

Aiding Empowerment

Democracy Promotion and Gender Equality in Politics

SASKIA BRECHENMACHER

and

KATHERINE MANN

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

© Oxford University Press 2024

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by license, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reproduction rights organization. Inquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above.

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Brechenmacher, Saskia, author. | Mann, Katherine, author.

Title: Aiding empowerment : democracy promotion and gender equality in politics / Saskia Brechenmacher and Katherine Mann.

Description: New York, NY : Oxford University Press, [2024] |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023043719 (print) | LCCN 2023043720 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780197694282 (paperback) | ISBN 9780197694275 (hardback) |

ISBN 9780197694299 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Women in development—Developing countries. |

Women—Political activity—Developing countries.

Classification: LCC HQ1240.S.D44 B743 2024 (print) | LCC HQ1240.S.D44 (ebook) |

DDC 305.4209172/4—dc23/eng/20240110

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023043719>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023043720>

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780197694275.001.0001

Paperback printed by Marquis Book Printing, Canada
Hardback printed by Bridgeport National Bindery, Inc., United States of America



CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

Abbreviations xi

PART I SITUATING THE INQUIRY

1. Introduction 3

A GROWING AID PRIORITY 4

TAKING STOCK OF PROGRESS 6

CAPTURING LEARNING 8

OUR ARGUMENTS 10

OUR APPROACH 14

OUTLINE OF THIS STUDY 19

2. The Global Aid Ecosystem 21

THE RISE OF A NEW GLOBAL NORM 22

A GRADUAL AID EVOLUTION 25

MAPPING THE CURRENT ASSISTANCE LANDSCAPE 27

UNDERSTANDING THE KEY ACTORS 31

A FRAGILE CONSENSUS? 32

CRITICAL VOICES 35

CONCLUSION 37

3. Introducing the Cases 38

SITUATING OUR CASES 39

NEPAL: THE STRUGGLE FOR POSTCONFLICT INCLUSION 43

KENYA: CONFRONTING “WINNER-TAKES-ALL” POLITICS 46

MOROCCO: THE CHALLENGE OF PARTIAL REFORM	49
MYANMAR: THE RESURGENCE OF AUTOCRACY	52
CONCLUSION	55

PART II THE STATE OF THE FIELD

4. First Generation: Getting Women in the Room	59
BOLSTERING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	61
THE GLOBAL PUSH FOR GENDER QUOTAS	65
BUILDING WOMEN'S CAPACITY	68
ASSISTANCE TO WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS	70
A STORY OF FORMAL GAINS	72
ADDING WOMEN AND STIRRING?	75
THE PERSISTENCE OF SILOED APPROACHES	76
CONCLUSION	78
5. Second Generation: Transforming Systems	79
TRANSFORMING THE ECOSYSTEM	80
THE EXPANDED TOOLBOX	81
ENGENDERING ELECTIONS	85
ENGAGING POLITICAL PARTIES	87
BOLSTERING WOMEN'S INFLUENCE	88
COUNTERING RESISTANCE AND VIOLENCE	90
AN INCOMPLETE EVOLUTION	91
CONCLUSION	96
6. The Limits of Candidate Training	98
A SUPPLY-SIDE MODEL	99
THE CHALLENGE OF MEASURING SUCCESS	100
THE DRAWBACKS OF ONE-OFF INITIATIVES	103
INVESTING IN LONG-TERM ACCOMPANIMENT	104
BROADENING THE SCOPE	106
A LIMITED APPROACH	109
CONCLUSION	113
7. Confronting the Gatekeepers	115
GENDER BIASES IN POLITICAL PARTIES	116
FROM TRAINING TO ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE	118
FOSTERING CROSS-PARTY LINKAGES	122

INCREMENTAL REFORMS	123
STUBBORN STUMBLING BLOCKS	125
CONFRONTING THE COST OF POLITICS	127
THE NEED FOR PRAGMATISM	130
CONCLUSION	132
8. From Presence to Power	134
AN INDIRECT LINK	135
LEARNING THE RULES OF THE GAME	137
COLLECTIVE POWER THROUGH WOMEN'S CAUCUSES	140
CRITICAL ACTORS: A MISSING PIECE?	143
BUILDING COOPERATIVE CONSTELLATIONS FOR CHANGE	146
TRANSFORMING PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS	148
CONCLUSION	151

PART III NEW FRONTIERS

9. Tackling Patriarchal Gender Norms	155
THE LONG SHADOW OF PATRIARCHAL NORMS	156
ENGAGING MEN AS STAKEHOLDERS	159
TRANSFORMING MASCULINITIES	162
THE NEED FOR LEARNING	164
FIGHTING VIOLENCE AND BACKLASH	166
A MULTIDIMENSIONAL PROBLEM	168
ADAPTING TO NEW THREATS	171
CONCLUSION	173
10. Widening the Lens	175
RECKONING WITH HIERARCHIES	176
TRANSLATING INTERSECTIONALITY INTO PRACTICE	178
A DEPOLITICIZED AGENDA?	181
CONFRONTING THE GLOBAL DEMOCRATIC RECESSION	183
RISKS OF AUTOCRATIC CO-OPTATION	187
FORGING MORE POLITICALLY INFORMED APPROACHES	190
CONCLUSION	193
11. Toward a Different Assistance Model	195
CHRONIC SHORT-TERMISM	196
ENDURING SILOS	198

AN EXTERNALLY DRIVEN AGENDA?	201
SHIFTING RESOURCES AND POWER	204
REFORMING AID BUREAUCRACIES	206
A GROWING FEMINIST TIDE	209
CONCLUSION	212
12. Building Gender-Inclusive Democracies	214
RECAPPING OUR ARGUMENTS	215
STRENGTHENING THE AID ECOSYSTEM	219
DEEPENING SECOND-GENERATION APPROACHES	223
TACKLING NEW FRONTIERS	229
CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS	235
<i>Notes</i>	239
<i>Index</i>	285