United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

FUND FOR GENDER EQUALITY

Advancing women's political and economic empowerment

Final External Evaluation Report

Catalytic Programme for Political Empowerment funded by the Fund for Gender Equality
"Strengthening Public Institutions in Favour of Equality and to Combat Discrimination: Creation of an Equality Law in El Salvador"[1]
Advocacy Programme of the Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement

Final Report

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[1] The original title of the programme submitted to the Fund for Gender Equality: *Concept note online application Database*, September 2009.

INDEX

Contents

Introduction 4

1. Description of the Programme 'Creation of a Gender Equality Law in El Salvador' 6

2. Aims of the evaluation 9

3. Methodology of the evaluation 9

3.1 Scope of the Evaluation 9

3.2 Field visits 11

3.3 Participation of actors 12

3.4. Levels of analysis: evaluation critera and questions 12

4. Results/Findings 15

4.1 Background to the Programme: conflict in the 1990s and the creation of the CFPA 15

4.2 Relevance: design of the Programme 22

4.3 Effectiveness: results by component 23

4.4 Efficiency: Programme operations 30

4.5 Sustainability: challenges to implementing the Law 31

5. Conclusions and Lessons Learnt 37

5.1 Conclusions 37

5.2 Lessons learnt 40

6. Recommendations 41

ANNEXES

Annex I: List of representatives of the organizations interviewed 44
Annex II: Instruments for Data collection 48
Annex III: Evaluation Reference Group Members 59

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACCP	Citizen's Alliance against Privatization
ANDRYSAS	National Association of Women Councillors and Mayors
ARENA	Nationalist Republican Alliance
ASPARLEXSAL	Association of Women Parliamentarians and Ex Parliamentarians of El Salvador
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CFPA	Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
FEASIES	Autonomous Federation of Trade Unions of El Salvador
FGE	Fund for Gender Equality, UN Women
FMLN	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front
GANA	General Alliance for National Unity
GEL	Gender Equality Law
GSB	Gender Sensitive Budgeting
HR	Human Rights
HRAG	Human Rights Attorney General
IMU	Institute for Women
ISDEMU	El Salvador Institute for Women's Development
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
MINSAL	Ministry of Health
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPW	National Policy for Women
TOR	Terms of Reference for the Evaluation
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

Introduction

The multi-donor Fund for Gender Equality (FGE) was established in 2009 to accelerate commitments to gender equality, focusing on the economic and political empowerment of women at local, national and regional levels. The Fund provides grants directly to government agencies and civil society organizations in order to transform legal commitments into tangible action with a positive impact on women's and girls' lives throughout the world. The Fund was established with the Spanish Government's generous contribution of 65 million US dollars. Norway provided an additional contribution of 3.5 million US dollars, and Mexico contributed 800,000 dollars[2]. The Fund disburses results-oriented grants in two categories:

- **Catalytic grants of a maximum of 500,000 US dollars for two consecutive years** that aim to accelerate processes for the development of gender equality plans and policies in countries where these plans do not yet exist;

- **Implementation grants of a maximum of 3 million dollars for 3 to 4 consecutive years** that support programmes in countries that have nationally or locally approved plans, policies or laws that advance gender equality and women's empowerment and that are ready for implementation.

Through the disbursement of these funds, the Fund is advancing in the two principal programmatic priority areas, which are inter-related:

Programmatic area of women's economic empowerment: aimed at "substantially increasing women's access to and control over economic decision-making, land, labour, livelihoods and other means of production and social protection, especially for marginalized women".[3]

Programmatic area of women's political empowerment: aimed at "increasing women's political participation and good governance in order to guarantee that decision-making processes are participatory, sensitive, egalitarian and inclusive, increasing women's leadership and influence over decision-making in all spheres of life, thus transforming gender equality policies into concrete systems in order to implement advances in gender justice".[4]

In its inaugural grantmaking cycle (2009-2010), the Fund for Gender Equality supported 40 programmes in 35 countries: 24 political empowerment programmes (including the programme funded in El Salvador) and 16 economic empowerment programmes. The programmes chosen reflect a series of interventions and strategies to either create or advance commitments related to gender equality laws and policies. On the one hand, Catalytic grants of up to 500,000 US dollars have been allocated to accelerating these processes and/or commitments in countries where they do not yet exist (legislative frameworks in favour of gender equality, advocacy by women's movements' and groups that work for gender equality and women's rights, gender equality agreements and policies). On the other hand, 13 Implementation grants of up to 3 million US dollars have been allocated to the concrete implementation of gender equality agreements and/or policies where they already exist. These 40 programmes of the Fund represent a unique combination of strategies, alliances and beneficiaries.

Following the Fund's announcement of the first Call for Proposals in 2009, disseminated in five languages through an online application format, demand has been far higher than the amount of funds available. 1,239 applications were received from around the world totalling 3 billion

[2] In December 2011, The Netherlands supported the Fund with 1.2 million US dollars and in the same month, individual donors began to contribute to the Fund.
[3] Concept note application, September 2009.
[4] Idem.

US dollars from 27 countries. In order to achieve a fair and transparent assessment of such a large number of proposals, an open process was introduced in which 39 experts on economic and political empowerment from around the world assessed the applications to the Fund using empirical criteria. As a result of this process, 40 programmes received grants from the Fund totalling 37.5 million US dollars.

Two years after its launch, the Fund commissioned its first five evaluations of economic and political empowerment programmes supported by the Fund, including the El Salvador programme. The Fund is committed to learning from and with its beneficiary organizations and it seeks to serve as a model of how to accelerate and apply gender equality laws and policies around the world. These Terms of Reference define the framework for the evaluations of selected programmes such as the catalytic programmes and they will contribute to the lessons learnt by the Fund.

It is in this context that the Final Evaluation Report is presented, being the third and last requested product. The document follows the headings defined in the Terms of Reference (TOR): description of the programme, aims of the evaluation; methodology; restrictions and limitations of the study; levels of analysis (criteria for the evaluation and questions); results/evidence; conclusions and lessons learnt; recommendations and annexes. We would like to thank the members of the Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement, UN Women El Salvador, the sub-regional office and the Fund for Gender Equality headquarters who facilitated our access to the wide range of people who were interviewed.

1. Description of the Programme: "Strengthening Public Institutions in Favour of Equality and to Combat Discrimination: Creation of an Equality Law in El Salvador"

According to the Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement (CFPA, 2009), the status of women in El Salvador has experienced progress and setbacks. Women's rights legislation has been strengthened in recent years with the approval in 2010 of the Law Against Intra-family Violence and the creation in 1996 of the El Salvador Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU). However, at the same time the neoliberal model and the reductive economic policies of the State and Public Sector funding have become more entrenched, with consequent negative effects on women. Compensatory social policies that attempted to attenuate the consequences of the economic model for the general public were formulated without a gender perspective. Therefore, women's practical needs remain invisible, a problem that perpetuates gender-based discrimination.

CFPA argued that to change this situation, it was essential for Salvadoran women's needs to gain recognition from the State. They proposed a transformation of the current vision of public policies into one that considered women as truly equal, a position reflected in the aims of the Equality Law. Moreover, in addition to this ethical and political position, CFPA sought to establish gender equality as a State policy that would be institutionalized regardless of the particular government in office. This would form the foundation of progressive social transformation and cultural change, modifying the social order that endorsed inequality and discrimination.

For the law to be approved, CFPA proposed the need for a **national agreement**, strengthening alliances within the feminist and women's movement at national and international levels as well as in the broader social movements. They sought to create alliances with public institutions, especially with ISDEMU, in order to strengthen the institutions and legitimate the proposal. They also sought to guarantee the necessary **adoption** of the law, so that it could become an instrument used by the population to demand new legislative change, to denounce violations of the principles of equality and non-discrimination, and to conduct the monitoring needed to guarantee that public policies incorporate a gender perspective. Finally, the law should have **political and social legitimacy.** Political legitimacy would be gained by achieving the support of an alliance among women beyond political parties. Social legitimacy would be guaranteed if the law were drafted based on broad consultation, which would strengthen alliances with the social movements, particularly the broad national and international women's and feminist movement, and with civil servants. It would also depend on awareness-raising with the majority of the population through a mass-media campaign.

Programme objectives

The programme supported by the Fund for Gender Equality was designed and implemented in order to contribute to the reduction of gender inequality, creating the opportunity for women's full exercise of citizenship. The specific objective was to promote activities that would create the possibility of approving the law.

The programme emerged from the platform of organizations called the Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement[5] and was led by the consortium established with the Association of Women for Dignity and Life ('Las Dignas') and the Mélida Anaya Montes

[5] The Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement received its name in 1999. In 1997 efforts were made to consolidate a space for working together on violence against women and women's political participation. In 1998, it launched a campaign for women's political participation titled 'Prudencia Ayala', in remembrance of the first woman to be a presidential candidate in El Salvador.

Women's Movement Association ('Las Mélidas'). These both had as allies the women's movement, the broader social movements, government employees and entities and representatives from parliament. At an operational level, Las Dignas was responsible for financial administration and the costs of the coalition relating to dissemination activities; meanwhile, Las Mélidas was responsible for the administration of funds allocated to alliance-building and advocacy activities.

Expected programme results

1. The Legislative Assembly has a draft bill for a law to promote equality between women and men, proposed by and agreed with various women's organizations.

2. Alliances for the promotion of the law are strengthened.

3. Public institutions and national and local authorities have the necessary tools and training for the future implementation of the Equality Law.

Programme Strategies

Three strategies were proposed for achieving the approval of the equality law:

1. **Dissemination**, consisting of generating public opinion in favour of the law, based on awareness-raising on inequality between the sexes. To achieve this, the following activities were carried out:

a) Design and preparation of campaign dissemination materials in the media.
b) Creation of tools to support the equality bill.
c) Coordination with local organizations to disseminate the campaign among municipalities.

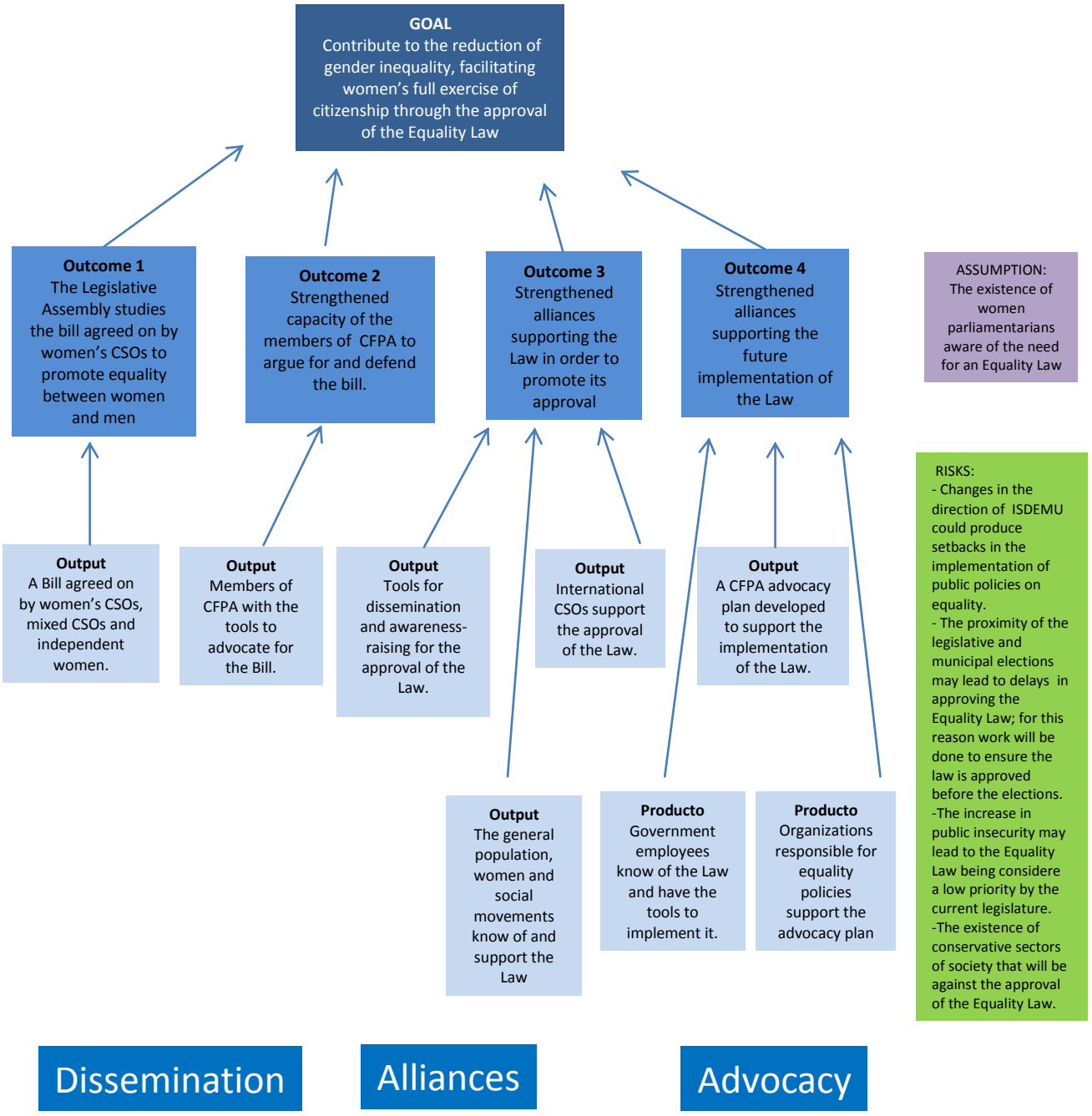
2. **Construction of alliances** consists of strengthening the networks supporting the law; overcoming the urban focus and the myth that equality is only women's responsibility, and thus seeking the involvement of mixed social movements.

a) Construct a broad alliance of social movements in support of the bill drafted by the Prudencia Ayala Coordinated Feminist Movement.
b) Strengthen the alliances with Salvadoran local women's organizations.
c) Generate support from international social movements for the bill drafted by the Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement.
d) Strengthen the team monitoring the law, including the participation of women lawyers committed to the defense of women's rights.

3. **Advocacy** targeted at government employees and specifically members of the Legislative Assembly and strengthening the alliance with the El Salvador Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU), as a form of strengthening its role in guiding policies for the advancement of women.

a) Develop an advocacy plan that includes the analysis of allies supporting the proposal within different State entities, and especially the Legislative Assembly.
b) Organize forums in the different national and local public institutions that will be involved in the future implementation of the equality law.
c) Strengthen the alliance with ISDEMU so that the latter supports the promotion of the equality bill.

Programme Implementation Model



2. Aims of the evaluation

Aims

UN Women's Fund for Gender Equality has the mandate to carry out monitoring, evaluation and the wide dissemination of lessons learnt in its grantmaking programme and to contribute globally to know-how in the field of gender equality. It is hoped that the relevant actors in El Salvador will be the first users of the results of this evaluation, which aims to provide an opportunity for reflection on the experience of the programme and its efforts to take on the major challenges resulting from the recent approval of the Equality Law.

Objectives of the evaluation

General Objective

Evaluate the implementation and achievements of the Programme, and its effect on the organizations involved and on public policies. The evaluation should serve to produce inputs for the redesign of future sustainability strategies for the areas of work implemented and the transformation achieved within the framework of programme implementation.

