

OXFAM AMERICA
RESEARCH BACKGROUNDER

Gender and Social Accountability

Ensuring women's inclusion
in citizen-led accountability
programming relating to
extractive industries

Sarah Bradshaw with Brian Linneker and Lisa Overton



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OXFAM AMERICA'S RESEARCH BACKGROUNDEERS

Series editor: Kimberly Pfeifer

Oxfam America's Research Backgrounders are designed to inform and foster discussion about topics critical to poverty reduction. The series explores a range of issues on which Oxfam America works—all within the broader context of international development and humanitarian relief. The series was designed to share Oxfam America's rich research with a wide audience in hopes of fostering thoughtful debate and discussion. All Backgrounders are available as downloadable PDFs on our website, oxfamamerica.org/research, and may be distributed and cited with proper attribution (please see following page).

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For a full list of available Backgrounders, please see the "Research Backgrounders Series Listing" section of this report.

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BACKGROUND TO THE PAPER

For nearly 20 years Oxfam has worked to right one of the world's biggest wrongs: countries that are rich in natural resources are often poor and suffer from high rates of inequality, corruption, human rights abuses, and environmental degradation. The tremendous wealth generated by the extraction of gold, diamonds, copper, oil, and other natural resources should help lift people out of poverty. But the revenue is often lost to corruption, tax evasion, and waste.

As a cornerstone of this work, Oxfam has long argued that the impacts of mining, oil, and gas projects on local communities are 'gendered' in that they affect women and men differently. There is gender bias in the distribution of the risks and benefits of EI projects, where men accrue benefits in the form of employment and compensation, and women disproportionately shoulder the socio-environmental costs. Driving this bias is structural gender inequality that continues to undermine women's rights and the potential of the extractives sector to contribute to sustainable development.

Oxfam believes that active citizens – empowered with information, ways to effectively communicate their message, and access to decision makers – can drive the type of change necessary to fundamentally transform the role that natural resource extraction plays in development. Citizen-led social accountability initiatives, therefore, have been a critical tool for galvanizing reform efforts within Oxfam's program and campaign work on extractives.

Yet the challenge of citizen-led social accountability programming is to ensure inclusivity and meaningful participation, so that the voices of those most marginalized have equal representation. This is what drove Oxfam to pose the central question in this research: how can we ensure that our citizen-led accountability programming is not gender biased and that it, quite to the contrary, fosters the participation of women and men in ways that support women's empowerment and improves the social position of women in relation to men?

The imperative for answering this question is clear, not only for the success of our programs, but to advance our vision of a gender-just world in which women, as well as men, are able to gain power over their lives and no longer live in poverty. This vision is at the core of [Oxfam's Extractive Industries Global Program Strategic Plan 2016-2019](#).

Reading the results of Sarah Bradshaw's, Brian Linneker's, and Lisa Overton's explorations we are reminded of the fact that 'gender-sensitive' programming can sometimes generate more costs than benefits to women because it places the additional responsibility for addressing poverty on women, while not tackling underlying gender inequalities. We are likewise challenged to move beyond focusing on women's voice and participation to seeking transformative change in norms and attitudes that advance women's position in society. The findings also

push us to confront the fact that civil society is not automatically a highly representative space, but a gendered one, and that civil society is itself a 'site of unequal gendered power relations'. Finally, we welcome the call for more research, writing, and work on the gender dimensions of social accountability programming and the relationship between participation and improved outcomes for women.

This research presents important challenges to Oxfam's thinking about gender justice. We hope that it challenges others similarly.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CBPM	Community-based performance monitoring
CDC	Community discussion classes
CRC	Citizen report card
CSO	Civil society organization
CSR	Corporate social responsibility
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
GALS	Gender Action Learning System
GBV	Gender-based violence
GRB	Gender-responsive budgeting
INGO	International nongovernmental organization
MKSS	Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
PEM	Public expenditure management
RHV	Raising Her Voice program
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WOUGNET	Women of Uganda Network

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Across a range of thematic areas, Oxfam's theories of change hinge on active citizenship as a major vehicle to drive social change. We believe that active citizens – empowered with information, ways to communicate their message, and access to decision-makers – can galvanize social, economic, and political reform.

Yet the challenge of citizen-led social accountability programming (SAP) is to ensure inclusivity and meaningful participation, so that the voices of those most marginalized have equal representation. Within this framing dynamics around gender can present a particular challenge as women who occupy marginal positions among already marginalised societies, potentially find themselves excluded from the processes aimed at building and encouraging active citizenship.

This paper was commissioned to inform the design of [Oxfam's Extractive Industries Strategic Plan 2016-2019](#). This Research Backgrounder considers a central question: how can we ensure that our Active Citizenship (AC) programming is not gender biased and that it fosters the participation of women and men in ways that support women's empowerment and improves the social position of women in relation to men?

The key findings of the research included that, in general, there is a lack of literature on the gender dimensions of social accountability programming (SAP), and on and women's inclusion in SAP. The literature on social accountability however points clearly to the fact that information alone is unlikely to motivate collective action and influence the public sector. As such social accountability has powerful political dimensions. Understanding women's capacity to engage in social accountability programming and efforts therefore requires an understanding of potential and barriers to women's engagement in different political spheres.

In general women tend to engage in informal political processes (such as community groups or issue-based social movements), and to be underrepresented in formal political roles. While these informal institutions can be effective for engaging on 'small-scale' demands (such as access to services), they tend to be unsustainable given that they are frequently issue- or problem-based, meaning they dissolve when the issue is addressed. Although women's engagement in formal politics is generally limited, there is evidence to suggest that when women are involved in the formal realm of politics (even when this is at relatively low levels) they can bring some positive changes for women's rights.

Major barriers to women's political participation are shaped by patriarchal structures, including: political culture, gendered norms and roles, access to

education, financial constraints, and the general notion that public space is a male domain that is separate from the domestic domain of women. Many of these patriarchal structures have deep historical roots. Further to this there is evidence to suggest that resource rich countries, in particular, are sites of patriarchal relations that are especially intense.

Effective SAP is linked to three principals of best practice: i) rights based approaches; ii) good governance and iii) participation. All of these principals have been heavily contested in the gender literature. Lessons from these critiques remind us to recall that *women's rights*, as they exist on paper, are frequently contested in practice. That notions of *good governance* frequently ignore gender imbalances within governance processes – despite being framed as gender neutral; and that a focus on *participation* can problematically shift the burden of decision-making from state actors to marginalised groups, while at the same time limiting the power of those groups to make substantive decisions regarding the distribution of resources.

The research therefore reminds us that civil society is, itself, a site of unequal gender relations and as such there may be a need to create exclusive spaces to work on women's empowerment issues. Efforts at SAP need to be aware of women's real experience, not simply of the laws that should apply to them. Finally, although participatory processes are intended to be inclusive and increase the voice and stake of groups that are otherwise marginalised, evidence suggests that participatory efforts can do the opposite as they serve to embolden those who already have the power, time, and skills necessary to participate. Participating in gender-sensitive programming can present more costs to women than benefits. Costs include the time needed to engage in the work and the distances people have to travel in order to attend events such as meetings or trainings. Such costs can be particularly arduous when one considers women's already significant workload (especially regarding unpaid care work). In addition, participation in these programs can place women at risk especially if they involve defying established gender norms.

Given the extent to which the larger context shaping gender inequality matters for SAP; women are often unable to capitalize on gender-sensitive programming unless the processes shaping systemic gender inequalities are addressed first. Women's organizations and women's movements are thought to be the vanguard of gender justice. As such supporting these groups is vital as a means to advance the general position of women in society. Given the importance of the larger gender context for SAP, support for women's movements is therefore thought to be important for SAP – often more so that supporting women's inclusion in formal political institutions.

Also important is understanding the extent to which the identities of men and women that shape patriarchal relations are located within multiple social categories. As such an intersectional approach to power analysis is critical for gender inclusive SAP. Efforts at promoting active citizenship need to be aware of the interaction of gender with other identifiers – age, caste, class, sexual identity, marital status – implies for ideas of ‘citizenship’, and how this might determine the ways in which certain groups might be excluded from participating in SAP.

Considering women’s marginalisation in the public sphere, simply promoting women as citizens may be a necessary first step towards inclusive efforts aimed at growing active citizenship. That said, it is important not to confuse the fact that basic political rights are a precondition for effective accountability with the idea that simply increasing women’s voice and participation are sufficient goals for SAP efforts. Instead SAP should focus on actually achieving gender outcomes, such as changes in laws and practices that actually advance women’s position in society. Increasing women’s voice and participation alone is not enough.

In general a focus on education and messaging in the mass media can be effective for increasing the opportunity for women to engage in SAP. In addition there are some specific social accountability tools that can be used to promote women’s and men’s voices in SAP. These include: ‘citizen report cards’, ‘gender performance contracts’ and ‘gender budgeting’. While all of these tools can be effective it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the simple implementation of such tools will not necessarily overcome the challenges created by particular patriarchal contexts. To this end SAP efforts need to be grounded in local, lived experiences and should go beyond the generalities of understanding context to unearth what aspects of the context matter and how they matter.

INTRODUCTION

This report seeks to identify gender bias in programming aimed at contesting power in “accountability politics.” That is, it focuses on citizen-led social accountability efforts that largely operate outside formal electoral politics. The study consists of reviewing the literature and taking stock of existing Oxfam and international nongovernmental organization (INGO) gendered social accountability and active citizenship initiatives. It aims to generate a set of recommendations by which Oxfam can ensure that its programming around citizen-led accountability, related to its work on extractive industries, is gender sensitive.

A 2013 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report notes that since the early 2000s, the number of publications attempting to conceptualize, describe, and assess social accountability initiatives intended to improve public services has steadily increased. Many papers have focused on conceptualizing social accountability and why it matters, while others are stocktaking reviews. There are also examples of best practice reports, and, although still very limited in number, there have also been some attempts to assess the impact of social accountability initiatives on various development outcomes (see McGee and Gaventa 2010).

Despite this growing body of evidence, the UNDP notes that most of the studies do not explicitly examine the impact of such initiatives on social inclusion. Likewise, as this report will highlight, the majority of the existing literature does not consider gender issues, nor does it focus explicitly on women’s inclusion in social accountability processes. As such, for this report a number of different bodies of literature have been reviewed to establish general lessons learned around social inclusion/exclusion. A gender lens has then been applied to these findings, drawing on the wider literature around gender inequality.

When thinking about gender and social accountability in extractive industries, there are gender accountability issues on a number of levels and each has its own literature. However, as the time period for the study was four weeks, this report will focus on the main issues: government accountability for the effective management of extractive industries revenues—with an aim to ensure that extractive industries programming around citizen-led accountability is not, itself, gender biased and therefore exclusionary.

The study was closely guided by four research questions:

- What does the literature on gender and participation suggest are the major systemic gender-based barriers to participation in political processes in developing country contexts?

