

OXFAM AMERICA
Evaluation Report

SUMMARY OF TWO EVALUATIONS OF THE PROGRAM TO PREVENT GENDER VIOLENCE IN EL SALVADOR

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October 2011



OXFAM
America

As part of our commitment to accountability and learning, Oxfam will share conclusions and recommendations from evaluations. Internally we will share with relevant stakeholders, ensuring that they have an opportunity to participate in discussion of those results in meaningful ways. We will also publish the evaluation reports on our website in accessible language.

As a rights-based organization, accountability, particularly to the communities we seek to serve, is of the highest importance to us. For Oxfam, accountability requires Oxfam to regularly and honestly assess the quality of its work, share and learn from its findings with primary stakeholders, and apply that learning in future work.

These are findings from Oxfam America's Program to Prevent Gender Based Violence in El Salvador. The program has been operating since 2005 and this evaluation covers the work undertaken between 2008 and 2011. It is a synthesis of two evaluations (end 2010, early 2011) commissioned and managed by Allison Davis, Evaluation Senior Advisor, with funding from the Learning, Evaluation and Accountability Department of Oxfam America. The major evaluation activities took place between September 2010 and June 2011.

CONTENTS

Background and Theory of Change.....	02
The Impact Studies - Methodology.....	03
Program Strategy.....	04
Program Outcomes.....	05
Changing Knowledge and Attitudes.....	05
Changing the Correlation of Political Forces.....	07
Changing Policy.....	08
Changing Practice: Impact on Women’s Lives.....	09
Program Characteristics Contributing to Success.....	11
A Testable Theory of Change.....	11
A Long Term Commitment.....	12
A Small, Cohesive Core of Activist Allies, Clear Division of Labor.....	12
Strong Planning and Learning Disciplines.....	12
A Commitment to Institutionalizing Changes Both Broadly and Deeply.....	13
Things to Think About Moving Forward.....	14

BACKGROUND AND THEORY OF CHANGE

The Program for the Prevention of Gender-Based Violence (**PPGV**) was launched in 2005 under its own logo and slogan, “Entre vos y yo... Una vida diferente” (Between you and me... a different life). The operating environment has been in a country with extremely high levels of criminal violence, where public security has been an area of contestation between the two main political parties¹ and violence against women (VAW) has typically been seen as an issue of the left (particularly the FMLN), further marginalizing it under ARENA-controlled governments². Moreover, getting VAW on the agenda had been stymied because

PPVG Core Committee through 2011

Oxfam America
Movimiento Salvadoreño de Mujeres (MSM)
Asociación para la Autodeterminación y Desarrollo de Mujeres Salvadoreñas (AMS)
Asociación de Mujeres Tecleñas (AMT)

PPVG Supporting Partners

Fundación Justicia y Género (FJG)
Instituto de Derechos Humanos UCA (IDHUCA)
Fundación Innovaciones Educativas Centroamericanas (FIECA)
Asociación ESCENICA

...women’s interests are largely subordinated in the national political agenda. This directly undermines women’s citizenship and a certain ‘hierarchy of violence’ emerges in public discourse in which violence against women is sidelined from both public debate and spending. (Hume 2008: 66)

In response to this, a group of Salvadoran counterparts and Oxfam America decided to collectively design an effort that would address the issue of gender-based violence (GBV) in such a way that it would break this long-standing political stalemate.

The point of departure has been the **right of women to a life free of violence**, based primarily on two international conventions—the Convention to Eradicate all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Sanction and Eradicate Violence Against Women (known as the Convention of Belém do Pará).

The coalition strategy is based on a theory of change that was formally articulated in the program strategy paper (2007) as follows:

¹ Not only over the appropriate mechanisms to address the problem, but also because there are powerful people deeply implicated in various criminal enterprises (drug smuggling, car rings, small arms trade, etc.).

² ARENA controlled the presidency since the end of the civil war in 1992 until 2009.

