

count me IN!

POWER OF VOICES



BASELINE STUDY REPORT POWER OF VOICES PROGRAMME

DECEMBER 2021



Submitted by

The Feminist Collective

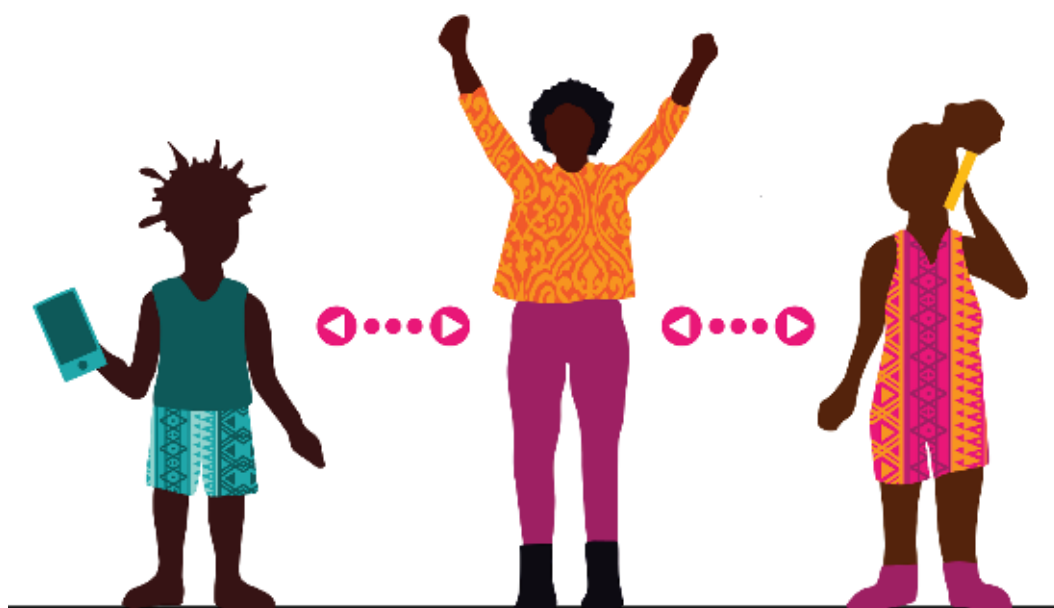
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ACRONYMS

AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
CMI!	Count Me In! Consortium
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
GBV	Gender Based Violence
JASS	Just Associates
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LGBTQI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex
L&A	Lobbying and Advocacy
MFA	Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
M&E	Monitoring & Evaluation
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
PMEL	Planning Monitoring Evaluation Learning
PoV	Power of Voices
RUF	Red Umbrella Fund
SP	Strategic Partnership
SR	Sustainable Resourcing
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
ToC	Theory of Change
UAF	Urgent Action Fund
UAF- Africa	Urgent Action Fund-Africa
UN	United Nations
WROs	Women's Rights Organisations
WHRDs	Women Human Rights Defenders
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls



I. Introduction

In 2021, Count Me In (CMI!) commissioned a baseline study for its Power of Voices programme 2021 to 2025. The baseline process focused on conducting a context analysis that would inform indicator values and targets at the outcome level. The targets and values of the indicators had to be linked to the Dutch MFA's Strengthening Civil Society and thematic results framework basket indicators.

The baseline study was grounded in feminist methodology and principles with a commitment to meaningful engagement of participants, language justice, and the safety and security of participants. Methods for the baseline study included desk reviews; regional and global context dialogues; targeted follow-up interviews; and surveys to donors and various participants in different regions. The data collected was collated and then aligned with the relevant outcomes identified by CMI!.

The baseline study affirmed the importance and relevance of CMI!'s work. The ToC is grounded in a feminist political analysis that has generated a transformational agenda which is responsive to the visions, strategies, leadership and organisation of WHRDs and WROs in their respective contexts. As such, there is a clear connection between the contexts, the interrelated factors and CMI!'s proposed strategic interventions. CMI!'s proposed strategies rely on targeting actors (societal, political and donors) so that they can recognise, promote and fulfil the rights of women, girls, and non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans and intersex people as a result of the work of CMI! members and partners.

The baseline findings are presented in the report based on the different outcomes and indicators as per CMI!'s results framework. CMI!'s three strategies Money, Movements and Making Change all contribute to the relevant outcomes in different ways.

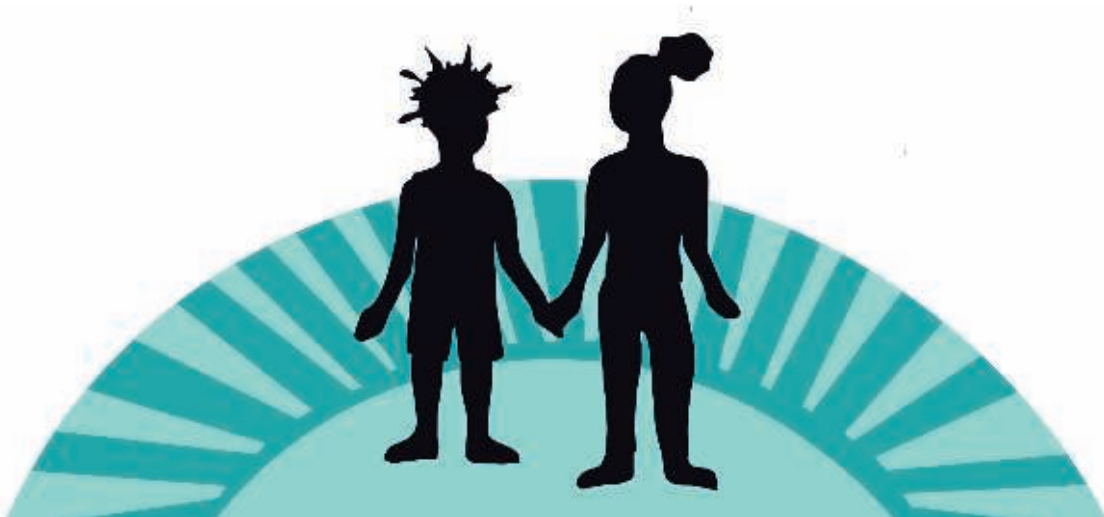
Output 1 is achieved when 'WHRDs and WROs are resourced, resilient and coordinated'. Given the complexities of different contexts, which have been compounded by the COVID-19 pandemic, this particular strategy is critical as it ensures that WROs and WRHDs are resourced to advance their demands. Furthermore, opportunities and challenges for advancing women's rights agendas are impacted by growing inequality and vulnerability, coupled with an upsurge in anti-rights movements. In this context, ensuring full and effective political participation for women and girls, and their access to equal opportunities for leadership, are indeed priorities.

Outcome 2 is achieved through 'Vibrant (strong) and autonomous movements'. CMI!'s track record of supporting movements and movement building during CMI! 1.0 is a good basis for building this important contribution by CMI! through continued coordination and collaboration among members.

Outcome 3 is achieved when 'Space for feminist demands and influence is sustained and increased'. **Outcome 4** is achieved when 'Donors and political and societal actors are aware, willing and equipped to support the rights of women and girls'; and **Outcome 5** is achieved when 'Donors, political and societal actors support laws, policies and strategies to promote the rights of women and girls'.

These strategies – *Money, Movement Building, and Making Change* – are vital to enable movements (WROs, WHRDs) to address the different challenges presented by the contexts. CMI!'s partnership with structurally excluded groups allows these groups to use their extensive experience and rootedness in their different contexts, to inform strategies and risk mitigation. This in turn allows CMI! to advance the collective change agenda.

In terms of the actual structure of the report: **Section I** provides an overview of CMI!, including the consortium's approach, targeted actors and 5-year goal for their work. **Section II** highlights the overarching aims and objectives that guided the baseline study for CMI! 2.0. **Section III** provides an overview of the baseline study, including the study methodology. **Section IV** reviews CMI!'s Theory of Change against the baseline findings. **Section V** delves into CMI!'s strategies, using graphics to unpack their targets, outputs, outcomes and impact. In **Section VI** the baseline situation is provided through a comprehensive overview of the findings, analysed against the outputs and outcomes of CMI!'s Results Framework. For each of the strategy areas, correlating outputs, outcomes and indicators are given. **Section VII** provides a conclusion with recommendations. An annexure, in the form of **Section VIII**, provides an overview of the results framework.



II. COUNT ME IN! (CMI!) OVERVIEW

This section provides a brief overview of CMI! 2.0, with a summary of critical elements of CMI!'s approach to work, lobby and advocacy (L&A) targets, and their goal and thematic focus for 2021-2025.

A. Who is CMI!?

CMI! is a global consortium that has been active since 2016. It consists of global feminist organisations and funders based in the Global North and the Global South.¹ Mama Cash leads the consortium in close collaboration with consortium members AWID, CREA, JASS, UAF, UAF-Africa and two strategic partners, Red Umbrella Fund and WO=MEN. The consortium members and two strategic partners² came together to leverage their collective power, skills, and expertise so as to establish a strategic and political feminist partnership. This partnership has coordinated over 1000 initiatives designed to strengthen women human rights defenders (WHRDs)³, women's rights organisations (WROs)⁴, and feminist movements to lobby and advocate for their human rights, build collective power, hold decision-makers accountable, and change laws, policies, and social norms.⁵

Between 2016 and 2020, CMI! 1.0 was a strategic partner of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) under their Dialogue and Dissent Framework, and achieved significant results through this partnership.⁶ In 2021, CMI! 2.0 continues the partnership with MFA under the Power of Voices (PoV) framework⁷, which focuses on women's rights and gender equality.

B. CMI!'s 5-year goal and thematic focus

CMI!'s 5-year strategic objective is to ensure that political actors, societal actors, and donors at the local, national, regional, and global levels take action to recognise, protect, and fulfil the human rights of all women, girls, non-binary, and gender non-conforming, trans and intersex people, as a result of strong and autonomous feminist movements holding them to account.

During the next 5 years, CMI! will use three strategies: *Money*, *Movements*, and *Making Change*, to advance their envisioned outcomes. In addition, drawing on a context analysis, CMI! has prioritised the cross-cutting themes of Gender Based Violence (GBV) and economic inequality as root causes underlying gender inequality. The urgency has been made more prominent by the COVID-19 pandemic, which has exacerbated economic crises and inequalities, and escalated GBV at an alarming global rate.⁸

1 According to Deirdre Byrne and Z'etoile Imma the term 'global South', is a means of enacting 'non-colonising solidarity across borders,' and a deliberate attempt to 'move the centre' of our thinking away from, and disinvest in, the hegemonic knowledges of the 'European metropole' and colonial North America, which have led to the exclusion of knowledges held in other parts of the world, Byrne, Deirdre and Imma, Z'etoile (2019) Why 'Southern Feminisms'? Agenda. 33(3).

2 CMI! Members are international women's rights organisations (JASS, AWID, and CREA), international women's funds (Mama Cash, and the Urgent Action Sister Funds (UAF & UAF-Africa). CMI!'s two strategic partners are WO=MEN and Red Umbrella Fund (RUF).

3 Human Rights Defenders that are women, girls, non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans and/or intersex people.

4 Rights Groups and Organisations led by and for women, girls, non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans and/or intersex people.

5 See generally: The full CMI! end-term evaluation report [here](#) (2020).

6 Ibid.

7 Link to the SCS framework that includes the PoV fund: <https://www.government.nl/documents/policy-notes/2019/11/28/policy-framework-strengthening-civil-society>.

8 CMI (2020). PoV Full Programme Proposal.

C. CMI!'s Theory of Change (ToC)

CMI!'s approach is to center strong and autonomous feminist movements that engender lasting change and effectively challenge inequalities and unjust power structures. CMI!' anchors their work by supporting context-specific, locally-led movements to be resilient, so that they are able to leverage their collective power and engender systemic change from the local to the global levels and from global to local context. This approach is based on a recognition that when the organising efforts of structurally excluded groups of women and girls⁹ are supported; it brings legitimacy and specificity to the lobbying and advocacy processes which aim to advance gender equality and human rights. Through championing these efforts, the consortium is able to contribute to a gender-equal and just world, where all women, girls, and non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans people, and intersex people fully benefit from their rights and live to their full potential. CMI's work extends across 26 countries in the global South.¹⁰

D. Primary actors/partners

CMI!'s primary actors are structurally excluded women and girls, because their leadership is necessary to advance gender equality and human rights. More specifically, CMI! works with these primary actors through partnering with WHRDs and WROs. These include but are not limited to, those belonging to feminist, women's rights, and LGBTQI movements, labour movements (including sex workers, domestic workers and other informal workers), migrant movements, harm reduction movements (women who use drugs), disability justice movements, youth movements, Black and Indigenous movements, land and territory defenders, and feminist WROs.

E. CMI!'s lobby & advocacy (L&A) targets

The three priority targets for CMI!'s L&A efforts are: political actors (who shape the laws, policies and practices that impact the lives of primary actors, and enable or restrict their freedoms); societal actors (who constitute and shift the broader socio-cultural context in which women's rights and gender equality¹¹ is either advanced or contested); and donors (whose decisions are critical for the sustainability of movements and civil society, particularly in contexts of crisis, repression or conflict).

9 For CMI! "women and girls" refers to women and girls and anyone who faces sex or gender discrimination such as non-binary, gender nonconforming, trans and intersex people. CMI! agrees with the International Trans Fund's decision to discontinue use of an asterisk to denote various gender identities (e.g. trans*).

10 The 26 countries include: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Palestine, Rwanda, Senegal, South Sudan, Tunisia, Uganda, Yemen and Zimbabwe.

11 In this report we refer to gender equality as the eradication of differences in access to power, rights, opportunities and resources between all genders, which have been and continue to be shaped by historical, cultural, social, religious and economic conditions, perceptions, traditions and beliefs. We also recognise that the dismantling of all systems of oppression, namely patriarchy and its intersections, is a precondition for achieving gender equality. MFA(2015) [Gender sense and sensitivity: Policy evaluation of women's rights and gender equality \(2007-2014\)](#)

III. OVERVIEW OF THE BASELINE STUDY

A. Purpose and objectives of the baseline study

The baseline study's overarching purpose was to establish a baseline situation for CMI! members and partners. The study, therefore, sought to update the analysis of context to support CMI! in establishing values and targets for the monitoring and evaluation of the CMI! 2.0 programme. Moreover, through the process of analysing baseline data, the study assessed whether CMI!'s ToC is relevant and the resulting interventions are aligned with the priorities articulated by partner organisations. The aim is for CMI! to track progress against the baseline articulated in this report.

Objectives of the baseline study

- To document the context and the political realities in which CMI! partners work, by examining the contexts, constraints, and opportunities that WHRDs and their movements face with regards to the CMI!'s outcomes.
- To validate and refine the ToC and Results Framework so as to ensure a clear guide for CMI!'s work from 2021 to 2025.
- To establish outcome level targets, which will be evaluated during the midline and endline evaluations (taking into consideration the MFA IOB evaluation quality criteria 2020), and to refine the output level targets to be monitored annually.
- To review the existing programme design and/or provide simple tools for monitoring and reporting.
- To activate CMI!'s shared agenda by engaging with CMI! partners, movement actors, and academics to inform the baseline.

B. Process, approach and methodology

The baseline methodology was rooted in feminist principles and values. The Feminist Collective drew on existing principles of CMI! that include:

- Ensuring that CMI! primary actors inform the baseline, thereby recognising WHRDs and WROs as experts on their lived realities and as drivers of change in their contexts.
- Ensuring the inclusiveness and diversity of voices, experiences, and strategies in order to reflect the full diversity of CMI! primary actors.
- Embracing complexity and not shying away from complex narratives and approaches to how change happens in real-life situations.
- Integrating the expectations of research participants into research methods and into data collection and analysis processes.
- Practicing feminist ethnics and prioritising the safety and needs of the participants.

Throughout the baseline study, the Feminist Collective worked closely with CMI! in co-creating and implementing the process. In addition to meetings to co-create monitoring and evaluation indicators and targets, collaborative strategies included multiple discussions, interviews with CMI! partners and strategic partners, and sustained correspondence with CMI! focal points.

Based on the meetings with CMI! members, the Feminist Collective opted for a qualitative research methodology. The rationale was that this methodology would be best suited to flesh out the complexities of the contexts in which CMI! partners work. Following the process of data collection (outlined below), CMI! members participated in a process of collective sense-making to review the relevance of the ToC. This process was then followed by a careful review and reformulation of indicators, as these would form the foundation for measuring the outcomes achieved by CMI! in the years to come.

C. Baseline tools and instruments

Several tools and instruments were developed for data collection and analysis for this baseline study.

The baseline study combined a desk review of available information with the collection of information through primary sources. Further data from CMI! 1.0 (2016- 2020) was reviewed to inform the starting point for programme implementation for CMI! 2.0. Additional primary data was then collected to analyse the context and situation in which CMI! partners are implementing their work.

Data collection methods included four key processes, namely, a desk review, seven context analysis dialogues, key informant interviews, and two surveys.

A sampling of participants was drawn from CMI! partner organisation databases, as well as the databases of donors who fund WROs and are invested in donor advocacy for funding feminist movements. On completion of the data collection phase, data was coded into themes and sub-themes and then analysed. These themes informed the articulation of research findings as shown in Section VI.

PRIMARY SOURCES	SECONDARY SOURCES
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 7 context analysis dialogues (with 116 WROs and WHRDs from Asia, East Africa, Southern Africa, West Africa, Latin America, West Asia-North Africa)• Interviews with all CMI! Working Groups• 12 interviews with WHRDs (from Asia, East Africa, Southern Africa and Latin America)• 3 interviews with donors• 9 survey responses from WROs• 9 survey responses from donors	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• CMI! End Term Evaluation• CMI! Theory of Change• CMI! Member Publications• CMI! related research and toolkits on extractives• Publicly available research articles, news pieces and reports relevant to global, regional, and national contexts

Table 1: Primary and secondary sources of data collection for baseline study

D. Data collection methods

We collected data using four key methods: a desk review, context analysis dialogues, key informant interviews and surveys.

1. DESK REVIEW

The purpose of undertaking a comprehensive desk review was three-fold: (1) to establish the regional, national, and global contexts of women's human rights and movement building; and (2) to glean insights that would shape the agenda for context analysis dialogues, and (3) to surface relevant data to directly inform the baseline indicators.

The team reviewed CMI! internal documents and external documents, as well as existing published resources on the contexts of CMI! partners.¹² This initial desk review provided a rich overview of the terrain and assisted in the framing of the regional and global dialogues.¹³

¹² The revision of internal CMI! documents included CMI!'s Theory of Change, the Key Results Framework, annual reports, stories of change and the Power of Voices programme proposal. The review of published resources on the contexts of CMI! partners included feminist and academic literature, policy reviews, reports published by civil society organisations and research institutes, and news articles that were relevant to the regions, target countries and thematic areas of women's human rights and women's rights organising.

¹³ See annex 8.1 for a consolidated overview of global, regional and national organising contexts derived from the desktop review.

2. CONTEXT ANALYSIS DIALOGUES

The context analysis dialogues informed the bulk of the research findings and were a central method for data collection. The dialogues were facilitated conversations, held regionally, on the key national and regional feminist priorities and organising issues in the 26 country contexts where CMI! 2.0 will be implemented. CMI! partner organisations were invited to participate in the dialogues. A total of **116** activists and WHRDs attended across **7** dialogues.

This approach was critical to the feminist methodology applied to the baseline process. The use of context dialogues recognised the “multi-layered entanglement”¹⁴ of the complex narratives that occur in social change, and allowed their emergence and weaving together to arise from the project baseline.

Aims of the dialogues included:

- To analyse the context of women’s rights and movement building, and assess the opportunities, challenges, and dynamics it presents.
- To map the status of lobbying and advocacy around key issues or challenges identified by actors in the context.
- To map the operating context for movement building and advocacy (opportunities, challenges, strengths, and weaknesses).
- To map funding trends and challenges in the context.

(i) Geographical landscape and sampling

The team held seven dialogues in total, including six regional and one global dialogue. The regions were Asia, East Africa, Latin America, Southern Africa, West Africa and West Asia-North Africa¹⁵. Regions were chosen in order to cover CMI!’s 26 target countries.

We conducted sampling from databases made available by CMI! members of their partner organisations from the 26 target countries, many of whom work predominantly with structurally excluded women and girls.

The diversity of participants in the baseline study reflects the diversity of WHRDs and WROs that CMI! supports. To facilitate inclusion, we considered different access needs such as language justice and accessibility, as well as financial support for online participation. The dialogues were also held in four different languages, namely, Arabic (North Africa and West Asia), English (East and Southern Africa and Asia), French (West Africa) and Spanish (Latin America). Translations for Bahasa and Portuguese were also made available in the Asia and Southern Africa dialogues respectively.¹⁶

3. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Key informant interviews of CMI! members’ partner organisations were used to supplement the context analysis dialogue data. CMI! members and donors invested in funding feminist organising were also interviewed. The purpose of the interviews was to address any gaps identified in the context analysis dialogues data and survey data, and to collect as much information about the baseline situation as possible in order to accurately allocate baseline values as per the CMI! Results Framework.