- Is there any literature that describes, explicitly, the gendered nature of citizen-led accountability efforts? If so, what are the findings from this work on the drivers of potential exclusion?
- What is the catalog of existing efforts at citizen-led accountability, both currently employed by Oxfam and used more generally by groups seeking to increase accountability? What strategies have these programs used to ensure women's active and inclusive participation? How successful have these programs been?
- What concrete actions might Oxfam be able to take to ensure that its efforts at increasing active citizenship and promoting social accountability within the extractive industries context are not gender biased?

The report begins by setting the context, discussing the issue of “engendering” development processes and some of the concerns raised by the wider gender literature, and presenting a brief discussion of the gender issues raised by the extractive industries context. The key concept of patriarchy is also introduced. The next section summarizes the key barriers to women's political participation highlighted by the literature and relates these barriers to the extractive industries context. Following this section, social accountability and active citizenship literature are reviewed. The small amount of gendered literature is summarized, while the nongendered literature, which focuses on issues of inclusion/exclusion, is presented through a gender lens. The final substantive section uses as a frame some of the key barriers to women's participation in citizen-led accountability efforts identified in the review and suggests tools that may address these barriers and also introduces existing projects and programming that seek to overcome these obstacles. The final section provides summary recommendations.

GENDER AND THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

In the study by Scott et al. (2013) of three communities directly affected by oil and gas development, oil revenue was perceived by the general public to have deepened existing inequalities in their societies. Mukeba's (2015) study in Congo concludes that "land, extractive industry and gender inequality are inextricably linked." These studies highlight the need to promote activities to address existing and constructed inequalities, including gender inequalities, within the extractive industries sector.

The focus of this report, however, is not on promoting gender equality within the extractive industries sector but on how best to ensure gender-sensitive social accountability programming that ensures women are not excluded from citizen-led accountability efforts. The two activities are presented as distinct, but they are interconnected. For example, mining companies in Papua New Guinea funded women's programs and projects, and as a result, women took a more central role in village planning committees and discussions about the future of mining in their communities (Eftimie et al. 2009a). The literature demonstrates that often greater gender equality is needed for women to be able to take their place in "gender-sensitive" programming, and gender-sensitive programming can actually bring more costs than benefits to women, potentially impacting negatively on gender equality goals.

GENDERING DEVELOPMENT

In recent years, the majority of development actors have made moves to "engender" their projects or to "mainstream" gender in their policies and programs. Some of this programming has attracted critique from gender academics and practitioners (see Jackson 1996). The main basis of the criticism is not on "how" women are being included in policies and projects but on "why"—with a focus on critiquing "instrumentalist" policy agendas that include women as an efficient means to achieve a wider development goal. Molyneux (2007, 2009) suggests that such policies do little to change the situation and position of women because they often include women as carers for family, community, and the environment and merely add new responsibilities to women's existing roles. Chant (2008) suggests that we have seen a "feminization of obligation and responsibility," where women are assuming greater liability for dealing with poverty and other issues and have progressively less choice other than to do so. Initially, the focus of these critiques was on poverty alleviation programs, but they

has been widened to other areas such as disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation (Bradshaw 2014). It is necessary to ensure that the same thing does not also happen to social accountability initiatives—a real danger because, as Scott et al. (2013) suggest, extractive industries companies can have an instrumental rationale for improving gender-equitable benefit streams from the oil industry in order to improve their reputations and increase their operational effectiveness as a result of greater community satisfaction.

When gender-equitable benefit streams are established, the “what” becomes the important question. Understanding practical and strategic gender needs and interests (Molyneux 1985; Moser 1989) helps ensure that women are included or that the benefits that accrue from their participation do more than just reinforce gender-stereotypical roles and relations and bring real benefits to women. To make this clear, a practical gender need is, for example, that women need to collect water for the family. Although providing a well helps women fulfill this role in less time and using less energy, it does not question why women alone should be responsible for the family’s water. The “practical gender need” is actually a family need but constructed as gendered because women perform the role. Thus, addressing strategic gender interests means questioning gender roles and promoting gendered rights such as access to sexual health services, focusing on addressing unequal gendered power relations.

Eftimie et al. (2009b) provide examples of how to promote “social empowerment” of women in extractive industries, and their two suggestions of “cross-sectoral activities” highlight the issues raised above. The first, “increase gender focus in infrastructure projects to decrease water, food, and fuel gathering time,” clearly only addresses women’s practical gender needs, while the second, “incorporate gender into governance projects to ensure that women are included in all environmental, public service, and budget monitoring activities,” appears to have a more strategic focus. However, it confuses the inclusion of women into a process with “engendering” the outcome. It supposes that women will prioritize their gender above all other characteristics during a participatory discussion. This prioritization may not be the case, and, for example, a woman may promote her ethnic group or class rather than her gender if ethnicity or class is her key self-identity.

Engendering participatory processes such as citizen-led accountability efforts is about ensuring not just that women can speak, nor that their voices are heard, but that relevant gender issues are raised. It is about ensuring that gender issues are taken into account and that policy outcomes benefit women not just in practical but also in strategic terms. However, as Keenan and Kemp (2014) note, there is a significant gap in knowledge about the link between including specific provisions for women’s participation or benefit streams in extractive industries agreements and improving outcomes for women.

The first step in the process to secure more equitable distribution of extractive industries benefits is to ensure women's participation in citizen-led social accountability efforts. To this end, the first question to be addressed centers on identifying major systemic gender-based barriers to participation in political processes in developing country contexts. Before summarizing the obstacles highlighted in the very wide literature on this theme and drawing out some key messages, one fundamental barrier will be discussed: patriarchy.

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy places inequalities of power as central to women's subordinate position and highlights the structural barriers that limit women's abilities to change their situation (see Koester 2015 on power). Patriarchal structures exist at every level of society—from the household to public life. In addition to the institutionalization of oppression—via governments and legal systems, schools and churches—each individual, intimate relationship is also power relationship. From this understanding arose the notion of the “personal as political,” and women's re-examination of their relationships with men. Men exert control over women's lives through controlling their bodies, sexualities, and free choice. Households then may be as much sites of oppression as of solidarity for many women. Moreover, as patriarchy is often hegemonic and therefore invisible, it leads women to internalize and accept their subordinate status to men as the natural order of things.

While use of the term patriarchy has a varied and contested history (see Beechey 1979), in this report it will be defined as the set of social relations between men, which, although hierarchical, establishes an interdependence and solidarity between them that allows them to dominate women (Hartmann 1981, 14). Rather than imply that every man is in a relatively dominant position—and every woman in an oppressed one—this approach allows for (1) a more nuanced understanding of men's situations as socially constructed and lived relative to other men, as well as for (2) a focus on the impact of this lived experience on women. How women experience patriarchal control also varies over time and space, and over the course of a woman's life. As Walby's (1990) work in the UK highlighted, the form patriarchy takes can change and be changed, but it does not necessarily lessen. For example, women's entry into the labor force may not reduce patriarchy but, rather, may reflect a shift in sites from private to public patriarchy, as women move from the control of their fathers and husbands in the home to the control of their male bosses in the workplace. The political arena is also a patriarchal arena.

EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES AS PATRIARCHAL SITES

The extractive industries context may constitute an atypically strong patriarchal context. Ross (2008) suggests that oil-rich nations generate fewer resources and opportunities for women to influence the political process, which is responsible for producing states with atypically strong patriarchal cultures and political institutions. However, Kang (2009) found that gender quotas offset the effects of oil rents on women's political representation and suggests that the "petroleum patriarchy" should be viewed as a tendency that can be changed, not a destiny.

This tendency (that the arrival of the extractive industries sector reinforces highly patriarchal contexts) is related to several factors, not least that the sector is characterized as "male" through the workforce and the nature of the work, with mining and miners being associated with strongly male traits and identities (Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre 2006a). However, the reality of the situation is much more complex, and women's roles as mineworkers have been "obscured and hidden, forgotten and devalued" (Lahiri-Dutt and Macintyre 2006b:3). Between one-third and three-quarters of mineworkers may be women, with high concentrations in processing, where the pay tends to be less than in other areas (Jenkins 2014). As women's status may be informal, wages may be considered as belonging to the male household-head and paid directly to him.

Laws have been enacted to protect women, but these laws do not address pay; instead, they apply to health and safety, and thus exclude women from mines (Bashwira et al. 2014). Gender-based violence (GBV) is said to increase with the arrival of extractive industries, but the scale and type of GBV may differ in relation to different types of infrastructure developments, such as transport corridors, and proximity of mines to townships (Cane et al. 2014). In some situations, GBV has led to a policy to remove women from mine areas into alternative livelihoods to protect them from violence, yet at the same time (other) women may be brought in by companies under the pretense of becoming cooks and cleaners when really they are sex workers (Cane et al. 2014). Thus, gender equality issues in employment practices exist in extractive industries as do wider gender equality issues such as GBV and sex work.

Evidence from impacted communities in Scott et al. (2013) suggests that as a consequence of patriarchal social structures and the traditional gendered division of labor, women often bear a greater proportion of the stress associated with oil-induced social and environmental changes than do men. Gender bias in the distribution of risks and benefits in extractive industries projects means that the benefits accrue to men in the form of employment and compensation, while the costs, such as family and social disruption, and environmental degradation, fall most heavily on women (Eftimie et al. 2009b). Although women's unpaid workload may increase, the move to a more money-focused economy means

women may experience a loss of status as their contribution is devalued (Scott et al. 2013). Within the community, women are critical to social stability and morale, and in instances in which communities are displaced or fractured by extractive industries activities, women face particular pressure as they tend to be the ones who assume much of the responsibility for building and maintaining community cohesion (Hinton et al. 2003). Other less tangible issues may also impact women; for example, in one resettled community, the church had not been replaced as it was not part of the resettlement plans, and women reported that this made them feel as though "even god had forgotten them" (Lillywhite et al. 2015).

Extractive industries companies respond to local concerns directly via corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities, but because a key goal is to pacify vocal groups, often the CSR agenda is male-dominated. Scott et al. (2013) highlight some positive outcomes from CSR programs that have committed to address gender issues, including offering start-up capital, training, and sensitively designed infrastructure to support female entrepreneurs, linking those previously isolated to new resource corridors and increasing economic opportunities. Although such efforts have a gender equality focus, they also bring social accountability gains: the programs' infrastructure helped to foster greater connectivity to the outside world, and increased the leverage of women and of communities more broadly to hold the company and state accountable, allowing local people to forge alliances that strengthen their voices. Thus, promoting gender equality can also promote active citizenship and improve social accountability efforts.

Within the extractive industries are a range of gender accountability issues, each with its own literature:

- Women as workers, with a focus on ensuring labor rights including health and safety as well as issues around pay within extractive industries.
- Women as recipients of corporate social responsibility efforts by extractive industries.
- Women as clients, with a focus on the quality of services and cost.
- Women as recipients of government expenditure earned through taxes on extractive industries.

It is this latter aspect that Oxfam (2015) suggests is the long-term goal of its active citizenship work. Aimed at helping empower local citizens to hold their governments to account for spending public funds effectively in ways that benefit poor people, Oxfam seeks to equip citizens to "follow the money," raise their voices, and demand responses and reforms from government officials.