- Building more equitable and just relations entails responsibility on the part of State institutions to prevent situations of gender-based violence.
- Coordination between key actors and public institutions contributes to preventing, penalizing, and eradicating gender-based violence.
- Consciousness and understanding of the problem on the part of political and legal actors ensures the passage of and efficient application of public policies and laws focused on preventing gender-based violence.
- Critical thinking generated through information-sharing, communication and education contributes to public awareness and generates concrete actions to prevent gender-based violence (GBV).

Despite assuming the name of a campaign, the organizations that currently make up the political coordinating committee see their work as a long-term **program**, where public campaigning is one tool amongst others in a sophisticated strategy that has identified multiple points of entry within government, schools and civil society to bring about policy and practice changes that will have a real impact in reducing the incidence of GBV. The **primary actors in this strategy are organized women, and since 2010 increasingly youth**, who are supported by the program to develop critical analysis and the skills for engaging as active citizens with government entities, particularly municipalities, around the issue of GBV.

THE IMPACT STUDIES - METHODOLOGY

Two independent, but complementary impact studies were carried out between July 2010 and August 2011. The first evaluation by Laura Roper, with field work conducted in September 2010, assessed the effectiveness of the advocacy strategy in terms of achieving policy and practice change at the national and, to a lesser degree, at the municipal level. The second, conducted by Mo Hume in June 2011, analyzed change in the perspectives and experiences for women in two municipalities — Ahuachapán and San Marcos — against a baseline from similar 2008 case studies she conducted in each municipality. She also reviewed nation-wide evidence for change in women's empowerment and exposure to violence. The studies used:

- document review (in the case of the Roper study, very extensive document review);
- in-depth interviews (sometimes multiple) with Oxfam staff and partners (executive directors and program coordinators);
- open-ended, semi-structured interviews with policy makers and government officials at the national and municipal level (20 in total);

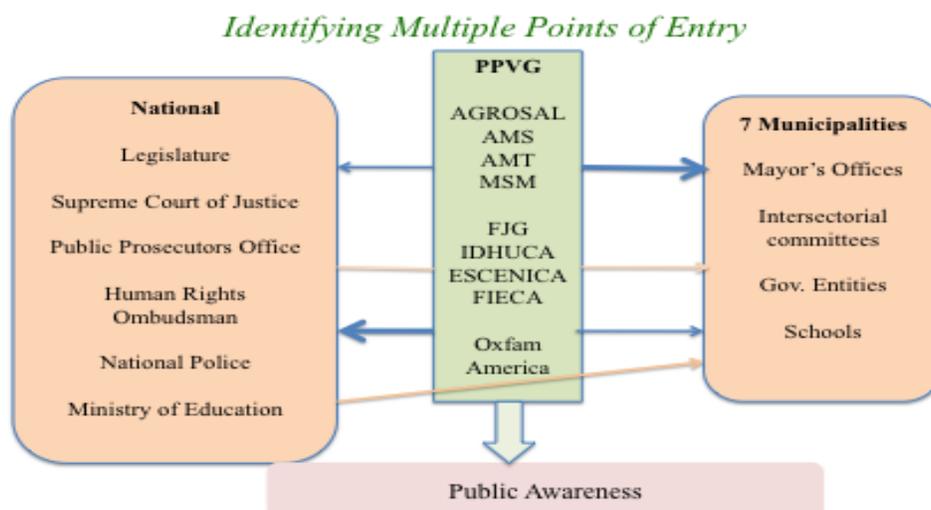
- and focus groups with over 60 representatives of the women’s groups organized by the campaign.

Roper also interviewed several respondents from organizations that were not currently part of the campaign, but a deficiency of the impact studies to date is the limited input from stakeholders other than those with generally high engagement in the PPVG and a lack of information about perspectives, practices and conditions in municipalities that have not been targeted by the campaign. That said, both evaluators interviewed a diversity of actors and were struck by the consistency of analysis and perspectives across locale, position of authority, and political affiliation, giving them a high degree of confidence in the validity of their findings.