14 Magaña (2010). Analyzing the Meshwork as an Emerging Social Movement Formation: An Ethnographic Account of the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO). *Journal of Contemporary Anthropology*, Volume 1, Issue 1.

15 West Asia-North Africa is preferred over Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

16 Due to the West Africa regional dialogue being held in French, we invited CMI! partners in Nigeria to participate in the Southern Africa regional dialogue with WROs from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. As a result, we changed the name of the dialogue from Southern Africa to Anglophone Africa to ensure inclusivity. The East Africa dialogue was also held in English, but remained a separate event to the Anglophone Africa dialogue.

Twelve interviews with CMI! partners were held in total:

REGION	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
Latin America	4
Asia	2
East and Southern Africa	5
Global	1

Table 2: Number of interviews conducted per region

Three global donors were also interviewed, as well as all CMI! members and strategic partners.

Rather than employing a specific interview instrument across all interviews, interviews were adapted to address the specific data gaps that were evident to the Baseline Team.

(i) Sampling

Additional sampling of CMI! members’ partner organisations included activists or groups that were not represented in the dialogues. Members of partner organisations were also interviewed around issues related to economic justice as this was a notable gap in the data collected from the context dialogues.

Secondly, to assess the extent to which existing mechanisms for feminist funding were being resourced and gaining support, we contacted donors from the government as well as philanthropic and civil society sectors for interviews. The aim was to ascertain what opportunities were currently available for continued and strengthened advocacy. We purposefully chose donors that are part of the newly formed Global Alliance for Sustainable Feminist Movements in order to understand advocacy issues for feminist resourcing.

4. SURVEYS

To complement information obtained from the context dialogues and interviews, two surveys were conducted. The aim of both surveys was to further assess the baseline situation as it relates to Outcomes 4 and 5 of the CMI! Results Framework,¹⁷ which are stipulated as follows: Outcome 4: ‘Donors and political and societal actors are aware, willing and equipped to support the rights of women and girls’; and Outcome 5: ‘Donors, political and societal actors support laws, policies and strategies to promote the rights of women and girls’.

The first survey was a questionnaire with selected participants from the context analysis dialogues on their experience in engaging with political and societal actors. The second was a survey sent to selected donors to ascertain the current trends, challenges, and opportunities within the donor landscape for funding WROs.

COMPLETE RESPONSES RECEIVED	NUMBER OF ACTORS TO WHOM SURVEYS WERE SENT	NUMBER OF COMPLETE RESPONSES RECEIVED
Context analysis dialogue participants (WROs)	20	9
Donors	27	9

Table 3: Breakdown of survey responses sent and responded to

¹⁷ See CMI! Results Framework [here](#).

(i) Sampling

For the questionnaire on political and societal actor engagement with WROs, we selected participants based on the degree of their investment in advocacy work and in actively engaging political and societal actors. These WRHDs and WROs were identified during their participation in the context analysis dialogues.

For the survey assessing the donor landscape for feminist movements, we engaged donors who were already actively invested in funding WROs. We drew from the database of donors that attended the Money and Movements Convening¹⁸ hosted by CMI! in 2018.

5. ETHICS

Feminist research ethics set the tone for decision-making in sampling, in data collection processes, and in the subsequent data analyses.

For example, the baseline study centered on safety and security¹⁹ to ensure that the data collection process does not in any way harm research participants. Safety and security were addressed by informing participants of the purpose and intent of context dialogues, interviews, and surveys. Participation in the context analysis dialogues, surveys, and interviews was also entirely voluntary. During the process, participants were fully informed of the purpose of the baseline process and how the information shared by them will be used, stored, analysed, and communicated. Participants were also assured that they had access to anonymity and confidentiality precautions, both during and after the data collection process. During context analysis dialogues, which took place online, participants were given the authority to request that the recording be paused, or to request that their comment remain off-the-record. All surveys were completed anonymously. Furthermore, both surveys were conducted using Limesurvey, a paid online platform that claims not to disclose or sell data to third parties. This was to safeguard the privacy of participant data, which was particularly important when interacting with CMI! participants who were being surveyed on their engagement with political and societal actors.

Attention was also given to who was in the room, and how this might affect other participants' senses of safety. Special care was taken to ensure that participants from CMI! partner organisations greatly outnumbered CMI! members. Dialogue facilitators were themselves feminist activists either from, or with strong movement ties to, the region. For example, in the West Asia-North Africa regional dialogue, the facilitator recognised one of the invited participants as an actor with ties to the government and was aware that the presence of this actor could pose a threat to the safety of other participants. She was therefore able to intervene and request an interview with the participant instead, thus ensuring that this perspective was accommodated in the regional context analysis without endangering other participants.

To ensure diversity of research participants, across geographical regions as well as thematic orientations, dialogues were organised within different regions, across different time zones, and in the language most prevalent to the region. In some cases, translators were also present to support language diversity within regions. For the context analysis dialogues, instances where there was no representation from a particular target country or a particular movement (for example, sex workers' rights movements), was acknowledged, and attempts were made to reach out to specific relevant partners for one-on-one interviews.

Given the responsibility that CMI! holds as a consortium in the global feminist movement, CMI! and the baseline team were committed to ensuring that the processes of collecting data were not extractive of the knowledge, time, and expertise of

¹⁸ CMI! recognises that challenging power imbalances in funding decisions and ensuring that donor resources benefit girls, women and trans people in truly transformative ways, entails seizing opportunities to influence existing mechanisms. In April, 2018, CMI! brought together activists and funders to strategise about the future of resourcing feminist movements and social change globally. The initiative was called 'Money and Movements.' More information on the convening can be found [here](#).

¹⁹ McCormick M. (2012) Feminist Research Ethics, Informed Consent and Potential Harms. *The Hilltop Review* 6(1).

participants. Hence, space was provided to surface the needs and expectations of participants during different processes. Many participants also expressed enthusiasm to be a part of the research process, either due to their own passion for the work, or due to strong ties they have with CMI! members. Significantly, some participants expressed that the spaces for dialogue allowed for learning and solidarity building, particularly as many felt isolated because of COVID-19 restrictions. The context analysis dialogues in and of themselves were experienced as spaces of belonging and proved insightful to participants. Space was provided to link participants' personal sense of wellbeing, followed by thematically focused discussions within country-specific groups. The process also started and ended on time, thereby respecting the time and priorities of participants.

6. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

Research limitations arose mainly as a result of the sampling methods used, our access to target participants, and safety considerations regarding the participation of WROs and WHRDs. The participation of WROs, WHRDs, donors, and other actors largely depended on their accessibility and their willingness to participate in the study.

Another sampling limitation was caused by the Baseline Team's reliance on existing databases related to CMI! partners. Consequently, it was not possible to get respondents from every target country and, therefore, Ethiopia, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine and Rwanda's national contexts were not represented. While we made attempts to reach out to existing CMI! partners based in these countries, we either did not receive a response, or CMI! members did not yet have partners in those countries. In these cases, where published data was available²⁰, desk review data supported the Baseline Team's insight into the related contexts at regional and country levels.

With regards to access, where we recognised key gaps, such as a lack of representation from a particular target country, or lack of representation from a particular movement, we attempted – oftentimes successfully – to address them by reaching out to specific actors and requesting interviews. These actors include CMI! partners who had been invited to, but did not attend, the context analysis dialogues.

Lastly, safety and security concerns were palpable for those donors and CMI! partners working with political and social actors. Answers to all survey questions were, therefore, anonymous and the option to track participation via the survey platform was disabled, as necessary security precautions. As a result, it was not possible to follow up with particular participants when survey responses sparked an interest that might have benefitted from a follow up engagement.

7. DATA ANALYSIS

A thematic analysis approach²¹ was applied to all qualitative data.

Data collection and analysis phases overlapped slightly, as participation was built into the context analysis dialogue sessions. In this manner, data sense-making occurred through dialogue feedback sessions, whereby facilitators would feed emerging themes from dialogue discussions back to the participants as they heard them, and participants were then given an opportunity to share their own perspectives and participate in a collective analysis of these themes. However, data sense-making did not form a part of the analysis of survey data, as survey responses were anonymous. At the same time, we were able to share some of the emergent themes, from the context analysis dialogues and surveys, with respective interview participants, who, during the interviews, were given an opportunity to share their perspective on how much the emerging analysis of regional or thematic trends resonated with their current contexts.

²⁰ An overview of regional and national contexts derived from desk review data can be found in annex 8.1.

²¹ Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method that is used across a range of epistemologies and research questions. It is a method for identifying, analysing, organising, describing, and reporting themes found within the data collected.

On completion of the data collection phase, data was coded into the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data, which enabled us to establish key trends about the organising context in which WROs and WHRDs work, both regionally and globally. These themes informed the articulation of research findings as shown in Chapter 6.

The following tools were utilised to synthesise the information:

- Matrices to contrast and compare data across regions as well as globally
- Analytical summaries of context dialogues and interviews focused on the main areas of inquiry
- Coding of survey data to ascertain patterns across varied responses
- Cross-tabulation and trend analysis of quantitative survey data
- Multiple rounds of reading, discussing, and writing of information gathered



IV. CMI!'S THEORY OF CHANGE

The CMI! ToC was formulated during the CMI! 2.0 programme planning stage in 2020. The ToC states, "when movements and collectives (of structurally excluded women and girls) are supported to be resilient and leverage their power to create change from local to global, and from global to local, then these movements would engender systemic and sustainable change at all levels.' CMI!'s role is, therefore, to facilitate and catalyse resourcing, coordination, and resilience of these WHRDs, WROs and movements.

To assess the validity of the ToC, we compiled the following assessment:

A. Comprehensiveness of the ToC

The ToC represented in Diagram 1 below highlights the central modalities of the CMI! 2.0 programme. The analysis of baseline information suggests that the ToC is comprehensive in that it takes different contextual realities into account; as well as making a causal link between context, the change theory, and programme design and outcomes. Not only are there no apparent gaps or errors in the current ToC, different data sources reviewed (including lessons from CMI! 1.0) affirm the programmatic choices made by CMI!.

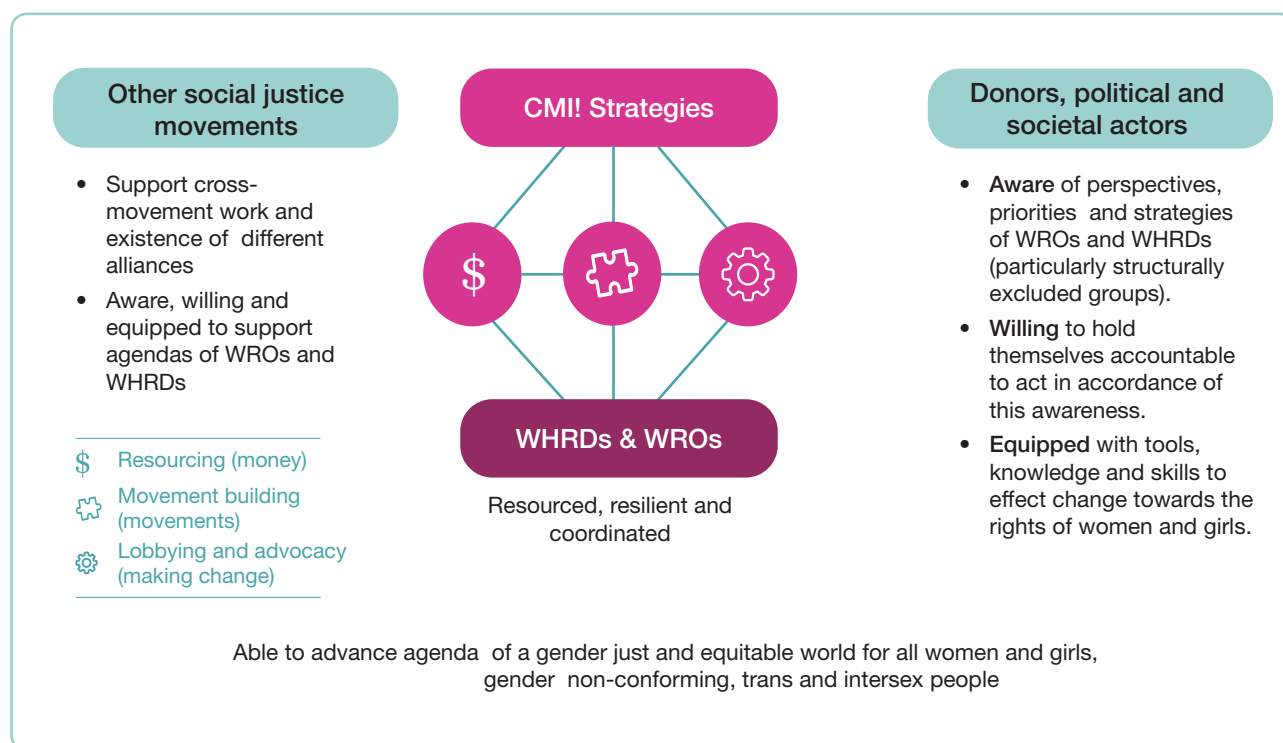


Diagram 1: Visual representation of CMI! Theory of Change

B. Clear causal link between programme design and outcomes

We found that there is a clear causal link between context realities and the programmatic interventions proposed in order to achieve outcomes as per the CMI! ToC. This link is illustrated in Diagram 2 below.

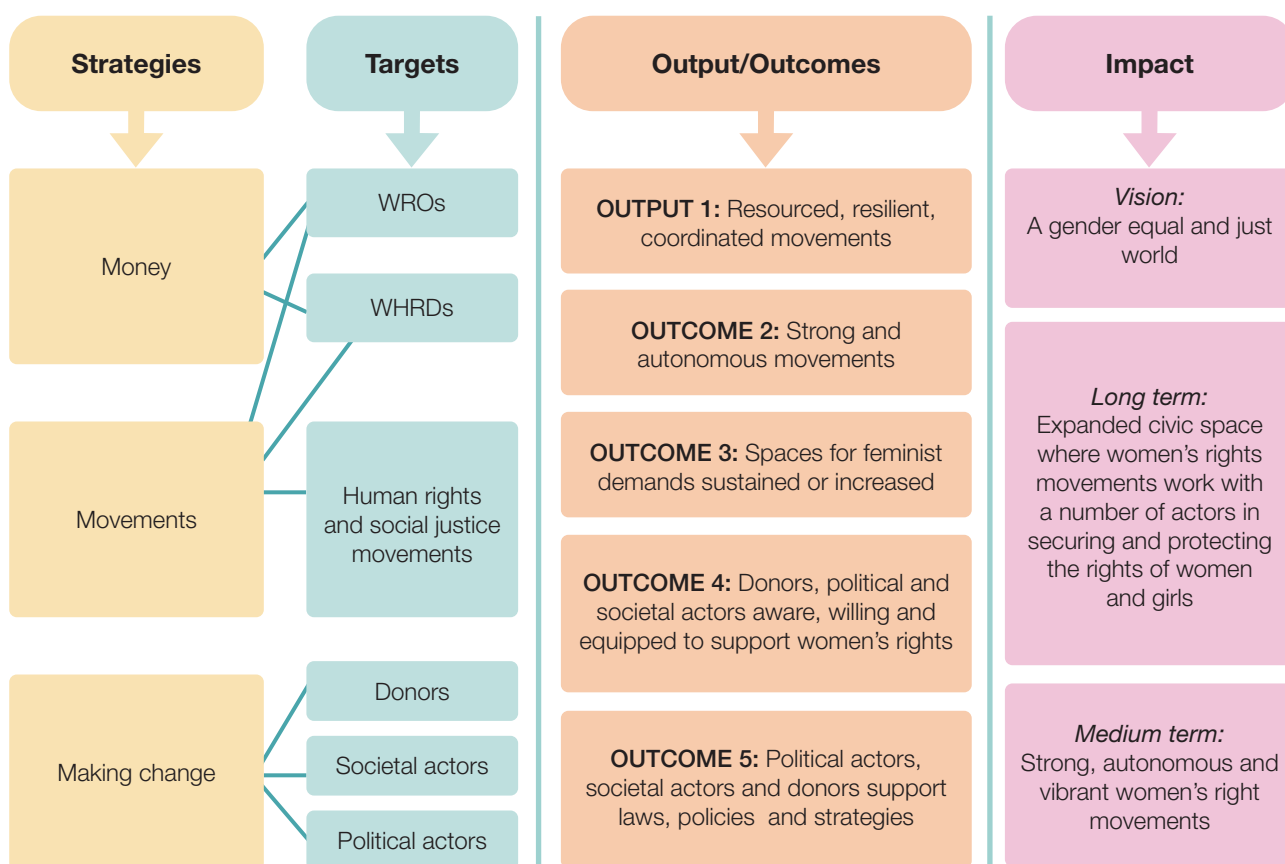


Diagram 2: Breakdown of CMI! Strategies, Targets, Output/Outcomes and Impact

CMI! identifies primary partners to work with, as well as other actors to interact with, ally with, or influence. This identification is based on a political analysis, which centres different possibilities for advancing change. Furthermore, CMI! draws on their existing track record (2016-2020) to support, visibilise, and advance self-led organising efforts for structurally excluded groups to advance the change agenda.

C. Review of CMI's assumptions related to the ToC

ASSUMPTION IN RELATION TO:	AS ARTICULATED IN THE PROGRAMME PROPOSAL	BASELINE FINDING
Structurally excluded women and girls	<p>The inclusion of structurally excluded groups of women and girls brings legitimacy, specificity and innovation to L&A processes to advance gender equality and secure human rights.</p>	<p>ToC assumptions related to structurally excluded women and girls are valid. This finding is backed by CMI! experience, literature, and the contributions of different dialogue participants. AWID research analysed the experiences and strategies of multiple movements across the globe and affirmed that strong and autonomous feminist movements engender lasting change, effectively challenge unjust power, and are diverse, broad, politically aware and motivated, and thus more impactful than individuals, isolated organisations, or formal institutions.²²</p>
		<p>During the baseline study, participants demonstrated their extensive organising experience and a rootedness within their different contexts, and how this informs their strategies as well as risk mitigation. As a result of this, structurally excluded groups are able to respond to the ever-shifting context and advance their change agendas</p>
	<p>L&A by structurally excluded groups will better transform societies in ways that advance the rights of all people</p>	<p>Structurally excluded groups shared their visions for change through the different baseline processes. For example, all the dialogues revealed issues related to the impact of COVID-19 on entire communities, and participants shared how their advocacy efforts focused on ensuring that all people's needs (particularly the most vulnerable) would be addressed. Examples were also shared on how structurally excluded groups continue to persistently bring transformative changes when they connect with the different requirements to advance social justice in their communities and countries.²³</p>
Movements	<p>WHRDs and WROs are effective and essential actors in the fight for human rights and gender equality.</p>	<p>This assumption is valid based on existing literature, which illustrates that WHRDs' individual and collective actions have been pivotal in addressing discrimination and inequality as well as advancing civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, especially within the context of prevention, peace and security, and sustainable development. Moreover, WHRDs have been at the forefront of social justice movements that work towards genuine social changes to the benefit of all.²⁴</p>
	<p>With the right information, connections and resources, WROs can build alliances, coordinate agendas and engage decision-makers effectively.</p>	<p>Baseline findings affirm that WROs and WHRDs can propel their organising power and movement leadership if appropriate support is provided. In some context dialogues, multiple challenges were highlighted in relation to the operating context for WROs. For example, in Southern Africa, rural organisations have difficulties accessing information and resources, whereas in Asia, reference was made to the lack of resources (human, economic, technical, time, and financial) to carry out plans across the board.²⁵</p>

²² The importance of centering the organising efforts of structurally excluded women and girls is affirmed by Batiwala, who noted that building the collective power of most structurally excluded constituencies through movements helps women convert their quest for their human rights, for equality, and justice into a political force for change that cannot be ignored by their families, communities, governments, or society at large. Batiwala S (2012). Changing Their World. Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements. Association for Women's Rights in Development.

²³ In the Southern Africa Context Dialogue, for example, participants working on violence against women noted how they connected their agendas to climate change strategies.

²⁴ Womankind (2020). Standing with changemakers: lessons from supporting women's movements.

²⁵ Summary Reports of Context Dialogues: Southern Africa and Asia, CMI! Baseline Study 2021.

Strong and autonomous feminist movements engender lasting change, effectively challenge unjust power, are diverse, broad, politically aware and motivated, and thus more impactful than individuals, isolated organisations or formal institutions.