In Keenan and Kemp (2104), interviewees working within the extractive industries sector observed that where the local culture was highly patriarchal,

women's participation tended to be lower, although not in all cases. Keenan and Kemp (2104) suggest that companies with processes that established a solid understanding of community context were better placed to enable women's participation. This proposal is supported by O'Faircheallaigh (2012), who highlights cases where, despite a patriarchal culture, women have played significant and direct roles at the negotiation table. For example, indigenous women played a major role during the Argyle diamond mine agreement in Australia. O'Faircheallaigh suggests that women's participation in agreement processes was a product of existing gender dynamics in the local culture, as well as the dynamics of the dominant society and the culture of the organizations involved, both company and community. In other words, it was the dominant political culture. This political culture and the barriers to women's participation in political processes will now be summarized.

GENDER AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL PROCESSES

Within exclusionary political contexts, participation is promoted as a mechanism for change, as a means to build consensus, and as a step toward action. Not only is the outcome or product of participation viewed as important, but the process itself is seen to have intrinsic value because an individual's participation is linked to ideas of collective and individual empowerment. In some instances, participation is promoted as making projects more cost-efficient; the World Bank, for example, when it is promoting participatory processes, highlights that stakeholder involvement increases ownership, allows better use of resources, and enables the mobilization of local resources. Concerns about this efficiency—or instrumentalist—adoption of participatory development processes, which parallel concerns about women's participation in development projects, meant that by the mid-1990s among academics and practitioners there were as many critics as promoters of participation. For some, what is needed is “real,” or better, participation, but for others, participation in itself is the issue (Cooke and Kothari 2002; Hickey and Mohan 2004). Hickey and Mohan, for example, suggest that even the best-planned participatory practice will not change the fact that what people are often being asked to do is to make bounded choices. For example, exercises in participatory budgeting don't seek to set the size of the budget, they merely determine how it should be divided up, thereby shifting responsibility for difficult choices to the people themselves.

Participatory processes, even those initiated from the “bottom up” are not necessarily inclusive or egalitarian, and they frequently exclude or marginalize the very poor, women, the young, and the elderly. Rather than empowering, participation can be seen to reinforce power relations, such as unequal gender relations, because those with power will be most able to participate and will have the time and skills necessary to do so effectively. While women's participation is often promoted as the means to “engender” the outcomes, care needs to be taken. Keenan and Kemp's (2014) study of mining communities found that it was uncommon for women to raise the issue of gender inequality as a stand-alone concern during negotiations with companies. They were more concerned with arguing for their traditional or ethnic group, and for their family, including work opportunities for their husbands and sons, than for women as a group.

Within the wider participation literature, the participation of women in politics and women's political action have received a large amount of attention from both academics and practitioners over a number of years, and as such a large body of literature exists on these topics. The literature review that follows in this section

will be selective and will focus on the barriers to women's political participation as lessons to be learned for wider citizen-led accountability efforts. In the extractive industries context, the link between political participation and participation in social accountability efforts was documented by Keenan and Kemp (2014), who found that interviewees perceived higher levels of women's participation in mining agreement processes where there was historical precedent for their involvement in other political processes. A more gender-balanced approach in agreement processes was often observed when there had been a history of women's involvement in community-level governance or where women had held official positions within government or associated agencies. Women's participation brings benefits; although agreements with women may be harder for companies to reach, they last longer and are more definitive (Eftimie et al. 2009b).

WOMEN IN POLITICAL PROCESSES

The political arena is often considered to be divided into informal and formal political processes, with women viewed as being more engaged in the informal than the formal. Studies around women's role in informal political action, such as community groups or issue-based social movements, have suggested that women "do" politics differently from men. It has been suggested that women choose relatively weak organizational forms such as neighborhood groups, which can better promote their "small-scale" demands such as access to services. However, although effective in the short term, women's collective actions tend not to be sustainable, given that they are often problem- or issue-based, and once the problem is resolved, the group tends to fracture. On occasions, groups that begin with a particular focus have evolved into other areas; for example, health problems, in particular, have provided the impetus for sustained collective action by groups of women (Doss and Meizen-Dick 2015).

Localized actions may also have problems scaling up, but women's collective action via social movements has been effective in some instances. At the international level, women's movements have advocated for women's rights including, most recently, setting the agenda in the post-2015 development context. At the national level, there are also success stories; for example, the "mothers of the disappeared" movements during years of Latin American military dictators. Here, women utilized their role as mothers to remain safe while demanding change. Yet although playing a critical role in the redemocratization process, when democracy was restored, these women—"the mothers"—did not form part of the new government nor did their group survive, because such actions do not represent a form of interest articulation institutionally recognized in the arena of formal politics (Goetz 1995). In the extractive industries context, women's collective organizing is also evident in the form of organized resistance

to mining by groups of women. Such networks and organizations have been particularly visible in Latin America.

In terms of formal politics, there is often only a weak relationship between women in government and women's NGOs, which makes coalition building around agendas for women's rights problematic (Clavero and Galligan 2005). However, evidence suggests that women's engagement in formal political roles can bring some positive changes for women's rights and that this engagement does not have to be at the "highest" levels. Rather, it is the presence of women in formal politics that may be more important than women taking leadership roles (Iyer et al. 2011). The fact that women elected as local councilors, for example, are more visible and "closer to the voices that need to be heard" may be more important than representatives having a greater voice through more senior leadership. However, although local government is usually seen as easier for women to enter, the cultural norms against women's participation are often strongest at this level, and women can face a large backlash (see O'Neil et al. 2015). In the extractive industries context, Keenan and Kemp (2014) suggest that women's involvement in formal processes may put them in a difficult position, but by allowing for a mix of formal and informal engagement, women are more able to influence processes and outcomes. Thus, political processes can have both formal and informal elements and may be more fluid than the formal/informal divide suggests.

A review of the literature highlights a number of characteristics seen as important for women's leadership in both formal and informal politics (see O'Neil et al. 2014, 2015) and identifies a set of structural barriers that limit women's engagement and leadership in both arenas (see Burns et al. 2015; Clavero and Galligan 2005; O'Neil et al. 2015; Oosterom 2014). The major barriers identified by the literature are summarized and discussed below. The first two focus on formal politics, but it is important to note that although political systems may constitute a "formal" system, the political culture associated with this system will also influence "informal" processes, constructing both processes as "male" and excluding women.

The political system or political culture

- Colonial rule and military administrations excluded women from participation, exclusions that helped to construct politics as "male." Political dynasties continue exclusion in the contemporary context, but not for all women. Women in political dynasties are visible but subordinated to patriarchal figures. Although women outside of these dynasties may be more aware of gender issues, they are not as visible and lack power (Kemitraan Partnership 2014).

- As noted, political change offers possibilities for improvements for women (see Castillejo 2011); however, revolutionary political culture can promote a disregard of personal politics (issues such as women's equality in the family, or abortion) over state politics, creating an inhospitable environment for women's rights, which leads to women's self-censorship (Heumann 2014).
- A review of African states showed that those African countries that had recently entered a post-conflict phase had almost doubled women's representation in legislature compared with countries that had not recently been in conflict (Tripp 2012). However, it is important to bear in mind that this representation may be the result of international or donor imperatives. Research also warns that new (male) elites can use a commitment to women's rights as a smoke screen to conceal human rights violations (O'Neil et al. 2015).
- Democracy does not automatically improve women's political participation; for example, in democracy, majority representation often prevails over more-inclusionary proportional representation.
- Women wishing to enter formal politics face gatekeepers at various stages: when they want to be politically active (gaining social space and acceptance), when they want to be selected as a candidate, and when they are running for election. Although men also face gatekeepers, women confront an added layer related to their gender.

In a paper presented at the Society for Latin American Studies Annual Conference in 2014, Kyra Grieco (quoted in Jenkins 2014) noted that wider gender relations that affect political leadership play a key role in reducing gender engagement with extractive industries. Contemporary politics is seen to be a "dirty business" (Clavero and Galligan 2005), and this perception fosters the belief that success requires "typical" male attributes—such as competitiveness, aggressiveness, and self-assertiveness—thus constructing politics as a male domain and as too dangerous for women. The "danger" associated with women's political participation may be heightened in the highly masculinized and patriarchal extractive industries context, particularly if occurring in a post-conflict context.

Male and female attitudes within political office

- A study in Sierra Leone (Castillejo 2011) found that all women MPs and councilors reported facing harassment and hostility from powerful men in their community opposed to women's political participation. This harassment and hostility manifested itself as violence against the candidate or her supporters, as well as attempts to attack the candidate's character and morality.

- Women may encounter discriminatory treatment from male colleagues, including sexual harassment, and male informal networks may be inaccessible to women politicians.
- Women politicians may lack solidarity, perhaps owing to high competition among female candidates. However, male politics is marked by competition also, so the lack of time for women to socialize may be more of an explanatory factor for the lack of women in political office (Clavero and Galligan 2005).
- Internalization of traditional gender norms may mean women in office do not necessarily defend a feminist position; keeping office can be contingent upon downplaying feminist sympathies or acting 'more like a man' (Cornwall and Goetz 2005).
- Gender identities, including political identities, can conflict. Women's roles as mothers may limit participation due to lack of time, or participation may bring feelings of guilt.

Within the extractive industries context, leadership stereotypes favored men in every community in the study by Scott et al. (2013). Leadership stereotypes were associated with masculinity, physical strength, and the patronage of powerful male clan leaders. This perception impacted on even high-income women: they remained held back by stereotypes associated with leadership, they were viewed as less qualified or lacking in "natural" leadership skills, and were they to adopt more masculine traits in line with leadership stereotypes. It is possible that women could face discrimination around this behavior. A lack of engagement was further reinforced by the lack of female role models that women could turn to for support and the lack of precedents for cooperation between women such as women's cooperatives.

Other factors are also found to have a limiting factor in both formal and informal political contexts; in particular, a lack of education is seen to restrict women's entry into politics and also into citizen-led accountability efforts. However, lack of finance and mobility may also play important roles.

Education

- Improving women's access to education, and to other assets including land, may improve women's political participation (see O'Neil et al. 2014, 2015). Lack of education may be seen by women themselves to be a barrier to participation (Oni and Agbude 2011).
- Media campaigns can help improve women's political literacy. Ensuring women are aware of their rights and the responsibility of others to respond to these rights is an important first step. However, the difference between

'political literacy' and participation needs to be drawn, and political awareness campaigns may improve the former but may not increase the latter.

Similarly, women's lack of education may mean they cannot participate in extractive industries consultations because they are not fluent in the language of the meeting (usually the national language) and may be mocked by men for making mistakes (Keenan and Kemp 2014). A number of successful gender and social accountability initiatives have recognized education as a barrier to women's participation, and literacy classes draw women into processes as well as improve voice. The 2013 study by Scott et al. highlights that some women were prepared to travel 10 hours on foot to attend social accountability training sessions; the most popular component of these sessions was adult literacy classes.

Financial factors

- Poverty in itself can affect access to public participation and isolation; extreme poverty and inequality can also create barriers for older people to participate (Burns et al. 2015).
- "Money politics"—where money allows entry to political systems and is valued more than knowledge—may exclude women more than men as a consequence of women's lack of control over household resources and ability to use existing resources to further political aims.
- There may be financial costs to participation, even in informal politics, and women often have to subsidize their participation, suffering out-of-pocket expenses that exclude poorer women (Williams et al. 2011). Women may be unwilling to commit financial resources because the likelihood of support for them is low.