PROGRAM STRATEGY

Based on its theory of change, augmented by an astute power analysis, the PPVG has developed a strategy **focused on expanding and occupying the political spaces where GBV could be put on the political and social agenda and addressed using multiple points of entry into the system.** The initial phase of the campaign was focused on raising general awareness, not only with the public, but also with policy makers. **Using research, the campaign positioned the prevalence of GBV as a non-partisan issue** that has far reaching impacts on all levels of Salvadoran society. It chose to **work at both the municipal and national levels** with more targeted and intensive outreach to government entities with responsibilities for dealing with GBV, while sensitizing the general public, with a particular focus on women and youth in key municipalities, using popular communication tools.

Figure 1: Identifying Multiple Points of Entry



The campaign eventually **prioritized seven municipalities** for concentrated effort.³ Although each municipality had to be approached based on its particular characteristics, the PPVG conducted baseline studies in each of them (three urban and three rural) to pull together statistics on the incidence of GBV and open up dialogue on the issue. The campaign has **worked through existing consultative mechanisms** (intersectorial committees) that bring different government entities and civil society actors together to advocate for and facilitate the process of developing policy responses to GBV. More recently it has **trained community leaders (the Ventanas Ciudadanas or Citizens' Windows in English)** to **monitor the performance of government entities** at the municipal level to insure that they are meeting their commitments regarding GBV prevention, attention and treatment. This has also included community outreach to educate and support women, women's groups, and communities in addressing GBV, including **accompanying victims** of violence as they attempt to navigate the justice and health systems.

The campaign also **prioritized the school system** as a crucial point of entry both because of the vulnerability of youth to GBV and their potential to respond to positive messages. The campaign worked at the national level where it has established two **agreements with Ministry of Education** to develop and incorporate modules on GBV in the curriculum and develop other prevention mechanisms. At the local level the curriculum and other violence prevention measures were pilot-tested in 54 schools. **Popular campaigning** using music video, street theater, interactive plays in school settings, and other forms of artistic expression were used to sensitize students and faculty, while some students and faculty were exposed to more in-depth training so that they could play a leadership role on the issue in their schools and communities.

A central strategy of the campaign has been an effort to “permeate” government with officials trained in GBV and committed to addressing it. It has used focused and intensive capacity building efforts (diplomados or certificate programs) to **train a critical mass of government functionaries so that they are well-positioned to advocate for GBV prevention** within their own organizations (internal advocacy) and also externally through improved policies and their consistent application. The PPVG, working with the Foundation for Justice and Gender (FJG) and the Institute for Human Rights at the University of Central America “José Simeón Cañas” (IDHUCA), has employed a sophisticated action-learning methodology in which training is product-focused, such as producing a draft law on GBV prevention. Participants in the certificate programs have included deputies and aides from the legislative assembly, a wide range of

³ In 2006 the municipal work began in seven sites where key partners had coverage: Mejicanos, Santa Tecla and San Marcos (all in greater San Salvador), Sonsonate, Concepcion Batres, Ahuachapan and Cacaoopera.

professionals in the justice system⁴, teachers and administrators from the Ministry of Education, along with participants from civil society. Many have been trained to replicate the product-focused training, thereby multiplying the impact of the CPVG. In 2010 alone, 1,077 students—669 women and 408 men—received certificates of completion.

PROGRAM OUTCOMES

Changing Knowledge and Attitudes

In the focus groups with the **primary change agents—organized women** from the Citizens' Windows, Roper and Hume both noted that there was a marked difference in the discourse, comportment, and (self-reported) engagement with authorities by women in the Citizens' Windows who had had more PPVG training compared to those that were early in the process. The training in *critical thinking* does appear to successfully challenge, or at least chips away at, "...prevailing norms that, at their extreme, blame women for men's violence or, at best, assign her some of the responsibility for not preventing it through modifications of her own behavior." (Hume, 2011:19) Moreover, in a context of poverty and endemic violence, Hume notes, particularly for the women of San Marcos, that the PPVG has helped women resist the impulse to retreat into private space.

