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Putting gender in political economy analysis: Why it matters and how to do it

Practitioners' Guidance Note

The Women's Participation and Leadership Working Group,
Gender & Development Network¹

Key messages

- Development practitioners use political economy analysis to understand how and why power and resources are distributed the way they are in a society and what this means for their objectives.
- A *gendered* political economy analysis explicitly examines how gender and other social inequalities shape people's access to power and resources and what this means for feasible pathways of pro-poor and equitable change.
- A political economy analysis should be a good-enough and action-oriented product that practitioners review and use to adapt their thinking and activities through the life of the programme.
- As a practitioner-led, participatory approach, gendered political economy analysis ensures the perspectives of a diversity of women inform the *process*, *findings* and *use* of the analysis.
- This leads to a more holistic understanding of the causes of poverty and inequality and helps practitioners to identify how to support marginalised people to actively change root causes.

Contents

1. Why this guide	3
2. What gender adds to political economy analysis	4
A. Support a holistic diagnosis of poverty and inequality	4
B. Avoid reinforcing existing or historical power imbalances	5
C. Diversify our view of change pathways and change agents	7
3. How to do a gendered political economy analysis	7
A. An inclusive political economy analysis process: including women's voices	8
B. Gendered stakeholder analysis: thinking about agency and power differently	10
C. Gendered political economy analysis: thinking about people's motivations and behaviour differently	15
D. Identifying entry points and realistic pathways to change	21
4. Gendered political economy analysis: a way for practitioners to think and work	21
Annex 1: Thinking about power differently	23
Annex 2: Using gendered analysis to identify pathways of change	25
Annex 3: Methodology	28

1. Why this guide

Development is as much about power as sound technical solutions. *Sustainable* development rests on fairer and more inclusive *politics and governance* – in other words, finding ways to decide who gets what, when, and how in a society that includes all groups and leaves no one behind.

Development practitioners and researchers recognise that better development outcomes will not come from good technical approaches alone.ⁱⁱ To act on this, organisations that design and implement development programmes need to both “think and work politically.”ⁱⁱⁱ *Thinking* politically encourages us to better understand how those who currently have power can support or frustrate change, and what political factors make change possible or unlikely. *Working* politically means having politically transformative objectives, such as distributing rights and resources more fairly in society, and using our knowledge of power and politics to achieve those objectives.^{iv}

Politics do not only happen in governments and parliaments. Politicians may have the most obvious political power, but decisions and actions that determine how societies work happen in various formal and informal institutions, including by traditional leadership, local governance bodies, private businesses, community development cooperatives, homes, workplaces, and on the streets. Thinking politically helps us to better identify where power lies in practice and how decisions that affect the public actually take place. It can also help us to understand how those who may *seem* relatively powerless can still affect change.

Alongside other tools, political economy analysis can help programme staff go beyond technical solutions, to better understand how to think and work politically in their programmes. There are many political economy analysis toolkits and guides available,^v but common to most is that they try to deepen our understanding of power and politics through analysis of:

- social, political and economic influences in society, and how these shape people’s incentives and behaviour
- which individuals and groups have an interest in an issue, and how they drive or obstruct change
- overall political barriers and opportunities in relation to a particular development challenge, and how these might be addressed or harnessed.

Critically, however, **political economy analyses have often ignored one of the most pervasive systems of power in most societies – gender**^{vi} and the unequal power relations between women and men.^{vii} This means that many political economy analyses overlook some of the major ways that we need to think politically, and fail to point us to some of the viable options for organisations to work politically.

By contrast, gender analyses often focus exclusively on social norms or formal laws, and do not deal with governance systems and the political interests and incentives that influence gender relations and outcomes for women and girls. The two forms of analysis often do not incorporate each other's strengths.^{viii}

This Guidance Note aims to address this gap by showing how a gender perspective can improve political economy analysis. It is written for development practitioners and is based on programme experience. The Note:

- explains what gender adds to political economy analysis (Section 2)
- gives guidance on how to bring a gender lens to political economy analysis (Section 3).

2. What gender adds to political economy analysis

In international development, political economy analysis is used to understand how the politics and economics of a particular problem affect the possibility of change, such as improved services or more inclusive growth. A comprehensive political economy analysis must demonstrate a thorough understanding of where power lies and why, the ways power shapes how decisions are made and resources are shared, who uses and benefits from these arrangements, and who does not.

Gender norms and roles shape power at all levels of society, from the family to international politics. **Ignoring gender within a political economy analysis limits the value of the analysis to development programming, because gender is an essential dimension of all power relations.** By contrast, when development practitioners use a gender lens to analyse how politics and economics affect a development problem, they are able to:

- a. undertake a more holistic diagnosis of poverty and inequality, including women's exclusion from leadership and decision-making
- b. avoid reinforcing power relations that systematically exclude and harm women, girls and other disadvantaged groups
- c. identify new pathways and agents of social and political change.

A. Support a holistic diagnosis of poverty and inequality

In most societies, privileged groups have built rules, decision-making spaces and social norms that benefit them. The sources and characteristics of privilege vary from one context to the next, but they typically benefit men, the educated, the wealthy, the able-bodied, the heterosexual, and people with dominant identities (whether ethnic,

religious, caste-based, etc.). This often means that women and others are disadvantaged in various ways because they have not had as much influence over how society works, and have not been able to design services and social systems that work well for them. **When our analysis treats male leaders and male-dominated institutions as if they are the natural state of things, we miss how their privileged position results from the way they exercise power and is also a driver of poverty and inequality.**

Applying a gender lens to political economy opens our analysis up to how a variety of identity differences influence people's access to resources and opportunities and, ultimately, their life chances and well-being. Gender intersects with other aspects of identity such as class, ethnicity, religion, age, geographical location, marital status, citizenship, etc. These factors affect a person or group's social positions, access to power, and ability to realise their rights. Once a gendered political economy analysis starts looking out for social differences, and begins considering who is absent from obvious positions of power and why, it opens the analysis up to doing so across a range of differences. This makes it more likely that we diagnose poverty and injustice holistically and identify their fundamental drivers, such as limits on women's choices, and men's over-representation in leadership, decision-making, the media and public life in general.

B. Avoid reinforcing existing or historical power imbalances

Political economy analysis is often so focused on understanding how things *are* that it misses seeing what and who are *absent* from power and politics, and fails to imagine how things *could* be. In a context where men dominate visible positions of power and have shaped most of our institutions, rules, and social practices over time, it is easy for our analysis to identify male leaders and the institutions they are involved in as being most relevant to change, and focus the rest of the analysis on better understanding them.

As a result, political economy analysis often “gets stuck with elders and men”, as one practitioner interviewed for this paper commented. When female stakeholders are identified, they tend to be seen solely as passive recipients of services or as victims of a discriminatory system. This approach to political economy analysis can provide insights on how to work effectively with existing power structures and may help to accomplish short-term goals, mostly by playing by the current rules. For political economy practitioners, this is often called “working with the grain” of politics and society.^{ix}

Finding ways to harness how society currently works, and to align with the interests of people and groups with the most power, can be an important aspect of effective programming in difficult environments. However, this kind of approach can miss understanding why certain people have power over others in society, finding out

whether groups that appear powerless might have less obvious kinds of power, and understanding who is left out entirely and why.