Personal economic independence was identified as a key factor influencing women's inclusion/exclusion in mining and agreement processes by Keenan and Kemp (2014): women with no economic independence tended to be less active in public life and in agreement processes.

Location and mobility

- The spaces in which meetings are held can limit women's access, as may the time at which meetings are held. Rural locations are particularly challenging in this regard as the distances that need to be covered to attend meetings can be significant and women's mobility limited.

- New media that allow personal interaction without the necessity of leaving home may help women mobilize (O'Neil et al. 2015), and the use of social media can bypass established hierarchy structures that can exclude women (Scott et al. 2013).

In strongly patriarchal contexts, women face specific barriers to their mobility. Although social media may overcome mobility barriers, access to technology may be gendered. Restrictive timelines for negotiation of mining agreements were found to affect women more significantly than men because of women's domestic and caring responsibilities (Keenan and Kemp 2014).

The literature reviewed also makes some recommendations concerning how to improve women's political participation, noting that as well as formal education, key activities are early support of girls' leadership, a supportive family environment, and the presence of role models (O'Neil et al. 2014). The literature also highlights that women's groups and movements play a vital role.

- Women's groups and movements can be important in ensuring gender equality gains, including producing and supporting women politicians and feminist bureaucrats.
- Women leaders can act as role models and can normalize the idea and practice of women holding power.
- Although formal political processes are important, autonomous women's movements are the vanguard of gender justice and also need to be supported (O'Neil et al. 2014).
- Real change requires the transformation of wider social norms and requires addressing the more pervasive problem of gendered patterns of distribution of power in the wider society.

Keenan and Kemp (2014) found that the existence of women's organizations sometimes influenced women's involvement in mining agreement processes. However, in some contexts, although women's organizations supported the general notion that women should have a voice in political processes, they did not consider women's groups to be an appropriate way of organizing for negotiation, as agreements concerned land use, and the women's organizations did not hold land. Although the presence of these organizations suggests acknowledgment of women as a group, this acknowledgment did not necessarily translate into recognition of women's rights as landholders or citizens or of their equal involvement in agreement processes. This finding suggests the need to address gendered social norms via gender equality programming as a prerequisite to ensuring women's participation in wider processes.

Gendered social norms

- Social norms define women primarily as wives and mothers in the “private space” and construct politics as “public.” Women who choose to participate in politics may be seen to be outside their husband’s control and/or may be seen to be “loose” women.
- Women are not a homogenous group and may face different issues throughout their lives, with young women lacking confidence to speak, for example. In addition, although in some cultures, marriage may confer status on women, in other cultures, it may be a core barrier, as through customary law marriage essentially makes a woman the property of her husband and his family, often resulting in exclusion from public life (Oosterom 2014).
 - Mahy’s (2011) study highlights another example of why women should not be considered as a single category. This study notes that women in mining communities may be conceptualized as either (migrant) sex workers or as (indigenous/local) community women, with sex workers constructed as “not-women” and effectively outside citizenship.
- Religious beliefs may restrict women’s political participation through limiting mobility (for example, through purdah) or more generally through suggesting that men are “natural” leaders and denying women voice within religious hierarchies. Although the Islamization of cultures is seen particularly to present a barrier to women’s political participation (Kemitraan Partnership 2014), all forms of religious fundamentalism tend to impact negatively on women’s participation.
- Despite these negatives related to women’s participation, organized religions of all types are highly influential and confer social collateral to people. In this respect they can also allow women the space to assume leadership roles they would not customarily be granted (Scott et al. 2013). A study by Scott et al. (2013) of one community affected by extractive industry activity found that the church was a key forum that brought women together, and that within the context of the church, the “unionizing” of women was legitimate rather than threatening.

Legal aspects

- Legal discrimination can be intractable as it is often supported by religious elites, and secular governments often rely on religious elites to maintain power (O’Neil et al. 2014).
- Institutional design of political structures needs to explicitly address gender issues; for example, quota systems, constitutional provisions for gendered

representation, and guidelines on gender equality can help enable women to access leadership positions.

- It is relatively easy to achieve new laws, but the change in thinking and behavior to implement those laws is an entirely different matter and very difficult.

Sudden and transformative change such as legal reform is likely to be at odds with dominant social norms and politics so that there is often a gulf between women's rights on paper and women's rights in practice. As Clavero and Galligan (2005) in their study of women in politics highlight, real change requires transforming social norms and addressing the more pervasive problem of the unequal gendered distribution of power in wider society.

THE GENDER LITERATURE ON CITIZEN-LED ACCOUNTABILITY EFFORTS

A small amount of literature, both academic and programmatic (that is, organizations evaluating program outcomes), explicitly focuses on gender and social accountability or gender and active citizenship (see Buitenlandse Zaken 2007; UNIFEM 2009; Dolk 2013; Green 2015a; Green 2015b; Green 2015c; Green 2015d; Green 2015e). A few studies also focus on improving gender equality in extractive industries, most notably by the World Bank (see Eftimie et al. 2009a, 2009b). However, there is a gap in the literature when it comes to studies focused on gender-sensitive citizen-led accountability efforts in the extractive industries context.

This section reviews the existing gendered social accountability/active citizenship literature, taking a closer look at those studies that highlight barriers to inclusion more generally or that provide insights into obstacles to active citizenship. For those studies, a gender lens is applied to draw out the key gender messages. As far as possible, these studies will also be placed in the context of the existing gender literature in the extractive industries sector.

First, a gender lens will be applied to the notion of citizen-led accountability and related terms. For the purposes of this research, the term *active citizenship* will refer to such efforts aimed at mobilizing horizontal accountability institutions, and the term *social accountability* will describe efforts at nonelectoral direct democratic action.

GENDER ISSUES IN THE IDEAS UNDERPINNING CITIZEN-LED ACCOUNTABILITY

Active citizenship is an important concept that is said to bring together three well-established principles of best practice within development: participation, rights-based approaches to development, and good governance (Clarke and Missingham 2009). All three principals have been critiqued within the gender literature:

- Participation has been referred to as “tyranny,” and it has been seen as a shifting of responsibility from state to civil actors. In gender terms, it has been linked to notions of the ‘feminization of obligation and responsibility’ (Chant 2008).

- Rights-based approaches (RBAs) are problematic in that women's rights are often contested as "rights." RBAs have also been criticized by feminists on many levels (see IDS 2005; Molyneux and Cornwall 2008). Particularly important in this context is the idea that utilizing the language of rights sidesteps discussion of the unequal power relations that underpin rights noncompliance (Bradshaw 2008).
- Good governance can be critiqued as being constructed as a largely "gender-neutral" concept that ignores gender imbalances within governance and women's exclusion from governance processes (see Brody 2009).

Active citizenship is built on understandings not only of citizenship, but also of civil society. Formal definitions of active citizenship have been critiqued as ignoring existing power differentials (Cronin 2009) and as based on secular and sanitized views of civil society that might not match with reality (George 2009). In particular, it is assumed that civil society is coherent and collective, acultural and secular. The literature also presents civil society largely as nongendered and does not recognize existing power fault lines. Civil society is often seen as "unambiguously good," as always seeking justice and fairness; the fact that civil society is heterogeneous and can also be "uncivil" is not considered in this formulation (Tembo 2013). For example, women and women's groups often encounter male chauvinistic behavior within other civil society organizations (CSOs) and find opportunities to be included in civil society participatory processes limited (see Bradshaw and Linneker 2003). There may also be fragmentation within women's movements; particularly in Latin America, the "NGO-ization" of civil society has been problematized as adding to power imbalances within civil society (Alvarez 1999). It is thus important to understand the dynamics of CSOs and how they interact to allow inclusion/exclusion of different actors, recognizing power differences both within and between civil actors to ensure these are not reproduced.

UNDP (2013:9) suggests the existence of a range of "ideal qualities and capacities" of civil society organizations that are associated with successful social accountability initiatives, including legitimacy, managerial capacity, advocacy capacity, connection to networks and coalitions, information and knowledge capacity, leadership, and independence. Yet civil society is a contested concept, and although mainstream perspectives on development see civil society as acting either as a means to improve the efficiency or legitimacy of the state and/or as a substitute for the state in the provision of services, the alternative view sees civil society as agents in reimagining what development is and what it ought to be according to a distinct set of values (Howell and Pearce 2001). The first perspective has the aim of creating, in Fraser's (1993) concept, "weak" publics (a civil society whose deliberative practice consists exclusively in opinion formation and does not also encompass decision making) while the

second would help to create “strong” publics (a civil society whose discourse encompasses both opinion formation and decision-making).

The “accountancy” approach to accountability (O’Newell and Wheeler 2006) similarly has been critiqued as presenting social accountability as a tool for efficiency and effectiveness, whereas others see social accountability as a set of relationships which necessarily involve power (George 2003) or “an arena of contestation” (Goetz and Jenkins 2005). Fox (2014) draws a distinction between tactical and strategic social accountability approaches—the latter defined as an approach with a “theory of change.” He questions the power of information alone to motivate collective action and to influence public sector performance, noting that more-promising results emerge from multipronged strategies that encourage enabling environments for collective action and that bolster state capacity to actually respond to citizen voice. He makes the case for combining vertical integration with the horizontal spread of civil society oversight and advocacy capacity, suggesting that doing so will bring the combination of voice with representation that is crucial for significantly changing the terms of engagement between excluded citizens and the state. Although not gendered, presumably the outcome would encompass excluded women.

The gendered critique of programs that encourage women’s participation for efficiency gains highlights that these interventions bring costs for women and few personal benefits other than the more efficient provision of practical needs. They may reinforce rather than challenge gender roles and relations, and they do not advance women’s strategic interests. As Fox (2014:36) suggests, “[V]oice needs teeth to have bite—but teeth may not bite without voice.” It is important to ensure that projects don’t just develop women’s voice but that they also develop their “teeth” and that the “bite” is focused on advancing women’s position in society, not just meeting practical needs or wider development goals.

Observers suggest that attempts by economic and political elites to appropriate citizenship have led to a confrontation between a democratizing, participatory project to extend the meaning of citizenship and a neoliberal offensive to curtail any such possibility (Dagnino 2005, 2007). Feminist critiques of citizenship (as both social and legal status) have argued that citizenship is predicated on an idealist notion of the white, European, middle-class, able-bodied man. English historical texts are cited as portraying citizenship as a man’s duty, while women’s lives were rendered invisible. Similarly, as Khanna notes in IDS Working Paper no. 423 (quoted in Burns et al. 2015), identities that exist in “illegal” space or that are deviant of dominant legal and social institutions, such as trans people, sex workers, and sexual minorities, may be relegated to outside citizenship (Khanna 2013, quoted in Burns et al. 2015). It is also important to distinguish between activism and citizenship, because the former may be embraced without the latter and vice versa (Hoare 2014). Thus, it is necessary to understand how different

people and communities understand citizenship and how it is experienced before applying active citizenship principles.