The validation of this assumption builds on the previous one. Feminist movements have produced a seismic shift in how the world thinks about and prioritises gender equality. There is, therefore, a need to pay attention to ways in which funding and partnership with women's rights movements might support rather than undermine the work of WROs and movements, for example, through breeding divisions and decreasing opportunities for coalition building.²⁶ In other words, a commitment to contribute to strong and autonomous movements requires financial resources, spaces for collaboration, agenda setting, and solidarity-building to inform long-term efforts for social justice.²⁷ Without such support, women's rights movements are likely to remain fractured and unable to effectively and sustainably mobilise for change. Research has shown that the autonomous mobilisation of feminists is a critical factor accounting for policy change on violence against women domestically and transnationally — more than political parties, women in government, or even factors like national wealth.²⁸

Strategic Investment and donors

Funding for WROs that is flexible, long-term and responsive to the needs of local communities supports innovative, context-specific, effective and sustained advocacy work.

There is an increasing body of knowledge surfacing the ways in which women's movements have been underfunded.²⁹ Women's Funds have also built a sufficient evidence base of a how long-term, flexible grant strategy base, multi-year core funding and support "beyond the check" (through leadership development, advocacy training, and other forms of capacity-building) is able to catalyse women's movements to set their own priorities and agenda, and, therefore, to develop strategies that will be most effective for them, their partners, and their communities.³⁰ For example, in one of the context dialogues, WROs shared extensively how flexible and long-term agreements free up WROs and WHRDs to engage in focused advocacy and strategic actions for sustained change within their own contexts. This allows groups to look beyond survival, and to think about more proactive and longer-term strategies.³¹ In another dialogue, participants noted that longer term funding allows for innovative approaches to *wellbeing and safety*, and for processes that support movement building.³² CMI's track record in resourcing WROs is also an affirmation of the veracity related to the power of funding.

Donors can be persuaded to adjust their funding agendas and practices to provide better and increased funding to WROs

CMI's assumption that donors will listen to and respond to the demands of structurally excluded groups was affirmed in the ETE.³³ Donors who participated in surveys and interviews during the baseline research process also affirmed this assumption. Data collected during the baseline further indicated an increased interest among donors to resource WROs and WHRDs more generally, and that advocacy is needed to hold accountable those donor institutions making commitments to funding feminist and women's movements.³⁴ This also includes ensuring that donor institutions are listening and responding to the demands of structurally excluded WROs and WHRDs.

26 Summary Report: Global Context Dialogue, CMI! Baseline Study 2021.

27 Girard, F (2019). Philanthropy for the Women's Movement, Not Just 'Empowerment'. Stanford Social Innovation Review.

28 AWID (2021). Where is the money for feminist organizing?

29 Alpizar (2015). 20 years of Shamefully Scarce Funding for Women's Rights and Feminist Movements. <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/20-years-shamefully-scarce-funding-feminists-and-womens-rights-movements>

30 <https://www.prospera-inwf.org/#/-10-to-womens-funds/>

31 Summary Report of Context Dialogue: East Africa, CMI! Baseline Study 2021.

32 Summary Report of Context Dialogue: North Africa and West Asia, CMI! Baseline Study 2021.

33 End Term Evaluation (2020).

34 Baseline Study 2021 analysis of donor survey.

Political and societal actors	Political actors will listen and respond to the demands of structurally excluded communities and create policies that more effectively protect and fulfil those rights.	Existing literature affirms that political actors are likely to respond to the demands of structurally excluded groups. This would require an enabling environment that facilitates political ‘buy in’. ³⁵ The literature points to the appropriate support, tools, and knowledge, and mechanisms that would, in varying degrees, ensure the success of lobbying and advocacy efforts by structurally excluded groups. The validity of this assumption also supports CMI!’s focus on ensuring that political actors are aware, willing, and equipped to advance the agendas of structurally excluded groups. Throughout the context dialogues, groups shared multiple ways in which political actors restricted their activism. They also acknowledged that there were potential allies among political actors who are willing to support the fulfilment of rights of structurally excluded groups
	Coordination between decision-makers and WROs on priority agendas and advocacy efforts will strengthen the likelihood that women’s rights and gender equality will be fulfilled.	Building on the previous assumption, engaging decision-makers (particularly at a political level), requires the involvement of a wider range of stakeholders. These include finding allies within partner institutions, capacitating and empowering them to visibilise, and supporting efforts to advance the rights of women and girls. ³⁶ For example, in the Latin America regional dialogue, participants shared that a key strategy was to engage Municipal and Indigenous Councils as an avenue to build support for protection of autonomous territories, land and spaces. ³⁷
	Harmful practices affecting women and girls can be reduced and delegitimised by social norm change.	Patriarchal roles, behaviours, attitudes, cultural values, and moral and religious codes reinforce and reproduce gender stereotypes at all levels. Harmful social norms are often reflected and promoted even in the ways that anti-gender campaigns have articulated themselves as movements and increased their visibility. ³⁸ In the context of opposition by different societal actors, dialogue participants from East Africa, Southern Africa, and Asia shared examples of their efforts to shift social norms and how this approach has assisted them in their broader L&A work. Furthermore, in Latin America, strategies cited included concerted information campaigns on the link between social norms and the violation of rights. These efforts have contributed to the defense, protection, and self-care of WHRDs. ³⁹
Economic justice work	Strengthened locally-led just economies are possible to support the political and personal autonomies of women and girls and will help them to live with dignity.	The example of PEKKA (who has built up a strong track record in developing alternative, locally led economic structures that women can control and that gives them the collective power of shared resources) affirms the validity of this assumption. ⁴⁰ The importance of focusing on locally-led economic alternatives was also affirmed during the baseline dialogues; for example, in Latin America and Africa, participants talked about Indigenous knowledge systems that value the environment, but also promote women and girls’ autonomy and dignity.

35 https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Democracy/Forum2018/UNDP_3.pdf

36 Ibid.

37 Summary Report of Context Dialogue: Latin America, CMI! Baseline Study 2021.

38 Sosa, L (2021). Beyond gender equality? Anti-gender campaigns and the erosion of human rights and democracy. Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0924051921996697>

39 Summary Report of Context Dialogue: Latin America, CMI! Baseline Study 2021

40 https://justassociates.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/jass_pekka_case_study_2015.pdf

There is an interest among a range of actors (movements, donors, political and societal actors) to enable feminist macroeconomic agendas and alternative solutions to inform national economic recovery plans.

There are efforts to bring a feminist analysis into debates related to growing corporate power and how this power impacts on human rights, gender equality, environmental integrity, and governance.⁴¹ These efforts are not only about tackling global economic governance⁴², but also about connecting it to what is happening at the regional and the national levels. For example, In the global dialogue, a link was surfaced as to how, in some cases, feminist activism efforts at the national level during COVID-19 have resulted in the support of national economic recovery plans, particularly around the uneven burden of care distribution.⁴³

Table 4: Overview of assumptions as tested by the baseline study

In conclusion, the assessment of the ToC, the desk review and other data collected during the baseline study affirmed the importance and relevance of CMI!'s work. The baseline study illustrates the connection between the operating contexts and a network of interrelated factors. As such, the ToC is able to propose strategic interventions, which target important nodes and actors (societal, political and donors), to whom the different strategies of CMI! could be applied.

41 Interview with Kate Lapping and Emilia De Reyes, CMI Baseline Study 2021.

42 Global economic governance is the set of norms and institutions along which rules are generated to manage the global economy.

43 Summary Report of Context Dialogue: Global Context Dialogue, CMI! Baseline Study 2021

V. CMI!'S KEY STRATEGIES

CMI!'s three overarching strategies – *Money*, *Movements* and *Making Change* – are designed to mutually strengthen CMI! members' and partners' capacities to engage in L&A in order to effect positive and sustainable legal, policy and social norm change.

Based on the context analysis and the ToC, CMI!'s priority areas of change are Eliminating Gender Based Violence (GBV) and Advancing Economic Justice. CMI! has prioritised these two overlapping themes as root causes of gender inequality, and because they are urgent problems within the COVID-19 landscape.

CMI!'s movement building work is highly context specific, yet deeply responsive to regional, cross-regional and global opportunities, and within this period (2021 to 2025), will be predominantly focused in 26 countries, as mentioned previously.

CMI!'s three main strategies (*Money*, *Movements* and *Making Change*) will be deployed differently by location, depending on the openness of civic space and other factors. All of these strategies are interrelated with instances where the target groups can overlap.

Below is a snapshot of these three main strategies and corresponding sub-strategies or collective interventions by CMI! members. These sub-strategies and interventions will also continually be adapted by CMI! in response to the continuously changing context.

A. Unpacking the Money Strategy

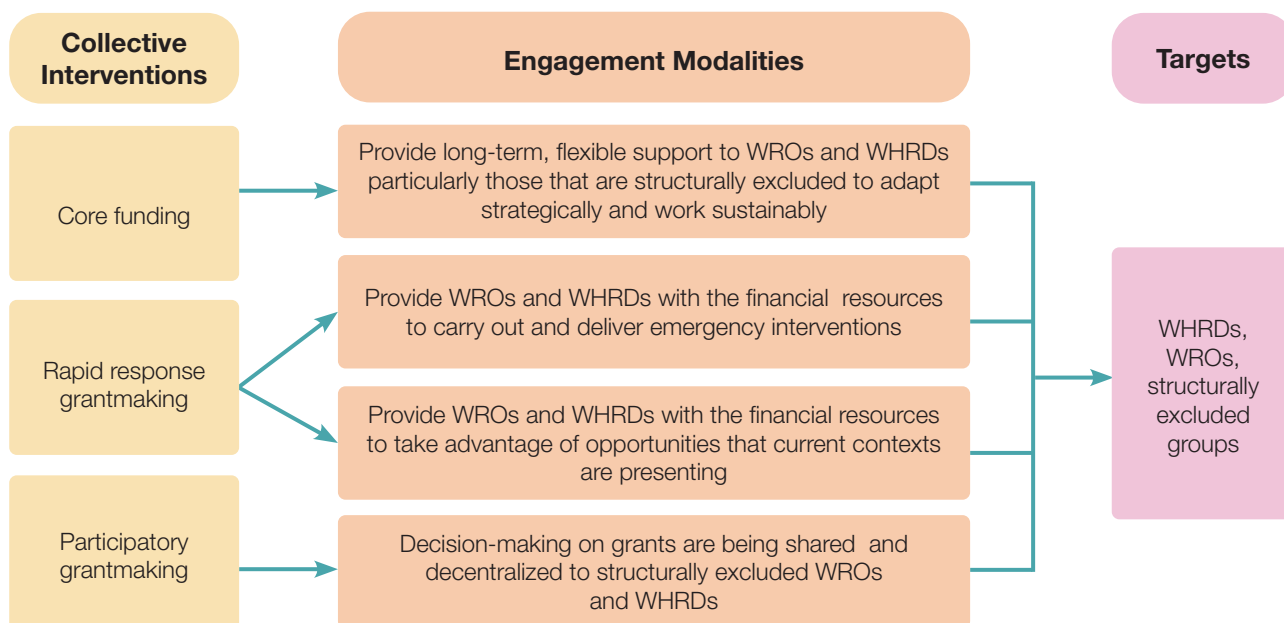


Diagram 3: Breakdown of CMI! Money Strategy

CMI!'s resourcing strategy aims to ensure that WHRDs and WROs are supported so that they are able to respond to emergency interventions and take advantage of political opportunities to advance the rights of women and girls. This strategy is about ensuring more funding for CMI! partners and engagement of CMI! constituencies in decision making on grants (participatory grantmaking).

CMI! will apply three collective interventions for implementing the MONEY strategy, with specific engagement modalities involving a number of CMI! members, and all four engagement modalities targeting WROs and WHRDs.

B. Unpacking the Movement Building Strategy

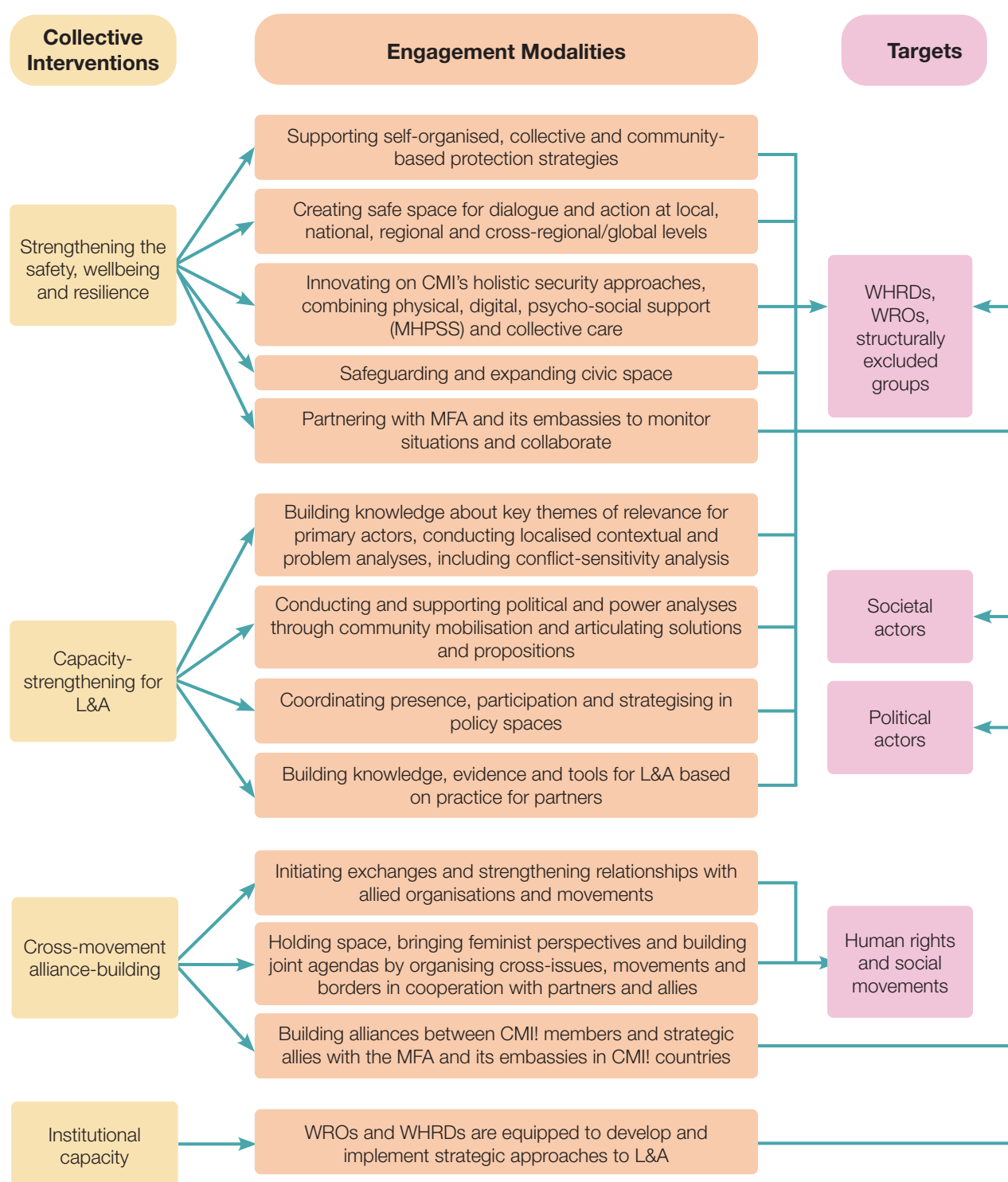


Diagram 4: Breakdown of CMI! Movement Strategy

The 2021-2025 proposal states that through movement building, CMI! will engage in:

- Strengthening the safety, wellbeing and resilience of partners through supporting their leadership and organising capacity as fundamental components of an enabling space for WHRDs, WROs and movements to act where they would otherwise be silenced.
- Capacity strengthening of L&A to improve partners' capacities.

- Cross movement alliance building to develop mutually supportive relationships between CMI! members and to partner with allies and potential allies.
- Institutional capacity-building to be optimally equipped to develop and implement strategic approaches to L&A.

Within the MOVEMENT BUILDING strategy, CMI! will apply four collective interventions and thirteen engagement modalities. These interventions and engagement modalities will be aimed towards multiple targets ranging from CMI!'s primary actors (WROs and WHRDs of structurally excluded groups), to human rights and social justice movements which CMI! members and CMI! partners are not currently part of. Also targeted by the interventions are societal and political actors as well as donors.

C. Unpacking the Making Change Strategy

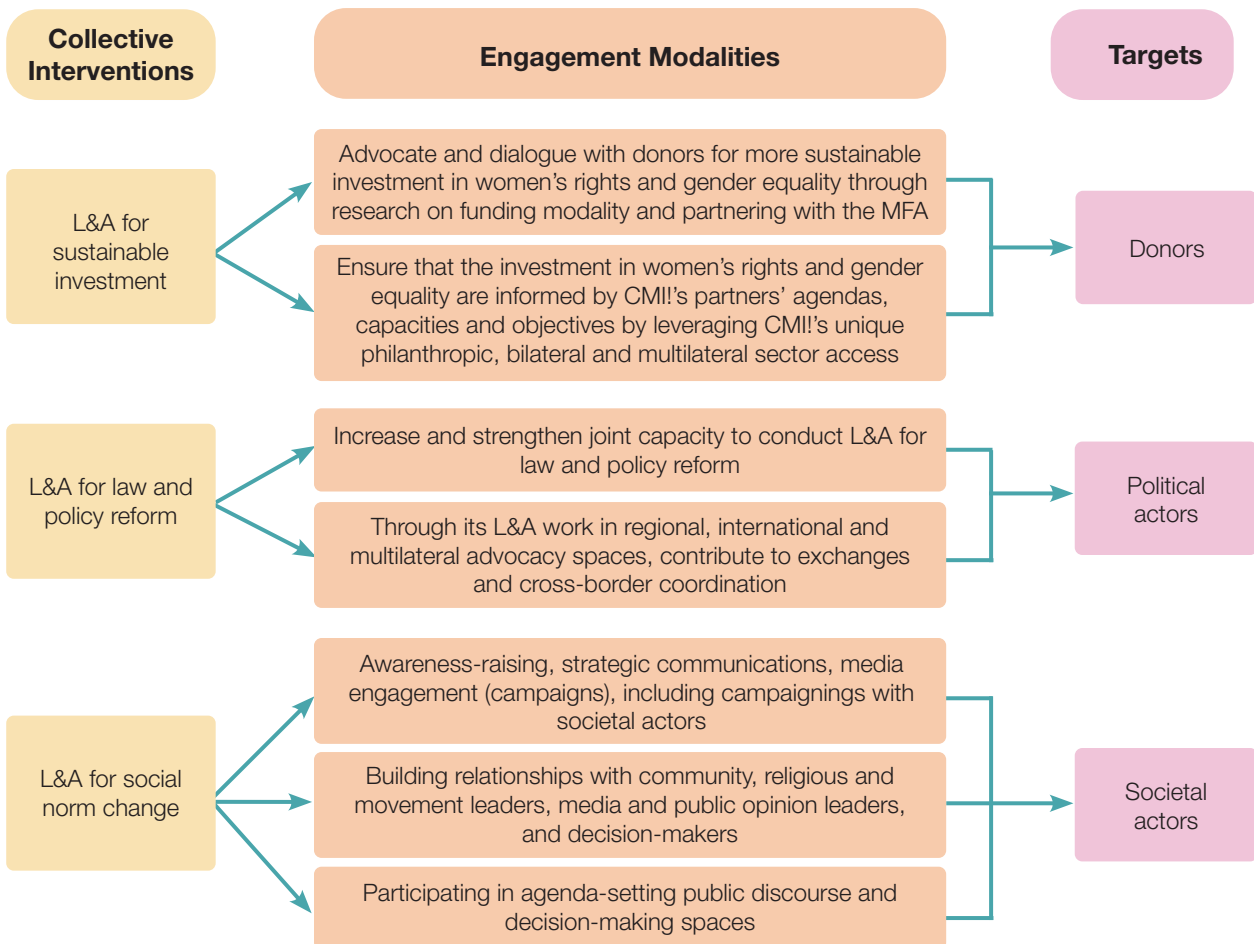


Diagram 5: Breakdown of CMI! Money Strategy

Within this strategy, the aim is for all CMI!'s members and strategic allies to engage in L&A for sustainable resourcing of WROs and movements, for law and policy change and implementation, and for shifts in social norms. The content and approach of CMI!'s L&A will be dependent on the category of key target actors such as donors, political actors and/or societal actors.

For the MAKING CHANGE strategy, CMI! outlines three collective interventions and seven engagement modalities that target a range of actors such as donors as well as political and societal actors. Some of these engagement modalities, such as those aimed towards political and societal actors, are very much interlinked to some of the collective interventions and engagement modalities found under the MOVEMENTS strategy.

The analysis of contexts and review of baseline data affirm that all three of CMI!'s strategies – *Money, Movements, and Making Change* are vital for movements (WROs, WHRDs) to address these contexts.