[W]omen spoke about this being a key area where the CPVG has fostered trust and friendship among women, with solidarity being a major driving force for their participation. The importance of this safe space for women in such hostile conditions is huge and points to both the positive development of women's empowerment, solidarity and organization. (p. 15)

Hume found that three of the four groups not only knew what the responsibilities were, of about a dozen different government organizations, as they related to GBV, but also were able to rate their performance. In the fourth case, a newly formed group in Ahuachapán was not familiar with several government agencies at all, nor did they have a clear opinion on the performance of the government agencies they are aware of.

There was also evidence that **local and national-level authorities** engaged with the PPGV through its certificate courses and had developed and internalized much of the critical analysis fostered by the campaign. Roper found, and Hume validated, that there was a high congruence in language across respondents, whether they operated at the national or local level, regardless of party affiliation, and across governmental organizations. Many talked about the need of and having the tools to do internal advocacy work with their colleagues so that their organizations could meet their

⁴ These include judges and staff from the Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ), lawyers from the Attorney General's office, the office of the Ombudsman for Human Rights (PDDH), and both supervisors and street officer in the National Civil Police (PNC).

obligations to the public; many spoke about the danger of re-victimizing women who brought complaints, and they were familiar with the relevant international human rights instruments.

One of the ways GBV is made invisible is the lack of official statistics documenting the problem. From its inception, the PPVG has independently collected statistics to challenge complacency in the face of GBV, conducting surveys on knowledge, attitudes and experience with GBV in the general public and at schools, as well as baseline crime studies in each of the priority municipalities. For example, Hume notes (2011: 9) that:

...the total number of cases of intra-family violence recorded for Ahuachapán in 2009 was zero, although CPVG baseline studies (using data re-analyzed from ISDEMU and other organizations) show 339 cases [of intra-family violence] in total.

To systematically tackle the problem, the PPVG has supported the municipalities in Santa Tecla and Ahuachapán to establish violence observatories with state of the art procedures and equipment to collect, enter and analyze gender disaggregated crime statistics.

Poor record keeping extends to the court system where Hume notes, that “lack of readily accessible court documentation makes it next to impossible to study the proportion of gender-based crime that is successfully brought to court.” (2011: 10) Yet, collecting accurate statistics and better record keeping is only one aspect of the issue. GBV remains under-reported and under-prosecuted as women refuse to file or withdraw formal complaints due to lack of knowledge about their rights; self-blaming attitudes where they hold themselves responsible for violence rather than their abusers; fear of retribution; and/or frustration with the inadequacies of the justice and/or health systems. These represent both deeply ingrained attitudes, as well as legitimate fears. The PPVG has demonstrated it does have the capacity to change attitudes and beliefs through intensive engagement, but the next strategic challenge is making deeper inroads into a much broader swathe of the population.

Changing the Correlation of Political Forces

The campaign has created a broad non-partisan alliance with government officials and entities in support of the work of addressing the problem of GBV. It has established formal agreements with institutions such as the Ministry of Education, the Human Rights Ombudsman, the Attorney General’s office, and Supreme Judicial Court. It has used those agreements to reach hundreds of government officials—elected, appointed, and more permanent staff positions—through the ambitious training programs. The efficacy of the approach was evident from the fact that **people from widely different backgrounds demonstrated a common understanding and common language about the problem of GBV and that they were taking concrete actions**, each in his or her own way, to promote violence prevention. What was striking

at the time of the interviews was the number of government entities that were focusing on the issue of gender and/or GBV—proposing or establishing gender units, policies, or multi-stakeholder committees to address some aspect of the issue. This included the Supreme Court, the Legislative Assembly, the Ministry of Education, the National Police and nearly all of the target municipalities⁵. While many Salvadoran women’s organizations, with support from international agencies such as UNIFEM and CIM, have a long history of advancing these issues and have played a critical role in promoting women’s rights, it was clear from interviews that the **PPVG was seen as an important actor in these efforts as both a political player (placing GBV prevention on the agenda; opening up political space for debate and action) and a technical resource.**