Specific Objectives

a) Reconstruct the experience of the implementation of the Programme, from the perspective of its participants.
b) Evaluate the achievement of the objectives defined by the Programme, identifying progress and difficulties in its implementation.
c) Propose improvement mechanisms in relation to the levels of analysis of the Programme.
d) Identify opportunities, challenges, good practice and lessons learnt that will be useful for strengthening, improving and increasing the achievement of programmes of a similar nature.

3. Methodology of the evaluation

3.1 Scope of the Evaluation

The dimensions of the Programme that were evaluated were: a) geographical dimension: evaluation of the implementation of the Programme in urban areas and some rural areas where it has had a presence. Three groups were selected for each geographical area comprising women organized at a local level; b) institutional dimension: the inclusion of civil society, governmental entities (at national as well as local level), legislative authorities and international development cooperation agencies, c) time dimension: the period evaluated covered from January 2010 to November 2011, from the start of the Programme to near to its completion (December 2011).

Additionally, in terms of the design, the experience of the programme – which constitutes the object of the evaluation – has included participatory consultation processes, alliance-building, coordination among actors at national and local levels, the development of communication and advocacy strategies, negotiation, conflict and cooperation, as well as dialogue with different public authorities. As such, the evaluation dealt with a collection of complex activities that required a corresponding evaluation design. This design organized the information following a **Case Study** approach, a qualitative research strategy that worked with primary and secondary information sources permitting an overall study of the experience of implementing the programme in the areas, dimensions and levels taken into consideration. Despite the qualitative approach of the evaluation, quantitative indicators and information were also reviewed, such as surveys, budget lines, social development indicators, data on official meetings and hearings, among others. The procedures adopted allowed the evaluators to gain an integrated and holistic view of the results of the experience. To this end, we adopted a

qualitative approach to organizing the techniques for producing and analysing the information. The following table summarizes the criteria for implementing the techniques and approach of the study.

Actors	*Type of Method*	
	Qualitative (Structure and components of the evaluative assessment)	
	Semi structured interviews	**Focus Groups**
Implementers and local allies	✓	
Implementers and national allies.	✓	
Grantees		✓
	Analysis of Secondary Information	
	Workshops for the Reconstruction and Analysis of the Experience	
	GENERAL INTERPRETATION	

The evaluation was participatory, this being an essential feature of every strategy based on a gender-sensitive and human rights approach. It enabled the actors involved to identify and reflect on the results of the strategies and lines of action implemented during the life of the programme. This participatory evaluation fulfilled two intentions: as a support instrument for reflecting on the efficiency and effectiveness of the management of the activities; and as a learning process in which the participants were able to become aware of and increase their understanding of the different factors that influence their lives. Achieving these two aspects increases people's control over the development process.

In the context of the evaluation, three milestones were achieved based on conversational workshop techniques that facilitated the participation and reflection processes of the actors in the programme:

1. *Introductory* Workshop (political/technical meeting in which the final evaluation design was presented and approved);

2. *Analysis and Reconstruction of the Experience* Workshop (to recover the collective memory of the programme);

3. *Results Presentation* Workshop (reflection on the preliminary results). Despite being called the results presentation workshop, micro-presentations were conducted in all the activities relating to the issues emerging from the exercises, facilitating collective reflection on the most relevant findings.

The individual interviews and local workshops served as inputs for the planning and organization of working meetings with the counterparts. As a process, the workshops carried out represent a unit that includes the three phases of the process of reflexive conversation: *opening, in-depth study and closure.*

The open nature of the qualitative evaluation design facilitated the inclusion of the principal actors in the programme – who formed the Evaluation Reference Group – in defining the agenda of the evaluation. The ensuing results presentations provided inputs for making progress on their own need for further knowledge associated with the challenge of implementing the Equality Law.

Methods and instruments

The qualitative approach employed individual semi-structured interview and group discussions (Workshops and Focus Groups). With this approach interviews were conducted with the members of the Programme's national management group and the counterparts at national and local levels. The aim was to reconstruct their view of the implementation process and its subjective, political, institutional and community-level impact. Additionally, the evaluators carried out participant observation in various workshops conducted by the partners to make progress on the Gender Equality Law (GEL) implementation stage. In the workshops the evaluators employed the following techniques coming from the field of network analysis: a) *Timeline* (to map the milestones and reconstruct the collective memory of the process), b) *Sociogram* (actors' participatory mapping technique) and c) *Empowerment mapping* (visualization and reflection method for assessing capacity building).

The participatory and reflexive component of the approach responded to the criteria of a human rights and gender-sensitive evaluation, fundamentally due to the empowering nature of its techniques: *learn and transform through talking*.

Table: Methods employed according to the type of Primary Source (details in Annex Nº 1)

Entity	*Methods*		
CFPA	**Individual interview**	**Workshops**	**Group Interview**
	5	3	2
Central government	4		2
Local government	2		
Other Women's CSOs	1		
Mixed CSOs	4		
Parliament	3		
Autonomous Entities	1		
Other relevant women	2		
Media	1		
UN System	4		
International development cooperation	1		
Leaders of local associations		**2**	
Total	28	5	4

The evaluation work was guided by the code of conduct established in the TOR. With each person interviewed the evaluators clarified the voluntary nature of their participation in the interviews and work groups and the possibility of refusing to answer questions and ending the discussion whenever they wished.

3.2 Field visits

The field visits were carried out between the 13 and 26 November 2011 (two weeks), with a team comprising the principal evaluator, a Salvadoran colleague who assisted with the development of activities on the ground and in the analysis, and whose resident status in the country made it possible for the time for interviews to be extended by one more week[6]. In general, the field visits were affected by the following limitations and/or restrictions:

[6] During the two weeks of field visits the planned interviews were conducted. However, the relevant results or findings from the interviews revealed the need to carry out new interviews in order to cover the implementation stage of the GEL. This resulted in the extension of the interview phase by one week, with the approval of the Reference Group.

- **Limitations in the existing information on the programme.** In terms of technical aspects (particularly in the case of some of the indicators and their verification) as well as budgetary questions (data on implementation) the information made available to the team included important gaps that hampered a deeper analysis of the scope of these aspects. The evaluators relied on filling these gaps with information gathered from the interviews. Although this helped to fill some of the gaps, it did not enable the evaluators to develop definitive judgements about these points.

- **Limitations in the counterparts' agenda**. In the case of the UN Women National Office as well as the government and civil society counterparts, there were two factors that created difficulties in developing the evaluation mission: first, the recent environmental emergency faced in El Salvador obliged us to postpone the start of the evaluation twice, given that the organizations were fully engaged in a humanitarian response to that event. Second, questions concerning the agenda such as the evaluation mission coinciding with the preparatory activities for the comemoration of the Day Against Violence Against Women (25th November) increased the number of events and/or meetings that the organizations had to attend so extra effort was needed to establish the contacts and conduct the meetings included in the evaluation plan. Some of these activities had to be cancelled for this reason. In other cases, limited time in the participants' diaries obliged us to replace techniques such as the flowchart with an analysis of the results of the interview and workshop process.

3.3 Participation of actors

As part of the evaluation process, a reference group was set up comprising representatives of the entities involved: Prudencia Ayala Coordinated Feminist Movement (leaders of the consortium and members of its Technical Team), the El Salvador Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU, through their programme manager) and professionals belonging to the local or regional UN Women office. This team conducted virtual and in-person meetings (once in El Salvador) to develop the indicators for the evaluation process and to design and operationalize the agenda for the field visits. The team fulfilled a key function in reviewing the Evaluation Team's proposals, especially in the phase prior to the field visits. Once in the country, the focus moved on to the participation of the beneficiaries, with whom the evaluators developed a series of workshops and interviews throughout the field visit.

The evaluator also conducted an interview with the Director of the Fund for Gender Equality, based in New York. They explored in more depth several topics including the early phase of the Fund as a multidonor initiative and its innovative characteristics, as well as the pending challenges facing the Fund with its enormous potential for generating the creation of strategies in different countries and for promoting exchanges.

It is important to highlight that due to time factors, the Reference Group did not operate throughout the field visit, and the main contact was with the CFPA and UN Women as the main partners of the Evaluation Team.

Despite the limitations mentioned above, the evaluation team is satisfied with the results of the field visit, which helped us to explore in depth the methodologies and a global strategy to bring to life the principles of reflection and participation that are at the heart of an evaluation with a gender and human rights perspective.

3.4. Levels of analysis: evaluation criteria and questions

Evaluation criteria

At the time of the evaluation, the programme was concluding a two-year cycle. This allowed us to develop a view of its previous and current situations (reconstructed on the basis of documents and the opinion of the relevant actors), as well as some elements of sustainability, avoiding – in agreement with the counterparts in the Reference Group – addressing the impact of the programme, since this would have required a medium and long term focus that could only be theoretical in the current context of the closure of the programme (this needs to wait until at least six months or a year have passed after the end of the programme). Consequently

our work entailed observing aspects of the **design** (addressed by the criteria of *relevance*), **process** (analyzed on the basis of the criteria of *efficiency and effectiveness*), and **results** in terms of *effectiveness* (which involves the analysis of *immediate* results) and *sustainability* (mainly in terms of capacity for the law implementation phase). According to the DAC Glossary, the definitions of the criteria are the following:

- *Relevance:* the extent to which the objectives of the development activity is suited to the needs of the beneficiaries, the needs of the country, global priorities and the policies of the target group, recipient and donor.
- *Efficiency:* the extent to which the resources/inputs (funds, time, etc.) have been economically converted into results.
- *Effectivenss*: the extent to which the development programme objectives were achieved or are expected to be achieved, taking into account their relative importance.
- *Sustainability*: continuation of the benefts of a programme for development after its conclusion.

The present evaluation also incorporated a gender and human rights perspective into each of the evaluation criteria and in its methodology. We adopted this approach in two ways: as a view of processes and products of the programme activities, and at the same time, as a way of constructing an evaluation practice that is coherent with the principles of inclusion and empowerment.

Evaluation questions

Taking into account the stated evaluation criteria, the following evaluation questions were formulated:

Dimension	Question	Sub-questions
External context	What are the main opportunities and threats that the CFPA faced or is facing in relation to the Programme?	What prevailing processes or conditions favoured/favour the achievement of the Programme objectives? What prevailing processes or conditions threatened/threaten the achievement of the Programme objectives? What strategies were adopted to manage these factors?
Design level: *Relevance*	Did the design of the Programme respond in terms of relevance, coherence, inclusion and integration to the needs and interests o f the stakeholders in the context of its operations (national/ local, urban/rural)?	Does the Programme design address the needs and interests of the target group in the context of their work? Does the design incorporate a gender equality and human rights perspective? Was the Programme designed on the basis of an inclusive and participatory process with the stakeholders and their respective agendas? Is the Programme aligned to women's rights priorities and/or international platforms? Was the design of the Programme adequate and coherent for the achievement of its objectives? (chain of results). To what extent did UN Women and the Fund for Gender Equality contribute to improving the quality of the Programme design?
Process Level: *Efficiency*	Was the planning and use of resources adequate for the achievement of the Programme objectives?	Were the allocation, distribution and timing of the resources adequate for the achievement of the objectives? Were there adequate mechanisms for the financial planning? Was the management model for the Programme (instruments, financial and human resources, organizational structure, information flows, decision-making) adequate for achieving the planned outcomes and outputs? Was the alliance-building model adequate for achieving the Programme objectives? Was the participation model for the Programme adequate for achieving the results? Was the budget management a democratic learning opportunity among the organizations? Did it employ a gender and human rights perspective in the allocation of resources? Was the allocation/administration of human resources for the Programme adequate? Were the expenditure and reporting mechanisms/regulations useful? (Un Women's Fund for Gender Equality and CFPA). Were the products and/or services delivered in a timely fashion? Was an inclusive approach to the most vulnerable groups of women incorporated into the management of resources and products/services? Do mechanisms exist for identifying and incorporating lessons learnt about the development of the Programme?
Results Level: *Effectiveness*	To what extent was progress made towards achieving the Programme's expected results?	What results were obtained when the Programme ended? Do they reflect the quality criteria defined by those involved in designing the Programme? Are there positive or negative collateral effects? To what extent have the results contributed to the advancement of women's rights at national and international levels? To what extent was the Programme successful in catalyzing the desired change? Do the results fulfil the expectation of the most vulnerable sectors? To what extent has the capacity of rights-holders and duty bearers been strengthened in order to achieve the expected results? Has the Programme served to strengthen the women's movement and improve its advocacy work on public policies? What is the most significant change identified by the relevant actors?
Results Level: *Sustainability*	Can we expect that the Programme results will continue once it is completed?	At the end of the Programme, what capacities have been developed among civil society and State representatives? To what extent have the capacities developed benefited the implementation of the new Law? What new capacities are required for this?

4. Results/Findings

The following section examines the results achieved by the Programme following the evaluation criteria: relevance, effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability. Based on the understanding that they are fundamental to understanding the dynamics related to the Programme in support of the GEL, we have contextualized the results with an introduction about the general political context of the country and the evolution of the women's and feminist movement.

4.1 Background to the Programme: the armed struggle in the 1990s and the creation of CFPA.

According to recent analysis of social movements in El Salvador (Almeida, 2011[7]), the process of approval of the GEL can be understood as an expression of the continuity of the dynamic of the defense and affirmation of rights initiated in the last decade during the cycle of mobilization against the privatization of health and other public services in El Salvador. This struggle, which constitutes a defense of public services and of a democratic Welfare State, was a reaction to the economic threats that could have placed some sectors of society in a worse economic position if the privatization processes were to be implemented. In this case a hybrid political climate emerged in which political opportunities associated with the growth of democratization, competitive political parties and the new organizational alliances of civil society combined with the economic threats of neoliberal globalization.

The FMLN played a key role in this process: it supported social movements' causes outside the state system and functioned as a key ally in relation to a variety of issues. With growing electoral successes at municipal and legislative levels, at the end of the 1990s the balance of power potentially shifted in favour of civil society organizations that supported these mobilizations and they then had an ally within the government system that shared many of their objectives. From 1997 onwards, the FMLN gained executive power and was able to exert decisive influence over voting in the Legislative Assembly. It acted as a powerful ally to the social movements outside the political system, building alliances in order to approve initiatives in favour of the social movements and/or accumulating sufficient electoral power to approve them.

Institutional access and competitive elections, a feature of democratic transition, created the conditions for civil society organizations to flourish, including the women's movement. One distinctive factor of this period was the creation of 'second tier' organizations – or 'organizations of organizations', in the style of the 'Women 94' coordination, the immediate predecessor of the Prudencia Alaya Coordinated Feminist Movement. This renewed the concept of alliances within civil society. Each coordinating organization played the role of a centre for the exchange of information and coordination in which knowledge of particular neoliberal policies could be gained from a variety of organizations through public meetings and the alternative media. Another of the defining features of these organizational forms is that they were not mere transmission channels for the parties (in contrast to the processes of the 1970s), since they enjoyed a greater level of autonomy and permanence due to being based on

[7] This section incorporates discussions held with the author who clarified several of the processes that formed the basis of the approval of the GEL.

already existing alliances and commitments. Women took on a leading role during these mobilizations.[8]

Another relevant feature was that the cycle of mobilizations coincided with elections: the mobilized sectors shared a conviction that the affirmation of rights was viable, especially when the political elites were vulnerable, for example during the period of 'fresh promises' around election time. Here a dedication to advocacy was established that was expressed directly in the process of the approval of the GEL.