When political economy analysis ignores a gender perspective, it can generate politically informed programming that is so focused on getting things done under current circumstances, that it becomes difficult to imagine how those circumstances might change. A narrow focus on elites and visible forms of power may even legitimise existing power structures by operating consistently on their terms. Conventional political economy analysis can also fail to spot where traditionally excluded groups have begun to negotiate new rights and resources, with the risk that subsequent interventions are in danger of reversing early stages of positive change. This is especially the case in conflict and fragile contexts that, despite being violent or unstable, can be incubating environments for positive change. **Political economy analysis may therefore support “thinking politically”, but actively discourage programmes from having transformative political goals.**

Box 1: Thinking about power differently

One way that academics have tried to understand power is by looking at more and less visible and tangible forms of power and how these work in different ways to maintain inequality and injustice.

Three forms of power:^x

- **Visible power** is held by people with official positions or well-recognised authority.
- **Hidden power** describes the tactics people use to protect their interests and privilege, often in private.
- **Invisible power** describes the dominant ideologies, values and social norms that shape people’s expectations and behaviour.

Five ways to exercise power:^{xi}

- **Power over** is controlling others and making them do something.
- **Power from within** is a person’s sense of self-worth and self-confidence.
- **Power to** is a person’s ability to shape their life and environment.
- **Power with** is people coming together around shared interests to build a common cause.
- **Power under** is the acts of resistance and subversion by people who are subject to domination.

See Annex 1 for more details on these different types of power and further references.

C. Diversify our view of change pathways and change agents

When political economy analyses do not include a gender perspective, they paint a picture of *some* of the influential institutions and people relevant to an issue. But they typically fail to identify *all* institutions or people that could be useful or influential. They fail to reveal the agency, actual or potential, of typically excluded people or groups. They also fail to identify and understand the sources of power that women and marginalised people may already possess, and learn from them about what they might need to increase that power.

In contrast, **gendered political economy analysis identifies the power of different women and other excluded groups that may be less visible.** Their agency – or their ability to make informed choices and decisions about their life and act upon them^{xii} – can then be understood and strengthened in programming. Perhaps they are part of a growing social movement, an increasing online presence, or a newly empowered class of workers. They may not be parliamentarians, chief executive officers, or heads of prominent families, but they may derive power from other sources. In addition, a gender perspective enables practitioners to think about why some groups may accept an unjust status quo, and how this might contribute to poverty and inequality.

Box 2: Identifying Women Change Agents^{xiii}

The Peace Leadership Programme in Myanmar (led by the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies) has trained a selection of women peace leaders in support of more gender-inclusive peacebuilding efforts. The programme has included gender as a key lens within conflict and political analysis. It has worked with a selection of women identified as having high levels of trust and legitimacy within their local contexts, with a “unique ability to directly and/or indirectly influence conflict parties and behaviour by way of direct mediation, advocacy, and/or building consensus with negotiating parties”.

Although women formally have very limited roles in Myanmar’s peace processes, the analysis has enabled the programme to work with women with informal change-making potential, and has also identified persistent and significant gaps in women’s decision-making power. Based on this analysis, the programme works with women to support and expand their influence and participation in peace processes in the country.

3. How to do a gendered political economy analysis

In Section 2, the Guidance Note discusses *why* political economy analysis has often not considered gender as a critical power dynamic, and how this limits the use of political economy analysis in development programming. In this section, the Note provides guidance on *how* to bring a gender perspective into political economy

analysis. First, the Guidance Note discusses how to bring women into the *process* of conducting the analysis, so that their experiences and interests can shape the content (Section 3a). It then breaks political economy analysis down into two main parts – a gendered stakeholder analysis (Sections 3b) and a gendered analysis of how social, economic and political factors affect a specific development problem (Section 3c). Finally, it shows how the analysis can be used to develop entry points and pathways of change for programming (Section 3d).

Using political economy analysis to understand a *specific* development problem is more useful for development practitioners than trying to look at the whole set of political and economic dynamics affecting an entire country, or even a whole sector.^{xiv} This is called problem-focused political economy analysis. Doing problem-focused political economy analysis means a practitioner identifies a key problem that their programme wants to address, and aims to better understand the political and economic causes of that problem and feasible solutions in their particular context.

This Guidance Note recommends easy-to-use tools for practitioners to draw on when doing a problem-focused and gendered political economy analysis. To demonstrate how these tools can be used and how a gender perspective improves a political economy analysis, the Note works through a specific development problem: **limited access to justice and legal redress for poor and marginalised people in rural Bangladesh.**

Practitioners should adapt these tools as appropriate for their programme and context. For political economy analysis to be useful, the precise tools matter much less than the *process* of analysis and *how it is used* within programme design, implementation and learning. An important element of this is doing the analysis repeatedly in order to understand change over time, and using the analysis to regularly inform programming decisions.

A. An inclusive political economy analysis process: including women's voices

In many programmes, temporary consultants carry out political economy analysis without significant engagement with programme staff or members of affected communities. Sometimes analysis is based heavily on desk reviews of existing literature and interviews with “experts”, without gathering knowledge from programme partners and participants. Political economy analyses are often dense, technical reports and practitioners can find it difficult to work out how to use them to do things differently in their programmes.

Box 3: Using participatory gendered political economy analysis to include diverse voices

Participatory gendered political economy analysis can be inclusive by doing three things:

- bringing together different teams, expertise and experience, including governance and gender specialists
- actively including programme staff (female and male) in the production and regular review of the analysis
- seeking the opinions and ideas of women from the programme's impact populations and other key informants, like women's rights organisations.

A more participatory approach, **where programme staff build on their own political and social intelligence to produce an analysis that they know, understand, and are able to update regularly, is much more likely to be used in day-to-day work and lead to better programming.** Programme staff are often focused on implementation and have limited time. However, making time for the people who design, manage and implement programmes to be fully involved in doing political economy analysis pays off by building team capacity and programme quality.

To ensure that the political economy analysis integrates a gender perspective, **it is essential to ensure that women are able to fully participate in the process and that some of the analysis is actually being produced by women** in our own and partner organisations and in the communities we are working with.

Box 4: Gendering the process: involving women in the production of political economy analysis^{xv}

CARE International's Harande programme, a food security and conflict mitigation programme in Mali, was designed based on an integrated analysis, which blended gender-aware political economy analysis and conflict analysis. This analysis intentionally captured women's knowledge on the local political economy and dynamics of conflict, in two critical ways: a) the data collection tools were designed to ask explicit questions about gendered differences in society and gendered differences in opinion about the causes of local conflicts; and b) female staff members, women's rights organisations, women-led community groups, and female farmers were key informants (in focus groups and as individuals).

This approach influenced the conclusions of the analysis. For example, the study determined that women hold significant local leadership positions related to conflict resolution, but have been excluded from decision-making around natural resource management. This division is unhelpful for conflict prevention. The ensuing programme has focused on further expanding women's role in conflict mitigation, and using this to support them into greater community decision-making roles in other areas, including natural resource management.

