



## *Roadmap to equality*

Lessons learned in the campaign  
for a SADC Protocol on Gender  
and Development

Edited by Pat Made and Colleen Lowe Morna



The Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance vision is of a region in which women and men are equal in all spheres.

The Alliance promotes and facilitates the creation of gender equity and equality through lobbying and advocacy towards the achievement of the 28 targets of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development by 2015. The SADC Gender Protocol Alliance comprises: Association of Local Government (ALAN); African Women's Economic Policy Network (AWEPON); Botswana Council of NGOs (BOCONGO); Christian Council of Mozambique; CIVICUS; Federation of African Media Women (FAMW)-SA; Gender Advocacy Programme(GAP) in South Africa; Gender Links (GL); Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA); Gender Policy Programme Committee (Botswana); Justice and Peace (Lesotho); Malawi Council of Churches; Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA); NGO Gender Coordination Network Malawi; SAFAIDS;SAMD;SALGA; Society for Women and AIDS in Africa Zambia (SWAAZ); Trade Collective: Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF); Women in Law in Southern Africa (WLSA); Women, Land and Water Rights Southern Africa (WLWRSA); Namibia Non-Governmental Forum (NANGOF); Women's Net; Young Women's Christian Association Botswana (YWCA); Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association; Zimbabwe Women's Resource Center and Network (ZWRCN); Associate Members: African Women and Child Feature Service; Swedish Cooperative Centre-Southern Africa; Diakonia (Zambia).

ROADMAP TO EQUALITY: LESSONS LEARNED IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR A SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

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Colleen Lowe Morna is executive director of Gender Links, a Southern African NGO that promotes gender justice and equality through its work in the media, governance and justice sectors. A South African born in Zimbabwe, Colleen began her career as a journalist specialising in economic and development reporting including as Africa Editor of the New Delhi-based Women's Feature Service. She joined the Commonwealth Secretariat as a senior researcher on the Africa desk in 1991, and later served as Chief Programme Officer of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa. She subsequently served as founding CEO of the South African Commission on Gender Equality. A trainer, researcher and writer, Colleen has written extensively on gender issues in Southern Africa,

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### **PAT MADE**

Pat Made, a regionally and internationally well known gender and media consultant with home ties in the USA and Zimbabwe, is former director general of Inter Press Service (IPS) and former editor of the Southern African Economist magazine. During her tenure at IPS Pat played a key role in introducing a gender policy and transforming the editorial content of the sixth largest news agency in the world from a gender perspective. Pat serves on several boards, including those of GL and the ZWRCN.



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Pamela Mhlanga (Zimbabwe) holds an LLB (University of Botswana) and LLM (University of Warwick), and has more than 15 years experience of working in the areas of legal practice, gender and development work, and women's rights activism in the SADC region. She has worked with Women and Law in Southern Africa, Ditshwanelo - Botswana Centre for Human Rights, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), and Gender Links. Pamela has also consulted widely on women's rights issues, and provided advisory services to WILDAF, as well as technical backstopping on gender with the SADC Gender Unit. She is currently Caretaker Director of ZWRCN.



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Lucia Makamure (Zimbabwe), joined GL in May 2009 as an intern. She holds a diploma in Mass Communications from the Harare Polytechnic, professional qualifications in political reporting from the Berlin International Institute of Journalism and Reporting on Regional Integration in Southern Africa from the Institute of the Advancement of Journalism. Before joining GL, Lucia worked as a political reporter at the Zimbabwe Independent for three years writing on gender and human rights issues. She is working towards taking up a degree in Political Science.



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Judith Mtsewu (South Africa) has worked for the Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA) on its making care work count project and on the children's project of the Media Monitoring Project Africa. She joined GL's governance department where she worked extensively on gender and local government before taking up the post of Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance Manager. She is currently gender manager at the City of Johannesburg.



