

Annual narrative progress report 2016

Hivos Women Empowered for Leadership Programme (WE4L)



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Project year: first (of five)
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Introduction

WE4L is a five-year programme (2016-2020), managed by Hivos and implemented together with local partners in five countries the Middle East and Southern Africa (Jordan, Lebanon, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe). We aim for women to have equal opportunities and the capacity to fully participate in political and societal decision-making processes, as well as to be recognised and supported by politics and society as leaders and agents of change. The objectives are:

- (1) more women participate fully and effectively in politics and public administration at sub-national level;
- (2) female leaders, linked with women's rights organisations, have more influence on political and societal developments and on public opinion;
- (3) civic organisations such as trade unions promote full and equal participation of women in leadership positions and demonstrate significant changes in their own policies and practices;
- (4) there is more recognition and support from the general public for women in leadership positions.

Together with our local partners we work directly with potential women leaders, but also with political parties, administrative bodies, trade unions and syndicates, civil society organisations, media and the creative sector. With WE4L we empower women, based on women's agency as a driving force. We support promising female leaders as frontrunners in social change. We focus on qualitative and quantitative improvement of women's participation and leadership in various sectors, appointed and elected. We connect actors and their experiences, including Hivos itself (linking and learning). Within this programme we apply participatory Theory of Change methods as annual reflection instruments, which enable us to continuously look for innovative ways that are really effective and have sustainable impact. For the updated Monitoring & Evaluation framework of this programme: see the annex to this report. More information on <https://hivos.org/focal-area/women-empowered-leadership>

Theory of Change

We made our Theory of Change for the WE4L programme context-specific in country-based TOC workshops and strategy meetings with local partners. This process included stakeholder analyses, power analyses, risk analyses, as well as analysis of the findings of baseline surveys and of election monitoring reports from our partners. We also critically reflected on the assumptions underlying the TOC. By doing this we have refined our Theory of Change per country, resulting in context-specific sub-outcomes (for each outcome area) and priorities - see the overview below. Meanwhile, we confirmed the key premises underlying the strategic choices were made, i.e. the focus on the sub-national level is more effective for women, cooperation with women's CSOs leads to more women in leadership, and increased public awareness leads to positive changes in the mindset of the general public. Our Theory of Change will remain to be subject to revisions throughout the programme period. After all, we apply participatory TOC methods as annual reflection tools, together with our partners in this programme. We have refined our Theory of Change as follows:

Outcome area 1: a significant increase in women elected officials and new appointees at sub-national political and administrative level, participating fully and effectively

We developed two sub-outcomes for Lebanon, focused on boosting women's ascent up the political ladder. One from the top, by securing political commitment to women's quota in national and local elections, and to other electoral reforms that make it easier for women to run for office. The other by addressing the social obstacles hindering women's leadership from the bottom. Within political parties as

a primary target group to work with, we will specifically focus on youth groups in these parties. In Jordan, not political parties, but tribes will be the main target of our advocacy efforts to address the obstacles that prevent women from obtaining high positions and being selected as election candidates. We will specifically seek to engage rural women, since the tribal influence dominates in rural areas. In Southern Africa, we chose to create a political-party-barometer on the quota system and regularly compare the results for Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, also as regional linking and learning tool.

The assumptions in this outcome area, as defined in our Theory of Change, were confirmed, although context-specific nuances were added. Indeed, we consider political parties and public administration as key actors for increasing the number of women in leadership positions, but it is assumed that Members of Parliament will be open to amend legislation and that this process will occur at a reasonable pace. An additional assumption is that potential women leaders are not only ready and available, but that they are also willing to take political leadership roles. This is a point of attention in WE4L.

Outcome area 2: women's CSOs and established and aspiring women leaders collaborate and impact political and societal development and opinions

In all five programme countries, we developed sub-outcomes which focus on achieving more positive visibility for female leaders and opinion-makers and improving their communication and media skills. In Zambia, for example, we decided to generate positive visibility of women in the media to build the credibility of women as leaders and opinion-makers.