VI. BASELINE STUDY RESULTS

The baseline situation is presented as per the output, outcomes and indicators of CMI!'s Results Framework. In addition to data collected during the baseline study, information and data from CMI! 1.0 is also included to illustrate CMI!'s track record relevant to specific indicators.

OUTPUT 1: WHRDs AND WROs ARE RESOURCED, RESILIENT AND COORDINATED

This output is a precondition for the capacity of feminist movements to create, sustain change, and hold decision makers to account for the recognition and protection of the human rights of all women and girls. In the current context, significant funding is being directed to the service of ultraconservative, fundamentalist, and patriarchal agendas. For example, between 2013 and 2017, the “anti-gender” movement received over \$3.7 billion USD in funding, more than triple the funding for LGBTIQ groups globally in those years.⁴⁴ Feminist movements, especially in the global South, continue to operate on shoestring budgets, yet these very movements are holding the line against the rise of authoritarianism around the globe, mobilising social movements in seriously declining civic spaces, and advancing a shared vision and agenda for a more just and equal world.⁴⁵

CMI!'s strategy is also significant in a context where the devastating impacts of COVID-19 are still emerging, and where the progress achieved by the efforts of WROs and WHRDs is at risk of being wiped out.⁴⁶

Indicator 1.1 : # of WHRDs who receive support from CMI! Members

Indicator 1.2 : # of WROs who receive support from CMI! Members

BASELINE FINDINGS:

Throughout the baseline study, participants shared their experiences and affirmed the narrative of the challenging context of funding for women's rights agendas. Below is a breakdown of some of the challenges identified by WROs and WHRDs during the context dialogues.

44 AWID (2021). Where is the Money for Women's Rights? Brief. Source: Global Philanthropy Project. 2020. Meet the Moment: A Call for Progressive Philanthropic Response to the Anti-Gender Movement.

45 Ibid

46 Ibid

Funding Challenges for WROs and WHRDs

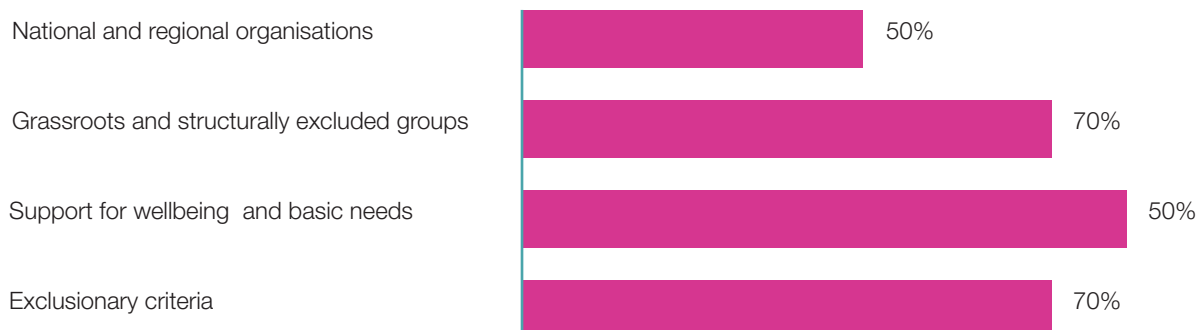


Chart 1: Funding Challenges of WROs and WHRDs

(i) Unjust distribution of resources

More than half of participants in the dialogues shared that funding and resourcing of women's rights agendas are not being equitably distributed, with larger amounts of funding going to bigger international NGOs. This means that locally led, smaller movement-building initiatives receive less funding, as affirmed by recent research.⁴⁷ Larger and already well-resourced organisations are considered less risky to donors, particularly during the uncertainty related to COVID-19. Dialogue participants are aware of this unjust distribution of resources and name it an obstacle to them being able to fully realise their goals.

(ii) Lack of support to structurally excluded groups

While there is acknowledgement that WROs know the needs and challenges of their communities intimately, these groups face the greatest obstacles in accessing funding. Dialogue participants for East Africa, Southern Africa, Asia and Latin America raised the issue of the obstacles related to access funding.⁴⁸ Not only are structurally excluded groups least funded, but they also face the most difficulties in accessing funds. Based on the most recent research, the problem lies in the funding ecosystem, since the largest funders, especially bilateral donors, primarily employ the most restricted funding modalities.⁴⁹

Furthermore, it is also true that the most flexible money tailored to the priorities and needs of feminist movements, sits in the smallest pools. This includes resources from women's funds, a small number of private foundations, and autonomous resources that feminist movements generate themselves.⁵⁰

(iii) The impact of COVID-19 on organising and resources of WROs

There have been numerous accounts of how COVID-19 has impacted on the incomes of constituents, as well as wellbeing of WROs' staff. For example, a 2020 survey of women's rights organisations highlighted the lack of social protection measures within countries' stimulus and response packages, and how these "reflect an understanding of women's special circumstances and in recognition of the care economy,". The absence of adequate social protection measures and resources in turn impacted on WROs such that they found themselves having to step up to meet these immediate needs whilst building on their long-term strategies.⁵¹ This had a significant impact on how they were able to use their available resources.

47 AWID (2021). Where is the money for feminist organising? Data Snapshots and a Call to Action.

48 Summary Report: Context Dialogues, CMI 2021 Baseline Study

49 Such as strict criteria in application processes and sometimes inadequate understanding of women's rights work.

50 AWID and Mama Cash (2020). Moving More Money to the Drivers of Change: How Bilateral and Multilateral Funders Can Resource Feminist Movements. As contribution to CMI!

51 <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/impact-covid-19-women-rights-organisations-call-global-alliance-support-women-rights>

In addition to responding to the needs of constituents, WROs also shared that COVID-19 impacted staff wellbeing, as staff either had to cope with their own health or with their care roles in their families and communities.⁵² As the area of wellbeing tends to be underfunded and neglected, it has a direct impact on the ability of organisations to implement their strategies.

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

- In CMI! 1.0, the consortium affirmed the importance of providing direct support to WROs and WHRDs. From 2016 to 2020, CMI! achieved the following in relation to this particular indicator⁵³:

YEAR	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020
# of WHRDs and WROs supported	133	161	107	363

Table 5: Overview of CMI! grantmaking for 2016 to 2020

As can be seen from Table 5 above, the data only shows the amount of grants given by CMI! during the 5 year period and does not disaggregate the amount of grants that went to WHRDs and the amount of grants that were allocated to WROs. This is one of the reasons for separating the indicators for CMI! 2.0. In the final evaluation of CMI! 1.0, partners shared countless examples of the outcomes achieved through the resourcing provided by CMI!. During CMI! 1.0, the importance of core, flexible, long-term funding to WROs as opposed to project funding, was affirmed. Core support is vital for the wellbeing of WROs and WHRDs as it enables them to strengthen their organisational capacities, to seize new political opportunities, and to strategically adapt to shifts in the context. Core funding also represents value for money as it frees up time and energy for WHRDs and WROs to engage in longer-term organising and rights work needed to transform root causes of gender inequalities.

- The baseline study thus affirmed CMI!'s supposition that resourcing WROs and movements remains critical to advance CMI!'s vision.

Indicator 1.3: # of : WHRDs with increased capacities (and types of L&A capacities increased)

Indicator 1.4: # of : WWROs with increased capacities (and types of L&A capacities increased)

BASELINE FINDINGS:

The opportunities and challenges for advancing women's rights agendas are impacted by a world where growing inequality and vulnerability co-exist with growing anti-rights discourses and policy agendas, as affirmed during this baseline study. What this means is that advancing a change agenda requires multiple capacities and resources for locally generated change led by women and girls themselves.

(i) L&A capacities are essential for WHRDs and WROs to input, participate and influence ideas, agendas, policies, and institutions

In order for WROs and movements to advance systemic change, it is important to invest in the groundwork for grassroots mobilisation and organising. In other words, supporting leadership development, advocacy training, and other forms of capacity building as part of building strong and autonomous movements.⁵⁴ When WROs lack the capacities to input, participate and influence the ideas, agendas, policies, and institutions they need to, it slows down the progress they are able

⁵² Summary of Context Dialogues, CMI! Baseline Study, 2021

⁵³ Data extracted from CMI! 1.0, IATI

⁵⁴ https://ssir.org/articles/entry/philanthropy_for_the_womens_movement_not_just_empowerment#

to make. This is important in a context where shrinking civic space is a growing reality, thus asserting the needs for WHRDs and WROs to set their own agendas for change, to strategise and effectively advocate for the kinds of change that lead to social transformation.

(ii) Increasing L&A capacities allows CMI! partners to mobilise their collective power and amplify and sustain their multiple strategies for change at the global, regional and national levels.

Drawing upon the diverse national and regional experiences of CMI! partners, increasing L&A capacities is also about ensuring that partners (individually and collectively) have the necessary capacities to exercise power in their own contexts, as well as to engage in and mobilise their collective power to influence and advance their broader change agendas. Thus, increasing L&A capacities means amplifying and sustaining the multiple strategies that women and girls are generating at the global, regional and national levels.

(iii) WHRDs require individual and collective capacities to assert their rights and access resources

Baseline study participants stressed the importance of facilitating and supporting stronger individual and collective capacities for groups to assert their rights and access resources to advance their rights agendas.⁵⁵ In this instance, L&A capacities refer to increased voice in the public sphere.

During the baseline study process, some of the skills that were highlighted by activists in particular regions included:

L&A CAPACITY	DETAILS
Technical expertise and capacities to work on certain topics	In this instance, technical expertise refers to the relevant knowledge and skills related to disciplines such as the law, the economy, and public health. For WHRDs/WROs the issue is not necessarily about having a stronger power analysis or how issues interconnect. Instead, technical expertise relates to increased capacities to engage on policy issues, and how to translate the political agenda to the language and conventions of the specific topic. WHRDs and WROs also indicated a need to expand their analysis of interrelated aspects of inequalities as a foundation for effective L&A.
Leadership capacities	The need to increase leadership capacities was expressed in different ways across the different regions where CMI! works. For example, a participant from Latin America shared how indigenous women still lack power in decision-making spaces. In East Africa, the example shared related to how structurally excluded groups, such as sex workers, are able to contribute and shape the agendas of mainstream human rights alliances in which they participate.
Intersectional analysis and narratives	Across all the regional dialogues, participants expressed a need to increase capacities around the evolving discourses of intersectional feminism and how it can influence L&A and shaping of policy. For example, in the Asia dialogue participants expressed the need for spaces to reflect on the practice of feminist intersectionality and the resulting exclusion of women from the social, political and economic spheres.
Alliance building	In all of the dialogues, the issue of alliance building and the need to increase capacities in this area, were mentioned. Alliance building was seen as a way to get more allies involved in strategic advocacy so that the efforts for change and reform could be louder and unstoppable. Strong feminist movements drive social and financial investment towards long-term and sustainable civil society infrastructure. Partners noted that CMI! members have a strong track record of supporting collaborative networks for sharing knowledge, and implementing collective action for social change to occur. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Summary of Context Dialogues, CMI! Baseline Study, 2021

⁵⁶ <https://cofemsocialchange.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/TS10-Feminist-movement-building-Taking-a-long-term-view.pdf>

Communication

Another area of development was communication. Activists and WROs noted that in the current context of very visible and well funded anti-rights rhetoric, it is important for WROs to have effective tools, messaging and communication tactics. Dialogue participants noted that the digital space brought many opportunities, yet it also comes with security risks. Thus, they expressed a need to develop capacities to increase protection in the digital sphere. Currently, CMI! can learn from the work done by the Association for Progressive Communications in strengthening institutional capacity of WROs to become leaders in addressing technology-related VAW through change in their own organisational practice.⁵⁷

Table 6: Overview of L&A Capacities identified by baseline participants

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!:

From 2016 to 2020, CMI! referred to this indicator as increasing the capacity of CMI! partners to influence policy agendas. In CMI! 1.0, data collected assessed the extent to which partners have the relevant knowledge and capacities to organise and implement advocacy goals.

The ETE⁵⁸ indicated that between 2016-2020, CMI! contributed to increased capacities of partners through a variety of channels. These include strengthening partners' financial management, increasing their capacity to engage on economic matters, feminist leadership, wellbeing/self-care, health literacy, resource mobilisation, physical and digital security, monitoring & evaluation, organisational development, strategic planning, conflict resolution and general knowledge building. According to data collected in IATI, after the 5 years of implementation, a total of 1896 partners were found to be in possession of the 'relevant knowledge, skills and confidence to analyse, strategise and implement advocacy work'.

Building on this track record, CMI! can continue their support for increasing L&A capacities directed at:

- **Catalysing power** such that CMI! partners (individually and collectively) expand their analysis of power and gain the confidence and capabilities to challenge resulting inequalities. Catalysing power would include strengthening all the different forms of L&A capacities listed by partners during the baseline study as enumerated above.
- **Strengthening of collective capacities** of WROs to launch efforts aimed at agenda-setting and organising to challenge unjust realities at the national, regional and global level.

⁵⁷ <https://www.apc.org/en/project/end-violence-womens-rights-and-safety-online>

⁵⁸ CMI! (2020). End Term Evaluation

Indicator 1.5: # of: Strengthened or new alliances (type of strengthened or new alliances)

BASELINE FINDINGS:

(i) Strong and diverse alliances are critical for defending and claiming civic space

In the current context, strong alliances are critical to support WHRDs and WROs to lead transformation through collaboration and coordination of advocacy efforts.⁵⁹ In the context of CMI!, the focus is on supporting partners to strengthen alliances of all kinds to amplify their voices and agendas within those alliances. This is due to the recognition that diverse alliances are critical to protect the most targeted structurally excluded groups and activists; and to defend common space more effectively. In other words, the focus on diverse alliances acknowledges that addressing the complex realities and defending civic space is not the responsibility of only one part of civil society; it requires the breadth and vibrancy of civil society.⁶⁰

(ii) Structurally excluded groups continue to face multiple challenges in building and sustaining alliances

In the process of conducting this baseline study, participants spoke of different issues as it pertains to alliances. On the one hand, they spoke about divisions within and across movements whereby structurally excluded groups (for example LGBTI communities, sex workers, women with disabilities, Indigenous and migrant women) shared their experiences of the lack of inclusion within mainstream spaces working on the rights of women and girls. These exclusions take the form of lack of support when particular groups are targeted or harassed. Other examples include the dominance of cis-male leadership in broader civil society alliances. See diagram 5 below for overview of challenges identified during the baseline study.



Diagram 5: Challenges faced by structurally excluded groups in building and sustaining alliances

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

- Data available for CMI! 1.0, makes visible CMI!’s track record of building new alliances and strengthening existing ones. For the period 2016 to 2020, CMI! members and partners reported against this indicator by sharing the number of strategies and engagements they had with their partners and constituencies. The data is presented in Table 7 on the next page.

59 Strategic Alliances: Gaining a Competitive Advantage. New York: The Conference Board, 1996.

60 Oxfam (2018). Space to be heard. Mobilising the power of people to shape civic space.

YEAR	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020
	49	536	324	470

Table 7: CMI! 1.0 data collected from partners related to number of strategies and engagements with different constituencies

- The ETE also affirms CMI!'s contribution to building alliances within movements. Strategies included bringing together more established organisations with newer ones, organising exchanges of practices and cross-border convenings. There is also clear evidence to show CMI!'s contribution to changes in alliances across movements, for example between LBQ collectives and sex worker groups. Furthermore, CMI! contributed to building alliances between feminist movements and other actors including donors, trade unions and religious leaders.
- However, for CMI! 2.0 there is room to deepen the work done thus far by supporting processes that address marginalisation of the particular agendas of structurally excluded groups, lack of inclusivity in feminist spaces, isolation, and lack of solidarity. Given the breadth of CMI!'s partner network, strengthening connections between CMI! partners could further support the work of alliances toward achieving particular goals, as affirmed during the context dialogues and highlighted in the ETE.

Indicator 1.6: # of WHRDs with strengthened or new holistic security approaches
Indicator 1.7: # of WROs with strengthened or new holistic security approaches

BASELINE FINDINGS:

The demands on WHRDs and WROs are manifold, and the complex web of oppressions and repressions by the institutions (State, Corporations and Society) that guard privilege and power, result in cycles of insecurity, fatigue and burnout.

(i) The importance of centering security, care and support as a political strategy

The politics of care for WROs and movements entails centering wellbeing and security as a strategy.⁶¹ In the current challenging context, holistic security and care is a political strategy that contributes to the preservation and sustainability of feminist movements. Holistic security has to be understood in the context of the social, political, economic, environmental and other systemic factors that provoke and reproduce inequality, violence and patriarchal attitudes and practice.⁶²

(ii) WHRDs and WROs are under constant pressure to keep going, despite high levels of fatigue

During the baseline study, WHRDs and WROs expressed weariness at the ongoing demands placed on them individually, collectively and organisationally to keep going even when they themselves are in crisis. In the Southern Africa dialogue, a participant referred to this as the 'weaponisation of resilience' because WROs are under enormous pressure to bounce back irrespective of their challenging operating conditions.⁶³ This resulted in fatigue and burnout of individual WHRDs, which is also felt more broadly as organisational fatigue within WROs. This pressure was identified as a form of backlash or pushback given certain advances around the rights of women and girls. See Diagram 6 on the next page for more details of support and care challenges faced by WHRDs and WROs.

61 Urgent Action Fund (2018). Care at the Center. https://fondoaccionurgente.org.co/site/assets/files/1433/care_at_the_center_web.pdf

62 <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/openglobalrights-openpage/making-our-movements-sustainable-practicing-holistic-security-ev/>

63 Summary Report of Context Dialogue: Southern Africa Context Dialogue, CMI! Baseline Study 2021

Challenges WHRDs and WROs face to access support for care mechanism and processes

The shifting of demands and the need for collective care and safety amongst partners. For instance, in Indonesia, there was a need to organically develop their own protection mechanism and safe space as a key element in the organising process.

WHRDs are getting exhausted and burnt out, because of responding to emergencies in communities. "We see the public ask, 'Where are the women's organisers' But sometimes they are tired."

Our organisations face structural barriers, such as lack of electricity, access to data and access to public services that prevent the movement from progressing. We also face backlash from the State. So its difficult to survive, let alone be resilient.



Diagram 6: Challenges faced by WHRDs and WROS in relation to support and care

(iii) There is a need to look at the systemic nature of care and security rather than an individual, collective or a particular organisation's struggle

Within movement spaces, conversations around self-care often put the burden on the individual WHRDs to do better in taking care of themselves. At the organisational level, operating conditions and lack of resources also place strain on organisations (and their staff), who are tacitly expected to show that despite these realities, they can keep bouncing back. This reality was identified as one of the insidious ways that the broader system pushes back against any actors that challenge or confront power. As such, it is a self-perpetuating cycle. Those individuals, organisations or movements who outlive it are considered resilient, and those who do not are essentially considered as incapable of surviving.

It is therefore necessary to consider and respond to the systemic and structural effects of the lack of support on WHRDs and WROs.

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

In CMI! 1.0, there was no specific indicator in relation to holistic security and care. However, from 2016 to 2020, based on partner reports, CMI! contributed to this particular outcome as follows (see Table 8):

TYPE OF SECURITY AND CARE APPROACH SUPPORTED BY CMI! DURING 2016 TO 2020	HOLISTIC SECURITY AND CARE SYSTEMS	STRATEGIES (EMOTIONAL, PHYSICAL AND DIGITAL)	SECURITY CARE AND PLANNING
# of holistic security and support interventions	97	179	79

Table 8: CMI! 1.0 reports from partners in relation to holistic security and care

Even though the categories listed in Table 9 above might overlap, partners' reports specifically related to implementing holistic security and care disaggregated according to⁶⁴:

- i. Self-care strategies, emotional security and collective care strategies
- ii. Security systems/processes in place
- iii. Implementation of physical, emotional, psychological or digital security planning, designing and/or adapting appropriate security arrangements.

From the ETE, CMI! 1.0 assisted partners to increase capacities to protect their physical and digital security. These included the planning and development of security systems/processes, as well as the implementation of concrete strategies.

As was affirmed during the baseline study, holistic security and care is an important aspect of support to partners, especially considering the extremely challenging context in which they work. CMI! has already prioritised this by assigning it a stand-alone indicator. This is important given that many partners are still navigating both COVID-19 and its impacts, and challenging organising contexts.

OUTCOME 2: VIBRANT (STRONG) AND AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENTS

The most cogent argument for strong and autonomous movements is that the results achieved by sustained, focused and collaborative feminist organising attests to the crucial role of activism led by women, girls, and trans people. When groups and movements are rooted in their local communities and speak on the basis of their lived experiences, they own the advocacy and are best positioned to pursue solutions that are deep, empowering, and lasting.⁶⁵ CMI! in their Power of Voices proposal acknowledge the relationship between strategy, voice and power in traversing the different scales of justice, from the local level to the global level.