Changing Policy

The strongest evidence to validate the PPVG’s theory of change are the **noteworthy policy changes** in which the program has been seen to play a critical role. These are:

- The development of the draft bill that launched the process that ultimately resulted in the *Special Integrated Law for a Life Free from Violence for Women*, at the end of 2010—a major policy victory for the women’s movement in El Salvador.
- The development and approval (also at the end of 2010) of the *Protocol for the Application of the Domestic Violence Law* so that it would be more consistently enforced.
- The decision of the Ministry of Education to adopt school-based violence prevention as a priority and incorporate the content of the PPVG curriculum on GBV.
- Establishing specific standards and procedures for dealing with teachers accused of violence or sexual harassment under the Reform of the Law Teaching Profession.
- At the municipal level, six out of the seven had developed gender and/or GBV policies, although only one (Ahuachapán) had developed supporting ordinances for policy implementation, while two had also developed plans and made budget allocations (Ahuachapán and Santa Tecla).

⁵ Oxfam America signed additional agreements with the Ministry of Education, the CSJ, and the Subsecretary for Territorial Development under the Office of the President to collaborate on violence prevention training and programming. Another positive development has been the commitment of the PNC to significantly increase the number of female recruits. In 2011, just under a third of graduates of the policy academy were women, up from 10%.

Both the draft bill for the GBV law and the domestic violence protocol were products developed in the course of the PPVG certificate programs. In the case of the GBV law, the training brought together legislators and aides from all the political parties, helping break a long-standing partisan impasse. When the draft law spurred the submission of an alternative proposal by the Feminist Network, legislators decided to combine and reconcile the two bills, rather than quarrel over which bill would go forward. (More recently, the legislature passed an Equal Opportunity Law that also broke a long-term political impasse.)

Changing Practice: Impact on Women's Lives

It is clear from the interviews with both government officials and women at the community level that the PPVG has affected attitudes about GBV and **increased their confidence in their capacity** to address it by influencing policy and by holding duty-bearers accountable. The evaluations show, however, the difficulty in translating this into practice. Keeping in mind that program strategy did not anticipate strong practice change until the second benchmark period (after 2011), it is worth noting while both Ahuachapán and San Marcos had both plans and projects to address GBV prevention, women in the Hume focus groups did not mention these projects. This may be because the Citizens' Windows see themselves in a somewhat adversarial role with the mayor's offices (especially in San Marcos) or because the municipal efforts are not translating into actual prevention activities on a significant enough scale. Hume's report does indicate that women have greater confidence in and increased collaboration with key institutions (e.g. ISDEMU, the Human Rights Ombudsman), which suggest progress in practice change in the way certain service providers interact with women (2011: Appendix 5). Even with these advances, both studies illustrate that much work remains to be done to bridge the gap between women who are victims of violence and the justice and health systems that are supposed to support them.

Perversely, if the campaign continues to make inroads in policy and practice, **it is most likely that GBV figures will worsen** as more women file complaints, better statistics are kept, and the legal system assumes its responsibilities. Moreover, in a culture where women's empowerment is seen as a direct threat to male dominance, women's increased assertiveness could well trigger backlash effects. That said, the PPVG has made important inroads with key municipalities and institutions and now has a much more robust legal framework and many more internal champions—numbers that continue to increase as the PPVG expands its efforts to reach authorities in key government institutions.