In order to make the *process* of conducting political economy analysis inclusive of women, we need to gather information through participatory approaches,^{xvi} such as group mappings and focus group discussions (in addition to using existing literature). Furthermore, we need to design these information-gathering approaches in ways that enable those with less power or visibility in an organisation or community to contribute their knowledge. By doing so, we are more likely to incorporate the perspectives and abilities of different women, and understand how women are or could be influencing change. Participatory analysis is also more likely to be understood and used by a wider range of programme stakeholders during implementation.

When thinking about which women to engage in participatory political economy analysis, it is important to remember that women (like men) are not a homogenous group. Age, race, ethnicity, education level, wealth, sexual orientation, marriage and familial status are just some of the factors that shape a woman's experiences. These social factors influence the sources of power and decision-making spaces that a woman has access to, and the social norms that limit or enable her.

It is equally important to be mindful of power relationships *within* groups of the same gender. For example, young women and men may self-censor when participating in a meeting with their elders, and elders may not make room for, or value, contributions from younger members of their communities. A diversity of women should have the opportunity to contribute to participatory political economy analysis.

B. Gendered stakeholder analysis: thinking about agency and power differently

A problem-focused political economy analysis often begins with a stakeholder analysis. The objective of this exercise is to identify which individuals and organisations have an interest in, or are affected by, a particular social issue or development problem. These are people who might be able to drive actions to address the problem, or block them. Practitioners first make some kind of list or map of relevant individuals, organisations, or other type of actors (like social movements, businesses, etc.). This should be undertaken in a participatory way, seeking inputs from different groups of people.

Stakeholder analysis often focuses on those with the most visible power in society, which are usually men or male-dominated institutions. We often forget to map those with power that is less obvious or official. We also often do not consider how invisible forms of power (such as social norms) affect the position of different stakeholders and their ability to act to defend their interests or challenge injustice (or how this might change). Women and women-led organisations may have different sources of power than male leaders or male-dominated organisations, and they may have *relatively* less ability to represent and advance their interests in public spaces. However, we do not want to map only those who currently hold significant visible power. **We want also to map those who have an interest in the development**

problem we are studying, whether they are typically considered powerful or not.

A *gendered* stakeholder analysis also maps individual women, women’s groups, and organisations with particular relevance for women.

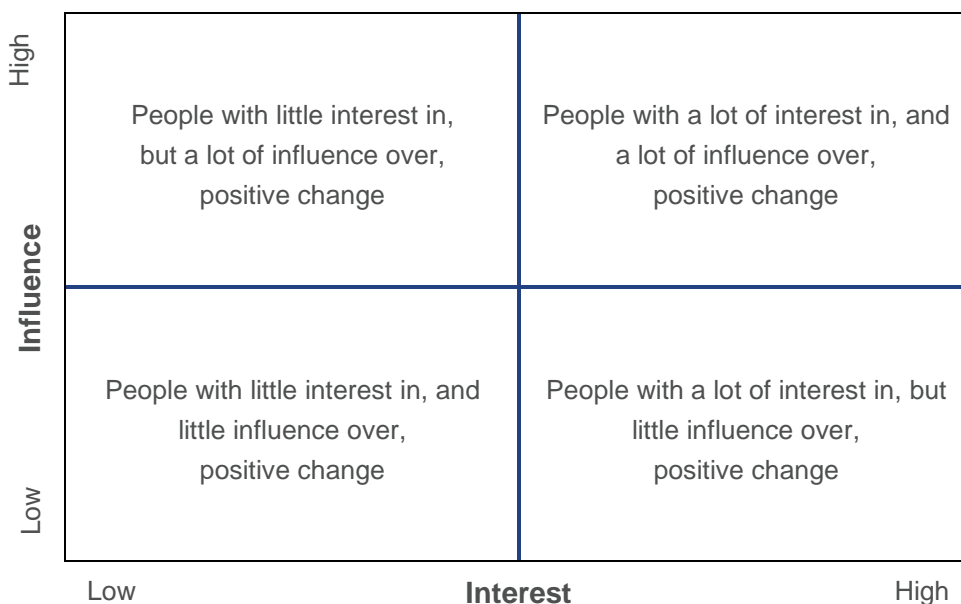
As an example, Table 1 shows what a gendered stakeholder mapping might look like for a practitioner thinking about access to justice and legal redress in rural Bangladesh.

Table 1: Mapping of stakeholders with an interest in the justice system in rural Bangladesh

State/political	Civic/citizens	Economy/business
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judges and lawyers, including female lawyers • Local council (Union Parishad), incl. mandatory proportion of female councillors. • Local courts • Local authorities/administrators • Police • Prison services • Ministries/state agencies (justice, local gov’t) • MPs (female and male) • Political parties • Local ‘strongmen’ • State legal services (e.g. family, NGO mediation, one stop shops) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community elders • Community dispute mediators (<i>shalish</i>), both female and male • Paralegals • Legal aid/advocacy organisations (e.g. human/women’s rights organisations) • NGOs with interest in access to justice/legal empowerment • NGO legal services (e.g. family, mediation, one stop shops) • Bilateral/multilateral donors • Media • Citizen Forums at union level • Community-based groups (e.g. women’s solidarity groups, landless groups, service user groups) • Village development committees • Rural women and men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal firms, incl. public interest/rights-focused • Other businesses • Shadow economy groups (e.g. fixers, illegal trades/traders) • Producer groups (mixed/women’s) • Female/male small and medium-sized business owners • Media

The next step in the stakeholder analysis is to plot the level of interest a stakeholder has in the particular issue and their influence (actual or potential) over positive change, which includes both their ability to drive or block it. Figure 1 shows a tool that can be used to do this.

Figure 1: Mapping stakeholders' interest in change and influence over it



This step of the mapping puts the stakeholders into these four different categories. Following along through the earlier example, Figure 2 shows what this might look like for people who have a stake in the justice system and whether poor and marginalised people have access to justice and legal redress in rural Bangladesh. This step can lead to groups being further sub-divided and more specifically defined – such as distinguishing between officials who are more or less likely to support progressive change, or between women and men in a particular role or position.

Figure 2: Mapping stakeholders' interest in increasing people's access to justice in rural Bangladesh and their influence over change

<p>1. Little interest but a lot of influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judges and lawyers • Local council and courts • Local authorities / service providers • Police • Ministries • Political parties and MPs • Community elders and religious leaders • Male community dispute mediators • Media • Business 	<p>2. A lot of interest and influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive politicians, judges and administrators • Social justice lawyers and public interest law firms • Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
<p>3. Little interest or influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wealthy urban and rural residents (not already in other categories) • Some unorganised poor and uneducated people • Some migrants without legal status • Some prisoners • Some isolated women • Some women subject to domestic violence 	<p>4. A lot of interest, but little influence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Female community dispute mediators • Paralegals • Legal aid/advocacy organisations • Human/women's rights organisations • NGOs working on law, justice and development • Social justice and women's rights researchers • Specialist services (e.g. gender desks, services for GBV survivors, one-stop shops, etc.) • Bilateral and multilateral donors • Community-based groups (e.g. women's solidarity groups, landless groups, producer groups) • Village development committees • Some unorganised poor and uneducated people • Some isolated women • Some women subject to domestic violence

Many practitioners will have an intuitive sense of who has a stake in a particular problem, what kind of stake, and where to position them on the matrix. However, positioning stakeholders on this matrix should be part of the wider consultation with people with different perspectives and experiences. For instance, NGO staff may have a different view than local women's rights organisations, and male staff members may have a different view from female staff members.