An important assumption is that editors are willing to invite female opinion leaders and experts for opinion articles or debates on TV and radio, and that it requires an extra effort to influence them to look beyond their male-dominated network of contacts. Another assumption is that women are willing to be more visible and express their opinion. In Jordan, given the fairly widespread social conservatism, this may not always be the case, as women sometimes fear social and religious backlash, and may not have the experience to manage their public profiles. We decided to mitigate this risk by providing platforms for rising women opinion-makers within the programme, to build their confidence and showcase their expertise, and by providing digital media and communications training.

Outcome area 3: the general public increasingly recognizes and supports women in leadership positions

The positive portrayal of women in the media also links to outcome area three. Context-specific refinement of this outcome area includes a focus on rural areas, in Malawi, Zambia and Lebanon. In Southern Africa this includes community work in the countryside, with theatre and debates with local community members focusing on women's leadership.

Our Theory of Change included the assumption that increased public awareness leads to positive changes in the mindset and behaviour of the general public. We confirmed this as a valid assumption, but added that political and social forces which challenge progressive messaging on gender roles are very strong. This led to two additional assumptions. First, that people are ready to change their minds and accept more progressive views on women's political leadership. We are therefore conducting public perceptions studies in Lebanon and Jordan to better understand the public opinion and how we can change it. The second assumption is that public awareness gets translated into actual support for women's political leadership. To anticipate to this, we will ensure that online and offline campaigns are closely linked and coordinated.

Outcome area 4: civic organisations demonstrate a significant change in their policies and practices on full and equal participation of women in leadership positions

We selected specific civic actors in each country which we expect to be open for change, such as professional syndicates, media organisations and women's CSOs. We also decided that the other outcome areas would get higher priority in the first stage of the programme.

We confirmed our original assumptions in this outcome area, for example that having women in leadership positions in civic organisations will lead to a better response to the needs of their female members, but this builds on the assumption that civic organisations are receptive to female leadership, and are willing to work with us on unequal gender roles within their own circles.

Outcome area 5: improved preconditions for women's rights and gender equality

In outcome area five, on top of the planned training and coaching activities to specific target groups, we decided to strengthen the capacity of civil society organisations in all five countries by introducing Theory of Change and Outcome Harvesting methods to our direct partners in the WE4L programme. We expect the results of these quality inputs to have a positive effect on our wider environment of partners and stakeholders.

Outcomes

In **Jordan**, over a period of six months in 2016, eight female experts in different fields became more visible to the general public through opinion articles and analyses they published - most of them for the first time. Looking at most mainstream media outlets, we find the percentage of women writers in the opinion section to be marginal, especially in topics traditionally dominated by men such as politics, economics, energy, city planning, etc. Publications like this are often the first step towards more exposure opportunities and engagement in the public debate, in mainstream media, in public events and at conferences. One article, by Ola Eleiwat, reached over 100,000 people, which prompted responses on two radio talk shows and mainstream news websites. Another article, by Shahd Hammouri, was nominated for the Mustafa Al-Husseini Award for Young Writers. We reached out to these women, encouraged them to write, built their confidence, coached them through the writing process, edited their articles, and offered them a platform as well.

In **Malawi**, in roundtable discussions, three of the major political parties unanimously agreed to discuss introduction of a quota system in their constitutions within their party structures at national, district and sub-district levels. Political parties decide how many women they adopt as candidates to stand on their party tickets, but they do not have adequate mechanisms to encourage female aspirants. Because women have limited access to resources and opportunities, and positive measures to encourage women are absent, we observe a low percentage of women candidates at all levels of elections. The quota discussion was a result of our advocacy work in December 2016.

In **Lebanon**, during the last months of 2016, the number of women discussing politics on prime time radio programmes increased. We provided women with the platform that allowed women to face men on relevant topics, which also helped increase the general public recognition and support of women in leadership positions. We also selected the women, booked air-time, and supported the women with discussion points.