The presidential elections in 2009 represented a crucial moment in the political history of El Salvador: they changed the hegemony enjoyed by ARENA for decades and steered the political system towards a multiparty competitive system with the potential – and the expectation – to reform many of the exclusionary economic policies that were dominant in that moment. The victory of the FLMN can be understood as the result of its alliance with the social movements: the party-movement alliance, which took place at the end of the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century, was forged in the context of two forces unleashed after the cold war: democratization and neoliberalism. This situation coincided with the split in the main right wing party – ARENA -, which led to the creation of the General Alliance for National Unity (GANA).

Key findings

The coordination of social and political actors was key to the advancement of the women's agenda. As the mobilizations for the defense of public health services showed, coordinated action among social and political actors, each in their spaces and based on autonomous relationships, produces simultaneous advocacy results at different levels of public policy that produce a positive advancement of the women's agenda in the country.

Electoral periods and democratization constitute a favourable context for producing commitments relating to the agenda. The experience in El Salvador showed that each electoral period was an ideal moment to introduce topics and garner the support of the political parties and other public sector actors. Moreover, this environment favours the creation of first and second tier social organizations such as the CFPA. The women's and feminist movement took advantage of these moments.

The women's movement in El Salvador

Over the past twenty years there have been various successes and limitations in the search for public policies that could contribute to overcoming women's unequal status in El Salvador. [9] In this process, one of the main achievements has been the continuity of women's organizational presence in El Salvador's political sphere since the mid-1980s. During this period various organizations emerged that were dedicated to the promotion of human rights and campaigns against their violation, and especially against violence against women.

In 1991 the First Salvadoran Women's Conference was held with the participation of a wide range of women: urban, rural, combatants and ex-combatants, among others, sharing various

[8] One of the culminating moments of this mobilization was the creation of the Citizen Alliance against Privatization (ACCP, 2002), which incorporates various women's organizations (in addition to other key NGOs in the struggle for the defense of health services that were led by women).

[9] http://www.concertacionfeministaprudenciaayala.org/Publicaciones/diagnostico%20mujeres%202009.pdf

demands and experiences in the search for a common agenda for their work. The period following the Peace Accords – known as the democratic transition – gave the women's and feminist movement the possibility to locate their claims for rights within public demands.

In 1994, within the framework of the "Elections of the Century" – so called because they were the first elections to record the participation of the FMLN -, different organizations and feminists created *Mujeres'94,* which, apart from developing a programmatic platform, is considered one to be of the most important landmarks in terms of promoting women's political participation. The decade of the 1990s is also characterized by the organized women's search for institutionalization, with the majority forming non-governmental organizations after the NGO Law was passed in 1996.[10]

National and international coordination has been central to enhancing the potential of the movement, with highlights including the hosting of the VI Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Conference (1993) and participation in the IV World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). The results of both events constituted the driving force for the political agendas of the women's organizations and for strengthening the spaces of coordination and debate.

For two decades the women's organizations have contributed positively to the process of public institutionalization, promoting laws, decrees, platforms and a wide range of demands that together aim to eradicate women's inequality in Salvadoran society through the creation of public policies and institutional mechanisms at both central government and municipal government levels. Since the 1990s, some of the progress promoted by their work includes:

- *At the level of the Executive, the creation of the Salvadoran Institute for Women (ISDEMU) and its first National Policy for Women (NPW) in 1997. ISDEMU became the national women's mechanism for fulfilling the agreements that the Government of El Salvador committed to at the Beijing Conference.*
- *At the legislative level, the women's movement campaigned for the approval of: the Family Law (1993); the Family procedural Law (1994); the Law against Intrafamily Violence (1996); Reforms to the Penal Code, with the inclusion of sexual harrassment as a crime (1998); National Day of Non-Violence against Women (1994); Legislative decrees for the eradication of irresponsible paternity: No 880, for child maintenance and No 954, Moral Clearance, obliging publicly elected officials to provide certification that they do not owe any child maintenance (1996) the Law for the Creation of ISDEMU (1996); National Day for Non-Sexist Education (2008); and the Reform of the Law on Teaching Careers in relation to sexual harrassment in educational centres(2008). Additionally, several proposals for laws, decrees and legislative reforms have been presented that have not yet been approved.*
- *At the municipal level, there are aproximatley 526 representations of women's organizations and out of a total of 262 municipalities at least 11 have a Gender Policy, the majority of them being from Cuscatlán, La Libertad, La Paz and San Salvador. Some of these councils have created Women's or Gender Units.*

On the other hand, the main setbacks during this period were related to the loss of guarantees for the free exercise of sexual and reproductive rights; the breakdown in the political dialogue between women's organizations and the State, and in particular the limited role of ISDEMU since its creation.

In terms of Sexual and Reproductive Rights, both before and after the United Nations Conference on Population and Development (1995), Fundación Si a la Vida, in alliance with the ARENA party and the more conservative elements of the Catholic and protestant churches, launched a campaign against abortion, sex education and methods for preventing unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. These sectors prepared a presentation to the Legislative Assembly outlining important initiatives against the interests of sexual and

[10] Law on non-profit associations and foundations, 1996. http://www.csj.gob.sv

reproductive rights, such as the criminalization of abortion in all circumstances, including therapeutic abortion that was regulated by the Penal Code (1997) and the Reform of article 1 of the Constitution to recognize every human being from the moment of conception (1998). These proposals were approved by the Assembly.

The breakdown in dialogue between the women's movement and the State worsened with the Francisco Flores government (1999-2004), which adopted a political position of non-dialogue with social movements and opposition political parties. In terms of the women's movement, a demonstration of this policy was the limitation placed on the work of the members of the Board of ISDEMU[11], the absence of possibilities for developing agreements, and the absence of political will in favour of women. The absence of specific public policies is directly related to ISDEMU's profile since its creation, marked by its limited budget, the lack of institutional procedures and mechanisms to guarantee its leadership role in relation to the National Policy for Women, and its lack of dialogue with women's organizations.

The creation of CFPA and the Feminist Platform

The Prudencia Ayala Feminist Coordination Movement (CFPA) is a space for the coordination of the Salvadoran women's and feminist movement that aims to promote change in women's lives and power relations between the sexes. It originated in 1997 when the movement began to consolidate its coordination in order to work on two priorities: violence against women and political participation. In 1998 they launched the campaign for women's political participation titled "Prudencia Ayala", with the aim of generating support for the presidential candidacy of Victoria Marina Velásquez. Finally, in 1999 CFPA was born, reflecting a feminist vision incorporating the following points:

• Right to Life
• Freedom for Women
•Sexual Freedom
• Reproductive Freedom
•Economic Justice for Women
• Exercise of co-responsability and respect for the collective process
•A political goal based on the transformation the symbolic sphere

During this period the CFPA became the reference point for the women's and feminist movement in the country, building its own history, taking up individual and collective struggles and forming a political subject that spoke for herself. With these principles and autonomy from any political party, the organization established its presence in society with the Feminist Platform 2009 – 2014, an instrument based on the Salvadoran State's national and international commitments.[12] It demanded the development of public policies for women, with a service provision perspective as well as one that would promote the structural changes necessary for true equality between men and women.

As a precursor to the GEL, the Platform stated that only by eliminating discrimination against women would women be able to enjoy the contents of article 2.1 of the Universal Declaration

[11] The women's movement has two representatives and two reserves on the ISDEMU Board of Directors.
[12] Beijing Platform for Action; Inter-American convenion on the prevention, sanction y eradication of violence against women; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Constitution of the Republic of El Salvador.

of Human Rights.[13] The Platform demanded the fulfilment of commitments to end inequality between men and women in the country as a basis for consolidating democracy, and called for a move from discourse to action.[14]

Key findings

A commitment to advocacy and a constant presence has given the women's movement legitimacy with Salvadoran society. The different initiatives promoted for the benefit of society and the constant connection with different government actors has converted CFPA into a legitimate social actor in the Salvadoran transition. This was decisive in gaining support from different sectors for the GEL.

CFPA is a globalized actor of the women's and feminist movement. CFPA's involvement in international events related to the women's agenda, including the Latin American Feminist Conference and the post-Cairo and Beijing meetings, have connected the movement with a global network of political and conceptual resources and experiences that have helped it define strategies and proposals that have contributed to the global women's movement agenda, while maintaining its focus on national priorities.

The process leading up to the approval of the GEL[15]

The FMLN candidate's triumph created a new climate in the country, characterized by the change in the correlation between powers – the executive power controlled by the FMLN, the legislative power dominated by a divided right and the judicial power with a conservative bias. The new government's discourse encouraged a political will and expectation for change in the neoliberal approach adopted by the country during the ARENA periods in power. One of the emblematic moments was the launch of the Five Year Development Plan 2009-2014, a document that gathers together the proposals contained in the government programme and marks the beginning of a discourse on the modernization of politics and the democratic reform of the State.

In the midst of this constellation of favourable factors, the Women Parliamentarians Group was formed and progress was made towards an agenda with key components such as the Law against Gender-based Violence, the Equality Law and gender-sensitive budgeting. Additionally, the Office of the General Attorney on Human Rights was created, and with it the possibility to establish new alliances and opportunities for advocacy for the women's movement, following the inauguration of the Committee for Equality and Equity in 2008. Meanwhile ISDEMU launched a new phase with the appointment of a Board of Directors with important experience of advocacy with the public sector, thus recovering its role in the agenda (it incorporated a gender perspective in the Five Year Plan) and re-establishing its dialogue with

[13] "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."
[14] CFPA. Feminst Platform 2009-2014. Women's Demands.
[15] We should note that this section is not a specific systematization or exhaustive review of the global process. It only highlights certain facts that are of special relevance to the evaluation. We understand that this task forms part of the current feminist agenda in El Salvador.

the women's movement. This placed the GEL at the heart of government priorities, based on its conviction that in the political climate, for the Equality Law it was *now or never*.

An important element of this analysis is the fragmentation of the conservative sectors that have had to regroup in this new era of discourse on inclusive development and the modernization of the State. These sectors were disoriented and/or lost their hegemony, leaving way for the possibility for some of their members to align themselves with the demands of a democratic project, such as the GEL. What the government introduced, especially after the Five Year Development Plan, was the foundational discourse of a new and modern democratic State. The right wing political sectors felt that they should not be isolated from this modernization trend[16], and thus gave their support to the emblematic laws of the women's movement such as the laws on violence and equality.

From an institutional point of view, the most relevant event was the creation of a set of presidential secretariats that became the key model for taking forward the wishes of the Executive. These include the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs, responsible for the Five Year Plan and that hosts the Gender and Human Rights Unit, and the Secretariat of Social Affairs, led directly by the First Lady and which aims to have an innovative approach to working on social affairs and to overcome what is known as the '*First Lady Syndrome*'. Together with other sectors of the population and topics such as sexual diversity, disability, childhood and old age, ISDEMU became part of this new entity. This created a structural tension that lasted throughout the government's period in office and even led to the dismissal of the director, which produced discord within the women's movement that is still evident today.

It is important to explore in more depth the paradigm of the First Lady Syndrome since it is connected to the role of the new secretariat. In an important review article written when the new government took office, First Lady Vanda Pignato[17] criticized the situation of an absent State, weakened in its functioning and instruments by the successive neoliberal governments attributed with developing the model that includes an "ornamental" role, or one of mere protocol, for the President's wife. This role always implied the appointment of the First Lady to the leadership of the Family Secretariat, understood traditionally as a mere service-oriented and clientelistic institution. In response, the creation of the Secretariat of Social Inclusion, with its high status in government and its direct contact with all governmental institutions, was a move to radically change the approach to social policies, abandon paternalism and modernize the institution by giving it a much more relevant entity with a human rights approach. In this sense, all the policies of the new government were based on the belief that the State should guarantee the fulfilment of the rights of all Salvadoran citizens. The role of the Secretariat for Inclusion is to ensure the coordination with all State entities so that the approach becomes integral to all action and policies.

[16] For example, right wing women parliamentarians adopted a discourse that highlighted the principles of the defense of capabilities and equal opportunities and the traditional focus on affirming the heroic role of women as the pillar of home life. This claim, shared by other actors, asserts that women exist in Salvadoran society, that their contribution to development is rendered invisible and that this should change. This discourse does not take into account the notion that inequality may be resolved by affirmative or positive measures such as quotas, since it founded on the idea that giving women equal access to opportunities will enable them to show their capability and that free competition will define the allocation of jobs and salaries. This is an understanding of equal opportunities that coincides well with the neoliberal discourse of development.

[17] Pignato, Vanda: *Inclusion, change and development in El Salvador*. Accessed 13th December: http://www.fondoespanapnud.org/2010/05/inclusion-cambio-y-desarrollo-en-el-salvador-articulo-de-la-primera-dama-y-secretaria-de-inclusion-social/

One of the most recognized achievements of this secretariat was the implementation of the City Women Programme. Based on the single-window approach, this programme introduces, in the same geographical space, a variety of social services aimed at women: psychological services, employment training and childcare, among others. At the heart of this scheme, ISDEMU is responsible for the component of attention to victims of intra-family violence. This approach to incorporating ISDEMU has been criticized by the women's movement for contributing to the continued priority given to the service-focused policies that characterized the *First Lady Syndrome* of previous governments, and for postponing the important leading role of public policies that the GEL outlined for ISDEMU. This tension has carried over to the relationship between the movement and the government, and it reappears in certain moments, hampering the possibility of a shared framework for action.

The contribution of international consultants such as Evangelina Garcia Prince has been crucial in this process, since she communicated experiences, technical materials and negotiation strategies that were decisive in achieving the preparation of the Equality bill and widespread support for it.[18] The creation of the Feminist Platform 2009 – 2014,[19] the conferences for exchanging experiences of other processes of equality laws in the region (especially with their Mexican peers), the creation of technical working groups, the meetings for baseline studies and local consultation to prepare the Equality bill, and the creation of thematic working groups (based on the structure of CFPA) all played an important part of this process of moving forward.

On the other hand, despite the fact that the electoral context in 2009 produced diverse modes of action within the women's movement, this did not produce major friction or weaken the strength of the efforts invested in the process of approving the GEL. Minimum agreements were achieved in order to continue working through this context, demonstrating the political maturity of the movement. Consequently, one group decided to collaborate directly with the candidacy of Mauricio Funes, creating Mujeres Constructoras de Vida y Paz (Women Building Lives and Peace), opening up new possibilities for alliances without questioning the overall leadership of CFPA. Meanwhile another group invested all its efforts in promoting the Equality bill.

In the same year, funding was obtained from the Fund for Gender Equality Programmes for political and/or economic empowerment (Catalytic grants), enabling CFPA to continue with the strategies defined for promoting the approval of the Law: dissemination, alliances and advocacy. This period was one of active alliance-building and generating support for the GEL that led to agreements with magistrates, legislators, the Executive, the media and the Human Rights Attorney General. In this context, the social communication campaign to support the law was launched, in combination with a variety of advocacy initiatives to raise awareness among social movements and government officials about the Law (public events and dissemination workshops). Parallel to this, ad hoc initiatives such as spaces for informal discussions with women parliamentary advisors and government representatives enabled CFPA to establish a real sense of the status of the project in parliament, decide on any special emphasis and agree on activities to press for a positive vote by the legislators. Following a mass public demonstration in its favour, the Law was presented on the 8th March 2011,

[18] Other significant experiences at an international level include the decision not to ratify the CEDAW Protocol, combined with the visit of the United Nations Human Rights Special Rapporteur, who met with all the women's organizations; additionally, during the period of discussion of the law the third report of the Centro Reina Sofía de España was published, identifying El Salvador as the most violent country in the world in terms of gender-based violence.