In our example, the following considerations may have gone into the placing the stakeholders in the different quadrants:

- In **quadrant 1** are the many people and organisations that have official or visible power and influence over how the justice system works in Bangladesh, but do not perceive that they have a clear interest in its reform. Some of these stakeholders lack interest in, or actively resist, change because they are privileged men and the justice system works well or well enough for them. Other reasons may be that their organisations do not see championing the interests of poor people or women as a priority, or that doing so would not advance their personal career interests or would expose them to criticism.
- In **quadrant 2** is a smaller group of people and organisations who have official influence over how the justice system works and a personal or organisational interest in promoting the rights of marginalised people. At the same time, their power to act is diminished because they work within the context of a larger number of politicians, bureaucrats and service providers who have less or no interest in changing the status quo of justice provision.
- In **quadrant 3** are the many activists and associations of citizens and professionals who have a strong professional and/or personal interest in making the justice system fairer. These groups have relatively less power than other individuals and groups to effect change. Reasons for this include that they are not able to set the political agenda, are subject to political intimidation, have limited access to resources (money, knowledge), or are socially excluded. Also in the quadrant are the many poor and Bangladeshis that are directly and negatively affected by the way the justice system currently works but who may feel that they are *relatively* powerless to change things (e.g. because they are isolated or unorganised).
- In **quadrant 4** is the largest number of stakeholders – the poor and marginalised Bangladeshis who do not have recourse to affordable and equitable justice and are not aware that the system discriminates against them or could and should be different. They are a potential but unrealised source of mobilisation for change (e.g. if they developed “power from within” and “power with” others).

The process of doing a stakeholder mapping will already start to bring out where different groups and organisations sit in relation to the problem at hand and why. However, a more in-depth and structured analysis is needed for practitioners to think through how their programme might work politically to address the underlying causes of the selected development problem.

C. Gendered political economy analysis: thinking about people's motivations and behaviour differently

The next step in a political economy analysis is to **think about the social, political and economic factors that shape stakeholder's motivations and behaviour**. This includes thinking about long-term trends or sudden events (historical or potential) that change people and groups interests and relative power in ways that open up or close down the possibilities of change. This helps practitioners to better understand why people behave the way they do, in relation to the particular issue the programme seeks to address. It can also help us to predict the likely reactions of different stakeholders to programme activities.

A good political economy analysis looks holistically at the factors that influence people's choices and behaviour, including visible and less visible ones. These factors include:

1. **Formal rules and rights:** rules that are written down in constitutions, law and regulations and which official bodies oversee and enforce.
2. **Social, cultural and economic structures and norms:** unwritten rules that shape shared expectations about how people should behave. Norms are enforced through social sanctions or self-censorship. Shared norms may or may not be consistent with formal rules and rights. They can undermine the enforcement and realisation of formal rules and rights, and they can also drive behaviour that is not governed by formal rules.
3. **Values and beliefs:** the things that people think are true or right. Where a person's values and beliefs contradict social norms or laws, a person may not act on them for fear of social or official sanction.
4. **Drivers of social or political change:** sudden events or longer-term trends that disrupt the status quo by changing people's ideas and interests and/or the balance of power between groups. These drivers include trends such as urbanisation, women entering the workforce, or new technology. They also include events like the outbreak of war, the signing of a new international treaty, or the changing of a leader or party.

A gendered political economy analysis goes further, to consider how these social, political and economic factors affect women and men differently.

Using these categories, Table 2 picks up the working example, showing some of the factors that influence the motivations and behaviour of actors with an interest in the justice system in rural Bangladesh. The left column examines these factors in general terms, while the right column shows *additional* factors that are particularly relevant from a gender perspective. The table shows how considering gender norms and women's agency, rights and interests adds to the analysis of the problem and potential solutions.

Table 2: An analysis of what shapes the power, motivations and behaviour of people with a stake in the justice system in rural Bangladesh^{xvii}

<p>What shapes the power, motivations, and behaviour of people in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?</p>	<p>What <i>additional</i> factors shape the power, motivations, and behaviour of <i>women</i> in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?</p>
<p>1. Formal rights, rules and policy</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive constitutional and legal rights, guaranteeing civil and political rights. • Formal recognition of plural legal systems (e.g. religious and customary law). • Formal separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers, including oversight bodies (e.g. Anti-Corruption Commission, Human Rights Commission). • Dual legal system including civil and criminal courts and related providers (police, prisons, prosecutors, lawyers, legal aid), and traditional/community/NGO-led dispute resolution (<i>shalish</i>). • <i>Shalish</i> has legal authority to deal with civil disputes and some minor criminal disputes as permitted by statutory law. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guarantees of non-discrimination on basis of gender or other characteristics. • Primacy of constitutional over customary/religious law in relation to personal status law (e.g. marriage, divorce, inheritance). • Reserved seats for women in national and local government, and quotas for women in the civil service. • Low level of provision of specialist justice services for women and other measures to ensure that services (e.g. police) respond to needs of women and girls.
<p>Why important? These factors inform:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What legal rights different people have in Bangladesh. • Which bodies they are able on paper to go to when their rights have been violated. • What that body is legally able to do in response. 	<p>Why important? These factors inform:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What legal rights <i>women</i> and <i>girls</i> have in Bangladesh or, in the case of customary/religious law, a specific location within Bangladesh. • Whether on paper there are justice providers to respond to the particular needs of women, girls and other groups that face gender discrimination (e.g. lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex communities). • Whether women have fewer or different legal rights than men, if they take their claims to community or religious justice mechanisms or to a court. • Whether women are present among justice providers or links in the justice chain (e.g. courts, community mediation, police, health professionals). • Whether women are present in the bodies that decide how the justice system works and holds the judiciary to account (e.g. legislatures, cabinets, judicial review bodies, human rights commissions).

What shapes the power, motivations, and behaviour of people in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

What *additional* factors shape the power, motivations, and behaviour of *women* in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

2. Social, cultural and economic structures and norms

- Majority Muslim Bengali population (90%), and minority ethnic, religious and linguistic communities subject to discrimination and inequality in access to public and private goods and services.
- Other groups subject to discrimination and exclusion include disabled, LGBTI and older people.
- Dominant groups control and benefit most from governance and market institutions.
- Clientelism, patronage, personal favours, corruption are acceptable/expected.
- People should put their kin or identity group first, rather than individual rights.
- The ruling party can capture state institutions, limit oversight around politically sensitive issues (e.g. from media or judiciary) and use the police and its youth wing to shut down opposition and dissent.
- Disadvantaged groups will/should have fewer access opportunities (e.g. education) and resources (e.g. education, confidence, networks, time, assets, money).
- Disadvantaged groups will have less money to pay official costs and unofficial “fees” at every layer of the justice system.