In **Zimbabwe**, 70 female politicians of the five major parties came together under the motto 'Challenge the Process, Encourage the Heart'. They confirmed the need for women to speak with one voice and work together across political divides to lobby for a women's quota for nominations for party leadership positions. Also, they installed a mentorship programme which pairs women according to their strengths and need, regardless of the political parties they represent. The presence of ZANU-PF, the ruling party in Zimbabwe, was a direct result of our advocacy work in December 2016, as non-partisan stakeholders.

In **Zambia**, two social media platforms, on Facebook and on Twitter, showed increased positive public discussions and positive profiling of women leaders. Our monitoring of the media coverage of women in Zambia showed that women receive only 14% of the total print media coverage, of which 37% in negative terms. We built these platforms on Facebook and Twitter, developed content that stimulates positive debate on women's leadership, and identified women leaders that have featured on these platforms, and set-up mechanisms for widespread participation and outreach. Indeed, there was active participation of stakeholders, women leaders and the public.

A story from Zambia

Twenty-four-year-old Buumba Malambo is one of the youngest ward councillors in Zambia, and the first-ever female councillor in sub-national Magoba Ward. During the 2016 national elections, we mentored aspiring female candidates for councillor, mayoral and ministerial positions, and monitored women's participation from a media perspective, as both citizens and contestants. The 2016 elections witnessed an increase in the number of female candidates elected in various districts in the 2016 elections - from 83 to 130 women councillors across urban and rural areas. Most of the successful

candidates, amongst whom Buumba Malambo, had followed our training in communication skills, issues-based campaign strategy and leadership skills. We continued to mentor the female councillors after the elections.

For popular Zambian culture and traditions, it is unheard of for a woman to lead, either as a Chief or Head Woman, or in politics and public administration. So when she ran for elections, Buumba faced serious challenges. This included the traditional perceptions and stereotypes of women in public leadership roles. She was humiliated and threatened. Some people called her a prostitute. Another challenge was a lack of resources to run a campaign. But she persisted in her goal to stand up as a leader, inspired by the high levels of poverty amongst the people in her ward, the lack of schools that force children to walk several kilometres to go to school and the lack of basic health care services that result in high maternal and infant mortality in her village. She also had the example of female politicians who are currently in leadership positions. She won the 2016 elections by a landslide, beating all her 13 male opponents as she wrote history.



Buumba Malambo (on the right, with laptop) is not originally from Magoba. She was born and raised in the mining town of Mufulira in Zambia's Copper belt. During her study in Social Work at the University of Zambia, Buumba Malambo started associating herself with Magoba Ward, a very rural place with limited developmental facilities, and chose to do her university attachment there. She became more and more passionate about the welfare of women and children and founded a charitable organisation called Buumba Malambo Foundation to help them. The Foundation fights early marriages in rural areas, runs an HIV/AIDS project helping women and children who are HIV positive and assists children with school materials and clothing. Now, with the help of sponsors in Zambia and abroad, she is supporting 435 children.

It is hopeful to see a new generation of female aspirants in Zambia is promising to provide a future cohort of political and public administration leaders. After the elections of 2016, at least five female councillors were between 24 and 35 years old. However, there is still a long way to go for more female representation in leadership.