Impact Indicator	Evidence from Impact Studies
<p>Indicator #1: Women have greater knowledge of their rights and the laws that protect them. Women know where to go if violence occurs and demand high-quality attention from State institutions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women involved in the Citizens´ Windows demonstrate clear gains in knowledge about their rights and legal remedies; • Women describe new ways they are engaging with municipal and other local authorities, and demonstrate resourcefulness when they run up against obstacles. Service providers validate this conclusion.
<p>Indicator #2: Increased levels of women denouncing violence and a continued culture of denouncing violence. Decrease in the actual rate of gender-based violence. The team did not expect to see progress; this is a longer term goal.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No clear evidence of change to date, although specific examples of the Citizens´ Windows encouraging and accompanying women in dealing with the authorities. Studying denouncement accurately is very difficult given poor statistical collection by authorities.
<p>Indicator #3: Women’s empowerment in personal, domestic, social, and cultural environments to prevent gender-based violence.</p> <p>Target: By 2011 prevention of gender-based violence is positioned in public opinion. Women state that they feel safer, or that they are more confident that gender-based violence is being addressed in their community and family.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Within the overall context of violence, women do not yet feel safer. • Amongst the women in San Marcos and Ahuachapán, the evaluations found increased empowerment in, and a commitment to activism. • In each community, women groups have identified government allies and are working closely with them. • Some officials in the justice system are more sensitized to the issue of GBV, and some are working with the PPVG to do community outreach and also stepping in to provide women activists with security when they are threatened.
<p>Indicator #4-6 and 8 deal with youth programs</p>	<p>Not addressed in detail in either of these reviews. Will be a primary focus of the 2014 evaluation.</p>
<p>Indicator #7: At the local level, empowered women have reached a level of organization that brings social and political recognition of the women’s capacities, and organized women and allies influence decision-making</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In a few municipalities women have successfully put pressure on government authorities to address women’s demands (e.g. establish a women’s unit, address a particular injustice) • In priority municipalities the PPVG was able to conduct baseline studies on GBV in 2006 and follow up 2011, which is used by the two monitoring mechanisms (observatories)

<p>processes at the local, community, and national levels.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women’s organizations were able to participate in intersectorial committees and engage in a process of developing gender policies that included GBV • Prevention policy was approved in 6 out of 7 municipalities, but supporting ordinances, plans and budgets are largely missing except in Santa Tecla and Ahuachapán.
<p>Indicator #9: Passage of a comprehensive national law on the prevention of gender-based violence. A protocol exists to apply the Domestic Violence Law.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2010 (a year ahead of the program benchmark), a national law was approved by parliament to prevent, penalize and eradicate gender-based violence. • In 2010 a protocol for more equitably applying the domestic violence law is approved. • Other policies and procedures were put into place to address GBV and sexual harassment in schools
<p>Indicator #10: Budget increase for prevention and eradication of gender-based violence at the local and national levels</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This, for the most part, has not shown progress, although some new budget allocations at the municipal level. (Less likely given global economic crisis)
<p>Indicator #11: Degree of credibility in the system, policies, and ordinances to prevent gender-based violence at the local and municipal levels. Gender-based violence prevention is on the political agenda of public institutions.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See indicator 7 for the municipal level • GBV prevention is clearly on the agenda of public institutions at the national level – many institutions are asking for training from PPVG (over 1000 trained in 2010); the national police academy has increased the percentage of female recruits (up from 10% to 30%), numerous institutions are developing internal policies, etc.

PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS CONTRIBUTING TO SUCCESS

A Testable Theory of Change

When the campaign started, many organizations in the women’s movement believed that reform within a system dominated by ARENA was impossible and any advances achieved would be meaningless without fundamental reforms in the patriarchal power structures. The organizations in the PPVG intentionally decided to challenge this set of

beliefs.⁶ By being clear on the theory of change, which explicitly sought to work with government institutions as well as involve men, women and youth in “critical thought” about gender and violence, the PPGV carved out a new approach in El Salvador. On balance, the theory of change has been validated for the first period, especially at the national level. Achieving change at the municipal level has proven to be more challenging than originally envisaged, as local power dynamics, high levels of criminal violence, low levels of organization at the community level, and lack of government capacity or political will continue to present a challenge in the majority of municipalities. In the next period, the program anticipated a move towards more local level work, especially with schools, and ensuring the enforcement of the new laws. This next period will likely be challenging, but extremely important.

A Long Term Commitment

Oxfam America recognizes transforming the structural causes of poverty and inequality, including unequal power relations, requires years, even decades, and consequently has developed a program planning framework that encourages long-term commitment to a limited number of priorities. This has allowed for the construction of sustained relationships not only between Oxfam and its counterparts, but also with policy-makers, many of whom are regarded as close allies. While the PPVG made substantial progress under the ARENA administrations, particularly with the Ministry of Education, when an FMLN government gained the presidency, the PPVG was well positioned to leverage new political opening.

A Small, Cohesive Core of Activist Allies, A Clear Division of Labor

One strategic consideration for any campaign or collaborative programming effort is the number of organizations to involve. In this case, Oxfam America worked with a small core of four partner organizations and four support organizations, under a shared logo. Each had clearly defined roles and, in the case of partners, geographic assignments. Within their areas of responsibility, each organization has had considerable latitude in terms of execution. In the early phases of the campaign, Oxfam America played a key role as both a convener and as an interlocutor with the ARENA government, something seen as vital by the coordinating committee. Oxfam’s contributions opened up spaces for dialogue and policy discussions. As the campaign has evolved, one continuing challenge has been to ensure government officials are willing to deal with the Salvadoran organizations as representatives of the campaign on par with Oxfam America. The reasons this has been challenging are historical (the ARENA antipathy to the women’s movement), practical (Oxfam America is a financing organization and, as such, government entities seek out relations with a potential funder), and to some degree,

⁶ Several organizations that were involved in the formative phase of the campaign ended up having a parting of the ways, due to differences over strategy.

based on preferences and capacity (the counterparts tend to be over-extended and are most invested in the work at the municipality).

Strong Planning and Learning Disciplines

The PPVG has invested a significant amount of thought and time in reflective planning and learning, including developing clear benchmarks and indicators, against which to measure progress. There are annual planning exercises that reflect back over the previous year and lay out the strategy for the next year. There is a constant flow of communication amongst the participating organizations and openness to acknowledging when something is not working, and adopting a different approach. The campaign has also invested quite a lot in data collection, some of which has been used astutely, particularly in the early stages, for both advocacy and evaluative purposes. The practice of data collection has been a bit uneven both in terms of what the campaign has chosen to track and the utility of the data collected for making comparisons over time⁷. Some things that might be of interest to track more closely, resulting in a better sense of both the reach and overall impact are:

- The career trajectory of diplomado graduates (i.e. promotions, lateral moves, assignments to new ministries or municipalities) and how they apply their training in the workplace (online surveys).
- The knowledge, attitudes and practices of frontline workers, such as teachers and police before and after engagement with the PPVG, using the same survey instrument over several points in time, covering all of the priority municipalities.
- Changes in patterns of judicial rulings on cases of intra-familial violence (to the extent that existing data permits such comparisons);
- Emblematic cases of both good and poor practice regarding addressing GBV complaints which can be used for both advocacy purposes and teaching aids.
- The PPVG should also make a greater effort to track developments in other municipalities to provide some case comparisons for informed judgments about the relative efficacy of PPVG strategies.