Why important? These factors inform:

- Which groups have knowledge of their rights and understand where to go to seek justice and how.
- Which groups have the psychological, social and financial resources necessary to use the justice system.
- Which groups have the psychological, social and financial resources necessary to *organise* to seek to change the justice system, the types of organisations they are able to form or ally with, and the strategies they

- Conservative patriarchal norms, with women subject to high levels of discrimination.
- Customary law and religious law have precedence in practice over statutory law in issues of women’s personal status (e.g. marriage, divorce, children, inheritance, violence against women and girls).
- Particular women face higher levels of exclusion and violence e.g. based on marital status, position within a family, and intersection with other forms of discrimination.
- Women are subject to high levels of gender-based violence.
- Women are often financially dependent on their husband or family and do not have control of assets. In a justice system where there are often unofficial fees and bribes at various levels, women may not be able to pursue justice without a financial backer.
- Women have less access to education, information and employment.
- Women are responsible for unpaid labour (domestic/child care) and often have less leisure time than men.
- Women are more likely to remain at home and less likely to interact with men outside the family/community.
- Class influences how gender affects autonomy and mobility, e.g. rural poor women who need to seek work outside the home can have greater mobility than wealthier women who face stricter segregation, but social convention and caste-based discrimination can mean some women are not able to use particular buildings or furniture.
- People may believe that women do not have the ability to be independent, to make decisions or participate in public life.
- Women have few opportunities to develop necessary financial and social capital to obtain official power in Bangladesh.
- Main opposition collaboration with Islamist parties limits the ability of the

What shapes the power, motivations, and behaviour of people in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

are able to use.

- Which groups set the rules that govern how the justice system works and who it benefits, including the ability to block changes that are not in their interest.
- Whether justice providers actually follow formal rules and apply the law equally in practice.
- Which groups have trust in the justice system.
- Whether groups believe it is possible to improve poor and marginalised people's access to the justice system, and how this might be done.
- Whether the justice system and specialist services are adequately resourced in practice, affecting levels of backlog in cases, whether lower courts are up-to-date and using new laws, access to legal aid.

What *additional* factors shape the power, motivations, and behaviour of *women* in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

ruling party to support progressive legal reform, especially where it relates to legal issues which often fall into the category of family law (including personal status law).

Why important? These factors inform:

- Which women have knowledge of their rights and understand where to go to seek justice and how.
- Which women have the psychological, social and financial resources necessary to use the justice system.
- Which women have the time and autonomy to seek justice and over which violations (e.g. a woman might need the permission of her husband and he might be the perpetrator).
- Which women have the personal networks and resources necessary to access and get a favourable outcome from a justice system where corruption and patronage is commonplace.
- Which women have the psychological, social and financial resources necessary to organise to seek to change the justice system, the types of organisations they are able to form or ally with, and the strategies they are able to use.
- Whether/which women set the rules that govern how the justice system works and who it benefits, including the ability to block changes that are not in their interest.
- Whether justice providers apply constitutional or statutory law consistently when they hear cases brought by women or apply customary or religious law that discriminates against women and girls.
- Which women have trust in the justice system.

What shapes the power, motivations, and behaviour of people in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

What *additional* factors shape the power, motivations, and behaviour of *women* in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

3. Values and beliefs

Dominant values and beliefs in society, such as:

- Some groups have less worth than others because of their income, religion, age, sexuality, ability, etc.
- The law and those who apply it should not/do not treat everyone equally.
- Public officials are not impartial and/or honest.
- The court system is not/will not be accessible (e.g. affordable, reachable, in own language).
- A person outside of the community (e.g. an impartial judge in the formal system) cannot deliver a fair verdict because they do not know the parties concerned and do not take into consideration their circumstances.
- When you are poor, the future is not worth investing in.

Why important? These factors inform:

- How justice providers treat different people who use the justice system and how they interpret the law when making a decision or providing a service.
- Which groups will take the decision to seek justice, and through which means.
- Which groups will think it is desirable or possible to change how the justice system works for poor and marginalised people and how this might be done.
- Whether dominant views and beliefs are contested, and by whom.

Dominant values and beliefs in society affecting women's access to justice, such as:

- Women and girls have less worth than men and boys.
- It is acceptable for men to subject women to violence and discrimination.
- It is shameful to talk about domestic matters outside of the family. It is embarrassing and for a woman to take her problems to people outside of her community.
- A woman will/should face shame/stigma/reprisal if she seeks legal redress.
- Mediators or judges will not/should not apply the letter of the law when hearing cases involving women, especially if the dispute is with a family member. They should allow families to deal with their own internal issues, and should allow communities to try to deal with local issues before getting involved.
- The best outcome of a family dispute is reconciliation.

Why important? These factors inform:

- How justice providers treat different women who use the justice system and the assumptions or beliefs that inform how they interpret the law when they provide services to women.
- Which women will take the decision to seek justice, and through which means.
- Who will think it is desirable or possible to change how the justice system works for women and how this might be done.
- Whether dominant views and beliefs are contested, and by whom.

What shapes the power, motivations, and behaviour of people in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

What *additional* factors shape the power, motivations, and behaviour of women in relation to the justice system in rural Bangladesh?

4. Events or trends that might drive or block social and political change

- Government interest in reforming the justice system increases, e.g. to reduce number of prisoners in pre-trial detention, mitigate protest from or buy off particular groups, to enforce standards within a part of the economy due to economic interests.
 - Political space expands, with the collapse of particular parties or alliances, making reform less risky.
 - Changes in the law or judicial rulings provide new rights for poor and marginalised groups to mobilise around (e.g. recognition of citizenship of previously stateless Urdu-speakers).
 - Rights activists, organisations or networks emerge or prioritise new issues.
 - Government appoints a human rights champion or legal reformer in a key position.
 - New or increased funding for justice reform or human rights organisations and/or particular areas e.g. labour rights or gender-based violence.
 - Shrinking civic space, including new restrictions on civil society and the media.
 - Increased/new forms of public violence, which fuel fears around activism.
- Government interest in improving justice for women, for example, to increase international reputation, to support the cost of violence to the economy, or to reduce the burden on the formal system.
 - Changes in law increase women's access to leadership positions (e.g. quotas in local councils).
 - Changes in the law or judicial rulings provide new rights for women to mobilise around (e.g. criminalisation of domestic violence in 2010).
 - NGOs provide new or increased access to specialised services or informal dispute mechanisms.
 - People in positions of power champion women's rights (politicians, lawyers, bureaucrats), or elite women's organisations campaign on poor women's rights or offer opportunities for new alliances.
 - Women have new opportunities to gain assets and information, to organise, and to reflect and act on their conditions because of economic changes (e.g. industrialisation, migration for work, work outside the home, access to finance)

D. Identifying entry points and realistic pathways to change

The final step is for practitioners to consider the implications of all parts of the analysis for the design and implementation of their programme. A political economy analysis usually considers which actions might address the underlying causes of a given problem, and which ones are feasible given social, economic and political conditions. For this final step to be gendered, it is important to think about how any change will affect women and other marginalised groups in particular, and whether a course of action will widen or narrow gender inequalities. It is also important to consider how women can be supported to actively drive social, political and economic change, rather than be passive recipients of new rights, opportunities or resources.