Progress

2016 was the start-up year for the WE4L programme. We recruited programme staff and created a team with presence on the ground in Lebanon, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. We organised the project infrastructure. We organised inception workshops and baseline surveys. We conducted participatory Theory of Change workshops with the partners, organised strategy and coordination meetings, and developed concrete action plans per country. We kicked off in Jordan, Lebanon and Zambia, and started implementing the programme in Malawi and Zimbabwe more substantially at the end of the year. In 2016 Hivos selected (in most countries via open calls for proposals) and contracted twelve local civil society organisations with whom Hivos collaborated, and will collaborate, for increased women participation in politics and in the public arena. These key partners were carefully selected on basis of their expertise in and commitment to women agency and primary justice for the marginalized, especially women. These twelve selected key partners are: (a) in **Jordan**: Sisterhood is Global Institute (SIGI) and 7iber, (b) in **Lebanon**: Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE) and Maharat Foundation, (c) in **Malawi**: Women's Legal Resources Centre (WOLREC), Governance, Gender Justice and Development Centre (GGJDC) and Towwirane, (d) in **Zambia**: Zambia National Women's Lobby (ZNWL) and Panos, and (e) in **Zimbabwe**: Women in Leadership and Development (WILD), Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ), and Women In Parliamentary Support Unit (WIPSU). We will select new and additional partner organisations in 2017 and following years.

The WE4L programme in 2016 focused on three main pillars: (1) conducting gender-based election monitoring focused on the political and social obstacles women face as candidates and voters, (2) on providing opportunities, support and encouragement for women to impact social and political questions, and (3) on providing public platforms for female opinion-makers to have their voices heard on the main political issues of the day. The overview below shows the progress in 2016, following the updated M&E framework, as presented in the annex to this report.

Outcome area 1: a significant increase in women elected officials and new appointees at sub-national political and administrative level, participating fully and effectively

Outcome indicator 1a - introduction of quota system for sub-national politics / output indicator 1a - number of ministries and elected bodies reached re quota

Although political deadlock in **Lebanon** has prevented progress over a new election law (with Lebanon as of April 2017 facing almost certainly a 3rd postponement of the parliamentary elections), the question of the quota gained considerable public traction and political commitment from the Prime Minister and the new minister for Women's Affairs in the 4th quarter of 2016, thanks to the public campaign launched by the Lebanese National Commission of Women, which we joined and for which we are the main technical advisor on the quota and other gender-friendly reforms.

In **Malawi**, as a result of our advocacy work in December 2016, three of the major political parties unanimously agreed to discuss introduction of a quota system in their constitutions within their party structures at national, district and sub-district levels. See outcomes above.

In **Zimbabwe**, 70 female politicians of the five major parties agreed to speak with one voice and to lobby together for a women's quota for nominations for party leadership positions. We lobbied for the presence of ZANU-PF, the ruling party in Zimbabwe, in December 2016. See outcomes above.

Outcome indicator 1b - number of women in political positions at sub-national/local level, elected/appointed / output indicator 1b - number of political parties' representatives targeted/reached with messages and evidence to strengthen women's participation

In **Jordan**, our gender-based election monitoring under the umbrella of the Ayn Coalition during the September 2016 Parliamentary elections was responsible for creating significant media attention and public awareness on women's political participation in the elections. Over 290 media pieces were published/released in the period leading up to the elections, and Ayn Coalition members appeared on several talk shows. This exposure seems to have an effect on political parties and tribal leaders. In 2016, Jordan recorded the highest women representation in Parliament in its history, standing at 15.3%, with

five women winning through direct competition and 15 others securing quota seats, which is a great progress compared to no women winning the elections in 1989.

In **Lebanon**, municipal elections were held in May 2016. Our gender-based election monitoring revealed the main obstacles for women to get elected, as well as the importance of gender based election monitoring. The monitoring revealed how politicians, friends and relatives, communities and religious leaders tried to bribe or discredit female candidates, urging them to stick to their traditional roles. We presented the results of our gender-based election monitoring in a public event, being one of the ways to influence political parties on this topic.

During the 2016 national tripartite elections in **Zambia**, we mentored aspiring female candidates for councillor, mayoral and ministerial positions, and monitored women's participation from a media perspective, as both citizens and contestants. In Zambia, very few women receive support from their political parties in their aspirations to become a candidate, reflecting the negative public perceptions of women seeking political office. Nevertheless, the 2016 elections witnessed an increase in the number of female candidates elected in various districts in the 2016 elections - from 83 to 130 women councillors across urban and rural areas. Most of the successful candidates had followed our training in communication skills, issues-based campaign strategy and leadership skills.