Indicator 2.1: WROs report that their movements are strong and autonomous

BASELINE FINDINGS:

(i) Strength and vibrancy of movements are necessary to maintain organising to advance agendas for change

In the current context, in light of attempts to control and restrict civic space, it is crucial for feminist movements to adapt their ways of working and strengthen their internal structures to remain effective. Some of the areas for consideration for strong and autonomous movements are resilience and risk preparedness, alliance building, new activism, tactics, diversity and solidarity.⁶⁶

64 CMI! (2020). End-Term Evaluation.

65 AWID and Mama Cash (2020). Moving More Money to the Drivers of Change: How Bilateral and Multilateral Funders Can Resource Feminist Movements

66 Oxfam (2018). Space to be heard: Mobilizing the power of people to reshape civic space.

CMI!'s work is grounded in partnership with WROs and movements to support them in advancing their agendas for change. CMI! members, prior to working as a consortium, were already experienced in resourcing women's movements and in building and strengthening movements. These collective strengths as a consortium, accompanied by the track record established during CMI! 1.0, provide an excellent basis for coordination and collaboration among members and partners.

(ii) Strength and vibrancy of WROs and movements can be assessed based on narratives of mobilisation and institutionalisation

When reporting on strength and autonomy of movements, one approach is to assess change in terms of mobilisation and institutionalisation.⁶⁷

That is, to report on this outcome, CMI! would collect narrative accounts of movements over time, to weave together a narrative regarding the strength and state of organising for the rights of women and girls. These particular ways of building a narrative are affirmed by research done by AWID in 2009, which identifies some of the indicators that could be considered:⁶⁸

- **Tactics:** The presence of diverse strategies to advance change for women and girls.
- **Coalition building:** Strategies to build an organised mass-base of women and girls with growing levels of political consciousness, enabling them to become primary actors driving the changes they are seeking to make.
- **Voice and Visibility:** Enhanced space, voice, and visibility – especially for structurally excluded groups.
- **Advances made in the change agendas:** Gains related to changes in social norms, laws, policies and access to justice for women and girls.
- **Knowledge-building:** What are some of the lessons and reflections by some of these movements and how it challenges not only dominant / mainstream constructions of change, but even feminist understandings.
- **Alliances:** With different social movements – this is a key achievement of several movements, which have not only transformed themselves (albeit with some resistance), but also movements with which they have allied themselves.
- **Resources:** Financial, human and other resources to keep advancing the agendas for change.

(iii) WROs have histories of building and sustaining their movements in the most challenging contexts

As shared by dialogue participants, the strengths of their movements lie in the histories of advancing change in their respective contexts. Despite being confronted with ongoing challenges in their operating contexts, WROs and movements have extensive knowledge and experiences, and have applied this knowledge in their organising and solidarity building work. WROs shared that they have been able to build leadership, and when needed have been able to navigate personal security threats. Across the different regions where CMI! works, although WROs talked about the vibrancy of their movements in different ways, there was an acknowledgement that all movements can share experiences of gains and losses, as well as challenges. However, what cuts across all these narratives was a deep political analysis that framed their organising in their respective contexts.⁶⁹

67 Amy G. Mazur, Dorothy E. McBride & Season Hoard (2016). Comparative strength of women's movements over time: conceptual, empirical, and theoretical innovations. <https://pppa.wsu.edu/documents/2017/02/dialogue-pgi-2016.pdf/>

68 Battliwala (2009). Changing Their World: Concepts and Practices for Women's Movements.

69 Summary of Context Dialogues, CMI! Baseline Study, 202169

(iv) WROs need additional support with organising tactics, risk management and learning to ensure the strength and vibrancy of their movements

To support strengthening the vibrancy of movements, aside from issues already mentioned (such as resource constraints, wellbeing and alliance building), other identified challenges include:

AREA FOR STRENGTHENING	DETAILS
Organising tactics	The move to online engagement due to COVID-19 has had varying impacts on different groups. This mode of engagement still has the potential to be exclusive at times, and has security implications in certain countries. WROs have indicated the need to explore new strategies and tactics within shrinking and shifting spaces, to effectively contribute to transformative change. In light of new technology, increased surveillance was singled out, among other issues. Connecting to and learning from these actors could help more institutionalised WROs refresh their ways of working, to enable them to achieve their visions within the current contexts.
Coalition building	This remains a challenge during COVID-19, but also more generally in uncertain and restrictive environments. While partners did share that they implement multiple strategies around such issues, it is still worth noting this challenge to movement building, given the significant influence of changes in the external environment. It is important to ensure values of diversity, expressing solidarity across groups with various identities and agendas, and challenging any forms of discrimination based on gender, age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, nationality, and other identity traits within our own ranks, as well as broader society and the government. This may manifest as being aware of power, and giving less powerful actors access to networks, and supporting them in building capacity to raise their voices. To do this well, adhering to the principles of feminist leadership and movement building, including investing in strong capacities and mechanisms for managing internal differences, is necessary.
Uncertainty and risk support	Women’s rights movements have to plan around risks such as arrests and harassment, ⁷⁰ freezing of financial assets, attacks on the reputations of individual activists, civic groups and organisations, and other tactics to restrict their activities. This includes having effective risk management and holistic security skills and systems, budgets reserved for mitigation, prevention and emergencies, and strong support networks that provide access to legal, political and psychosocial support. The agility needed to do the work in specific contexts comes with its own constraints and challenges. These constraints are often related to the national political or legal contexts, and the characterization of different groups within these contexts. These are very real challenges and often unpredictable; they are costly at times, and can pose grave risks to the safety and security of people. At the level of online activism and strategy, there are also risks of exposure and potential vulnerabilities that may not be apparent at the time of planning; the casualties are real and have to be reconciled with the intentions of the political agenda. On the one hand, there has to be forward planning on this front (as much as may reasonably be possible), but resources should also be made available for this work. Though groups have experience in managing risk, and navigating the quagmire of myriad challenges, while continuing to facilitate and advance the change agenda, it does take a toll on the morale and collective spirit of their work.
Learning	The nature of the work often makes it difficult for groups to make the time to reflect, and surface not only achievements, but also contentious issues, as a means to strengthen practice, unpack meaning and build their collective power.

Table 9: Identified areas to enhance strength and vibrancy of movements

⁷⁰ In the East Africa Dialogue, a participant shared that in their context not only outspoken individuals are arrested. Lesbians are arrested in bars just for being present in the bar.

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

In CMI! 1.0, the available data relevant to the strength and vibrancy of movements references the strength of the constituency base of WROs and movements. CMI! partners during 2016 to 2020 reported on the strength of their constituencies as follows:

YEAR	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020
No. of people who attended CMI! activities.	10 622	937	646	870

Table 10: CMI! 1.0 data in table shows the number of people who attended CMI! partner activities

Further analysis drawn from the ETE, shows that for CMI! partners, the strength and vibrancy of their movements is related to their ability to address strategic challenges in their respective contexts and to build and mobilise constituencies. Hence, as a result of the support from CMI! between 2016 and 2020, partners were able to extend their programming and advocacy in harder-to-reach locations, empowering and building knowledge with new constituencies, in addition to building the strength of their advocacy through a wider movement.

Based on the experiences of CMI! 1.0, the decision was made to further unpack and understand how partners' would frame and report on the strength and vibrancy of their organisations and movements. The baseline study provides some concrete ways to assist grantee partners over time, to report on and view how their movements are faring. The data shared by partners would then inform priorities for CMI! movement building. In other words, to support organising tactics (online and offline), supporting coalition building, facilitating learning, and risk mitigation support.

OUTCOME 3: SPACE FOR FEMINIST DEMANDS AND INFLUENCE IS SUSTAINED AND INCREASED

Political actors remain essential to advancing women's rights and gender equality. Still, many are increasingly acting to limit rights, restrict civic space, manipulate social norms to support conservative agendas, criminalise dissent and legitimise repression through laws and policies. Those in power are invested in maintaining the status quo by isolating women's rights advocates within and from their communities and each other. Furthermore, anti-'gender ideology' movements and anti-rights actors are growing in scale and influence. In fact, the contraction of civic space is directly related to the mobilisation of anti-gender and anti-equality organisations (those who challenge so-called 'gender ideology').

The nature of their activism puts CMI! members and partners particularly at risk in countries where civic space is closed, repressed or obstructed, and these risks are exacerbated in conflict sensitive areas. Closing space often includes administrative burdens or legal barriers that prevent CSOs from becoming formal actors.⁷¹ WHRDs and WROs in these restrictive contexts need tailored support to ensure their safety and to foster collective resilience. Hence, advances related to this outcome are critical to the overall advancement of CMI!'s ToC.

⁷¹ Oxfam (2018). Space to be heard. Mobilising the power of people to shape civic space.

BASELINE FINDINGS:

(i) Civic space is shrinking in multiple different fora and at different levels

Shrinking civic and democratic space was the trend that generated the most engagement during the baseline study. Throughout the study, participants shared how civic space was shrinking in multiple fora and at different levels. This downward trend is precipitated by laws; policies; physical attacks; threats (against those who stand up for the rights of groups that are marginalised and oppressed); and the shrinking and denial of the voices and participation of civil society and social movements in governance and decision/policy-making. While the state, government officials and security and intelligence services are the main perpetrators of these restrictions; non-state actors, including armed groups, militant organisations and the private sector, are also perpetrators. These restrictions continue, despite the fact that many governments have committed to upholding fundamental rights, as signatories to international and regional human rights instruments.

(ii) Multilateral spaces face their own crisis

At the global level, core multilateral spaces such as the UN, climate change and human rights treaties are facing their own crisis – both from the withdrawal of some states from multilateralism into unilateralism, and the lack of accountability by governments on international human right mechanisms which enables human rights violations to prevail. At the same time, the economic-related spaces such as the World Trade Organisation and the International Financial Institutions remain very powerful, dictating many of the economic policies that are being implemented in many countries, even when these policies of debt, trade, austerity and intellectual property directly violate human rights. Consequently, this has contributed to the perception among many WHRDs and WROs that the current global democratic system prioritises profits and market over peoples and human rights.⁷²

(iii) Structurally excluded groups contend with multiple overlapping challenges to sustain their work

Nationally and locally, restrictions or rights violations increase in many countries during politically sensitive periods such as elections. As such, LGBTI organisations and/or sex worker-led organisations contend with multiple, overlapping challenges in establishing and sustaining their work. WHRDs and WROs report that they face particular challenges that require specific legal protection to ensure they are safe from violence and discrimination, and can operate in a safe and enabling environment. Restrictions to organising often include getting through red tape to legally register organisations or to access funding. Baseline participants shared anecdotes of harassment, violence (including sexual violence), persecution, incarceration, and homicide, including social media and internet-based violence, harassment and smear campaigns against human rights defenders. While national laws can be progressive and in agreement with international human rights law, it can sometimes remain hard to put these laws into practice/apply in real life.

Diagram 7 on the next page provides an overview of challenges elucidated by participants from the context dialogues. The baseline data affirms the need for work around expanding spaces of feminist organising and mobilising, as these are under threat and the gains from the past are at risk of being annihilated.

⁷² Interview with Kate Lapping and Emilia De Reyes, CMI Baseline Study 2021.

Shrinking civic space



The increase in anti-rights presence and influence in UN spaces has contributed to conservative approaches to gender and shutting down of diverse perspectives and voices. *Global Context Dialogue.*

In Afghanistan WHRDs and WROs are targets of assassination in attempts to restrain and reduce the influence and impact of feminist movement building. *Asia Context Dialogue.*

The accounts of WHRDs and WROs were frozen or closed, and they were banned from continuing their work because they criticised the government. The context currently criminalises LGBTQ+ organising and the current many restrictions and requirements that make it difficult for WROs to operate. *East Africa Context Dialogue.*

Increased police surveillance of movement-building work of sex workers and LGBTIQ groups. Intimidation used as a tactic of governments and law enforcement against WHRDs and WROs. Women's rights organisations are forced to comply with surveillance of their activities and organising. *Southern Africa Context Dialogue.*

Pressure from government and religious leaders, putting organisations and individual at risk of harassment and violence. In some countries, outspoken organisations are only tolerated because they provide women with much needed services and support. *West Africa Context Dialogue*

The political and security situation puts pressure on feminist groups to change their priorities and issues they work on. Institutions and NGOs that are affiliated to the state that work on gender issues are covering up acts of violence especially by state actors. There is no safe spaces for immigrants or sex workers to organise due to stigma and security threats. *West Asia-North Africa Context Dialogue*

Diagram 7: Overview of shrinking civic space challenges shared by participants of the context dialogues

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

CMI 1.0 does not have any indicators directly related to shrinking civic space. However, in providing a bridge between CMI! 1.0 and CMI! 2.0, the data related to L&A and CMI!'s efficacy in this regard is related to shifting norms, legal and policy changes. The purpose of linking this information with the current indicator is to show the extent to which social norms, relevant to women's, girls', and trans people's rights have shifted, and also the increased number of legal and policy changes related to women's, girls' and trans people's rights that reflect partner input.

Similarly, in CMI! 1.0, the emphasis in resourcing and supporting movement building was on catalysing partners to address shifts in social norms. With the increased focus on expanding civic space, the emphasis on measurement is expanded from shifting social norms to also include the number of times and ways that WHRDs and WROs defend and create space for their demands.

Hence, in CMI! 2.0 the framing of the outcome as 'spaces for feminist demands are created or sustained' is not necessarily a departure from the previous articulation. It is merely a sharpening of the focus, given the growing awareness of the fact that spaces for feminist demands are shrinking. It is also building on the assumption that is unpacked earlier in the document – that social norms change is a necessary precondition for supporting changes by political actors in supporting expanding civic space.

The importance of sharing data from CMI! 1.0 is to provide evidence of CMI!'s existing track record in supporting and catalysing collective actions by WHRDs and WROs. CMI! strategies contributed to changes such as L&A gains to eliminate gender based violence, and the promotion of sustainable resourcing for the rights of women, girls and trans people. As CMI! builds on the work from 2016 to 2020, partners will continue to integrate work on addressing harmful social norms that fuel the rising hostility to feminist agendas, particularly as CMI! members and partners work with political and societal actors.

OUTCOME 4: DONORS, POLITICAL AND SOCIETAL ACTORS ARE AWARE, WILLING AND EQUIPPED TO SUPPORT THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

The CMI! context analysis highlights three priority L&A targets for CMI!'s work: political actors, societal actors and donors. Political actors are important as they shape laws, policies and practices that impact the lives of our primary actors, and enable or restrict their freedoms. Societal actors constitute and shift the broader socio-cultural context in which women's rights and gender equality is either advanced or contested. Donors in turn make decisions that are critical for the sustainability of movements and civil society, particularly in contexts of crisis, repression or conflict. Each of CMI!'s three L&A targets need to go through three intermediate steps to achieve this outcome: they must become *aware*, (politically) *willing* and *equipped* to act. Specifically, this would mean that:

POLITICAL ACTORS

- are convinced of the need to advance women's rights and gender equality, and support WHRDs through legal and policy frameworks.
- are held accountable to take action to develop, adopt, improve and maintain progressive policies, legislation, procedures, etc. (frameworks), and block those against women's rights and gender equality.
- have the tools and means they need to allocate appropriate resources and monitor implementation and/ or enforcement of frameworks.

SOCIETAL ACTORS

- believe in women's rights and gender equality as important values.
- hold themselves accountable to acts in accordance with these norms.
- have the knowledge, skills and tools to influence (social) policies, attitudes and behaviours.

BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DONORS AND PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS

- are convinced of the need to resource WHRDs and WROs from, and self-led movements of, CMI!'s primary actors.
- work to integrate the needs and priorities of these groups into funding decisions and restructuring modalities of their own operation.
- have the knowledge and skills and political buy-in to implement the necessary structural changes in their practices and provide core, flexible, accessible funding to these groups.⁷³

73 AWID and Mama Cash (2020). Moving Money to Drivers of Change.

Indicator 4.1 Changes observed in donor awareness and willingness to support the rights of women and girls

To assess the landscape of feminist funding, a survey and interviews were conducted with donors. Both methods were designed based on the indicators from The Results Framework. While responses from the survey were anonymous, of the donors invited to participate in the survey, approximately 35% were women's funds, 21% were civil society funds whose grantee-partners include WROs but not exclusively, 25% were private foundations, and 18% were bilateral organisations.

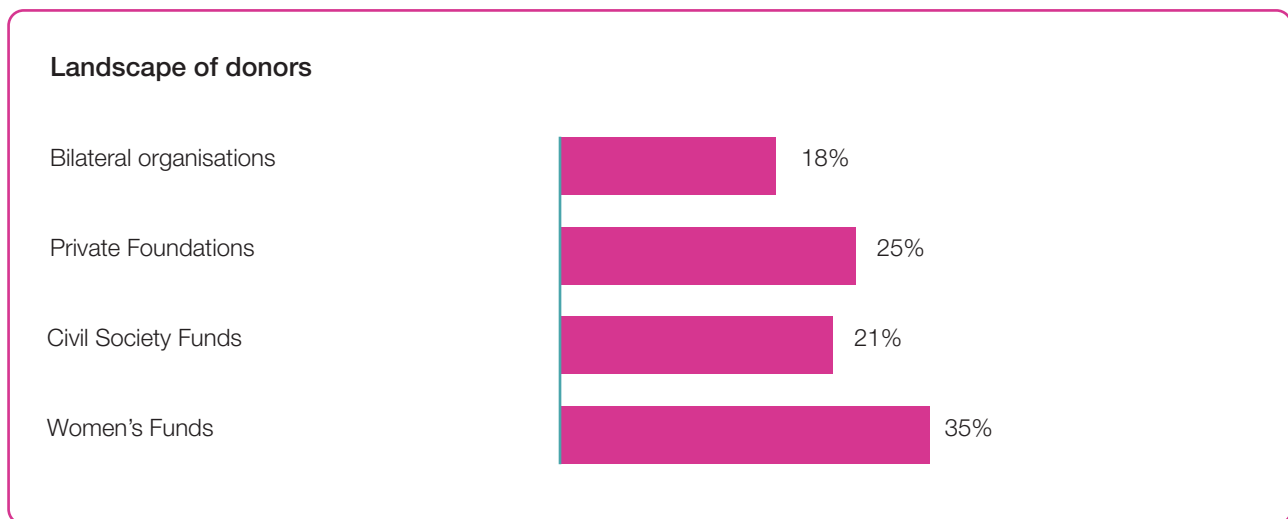


Chart 2: Landscape of donors

A key concern of the inquiry was to ascertain the extent to which money is getting directly into the hands of WROs led by structurally excluded women and girls. While some funders have increased funds in the space, others have not. This finding resonates with previous research undertaken by AWID,⁷⁴ and the commitment made at the Generation Equality Forum of the US \$40 billion to advance gender equality worldwide.⁷⁵ While celebrating this commitment from the donor community to invest more money in feminist movements, WROs remain aware of the need for continued advocacy in holding those donor institutions accountable.

(i) Funding for structurally excluded groups⁷⁶

Following the 2021 Generation Equality Forum, one of the questions posed by feminist groups was: How much of the US \$40 billion will go to directly support feminist, women, girls, trans, non-binary and gender-diverse people's organising, which remains chronically underfunded, especially in the Global South?

From the donor survey conducted as part of this baseline study, five out of the nine participating organisations fund sex worker-led organisations, and six out of the nine fund organisations led by persons with disabilities. All participants, with the exception of one who did not participate in the survey question, fund organisations led by trans persons, Indigenous persons, Black persons and young women and/or trans youth. One participant pointed out that their notion of what it means to be a structurally excluded group depends on the country contexts in which they operate.

⁷⁴ See for example, AWID (2019) 'Only 1% of gender equality funding is going to women's organisations – why?'

Available here: <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/only-1-gender-equality-funding-going-womens-organisations-why>

⁷⁵ <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/us-40-billion-us-2-billion-unpacking-real-numbers-behind-generation-equality>

⁷⁶ Source: Donor survey: CMI! Baseline Study, 2021.

