effectively in decision making.<sup>36</sup> Particular focus is needed to increase the participation and influence of poor and marginalised women. Women's collective action and women's rights organisations which provide critical support for elected and aspiring women leaders, must be adequately resourced and supported.**

### **4.4 Recommendations**

International institutions/governments should:

1. Give greater priority to increasing women's political participation and influence in decision making as a central component of achieving gender equality and women's rights, including in conflict and fragile settings (see Part two: Section 1 on WPS).
2. Work to tackle the discriminatory social norms and attitudes which assign women to domestic spheres and suggest that public decision making is primarily a man's domain (See Part two: Section 8 on Social Norms and Part two: Section 7 on Care).
3. Recognise that supporting women's confidence and capacity to participate in and influence political decision making should be approached as a long-term process that will require appropriate funding, particularly for women's rights organisations, and should focus especially on marginalised and excluded women.
4. Use indicators that measure women's influence as well as participation in political decision making from household to international levels, with an explicit focus on bringing the importance of women's local level leadership to the fore.

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<sup>1</sup> Enarsson, J. (2012) Move your chair into the circle, Oxfam blog, 3rd August 2012, available at: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/blog/2012/08/indigenous-womens-participation-in-guatemala>

<sup>2</sup> Smee, S. & Woodroffe J. (2013) *Achieving Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in the Post-2015 Framework*, London: Gender and Development Network, available at: <http://www.gadnetwork.org/storage/Achieving%20gender%20equality%20and%20women's%20empowerment%20in%20the%20post%202015%20framework.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> Womankind (undated) *Women's Civil and political representation*, available at: <http://www.womankind.org.uk/policy-and-resources/womens-civil-and-political-participation/>

<sup>4</sup> United Nations (1995) *Beijing Platform for Action*, available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>, Strategic Objectives G.1 and G.2

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Klugman, J. et al. (2014) *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*, Washington, DC: World Bank Group, available at: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/19036>

<sup>6</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014) *Women in Politics 201*. New York : IPU and UN Women, available at : [http://ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnm14\\_en.pdf](http://ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnm14_en.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014a) *Women in National Parliaments*, Geneva : Inter-Parliamentary Union, available at : <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014b) Parline database query - *Parliaments at a glance: Women parliamentarians*, available at: <http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/WomenInParliament.asp?REGION=All&typesearch=1&LANG=ENG>, and United Nations (2014c) *Report of the Secretary-General on women, peace and security*, New York: United Nations, available at: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/2014/693](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2014/693), p. 13

<sup>10</sup> Calculated using Inter-Parliamentary Union figures: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2014) *Women in National Parliaments*, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> UN News Centre (2012) *Women's political participation must be accelerated through quotas*, available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?newsid=41445&cr=un#.UYyDtOCQ-M8>; Inter-Parliamentary Union (2013) *Increased Women's Political Participation Still Dependent on Quotas, 2012 Elections Show*, Press Release, 5 March 2013, available at: <http://www.ipu.org/press-e/pressrelease20130305.htm>

<sup>12</sup> Agarwal, B. (2010) "Does Women's Proportional Strength Affect Their Participation?" *World Development*, Vol. 38, No. 1, available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X09000904>

<sup>13</sup> UK Government (2011) *Women on Boards*, available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/31480/11-745-women-on-boards.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/31480/11-745-women-on-boards.pdf); Browne, E. (2014) *Elected women's effectiveness at representing women's interests*. London: GSDRC, available at: <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HDQ1111.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> See for example, Tadros, M. (2011) *Women Engaging Politically: Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways*. Brighton: Pathways of Women's Empowerment RPC, available at: [http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/downloads/download/women\\_and\\_politics\\_policy\\_paper-pdf](http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/downloads/download/women_and_politics_policy_paper-pdf)

<sup>15</sup> Inter-Parliamentary Union research – a poll of members of parliament from 110 countries conducted between 2006 and 2008 cited in Klugman, J. et al. (2014) *Voice and Agency: Empowering Women and Girls for Shared Prosperity*, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Smee, S. & Woodroffe J. (2013) *Achieving Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in the Post-2015 Framework*, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> United Cities and Local Governments Women: Standing Committee on Gender Equality (2013) *The Equality Agenda of United Cities and Local Governments*. Barcelona: UCLG, available at: <http://www.uclg-cisdg.org/en/equality-agenda-united-cities-and-local-governments-uclg>

<sup>18</sup> Smee, S. (2013) *Scoping Study on approaches, indicators and proxies for women's participation and influence in public life*, Commissioned by Saferworld, Womankind Worldwide and VSO, Unpublished report.