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### **EMILIA MUCHAWA**

Emilia Muchawa (Zimbabwe) is executive director of the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWALA). She holds a Masters in Women’s Law (2005) from the University of Zimbabwe and a Master of Policy Studies from SAPES TRUST. Emilia’s work experience includes working for ten years towards making the law accessible with the Legal Resources Foundation which is a human rights NGO. This included training of paralegals, litigation, mediation and negotiation. Current experience with the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association includes gender and law issues, lobbying and advocacy and training on such issues. ZWALA provides legal aid, legal education and lobby for gender responsive laws, policies, institutions and attitudes or behaviours. She has a personal interest in issues of governance

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### **JANAH NCUBE**

Janah Ncube (Zimbabwe) has over 13 years experience in the development sector as a gender and women’s rights expert working in civil society and governmental sectors at both national and regional levels. Janah has held several leading positions in the Zimbabwean and Africa wide organisations and CSO initiatives. She initiated a regional network in East Africa and the Great Lakes region and a campaign on ending impunity against sexual violence. She has been instrumental in championing the cause of women particularly their participation in politics and decision making and advancing & protecting interests in policy development. A Chevening scholar, Janah holds a Masters Degree with Merit in Gender and Women’s Studies. She recently married Norman

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### **KEABONYE NTSABANE**

Keabonye Ntsabane (Botswana) is the GL Coordinator of the Botswana Office. She previously worked as Information Officer for the Women's NGO Coalition in Botswana. She holds vast experience in lobbying and advocacy work aimed at empowering women, including coordinating and scheduling programmes with media houses. Keabonye Ntsabane is a seasoned events coordinator, and has strong networks and connections in Botswana. She is trained in Media Monitoring, which has resulted in her involvement in the Gender and Media Baseline study and the 2005 Global Media Monitoring Project. She holds a High National Diploma in Media Journalism.



### **IALFINE PAPISY TRACOULAT**

Ialfine Papisy Tracoulat (Madagascar) is a graduate of the University LumiÈre, Lyon, France from which she holds a Masters in Economics and Social Administration, major Business Administration. She is currently Finance and Administration Manager of Madagascar Bamboo S.A. In 2007 Ialfine was selected to participate in a five week "Women as political and Economic leaders" training course in the United States. She serves as the focal point of Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance in Madagascar. Ialfine is also President of the Federation for Women and Children Promotion / Gender of Media of Southern Africa in Madagascar (F.P.F.E/GEMSA). The Federation is composed of 56 associations working for the promotion of Women and Children in Madagascar.



### **KUBI RAMA**

Kubi Rama (South Africa) is Gender Links Deputy Director. She is the former CEO of the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network. Prior to joining Gender Links, Kubi served at the Department of Journalism (Durban Institute of Technology) as a senior lecturer. A critical part of her work was focussed on restructuring the journalism curriculum, including the mainstreaming of gender as part of the curriculum. Past work experience included co-ordinating the Durban Media Training Forum, marketing manager of the Career Information Centre and the chairperson of the regional South African Health Workers Congress. At these NGOs she trained, developed materials for adult learners and managed organisational activities. She is currently completing her masters in Cultural and Media

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### **SUSAN TOLMAY**

Susan Tolmay (South Africa) is the Assistant Director in the GL Gender and Governance programme which addresses issues of women in political decision making in general, but with a focus on local governance. She has conducted and coordinated research on gender and local government in the region and has co-edited the publication series *At the Coalface Gender and Local Government in Southern Africa*. She is also involved in training, facilitation and developing policies and gender action plans for local councils. Susan was also involved in the SADC Protocol campaign in its initial stages which included organising and participating in Alliance meetings as well as contributing to some of the material produced for the campaign.