Funding to groups led by structurally marginalised groups

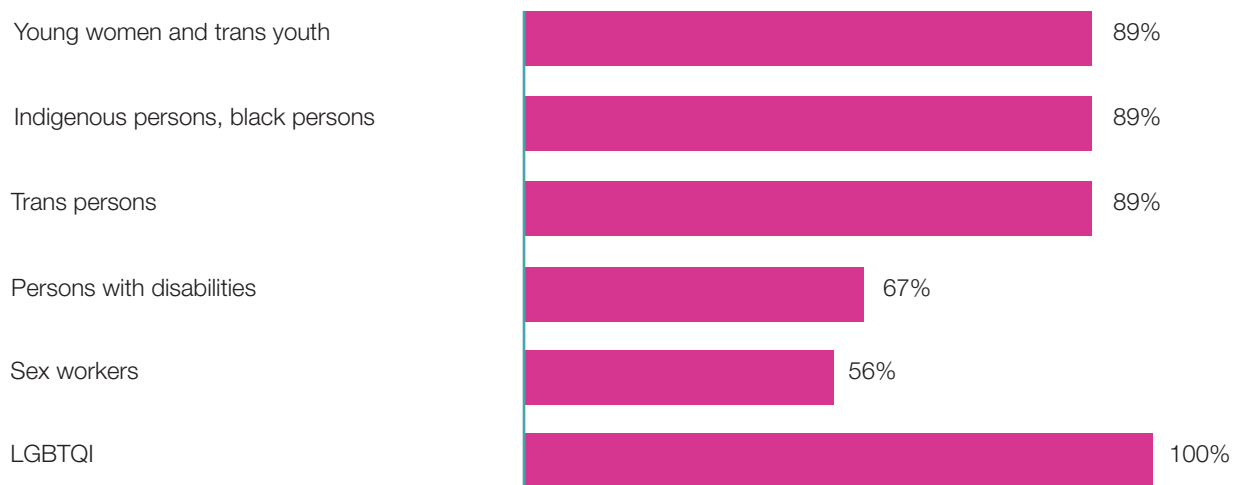


Chart 3: Funding allocation to groups led by structurally excluded groups

Of the nine donors that completed the survey, two allocate 100% of their funds to funding WROs, one allocates 75% or above, two allocate 50% or above, two allocate 25% or above, and one allocates less than 25%, with one participant being unsure. All survey participants, with the exception of one, indicated that the number of WROs they fund has increased in the last five years. Donors surveyed did not disclose the amount of allocation to WROs. The remaining four donors did not indicate whether the average grant size they provide to WROs has been reduced or stayed the same.

Amount of money that goes to WROs

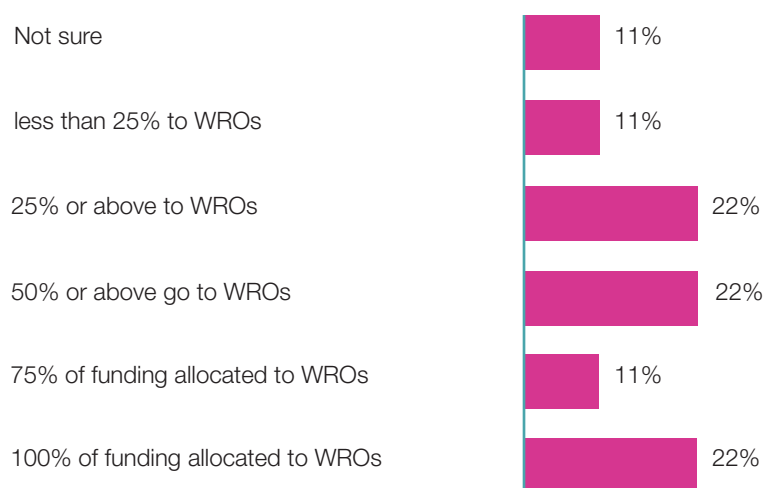


Chart 4: Amount of money that goes to WROs

Donors who resource WROs tend to be actively engaged in trying to improve their support to WROs. However, donors have to navigate contextual challenges related to legal status, lack of bank accounts and other infra-structural hurdles. More work can also be done to bring WROs into decision-making processes, both with regards to grant making and broader decision-

making within donor organisations. Donor respondents came across as being flexible in terms of the eligibility requirements of organisations they fund. All, with the exception of one, provide flexible, core funding, and direct funds to organisational needs such as capacity-building, mental health and accompaniment. Similarly, those who participated did not seem to have limitations to the thematic areas of women's and LGBTQ+ rights organising they fund. One respondent commented that their key priority is to support shifting power, and they do not organise their funding around themes. Another respondent mentioned that while they do not focus their funding around themes, they do organise their funding according to regions and/or countries.

(ii) Funding reach to the Global South and CMI! priority countries is still limited

Donors were also asked to indicate the geographical regions and/or countries where they fund. Of the nine survey participants, seven fund at the global level (one of which funds at the global level only), and seven fund at the regional level. Of those that fund at the regional level, all seven fund regional organisations in Asia and East Africa, five fund regional organisations in Southern Africa, West Africa and Latin America, and only one provides funding to regional organisations in North Africa and West Asia. Three of the participants, including the one that funds at the global level only, do not direct funds to any organisations at the national level based in the 26 target countries of CMI! 2.0. Organisations based in West Asia-North Africa are target countries that were severely underfunded compared to other regions. Reasons cited included difficulty in establishing relationships with relevant WROs and the volatile political context.⁷⁷ Organisations based in Iraq, Yemen, Afghanistan and Lebanon, as well as in South Sudan and Mozambique, were not funded by any of the participants of the survey. Organisations based in Burkina Faso, Egypt, Indonesia, Malawi, Mali and Palestine, were each only funded by one of the survey participants.

(iii) Donors 'talking the talk' and not 'walking the talk'

There are donors invested in funding feminist movements to limited degrees as affirmed in the donor survey as well as from CMI! 1.0.⁷⁸ Several governmental and intergovernmental actors have declared gender equality a policy priority, and some states have adopted a "feminist foreign policy," pledging to increase support for gender equality, and women and girls.⁷⁹

In a series of interviews with staff of donor organisations, one respondent felt that while many donors are "talking the talk," few are "walking the talk." While talking is a "good first step" in the right direction, and we see stakeholders wanting to engage in conversations around funding feminist movements, we have yet to see these conversations bolstered by robust action. Also, there still continues to be widespread resistance to funding feminist movements more generally, despite the overwhelming evidence that feminist movements are drivers of positive social change.⁸⁰ Those who were interviewed attributed this to donors' reluctance to relinquish power – for example, by giving decision-making power to WROs, or by availing themselves to be held accountable to feminist movements⁸¹ – among other factors.

While there is a space for advocacy, it requires a lot of work and change may take time. Thus it is unlikely that there will be an instantaneous widespread adoption of feminist funding policies and action among donors.⁸² More explicit strategies for funding feminist movements are needed from institutional donors generally. With regard to philanthropic actors, deep relationships with them are key for those advocating for more funds to reach feminist movements to make actual shifts happen. However, a number of barriers make this difficult, such as a widespread culture of secrecy and distrust among

77 Source: Donor survey: CMI! Baseline Study, 2021.

78 CMI! (2020). End Term Evaluation

79 AWID (2021). Where is the Money for Feminist Organising.

80 See for example, Weldon, L. and Htun, M. (2013) 'Feminist mobilisation and progressive policy change: why governments take action to combat violence against women.' Available here: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13552074.2013.802158>

81 Read more in '3.4.3. Challenges facing donors advocating for feminist movement resourcing'

82 Respondents to Donor Survey, CMI Baseline Study 2021.

private donors. Furthermore, “it’s a revolving door”, said one respondent, with people coming and leaving all the time. It is also often difficult to engage donors at the trustee level, especially in organisations where action is driven at the trustee level. Those participating in conversations around feminist funding generally tend to be staff with limited power in their organisations.

(iv) Participation and inclusion of WROs in donor decision-making

Responses from the survey yielded mixed results regarding the extent of WRO participation in donor decision-making. Chart 5 below provides an overview of WRO participation in decision-making based on the analysis of survey findings.

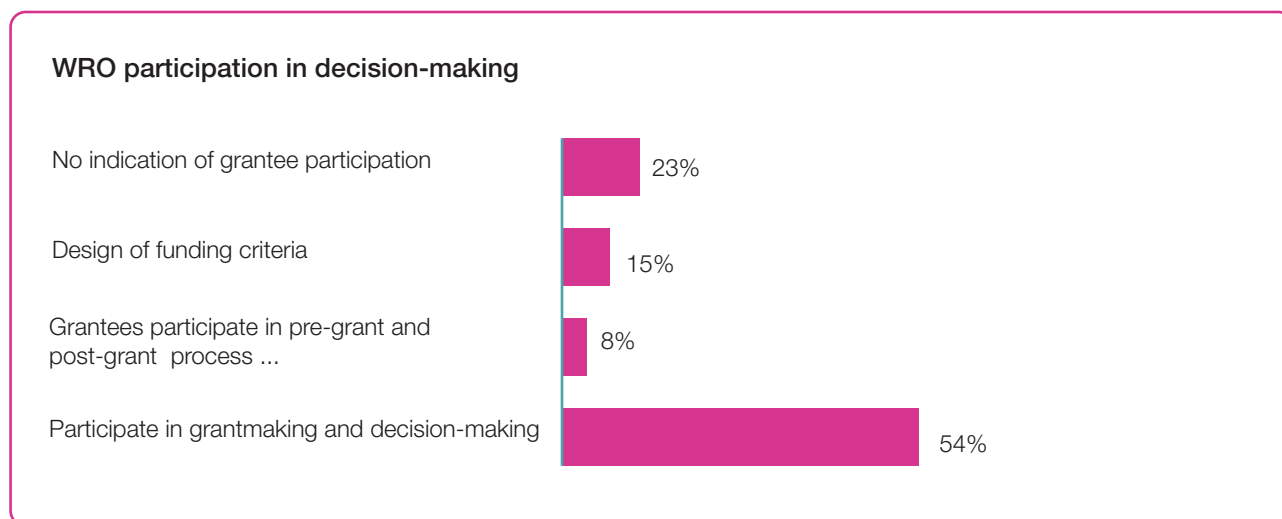


Chart 5: WRO Participation in Decision-making

Of these, only 54% indicated that they involve WROs in grant-making and organisation-wide decision-making processes currently undertaken by participating donor organisations. Twenty three percent (23%) of donors participating in the survey made no indication of grantee participation in their grant making and decision-making, although one of these commented that they do consult partner organisations, who inform their funding priorities. Eight percent (8%) of respondents indicated that grantees participate in pre-grant and post-grant processes, and 15% indicated that WROs participate in designing funding criteria.

Despite the above findings, the large majority of donors (67%) that participated in the survey, felt that they were very engaged with the work of understanding the needs of WROs, though one admitted that this unfortunately does not always translate to changes being made. At the same time, 44% of donor respondents believed their organisational policies to be very supportive of funding WROs, with 22% of donor respondents emphasising that funding WROs is not only included in their policies, but is at the very core of their mission. These same 22% indicated that they have diversity and inclusion policies that reference the inclusion of funding WROs, however, the policy is either very new, or work is needed to build the practical implementation of those policies.

(v) Space for advocacy to expand resourcing to structurally excluded groups

While donors advocating for the resourcing of feminist movements are observing worrying shifts in the donor landscape more broadly, spaces and opportunities for advocacy do exist. Strategies are also being undertaken across movements to address gaps and increase buy-in from donors to fund feminist movements. CMI! exists as a key actor in multi-stakeholder spaces to influence and enhance the credibility of collaboration efforts. From the few donors surveyed, there does seem to be a commitment to ensure that funding for organisations led by women and LGBTQ+ persons is directed to such organisations, however there is no data to affirm the extent to which such efforts have been successful.

The baseline study surfaced a reluctance on the part of government and philanthropic actors to place power in the hands of those they fund. The literature as well as CMI! track record underline the achievements of feminist resourcing advocacy in making the case for funding feminist movements.⁸³ The evidence is clearer than ever that feminist activism works⁸⁴ and the recognition that funding WROs is key for progressive change towards gender equality is increasing.⁸⁵ Moreover, the increasing backlash against WROs is becoming ever more visible, which motivates donors to prioritise responding to it.

Increased feminist resource advocacy is therefore needed to emphasise the accountability of the donor community to WROs and movements. This requires bringing together different stakeholders for knowledge-building and joint advocacy. Donors that currently support advocacy to increase support to feminist organisations are interested in partnering with WROs to create spaces for collaboration and coalition-building among donors. Creating coalitions is also considered a means of leveraging the power of donors' respective networks to convene different actors, and to channel funding in a collective manner. Coalitions like the Global Alliance for Sustainable Feminist Movements and Generation Equality Forum Action Coalition 6, which bring together different types of actors across the donor landscape, present opportunities to develop a shared purpose and a shared message, as well as to draw from and strengthen the already-existing feminist funding mechanisms available.

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

- It is important to note that the sample used for collecting the above data was small and not fully representative of the donor landscape that CMI! currently works within. The donors who said yes to the survey are most likely CMI! allies and this is likely to have created a positive outlook in relation to the donor landscape. The reality is that despite donor commitments to resource gender equality, less than one percent of all gender-focused aid is going directly to women's rights organisations and institutions. Between 2017 and 2018, women's rights organisations received only 0.13 percent out of the total ODA; and only 0.4 percent of all gender-focused aid.⁸⁶ At the same time, massive funding is being driven against the human rights of women and LGBTIQ people in the service of ultraconservative, fundamentalist, and patriarchal agendas.⁸⁷ Feminist movements, particularly those in the Global South, continue to operate on shoestring budgets. The median budget for LGBQ groups in 2017 was only \$11,713 USD. More than half (55.8%) of trans groups had annual budgets of less than \$10,000 USD.⁸⁸ In the case of sex workers' organising, 75% of sex workers' rights organisations surveyed had budgets of less than €100 000 per year, while 53% had organisational budgets of less than €50 000 per year, and 35% had less than €10 000.⁸⁹ Groups operating at multiple intersecting oppressions receive even less funding. The research forms the basis for a call to transform the funding ecosystem. For CMI! members, the call is for donors to fund, advocate, and push levers of change to shift power and resources to the movements at the forefront of defending and advancing rights and justice.
- In terms of CMI!'s track record in donor advocacy, the ETE showed that CMI!'s advocacy to ensure that Spotlight provides funding for WROs built on several channels, which strengthened the consortium's influence. CMI!'s approach to advocating in the funding landscape builds on the diversity of the consortium (bringing together organisations with

83 This point resonates with research undertaken by AWID and Mama Cash on effectively resourcing feminist movements. Read, 'Moving more money to the drivers of change' (2020). Available here: <https://www.awid.org/publications/how-funders-can-resource-feminist-movements-concrete-practices-move-more-money-drivers>

84 See, for example, Mama Cash (2020) 'Feminist Activism Works: A review of select literature on the impact of feminist activism in achieving women's rights.' Available here: https://www.mamacash.org/media/publications/feminist_activism_works_mama_cash.pdf

85 AWID (2020) 'How funders can resource feminist movements: concrete practices to Move More Money to the Drivers of Change.' Available here: <https://www.awid.org/publications/how-funders-can-resource-feminist-movements-concrete-practices-move-more-money-drivers>

86 AWID (2021). Where is the Money for Feminist Organising?

87 Between 2013 and 2017, the "anti-gender" movement received over \$3.7 billion USD in funding – more than triple the funding for LGBTIQ groups globally in those years. AWID (2021)

88 <https://www.transfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Funder-Briefing-The-State-of-Trans-Funding.pdf>

89 Mama Cash, Red Umbrella Fund, and Open Society Foundation. 2014. Funding for Sex Workers Rights.

different profiles; and their partners). Through this diversity, CMI! can bring diverse perspectives to debates on sustainable resourcing, acting as a connector between WROs and different types of donors.

- CMI! can continue being a critical voice within the donor landscape, not least because the Consortium includes engaged members from the global South that bring with them deep feminist analyses of different contexts. The Consortium's strength also lies in being a collaboration between women's funds and feminist organisations, and is thus able to speak truth at different tables. Two of the Consortium's members, AWID and Mama Cash, are also spearheading global analysis and knowledge building on sustainable resourcing of feminist movements, the publications of which are setting the standard for what funding vibrant and autonomous movements can look like. Interview participants felt that CMI! brings credibility to the spaces in which it chooses to associate.

Indicator 4.2 Changes in political and societal actors awareness and willingness to support women and girls' rights

BASELINE FINDINGS:

(i) Backlash and opposition to the human rights of women and girls have commonalities across countries

The main areas of opposition and backlash to the human rights of women and girls appear to be common across countries. They include the key areas of institutional and policy framework for gender equality, certain policy fields (such as education, sexual and reproductive health and rights, and preventing and combating violence against women), as well as the working environment/operating space for women's human rights NGOs.⁹⁰ Consequently, both the gender equality and women's human rights agenda and the main actors promoting this agenda have faced challenges. Despite commonalities, the penetration, intensity and effects of this backlash have varied among countries and areas. Generally speaking, backlash or opposition coexists also in contexts where there might be state support for gender equality and women's rights. This can be seen in countries or regional and global spaces where tremendous gains on women's rights have been achieved, and yet are seeing growing opposition and backlashes that specifically take on the language of human rights and gender equality. In these instances, such opposition and backlash works to hinder or disrupt any progress in the recognition of human rights.

(ii) Backlash and opposition in the form of rhetoric and discourse

In some instances, backlash and opposition appears in the form of rhetoric and discourse. This form of backlash is connected, to a significant degree, with intensifying campaigning against so-called "gender ideology". This backlash takes on the form of misinterpreting the word "gender" and creating the concept "gender ideology", with opposition to it framed against identity politics that identified with gender equality, same-sex marriage, some women's rights issues (such as sexual and reproductive rights), sex education, and challenging restrictive traditional gender roles. Some examples of this backlash include opposition to sex workers' issues in several of the women's rights forum over the last several years by actors claiming to be progressive or even feminist.⁹¹ The backlash can also take the form of co-optation of the content and structure of intersectional feminist concepts as a means to undermine human rights and co-opt human rights frameworks.⁹²

This backlash can also take the form of specific lobbying and advocacy carried out by anti-rights groups or corporations against the issues being advocated by WROs and WHRDs, at national, regional and global level. A recent example of this backlash is the opposition by corporations and philanthropic organisations against some of the macroeconomic issues being advocated for by WROs and WHRDs at the Generation Equality Forum.⁹³ Backlash has been of varying depth and has taken

90 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/604955/IPOL_STU\(2018\)604955_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2018/604955/IPOL_STU(2018)604955_EN.pdf)

91 Interview with CMI! Working Sex Worker Advocacy Working Group

92 AWID (2021). Rights at Risk Report

93 Interview with Kate Lapping and Emilia De Reyes, CMI Baseline Study 2021.

numerous forms in the countries concerned, such as smear campaigns, sexist hate speech, misogyny and online violence. The impact of this has been the maintenance of measures and initiatives that contribute to an unfavourable, or even hostile environment for feminist organising.

(iii) Backlash and/or opposition in concrete forms

As noted earlier in this report, anti-rights actors are increasingly coordinated and well funded at the global and regional levels.⁹⁴

Despite the fact that the right to defend rights, as well as the rights to protest, have been recognised under international law in a number of international and regional human rights instruments, WHRDs and organisations are increasingly being silenced, attacked, and punished. The reprisals against women and LGBTQI+ defenders take many forms: use of legislation to criminalise their work; intimidation; written or verbal threats; online and offline harassment; defamation campaigns; travel bans; restrictions on funding; arbitrary arrests; sexual violence; and even murder.⁹⁵ Gender-based and sexual violence, and threats to children and family, are also common gender-specific types of violence. An alarming escalation of reprisals against and intimidation of activists has been documented in recent years, and such incidents appear to have increased in severity. In all of the context dialogues, examples were shared of corporations supporting or at times collaborating with states and other social actors to perpetuate systemic persecution and violence against women and human rights defenders. Diagram 8 below enumerates concrete examples of backlash and opposition as shared by context dialogue participants during the baseline study.