In **Zimbabwe**, we have lobbied MDC Green in December 2016 to schedule a discussion at the party's strategic planning session in February 2017 on the challenges that women face in obtaining leadership positions with this party. We also helped them to prepare this. The strategic planning session is important because it determines the party's direction towards the 2018 elections.

Outcome area 2: women's CSOs and established and aspiring women leaders collaborate and impact political and societal development and opinions

Outcome indicator 2b - number of women leaders participating in autonomous spaces, virtual and/or real-world / output indicator 2b - number of women leaders participating in dialogues/debates on women leadership

In **Jordan** in the last quarter of 2016, we addressed the scarcity of women opinion-leaders in the press, by giving more visibility to potential women opinion-leaders. We coaching them in writing skills and presenting opinions, and then published their pieces on the 7iber website and Facebook pages. Given the considerable traffic these social media attract (the website grew 78% in 2016, reaching almost two million views, while 7iber's Facebook page reached over 300,000 followers), this meant increased reach and exposure for the pieces by the women opinion-makers. See the outcomes.

In **Lebanon**, during November and December 2016, the number of women discussing politics on prime time radio programmes increased. We provided women with the platform that allowed women to face men on relevant topics, which also helped increase the general public recognition and support of women in leadership positions. We also selected the women, booked air-time, and supported the women with discussion points. See the outcomes.

Outcome indicator 2c - number of women leaders with improved communication skills / output indicator 2c - number of aspiring women leaders trained

In **Jordan** 45 potential women leaders set first steps in improving their communication skills by completing two practical training workshops we organised. The first one was a training on using social media in effective campaigning in August 2016, the second on digital security in December 2016.

Outcome area 3: the general public increasingly recognizes and supports women in leadership positions

Outcome indicator 3a - number of articles and broadcasts about women leaders in the media / output indicator 3a - number of articles and broadcasts that portray positive views of women leadership in the media

In **Jordan**, we published six long features tackling women's political leadership via 7iber's social media (see their statistics above). The six publications covered these topics: (1) the Teachers' Union and the

absence of women on its executive committee, (2) internal tribal elections and banning women from voting, (3) a case for daycare in the workplace, (4) sexual harassment in the workplace, (5) the impact of women's quota on parliamentary election results, and (6) Bedouins, women, and Christians in election laws: the politicization of nascent identities.

In **Lebanon**, we analysed the media coverage around the 2016 local council elections from a gender perspective, looking at the way newspapers and television channels addressed, portrayed and represented women. Not very surprising, but ground for a thorough debate was our conclusion that female political opinion-makers and leaders were weakly represented. On talk shows 89% of the guests were male, while newspapers did not interview any of the female candidates. To address the scarcity of women political experts on Lebanese radio and TV, a radio platform was launched, on the top 5 prime time radio shows in Lebanon, with over 20 female political opinion-makers and party officials receiving exposure and visibility, from November to December 2016. The discussions aimed at cementing in public imagination the right of women to express political opinions.

In **Zambia**, we monitored the media coverage of women, in number and nature, in four newspapers for two months. The selected newspapers were Mast, Times of Zambia, Zambia Daily Mail, and Daily Nation. The key findings showed that women received 14% of the total print media coverage, that only 45% of this coverage of women gave a voice to women sources, and 37% of this low coverage profiles women negatively. We are using these findings to engage media players and other stakeholders to increase positive coverage of women to positively influence public opinions of women leadership. In addition, the media covered the presentation of our gender-based election monitoring results in far more news reports than ever before. Because regular reports from the Zambia Election Commission were absent, the project online platforms that we supported, became a preferred and trusted source of real-time election information.