<sup>19</sup> Smee, S. (2011) *UNSCR 1325: The Participation Promise*. London: Gender Action for Peace and Security UK, available at: [http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/GAPS\\_UNSCR-1325-The-Participation-Promise\\_2011.pdf](http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/GAPS_UNSCR-1325-The-Participation-Promise_2011.pdf)

<sup>20</sup> Inglehart, R., and Norris, P. (2003) *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press cited in Horner, L and Stokes, R. (2012) *Advancing Equality in Women's Participation & Influence in Public Life through the Post- 2015 Framework – Inequalities*

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Discussion Paper. London: VSO, available at:

<http://www.worldwewant2015.org/file/291204/download/315679>

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, ActionAid UK (2010) *Destined to fail? How violence against women is undoing development*, London: ActionAid, available at:

[https://www.actionaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/doc\\_lib/destined\\_to\\_fail.pdf](https://www.actionaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/doc_lib/destined_to_fail.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> Ministry of Communication, Bolivia (2012) *Law N°243 Policy Against Harassment and Violence Against Women*, available at: <http://www.comunicacion.gob.bo/?q=20130725/ley-n%C2%BA243-contra-el-acoso-y-violencia-politica-hacia-las-mujeres>

<sup>23</sup> Department of Peacekeeping Operations & Department of Field Support, United Nations (2010) *Ten Year Impact Study on Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security in Peacekeeping*. United Nations: New York, available at:

[http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year\\_impact\\_study\\_1325.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/10year_impact_study_1325.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> See Horner, L and Stokes, R. (2012) *Advancing Equality in Women's Participation & Influence in Public Life through the Post- 2015 Framework – Inequalities Discussion Paper*, op. cit.; Oxfam (2012) *Women leading change: Experiences Promoting Women's Empowerment, Leadership, and Gender Justice* Oxford:

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<sup>25</sup> Moghadam, V. and Senftova, L. (2005) 'Measuring women's empowerment: participation and rights in civil, political, social, economic and cultural domains,' *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 57, Issue 184, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2005.00557.x/abstract> pp.389-412

<sup>26</sup> UN Women (2013) *UN Women signs agreement to better track female leadership and participation at the local level*, available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/2/un-women-signs-agreement-to-better-track-female-leadership-and-participation#sthash.TRxklzUs.dpuf>

<sup>27</sup> International Food Policy Research Institute (2012) *Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index*, available at: [http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/weai\\_brochure.pdf](http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/weai_brochure.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> See Hunt, A. (2014a) *Filling the progress gaps in women's local participation: why innovative approaches are needed*, Development Progress, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2013, available at:

<http://www.developmentprogress.org/blog/2014/07/15/filling-progress-gaps-women%E2%80%99s-local-participation-why-innovative-approaches-are>

<sup>29</sup> Hunt, A. (2014b) *Moving forward: Recommendations for the UK National Action Plan on Women, Peace & Security*. London: Womankind Worldwide, available at: <http://www.womankind.org.uk/download/16569/>

<sup>30</sup> Oxfam (2013) *Raising Her Voice: The power to persuade*. Oxford: Oxfam GB, available at:

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available at: <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/nothing-is-impossible-the-raising-her-voice-programme-in-nepal-226735>

<sup>31</sup> Hunt, A. (2014a) *Filling the progress gaps in women's local participation: why innovative approaches are needed*, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> VSO (2013) *Women in Power: beyond access to influence in a post-2015 world*. London: VSO, available at: [http://www.vso.org.uk/sites/vso\\_uk/files/women\\_in\\_power\\_report\\_final\\_26feb2014\\_ic14008.pdf](http://www.vso.org.uk/sites/vso_uk/files/women_in_power_report_final_26feb2014_ic14008.pdf)

<sup>33</sup> Tadros, M. (2011) *Women Engaging Politically: Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways*, op. cit.

<sup>34</sup> Hunt, A. (2014b) *Moving forward: Recommendations for the UK National Action Plan on Women, Peace & Security*, op. cit.

<sup>35</sup> Horner, L and Stokes, R. (2012) *Advancing Equality in Women's Participation & Influence in Public Life through the Post- 2015 Framework – Inequalities Discussion Paper*, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> Tadros, M. (2011) *Women Engaging Politically: Beyond Magic Bullets and Motorways*, op. cit., p. 12;

Cornwall, A. and Goetz, A. (2005) 'Democratizing Democracy: Feminist Perspectives', *Democratization* 12(5) available at: [http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/centreoncitizenship/democratizing\\_democracy.pdf](http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/centreoncitizenship/democratizing_democracy.pdf) pp.783-

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### **Gender and Development Network (GADN)**

GADN brings together over 100 expert NGOs, consultants, academics and individuals committed to working on gender, development and women's rights issues.

c/o ActionAid

33-39 Bowling Green Lane, London EC1R 0BJ

Phone: 020 3122 0609

Email: [info@gadnetwork.org](mailto:info@gadnetwork.org)

[www.gadnetwork.org](http://www.gadnetwork.org)

Registered charity no. 1140272

### **Gender Action for Peace and Security UK (GAPS)**

GAPS is the UK's only Women, Peace and Security civil society network. We are an expert membership organisation with 17 members who encompass a range of development, human rights, women's rights, humanitarian and peacebuilding NGOs.

Development House,

56 – 64 Leonard Street, London, EC2A 4LT

Phone: + 44 (0) 20 7549 0360

E: [info@gaps-uk.org](mailto:info@gaps-uk.org)

[www.gaps-uk.org](http://www.gaps-uk.org)

### **The UK Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) Network**

The UK SRHR Network brings together over fifty NGOs and academic institutions and individuals from across the UK international development sector, in order to promote the centrality of SRHR in development policies and programmes.

UKSRHR Network, c/o Aoife Nic Charthaigh, Plan UK

Finsgate, 5-7 Cranwood Street, London EC1V 9LH

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