[19] CFPA, Feminist Platform 2009-2014, Women's Demands.
http://www.concertacionfeministaprudenciaayala.org/publicaciones.php

supported by women from a range of influential arenas – the executive, civil society, parliament, magistrates, public figures. It was approved unanimously on the 17th March and came into force on the 25th March 2011.

Key findings

The approval of the GEL is the outcome of an adequate analysis and consequent exploitation of the political context. The significance of the arrival of the new government and the change in the correlation of powers were adequately evaluated by women who were in and outside government, producing exchanges that strengthened their belief that it was the right moment to promote the approval of the Equality Law.

CFPA is capable of creating minimum agreements for action, even during moments of political splits. In reality, the explicit support for the candidacy of Mauricio Funes did not hamper work based on a common agenda. This is an example of the political strength and maturity of the women's movement in El Salvador.

International support and exchanges of experiences were crucial to obtaining the approval of the GEL. The presence of international consultants with vast experience, as well as the organization of meetings to exchange experiences with others promoting equality laws, enabled CFPA to define the fundamental elements of the project and define the direction of the negotiation strategy that facilitated the creation of an Equality bill appropriate for the Salvadoran context.

Public policies aimed at women are debated based on two models: service provision vs. leadership. On the one hand, there is a tendency in the State to prioritise direct service provision – exemplified by City Women – and on the other hand there is an approach that reaffirms the leadership role of ISDEMU, as observed in the process leading up to the GEL. The failure to resolve this institutional dilemma may create serious problems during the implementation phase.

4.2 Relevance: Programme design

In order to investigate relevance the evaluators examined the extent to which the Programme supporting the GEL was located within the national framework of public policies, in addition to analysing the national context and the way in which women's priorities were identified.

a) **From a political perspective**, the Programme defined its main goal as contributing to the reduction of inequality through the approval of the Equality Law, based on a proposal that summarizes aspirations developed over two decades by the women's and feminist movement. The proposal is to ensure that the public policies specifically aimed at women are guaranteed by a secondary law. The advocacy strategies deployed by the movement and the outreach of the process (the presence of militant feminists in government posts and parliament) succeeded in influencing different actors' inclusion of the GEL in their own agendas. In this way, the political relevance of the Programme is reflected in the presence of its main objective – the approval of the GEL – in the agendas of government, parliament and other state actors named by the representatives of entities consulted during this evaluation.[20]

[20] In the case of ISDEMU, the following report is available to the public: ISDEMU (2011); *Feedback Report. On the road to Substantive Equality, June 2010-May 2011*.

b) **In the programmatic area**, the proposal for a GEL is the result of a process that brought together the historic proposals of the women's and feminist movement, the direct precedent of the failed bill of 2004 and the strongest ideas of the 2009 Feminist Platform. This process developed a global view of the condition of women in the country. Moreover, the participatory approach of the consultation mechanism employed to define the project – similar to that used by the Feminist Platform[21]- not only enabled the incorporation of the suggestions and demands of different types of women at the grassroots – especially those from rural areas – but it also gave the document a high level of political and social legitimacy. The approach therefore fulfilled one of the most important conditions highlighted by CFPA for the approval of the law. This methodology of construction – a document widely consulted and enriched at a local level – formed the foundation of the process for designing the GEL. As long as the Programme supported by the Fund for Gender Equality (UN Women's grantmaking Fund) continues with the strategies described, its design will be aligned with women's demands, the needs of the country, global priorities and the policies of the partners and donors, thus being highly relevant.

It is worth mentioning the participation of UN Women in terms of its contribution to the Programme. This contribution was mainly through the monitoring, meetings, and feedback reports sent by the headquarters of the Fund for Gender Equality. Future support should seek to guarantee a more leading role for the Sub-regional Office, the local office and/or the UN Women focal points in El Salvador in relation to the design and implementation of this type of initiative. Notwithstanding this limitation, the UN Women Country Office played a relevant role in terms of political and technical support for the different initiatives of the process, especially in relation to capacity building for the Women Parliamentarian's Group and the coordination of efforts with other agencies of the United Nations system.

Key findings

It is possible to confirm that the Programme was relevant in political and programmatic terms. As long as the Programme is connected directly with the design and approval of the GEL and that the latter combines the technical proposals and political positions of different public actors – government, parliament, women's and feminist movement -, there is clearly a strong alignment with national priorities.

4.3 Effectiveness: results by component

Effectiveness is studied in terms of the results obtained in relation to the outputs and outcomes described in the Programme Implementation Model outlined at the beginning of this report.

This section is organized according to each component of the strategy, taking into account the key results and outputs set out in the log frame. The work carried out shows the achievement

[21] The process of building the Feminist Platform included a mapping and systematization of different baseline studies and programmatic proposals that emerged through the development of the women's movement. The baseline document represents a synthesis of demands that was enriched though a wide consultation process open to women organized at a local level – that included more vulnerable women from rural areas. This process enriched many of the proposals, incorporated others and in general gave greater poltical legitmacy to the platform.

of certain key results that, in tune with factors relating to the context, made the approval of the GEL possible. Below we review its main characteristics:

Outcome 1 "The Legislative Assembly studies the bill agreed on by women's CSOs to promote equality between women and men": according to the evidence, the preparation of and debate about the Equality bill in the Legislative Assembly has been fully achieved. The associated output – the Equality bill agreed upon by women's, mixed and independent women's CSOs – represented a key contribution to this. It is important to note that the absence of specific details makes it difficult to identify which women's and mixed organizations and which individuals particpated in this process.

Outcome 2 "Strengthened capacity of the members of CFPA to argue for and defend the bill": although there is no specific monitoring information on the associated ouputs – the number of meetings held and the knowledge gained after the workshops organized by the organization-. Information collected in the local workshops and interviews carried out during the evaluation suggest that the strengthened capacity for negotiation incorporated knowledge related to: a) the recognition of the structural factors and the manifestations of gender inequality in western culture and in Salvadoran society in particular; b) the functioning of the State and the public policies aimed at women, including at national and municipal levels; c) an understanding of the nature and implications of the Equality bill.

Outcome 3 "Strengthened alliances supporting the Law in order to promote its approval": in this case, the final favourable result is the main evidence of achievement. The capacity to promote formal agreements with women parliamentarians and government officials, PGDH, the Committee for Equality and Equity and magistrates, as well as opinion leaders and women at the grassroots was one of the key factors associated with the approval of the Law. In particular, the printing of mass dissemination materials – this product is associated with this outcome – led to an understanding of the nature and scope of the GEL among grassroots women who played a key role in the mass acts of pressure (the monitoring forms register a coverage of an estimated 50 thousand people – the evidence verifying this output is also precarious-). Moreover, support for the Law was gained from different national and international organizations.

Outcome 4 "Strengthened alliances supporting the future implementation of the Law": on the basis of evidence gathered, we can confirm that this result was partially achieved. Although there was a relevant working agreement between ISDEMU and CFPA that brought together a set of activities around the implementation of the Law, in addition to the agenda of the Women Parliamentarians Group, there is still an important gap to overcome in terms of the availability of funding and the strengthening of alliances with important State departments that work on sensitive topics such as health, education, employment and housing.

On this matter, it is important to note again the limitations in the Programme's monitoring and evaluation data, particularly in relation to outputs connected with advocacy activities and the aspects of financial management. The general lack of indicators related to some of the results resulted in the evaluation team having to base its assessment mainly on data gained from the interviews and workshops conducted during the evaluation. In this sense, it was not possible to obtain a copy of the Advocacy Plan mentioned in the Programme's log frame, and in the monitoring report the topic of advocacy is not set out with concrete indicators for the evaluation team to review. However, events such as the signing of the collaboration agreement with ISDEMU and the support gained from entities such as the Women Parliamentarians Group are the main evidence that the advocacy activities were successful. In terms of the financial management, the corresponding information was only sent by one of the

members of the Consortium (Las Mélidas) with data on budgetary implementation during 2010 and 2011. The combined analysis of both confirms the following:

- The table identifies the expenditure items according the division of functions defined between the two entities in charge. There are three categories referring to alliance-building and advocacy activities: 'salaries', 'direct Programme costs' and 'administrative costs'. There is no information registered on the other expenditure items (monitoring and evaluation, communications and public relations), since they correspond to the expenditure of the other organization (no information available).

- Of the total allocated budget, the major item is that of the ' direct Programme costs', (73%), followed by 'administrative costs' (16%) and 'salaries' (12%).

- In terms of the expenditure of the total allocated, at September 2011 it was confirmed that for the item 'Salaries' 88% had been spent, for the item 'Direct Costs' 46% (expenditure increased during year 2) and for 'Administrative Costs' 88%. The total expenditure reached 57%. This can be interpreted in two ways: it is a low level of expenditure for a closing phase and an opportunity to promote public communications activities to garner support for the implementation of the GEL.

- In the case of consortia such as this one, it is worth noting the importance of having integrated instruments for budget expenditure for analysis purposes.

Key findings

It is clear that there were important results in relation to Outcome 1: Equality bill debated in parliament; Outcome 2: Capacity building for negotiating for the Law; and Outcome 3: Strengthening alliances for the approval of the Law.
The main indicator of this is the Law being approved unanimously in record time. One notable element is the political breadth and cross-section of the platform that promoted and made the approval of the GEL possible, and whose continued actions will be essential when the implementation of the Law goes ahead.

The results associated with Outcome 4: Strengthened alliances for implemetation are in the process of being produced. The most difficult test for the existing alliances and capacities of the people supporting the GEL is to garner support for creating implementation mechanisms within central government and at a municipal level, where the recently approved budget lines play a central role.

In the new phase, it will be essential to outline clearly the outcomes and outputs in the log frame. An agreed definition of these will facilitate the objective assessment of effective progress and the taking of any necessary measures in the case of delays or redefinition.

Below we summarise some of the important achievements for each component of the Programme: dissemination, alliances and advocacy.

4.3.1 Dissemination

- **The social communications campaign: participatory design and a powerful message.**

The nature of the strategies and graphic items for the campaign emerged from a participatory process and agreements carried out with the members of CFPA[22], inspired by knowledge gained from countries that already have an Equality law.[23] The creative design of the campaign was not definitively designed and then implemented, but instead it evolved, with an emphasis on locating the messages according to the political moment and the requirements of the context, seeking a flexible design that would enable the actors to follow and adapt to any context.

Previous surveys had revealed the need to define a strategy for the media (mainstream and alternative) and to produce a campaign design that would be able to transcend the women's movement and reach a wide national audience. At the same time, a prior phase of an *internal campaign* was necessary, aimed at convincing the members of the CFPA of the need for and viability of insisting on the approval of the Equality Law. Consensus building in CFPA on the basis of an internal campaign included mobilizing the political consciousness of the Movement concerning how to position the law to get it approved, relying for this on the leadership of the external advisors as well as the leaders of the Movement.[24]

On the other hand, the campaign was designed as a powerful and total call to arms as it was directed at the whole of society, directly confronting the promise of equality that modern democracy and governments offer to all citizens and showing how in reality this equality does not exist.

- **A strategy for reflexive communication and communications resonance.**

Avoiding a direct and prescriptive communications strategy (such as *'reject discrimination against women, support the GEL...'*), the campaign opted for a reflexive communications strategy that raised a question with the general public (*if we are equal, why do men and women not earn the same wage for the same work?*), putting pressure on decision-makers with this approach as well as more directly. In this way the campaign asked questions about the assumptions that structure social life and that justify inequality: it doesn't offer answers, it only raises questions.[25] Operating with a wide scope, the campaign did not only address women or a specific sector but also society as a whole. This gave the campaign the power to establish widespread reflection about inequality among the general public and among decision-makers, who are reached and sensitized by a form of communicative resonance –receiving the same message via a range of sources and channels-. Moreover, the participation of women recognized in social and publicity spheres had the effect of generating wide public support, incorporating organized struggles and sectors, defining and/or recuperating the

[22] CFPA, Interview with the Communication Team (17/11/2011).

[23] In order to learn about other experiences, workshops were held with the participation of Evangelina García Prince, an advisor with a long experience of Public Policies, and Isabel Torres from the Inter-American Human Rights Institute, who shared the experience of the proceess of approving the Equality Law in Mexico.

[24] Eight representatives of the Liaison Committee and the Communications Technical Team formed part of the committee developing the campaign.

[25] CFPA, Report on the GEL Campaign, electronic document provided by the Communications Team, Nov. 2011. Interview with the CFPA Communication Team, Nov. 2011.

public sphere (invoking the memory of the campaigns for health led by Margarita Posadas) and locating the GEL among the top priorities of these sector-wide struggles.

- **A campaign that gives new vitality to the image of the women's movement.**

By carrying out a broad campaign that was also directed at decision-makers, the messages resonated in different spheres, transcending the movement itself by including the presence and support of women recognized in other social spheres. The campaign subverted daily life and united separated worlds, generating broad criticism of inequality.

- **The campaign as a political strategy: alliances and autonomy.**

The campaign strengthened an alliance between political actors and the social movement, guided by mixed strategies for cooperation with decision-makers and when the time came it created pressure that, without becoming completely confrontational, created the possibility of restoring the autonomy the movement in order to make demands on legislators.

4.3.2 Alliances

- **Unique broad and cross-cutting alliances between the women's movement and pubic authorities**

The process leading up to the approval of the GEL was an expression of alliances that led to the victory of the coalition government – movement/party alliances – and in this case extended to include actors from diverse political sectors. The protagonism of the women's movement – nobody questioned their leadership in the work on the Equality bill – is a reflection of the high level of social legitimacy of CFPA. Moreover, the solid foundation of the political and programme planning developed over two decades enabled CFPA to define the necessary margins for autonomy between social and political spheres and gave the negotiating strategy flexibility that was key to making the approval of the GEL viable.

- **Ability to build alliances: pragmatism, strategic vision**

The programmatic and political basis and the identity construction through the Feminist Platform enabled CFPA to implement a flexible approach to alliance-building. They identified alliances that were strategic – the relation with ISDEMU, the Women Parliamentarians Group and women leaders of mixed civil society organizations-, others that were newly emerging – such as the work with women in trade unions – and a third level of one-off alliances – such as those developed with right wing female politicians-, instead of organizing their alliances based on alignment due to ideological affinity.

- **A model of strategic and flexible alliances: the strength of weak links**

The alliance-building model was a hybrid one: it represented dialogue between a '*dense*' approach that privileged strong or recurring links with some organizations that moved in different circles – for example ORMUSA, Las Mélidas and Las Dignas form part of CFPA as well as the Feminist Network Against Violence Against Women – and the dynamics of the organization nature of CFPA, being a second tier organization, or 'network of networks'. CFPA thus alternated 'strong' relationships such as those named above with 'weak' relationships such as the cross-cutting alliances created with entities and people from different spheres in order to achieve the approval of the GEL. The relationship with mixed social movements or women in trade unions followed the same path: feminist militancy was not expected as a basis

for agreeing on specific support for the work. With this approach, CFPA extended the diversity of its alliances and demonstrated the 'strength of weak ties' when they are directed at achieving a common goal.