Outcome area 4: civic organisations demonstrate a significant change in their policies and practices on full and equal participation of women in leadership positions

Outcome indicator 4a - existence of internal organizational procedures to provide for equal participation of men and women in organizational leadership structures , in numbers of civic organizations with procedures adopted / output indicator 4a - number of individuals from civic organizations informed, lobbied and/or trained

In all programme countries, we chose a delayed start of the work with civic organisations, for various reasons. In Lebanon, we selected a handful of syndicates to work with and organised some preliminary meetings with the teacher's syndicate. However, the syndicate's protracted wage dispute with the government led to delays in getting started with them. The delayed start of our activities in outcome four is the main deviation in the WE4L programme, as compared to the original planning.

Outcome area 5: improved preconditions for women's rights and gender equality

Outcome indicator 5a - number of demonstrable contributions to women's rights and gender equality by public and private sector institutions / output indicator 5a - strengthened capacity of civil society organisations to advance women's rights and gender equality

In each of the **five programme countries**, Hivos organised inception workshops and baseline surveys, sometimes also mapping exercises, conducted participatory Theory of Change workshops with the partners, organised strategy and coordination meetings with the partners and developed concrete action plans per country. We held TOC workshops to make the Theory of Change context-specific, as well as for annual reflection and update of the TOC. The annual reflections enable us to hold a mirror up to our partners (and ourselves) and encourage them to rethink their concepts of how change happens. As a result, we observe changes in their strategising methods, putting more emphasis and focus on the longer-term change they want to achieve. Using the TOC method contributes to the capacity-development needs of the partners (and the Hivos programme staff), as it improves the quality and effectiveness of the work. In all the workshops with the WE4L partners (inception, planning, reflection) Hivos used the TOC method, because it encourages a (self-) critical approach and inspires innovation.

A story from Jordan

Gender-based election monitoring is new to Jordan. We piloted it for the first time during the 2016 Parliamentary elections, under the umbrella of the Eye on Women in Elections Coalition (Ayn Coalition). The Ayn Coalition consists of some 50 women's CSOs. The Sisterhood is Global Institute (SIGI), one of the WE4L partners, plays a leading role in this coalition.

We developed a methodology to document the obstacles that women face as voters and as candidates in elections. With other Ayn Coalition partners, we conducted election monitoring work throughout the country. We influenced the Jordanian Independent Election Commission to adopt reforms and amendments in favour of women prior to and during the elections. For example, thanks to us, polling stations were obliged to arrange child-minders for (mostly female) voters who came to vote with their children. Furthermore, the head of one of the polling stations was dismissed after local observers from the Ayn Coalition had revealed that he was casting votes on behalf of illiterate and elderly women.



Changing contexts

Continuous political deadlock affects the WE4L programme in **Lebanon** because first of all it depends on functioning legislative system and secondly it is difficult for squabbling politicians to focus on anything other than securing their own narrow interests. However, this affects mostly outcome area one, as the other outcome areas can continue as they are not directly affected by legislative procedures. Conversely, if the ruling political class agrees on an unfair and undemocratic election, the space for CSOs to manoeuvre is limited. Finally, disgust with the political class, may also be advantageous for our programme which in the broad sense advocates for political change.

In **Jordan**, political changes are minimal. This is both advantageous, as the actors remain predictable, and a hindrance, as the will for progressive political change is weak. The political class seeks to maintain the status quo, with the danger that only incremental and cosmetic change is tolerated.

In **Malawi** the political context has become more favourable for the WE4L programme as there has been an increase in women CSOs advocating for women leadership and general dissatisfaction with the performance of men in politics. Malawi's first female President Joyce Banda's performance is now being gauged favourably against the current male dominated government and general sentiments indicated an arousal to possibility and acceptance of women leadership.