GENDERED CITIZEN-LED ACCOUNTABILITY EFFORTS: THE CONTEXT

UNDP (2013) notes social accountability initiatives can contribute to the social inclusion of marginalized groups (including women as one such group) in three ways:

1. The initiative can demand accountability for an outcome that benefits a particular group. For example, gender budget analysis can show how public expenditure is skewed against women. The resulting public pressure can then lead to reforms that increase spending on women or ring-fence funds for women. UNDP found, as this report does, that demands for accountability regarding an outcome that benefits a particular group is the most common category of action documented within the literature.
2. The processes through which the accountability initiative works could have special mechanisms to reach out to marginalized groups. Their participation in the accountability demands could result in both including them in wider sociopolitical processes as well as empowering them within their communities. Although UNDP does not mention empowerment in other sites (such as households) for women, changes within the home may be key. UNDP notes that the literature on social accountability initiatives in this case is “rather thin” (UNDP 2013:91).
3. The outcomes of the accountability demands could end up benefiting particular groups more than others; for example, changes in the timings at which health services are offered could lead to better access for some over others. While not mentioning gender, the impact of such changes on men and women would be different. UNDP notes that “unfortunately, few social accountability initiatives track impacts in such a disaggregated fashion” (UNDP (2013:91).

UNIFEM’s *Progress of the World’s Women* report for 2008-09 had the theme “gender and accountability,” and the report notes that women may have a different perspective on accountability than men because of different experiences of accountability failure. For example, women experience corruption differently from men, and women and girls are subject to different, often invisible and unrecognized, forms of corruption such as sex being a “bribe” women are asked to pay. Although women may perceive more corruption in public services than do men, this perception often does not lead to greater participation to address these concerns. This finding may be related to how women experience corruption

(differently from men) and how society does or does not value women's experiences. It may also relate to particular gendered risks that may be exacerbated when women confront corruption.

UNDP (2010) proposes a framework of three degrees of citizen engagement: consultation, presence, and influence. Meanwhile, the World Bank Demand for Good Governance project (Dolk 2013) talks of passive and active engagement. Dolk's study in Cambodia found that levels of men's and women's participation are in line with typical gender-stereotypical roles, with men's participation higher in projects that address natural resource management and women's higher for health and education. Women were in the majority in activities where they participated as passive recipients of information or passive sources of information. Their participation declined as participation became more active, with the lowest levels of women's participation being recorded in capacity-building activities. The dominance of male participation in activities where participation denotes more active citizenship held even for those activities traditionally considered to be a women's interest, such as health.

To address these findings, Oxfam's Raising Her Voice (RHV) program has identified a theory of change comprising three elements: developing personal capacity and confidence; building public awareness and the social capital of women through groups, associations, and alliances; and linking these outcomes to political participation and advocacy. Initiatives are focused primarily at the local level but are integrated into action at district and national levels. Oxfam's project in Nepal is a good example. It utilized community discussion classes (CDCs) to improve political literacy. To move from improving political literacy to participation, the project used what might be called a snowballing approach—identifying a few women who were relatively free to join project activities and building out from there, as they encouraged others who were either less convinced or faced greater constraints from husbands or others to join. In addition to promoting women's participation (through discussion of community issues selected by the participants and agreement on action plans to tackle shared problems in the CDCs), the project deliberately sought to influence existing, mainly male, village development committee members as well as other influential local actors such as policy officers and civil servants to create an “enabling environment” (Green 2015b:5).

The project in Nepal reports successes in social accountability/active citizenship terms: for example, 42 percent of women who participated in the RHV program stated they felt able to influence the village and district development councils to allocate financial support for the promotion of women's interests, compared with just 2 percent of respondents from non-RHV villages. The project notes that as a result of women's participation and leadership, the community has seen a

noticeable shift in public policy priorities toward a focus on poor, marginalized, and excluded groups, especially women (Green 2015b).

The 10 Oxfam active citizenship case studies considered by Green (2015a) highlight some characteristics for designing effective active citizenship programs:

- Find the right partners. In gender terms, finding the right partners often means not working with existing partners but instead looking for new community-based organizations with a commitment to promoting women's rights.
- Build broad alliances and coalitions and recognize that individuals and relationships matter.
- Start with a power analysis that has a focus on gender.
- Understand that building active citizenship takes time (not to mention money). The Nepal project, for example, was instigated in three rural districts and received UK government funding of £445,260 (\$690,153) over a three-year period.

How to measure the success of initiatives is a question seldom addressed in the literature, but it is comprehensively addressed by the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) synthesis review (McGee and Gaventa 2010).

This review notes that, overall, much of the current evidence relies on “untested normative, positive assumptions and under-specified relationships between mechanisms and outcomes” (McGee and Gaventa 2010:4). The authors also note that “virtually none” of the literature reviewed explores possible risks or documents negative effects. That is, the existing literature is largely noncritical, and this fact may help to explain the lack of a gendered analysis: negative effects for women may arise as a “by-product” of initiatives. In gender terms, very little evidence exists on the impact of single-issue, or single-sector initiatives—even those of gender budgeting. Goetz and Jenkins (2005) note that such efforts focus largely on the answerability of officials but are not often followed up or linked to demands for the enforcement side of accountability.

Key points on the gendered nature of social accountability can be summarized as follows:

- While some social accountability initiatives are gendered and some gender initiatives exist, these initiatives may be limited to one element of social accountability—most usually, those that demand accountability for an outcome that benefits a particular group. Examples of how initiatives may empower certain groups within communities and households are less evident, and few initiatives track impacts in a disaggregated fashion over time.

- Even when women participate in social accountability projects, their involvement may conform to gender norms and be a more “passive” than “active” participation, and participation may have limited impact on capacity building for women.
- Evaluations need to explore what did happen, not just what was supposed to happen, in order to better understand how women and others are effectively included or excluded from processes, and from outcomes, especially over the longer term.

The following sections present a synthesis of the key debates around inclusion/exclusion and effectiveness within social accountability and active citizenship activities viewed through a gender lens. It incorporates programming from Oxfam’s own work to highlight good practice in tackling these barriers.

EXPLORING BARRIERS TO INCLUSION

One study (Hingels et al. 2009) has produced what the authors term an “identikit” of the active citizen in Europe. The authors suggest that the level of active citizenship is higher in countries that have a higher level of GDP, with a more equal distribution of income, and that are characterized by a more heterogeneous religious climate. These macro-level factors, or national characteristics, need to be considered against micro-level factors. At the individual level, the strongest determinant of active citizenship was found to be education and participation in lifelong learning activities. This finding was also found to be a factor in explaining political participation (see the preceding discussion).

Education and learning, and active citizenship

While Hingels et al. (2009) highlight that the strongest determinant of active citizenship was found to be education and participation in lifelong learning activities, a UK-based study notes that active citizenship is often learned “incidentally and informally throughout life” (Preece, n.d.). It further notes differences between men and women in how and where they acquire their active citizen skills. Hoare’s (2014) study suggests that motivation for active citizenship is inspired by personal experience—individual and collective—and a sense of belonging, a desire to help others, and self-realization.

The public/private divide and active citizenship

Preece (n.d.) suggests that the learning of citizenship values needs to include a more pluralistic understanding of gender relationships, particularly in relation to

family roles and to the conceptualization of the public/private. She found that having a “care” role in the family was a critical influence—either to hinder or to determine citizenship activity. Yet, concepts such as the family and care, which are constructed as private issues, are then ignored for their contribution to citizenship (Yuval-Davis 1997). To link the public and private worlds of citizenship and the increasing role that all individuals play in both requires recognition of the concept of interdependency. Porter (2001), among others, argues that interdependence should be taught as a feature of responsible citizenship.

Raising critical consciousness

In the social accountability literature, several scholars present critical consciousness as key to effective empowerment. *Critical consciousness* is the process through which marginalized groups are “awakened” and empowered through participatory learning (Freire 1973). It helps groups identify the social drivers of their marginalization and formulate strategies to tackle them (Campbell et al. 2010). The development of critical consciousness helps develop group solidarity and helps create an enhanced sense of agency to make forceful demands (Papp 2013). This solidarity may be within a specific group, such as women, and, as a result there is a justification for creating spaces for women to analyze and reflect on their own position and situation. In the feminist literature, raising gender consciousness sees three stages: first, to expose oppressive power relations; second, to challenge them as social not individual problems; and third, to work together to shape different social relations. The Oxfam RHV project appears to have borrowed from this feminist approach, describing its process as first, raising women’s awareness of their rights—a more general “equality” issue than “accountability” per se—and seeking to create an “enabling environment” of women’s empowerment, rather than instigate a specific project.

Continuous actions

Studies suggest that for change to occur, actions must be continuous (Papp 2013). The extent of social exclusion, gender inequality, and deprivation that women face suggests the need for ongoing efforts to cultivate durable awareness and agency through critical consciousness programming (Iyer et al. 2011). The time commitment needed for successful processes is demonstrated by the Oxfam Great Britain (Oxfam GB) RHV program in Nepal. The program’s community discussion classes brought women together—to share experiences, enhance knowledge of local decision-making, and build communication, advocacy, and leadership skills—for up to two hours a day. While in this case the women themselves asked to increase the time commitment (perhaps owing to the high value placed on the literacy element of the program), two hours is a very high time cost for women. While the need for continuous processes is accepted, it raises specific costs for women in terms of the ongoing commitment in time

(given their heavy reproductive and productive work burden) and economic (lost income) and social costs (stigma and gossip).

Confronting versus building links

Current social accountability programs largely fail to acknowledge the dynamic nature of incentive-driven power plays that exist when the electorate seeks to hold elected officials to account (Tembo 2013). These social accountability programs instead pursue a technical process, which is removed from the contextual reality in which the citizens and state actors operate. Gender adds another layer of power relations that are seldom explicitly acknowledged. Confronting power has inherent risks for all, but women and girls may face additional risks such as sexual harassment and violence. The Oxfam RHV project literature acknowledges the risks faced by women, including public officeholders attempting to “ignore, humiliate and even harass” these women as well as condemnation from husbands and in-laws (Green 2015b). Building civil society networks where women’s groups work with other groups and actors may help ensure women do not assume all the risks alone. However, more fundamental is changing attitudes to sexual harassment to create a culture where such practices are seen to be unacceptable.

The RHV project utilized “implementation gaps”; that is, using, for example, unfulfilled government quota systems for women’s participation in groups and committees. This approach may lessen the risks to women as it takes advantage of a positive policy environment, where the principle of women’s engagement has already been accepted and there is no admissible reason to block the demands of activism.

Changing mind-sets

UNIFEM (2009) suggests improving accountability to women means women’s rights and gender equality need to be “mission critical” in at least three areas: mandates, implementation, and culture and attitudes. The latter is crucial if women’s inclusion is to become an accepted gender norm. As the Kemitraan Partnership (2014) suggests, women’s rights need to enter daily life (including within the household), and public demands for women’s welfare must be translated into popular sentiment. A highly significant finding of the study by Iyer et al. (2011) was the discovery that subtle changes in mind-sets among both marginalized women as well as leaders and service providers may play a key role in the success or failure of social accountability interventions. Informants were unanimous in noting that a change of mind-set and the ability to generate a sense of concern were essential for realizing a system that is more socially accountable. One established means to reach large numbers and change societal attitudes is via social communication strategies that utilize mass media.