- **Capacity to alternate cooperation and conflict**

While developing strategic alliances with women parliamentarians, there were no doubts about applying pressure tactics when necessary to ensure the approval of the GEL when necessary. This 'paradoxical' mode of relating – alternating cooperation and conflict – was a test of the maturity of the actors and the relationships they were capable of building. Moreover, it involved understanding that conflict and cooperation work through different relational levels: central/local; technical/political. Each of these scenarios introduces new complexity that enriches the concept of alliances, constituting fields of practice in which those involved learn about the dynamics of constructing democratic power.

- **Capacity of the movement to overcome its crisis: partial solutions = ongoing tensions in the medium term**

There is an element that has yet to be resolved: the so-called 'internal front' or alliances within the CFPA, as an umbrella platform that houses different entities and people. This relates to the conflict produced by the departure of the director of ISDEMU and the process of naming her successor; the alliances created and the positioning that emerged following this episode have marked important moments for the movement such as the signing of the agreement between ISDEMU and CFPA related to various tasks connected to the implementation of the GEL. Although it is a consequence of previous tensions rather than any direct strategy, the Programme is facing a negative collateral effect of the process of approving the GEL, namely the tension present within the women's and feminist movement represented in CFPA, the resolution of which involves establishing agreements about important issues such as the logic of alliances, institutional quotas, internal functioning mechanisms. If these tensions and issues are not adequately addressed, they will result in a weakening of the movement at a time when unified action is fundamental.

4.3.3 Advocacy

- **A successful mechanism of tripartite action: women's social movement / ISDEMU / parliament**

The alliances built between the women's movement, the Women Parliamentarians Group and the professionals in ISDEMU for the approval of the GEL is one of the most important achievements of the Programme. This relates to the value of the support garnered by the platform and the dynamics that converted this support into joint action with formal and informal relationships that facilitated the key information exchange for defining strategies for achieving the objective. Each sector of the platform contributed its ways of knowing and acting, carrying out advocacy on different levels. The most important point in terms of the implementation of the GEL is the signing of the collaboration agreement between CFPA and ISDEMU.

- **Coordinated international cooperation and a dedication to advocacy on the GEL**

The efforts of the international agencies were fundamental in the process leading up to the GEL. Key aspects included their capacity to include spaces for meetings and to provide technical instruments and financial resources to the partners, as well as the role of entities

such as UNFPA, UN Women in El Salvador, the Fund for Gender Equality and UNDP as direct actors in some initiatives such as the Committee for Equality and Equity, the Women Parliamentarians Group, and ASPARLEXSAL.[26] This form of involvement made a valuable contribution by creating spaces for the coordination of different actors, energizing the agenda and mobilizing good will and crucial support. However, progress still needs to be made with regard to interagency coordination: while the range of UN agencies collaborated with the process leading up to the approval of the GEL, entities such as the IDB directed their support at programmes such as City Women.

- **Efforts to institutionalize relationships: ISDEMU-CFPA agreement = gains /losses**

One of the elements of the advocacy work that deserves mention is the signing of the ISDEMU-CFPA collaboration agreement. This is a very important political and technical event that, despite marking the renewal of formal institutional relations, renewed existing tensions at the heart of the women's movement: tensions in the State-Civil Society relationship (linked to the episode of the change of leadership of ISDEMU and the place of organized women in its Board of Directors) and internal tensions related to the weakening of the management structures of CFPA. If a new governance agreement within the movement is achieved and if the leadership role of ISDEMU is strengthened, the 'gains' side of the dilemma will prevail. If these issues are not resolved, the 'losses' side of the dilemma will predominate, with the additional consequence of the loss of civil society monitoring of the implementation of the GEL.

- **The GEL transformed the State and relations with the State**

The negotiation processes associated with the approval of the GEL resulted in the exclusion of some of the emblematic elements of the women's and feminist movement from the final approved Law – such as political participation and sexual and reproductive rights (SRR). On the basis of the hegemonic criteria of the platform that promoted the GEL – *better to have a law that can be improved than a good but never ending bill that is not viable* – these gaps were immediately addressed by incorporating them into the platform's agenda of 'tasks pending'. However, essentially there was the capacity to see part of the problem and all of the solution, for example linking questions of women's political participation to the wider agenda promoted by the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs. This marked a move towards another more systemic level of analysis and advocacy, addressing the State as a whole rather than only the women's agenda, from sector-level advocacy to mainstreaming and from centre to local levels in terms of advocacy (in the latter case it is not a question of exclusionary dilemmas).

- **Advisors and exchanges opened up new perspectives: visit by the consultant, seminar on equality laws, exchange of experiences)**

As we have noted in other sections of this report, the possibility of counting on the advice of international experts and exchanging experiences with participants from other equality law approval processes was crucial for the approval of the GEL. Recent activities promoted by the government (the workshop with Evangelina García organized by ISDEMU) demonstrated that such initiatives will be very appropriate for the GEL's implementation phase

[26] ASPARLEXSAL is the Association of Parliamentarians and Ex Parliamentarians in El Salvador. It is also important to highlight the contribution of donor agencies such as OXFAM Internacional and the City Council of Bilbao, among other organizations that have given funding and political support to the approval of the GEL.

4.4 Efficiency: Programme operations

On this topic, the analysis examined the efficiency of the partner organization in the planning and use of human and financial planning of the Programme for the achievement of the objectives. Despite the lack of monitoring and evaluation information for a complete assessment of the Programme management, particularly on financial aspects (we only obtained partial information from one of the lead organizations), the information gathered from the analysis of documents (Project document, monitoring reports) allowed us to formulate some comments on this topic.

- **The grant from UN Women's Fund for Gender Equality was timely.**

Contrary to the expectations within CFPA with regard to the timing of the arrival of the funds for the Programme, the Movement had the necessary administrative systems to speed up the transfer and there were no problems with delays associated with the length of time administrative procedures take in some of the United Nations agencies.

- **The implementation model – two entities, one Programme- was politically viable but operationally difficult.**

CFPA's decision to not become an NGO and remain as a coordinating entity, combined with the approval requirements of the Fund for Gender Equality, led to the creation of the consortium between Las Dignas and Las Mélidas, two of the most important organizations in CFPA. The budget lines were divided and Las Dignas took responsibility for administrating salaries, auditing costs, the internal evaluation and Programme communications, while Las Mélidas administered the resources associated with advocacy activities and alliance building. According to the original budgetary information, each organization was allocated 63% and 37% of the total respectively. According to the Technical Team, responsible for managing the overall Programme Action Plan, coordinating with the accounts departments of two organizations complicated the procedures needed to promote the Programme activities, obliging them to expend energy on resolving administrative issues. Moreover, with information available from only one organization it was not possible to develop an integrated assessment of the budgetary distribution of expenditure items.

- **The Programme implementation model was affected by the weakening of the CFPA collective management structures.**

There are various indicators for this phenomenon: for example, the Programme Technical Team was responsible for political and technical representation (for example, participating in the Coordinating Committee with ISDEMU to develop the Equality Plan); at the same time, the use of email replaced institutional management spaces such as the monthly members' meeting. These events occurred when CFPA was under heavy pressure to participate in processes of coordination and political and programmatic planning. From a general point of view, the implementation model facilitated decision-making, but it was not sustainable as a means of building the women's movement, at least in terms of participation.

- **The Programme's management model facilitated a flexible working practice.**

This was particularly important in the management of the social communication campaign strategies, since the design required a mechanism that was sufficiently flexible to adapt to the changing context, redefining some budget lines in order to improve the outputs. The model used was adapted for this need, making the political and communications success of the campaign viable. The Fund for Gender Equality believes in the expertise and capacity of the

women's movement to manage its programmes. Monitoring of grantees is conducted in a balanced way, consciously avoiding excessive bureaucracy[27].

Key findings

The planning mechanisms were not adequately deployed. There is evidence that the Programme's instrument – its log frame – was rarely used as an instrument for promoting collective understanding of the programme objectives, including its use for measuring progress with the Programme. According to the partners, various versions of the instruments exist and even when the intervention began and was in progress people were not familiar with them.

The monitoring reports fulfilled a formal role, enabling the transfer of funds. The partial completion of reporting formats suggests a lack of understanding of some of the reporting items in question. There is little narrative information in the revised forms (the most useful method was when the partner organization used its own narrative reporting formats).

The Programme implementation did not lead to the strengthening of participatory management mechanisms in the lead organization. The recovery of lost collective management spaces – not attributed to the Programme implementation but to previous problems in the movement – should be a priority for the agenda.

4.5 Sustainability: challenges to implementing the Law

In order to assess sustainability, we analysed the extent to which the lead organization established political and programmatic initiatives and promoted or achieved agreements that give logical continuity to the activities. In this post-approval phase these aspects are related to the tasks that will influence the implementation of the GEL. For this assessment we are interested in establishing to what extent the Programme served as a catalyst for promoting independent action connected with the GEL. We outline below some of the factors identified such as potential sustainability indicators.

4.5.1 Capacity building as an indicator of sustainability

One indicator that contributes to the sustainability of the GEL is the capacity building of the women's movement, at the level of women from community-based organizations as well as the level of the main leaders. The presence of a movement with strong leadership and other capacities will be an important factor in making the implementation of the GEL possible at the level of central government, departments and municipalities. The mapping in the workshops of empowerment achieved in relation to this provided information on new or strengthened capacities in the following areas:

[27] During the summer 2010, the Fund for Gender Equality, conscious of the lack of knowledge from grantees on Results Based Managment, made available a series of virtual trainings for all its 40 grantees around the world on how to build Logical Frameworks and on Results-based management.

Capacities

Public policy advocacy: in this case the leaders considered that the process leading up to the approval of the GEL involved capacity building for advocacy with decision-makers and government entities. Impact was achieved not only on the agendas of the state – executive, parliament, and judiciary – but also on the very structure of national legislation. These capacities were seen as fully built and will be useful during the next phase.

Strengthening of women's social participation: there is an awareness that the approval of the GEL would not have been possible without the women's movement's activities in support of the GEL and the pressure it placed on decision-makers to vote in favour. This is seen as an advantage for the second phase.

Strengthening of women's organization: in general terms, it is believed that the approval of the GEL was a victory founded on the strengthening of the organized voice of women, that is, their presence as a political actor.

Broadening of alliances: the capacity to build alliances with other social organizations and state authorities was also seen as a strengthened capacity by the end of the GEL approval process. The breadth and political diversity of the platform that promoted the law is a clear sign of this.

Strengthening the capacity of women leaders: the ability to define what was central and what was marginal in terms of alliances and programmatic proposals, the ability to make timely decisions and the knowledge of the main demands of each sector are all factors related to the exercise of leadership.

Change in the social image of women: there is initial awareness that the social communication campaign and the approval of the GEL have led to the transformation of the subordinated social image of women. It was agreed that there was still much to do to achieve long term structural transformation.

Capacity to work with the State: on this point the feeling was that progress is still pending. Each time dialogue with the State through ISDEMU is regained, this does not translate into significant progress in the work with other government departments. It is in this area that less capacity was identified.

Strengthening of the movement at a local-territorial level: in spite of the important presence of organized women supporting the law, it was felt that the presence at a local level was weak and should form part of the institutional strengthening agenda for the implementation phase.

Strengthening democratic culture: the organizational capacity to strengthen participatory processes and collective decision-making is another of the areas where the process left more questions than answers.

Capacity building needs were related to enhancing the viability of the work aimed at influencing and/or interacting with government authorities and employees and the content of citizen participation in public policy. They include knowledge of legislation and public institutionalism, advocacy and public communications strategies, baseline study tools, budgetary planning and analysis and the tools to carry out public monitoring.

4.5.2 Institutional development as an indicator of sustainability The following progress has been identified in this area:

Institutional development

The drafting of an agreement with ISDEMU for the tasks associated with implementing the Law. One of the various activities developed by ISDEMU to strengthen its leadership role was the signing, in September 2011, of an agreement with CFPA in order to strengthen the process of implementing the GEL through the creation of a joint working mechanism (the Technical Working Group). The agreement included four goals: a) the design and implementation of a strategic plan for the implementation of the GEL; b) the design of a national for equality, equity and the eradication of gender-based discrimination; c) the design of a strategy to raise awareness and strengthen the technical advice on the implementation of equality policies; d) awareness-raising and dissemination of the GEL at national and local levels. The agreement is an important instrument in that it creates a space for joint management of public policies for women that provides a leading role for the women's movement.

The development of dissemination and capacity building workshops related to the implementation of the GEL. At a local level and as part of the activities of the present Programme's agreement, CFPA is preparing the second phase of the social communication campaign. This includes dissemination materials and the development of a cycle of workshops to disseminate the content of the GEL and build the capacity of government employees and local women leaders to bring public culture and services in line with the standards of the new Law. Second, it includes building capacity to carry out civil society monitoring of progress in the implementation of the law.

At the Legislative Assembly level measures are also taken with relation to the implementation of the law. The consolidation of the Women Parliamentarians Group and its prioritizing of three issues on the agenda – the creation of the Gender Unit and the Special Committee for Women in Parliament, working to support the Law on Violence and the implementation of the GEL – represent an important precedent with regard to the sustainability of the activities in favour of the GEL. The advocacy and training work developed by ASPARLEXSAL also forms part of this agenda.

Other civil society groups are promoting initiatives inspired by the GEL. Women trade unionists grouped together in FEASIES (the Salvadoran Autonomous Federation of Trade Unions) will develop work aimed at promoting equal participation within the unions. ANDRYSAS (the grouping of women in municipalities) will also develop similar work in connection with the implementation of the Law. These examples suggest that the Equality Law is an incentive for different social groups to carry forward their own platforms protected by the mandate of this legal instrument.

The United Nation System prepared its own agenda for supporting the implementation of the GEL. This agenda took centre stage during the continuation of the support for initiatives such as the Committee for Equality and Equity, which was involved with strategic advocacy in support of the implementation of the laws approved in favour of women. Moreover, it will continue its support for the Parliamentary Group and ASPARLEXSAL, together with the monitoring of two laws due to be discussed: childhood and adolescence and the law that will govern the justice sector. Obtaining new resources from funding agencies is a fundamental part of this phase. Organizations such as UNDP, UNFPA and UN Women are all committed to this agenda.

4.5.3 Concern for internal strengthening as an indicator of sustainability

The following two examples of progress are worth highlighting in this area:

Internal strengthening

Awareness exists of continued internal tensions and they should be resolved to help energize the movement. The viscitudes of the process of public policies for women, in particular the change and naming of a new Executive Director of ISDEMU and the role played in this process by the civil society representatives on the Board of Directors of ISDEMU, and the disagreements stemming from the signing of the recent agreement between CFPA and ISDEMU, have produced disagreements within the women's movement related to the role of civil society in these spaces and the weakening of the collective management mechanisms within CFPA. At the same time, we observed an agreement that the implementation phase of the GEL requires a united movement and consequently also support for establishing what they call a *New Feminist Pact*.

Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the implementation of the GEL

The threats to sustainability mentioned above should also be measured in the interaction between internal and external factors that affect the implementation of the Equality Law.

a) Internal Factors: *strengths and weaknesses*

Strengths

- The major strength of the CFPA is its political maturity, which provides it with a pool of collective knowledge and a strategic vision that enables it to define minimal agreements in order to move forward; this is a capital derived from 20 years of practice in transforming society;
- Another strength is CFPA's capacity to analyse its practice as a movement, reiterating certain questions and spaces of shared memory and creating the freedom for reflexivity and change, guaranteeing the continuity of a 'brand' and adapting its mode of functioning and structure to the tasks of each period.
- A dedication to advocacy, transformative will and a deep connection with Salvadoran women: the practice of the organizations and individual that make up CFPA is nourished by a constant flow of stories of individual and collective recognition and self-affirmation. This has been its approach to accompanying the evolution of women and their daily demands. Consequently the GEL is not merely the technocratic enterprise of a few brilliant women but the expression in law of a social debate by Salvadoran women about their invisibility and marginalization. Due to its relevance and its high levels of social legitimacy, even the Virgin Saint Mary demanded support for the Equality Law.[28]
- The previous point is a consequence of another strength: CFPA is a meeting point of multiple life experiences and knowledge: skills of a technical order – legal, of economic analysis, management, communications, social – and of a thematic and political order, the latter gained from the wide range of work that the different organizations have developed with women in urban and rural areas. In this case, strength is evident when CFPA is successful in engaging this diversity in 'dialogue for action'.
- In the framework of the new political phase resulting from the change of government, the process of approving the GEL gave the Feminist Coordination high levels of social legitimacy - recognized by all the people interviewed. In turn this recognition strengthens the capacity for advocacy and alliance-building.
- Another strength resides in the fact that CFPA has a very capable and committed Technical Team and this has helped avoid a bureaucratization of the organization. This element – with a key feature being that CFPA does not have a formal legal status and manages to mobilize Salvadoran women to support the GEL – is an indicator of its option to continue as a movement-network rather than transform itself into an NGO.
- In its current formulation, the GEL enjoys a broad and cross-cutting support at a political and social level. Without doubt this is its main capital as it faces the implementation phase.
- When Las Dignas and Las Melidas applied to the Fund for Gender Equality for funding, their original concept note had a statement that points to the clarity of their vision for the Equality Law as a means for sustainability beyond party lines: ***"Public policies** are classified into two types: **State Policies**, such as laws that go beyond governments, and **Government Policies** that develop State Policies. When a policy is produced by government alone, this policy comes to an end when the government changes and it does not go further. When we consider laws as public policies, a new State operating logic is applied, because to make them work, they should be coordinated horizontally with other laws and other policies. On the other hand, a vertical integration is also required so that mandates, whether high or low-level, do not interfere with law enforcement.**The equality law is a State Policy, which will remain in place beyond the life of the government in power.** It does not guarantee equality itself, but it does establish the legal and political basis for enforcing it as an obligation of the*

[28] As shown by the photograph on the first page of this evaluation report.

State. ***As it is a law of the Republic of El Salvador, it is not susceptible to modification as a result of a change of government****."*

Weaknesses

- On occasions, the lack of clear priorities for the CFPA resulted in activism and a low capacity to respond to high levels of demands with technical appropriateness. This weakness should be addressed due to its potentially disruptive influence on the implementation phase.
- There is a recognition of the insufficient level of technical strengthening in certain areas that are key to the implementation phase: tools for accompanying planning processes at central government, department and local/municipal levels; strategies to mainstream the public policies aimed at women on the levels mentioned, conflict resolution with state actors as well as within the women's movement.
- The debate on internal strengthening has still been postponed given CFPA's tendency to concern itself with the external agenda. This could directly affect CFPA's capacity to build unity for its activities.

b) Factors Relating to Context: *opportunities and threats*

Opportunities

- There is political will to create mechanisms for the implementation of the GEL. CFPA should capitalize on the tendency shown by the agreement with ISDEMU and extend this mode of co-management of public issues with other sectors.
- New alliances with women with new technical and political profiles: the process of approving the GEL has produced a wide range of alliances that CFPA should take advantage of in relation to the task of implementing the GEL.
- Appropriate international correlation: the predominance of a human rights approach, the discourse on development inclusive of women, the tendency to value citizen participation mechanisms in the development of public policies, and the concrete experiences of citizenship processes of the politics of sister countries (Brazil, Ecuador, Bolivia), are factors that favour the implementation of the changes outlined in the GEL.
- The will exists to create a civil society monitoring system for the law. ISDEMU is convinced that a strong women's and feminist social movement carrying out the monitoring of the progress of the Law represents one of the principal factors that will make the implementation of the Law and its leadership role possible.
- The creation of ministerial monitoring mechanisms. In different ways, the Five Year Plan guides the creation of spaces for monitoring ministerial goals. The actors promoting the GEL – especially CFPA and parliament – should build their monitoring capacity in this area.
- The GEL is an instrument for creating a critical mass. Notwithstanding the existence of obligation and/or sanction instruments in the GEL, the mobilization of broad political will in favour of its implementation will always catalyze their viability as public policy instruments. It is commonplace to state that the GEL '*creates reality*' to the extent that it is a guide that Salvadoran society can follow.
- In its work to support the GEL, CFPA's status as a network of networks enables it to quickly capitalize on its knowledge of public policy instruments, achieving a level of knowledge of them that allows it to pass 'from what the law obliges to what the law does not prohibit', thus creating new opportunities for analysis.

Threats

- There is still a *void in terms of institutionalism*: despite its wish to promote the approval of the GEL, the Salvadoran government has not placed sufficient emphasis on clearly defining the levels of institutionalism required for implementing it. Today this implies a precarious balance between the work carried out by the Gender Unit of the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs (directed at influencing the work of other secretariats) and the leadership role aspired to by ISDEMU (directed at traditional ministries). A positive solution could be beneficial for both sides; any other outcome could kill off the Law, strangling it in a competition where power results in nothing.
- Neutralization due to too much demand: given that ISDEMU and CFPA are actors with limited institutional resources, the lack of definition of priorities in the process of implementing the GEL may lead to its saturation due to having to respond simultaneously to a variety of needs in supporting the implementation of the GEL, especially those coming from a local level.
- Limitation of the National Policy for Mujeres: one threat lies in the bureaucratic response of the State, reduced to creating gender units and postponing taking up the strategic challenge of mainstreaming. Another of the areas of administrative and political resistance may be the eventual lack of financial viability of the GEL (although the recent budget lines are a cause for hope).
- Withdrawal of international development cooperation: the funding difficulties and the impact of the change in direction of governments – especially in the case of Spain, which provides important support to development in Latin America – may produce breaks in or a drastic reduction of the amount of funds available for supporting the implementation of the GEL.
- Initiatives of fundamentalist groups: without detriment to its lack of visibility in the current moment, ISDEMU's episode

related to the topic of abortion attracts attention to the activities of these groups whose influence permeate even political allies of the women's movement.

- Limitation of the government programme: indicators show that a distancing between the government and the coalition that elected it could result in a flexibility in terms of the promise of change it represented, opting for a model of 'democracy of the possible' and with this, reducing the possibility of political spaces for social transformation such as that defined in the GEL. There is little political time to neutralize this possibility.
- Breakdown in coordination and a weakening of the State: the main effect of the implementation of neoliberal policies is a weak State, without regulatory capacity or leadership. The difficulty of reversing a scenario of this nature directly threatens the viability of the GEL, which forms part of an agenda to recuperate the role of the State in public affairs.
- Failure to broaden alliances: as the map of actors developed in the evaluation shows, the coalition that achieved the approval of the GEL is one alliance, and a different one should carry out the implementation, one that includes new social and institutional actors. The possibility that the implementation of the GEL could have political space depends on if it is perceived as a benefit for all society, especially for what CFPA calls the mixed organized sectors.
- The failure to resolve the model of two souls with which the Salvadoran government responds to women: on the one hand, the First Lady Syndrome and its model of direct service provision – with the spectre of increased political clientelism directed at women given the impending elections – and on the other hand, the leadership role associated with the GEL and with the implementation of the National Policy for Women. This is a high risk scenario for the women's movement, since it coincides with the absence of institutional mechanisms for citizen participation in public policies, leaving all the current scaffolding with the political will of the authorities.

Key findings

There are clear signs that of a coordinated commitment in terms of the sustainability of the GEL. In effect, different actors and entities are re-orienting their agendas to support the implementation of the GEL. The most important challenge lies in coordinating these agendas.

Important capacities exist for the task of implementing the GEL. The capacity to promote alliances and advocacy activities represents capital for the women's movement.

There is a notable common desire to strengthen the women's and feminist movement for the implementation phase of the GEL. The idea of a *New Feminst Pact* has become established among the members of the movement, leading up to the next Feminist Conference.

CFPA is an entity that enjoys high levels of social legitimacy, and whose members have the capacity to play a leading role in the implementation of the GEL. Defining priorities and neutralizing activism will be crucial for creating synergy among the initiatives.

There are multiple opportunities that CFPA should take advantage of on the basis of joint action. In the current picture there are notable national and international elements that the movement should take advantage of to benefit the implementation of the GEL.

The main threat is related to the lack of definition of the institutional model with which the government will respond to women's demands. The tension between direct implementation and the exercise of leadership may lead to the neutralization of the initiatives to benefit women. This should be a priority for the advocacy agenda of CFPA.

5. Conclusions and Lessons Learnt

5.1 Conclusions

A programme of political empowerment that was effective in achieving its principal result: the approval of the GEL. From the point of view of its design, the Programme and the combination of strategies for social communication, alliances and advocacy contributed significantly to achieving the principal objective, the approval of the GEL. The campaign created mass support for the Equality bill and put pressure on decision-makers; the alliances gave legitimacy and political support for the Equality bill; the advocacy activities sped up the approval of the GEL and began to draw up the agenda for its implementation.

A law with different levels of meaning, that 'creates reality'. From an ethical and cultural point of view, the Law is an official recognition of the existence of inequality as well as the duty of the state and society together to act to promote women's citizenship. There is agreement that this is the most significant change; for the women consulted, to say 'Equality Law' means to experience the feeling of the influence and citizenship that they exercised. From a political and strategic point of view, the law is a framework that makes it possible to introduce various topics into the agenda of public affairs. It is a mandate that does not guarantee action but it permits action. Women's interaction with the Law with regard to the topic of violence is interesting, given that in the social imaginary the obligatory and sanctioning capacities of the Law are extended while they remain absent in the case of the GEL. The Law 'creates reality' in the public imaginary.

The Equality Law is the fulfilment of the historic demands of Salvadoran women. The history of the process culminating in the approval of the Equality Law in March 2011 is the history of almost two decades of the women's movement in El Salvador, itself intimately linked to the history of Salvadoran democracy and the efforts of different political and social actors to construct a democratic State, a truly competitive party system and a culture of civil society participation in public affairs. It is a story of historical trends and elements of the resolution of dilemmas, of long processes of struggle and making the most of opportunities.

The understanding and appropriate use of national and international contexts.

Over a short period, the process of approving the GEL demonstrated a wise approach to capitalizing on the new political phase that began with the candidacy and victory of the FMLN. For a long time there was a debt or historic demand born of the belief that women were left under the table of the Peace Accords, in terms of recognition of their role and in the formulation of concrete opportunities for improving their situation. With their simultaneous insertion in different advocacy spaces, the women's movement gained a timely understanding that the moment of the candidacy of Mauricio Funes and then his victory, the first political moments of his mandate, was the right moment to promote the Equality bill.

The international context also favoured the creation of a climate of *social debt to women* that was not only the result of the topics it contributed – such as the Beijing Platform for Action or the rights-based approach – but it also fed on defeats that were exploited as a justification to promote new demands of the political system: the negative response in the case of the approval of the CEDAW Protocol opened up political space for the approval of the GEL. Moreover, the internationalization of the movement was decisive in that it connected the women's movement with a global agenda: the discussions derived from the gender and development approach and the experience of the international feminist movement, especially that of Mexican women and the presence of individuals such as Evangelina García, who

incorporated proposals, facilitated the definition of strategies and, above all, mobilized widespread support among Salvadoran public authorities for the approval of the GEL.

A movement that makes progress on the basis of collective memory, questions and strategies that enable it to gain political strength. The construction of the Feminist Platform 2008 – 2009, with its process of aggregation of demands and wide consultation to strengthen its political legitimacy, was the prelude and model for the construction of the methodology and strategy for alliances that were brought to bear in the process of approval of the GEL. This suggests that the combination of time and memory within the movement is a valuable resource. By reiterating the dilemmas and/or questions to be resolved at each moment – How far to go? How to propose the coordination between the social militancy and the party militancy of the members? What are the minimum agreements for acting as a movement? – and by maintaining relations of collaboration and conflict with the same actors (government, parties and parliament), the women's movement progressed by validating certain instruments – such as the participatory methodology for constructing platforms – and political beliefs – such as the commitment to transmitting the collective memory and influencing electoral contexts. These instruments benefited from the political maturity of the movement, that is, the possibility to maintain fundamental principles, programmatic proposals and a sense of unity in the activities that turned out to be vital for successfully negotiating the contexts leading up to the approval of the GEL.

A law that enriches a nascent democratic Salvadoran state, coexisting with its risks and opportunities. While interviewing women parliamentarians during the field visit phase of the evaluation, voting was taking place for the Youth Law and the National Youth Council, the entity responsible for social monitoring. While holding the Workshop for the Design of the Equality Plan, in the next hall there was a workshop on gender-disaggregated statistics: this demonstrates signs of a democratic State fully building its instruments and spaces.

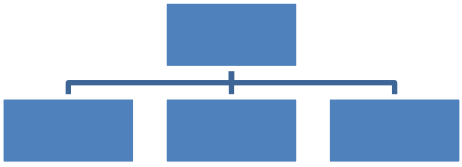
The strength of the networks: 'diverse, but all together at the same time'. From a general point of view, the process of approving the GEL is a more general topic of debate that speaks of the continuity of the women's movement in El Salvador. As Vicente Espinoza[29] highlighted, this continuity is another way of talking about the movement's memory, evident in the conflict with hegemonic or patriarchal forms of domination, and concerning important topics from the time of the armed conflict and the Peace Accords.

Memory and discontinuity constitute a cadence in which the relationship between the general public and the social movements oscillates between latency and visibility[30]: both states speak of two modes of existence within one reality and that, for example, are expressed in the dichotomy between the short time between the presentation and approval of the GEL and the silent long time of its implementation and its impact on the culture of Salvadorans.

In order to understand the cultural dynamics of an organization such as CFPA – a network of networks – it is useful to consider the dichotomy of *arborescent/rhizomatic*.[31] In the first case, similar to an organogram, the diagrams in the form of a tree organize the elements through successive hierarchies based on a central point where each local element returns to this point of origin. By contrast, the systems in *rhizomes* or open networks can develop *ad infinitum*,

[29] Espinoza, Vicente; Revindication, conflict and values in social movements of the second half of the XX Century; in: Garcés M. et al. Op cit 2000.
[30] According to the proposal of Melucci (in Valdés et al, op cit 2000).
[31] Cooper, David; Glossary of Schizoanalysis; in: Guattari, Felix; Cartographies of Desire; Francisco Zegers editor, 1989.

establishing crosscutting connections without the need to centre them or close them. The term *rhizome* comes from botany and represents the systems of interconnected underground stems of certain plants such as the iris or grass. In social systems, it is the diagram of social networks, with a language dominated by dilemmas such as closed/open, conversation/monologue, hierarchical/horizontal, concentration/dispersal, that reflect different logics for conceptualizing and developing organizations.