Challenges

Social cultural norms continue to influence leadership decisions. The challenge is mainly exacerbated by patriarchy and cultural attitudes towards women, as well as religious conservatism vis-a-vis women's rights and gender roles. This applies to all five countries we work in. In Malawi for instance, the First-Past-The-Post election model creates an uneven playing field for women candidates, as they have less access to political party support, the media and financing. In the 2014 elections only 32 women out of 192 representatives were elected into Parliament representing 16.6% while at the sub-national level where important decisions directly affecting the quality of life of citizens are made women was a dismal 11% of 411 seats. To address this challenge we will strategically work with political parties and at the same time empower potential women's leaders to run for elections, obtain elected positions and be effective in those positions.

There is a lot of political apathy in the Middle East and a general perception of 'politics is dirty'. This also applies to Lebanon and Jordan. Many common citizens have become skeptical about politics and distrust politicians. They see politicians as corrupt, ineffective, and disconnected. Where political families and tribes are entrenched in the system, it is felt by many that politics is not the way to change their lives for the better. This skepticism and distrust make a career in politics unattractive, and feed apathy. We will help women to overcome this obstacle and show that women leaders can make a difference.

A weak and fragmented women's movement in Lebanon has made it challenging for us to select strong effective women CSOs as partners. Young women are shunning women's CSOs (which they view as old-fashioned and elitist) and they prefer to launch their own more feminist and progressive initiatives. To meet this challenge, we will contribute to invigorating the women's movement through public discussions and innovative tools and approaches for women CSOs, as well as supporting initiatives led by new women leaders.

Lessons learned

First of all, we have learned and felt that Theory of Change is a very useful method for programme design, contextualization and strategy development, and for reflection and updating – so in different phases of the project cycle. TOC is challenging for all stakeholders. It encourages us to hold a mirror up to ourselves and our partners, critically examine our assumptions, and rethink our ideas of how and where change should and could take place. It encourages self-criticism and inspires innovation. TOC puts the emphasis and focus on the longer-term change we want to achieve.

Secondly, we have learned that local partners need support to effectively communicate their achievements and progress to the public and relevant stakeholders, and to strategise on how to communicate significant interventions and outcomes. The tendency is to focus on activities and short-term outputs, without communicating how they are related to the broader picture in terms of desired change, outcomes or progress. We have decided to introduce Outcome Harvesting as a method to address this issue. We feel that Theory of Change and Outcome Harvesting are a good combination, both taking longer-term significant changes as a starting point.

Thirdly, we have learned that there is a tendency to blame the limited visibility of female opinion leaders to the media, with alleged gender-unaware or unwilling editors and journalists, but the visibility of women should not be considered as solely the media's responsibility. We notice that female politicians, experts and opinion leaders are often media-shy and resist media profiling. For effective media profiling, these women need to become more confident and engage more with the media, even develop their own media networks. The WE4L programme can and will play an important role in this area in the coming four years, for example by training and coaching women in dealing with media.

Expenditures

We have spent € 1,534,755 in 2016. Below is a breakdown of these expenditures. Our programme in 2016 was entirely funded through the 'Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women' (FLOW) fund of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The planned budget for 2017 is € 3,472,640.

Women Empowered for Leadership Programme: Expenditures in 2016	
Project expenses in Jordan	€ 173,032
Project expenses in Lebanon	€ 190,767
Project expenses in Malawi	€ 163,004
Project expenses in Zambia	€ 87,274
Project expenses in Zimbabwe	€ 156,015
Regional project expenses	€ 262,141
Programme management costs Middle East & overall	€ 329,263
Programme management costs Southern Africa	€ 166,669
Other costs	€ 6,591
Grand total	€ 1,534,755

Conclusions

Our annual report 2016 shows the first project year of the five-year WE4L programme. We have set the programme on track with the required staff and project infrastructure, with permanent presence on the ground in almost all programme countries, as well as a good selection of local partner organisations. We organised inception workshops, baseline surveys, participatory Theory of Change workshops, strategy and coordination meetings and developed concrete action plans per country. We are proud to show some significant outcomes already.