However, as noted above, it is important that such actions do more than just improve political literacy; they must actually lead to participation. The We Can campaign (see the discussion below) that was supported by Oxfam GB could provide a model within which to work (Green 2015e).

Differences within and between

Burns et al. (2015) note that citizenship accountability is affected not just by people's relationship with the state but within people's homes and intimate relationships: discriminatory rules and norms that are deeply gendered can be invisible to formal processes of accountability. As the Oxfam RHV program highlights, relationships with husbands and in-laws, as well as male relatives such as fathers and brothers, can be challenged by women's participation, and these people can form an effective barrier to their inclusion in social accountability initiatives. It is also necessary to recognize differences between women. As Mahy (2011) notes, it should not be assumed that all women are victims in the extractive industries context as some women may be able to take advantage of the opportunities opened up in the associated informal economy. Yet, gender discrimination combined with factors such as poverty, caste, and class can contribute to constructing a "culture of silence" for some (Papp 2013:456). Groups not fitting heteronormative assumptions of what citizens look like (such as trans peoples) or of what "good" citizens do (such as sex workers) may be constructed as outside citizenship, and their voices may be silenced.

NGOs and social movements

In the situation of "illegal citizens," NGOs may have to assume the role of "advocate-guardians" (Clarke 2009). Marginalized groups often need to form ties with more powerful actors in order to attain legitimacy, and they do so through linking social capital (Papp 2013). The media and celebrities can also provide key support. It has been suggested that within patriarchal cultures a "mediating actor" is necessary in order to create a "receptive social space" (Campbell et al. 2010) or an "in-between space" (Vaughan 2010) for women. However, the more effective reforms will be those that harness existing momentum within civil society and connect to existing government and citizen initiatives (O'Newell and Wheeler 2006). Women's organizations can act as the necessary "fourth actor" to address gender accountability (Buitenlandse Zaken 2007), something echoed by UNIFEM, which notes that political accountability to women requires strong and autonomous women's movements.

Summary:

- Although education is seemingly key for active citizenship, active citizenship may be learned differently by different social groups, according to their assumed status.

- Two important issues raised by women’s unpaid care work for active citizenship are that (i) it may hinder active engagement in acts of “citizenship” and at the same time (ii) it is not acknowledged as being an act of citizenship.
- If the construction of a collective consciousness is to include women, it may need an approach that borrows from existing gendered methods and places a focus on raising women’s collective consciousness as women first. Shared gender equality issues may be a more effective rallying point than are wider accountability initiatives per se.
- For continued participation and wide inclusion, projects need to recognize and address the costs for women, especially those posed by unpaid care work.
- The move from increasing political literacy, to having voice, to taking actions that bring change will lead to confrontation with those with power. Coalitions need to be built and “implementation gaps” taken advantage of so that women do not carry the risks alone.
- Changing mind-sets in gender norms and gendered needs—of those seeking accountability and those they are seeking to hold accountable—should be a key focus.
- Applying an intersectional lens can provide new insights into the complexity of how identities and inequalities effectively exclude groups of people from social accountability processes.
- Although responding to an understanding that impacts from extractive industries are diverse and dependent on gendered interactions with other forms of identity is likely to be much more complex, it will ultimately be more effective than assuming the existence of a homogeneous group of women victims.
- Investing in existing autonomous women’s groups and movements may bring greater benefits than initiating new women-focused accountability projects.

EXISTING SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY/ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP INITIATIVES THAT ADDRESS GENDER INCLUSION CONCERNS

This final section considers practical examples of initiatives that seek to overcome the barriers identified thus far to women's inclusion in citizen-led accountability efforts, including efforts by Oxfam and other international NGOs.

Many INGOs highlight their initiatives to promote social accountability and active citizenship although they may use slightly different wording; for example, Christian Aid has three large voice and accountability programs providing financial assistance and training to over 400 organizations (Christian Aid 2015). A review of citizen-led accountability initiatives of some of the larger INGOs found that the information they provided about these initiatives tended to be quite general. In addition, although these INGOs mentioned specific initiatives and projects, they presented relatively few gender success stories in terms of concrete change.

Although women were mentioned as a target group or participants, the review of INGO work in this area found very little specific discussion of gender issues within the context of social accountability/active citizenship. Some INGOs have a particular focus, and it is not surprisingly that for an INGO like Save the Children, the promotion of children as active citizens is key. Save the Children's policy and program guide for children as active citizens presents a wide range of ways to help children develop and practice active citizenship skills in relation to civic engagement, media, public decisions and politics, and children-led associations. It could be adapted or be useful when thinking about the girl child (Save the Children 2007).

In terms of the lack of gendered social accountability initiatives, one of the exceptions was Oxfam itself with Oxfam GB initiatives in particular demonstrating a high level of attention to gender issues either as the central focus, for example, the We Can campaign or the Raising Her Voice program, or through the focus on gender issues such as work to eradicate gender-based violence. A gender component underpinned, and was key to the success of, many other programs, such as labor rights in Indonesia or protection committees in the Democratic

Republic of Congo (DRC). A summary of what was learned from 10 Oxfam projects suggests that to effectively address gender issues, a full power analysis, including issues of “power within” is essential, along with an exploration of both formal and informal relationships of power in a given community (Green 2015a).

Existing initiatives such as the Raising Her Voice (RHV) program or We Can campaigns could provide useful information for future social accountability/active citizenship programs and should be used as a base to develop gender-inclusive projects in the extractive industries context. However, while learning from other projects and adopting existing and tested tools are important in designing new programs, each must also be context specific. Processes of accountability need to be grounded in local and lived experience (Burns et al. 2015) and should go beyond the generalities of understanding context to unearth “what aspects of the context matter and how they matter” (O’Meally 2013). An example of adapting a general program to a specific country context is Oxfam’s RHV Pakistan program. This program took as a template the RHV global framework for power analysis, and Oxfam worked with partner organization Aurat Foundation to employ different language to ensure local acceptability: for the RHV in Pakistan, the personal sphere of the framework is phrased as “framing processes that result in and from cognitive liberation.”

Because of the breadth of INGO literature, this report goes beyond examining best practices to specifically focus on social accountability/active citizenship projects and on the tools that could be used in the extractive industries context to address the gender barriers to participation identified above.

GENDERED SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

To be effective, accountability must have two components: answerability (the obligation to provide an account and the right to get a response) and enforceability (ensuring that action is taken or redress provided when accountability fails). For accountability to function, there must also be transparency; in the absence of reliable and timely information, there is no basis for demanding answers or for enforcing sanctions.

At the international level, several transparency initiatives are designed to improve accountability in extractive industries. For example, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) is a global standard to promote open and accountable management of natural resources. It seeks to strengthen government and company systems, inform public debate, and enhance trust (EITI 2015). Another initiative is the Kimberley Process in diamond mining, a certification system established in 2003 by a UN resolution following a series of reports exposing the link between the diamond trade and the financing of conflict.

However, the narrow terms of certification focus solely on the mining and distribution of conflict diamonds, meaning that broader issues around worker exploitation—the health and safety of working conditions, the use of child labor and fair pay—are not addressed. The Kimberley Process also fails to deal with entire populations being evicted from their ancestral homes to make way for mining (Rhode 2014).

As these two examples are international or macro-level initiatives, they are constructed as “gender neutral”; however, they clearly have gendered outcomes in practice that are not currently addressed. For instance, interviews with men and women in Azerbaijan, the first EITI-compliant country, highlighted that they feel oil wealth is being stolen by the government through corruption. Some male interviewees acknowledged that the EITI initiative had helped to open a window for civil society to ask questions and partake in a consensus process through the formation of the National Budget Group and the EITI NGO coalition. In general, awareness of this initiative was lower among women, possibly reflecting difficulties with ensuring that information is distributed equitably to both genders given lower female literacy rates, the lack of easily accessible and easily understood information in local languages, women’s lower representation in community leadership, and women’s lack of direct contact with company representatives.

Gender differences in literacy and language, mobility, and access to communication technology, as well as gendered social norms, will impact the ability of men and women to engage in international- and national-level accountability processes such as the EITI. Literature regarding gendered social accountability on this issue is lacking. The wider literature highlights that civil society is as much a site of unequal gendered power relations as the wider society it seeks to represent (see Bradshaw and Linneker 2003). Collective civil society processes are defined by cooperative conflict—while actors cooperate for collective goals, there is often conflict over priorities and bargaining chips, and these differences may be gendered. It is for this reason that women’s groups often prefer to operate outside “mixed” civil society actions, especially as strategic gender interests such as promoting sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) may not have support from male actors. Where national and international women’s movements have made gains, such as UN conventions and national laws around gender-based violence, it is often the case that in practice these conventions and laws are not enforced. Women’s voices can achieve concrete outcomes such as new laws, but unless those in power are prepared to act on these laws and unless there are changes in how society perceives violence, then the laws have no power. In the extractive industries context, GBV is increasingly being recognized as an issue, but to date this recognition does not seem to have translated into lobbying for extractive industries resources to be used to address GBV and other strategic gender

issues such as SRHR, nor to policies to provide free or affordable child care, for example. However, as Keenan and Kemp (2014) note, a significant gap remains in knowledge regarding the link between including specific provision for women's participation in accountability efforts and improved outcomes for women. Although women are involved in extractive industries accountability processes and gain voice through the process, until this participation results in resources being targeted at tackling issues such as GBV, the processes may only respond to practical gender needs—not promote women's strategic gender interests.

In the extractive industries context, free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) represents a critical accountability tool for ensuring that community voices are heard. A recent Oxfam review of FPIC found that gender was not a strong focus for the majority of extractive industries companies. Out of the 38 companies reviewed, most had very little to no mention of gender or the importance of engaging with women in any of the publicly available policy documents or guidelines (Greenspan et al. 2015). A common claim by these companies was that gender concerns were included in their broader commitments to engaging marginalized groups. Nine companies had some mention of gender in either their codes of conduct, community engagement or human rights policies, or sustainability reporting. Only one had a stand-alone gender policy. Regardless of these findings, some extractive industries companies suggested that their community development programs, such as investment in local schools and health care, were beneficial to women. These assertions suggest a clear focus on "practical gender needs" without a promotion of strategic gender interests through ensuring women are able to voice their own priorities.