Questions that can guide practitioners in thinking through their pathways of change include:

1. **Causes:** What are the underlying causes of the problem for different groups of women and men?
2. **Responses:** What are the possible responses? (Understanding that, with complex problems, we may only be able to address parts of the problem with a single programme.) How would these affect women and men differently? Are these responses feasible given social, political and economic conditions?
3. **Change agents and resisters:** Which individuals, groups and organisations can drive these changes? Could groups with less obvious sources of power be change agents and how? Which groups are likely to resist change and how might these be co-opted or blocked?
4. **Programme options:** What can the programme do to support and not hinder these processes?

Narrowing the analysis down to a *specific part of a problem* can help practitioners to think in more concrete ways about their programme design. Also narrowing the analysis down to a particular group, or a particular geographical location, can help to get more specific. In Annex 2 we use our example of access to justice to show what conclusions a practitioner might draw about programme options if she were to focus on the specific problem of the **lack of protection and redress for domestic violence in rural Bangladesh**.

4. Gendered political economy analysis: a way for practitioners to think and work

A gendered political economy analysis equips practitioners with the information they need to understand the underlying causes of poverty and inequality holistically and to find solutions that transform rather than perpetuate those conditions. It does this by

putting programme staff in control of a process of participatory analysis, and by enabling them to look beyond the most obvious sources of power and change in society – wealthy men and male-dominated institutions. Using a gender perspective helps practitioners to seek out the less well-trodden pathways of social and political change by considering how groups with relatively less power can be drivers of development, rights and equality.

A gendered political economy analysis is unlikely to support better and more transformative programming if it is a one-off product prepared by an external expert that staff do not use because it is not accessible or does not have clear operational relevance. Even action-oriented analysis is unlikely to improve programming if insights from the analysis are only used to design a programme at the beginning. It is important for staff to use and update the analysis throughout implementation, reflecting on whether the programme activities are contributing to their objectives, conditions have changed, they have learned new information that affects their plans, and they need to adjust course.

Box 6: Reviewing analysis and correcting course^{xviii}

In the context of significant public opposition to the ratification of CEDAW in Tonga, the Pacific Leadership Programme supported capacity building of a coalition of organisations to use gendered political economy analysis to adapt their approaches and make progress on shared gender equality goals. A key insight was the lack of groundwork that had been done with powerful opposition actors including the Catholic Women's League and the Women of the Free Wesleyan Church. In order to build a broader coalition for gender equality advocacy, the goal of the ratification of CEDAW as a whole was temporarily put aside, in favour of taking up individual issues for which it would be possible to make common cause with a wider set of actors. In this case, there was recognition that building broad-based coalitions on more specific issues would be a more effective pathway to change than ratifying an international convention that requires broad support for an extensive package of rights.

The good news is that programming experience has shown that political economy analysis does not need to be done by experts or be expensive and time-consuming. A facilitated workshop with programme staff, coupled with information gathered from other programme participants and some key informants, can be enough to develop politically informed pathways of change that incorporate a gender perspective. Once the foundational political economy analysis is developed in a participatory way, programme staff will be able to use it, review it, update it, and adapt their activities accordingly throughout the life of the programme. By putting gender into their analysis, practitioners will be more able to work politically to change the conditions that perpetuate poverty and inequality, including for women and girls.

Annex 1: Thinking about power differently

Power has an important role in how our societies work but it can be very difficult to identify and to explain. This is because power is not a thing – like trees or chairs – that exists independently of people, their actions and interactions. One way that academics have tried to understand power is by looking at more and less visible and tangible forms of power and how these work in different ways to maintain inequality and injustice.

These three forms of power are:^{xix}

- **Visible Power:** This form of power is typically held by people with official positions or well-recognised authority that enable them to directly influence significant decisions that affect others. Often these refer to official political bodies like elected politicians or appointed heads of ministries/departments, but can also refer to elites within militaries, de-facto heads of non-government armed groups, religious leaders, traditional elders and even the leaders of social movements and civil society.
- **Hidden Power:** This form of power describes how people protect their interests and privilege by tactics that are tangible but are less public or accepted by many (and sometimes even illegal). For example, politicians may commit publicly to act on an issue but make a private agreement to not progress it. A consultation may be held that is open to all but in a location or language that makes it impossible for many people to participate. Business people may pay for a politician's campaign to buy political favours. A village head might be seen as the local leader, but is quietly influenced by religious leaders in the community and relies on them for support. People use hidden power to control agendas and decision-making in many contexts outside of political processes as well, including workplaces, NGOs or community-based organisations.
- **Invisible Power:** This form of power describes how dominant ideologies, values and social norms shape people's attitudes, expectations and behaviour in ways that perpetuate inequalities and injustice. For example, people who live in a monarchy may never question why some people have wealth and entitlements by birth that others do not have. Women and men may not question why women do all or most of the household tasks or why women do not inherit land. Even when it harms or disadvantages them, people may not see invisible power or question and challenge it. This can be because they simply accept the way society works as the natural order of things or do not believe that they will be able to change it.

Visible, hidden and invisible power tends to work together to maintain the position of privileged groups by, for example, allowing them to control rules and norms in society. How then does change ever happen? Thinking about the different ways that people can exercise power can help to understand how disadvantaged groups are sometimes able to press for fairer distribution of rights and resources.

Five ways to exercise power^{xx}

- **Power over** is controlling others and making them do something. Even where this type of power is official (e.g. the power to legally sanction or punish, hierarchical relationships within an organisation), it can involve repression, force, discrimination, corruption, and abuse. Power over sees power as a win-lose kind of relationship, where having power involves taking it from someone else and using it to dominate and prevent others from gaining it.
- **Power from within** is a person's sense of self-worth and self-confidence. It involves the belief that I deserve the same respect and treatment as other people and that I have influence over my own life and environment. Developing power within is a critical part of a person's ability to recognise and challenge invisible power, such as social norms that say that some people are automatically better or have more than rights than others (whether this is because they were born male, of parents from a particular religion or caste, are able bodied, are of a particular sexual preference, etc.).
- **Power to** refers to the unique potential of every person to shape their own life and environment, and their acting on this potential. Both the power to and the power within are also referred to as agency – the ability to make choices and act on them – and together they enable people to challenge all forms of power (visible, hidden and invisible) that are unequal or discriminatory.
- **Power with** is collective power and involves people coming together around shared interests to build a common cause. Power with others is an important source of power for marginalised or disadvantaged people. The process of organising with others around shared interests can help people to see the world in different ways and build trust and solidarity. When people have strong bonds and clear objectives, this can make them a force to be reckoned with, even if they have few rights or material resources.
- **Power under** is the acts of resistance and subversion by people who are subject to domination and control because others exercising power over them. The exercise of power under can be constructive (e.g. civil rights sit-ins or peaceful acts of sabotage) or destructive (e.g. violent acts of sabotage or protest, or officials who steal state resources as an act of defiance or resistance to poor working conditions).