Annex: Updated M&E Framework of the Women Empowered for Leadership programme (2016-20)

Targeted outcomes (influence sphere)	Outcome indicators	Targeted outputs (control sphere)	Output indicators (WE4L programme)
1. Significant increase in women elected officials and new appointees at sub-national political and administrative level, participating fully and effectively	1a. Introduction of quota system for sub-national politics (in numbers of quota introduced)	1a. Ministries and elected bodies have been lobbied about women's quota system on sub-national level	1a. Number of ministries and elected bodies reached re quota
	1b. Number of women in elected/appointed political positions at sub-national/ local level	1b. Leadership of political parties has been targeted & reached with messages and evidence to strengthen women's participation	1b. Number of political parties' representatives targeted/reached
	1c. Existence of internal policies and practices in state institutions and councils at sub-national level that promote work – life balance (in numbers of policies adopted)	1c. Staff of state institutions and councils, as well as reps of political parties, have been informed, lobbied and trained on work – life balance policies and practices	1c. Number of individuals informed, lobbied and/or trained on work-life balance policies and practices
2. Women's CSOs and established and aspiring women leaders collaborate and impact political and societal development and opinions	2a. Number of women's CSOs with linkages to networks for political and social support of women leadership	2a. Linkages between (women's) CSOs and women leaders have been created, as well as linkages with media, the creative sector, political parties	2a. Number of women leaders and other stakeholders with whom CSOs established linkages
	2b. Number of women leaders participating in autonomous virtual and/or real-world spaces	2b. Dialogues/debates on women leadership, in which women leaders participate and are visible	2b. Number of women leaders participating in dialogues/debates on women leadership
	2c. Number of women leaders with improved communication skills	2c. Aspiring women have been identified and trained to improve their communication skills	2c. Number of aspiring women leaders trained
	2d. Capacity assessment forecasts and scores of CSOs in setting up systems to promote women's equal participation (rate from 1 to 10 / 10 being highest score)	2d. Women's CSOs have been trained in supporting women leaders, building their network, building capacities and learning to explore financial support	2d. Number of CSO activists who participated in targeted skills training
3. The general public increasingly recognizes and supports women in leadership positions	3a. Number of articles and broadcasts about the women leaders in the media	3a. Positive media portrayal of women leadership relevance	3a. Number of articles and broadcasts that portray positive views of women leadership in the media
	3b. Proportion of target population that is positive towards women equal political participation (in %)	3b. Target populations have been addressed to think positively about women's political participation	3b. Number of people addressed about women's participation
	3c. Proportion of target population that is aware of women's contributions to leadership in society (in %)	3c. Target populations have been informed about women as leaders and their contributions to societies	3c. Number of people informed about women as leaders
	3d. Number of individuals from target population with access to sources of information on women leadership	3d. Target populations have been provided systematic information with sources on women leadership	3d. Number of people who were given systematic info on women leadership
4. Civic organizations demonstrate a significant change in their policies and practices on full and equal participation of women in leadership positions	4a. Existence of internal organizational procedures to provide for equal participation of men and women in organizational leadership structures (in numbers of civic organizations with procedures adopted)	4a. Staff of civic organizations informed, lobbied and trained on ensuring women's equal participation in decision-making and leadership in their own organization through internal procedures	4a. Number of individuals from civic organizations informed, lobbied and/or trained
	4b. Number of tools and manuals developed by CSOs on women participation	4b. CSOs assisted to develop tools and manuals on women participation	4b. Number of CSOs helped in developing tools and/or manuals
	4c. Percentage of women in board positions in selected social organizations and political parties	4c. Aspiring women leaders prepared for board positions in selected civic organizations and political parties	4c. Number of women trained and/or prepared for board positions
5. Improved preconditions for women's rights and gender equality	5a. Number of demonstrable contributions to women's rights and gender equality by public and private sector institutions	5a. Strengthened capacity of civil society organizations to advance women's rights and gender equality	5a. Number of CSOs with stronger capacity to promote women's rights/gender equality