### **LOGA VIRAHSAWMY**

Loga Virahsawmy (Mauritius) is GL Director, Mauritius and Francophone Office, Chairperson of GEMSA (regional), Chairperson of Media Watch Organisation – GEMSA (Mauritius). She has participated and contributed in a variety of research for Gender Links. She is the country facilitator for training workshops on Media Literacy and Local Government. She is also the country facilitator to get the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development signed by the Government and to popularise it. As a gender activist, Loga talks regularly on gender issues, including in the Mauritian media. She was awarded the high distinction of Grand Officer of the Star and Key of the Indian Ocean (GOSK) by the President of the Republic on the advice of the Prime Minister on 23 July 2009.



### **DEBORAH WALTERS**

Deborah Walters (Canada) is the editor of the GL Opinion and Commentary Service, bi-annual Gender and Media Diversity Journal, as well as several "I" Stories Publications. She is also Director of CMFD (Community Media for Development) Productions, working extensively throughout Southern Africa on projects using media and communication for diverse social issues, including women's rights, HIV/AIDS, gender, children, migration, etc. She specializes in using participatory communication within a wide variety of media, including print, radio, music and theatre. Previously she was the project manager/ editor for Soul Beat Africa, and spent two years as communications manager for an NGO network in Ghana.



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Patience Zirima (Zimbabwe) works for the women's project of the Southern African Documentation and Research Centre (SARDC). She holds a Masters Degree in Communication and Media Studies. Zirima is a media and communications expert with an interest in gender and development in Southern Africa.

# List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
AWEAPON	African Women's Economic Policy Network
BOCONGO	Botswana Council of NGOs
BOMWA	Botswana Media Women Association
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Citizen Participation
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FAWMW SADC	Federation of Africa Media Women – Southern African Development Community
FPFE	Federation for the Promotion of Women and Children
GAP	Gender Advocacy Programme
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEMSA	Gender and Media in Southern Africa Network
GL	Gender Links
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus
IEC	Information Education and Communication
IT	Information Technology
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MWO	Media Watch Organisation
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NGOCN	NGO Coordination Network
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC CNGO	SADC Council of NGOs
SAfAIDS	Southern Africa HIV and AIDS Information Dissemination Service
SADC PF	SADC Parliamentary Forum
SARDC WIDSAA	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre – Women in Development Southern Africa Awareness
SOAWR	Solidarity on African Women's Rights
WAD	Women's Affairs Department
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa
WLWRSR	Women's Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa
ZWRNCN	Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network

# Foreword

## Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela

In August 2005, the Heads of State and Government of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) mandated the Secretariat to draft a protocol on gender and development. It was an exciting decision, so we didn't waste time! A strategy was put in place right away!



A roadmap was developed, donors were approached and a taskforce was constituted. There were anxieties though. Where would the funding come from to support all the activities outlined on the roadmap? But, the unity and support gathered from the taskforce's members, and to my pleasant surprise, the immense support from the member states, the donor community and civil society partners, was amazing.

Everybody was interested. It was difficult to manage the traffic of requests. I had to play my politics right and balance my act. With my civil society mentality, I had to remind myself all the time that I carried the mandate of 15 SADC governments. Eventually, I learned the ropes and managed it well without compromising the involvement of all stakeholders.

I convinced governments that civil society representation on their delegations to policy meetings is important. This had never happened before, and I am glad to say it worked. It had to work, because we (governments and civil society) needed each other. Civil society brought the voices of the region's citizens which had to be echoed in the protocol. And by governments and civil society bringing together our strengths, the drafting (of the protocol) moved with phenomenal speed!

But when we reached the 2007 summit held in Lusaka, Zambia, the senior officials presented us with the first serious challenge since the process' inception. It was tough! The draft Protocol was interrogated thoroughly; page by page, line by line. I was subjected to questions that were often meant to embarrass the process and me as an individual. I became worried. I witnessed all the hard work the women of the region had selflessly given being reversed.

It was indeed an 'Aha Moment'! Shock waves and worry over the quality of the document going forward turned into relief when the Heads of State and Government deferred the protocol to 2008. This was time to take a deep breath, strategise and re-focus on the way forward.