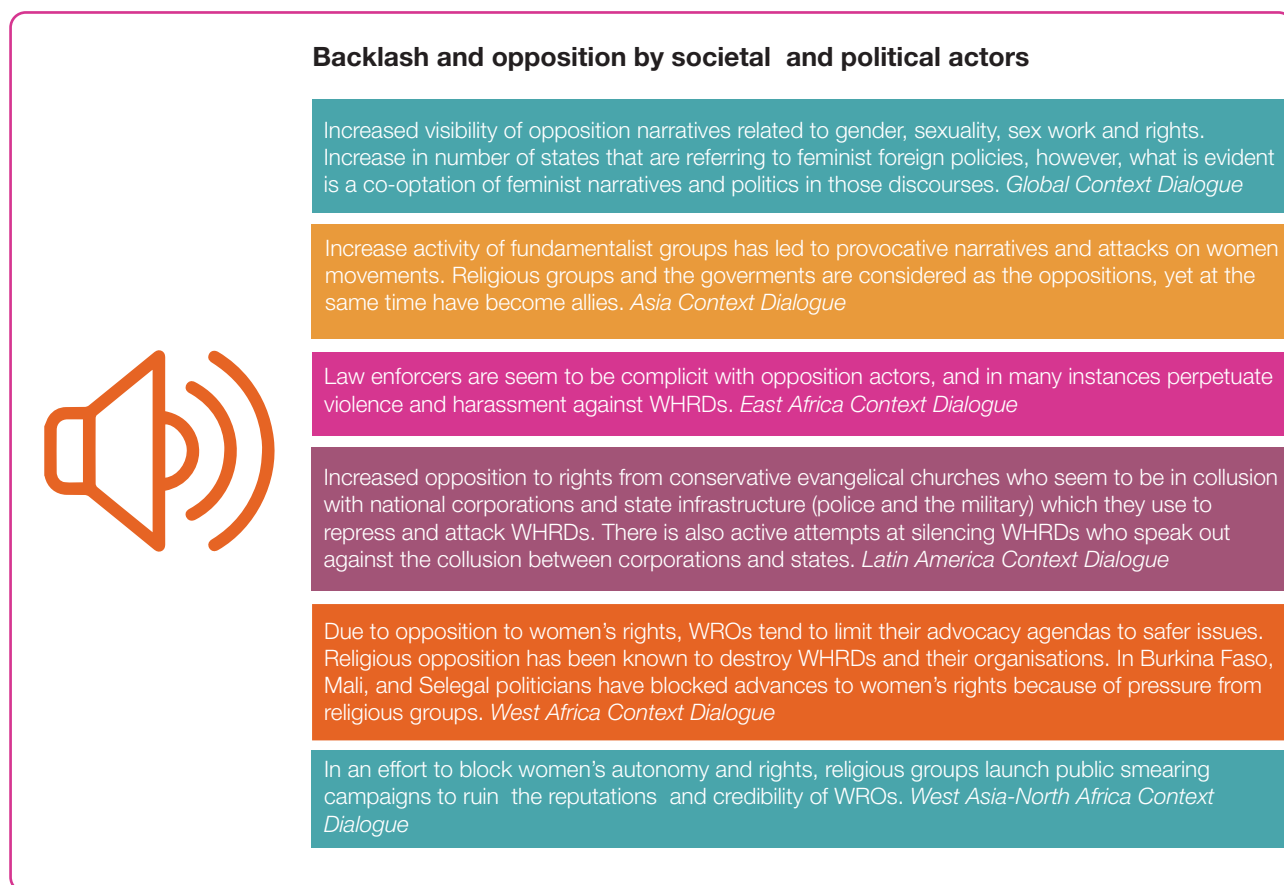


Diagram 8: Examples of backlash by political and societal actors shared by context dialogues' participants

94 AWID (2021). Rights at Risk Report

95 Ibid

(iv) Strategies for change

In the different context dialogues, participants shared concrete examples of the multiple and diverse ways in which they are advancing their social justice agendas. Examples included building coalitions with different social movements, documenting human rights violation cases and using regional and international human rights courts to seek accountability from governments when cases are not followed through at the national level. Additionally, across all regions, organisations and movements actively monitor new laws or proposals that are against a progressive feminist agenda and use alternative and progressive mass media communication to expose cases as well as to organise and resist violation of human rights. Other strategies include “infiltrating” public spaces by feminists becoming political leaders (case of Argentina), and mainstreaming the feminist discourse, as well as creation of think tanks or working groups on specific topics (for example, FGM in the North Africa and West Asia region). Some of these strategies are listed in Diagram 9 below.

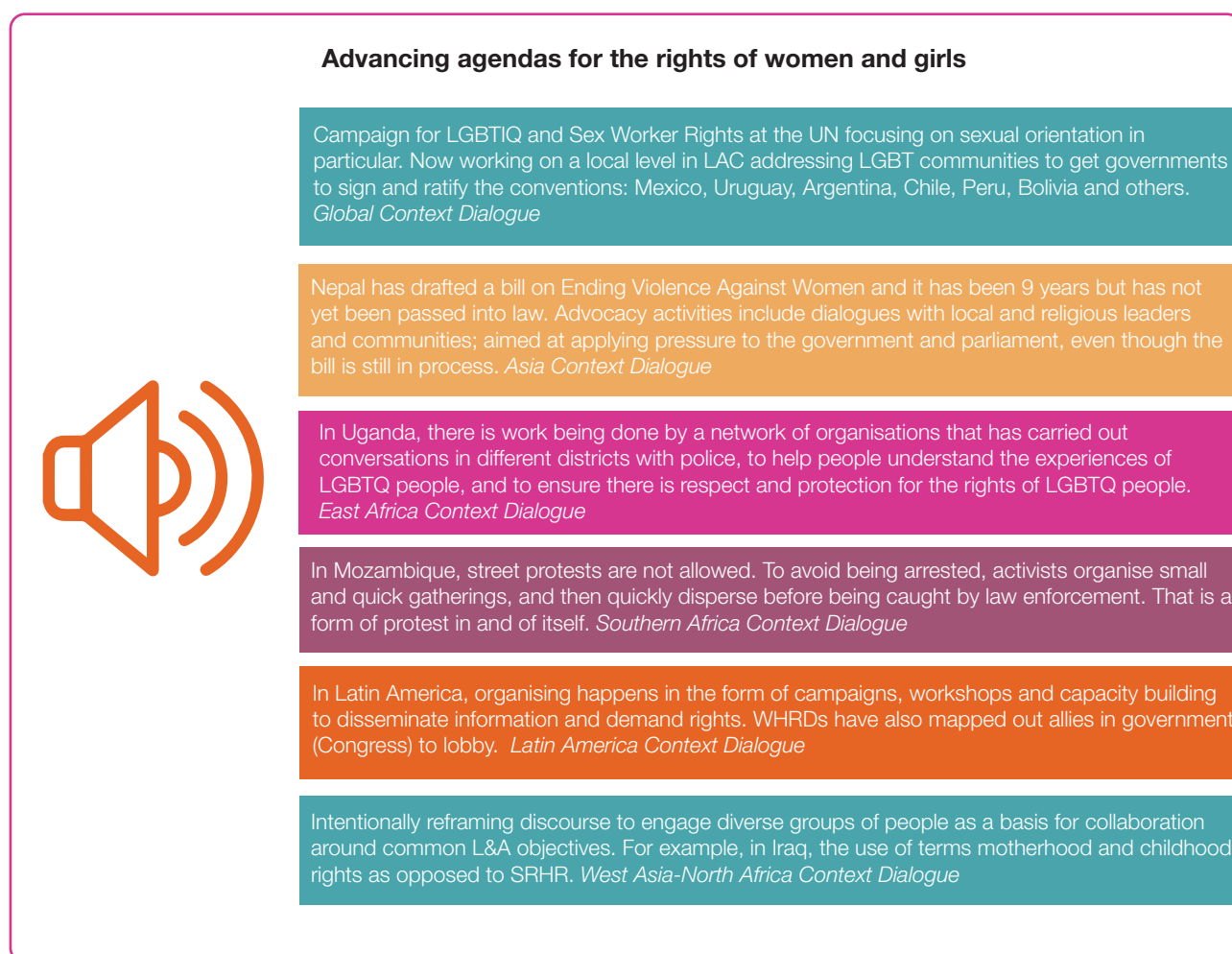


Diagram 9: Examples of strategies employed by WROs in addressing opposition and backlash

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

As this is a new outcome and indicator there is no distinct data set to draw on in terms of CMI! 1.0. However, the ETE and the data collected from the baseline does show that CMI! members and partners worked on this particular outcome (though not tracking it specifically) by filling knowledge gaps and developing alternative narratives to support feminist and social justice movements to advance change.

In terms of CMI! 2.0, this work can continue as CMI! tracks the specific strategies (and their outputs and outcomes) that increase awareness and willingness of political and societal actors to recognise and protect the rights of women and girls.

OUTCOME 5: DONORS, POLITICAL AND SOCIETAL ACTORS SUPPORT LAWS, POLICIES AND STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Indicator 5.1 # of Laws, policies and strategies blocked, adopted and improved

Donors and political actors have to take action for women's rights because it is their mandate and in some cases legal obligation.⁹⁶ For CMI! this particular indicator is a long term objective that is contributed to by previous indicators listed in this report.

BASELINE FINDING:

For CMI! members and partners it is important to ensure that donors, political actors and societal actors understand why they need to support the agendas for structurally excluded women and girls. Baseline participants felt that such support would be motivated by an understanding of the adverse impacts on the security and wellbeing of people in current contexts, if particular groups from civil society are not permitted to play a fuller role.

(i) Political actors are accountable for ensuring that the rights of structurally excluded groups are protected

For governments, this indicates that without civil society activism, bad policies may go unchecked, which fosters tolerance of impunity for violations against the rights of women and girls. Engaged and mobilised civil society allows for open civic space and accountability that involves different groups of people, and this in turn contributes to alternatives and potentially better policies. This links to the MFA framework on Strengthening Civil Society through the Power of Voice.

(ii) Support for civil society ensures that feminist economic agendas and propositions are supported

There is already a context of collusion between state and corporate sectors to the detriment of the people, with gender specific impacts (as is evident, for example, in CMI!'s most recent research on extractives). Hence, engaged civil society supports feminist economic agendas and propositions to make the economy work better for the public rather than private profits. Without the engagement of feminist movements, national governments may not take into account how economic decisions and approaches may affect structurally excluded groups in relation to basic services such as education, health, water and sanitation, housing, safety and justice.

(iii) Donor actions concretely advance agendas of structurally excluded groups

Donors have also made several efforts to monitor and combat attempts to shrink civic space. These include very welcome efforts to make funding for civil society more flexible, as well as important new provisions for emergency or legal assistance to organisations facing pressure or threats. They have also included support to civil society networks and associations to strengthen their response. These are important efforts, and they are helping many civil society actors respond to the situations they face. However, donors themselves can also use their power to push back against the closures of civic spaces - in particular where they have evidence where specific structurally excluded groups are under threat or attack.

⁹⁶ Act Alliance (2019). Development needs civil society. The implications of civic space for the Sustainable Development Goals. Synthesis report for ACT Alliance, April 2019

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS RELATED TO CMI!

This particular outcome and indicator is specific to CMI! 2.0. However, the available data reflects the successes of CMI! members and partners in ensuring that actions are taken to support the rights of women and girls. For CMI! 1.0, the data illustrates how bodies such as the UN and relevant regional policies recognise, intervene and/or launch statements regarding critical situations for activists at risk. The data available from 2016 to 2020 outlines CMI! achievements in this regard as per Table 11 below:

YEAR	2016–2017	2018	2019	2020
Number of instances that relevant bodies and policies recognise, intervene, and launch the realities of activists at risk	40	3	16	40

Table 11: CMI! 1.0 Data related to work in creating a favourable environment to advance the rights of women and girls

While the ETE and the data collected from the baseline does not provide extensive detail related to these numbers, it does illustrate that CMI! members and partners succeeded in making change through getting different actors to support their agendas for change. The framing of the indicator in CMI! 2.0 is around how political actors, societal actors and donors support laws, policies and strategies to promote the rights of women and girls.

In addition to work that is driven by partners, CMI! as a collective can also engage in collective initiatives to support and amplify the efforts of partners. This can be achieved by documenting and amplifying the ways in which different actors are taking action to counter the current anti-rights trends at the global, regional and national level. CMI! experiences around this particular area in the past include the work of the Sex Worker Advocacy Group and the work around Extractives. CMI! also has opportunities to profile the work that is happening in the different countries to donors and to communicate this across CMI! member platforms.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section provides some reflections from the team that conducted the baseline study, based on the analysis of the data collected and insights gained through the overall experience of conducting this study.

A. About the Theory of Change and alignment with programmatic interventions

- 1. Affirmation of ToC.** The baseline study affirmed the TOC articulated by CMI! in the programme proposal. Firstly, CMI!'s identification of primary partners as structurally excluded groups, and the emphasis on resourcing them, strengthening their capacity and supporting them to activate the power of their voice and influence reverberated throughout the baseline study.⁹⁷ The underlying premise of focusing on supporting self-led organising by structurally excluded groups is extensively affirmed by engaging primary actors in building a nuanced analysis of the contexts in which they operate. This would ensure that CMI! strategies are relevant and appropriate to the contexts of these WHRDs and WROs. CMI! has a rich history of working with structurally excluded groups in ways that recognise and visibilise their breadth of experiences and different forms of organising and movement building, which are often drowned out within the broader context of women's rights agenda setting and organising. CMI!'s intersectional approach is articulated in the vision of the consortium; it recognises the importance of building diverse alliances that are critical for advancing shared, nuanced collective agendas for social justice.
- 2. Evolution of ToC.** There is a clear evolution from CMI!'s first ToC under the *Dialogues and Dissent Programme* (2016-2020). In the first iteration, the emphasis on mobilising the organising capacities of primary partners was aimed at changing norms at various levels, as well as to advance advocacy efforts. In the current iteration, for 2021-2025, the focus is clearer (also affirmed by CMI!'s reading of the context) in identifying specific areas for capacity strengthening (security, L&A capacities and also strengthening alliances) as well as supporting expanding spaces for feminist demands. As such, CMI! has prioritised the need to review progress on shifting civic space for feminist demands, as well as to support collective attempts to support advocacy efforts related to donors, political and societal actors.
- 3. Resources are necessary to propel feminist organising.** CMI! members are well aware that resources are necessary to propel feminist movements to claim rights, justice and dignity. Hence, the centering of resourcing of WROs and the recognition of advocacy for better resources for feminist organising. This is also why CMI! wants to learn about the different ways that groups at various levels are using those resources to realise rights. For CMI! this information is key to building the narrative of how feminist organising is evolving, what the challenges are, and the role of resources in ensuring vibrancy of movements. This will assist the advocacy agenda for increasing and expanding resourcing for feminist organising.
- 4. Linkages and alliances:** Through the different components of work, as affirmed in the baseline study, CMI! can play a critical role in building bridges, and initiating and supporting strengthened organising for effective mobilisation for WROs and WHRDs. This will allow different types of alliances (from global to local and from local to global) to advance their agendas at all levels. In other words, it would enable WHRDs and WROs to sustain pressure and respond agilely to political opportunities and crises. Furthermore, in global advocacy spaces, CMI! is

⁹⁷ See Womankind (2020). Standing with changemakers: lessons from supporting women's movements and AWID (2021). Where is the money for feminist organizing?

able to push forward alternative narratives informed by the needs identified by local partners. The ToC proposed by CMI! members focus on nodes in the network that matter and that can have large multiplier effects to achieving the desired outcomes. This is illustrated through identifying the range of actors (societal, political and donors) to whom the different strategies of CMI! apply.

- 5. Forefronting care and security as an institutional strategy:** In the 2016-2020 phase, CMI! had already emphasised care and security as a strategic aspect of movement building. This emphasis is important as it is a reflection of where feminist movements are right now. This is affirmed in the current ToC, as well as through the baseline findings. Thus far, influenced by neoliberal framings of care,⁹⁸ there has been incredible emphasis on individuals or organisations to take responsibility for resilience, sustainability and their wellbeing. In the context analysis of the baseline, COVID-19 and the hostile organising environment have impacted on the wellbeing and security of actors, so this programmatic strategy is integral to the successful realisation of the CMI! goals.
- 6. ToC Central Modalities.** The ToC highlights the central modalities of CMI! 2.0 in the unpacking of the overall ToC (see Chapter 4) and it unpacks the different strategies (see Chapter 5) that will be applied through CMI! interventions. This approach underlines the causal links (also affirmed by the current strengths of consortium members and the history of CMI! work to date) by identifying relevant programmatic contexts and linking the postulated mechanisms of action to the 7 intended outcomes. None of the strategies outlined by CMI! for the new proposal are new, but rather they build on the strengths of CMI! members and also an existing track record of effective implementation of such strategies.

B. CMI! Partners

- 1. Expanding partner base.** As noted in the limitations, the baseline study is limited to the participants in the various context dialogues, surveys and interviews. Within the next 5 years, there is an opportunity to enhance visibility and initiate partnerships in countries where CMI! currently does not have partnerships. This is critical as it would expand the data set, but also increase the political momentum and impact of CMI!'s work beyond existing partners.

C. Programmatic recommendations

Under each of the indicators in the baseline results, there are some recommendations, additionally:

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, RESILIENT AND COORDINATED

Indicator 1.1 : # of WHRDs who receive support from CMI! members

Indicator 1.2 : # of WROs who receive support from CMI! members

- The baseline study affirmed CMI!'s supposition that resourcing WROs and movements remains critical to advancing CMI!'s vision. We recommend that CMI! continue with this strategy and to strengthen it where possible.

⁹⁸ Neoliberal framing of care tries to cast care as an individual choice and responsibility, often also minimises very real negative experiences of poverty and inequality, as well as ignoring the unequal rights and power relationships behind these experiences. It ignores the role of capitalism in relation to job security, material wealth, social status, personal relationships or moral worth. Within this frame, care is a subordinated, secondary value. Wilson et al (2021). Politics of Wellbeing.

Indicator 1.3: # of WHRDs with increased capacities (and types of L&A capacities increased)

Indicator 1.4: # of WWROs with increased capacities (and types of L&A capacities increased)

- Based on the baseline data, we recommend that CMI! can continue to support increasing L&A capacities through catalysing power and strengthening collective capacities. *Catalysing power* of CMI! partners (individually and collectively) would be through enhancing capabilities to challenge the resulting inequalities. Catalysing power would include strengthening all the different forms of L&A capacities listed by partners during the baseline study as enumerated above. *Strengthening of collective capacities* of WROs to launch efforts aimed at agenda setting and organising to challenge unjust realities at the national, regional and global level.

Indicator 1.5: # of Strengthened or new alliances (type of strengthened or new alliances)

- In this area, CMI! should give priority to addressing the challenges they experience in building and sustaining alliances, such as marginalisation of particular agendas of structurally excluded groups, lack of inclusivity in feminist spaces, isolation and lack of solidarity. Informed by accounts of exclusion of structurally excluded groups within women's rights spaces, CMI! can support movement and alliance building. Given CMI!'s experience on the movable middle (Sex Worker Advocacy Group), this is an opportunity for CMI! to consider strategies that support, challenge and build knowledge as a means to advance the agendas and inclusion of structurally excluded groups. The breadth of CMI!'s partner network allows for strengthening connections between CMI! partners to further support alliance-building.
- We also recommend that CMI! continue to support internal movement strengthening work (including care, support and reflection spaces). There was deep appreciation expressed for the spaces created by the context dialogues. The spaces were very conscious of power, inclusivity and care. There is an opportunity for CMI! to build on the dialogues by feeding back the results from the Baseline Study, and through this deepening connections with partners and creating spaces for exchanging knowledge, strategies and experiences. This would have the effect of supporting movement strengthening, and it is something unique that CMI! could offer given the track record in this area of the consortium.

Indicator 1.5: # of WHRDs with strengthened or new holistic security approaches

Indicator 1.6: # of WROs with strengthened or new holistic security approaches

- As was affirmed throughout the baseline study, holistic security and care is an important aspect of support to partners. CMI! has already prioritised this by assigning it a stand-alone indicator. We recommended that particular emphasis be placed on supporting some of the structural and organisational mechanisms (infrastructure) such as policies, processes and strategies to support the holistic security and care work at the individual and collective level. This would allow for ways to address the fatigue within movements through self/collective care practices and systems that goes beyond the neoliberal models of care into inter-generational practices of care, and feminist ways of self/collective care practices.

OUTCOME 2: VIBRANT (STRONG) AND AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENTS

Indicator 2.1: WROs report that their movements are strong and autonomous

Since this is a new indicator, we recommend that it is important for CMI! to monitor this particular indicator, specifically in relation to how WROs frame and report on the strength and vibrancy of their organisations and movements. The baseline study provides some concrete suggestions to assist partners over time to report on and view how their movements are doing. This data shared by partners would then inform priorities for CMI!'s movement building. As noted in the baseline findings, CMI! could also provide specific support in strengthening organising tactics (online and offline), supporting coalition building, facilitating learning and risk mitigation.

OUTCOME 3: SPACE FOR FEMINIST DEMANDS AND INFLUENCE IS SUSTAINED AND INCREASED

Indicator 3.1: WHRDs and WROs create and defend spaces

- The quantitative indicator for this outcome refers to the number of times space was created or defended, while the qualitative indicator refers to the types of spaces. To facilitate reflection and learning, it would be important for CMI! to reflect on which of those strategies were successful and which were not.
- We recommend that CMI! explore what would be the particular value add of CMI! as a collective on this area of work, as this is the most consistent trend that emerged at the regional and global level. CMI! can consider how to advance the work that is happening at the global level, and how to connect it to local efforts. For example, CMI! can engage in knowledge building around broadening the narrative on what is at stake in defending and reclaiming civic space. CMI! can contribute to expanding the narratives around shrinking civic space by probing deeper into how civic space is 'changing'. Lastly, CMI! collective strategies could support partners to go into higher gear in terms of strategic responses to 'changing' civic space, and to the higher stakes at hand related to democratic consolidation versus authoritarian resurgence.