For more information on power see: <http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/what-is-the-powercube/>

For tools to understand how gender intersects with different forms and expressions of power, see: https://werise-toolkit.org/en/system/tdf/pdf/tools/Power-Analysis-for-Strategy_0.pdf?file=1&force=

Annex 2: Using gendered political economy analysis to identify pathways of change

The worked example from the guidance note is used below to show the types of conclusions that might be drawn about programme options in response to the specific problem of lack of legal redress and justice for **women subject to domestic violence in rural Bangladesh**.

1. Causes

Poor and marginalised people in rural Bangladesh have progressive formal rights, including the criminalisation of domestic violence (Domestic Violence Act, 2010). However, they typically do not seek legal redress for violations through the courts because they do not have the necessary knowledge, resources and, importantly, trust in the system. For women, who are most subject to domestic violence, they face additional barriers including restrictions on their mobility, social censure, lower education levels, and financial dependence on their husbands/abusers. There are few specialist services (e.g. medical, legal) for women experiencing domestic violence and police, doctors and lower courts are ill-informed about women's rights and state obligations under the new (2010) law. When rural Bangladeshis do seek redress for a civil or criminal claim, they are most likely to use community mediation or the local government (Union Parishad) court. Male rural elites dominate village and community justice institutions. Like most rural Bangladeshis, male mediators commonly believe (or assume others believe) that men have the right to use violence to discipline their family and that reconciliation is the best outcome to a family dispute.

2. Possible responses

From the analysis above, one might conclude that, in the short-to-medium term, a priority is to improve access to and quality of justice for poor and marginalised women subject to violence through the courts attached to the local (Union Parishad) council and community mediation. Another priority might be to increase their access to alternative services, such as NGO-mediation services that combine women's legal rights and custom practices. To improve justice provision, it is important to have activities that work to change the attitudes, knowledge, expectations and resources of both those who provide justice services and those that use them. It is also important to work to change behaviours of families and community gate-keepers, who often prevent women from reaching local justice providers. To improve affordable and fair justice provision for poor and marginalised women, it is important to also have activities that address the additional obstacles women face because of gender inequality and discrimination, including a lack of access to finance and restrictions on mobility.

3. Change agents and resisters

Significant growth sectors that have been driven by women workers have recently transitioned young women into a notable economic force in Bangladesh. This is challenging norms that confine women to the home and deny them the power to influence domestic or public/community decisions. Some of these women retain greater control over their income than they did previously, and some have increased their social status with their rural families, by sending money home from urban jobs. In addition, the significant value of women-driven industry in the Bangladeshi economy makes the cost of gender-based violence of economic consequence in a more recognisable way. These changes point to the possibility of young women workers as potential new drivers of change, and government economists and private industry executives as their potential allies – an unlikely coalition in the past.

Partly as a result of these social and economic changes, and partly as a result of legal changes (such as the quota law for local councils), there are now a small but growing number of women in leadership positions in their communities, local councils and NGO-supported community mediation. Younger generations are more educated than their parents and are therefore literate and have a stronger sense of their rights.

There is an established group of women's and legal rights organisations in Bangladesh that are committed to improving protection and redress for domestic and other forms of gender-based violence, and provide specialist services and support. NGOs in Bangladesh are supporting women to form solidarity and self-help groups and for some, this leads them to question gender inequalities, and provides strong social connections to non-relative women that were less likely in the past. All of these changes point to potential new change agents.

At the same time, there are key stakeholders – including politicians, government officials and rural male elites – who have vested interests in the justice system remaining as it is, who do not believe that women should have legal redress for, or protection against, domestic violence, or who are not motivated to prioritise funding for women's rights. The ability of NGOs in Bangladesh, including the organisations that were critical to getting the new law passed, to call out government inaction on implementing the domestic violence law is also limited by political conditions, including new legal restrictions on NGO and media activity.

4. Programme options

Based on this analysis, a programme team might consider a narrow, targeted intervention, or a more holistic combination of approaches that might address a range of root causes. A very targeted intervention might be, for example, investing in research on the economic cost of domestic violence, with the aim of influencing economists and budget-holders within government, along with private sector actors, to take a greater interest in the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act. Broader

programmes might include, for example, gender-sensitive training for justice providers, the enhancement of specialist services for women or dedicated female units/departments of existing bodies, augmenting available childcare, supporting reimbursement for travel costs for women and their travel companions, greater mobility of legal services (such as mobile legal aid teams, who can give advice and file preliminary paperwork closer to women's homes or workplaces), domestic violence defence funds that women can access to off-set costs, increasing the number of qualified female legal professionals at various levels of the formal and informal justice systems, and activities with households and communities to reflect on challenge acceptance of violence against women.

These choices will be influenced by many factors, including a team's specialist capacities, an organisation's niche among the work of other organisations and partners, the available length and budget of the programme/initiative.

Annex 3: Methodology

This Guidance Note is an initiative of the Women's Participation and Leadership (WPL) working group – a part of the Gender and Development Network (GADN). The Women's Participation and Leadership working group began in 2012 as a loose network of GADN members, and was formalised as a standing working group in 2014. The foundational thinking for this Guidance Note was developed by the working group, in an informal working paper that was submitted to DFID's Governance, Open Societies and Anti-Corruption team in 2015, as a contribution to their Thinking and Working Politically Review. In the submission, the group critiqued the absence of gender in political economy analysis used to inform development programming. Through ongoing discussions with DFID staff and working group members, the group decided to further elaborate those concerns, with the aim of developing a practitioner-focused Guidance Note on the importance of a gender perspective in political economy analysis.

Through funding from GADN and several working group member organisations, the working group contracted two consultants (Stephanie Bridgen and Kanwul Ahluwalia) to explore the literature around this issue, review a set of case studies, and conduct a series of interviews and focus group discussions with practitioners who have used political economy analysis to inform development programmes. Interviews and group discussions included international NGO project staff from a variety of organisations in several countries; working group members with responsibility to guide programme colleagues in performing good analysis; leading academics and members of research organisations, in particular those working with the Developmental Leadership Program's research on Gender and Politics in Practice; members of the Doing Development Differently Community of Practice in the UK; and members of the inter-agency political economy analysis NGO working group in the UK.

The Practitioners' Guidance Note was written by GADN Women's Participation and Leadership working group members' Rebecca Haines and Tam O'Neil (CARE International UK), with contributions from Emily Brown (Oxfam GB), Gillian Cowell (British Council) and Anna Parke (Social Development Direct).