From this point of view, the sensitivities within the movement can be read as the continuous dialogue between these two logics of development. It would seem that the recent process of approving the GEL was made possible due to the deployment of the rhizomatic logic – which is traditional in the movement – that, emerging from the women's movement itself, has achieved an impact on different people and centres of power – parliament, the Executive, other public employees, journalists from the media, community-based organizations, among others. This interest has been exercised simultaneously by women who, forming part of the movement, have the capacity to promote new strategies for action, some staying in the organizations and others gaining access to position of power within the State. The political subject of the GEL is plural and has the capacity to know about and influence society's hierarchical structures (*arborescents*), with the aim of creating crosscutting links (networks) that will be decisive when the time comes to take up the challenge of implementing the law.

This approach produces questions and dilemmas: organization or movement? State or civil society? Autonomy or co-optation? Advocacy with the State as a whole or with women's public spaces? Women or gender? Co-management or social monitoring? Directed at the level of central government or local governments? If it were the case of a traditional party, this tension would be resolved with hierarchy and discipline. But this is a network of networks and here the strategies are different for CFPA: its challenge is how to coordinate efforts, its resource is its collective memory and reflection about practice, its strength resides in attacking from all sides at once. Therefore, its main concern is threefold: to define a path, maintain unity and, when the moment arrives, know how to relaunch itself, turning its existence into a meaningful story. These are the issues on the immediate agenda of the implementation of the law, and the continuity of the women's movement in El Salvador depends on their resolution.

5.2 Lessons learnt

Working for transformation and self-transformation. In terms of design, one of the lessons that emerged at the end of the initiative was the need to combine the elements for action on the context that predomínate in the strategic design of the Programme – dissemination, alliances and advocacy – with the simultaneous work of *Institutional Strengthening*, that is, the need to render visible the need to make progress on transformational activities and, at the same time, highlight the need to build a minimum consensus on the platforms and methods that the Prudencia Ayala coalition should be implementing with each new historical phase – in this case, from the approval to the implementation of the GEL. In this sense, CFPA has a strength instilled in its organizational culture: the capacity of its members to think reflexively. This is a form of 'doing organization' that, in the face of important political achievements, always returns to the ' issue of the movement': how are we, where are we, what do we have to do to stay together?

Strengthening the democratic State. A lesson that emerged from reflection on other processes of the Latin American feminist movement's promotion of equality laws is the need to connect this agenda to the demands of the strengthening of the democratic State. In effect, a major part of the institutional viability of the women's movement's demands depend on the response that each country can democratically give to the demands of modernization[32]: strengthening capacities and attributes for exercising a leadership role, incorporating the agenda of participation and autonomy into the design and implementation of social policies, including the strengthening of social authority to implement them; effective processes of deconcentration and decentralization; the introduction of transparency mechanisms, citizen participation and accountability in the cycle of public policies; the capacity to promote bottom-up processes to strengthen the role of local levels in the solution of problems that affect them; institutional learning in order to develop policies and interventions that are truly cross-cutting and intersectoral.

Monitoring in the real life of the Programme and participatory evaluation. At a methodological level, there is an urgent need to connect the process of developing log frames with the monitoring of the real life of the programmes, moving beyond current approaches that are predominantly administrative (essentially to fulfil the conditions for the transfer of funds). From the point of view of programme management, this takes the form of strengthening the learning culture within the organizations, through the use of reflexive methods – that facilitate discussion about the pratice – and the inclusion of moments for collective analysis of specific phases in the cycle of the Programme. This study examined approaches and methodologies in order to respond to these needs at the level of the evaluation: essentially proposing a change of direction in the field visits, that is, changing the logic of external consultancies where the methods nourish the assessment of the analyst-evaluator for one where the main partners – in this case the women's movement and the state mechanism for the promotion of women – are considered the main recipients of the information produced, through regular moments of presentation that create the recuperation and wide reflection programme practice. In the course of this approach, evaluation ceases to be 'knowledge for the other' and becomes strategic advice for the programme management of partner organizations. Certainly this approach requires intensive programming, information production and analysis by the evaluation team in the context of reduced time in the field, but

[32] We reaffirm democracy since neoliberalism has its own agenda for resolving these issues; generally the latter externalizes public functions and assigns them a market value, establishing a payment mechanism and a 'third party syndrome' in which civil society organizations emerge as the implementors of public policies, harming their autonomy and their role in social monitoring of the democratic State.

the results are highly satisfactory for the final useres of the evaluation. The Fund for Gender Equality is a new entity and as such, it is in a position to introduce innovative approaches in this field.

The nature of catalytic programmes as not ends in themselves. Unlike the programme support initiatives that promote complete innovation with the aim that this will become a model to be incorporated into public policies or the culture of the entity responsible – such as the PSG projects or training programmes for political participation -, catalytic projects fulfil the role of supporting processes of transformation of public spaces, benefiting the development of critical dynamics, conditions or components for triggering the desired change. From this point of view, a desirable indicator is if the people involved do not talk of an initiative that exists for itself – 'the UN Women Fund's Programme' but they refer to a more general that is being supported by this initiative – in this case, women spoke of 'the process of approval of the GEL'. This approach to the nature of processes unleashed by this type of project should include a broad evaluative viewpoint that should ensure a focus on the main processes being supported or facilitated by the Programme and not on the continuity of its strategies and/or activities, which are carried out in order to be 'dissolved' in the achievement of a wider goal.

6. Recommendations

In this section we present the recommendations according to each component of the general implementation strategy of the second phase of the Programme.

a) Dissemination

- We propose moving on to a wider phase of the social communication campaign, incorporating two key ideas: a) '*with the law we all win'* (establish the perception of gain for all and not only women due to the implementation of the GEL) and b) '*we all experience the law*' (the responsibility to make it real is a task for everybody).

- We propose defining three campaign levels: a) the general public, b) national, departmental and local decision-makers and c) group – community level. We suggest promoting the new campaign through a collaborative mechanism with State-Civil society joint management founded on a design that promotes decentralization and the leadership of local actors.

b) Alliances

- The alliances should be diversified, ensuring the incorporation of new organizations into the platform, especially trade unions and organizations that act at a local level such as ANDRYSAS.

    - There is a need to strenghten alliances with organizations that belong to what has been defined as the 'broad social movement' of some sectors where there is a significant presence of entities and prior work: a) health (ensuring closer links with the experience of the National Health Conference or Forum); b) education (recuperating the experience of the Consultative Committee for the Sex Education Plan in which the Institute for Women (IMU), a member NGO of the CFPA, participates; c) the agricultural/food sector (which is promoting an interesting idea of agro-food security with the Gender Unit; and d) decentralization/localization: in coordination with organizations promoting municipalities such as the aforementioned ANDRYSAS.

- Promotion of a ***New Feminist Political Pact***: that, in the context of the Feminist Conference, facilitates the process of addressing disagreements, giving new energy to collective management mechanisms, updating the platform, strategies and alliances in the women's movement in order to face the new phase opened up by the approval of the GEL.

c) Advocacy

- Resolve the current lack of institutional definintion: we perceive an absence of bridges between the involvement of the First Lady and ISDEMU: CFPA could play a role in creating more general political agreements to facilitate greater synergy that could solve the dilemma of the 'two souls' with which the government has approached the issue of gender equality (service provision vs. leading role in policies). This would entail approaching the Executive and gaining consensus for progress on the implementation of the GEL. As the government is at the mid-term stage, the political time available for this is short, so efforts in 2012 should focus on this task (given that the final phase of a government is not the time for mobilizing innovation). The First Lady should 'champion' the implementation of the GEL.

- From a wider perspective, beyond even the design and implementation of the Equality Plan, CFPA's task appears to be to promote the construction of the institutional environment that the implementation of the GEL requires.:

    - On a higher level, this entails defining a commitment in relation to the institutional standing of ISDEMU: if the aim is to achieve mainstreaming in the political framework of the state, the logical approach would be to fight for increasing its capacity for negotiation to the maximum, that is, at a ministeral level. Neither the Law, the policy nor the plan should belong to ISDEMU or CFPA, they should belong to the State and Society.

    - CFPA could take advantage of instruments available at present in Salvadoran institutions that bring together various innovations in vogue at a Latin American level: the GEL and the consequent Plan could have:

        - A permanent partner on a national level, similar to the Consultative Committee within MINEDUC, a meeting space for specialists, decision-makers and members of civil society movements, that would facilitate agreements on strategic guidelines on equality;
        - A permanent space for debate that could be called the National Women's Conference similar to the institutional structure of MINSAL (the National Health Forum), that serves to coordinate bottom-up debates, that is, wide participation processes that cover municipal, regional and national levels. There should be a similar space for debate and agreement relating to the mechanisms of the policy. The current situation – we refer to the ISDEMU – CFPA working group -, tends to get overwhelmed by attempting to address all the spheres of debate at the same time, moving from general principals to operational mechanisms in a single debate.

- Activities should be promoted in relation to municipal elections, since they are not against the agenda for the implementation of the GEL: renewing alliances with the wider social movements in order to act at various levels at the same time. As the history of social movements in El Salvador has demonstrated, elections represent an appropriate context for advancing the agenda of social movements.

- CFPA should encourage ISDEMU to define its priorities: where to begin with mainstreaming? At the level of the State, they could opt for the sector where there are the best conditions for promoting mainstreaming; at the local level, they could seek to establish model experiences that provide a basis for showing that the implementation of the GEL is possible in practice. A notable element of this point could be the promotionof visits that show government employees and community leaders a viable way forward.

- A renewed promotion of women is needed in the work of International Development Cooperation agencies:

  - Promoting spaces for meetings and the exchange of experiences relating to the mainstreaming and implementation of the GEL.
  - Supporting selected examples to serve as model experiences;
  - Continued support for capacity building initiatives such as those carried out by ANDRYSAS and ASPARLEXSAL and the Training School for Substantive Equality promoted by ISDEMU.
  - Strengthening advocacy to promote the monitoring role of parliamentarians with regard to the implementation of the GEL.
  - Supporting the implementation of the new phase of the social communication campaign in support of the implementation of the GEL.
  - Supporting the institutional strengthening of CFPA and local women's organizations for the new phase of the implementation of the GEL, with special reference to promoting its social monitoring role.
  - Promoting the strategic advocacy agenda with the Committe for Equality and Equity, which has the potential to be the main monitoring entity for the implementation of the GEL.

d) Institutional strengthening: making the New Feminist Pact viable:

  - Promote the systematization of the design, dissemination and approval processes related to the GEL by the Salvadoran feminist and women's movement.
  - Promote the reconstruction of the historical memory of the GEL process based on a participatory process involving the different expressions of the women's movement.
  - Civil society and State capacity building: learning through action, mainstreaming, partipatory planning, governance: *towards a State in a Network,* where the resolution of public affairs is no longer the sole responsibility of the State and there is a move towards scenarios of joint managment between the State and civil society (as reflected in the ISDEMU-CFPA agreement).
  - Promote reflection on the institutional coordiation mechanisms within CFPA; recuperate the local level, a new commitment to collective management methodologies.
  - Clearly define the commitment to avoid slipping into activism. Seek modes of alliance that facilitate reaching new sectors without attempting to compensate centrally for this gap through excessive demands on the Technical Team in CFPA.
  - Reflect on the scope of the efforts: to what extent does its presence in the technical working group of the Equality Plan cancel out its role in monitoring the Plan? Are there sufficient human resources for advancing simultaneously the design of a monitoring entity for the implementation plan of the GEL? Take into account that the existence of social monitoring mechanisms with periodic reports creates an obligation for the State to fulfil its commitments.

ANNEX I

List of representatives of the organizations interviewed

Entity	*Technicians*		
CFPA	**Individual Interview**	**Workshops**	**Group Interview**
	Representative of Las Dignas	Initial Workshop(*)	Technical team CFPA
	Representative of Las Mélidas		Communications and Campaign Team
		Workshop on Reconstruction and Analysis of Experience(**)	
	Representative of the Process of the Feminists Platform		
		Workshop on Reporting Preliminary Results (***)	
	Representative of IMU		
	Representative of ORMUSA		
		Other: Participation in the workshop on Socialization LIE, Municipality of Soyapango: 2/Dec., with Women staff of AM and community women leaders	
Central Government	Director of ISDEMU Responsible of the Programe	Other: Participation in the Workshop on Gender Equality Plan ISDEMU-CFPA: 18 Dec.	Technical Team ISDEMU
		Other: Participation in the Workshop on Gender Mainstreaming in Public Policies. Organized on 07/Dec/2011 by Evangelina Garcia Prince (ISDEMU)	
	Responsible of ISDEMU Santa Ana		
	Representative of the Human Rights and Gender Unit, Technical Secretariat of the Presidency		
	Representative of the Secretary of Strategic Affairs (SAE)		Support Team SAE: Political Reform Area, Institutional Strengthening and Quality Management Area

Local Government	Coordinator of the Municipal Unit of Women of Sopayango		
	Representative of the Municipal Council, Municipality of Soyapango		
Other CSO Women	Representative of ANDRYSAS		
CSO Mixed	Representative of PROVIDA		
	Commission of Women Trade Unionist/ FEASIES		
	Representative of the Social Initiative for Democracy (ISD)		
	Council for Gender Equality and Equity		
Parliament	Representatives of the Women Parliamentary Group: Emma Julia Fabián (FMLN), Mariella Peña (ARENA)		
	Gloria Salguero Gross, President ASPARLEXSAL		
Autonomous Entities	Representative of the Office of the Human Rights Procurator		
Other important women	Evangelina García		
	Former Director ISDEMU		
Media	Opinion Promoters: Program *Without your Permission*		
UN Women UN System	Resident Coordinator		
	Representative of the Sub regional Office, Roxana Delgado		
	Xenia Díaz, Gender Advisor, UNDP		
	Representative of the Central Level FIG: Ana María Enriquez		
International Cooperation	Representative of OXFAM Canada (questionnaire sent)		
Target Population: Women leaders of		**2 Workshops**: Santa Ana and Cojutepeque (*****)	

local associations,			
Total	28	5	4

Pictures of the interviews

Initial workshop

Workshop in Reconstruction of Experience

ANNEX II

Instruments for Data collection

A) Agenda. Interview with members of the Prudencia Ayala Coalition (CFPA)

GENERAL GUIDELINES ON GENDER POLICY ISSUES

0. INTRODUCTION:

a. What is your role in CFPA?
b. How CFPA was created?
c. When did you join the organization?

1. DEFINITIONS AND GENERAL FRAMEWORKS

a. How would you characterize the progress and setbacks in the field of public policies for gender equality in the post-conflict stage?
b. What should a gender equality policy focused on the Salvadoran population look for?

2. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

a. Status of the legal frameworks: scope, gaps and opportunities
b. Perception of the institutional framework for gender equality: Has the Salvadoran democracy managed to build an institutional framework relevant to meet the challenges? Could you identify some milestones in this development? Could you identify strengths, weaknesses and challenges?
c. What is your perception of the development of the Salvadoran Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU)? (inquire about implementation and governance, its place in the organizational structure of the State)
d. In your opinion, what is the relationship between ISDEMU and women organized in the country? What are the mechanisms for civil society participation?

3. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SUPPLY

a. How would you characterize the public supply of programmes to improve the situation of women? Are there any other programmes that have impact on gender equality?
b. In your opinion, how does the programme respond to the existence of a master development plan? (Elaboration model, temporal scope, binding), what are the key areas?
c. What is your perception on the participation of women in the cycle of these policies?
d. What is your opinion on the budgetary framework for the gender equality policy?(amounts, coverage, allocation mechanisms); perception of the investment

in gender equality and women's development compared to other policy sectors; areas of investment: issues "opportunity" (e.g. training) vs. issues "problem" (e.g. violence)

e. In your opinion, does the programmatic supply can reach out to the various types of Salvadoran women? And among these, does it reach out to the most vulnerable women? What are the main advances and setbacks in this area?
f. Institutional scope: from a general point of view, have the actions had an impact on other public policies (citizenship, education, health, employment, and housing) in terms of mainstreaming? Or rather, ISDEMU is solely responsible for the development of women in the country?