OUTCOME 4: DONORS, POLITICAL AND SOCIETAL ACTORS ARE AWARE, WILLING AND EQUIPPED TO SUPPORT THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Indicator 4.1: Changes observed in donor awareness and willingness to support the rights of women and girls

- CMI!'s approach to advocating in the funding landscape builds on the diversity of the consortium's composition (bringing together organisations with different profiles; and their partners). CMI! can leverage this diversity to bring together diverse perspectives to debates on sustainable resourcing, acting as a connector between WROs and different types of donors. Building on existing experience, CMI! can continue being a critical voice in the donor landscape, not least because the consortium includes engaged members from the global South that bring with them deep feminist analysis of different contexts.

Indicator 4.1: Changes observed in donor awareness and willingness to support the rights of women and girls

- As this is a new outcome and indicator there is no distinct data set to draw on in terms of CMI! 1.0. For CMI! 2.0, we recommend that CMI! closely track the specific strategies (and their outputs and outcomes) that increase the awareness and willingness of political and societal actors to recognise and protect the rights of women and girls. This would make the case for these strategies based on empirical data.

OUTCOME 5: DONORS, POLITICAL ACTORS AND SOCIETAL ACTORS SUPPORT LAWS, POLICIES AND STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Indicator 4.1: Changes observed in donor awareness and willingness to support the rights of women and girls

- In addition to work that is driven by partners, CMI! as a collective has to support and amplify the L&A efforts of partners. This can be achieved by documenting and amplifying the ways in which different actors are taking action to counter the current anti-rights trends at the global, regional and national level. CMI! experiences around this particular area in the past include the work of the Sex Worker Advocacy Group and the work around Extractives. We recommend that CMI! prioritise profiling the work of partners in different countries to donors and other actors across CMI! member platforms.
- During the context dialogues specific mention was made for CMI! to initiate work around corporate accountability, given the gender-specific impacts of corporate human rights abuses, particularly in the cases of women workers. In discussion around land grabbing and extractives in particular, the issue of accountability of private sector actors surfaced in each of the regional dialogues. In particular, mention was made of linking work at the regional and global level to support such accountability not only to governments but to donors as well. We recommend that CMI! consider this as a possible area where CMI! can add value to support the organising of partners at the local, national and even regional level.
- Resourcing of structurally excluded WHRDs and WROs emerged in multiple discussions around trends as well as in the discussions on the operating contexts of movements. CMI! is already engaged in multiple spaces (including GEF) to advance an agenda for increased and improved funding for WROs and WHRDs. Based on the findings of the baseline study, CMI! should consider sharing findings related to the lack of funding to structurally excluded groups with donors and other WROs; and also to involve these groups in advocacy at the national and regional levels.

D. Managing risks

1. Even though many more countries have rolled out vaccinations, many partner organisations are still hugely impacted by COVID-19. Many are still recovering from the economic shocks thereof, as well as social and health impacts. This has probable implications for implementation, since partners may need more time and support before they are able to fully push forward with the work they have planned. CMI! financial support and also emphasis on holistic security and care will be very important as different partners in different contexts may need to recalibrate. This is likely to impact on the achievement of some of the indicators and outcomes.
2. CMI!'s choice of focus countries is already rooted in an awareness that many of them are in fragile contexts, with high levels of violence. In countries where CMI! does not yet have partners, or has only one or two, supporting those WROs

through alliance-building (in addition to movement building support), might be challenging. It will be important for CMI! to map out those countries and develop a strategy to mitigate against risks for partners (who may be isolated) on the ground or in some cases against security risks to those who are targeted due to the volatility in their context.

3. Increased surveillance is dangerous as it can lead to outing someone's sexual and/or gender identity, given that government and other actors can access information very easily. This is linked to safety, and security remains a concern as affirmed in the proposal and over the course of the baseline study. It is important for CMI! to map those instances and strategies as a means to make sense of the picture as it is shifting.
4. Lack of access to sustainable resourcing for partners that do not have multiple sources of funding. The dialogues and baseline information illustrate the disparities in funding available to primary actors. Groups that are smaller, less visible and have difficulties with institutional arrangements in their local contexts are particularly at risk. If groups are only reliant on CMI! funding, and they have additional pressures that require resources, it may impact on some of the more strategic aspects of their work. For CMI!, supporting structurally excluded groups that may have to fly under the radar becomes an important part of the *Money strategy*. Part of CMI!'s approach to providing funding must be to map out countries where it is most difficult for structurally excluded groups to organise, and to potentially find innovative ways of supporting their organising in ways that is meaningful to them, to build and strengthen groups in light of the challenges they face. There is also space for CMI! to support existing groups with alternative additional sources of funding.
5. In cases where funding is provided to WHRDs, in many contexts the economic insecurity, loss of income, and basic needs that are hard to meet impact on activists' ability to participate and engage in local initiatives. This might have implications for some of the work of CMI!
6. Burnout and fatigue among CMI! partners. Burnout and safety risks are often lumped together. As expressed during the baseline study, WROs and WHRDS face multiple challenges and burdens that affect their organising and their personal lives. This has led to a sense of exhaustion, a sense of frustration and even despair as these actors have struggled during the pandemic to meet their basic and health needs (of themselves and their families). CMI!'s role in addressing this could be to carry out periodic assessments among partners to assess what prevention measures can be adopted. Partners can also be supported to adopt strategies to deal with individual, collective and institutional care.

E. Reimagining change

Throughout the study, there were different ways that participants thought about change. There were challenges to defining progress; most felt that progress indicators should include achieving particular objectives, as well as limiting damage, and maintaining existing rights. Given the contexts of opposition to and co-optation of feminist intersectional agendas, holding onto demands for human rights remains critical.

As CMI! considers how to measure achievements on the programmatic agenda for the grant period 2021 to 2025, it is important to have multiple ways of recognising, understanding and documenting progress.

Given the context of uncertainty and change, it is important for WHRDs, WROs and movements to be part of the process of telling those stories of change. Particular attention should be paid to learning about the ways in which WROs and movements adapt and find allies in unusual ways or places as a strategy to advance their agendas. As CMI! continues to implement and learn about what is changing in the world, why, and for whom, it is important to share the successes and the failures. For example, those instances where WROs and movements had to abandon particular strategies in certain spaces, and why. This is important, since the work of CMI! provides vital lessons about the role of feminist movements in advancing change in their respective contexts.

VIII. ANNEXURES

A. CMI! Results Framework

This annex provides several inputs for contributing to a shared understanding of the Results Framework indicators, with the purpose of facilitating the data collection process and the interpretation of the results. This section is divided into three sections:

1. INDICATORS DEFINITIONS

This section includes a detailed revision of the results framework indicators, suggesting a set of definitions for the key concepts used in those indicators. Most of these definitions were extracted from CMI!'s Programme Proposal. However, there are some concepts that were not explicitly defined in the Program document. In those cases, a preliminary definition is proposed.

2. INDICATORS OPERATIONALISATION

This section presents one table per indicator, where detailed information about the indicator's technical aspects and variables are unpacked. This information will be instrumental in improving the precision and accuracy of the (qualitative and quantitative) measurement of each indicator for the M&E system and evaluation purposes.

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT

Indicator	1.1 # of WHRDs who receive financial support from CMI! members
Description	# of WHRDs who receive financial support from CMI! members
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	5.2.1 WR &GE
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money (Providing core, rapid response funding to WHRD)
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WROs and movements
Units of Measurement	Number of WHRDs supported
Qualitative Measurement	Type of support given to WHRDs
Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 – 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports from CMI! members (partners)
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.1

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	5	5	5	5	5
Asia	0	5	5	5	5	5
Europe / Global	0	5	5	5	5	5
Latin- America	0	5	5	5	5	5
MENA	0	5	5	5	5	5
Total	0	25	25	25	25	25

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT.

Indicator	1.2
Description	# of WROs who receive support from CMI! members
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	5.2.1 WR &GE
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money (Providing core, rapid response funding to WROs)
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WROs and movements
Units of Measurement	Number of WROs supported
Qualitative Measurement	Type of support given to WROs
Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 – 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports from CMI! members
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.2

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	30	30	30	30	30
Asia	0	30	30	30	30	30
Global (including Europe)	0	20	20	20	20	20
Latin-America	0	30	30	30	30	30
MENA	0	30	30	30	30	30
Total	0	140	140	140	140	140

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT.

Indicator	1.3
Description	# of WHRDs with increased L&A capacities
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	SCS5: # of CSOs with increased L&A capacities
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money and Movements
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WHRDs and WROs and movements
Units of Measurement	Number of WHRDs supported
Qualitative Measurement	Types of capacity built to WHRDs could include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminist leadership • Analysis skills • Network and alliance building • Constituency building • L&A Tactics/strategies
Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 - 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports from CMI! members
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.3

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	110	110	110	110	110
Asia	0	110	110	110	110	110
Global (including Europe)	0	60	60	60	60	60
Latin- America	0	110	110	110	110	110
MENA	0	110	110	110	110	110
Total	0	500	500	500	500	500

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT.

Indicator	1.4
Description	# of WHRDs with increased L&A capacities
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	SCS5: # of CSOs with increased L&A capacities
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money and Movements
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WHRDs and WROs and movements
Units of Measurement	Number of WHRDs supported
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Types of capacity built to WHRDs could include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminist leadership • Analysis skills • Network and alliance building • Constituency building • L&A Tactics/strategies <p>Analysis of types of capacities built by exploring, for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are these capacities specific to the needs of the partners? <p>What approaches worked and what didn't work?</p>

Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 – 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports by CMI! members
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.4

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	10	10	10	10	10
Asia	0	10	10	10	10	10
Global (including Europe)	0	4	4	4	4	4
Latin- America	0	10	10	10	10	10
MENA	0	10	10	10	10	10
Total	0	45	45	45	45	45

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT.

Indicator	1.5
Description	# of strengthened and/or new alliances
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	5.2.1 WR &GE
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money and Movements
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WHRDs and WROs and movements

Units of Measurement	Number of new and/or strengthened alliances
Qualitative Measurement	Reports on strengthened alliances including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Details of alliances (diverse) • Inclusion of structurally excluded women and girls in alliance agendas • Strategies of engagement within alliances • How the engagement in alliances contributes to advancing agendas for change
Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 – 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports from CMI! members
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.5

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	6	6	6	6	6
Asia	0	6	6	6	6	6
Global (including Europe)	0	1	1	1	1	1
Latin- America	0	6	6	6	6	6
MENA	0	6	6	6	6	6
Total	0	25	25	25	25	25

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT.

Indicator	1.6
Description	# of WHRDs with new or strengthened holistic security approaches
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	N/A
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money and Movements
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WHRDs and WROs and movements
Units of Measurement	Number of holistic security approaches supported
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Type of holistic security approaches supported includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-care strategies, emotional security and collective care strategies • Security systems/processes in place • Implementation of physical, emotional, psychological and/ or digital security planning, designing and/or adapting appropriate security arrangements <p>Analysis of holistic security by WHRDs, by exploring, for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do these approaches support resourced, coordinated and resilient movements?
Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 - 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports by CMI! members
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.6

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	10	10	10	10	10
Asia	0	10	10	10	10	10
Global (including Europe)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Latin- America	0	10	10	10	10	10
MENA	0	10	10	10	10	10
Total	0	40	40	40	40	40

OUTPUT 1: WHRDS AND WROS ARE RESOURCED, COORDINATED AND RESILIENT.

Indicator	1.7
Description	# of WROs with new or strengthened holistic security approaches
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	N/A
Indicator level	Output
Parent strategy	Money and Movements
Parent Output	Resourced, coordinated and resilient WROs and movements
Units of Measurement	Number of holistic security approaches supported for WROs
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Type of holistic security approaches supported includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-care strategies, emotional security and collective care strategies • Security systems/processes in place • Implementation of physical, emotional, psychological and/or digital security planning, designing and/or adapting appropriate security arrangements <p>Analysis of holistic security by WROs, by exploring, for example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do these approaches support resourced, coordinated and resilient movements?

Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 - 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports by CMI! Members Stories of Change
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 1.7

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	25	25	25	25	25
Asia	0	25	25	25	25	25
Global (including Europe)	0	5	5	5	5	5
Latin- America	0	25	25	25	25	25
MENA	0	25	25	25	25	25
Total	0	105	105	105	105	105

OUTCOME 2: STRONG AND AUTONOMOUS MOVEMENTS

Indicator	2.1
Description	# of times WHRDs and WROs (including CMI members) defend and create spaces
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	N/A
Indicator level	Outcome
Parent strategy	Movements and Making Change
Parent Outcome	Strong and autonomous movements

Units of Measurement	Number reports from WHRDs and WROs that their movements are strong and autonomous
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Type of indicators of strong (vibrant) movements include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fundraising strategies and results • Organisational development and strategic planning • Monitoring and evaluation • Constituency engagement and results • Research and analysis • Financial systems • Communications strategies and outcomes • Leadership development <p>Additional analysis of the perceptions of WROs of how the strength of their movements has improved as a result of CMI! and how this impacts the sustainability of agendas for advancing social justice.</p>
Expected tendency	Stable or Ascending
Baseline value	Qualitative
Year	2021 - 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports by CMI! members Reflective Conversations (Interviews), Stories of Change
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

OUTCOME 3: SPACE FOR FEMINIST DEMANDS AND INFLUENCE SUSTAINED AND INCREASED

Indicator	3.1
Description	# of times WHRDS** AND WROS*** (including CMI members) defend and create spaces. ⁹⁹
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	SCS3 # of times that CSOs succeed in creating space for CSO demands and positions through agenda setting, influencing the debate, and/or creating space to engage
Indicator level	Outcome
Parent strategy	Movements and Making Change
Parent Outcome	Space for feminist demands and influence sustained and increased

99 For CMI! "women and girls" refers to women and girls as well as non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans and intersex people. ** WHRDs for CMI! refers to Human Rights Defenders that are women, girls, and non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans and intersex people. *** WROs for CMI! refers to Rights Groups and Organisations led by and for women, girls, and non-binary, gender non-conforming, trans and intersex people.

Units of Measurement	Number of spaces defended or created
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Reports that list the type of spaces created and defended. As well as analysis related to the following:</p> <p>Creating, maintaining and expanding space</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detail how actions taken by WHRDs and WROs changes decision-making processes and policy discussions of targeted government, private sector and societal actors <p>Influencing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain how and what strategies introduced by WHRDs and WROs are taken up by targeted actors, for instance by the media, in policy documents, and in official speeches. <p>Agenda setting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explaining how and what issues of WHRDs and WROs reach the agendas of donors, government, private sector and societal actors
Expected tendency	Stable or Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 - 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports by CMI! members Reflective Conversations (Interviews), Stories of Change
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 3.1

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	8	8	8	8	8
Asia	0	8	8	8	8	8
Global (including Europe)	0	2	2	2	2	2
Latin- America	0	8	8	8	8	8
MENA	0	8	8	8	8	8
Total	0	26	26	26	26	26

OUTCOME 4: DONORS, POLITICAL ACTORS AND SOCIETAL ACTORS ARE AWARE, WILLING AND EQUIPPED TO SUPPORT THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS¹⁰⁰

Indicator	4.1
Description	Changes observed in donor awareness and willingness to support rights of women and girls.
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	Link to MFA Basket Indicator 2.3
Indicator level	Outcome
Parent strategy (ies)	Making Change
Parent Outcome	Political actors, societal actors and donors are aware, willing and equipped to support the rights of women and girls
Units of Measurement	Qualitative feedback from partners
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Reports and analysis to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shifts in awareness, norms and attitudes • Explaining the strategies used (successful and unsuccessful) to achieve change • Describing the progress made
Expected tendency	Stable or Ascending shifts in awareness and capacities
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 - 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	<p>Reports from CMI! Members</p> <p>Reflective Conversations (Interviews), Stories of Change</p> <p>Survey of donors (midline and endline)</p>
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

¹⁰⁰ The indicators for this outcome has been split into donors (4.1) and political actors and societal actors (4.2) in a departure from the original results framework.

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 4.1

In the table below, where percentages are used, this refers to the percentage of CMI! partners that report improvement in their relationship with donors. In the qualitative aspects of their reporting they are able to provide examples of this.

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%
Asia	0	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%
Global (including Europe)	0	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Latin- America	0	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%
MENA	0	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%

Indicator	4.2
Description	Changes observed in political and societal actors' awareness and willingness to support women and girls' rights.
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	Link to MFA Basket Indicator 2.3
Indicator level	Outcome
Parent strategy (ies)	Making Change
Parent Outcome	Political actors and societal actors are aware, willing and equipped to support the rights of women and girls
Units of Measurement	Qualitative feedback from partners
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Reports and analysis to include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shifts in awareness, norms and attitudes • Explaining the strategies used (successful and unsuccessful) to achieve change • Describing the progress made
Expected tendency	Stable or Ascending shifts in awareness and capacities
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 - 2025

Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reports from CMI! Members Reflective Conversations (Interviews), Stories of Change
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Annually, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 4.1

In the table below, where percentages are used, this refers to the percentage of CMI! partners that report improvement in their relationship with donors. In the qualitative aspects of their reporting they are able to provide examples of this.

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
Africa	0	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%
Asia	0	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%
Global (including Europe)	0	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Latin- America	0	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%
MENA	0	30%	30%	30%	30%	30%

POLITICAL ACTORS, SOCIETAL ACTORS AND DONORS SUPPORT LAWS, POLICIES AND STRATEGIES PROMOTING WOMEN AND GIRLS' RIGHTS

Indicator	5.1
Description	# of actions taken by donors, political and societal actors to promote the rights of women and girls
MFA Indicator / Alignment with the MFA basket indicators	SCS3 # of times that CSOs succeed in creating space for CSO demands and positions through agenda setting, influencing the debate, and/or creating space to engage
Indicator level	Outcome
Parent strategy (ies)	<p>Making Change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> L&A for law and policy reform (dialogues, advocacy and other campaigns) L&A for social norms change (participating in agenda-setting, public discourse and decision-making)

Parent Outcome	Donors, political and societal actors take action to support the rights of women and girls
Units of Measurement	Number of laws, policies, resolution, norms and practices blocked or approved
Qualitative Measurement	<p>Reports that include (but are not limited to):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achievements in advancing new policies, laws or norms (by donors, political, societal actors) in relation to women's and girls' rights. • Successful passing of a proposal for improvement of existing policy, law or norm (for donors, political or societal actors). Expanded and more nuanced understanding of gender • Successful blocking of a policy, law or norm (for donors, political or societal actors) that would have negatively impacted on the rights of women and girls. <p>Analysis of this indicator could include process, strategies and progress towards achieving outcomes as shared by partners.</p>
Expected tendency	Ascending
Baseline value	0
Year	2021 – 2025
Period	5 years
Means of verification	Reflective Conversations (Interviews), Stories of Change
Measurement frequency	Baseline, Midline and Endline

CMI! 2.0 REGIONAL TARGETS FOR INDICATOR 5.1

REGIONS	2020 (BASELINE)	MID-LINE	ENDLINE
Africa	0	3	3
Asia	0	3	3
Global (including Europe)	0	1	1
Latin- America	0	3	3
MENA	0	3	3
Total	0	10	10

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C. International and national contexts

Please find a detailed context analysis drawn from desktop review and dialogues [here](#).

D. Survey: Mapping the landscape of funding for feminist movements

A PDF of the survey questions can be found [here](#).

A spreadsheet of the survey results can be found [here](#).

E. Survey: Engagement of political and societal actors with feminist movements

A PDF of the survey questions can be found [here](#).

A spreadsheet of the survey results can be found [here](#).

F. Bios of the Feminist Collective Team

Shamillah Wilson is an experienced feminist process facilitator, researcher, feminist coach and consultant. Her experience spans the areas of human rights, youth development and movement building. Her work has focused on training, facilitation, content development, organisational development and research. Shamillah has worked with groups at the local, national, regional and global levels. She is skilled at effectively facilitating difficult conversations and also project management. Shamillah is based in South Africa.

Laura Villa Torres, originally from Mexico City, has been living in Chapel Hill, North Carolina for the last 14 years. She has a bachelor's degree in Sociology from Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana Xochimilco, a Masters in Science in Public Health, and a Ph.D. in Health Behaviour from UNC Gillings School of Global Public Health. She is an expert educator and qualitative researcher. Her areas of activism and research include sexual and reproductive health and rights, migration, and health equity.

Diyana Yahaya is a feminist activist, trainer, researcher, advocate and mobilizer. She has worked for more than a decade at national, regional and global levels to undertake research, carry out advocacy on laws and policies, build capacity and strengthen movements to understand, challenge and develop alternatives to the traditional model of economic development and for human rights. Diyana is based in Malaysia.

Christy Alves Nascimento is a feminist researcher, writer and mover with roots in local student activism. Politically, her analyses of international and local contexts are informed by an intersectional feminist lens and ethics. Practically, her work is situated in collaborations dismantling patriarchal systems and manifesting embodied liberation and agency. Key skills include research, data analysis and writing, and designing methodologies for inclusive participation and facilitation in multi-stakeholder engagement spaces. Christy is based in Brazil and South Africa.