ⁱ This Practitioners' Guidance Note was written for the GADN Women's Participation and Leadership Working Group by Rebecca Haines (Senior Governance Advisor, CARE International UK) and Tam O'Neil (Senior Gender Advisor, CARE International UK), with contributions from Emily Brown (Governance and Gender Advisor (Oxfam GB), Gillian Cowell (Head of Gender and Inclusion, British Council) and Anna Parke (Technical Specialist, Social Development Direct). We thank Stephanie Brigden and Kanwul Ahluwalia (independent consultants) for their background research and paper. Many thanks to our peer reviewers – Gita Rani Adhikary (Oxfam Bangladesh), Murad Bin Aziz (CARE Bangladesh), Helen Derbyshire (independent), Pilar Domingo (ODI), Sam Gibson (Palladium), Jo Rowlands (Oxfam) and Jessica Woodroffe (GADN) – for their insightful comments and suggestions on various drafts. We thank GADN, CARE International UK, Oxfam and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy for financial support. Any errors and omissions are the responsibility of the authors. The Note can be downloaded at: <http://gadnetwork.org/participation-and-influence/>

ⁱⁱ For example, see Andrews, M. 2011. *The limits of institutional reform in development: changing rules for realistic solutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Booth, D. and Unsworth, S. 2014. 'Politically smart, locally led development.' ODI Discussion Paper. London: ODI; Carothers, T. and de Gramont, D. 2013. *Development aid confronts politics: the almost revolution*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for Peace; Doing Development Differently Community of Practice. 2014. 'Doing development differently manifesto'; Denney, L. and Kirwen, E. 2014. 'Political smart and locally led justice programming: learning from other sectors,' *Just Development 7*, Washington DC: World Bank; Wild, L, Booth, D., Cummings, C., Foresti, M. and Wales, J. 2015. *Adapting development: improving services to the poor*. London: ODI.

ⁱⁱⁱ Leftwich, A. 2011. 'Thinking and working politically: what does it mean, why is it important and how do you do it?' DLP Discussion Paper; Rocha Menocal, A. 2014. 'Getting real about politics: from thinking politically to working differently.' ODI. Thinking and Working Political Community of Practice. 2015. 'The case for thinking and working politically: the implications of "Doing Development Different."'

^{iv} Others that make the case for politically smart approaches to political and transformative goals include: Carothers, T. and de Gramont, D. 2013. *Development aid confronts politics: the almost revolution*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for Peace; Domingo, P., O'Neil, T. and Forest, M. 2014 'Women's participation in peace and security: normative ends, political means'. London: ODI; Yanguas, P. 2017 'Adaptive anti-corruption: best-fit methods for best-practice goals', blog, 13 December.

^v Examples of accessible PEA tools include: DFID. 2009. 'Political economy analysis: how to note'. DFID practice paper; Hudson, D., Marquette, H., Waldo, S. 2016. 'Everyday political analysis'. Development Leadership Programme; USAID. 2016. 'Applied political economy analysis' Draft field guide; Whaites, A. 2017. 'The beginner's guide to political economy analysis'. National School of Government International. Having read this Practitioner's Note, readers should be able to spot how adding a gender analysis would add value to these otherwise helpful tools.

^{vi} Gender refers to beliefs, expectations and norms about the capabilities and roles of women and girls, men and boys. Gender is socially constructed and is learned from, and reinforced by, peers, friends, family, and society at large. Sex refers to biological characteristics.

^{vii} Brown, E. 2014. Gender in political economy analysis. GSDRC Helpdesk report; O'Neil, T. 2016. *Using adaptive development to support feminist action*. London: ODI. Notable exceptions of political economy tools that integrate a partial gender lens include: Denney, L. and Domingo, P. 2017. 'Political economy analysis. Guidance for legal technical assistance'. ROLE guidance note; Laws, E. (forthcoming) Thinking and Working Politically and Gender Equality. GSDRC Help Desk Report; Pettit, J. 2013. *Power analysis: a practical guide*. Stockholm: SIDA.

^{viii} The research of feminist academics combining gender and institutional theory and approaches is an important exception, see, for example, Feminism and Institutionalism International Network.

^{ix} Booth, D. (ed.) 2011. 'Working with the grain: rethinking African governance', *IDS Bulletin Special Issue 42.2*; Levy, B. 2014. *Working with the grain: integrating governance and growth into development strategies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

^x John Gaventa developed and popularised these three dimensions of power. <http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/what-is-the-powercube/>

^{xi} Jo Rowlands developed this well-known four-part categorisation of power (over, to, with, from within), and Srilatha Batliwala added the fifth category (under). Rowlands, J. 1997. *Questioning Empowerment: working with Women in Honduras*. Oxford: Oxfam; Batliwala, S. 2011 *Feminist leadership for social transformation: clearing the conceptual cloud*. New Delhi: CREA.

^{xii} Batliwala, S. 2013. *Engaging with empowerment: an intellectual and experiential journey*. New Delhi: Women Unlimited; Kabeer, N. 1999. 'Resource, agency, achievements: reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment'. UNRISD discussion paper 108.

^{xiii} Ward, O. 2018. 'Peace leadership programme: women's leadership in Myanmar'. Gender and Politics in Practice Case Study 4. Birmingham: Developmental Leadership Program, University of Birmingham.

^{xiv} Fritz, V., Kaiser, K. and Levy, B. 2009. *Problem-driven governance and political economy analysis: good practice framework*. Washington, DC: World Bank; Harris, D. 2013. 'Applied political economy analysis: a problem-driven framework'. London: ODI.

^{xv} Ba, B., Sidibe, K., Sangaré, B., Traoré, K. and Totoro, A. 2017. 'Political economy analysis for food and nutrition security and community resilience, and analysis of conflicts affecting food, nutrition and income security in Harande programme area, Mali.' Report commissioned for CARE International Harande project. Bamako: CARE Mali.

^{xvi} For example see: <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/bridge-publications/cutting-edge-packs/gender-and-participation>.

^{xvii} This analysis draws on various reports, including: Domingo, P. and O'Neil, T. 2014 'The politics of legal empowerment: legal mobilisation strategies and implications for development'. London: ODI; O'Neil, T. Valters, C. and Farid, C. 2015 'Doing legal empowerment differently: learning from pro-poor litigation in Bangladesh'. London: ODI; Valters, C. and Jahan, F. 2016 'Women and power: mediating community justice in rural Bangladesh'. London: ODI; Nazneen, S. and Masud, R. 2017 'The politics of negotiating gender equity in Bangladesh'. ESID working paper 76. Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Programme; Jahan, F. (no date) 'From rule of law to legal empowerment for the poor in Bangladesh'. Dhaka: Brac University.

^{xviii} Ward, O. 2018. 'Pacific leadership program: advocacy for CEDAW in Tonga'. Gender and Politics in Practice Case Study 3. Birmingham: Developmental Leadership Program, University of Birmingham.

^{xix} John Gaventa developed and popularised these three dimensions of power. <http://www.powercube.net/analyse-power/what-is-the-powercube/>

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The Gender & Development Network (GADN) brings together expert NGOs, consultants, academics and individuals committed to working on gender, development and women's rights issues. Our vision is of a world where social justice and gender equality prevail and where all women and girls are able to realise their rights free from discrimination. Our goal is to ensure that international development policy and practice promotes gender equality and women's and girls' rights. Our role is to support our members by sharing information and expertise, to undertake and disseminate research, and to provide expert advice and comment on government policies and projects.

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