A number of social accountability tools exist that may help to get women's—and men's—voices heard (see UNDP 2010 for a full list). For example, a citizen report card (CRC) initiative is being used in Niger Delta communities in Nigeria to raise women's voice (sponsored by Oxfam Novib and produced by LITE-Africa (ONLAG 2012)). Another tool is "gender performance contracts," used successfully in Kenya as part of government performance evaluations of, for example, water sector agencies. Good performers and their teams are publicly rewarded, and as a consequence, top management of public agencies takes great interest throughout the year to perform well. Since 2008, gender targets, including collecting sex-disaggregated data to guide in planning and programming, have been part of the contracts. Other hybrid initiatives include community-based performance monitoring (CBPM) tools that combine elements from three other social-accountability approaches (social audits, community monitoring, and citizen report cards). The CBPM aims to facilitate and support constructive dialogue between the political decision makers and citizens at a local level, with the focus on the local allowing those involved to feel a sense of the immediate relevance of issues being discussed. The UK's Department for International Development's (DFID's) "gender inclusion impact" tool brings the

social accountability and social inclusion agendas together. DFID's Protection of Basic Services II Program in Ethiopia included a "Social Inclusion and Gender Annex" in the memorandum of understanding, and the program incorporated social accountability pilots into its design. These inclusions were intended to ensure the effective, efficient, responsive, and accountable public service delivery for women and marginalized groups (Betts and Gaynor 2010:3).

However, adoption of a tool does not necessarily mean accountability has been achieved, especially for women. As the paths to success have been described as chaotic and unpredictable (Green 2015a), real-time accompaniment, in the shape of periodic visits from researchers, facilitated discussions with staff and partners, and so on is also suggested as necessary (Green 2015a). Including women's groups in participatory spaces is a prerequisite of any gender work, but the mere presence of women, and counting their presence via disaggregated data, does not make a gendered process. While disaggregated data often exists in terms of number of men and women present in a meeting, gender differences in opinions expressed or priorities are often aggregated out at community level. If the outcomes of local voice-raising tools are not gender disaggregated, there can be inherent gender barriers being created within the participatory processes themselves.

If gendered priorities are to be taken on board by local and national governments responsible for delivering services, or by extractive industries corporate social responsibility initiatives, the outcomes from voice-raising tools—not just the processes—need to be gender disaggregated.

SOME KEY GENDERED SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY TOOLS

As discussed earlier, the UNDP (2013) noted that social accountability initiatives can contribute to social inclusion of marginalized groups (including women) in three ways.

1. *The most common initiatives in gender terms are those that demand accountability for an outcome that benefits women. The best example here is gender budget analysis.*

"Gender budgeting" refers to the application of gender mainstreaming in the budgetary process. It means a gender-based assessment of budgets that incorporates a gender perspective at all levels of the budgetary process in order to restructure revenues and expenditures to promote gender equality (Holvoet 2006). The relatively large literature on gender-responsive budgeting (UNIFEM

2010) has been used to improve aid effectiveness (Roeder et al. 2009), to focus on women's reproductive health and rights (UNIFEM and UNFPA 2006), and to hold governments accountable for maternal mortality reduction commitments (Hofbauer and Garza 2009). Gender budgeting can contribute to women's rights and good governance, and Chile's experience is often cited as an example of good practice at institutional and policy levels (Raes 2006). The Brazilian experience shows how the organizational and participative capacity of civil society has helped get gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) onto the public agenda and drive reforms (Raes 2006).

The basic prerequisites for GRB work includes the gender sensitization of government and nongovernment stakeholders, familiarity with the concept and tools of gender budgeting, and the availability of sex-disaggregated data. Preconditions that seem to account for success in GRB include (1) political will, (2) social capital, (3) bureaucratic competence, (4) small size, (5) sufficient resources, (6) legal foundation, and (7) political decentralization (Goldfrank 2006; Carlitz 2013). Gender budget initiatives can be located throughout the full intervention cycle or be directed at specific phases of the cycle. Elson (2003) differentiates between inputs (the means—finance, human resources—to stimulate gender equality), activities (the extent to which men and women have equal access to activities, such as service delivery in health and education), outputs (the extent to which men and women benefit from the outputs and what outputs contribute towards gender equality), and impact (meaning, is there a gender-specific impact? What kind of impact is there on men and on women? What does the achievement of the objective—poverty reduction, access to health and education services—contribute towards gender equality?).

Many diverse GRB initiatives exist. For example, the Women of Uganda Network (WOUGNET) uses crowdsourcing and mobile phone-based information-providing techniques to help people, particularly women, engage with local budgeting processes through community-based organizations (UNDP 2013). At the grassroots level, the Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy is a good example of participatory gender budgeting, but one that has been limited by the fact that it is largely a volunteer-based organization. A related initiative is the public expenditure management (PEM) approach, which seeks to include representatives of local NGOs/community-based organizations in the team responsible for drafting local development plans, the district budget, and investment programs.

The involvement of women in decision-making is key to the success of all gender budgeting initiatives, but taking women's concerns into account is not sufficient. Gender budget analysis and advocacy are technical and requires building budget literacy among civil society organizations, and many groups have experienced difficulties in obtaining gender-disaggregated information. To overcome the

barriers, finding appropriate allies in public agencies has been essential to most successes. The sustainability of gender budget work requires institutionalization within government agencies, a process that is complex and that necessitates commitment from different stakeholders (UNDP 2013).

2. *The second type of social accountability initiative UNDP (2013) describes is special mechanisms to reach out to marginalized groups, noting literature on social accountability initiatives in this case is “rather thin.”*

One mechanism might be developed from the growing literature on participatory planning in urban and rural locations. Differing variations on participatory planning have been used in urban planning in the Philippines supported by One World Action (Chavez 2009). However, examples of gender disaggregated participatory urban planning tools are scant. Recent initiatives include a gendered urban planning and ecosystem services approach in Brazil (Bradshaw 2016) and a gendered urban asset adaptation to climate change project in Mombasa, Kenya, and Cartagena, Colombia (Moser and Stein 2016). In the latter case, the study highlighted gender differences in priorities: women prioritized housing and health, and men prioritized more-productive livelihood assets. Although the community asset plan became a starting point for negotiations with local government, the lack of budget meant the project was not implemented (Moser and Stein 2016).

3. *The third type of social accountability initiative UNDP (2013) described is that which results in outcomes that benefit particular groups more than others. The authors note: “[U]nfortunately, few social accountability initiatives track impacts in such a disaggregated fashion.”*

One example is the Nicaraguan Social Audit, a civil society initiative conducted in Nicaragua post-Hurricane Mitch. Social audits are a process of reviewing official records and determining whether government-reported expenditures reflect the actual monies spent on the ground. CSOs, NGOs, political representatives, civil servants, and workers collectively organize such social audits in order to prevent corruption. Social audits have been used in Rajasthan, India, by the activist group Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), which fought for the right to information. This right is being used to ensure that “clean” candidates stand for election and that public funds are properly spent (TVE Asia Pacific 2010). Many social audits involve information gathering on financial and physical assets, and an evaluation of how resources have been received by and used by the intended beneficiaries. These initiatives are rarely gendered but are generally undertaken in the interests of transparency and accountability. The Nicaragua Social Audit post-Hurricane Mitch is an exception. It aimed to evaluate the use of reconstruction finances and resources from both the central and local

governments and NGOs in disaster reconstruction activities, utilizing a national-level survey (CCER-CIET 2001, 1999). This three-phase process allowed opinions to be tracked over time, and findings were disaggregated not just by gender but also by generation. The social audit process revealed which actors were doing what, and where, and how these actions were viewed by the intended beneficiaries. The process also explored differences in opinions between men and women, and gendered issues such as violence against women (Bradshaw and Linneker 2009, 2016).

The UNDP (2010) has developed a “social accountability check,” which, examined through a gender lens, suggests questioning the capacity and mechanisms women and men have to:

1. **Seek, access, and obtain information.** Are there gender differences in awareness of rights? Can women claim their entitlements? Are there gender differences in access to information channels? Are the information needs of men and women met? Is the information that is available in the language or form that vulnerable groups can easily understand?
2. **Organize and participate in public life and in the development process.**
3. **Check whether vulnerable women know how to claim their entitlements and how to advocate and mobilize for them?** Are there any specific hindrances for women's participation? Are there legal frameworks or regulations that exist that allow women and girls to participate?
4. **Advocate for policy change.** Are there specific channels of participation available and accessible for women and do they meet the communication needs of women? What kind of skills do they require for effective participation and engagement? What kind of capacities are required for local institutions to adopt participatory processes?
5. **Seek, claim, and obtain redress.** Do women's groups have the ability to affect decision-making processes to their advantage? Are there mechanisms established for women and citizens to claim redress? Are there feedback mechanisms established for institutions to respond to the demands of women and provide necessary redress?

GENDERED SOCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY: ADDRESSING BARRIERS TO INCLUSION

The remainder of this discussion will be framed by the structural barriers to participation noted in the first section and the main inclusion issues raised by the social accountability/active citizenship literature reviewed. This section considers which, and to what extent, existing social accountability/active citizenship tools and programming may address these barriers.

- **“Politics” is constructed as “male.”**

To some extent, the literature suggests “accountability politics” is similarly viewed as “male.” For example, Jenkins (2014) reports that mining companies often assume men speak for the community, even when women traditionally own land, leaving women without voice—including over how compensation monies should be spent. Initiatives that promote women as citizens may need to be instigated first before active citizenship principles can be promoted.

For example, the RHV Pakistan project started with the basics: that women are able to move about with some level of freedom, congregate, and enter public spaces, but also that they have an identity card. The Women Leaders Group participating in the national identity cards registration campaign was seen as a critical first step to developing and deepening the political identity and voice of women in their communities.

AMAL—which means “hope” in Arabic—supports women's transformative leadership in Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen, and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. AMAL's aim in this respect is for these women to become leaders who can work with their communities to reclaim their right to political and civic participation and achieve long-lasting positive change. In Tunisia, some observers believe that AMAL had a role in the fact that the new constitution passed in January 2014 recognizes equality in rights and duties between men and women for the first time and also commits to ensuring equal representation of women and men in elected bodies at all levels (Oxfam 2015).

- **Lack of support from men and wider family for women to engage in social accountability processes.**

The Oxfam RHV Nepal program reported that husbands and in-laws felt that wives' and daughters-in-law's involvement in public affairs was against sociocultural norms and practices and could bring disrepute to the family (including, for example, the possibility that women might be more likely to elope). So women's participation in community discussion classes (CDCs) and public meetings was initially severely restricted. It is not clear how this lack of support was overcome—the report states only that “after some initial resistance from men at the household level women's activism and influence in mediation and decision making has come to be valued and supported” (Green 2015b:8). Knowing the mechanisms by which this change was achieved would be helpful since it is reported that, among the women surveyed in RHV villages for the final evaluation, 91 percent reported increased community/family support for women's representation in community structures, compared with 15 percent from non-RHV villages.

In Pakistan (Green 2015c), given male control in all areas of women's lives, Oxfam RHV tried to develop culturally sensitive strategies to reward male supporters of women's empowerment, for example, by recognizing their contribution in positive media coverage and inviting them to meetings with other influential members of the community.

- **Women's participation has opportunity costs that need to be recognized and addressed.**

Little mention is made in the literature of the time costs to women who participate in social accountability efforts. The RHV Nepal project notes how in many cases the local meetings took root slowly, initially "identifying a few women who were relatively free to join project activities." It is not clear if "free" means timewise or free from male control. In other contexts, financial losses may be the main cost where women are engaged in income-generating activities that may be impacted by their participation in groups. Payment to women for their time is not mentioned as an element in any projects or literatures reviewed. Active citizenship may then be something women are expected to assume on top of existing heavy workloads and something they have to assume the cost for, adding another layer to the feminization of obligation and responsibility noted in the gender literature.