4. STAKEHOLDERS OF THE GENDER EQUALITY POLICY

a. In your opinion, who are the key institutional stakeholders involved in gender equality policies in the country? (National, regional, local level): What are their roles?
b. What are the main ISDEMU alliances within and outside the State? Are they going to change with the new Gender Equality Law?
c. In your opinion, who are the key civil society stakeholders involved in policies for the advancement of women in the country? (National, regional, local level): What are their roles?

• How would you evaluate the relationship between the State and the organized women groups? (milestones, barriers, facilitators, best practices, lesson learned and challenges)
• How would you characterize the state's relationship with NGOs specialized on gender issues?
• How can this relationship be further strengthened? Examples of good practice in this area

d. Local policies for gender equality:

• Guidelines
• Key stakeholders
• Barriers, facilitators and learning to participate at the local level

e. Decentralization

• Spaces and mechanisms, stakeholders (institutions and CSOs)
• Factors that promote / hinder processes;

f. Administration and management procedures:

• Planning, monitoring, evaluation and systematization system
• Baseline studies, outcomes, impacts
• Learning management systems (events)
• Use of ICTs

g. Communication policies

• Strategies to increase the visibility of the contribution of women's participation and institutional action
• Dissemination of knowledge on the situation of women.

5. PROCESS TOWARDS THE GENDER EQUALITY LAW

a. What is your assessment of the process that led to the Gender Equality Law?
b. What is the background of the process?
c. Does the project respond in content and opportunity to the priorities of the agenda for gender equality in the country? Do you think the Salvadoran State will work on the human rights issues included in the law? What are the major gaps in this point?
d. Will the project have an impact on the most vulnerable women?
e. Who were the key stakeholders (people and entities)? How did the alliances form?
f. What was the role of ISDEMU in the process? Have you improved your understanding of ISDEMU and your skills to evaluate it at the end of the process?
g. What is your perception of the media campaign developed by CFPA in favor of the adoption of the Law?
h. How have you perceived the social participation of women during the process that lead to the Law?
i. How have you perceived the role of CFPA in this process? What role can they play in the implementation? Are they prepared to play their roles? What are the most recognizable gaps?
j. What role did international cooperation play in the approval process of the law? What role can they play in the implementation phase? In your opinion, are they prepared to play their roles in the implementation phase?
k. What are the main opportunities and threats for the law approval? What are the main opportunities and threats for the implementation?
l. In your opinion, what was the most challenging moment in this process? How did they overcome it?
m. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this process? What are the strengths and weaknesses in the implementation phase?
n. What are the main lessons for ISDEMU?
o. In your opinion, to what extent does the process towards the adoption of the law is a contribution to the democratic culture in El Salvador?
p. What are the main challenges of the 'day after' approval? In your opinion, how the Salvadoran State and ISDEMU are going to face these challenges? What are the main installed capacities? What strategies are being developed to enhance them?
q. What are the major gaps in the implementation of the law? How are they being addressed?
r. Ultimately, what is the most significant change resulting from the approval process of the law?
s. In light of the process experienced, what recommendations would you make to those interested in promoting a gender equality law in other countries?

B) Agenda. Interview with the Technical Members of the Programme

1. BACKGROUND OF THE INTERVIEWEE:

a. Activity
b. Number of years working on the theme
c. Role in the programme
d. How did you become involved in the programme?

2. AREA: NARRATIVE OF THE PROGRAMME (DESIGN, SETTING UP, IMPLEMENTATION)

- How do you remember the process of submission and/or approval of the programme supported by FIG? What was the situation of CFPA at that time?
- How was the elaboration of the plan of action and/or logical framework? Were there adequate mechanisms for diagnosis of needs?
- What is your opinion on the CFPA plan of action for the programme? In your opinion, what are the main activities of the plan of action?
- Do you think that the CFPA and the organizations that integrate it managed to articulate the FIG programme with its own strategic project?
- Perception of the relevance of the programme design and alignment with national priorities
- Levels and modalities of technical and political articulation
- Ways of defining roles and responsibilities (agreed or imposed?)
- Mechanisms of conflict resolution
- Modalities for participation in the programme activities: consultation/information, discussion/decision
- Quality of the partnership working environment
- Internal communication systems
- Modalities for budgetary implementation, and logistics and administrative aspects of the project
- Major project milestones
- Commitment of the steering committee to the programme (other groups, public sector)
- Technical consensus built in partnership
- Perception of the quality of activities, products and/or services delivered by the programme
- Perception of the role of ISDEMU and UN Women
- Modalities of monitoring and joint learning
- Perception of the administrative mechanisms and relationship with FIG
- Opportunities and threats in the environment related to the adoption of the law
- Weaknesses, strengths and lessons learned from participation in the programme
- Demands for learning and technical assistance emerging from the partnership work
- Major challenges for the partnership work
- Perception of the processes of participation in public policies for gender equality

3. AREA: PERCEPTION OF CHANGES AND RESULTS

Entry: What are the most important changes that have resulted from the programme?

- Changes in CFPA. To what extent *has the programme contributed to* strengthening women's movement in terms of its impact on public policy?
- Changes in the nature of people's participation in development activities. Has the quality of participation improved within the CFPA?
- Changes in the group (profile, sustainability of the organizations and their activities)
- Have the results responded to the expected quality?
- Changes in policy (own and others, local and national)
- Changes in the strategic partnerships (affecting CFPA)
- Any other changes not expected (positive or negative)
- What are the windows of opportunity opened by the programme?
- Are there any programme actions and/or functions you would not do for any reason? What were the problems and lessons learned?

4. AREA: PROJECTIONS AND CHALLENGES POST APPROVAL

- Has the programme been able to leave installed capacities to accompany the process of law implementation? (State, other powers, CFPA)
- What are the gaps in this area?
- Do you have any suggestions to address them?
- What recommendations would you give to people interested in promoting a gender equality law in other countries?

C) Interview with Representatives of ISDEMU and other public stakeholders

1. INTRODUCTION. What is your role in the field of initiatives for gender equality?

2. DEFINITIONS AND GENERAL FRAMEWORKS

a. How would you characterize the progress and setbacks in the field of public policies for gender equality in the post-conflict stage?
b. What should a gender equality policy focused on the Salvadoran population look for?

3. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

a. Status of the legal frameworks: scope, gaps and opportunities
b. Perception of the institutional framework for gender equality: Has the Salvadoran democracy managed to build an institutional framework relevant to meet the challenges? Could you identify some milestones in this development? Could you identify strengths, weaknesses and challenges?
c. What is your perception of the development of the Salvadoran Institute for Women's Development (ISDEMU)? (inquire about implementation and governance, its place in the organizational structure of the State)
d. In your opinion, what is the relationship between ISDEMU and women organized in the country? What are the mechanisms for civil society participation?

4. CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SUPPLY

a. How would you characterize the public supply of programmes to improve the situation of women? Are there any other programmes that have impact on gender equality?
b. In your opinion, how does the programme respond to the existence of a master development plan? (Elaboration model, temporal scope, binding), what are the key areas?
c. What is your perception on the participation of women in the cycle of these policies?
d. What is your opinion on the budgetary framework for the gender equality policy?(amounts, coverage, allocation mechanisms); perception of the investment in gender equality and women's development compared to other policy sectors; areas of investment: issues "opportunity" (e.g. training) vs. issues "problem" (e.g. violence)
e. In your opinion, does the programmatic supply can reach out to the various types of Salvadoran women? And among these, does it reach out to the most vulnerable women? What are the main advances and setbacks in this area?
f. Institutional scope: from a general point of view, have the actions had an impact on other public policies (citizenship, education, health, employment, and housing) in terms of mainstreaming? Or rather, ISDEMU is solely responsible for the development of women in the country?

5. STAKEHOLDERS OF THE GENDER EQUALITY POLICY

a. In your opinion, who are the key institutional stakeholders involved in gender equality policies in the country? (National, regional, local level): What are their roles?
b. In your opinion, what would be the role of the different ministries and its possible relationship to ISDEMU?
c. What are the main ISDEMU alliances within and outside the State? Are they going to change with the new Gender Equality Law?
d. In your opinion, who are the key civil society stakeholders involved in policies for the advancement of women in the country? (National, regional, local level): What are their roles?

   i. How would you evaluate the relationship between the state and the organized women groups? (Milestones, barriers, facilitators, best practices, lesson learned and challenges)
   ii. How would you characterize the state's relationship with NGOs specialized in gender issues?
   iii. How can this relationship be further strengthened? Examples of good practice in this area

e. Local policies for gender equality:

   i. Guidelines
   ii. Key stakeholders
   iii. Barriers, facilitators and learning to participate at the local level

f. Decentralization

i. Spaces and mechanisms, stakeholders (institutions and CSOs)
i. Factors that promote / hinder processes;

g. Administration and management procedures:

i. Planning, monitoring, evaluation and systematization system
ii. Baseline studies, outcomes, impacts
iii. Quantitative and quantitative indicators
iv. Learning management systems (events)
v. Training of professionals and capacity building systems (communities of practice, learning communities)
vi. Use of ICTs

h. Communication policies

i. Strategies to increase the visibility of the contribution of women's participation and institutional action
ii. Dissemination of knowledge on the situation of women.

6. PROCESS TOWARDS THE GENDER EQUALITY LAW

a. What is your assessment of the process that led to the Gender Equality Law?
b. What is the background of the process?
c. Does the project respond in content and opportunity to the priorities of the agenda for gender equality in the country? Do you think the Salvadoran State will work on the human rights issues included in the law? What are the major gaps in this point?
d. Will the project have an impact on the most vulnerable women?
e. Who were the key stakeholders (people and entities)? How did the alliances form?
f. What was the role of ISDEMU in the process? Have you improved your understanding of ISDEMU and your skills to evaluate it at the end of the process?
g. What is your perception of the media campaign developed by CFPA in favor of the adoption of the Law?
h. How have you perceived the social participation of women during the process that lead to the Law?
i. How have you perceived the role of CFPA in this process? What role can they play in the implementation? Are they prepared to play their roles? What are the most recognizable gaps?
j. What role did international cooperation play in the approval process of the law? What role can they play in the implementation phase? In your opinion, are they prepared to play their roles in the implementation phase?
k. What are the main opportunities and threats for the law approval? What are the main opportunities and threats for the implementation?

l. In your opinion, what was the most challenging moment in this process? How did they overcome it?
m. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this process? What are the strengths and weaknesses in the implementation phase?
n. What are the main lessons for ISDEMU?
o. In your opinion, to what extent does the process towards the adoption of the law is a contribution to the democratic culture in El Salvador?
p. What are the main challenges of the 'day after' approval? In your opinion, how the Salvadoran State and ISDEMU are going to face these challenges? What are the main installed capacities? What strategies are being developed to enhance them?
q. What are the major gaps in the implementation of the law? How are they being addressed?
r. Ultimately, what is the most significant change resulting from the approval process of the law?
s. In light of the process experienced, what recommendations would you make to those interested in promoting a gender equality law in other countries?

D) Agenda. Focal Group Target Population

- Presentation of the evaluation
- Structure of the meeting (rules, roles)
- Agenda Themes:

    - Exploratory Theme: Status of women in El Salvador
    - Theme: Participation in programme activities (calls, openness, participation in decision-making, quality of information received)
    - Perception of the media campaign: recall of messages and other support; perception of the central idea of the campaign (*Which message of the campaign do you remember* the most?
    - Theme: Law. Importance for the country, relevance and timeliness; perception by sex (Are men / women ready / to live with a law of equality between the sexes?)
    - Perception of positive / negative changes arising from the law
    - Perception of ISDEMU, CFPA and local women's organizations

E) Agenda. Initial Workshop

OBJECTIVES

- Produce a shared vision on the form and substance of the programme evaluation process
- Create conditions of political legitimacy for the evaluation;
- Build indicators of relevance and/or usefulness of the evaluation process;
- Define commitments for action and by involved stakeholder.

1. DESCRIPTION

There will be a workshop with the counterpart of CFPA (steering committee and technicians). Inputs produced during the workshop will feed into the final design of the participatory evaluation of the programme.

2. METHODOLOGY

- Working groups discuss proposed issues on the basis of guiding questions;
- Group presentations and plenary discussion.

3. PROPOSAL. GUIDING QUESTIONS

First Part

What do we expect from the evaluation of the Programme 'Creation of a Gender Equality Law in El Salvador'?
What do we need to know about our work in the programme?
What are the key issues that should be in the evaluation?
How to connect the evaluation process with the organization's interests?
In this perspective, is the evaluation design relevant?

Second Part

What is the project story we want to tell?
Who do we want to share this with?
How do we want to see CFPA after the evaluation?
How can we commit CFPA to the evaluation?

4. PROGRAMME

a. General introduction to the workshop (10 min)
b. Scope on the evaluative process (15 min)
c. Group work on the basis of questions: first part (45 min)
d. Break (10 min)
e. Group work on the basis of questions: second part (45 min)
f. Break (10 min)
g. Plenary and closing (40 min)

F) Agenda. Workshop of Reconstruction and Analysis of Experience

Programme of the Workshop: Reconstruction and Analysis of FIG Experience

Time	*Activity*
9.00 a 9.10	**Welcome and Introduction to the Workshop**
	Presentation of participants and organization of working groups

9.10 a 10.10	Module 1	**Exercise of Reconstruction of the timeline*: CFPA milestones and its work for the approval of the Gender Equality Law***
10.10 a 10.30	**Coffee break**	
10.30 a 11.30	Module 2	**Exercise: map of stakeholders after the project**
11.30 a 13.30	Plenary 1	**Forum and subsequent plenary discussion : *the milestones of the law process and its relationship with the objectives of the women's movement***
13.30 a 14.30	**Lunch**	
14.30 a 15.45	Module 3	**Exercise Working Group: empowerment mapping**
15:45 a 16.45	Module 4	**Working group discussion: Achievements, challenges and lessons learned from the FG**
16.45 a 17.00	**Coffee break**	
17.00 a 18.00	**Final plenary and closing**	**Final Discussion: *the most significant change occurred at the end of the programme***

G) Agenda. Workshop: Reporting Results

Time	*Activity*
9.00 a 9.10	**Welcome and Introduction to the Workshop**
9.10 a 10.20	Module 1 — **Presentation: Preliminary results of the evaluation; questions and comments**
10.10 a 10.30	**Coffee break**
10.30 a 12.00	Module 2 — **Exercise working groups: Flow Chart "Challenges for the**

		implementation of the Gender Equality Law"; plenary discussion
12.00 a 13.00	Module 3	**Forum:** ***Challenges of the State and civil society in relation to the implementation of the Gender Equality Law; comments***
13.00 a 13.30		**Workshop Closure**

ANNEX III

	REFERENCE GROUP MEMBERS			
	Evaluation: Catalytic Programme **Country: El Salvador**			
	PERSON	**TITLE**	**ORGANIZATION**	**CONTACT**
1	Humberto Abarca	Evaluator	Inclusión y Equidad	humbertoabarca@inclusionyequidad.org
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