A Commitment to Institutionalizing Change Both Broadly and Deeply

A core intention of the program has been to build up a critical mass of individuals with community-level and official responsibilities who have both a commitment and the skills

⁷ The program should be commended for taking data collection efforts seriously from the outset, but did not have the benefit from headquarters technical support for MEL until 2008 or in-house support until mid-2010. The point here is that, with a bit more guidance, the program can capitalize more effectively on its data gathering efforts.

to advance a GBV prevention agenda. The participating organizations report that they have gained a great deal in the course of the campaign in terms of expertise on human rights and GBV; skills and experience in popular campaigning and advocacy; increased expertise in policy development at the municipal level and expansion and strengthening of relationships with government authorities; and increased capacity to develop the leadership skills of the women with whom they work. Government informants noted that, with the training of trainers aspect of the program and the ongoing technical support they receive from the PPVG, they feel they are gaining traction within their own institutions. The pedagogical practices brought to the campaign by the Foundation for Justice and Gender and FIECA have been particularly important in the process of institutionalization. This, in turn, contributes to the overall **sustainability** of the program—knowledge and commitment rest in a multiplicity of individuals and institutions.

THINGS TO THINK ABOUT MOVING FORWARD

The PPVG is already in the process of planning the next cycle of the program in light of the significant legislative victories, the results of these recent impact studies, and inputs from discussions of the program with Oxfam colleagues. The following offers a few additional thoughts on challenges (and opportunities) Oxfam America and the PPVG face in the near term.

- *The PPVG within the context of OI Single Management Structure* – Under the SMS, Oxfam America is the lead agency in El Salvador in a situation where the PPVG has been much debated amongst affiliates for the “protagonistic” role Oxfam America has played, including direct engagement with Salvadoran government officials. Given the intractable nature of GBV, it seems that absolute positions about ways of working are counter-productive, and part of the process of refining strategies is to test different approaches and rigorously evaluate them. The two evaluators agreed that Oxfam America had played a crucial and effective role in the campaign, yet the Roper report raised some concern that, despite the shared logo and the collaborative nature of the alliance, the campaign was also very visibly branded with the Oxfam America logo. At this stage in the program, Oxfam should continue to re-examine the use of its logo based on the fact that the CPVG, as a stand-alone entity, is widely recognized for its role advancing GBV prevention and there is now far greater political space and far more leverage (due to the new legislation) for a range of organization to advance an agenda against GBV. Whatever Oxfam America decides, along with its coordinating committee, affiliate energy would best be spent looking for complementarities between approaches and assessing those approaches on shared criteria.
- *Maintaining the Close Alliance, but Broadening the Collaboration* –In a sense, the work has only begun, now that they have achieved the policy victories. Insuring the

policies are implemented will require a sustained training effort on the content and implications of the law, as well as monitoring of the law's implementation. Both of these are big tasks and efforts need to reach throughout the country. This potentially could be a key moment to further strengthen the Salvadoran women's movement by undertaking this challenge in a coordinated way. For example, at the municipal level (where Hume noted competition between women's organizations in Ahuachapán, for example) fruitful division of labor might be found around monitoring service delivery to victims of GBV. One scenario, that would build on the PPVG's strengths and competencies, would be for other women's organizations to focus on accompanying individual cases (such as ORMUSA and IMU have been doing), while the Citizens' Windows focuses more on consolidating information about those cases, identifying and documenting both good and bad practice (e.g. police who are dismissive of vs. those attentive to GBV complaints), and advocating for all victims and potential victims with government authorities at the local level. Each organization or sets of organizations could maintain their distinctive identities, but collaborate to maintain pressure on government authorities through different avenues.

- *Risk Management for the Citizens' Windows* – Both reports raised fairly sharp concerns about the potential risk of backlash and violence the Citizens' Windows face in their communities. As Roper noted, despite a high tolerance for risk, given the daily context of violence in El Salvador, it would be tremendously demoralizing if one of the local leaders was seriously injured or died due to her commitment to the campaign. The PPVG should be very explicit in assessing the risks the women of the Citizens' Windows face and put formal measures in place to deal with that risk, especially as the locus of work shifts more decisively to the local level.

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