- **Gendered roles are a key barrier, particularly unpaid care work, including child care.**

The public/private dichotomy is also highlighted as a barrier to active citizenship. Again, it is not well discussed in the practice literature reviewed. If projects do focus on making women's care work more "efficient" to free time for engagement, the projects might be charged with taking a "practical needs" focus and criticized as such. A "strategic gender interests" focus would see the active promotion of men taking over domestic responsibilities.

The Oxfam We Can campaign cites an unlikely convert in Major Joseph Witekeyi in the DRC. Witekeyi, a human rights officer with the DRC's armed forces, watched a movie about a male "change maker" in the campaign who showed how he helped out with domestic chores at the house. Realizing how unequal the gendered division of labor was in his own household, Witekeyi's transition to undertaking domestic tasks was not immediate, but was noticed. He states that family and friends say that his "wife must be a witch; that she has a strong magic or power over me so that I do not act as a normal man" (Impact Alliance 2015:85).

Oxfam Novib in partnership with a Farmers' Association piloted a Gender Action Learning System (GALS) in the livestock/cattle value chain in Zimbabwe. Women in farming households face a disproportionate labor burden, cattle are owned by men, and women are not involved in sales. The project reports some incredible local impacts within one year of the project, suggesting it was possible to address

structural issues and change the behavior of women and men that was deep-rooted in norms and traditions, by changing household gender relations (Impact Alliance 2015). However, the intergenerational sustainability and ability to scale up the project is unclear.

- **Education may be a key factor to inclusion/exclusion of women in social accountability/active citizenship efforts.**

Changing school curriculum to include citizenship-related issues would be best practice here. As noted by Green (2015a), changing national institutions is difficult to achieve, and such a change would be especially difficult if issues such as interdependency and gender equality were to be part of the active citizenship curriculum. However, sites of learning can be used for social accountability/active citizenship initiatives. In Nigeria, the Impact Alliance (including Oxfam Novib) supported the Female Youth Participation in Governance and Political Processes program. This program mentored and empowered 450 young women in universities and institutions of higher education to participate in leadership processes and systems, and it included direct mentoring of some 110 young women. It is claimed that after the University of Abuja's internal election of the students' council, 37 positions were occupied by female students (Impact Alliance 2015).

- **The mass and multiple media, including social media can help improve political literacy.**

A Nicaraguan feminist NGO (Puntos de Encuentro) wrote and produced a TV soap opera, training local young people in all roles, including as actors. The program covered many issues, including a depiction of a young man demanding his right to free education and holding the school system to account and a storyline around violence against women and girls (VAWG) and sexual abuse. The impact of the program has been well documented, along with other initiatives across the globe that use social communication for social change (Lacayo and Singhal 2008).

- **While improving political literacy is important, it needs to translate into participation that brings concrete and sustainable change.**

Going through gender participatory processes that give voice to women is necessary as it brings about a potential for change. However, voice alone is not sufficient to bring about actionable transformative gender change. If institutions and government officials lack the capacity to respond and be accountable, then gender voice-raising will be insufficient. If women's voices are going to have "teeth," gender priorities need to be translated into actionable measures, which require financial resources and budgets, and local and national institutional governance capacity and reform to improve the gender responsiveness within these institutions.

- **Laws are not enough, and although quotas may exist, they will remain unfulfilled if issues around gender norms and patriarchal attitudes are not addressed.**

The focus of the literature tends to be more on quotas than on fulfilling quotas. Quotas and reserved seats for women have been an effective tool for supporting women's political engagement. Women's direct engagement in public decision-making is not just as a matter of democratic justice, but also a means of ensuring better government accountability to women. However, increasing the numbers of women in politics is in itself not sufficient; gender-sensitive good governance reforms—understood as inclusive, responsive, and accountable management of public affairs that increases state capacity to implement gender policies—are also needed (UNIFEM 2009). In Pakistan new laws mandated that 33 percent of local seats would be reserved for women. However, what often happens is that elected women are represented by male family members, with local elites justifying the practice in terms of local cultural and family values (Malik 2009).

- **Confronting power brings potential and specific risks to women that need to be mitigated.**

Many projects in the RHV program note harassment from male members of the community and from office-bearers of local community bodies including health posts and school management committees. It is not clear what concrete actions were taken in the face of these risks. The Nepal project (part of RHV) notes that women set up alcohol control committees, started limiting alcohol sales in the villages, and imposed fines on drunkards. In some cases, they have gone further and physically destroyed bars. Again, it is not clear if there was a male backlash to these actions. In high-risk situations, or in situations of generalized violence such as in the DRC, the Oxfam RHV project “explicitly opted for positive engagement, rather than direct confrontation” (Green 2015d:7)—building relationships slowly, finding ways to develop trust, and consulting with authorities before launching sensitization plans—in order to minimize risks. This nonconfrontational approach seeks to avoid having women, or their advocates, being exposed to greater levels of violence or having their political space closed down completely.

- **Being present and presenting local-level demands can bring greater positive gendered outcomes than a few high-level women leaders can.**

The Nepal RHV program lends some support to the notion that being present at the local level can be more effective than women in higher leadership, noting that the CDC groups have created a critical mass of aware and organized women, and that facilitators are recognized as change agents by local bodies. The Nepal program noted that women went to Kathmandu for the national assembly and lobby meetings, but the program reported that the lobby meetings did not yield anything concrete immediately. However, women's attendance at these meetings served as a strong morale booster for the women, who felt emboldened and

better able to deal with local-level officials and politicians. As a result of women's participation and leadership between 2009 and 2013, some 308 of the total 596 agenda items discussed in the four local-level target bodies were proposed by women. Of these, 265 were implemented, accessing over £47,690 (\$73,919) of public money for local service improvements.

- **Patriarchy is a key structural barrier and suggests the need to address wider issues of unequal gender power relations explicitly if women's effective participation is to occur.**

There is no instance of a social accountability/active citizenship project explicitly focused on patriarchy, and the concept is often avoided in writings perhaps because of its radical and feminist connotations. However, elements of patriarchal control, most notably, gender-based violence, are often addressed. The Oxfam We Can campaign was not primarily concerned with changing policies, laws, or constitutions—or in lobbying the authorities—but instead aims to contribute to the struggle to end GBV by changing attitudes (Green 2015e). The campaign's goals are to engender a fundamental change in societal attitudes and beliefs that justify and condone GBV. In the DRC, the campaign signed up nearly 70,000 change makers, who each agreed to change a further 10 people in their lives. Campaigns such as these, which work through changing attitudes, may avoid increased risk to women of direct confrontation with the men in their daily lives.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This review has identified barriers to women’s participation and initiatives that can potentially begin to address these barriers in extractive industries resource governance. Several recommendations arise from the literature reviewed concerning what needs to be done to ensure that women are not excluded from citizen-led accountability efforts.

Learn more about what works and why.

According to O’Meally, writing in a World Bank Resource Paper (Quoted in Tembo 2013:4), social accountability initiatives need to go beyond the tools-based approach that carries the risk of concealing “the underlying social and political processes that really explain why a given initiative is or is not effective”. As such, social accountability projects should be treated as “policy experiments,” showing what a good policy would look like and how it could be implemented effectively (Tembo 2013).

- In all cases, a gendered analysis of processes would be required.

Collect the right data.

A number of tools for gender participation have been designed to raise women’s voices in local development. However, while participation data is often disaggregated by gender in terms of attendance at meetings, differences in priorities are often aggregated at the community level and are rarely gender disaggregated.

- Require that sex-disaggregated data be published in all documents and collected as standard in all evaluations in order to make gender differences in priorities visible.

Formalize and institutionalize change.

For accountability initiatives to have lasting change, they need to have key institutional characteristics: (1) legal standing for nongovernmental observers within institutions of public-sector oversight, (2) continuous presence for observers throughout the process of a public agency’s work, (3) clear procedures of conduct for meetings between citizens and public-sector actors, (4) structured access to the flow of official information, and (5) the right of observers to issue a dissenting report directly to legislative authorities (see UNDP 2010, 32–38).

- Ensuring gender equality also requires establishing quota systems, monitoring of women's attendance and voice, and evaluating the outcomes of issues raised by women/around women's rights.

Change attitudes.

Not only is it necessary to build the technical capacities of institutions, but it is crucial to fundamentally change the perceptions of actors so that they view engagement with others, including women, as constructive. The media can play a key role.

Although gender-sensitive social accountability initiatives are not necessarily aimed at improving gender equality, gender inequalities may limit women's ability to engage with social accountability. In particular, in most cultures, women have the responsibility for unpaid care work in the home, and this responsibility limits their ability to be active citizens as long as care work is not constructed as an act of citizenship.

- Problematize the private-public dichotomy, and make visible related unequal power relations within households and their impact on women, communities, and national development.
- Encourage governments to establish partnerships with women's movements and organizations, mass media, and civil society to create an aggressive awareness campaign against women's subordination and to promote women's rights.
- Develop curriculum that does not reproduce patriarchal relations in schools and universities: promote curriculum that discusses issues of citizenship and rights and that exposes gender inequalities.
- Encourage new gender-equal interpretations of religious teachings and partner with faith-based groups that can build acceptance of women who participate in social accountability efforts.

Address issues of power and voice.

Strengthening voice and accountability require longer-term commitments than those usually made in project planning. Building relationships with key strategic actors (both state and nonstate) over the long term seems essential to ensure positive outcomes, as is helping to build strategic alliances between key actors and within civil society, whose voices are heard and levels of inclusion in participatory processes are fundamentally shaped by power as well as cultural norms and discrimination. The UNDP (2010) notes that these issues are difficult to address, but the UNDP suggests that when selecting civil partners, it is critical to pay attention to issues of integrity, quality, and capacity. The UNDP also suggests the following steps:

- Engage with CSOs beyond traditional NGOs, such as informal groups, social movements, religious organizations and trade unions, and those that have ties to the grassroots and can reach marginalized and isolated groups, including women.
- Target adult women, especially rural women, with evening and weekend literacy classes that fit into their lives as a means to improve their political literacy.
- Support existing women’s organizations, through funding and/or capacity building to develop women’s capacity to exercise their voice and find their teeth.

The literature demonstrates the need for “voice and teeth” in accountability projects. It also demonstrates that often gender-equality programming is needed to enable women to take their place and have a voice in gender-sensitive programming. Some gender-sensitive programming can actually bring more costs than benefits to women—if they are included only as the means to gain a more efficient outcome, for example, or if the processes and benefits reinforce rather than challenge unequal gender power relations. Gender-sensitive programming that aims to promote gender equality through processes and outcomes should be the goal.

Although women’s voices are increasingly being given room to be heard and although practical benefits may result for women from being heard, whether having a voice advances women’s strategic gender interests is less well explored. There remains a significant gap in knowledge around how participation in citizen-led accountability efforts relates to improved outcomes for women in the extractive industries context. This is clearly an area for future research.

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