When the senior officials from the national gender machineries, civil society and development partners convened in Livingstone, Zambia in December 2007 to re-open

discussions and strategically re-strengthen the draft Protocol, it was a tough meeting for all of us. We differed, yet agreed in principle. The liberals clashed with the radicals. But a common purpose brought us together, so we worked long hours day and night to improve the document and prepared it for the second round.

A revised roadmap was developed and a new draft (now the ninth one) was taken back to Member States for further consultations. There was immense resistance from some quarters during the negotiation process. And, a lot of work still needs to be done to raise awareness on gender equality, especially among decision-makers in the SADC member states.

I learned several lessons on this journey. Firstly, I realised the power of partnerships between governments and civil society, because the different comparative advantages brought in by the various partners enhanced the drafting of the Protocol.



Secondly, strategic organising is essential. This includes a clear roadmap, support structures, such as taskforces, and aligning with development partners with an interest in the issues. And thirdly, the meaningful involvement of key decision-makers at different levels was critical to success, as it led to ownership of the process.

On August 17, 2008, many hours of hard work came together when Heads of State and Government adopted and signed the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. It was momentous!

As we celebrate the success, we also brace for the challenges. The Protocol must still be ratified. Most importantly it must be implemented. As gender activists we are all too often so busy looking ahead that we fail to look back. I commend the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance for taking this step back in order to take many steps forward. Together, *yes we can* make gender equality a living reality in our region!

*Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela*  
Head, Gender Unit  
SADC Secretariat

# Chapter

# 1

## From a nice to do to a have to do- **Introduction**



*Flasback: Sheila Tlou, then minister of health in Botswana, with Botswana's Attorney General Dr Athalia Molokomme at a civil society meeting on the Protocol in August 2005 where she declared that a Protocol is a have to do. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

This chapter of the handbook provides the regional context for the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development; key information on the Protocol, and on the alliance of gender activists who campaigned for its adoption; as well as information on the structure of the handbook and how to use it.

### **From policy to practice: the Southern African context**

While the 15 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries have made great strides in signing global and regional declarations and instruments, and, in developing national policies to advance gender equality and women's human rights, progress towards achieving gender equality for women who comprise more than 50% of the region's citizens still remains mixed.

During the past decade, all SADC countries have ratified the international Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); all have a national gender/women's policy; all are signatories to the 1995 Beijing Declaration and the Beijing Platform for Action, the global blueprint for achieving gender equality; and countries in the region adopted two years after Beijing their own 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and its Addendum in 1998 on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children. SADC countries also have embraced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a framework for ensuring growth with equitable development, and achieving gender equality, Goal 3, is integral to this form of development.

In 2005, civil society organisations worked together with the SADC Gender Unit (GU) and SADC Parliamentary Forum (PF) <sup>1</sup>, in conducting an audit of how far countries had come in realising the objectives of the 1997 SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. The audit on the provisions

for gender equality in key regional and international instruments for advancing gender equality, and the extent to which these have been implemented concluded that: "the SADC region needs to move from an era of commitments to an era of implementation."

Some of the key findings of this audit, which was conducted by six organisations<sup>2</sup>, working in the areas of gender justice and gender equality, HIV and AIDS and sexual and reproductive rights, gender and media, and women's legal rights included:

- At the time, despite several elections in SADC countries over the previous two years, the average representation of women in the parliaments of the region stood at 20 percent. Only two countries (South Africa and Mozambique) had achieved the 30 percent target mandated in the 1997 SADC Declaration.
- Laws, systems and services for addressing gender violence are inadequate. New forms of gender violence, such as trafficking, are on the rise.
- In virtually every country there are contradictions between customary law and codified law when it comes to women's rights. These contradictions are not addressed in Constitutions.
- Women, and especially young women, are the majority of those living with HIV/AIDS, the pandemic which more than any other has preyed on the gender disparities in the region and added to the already huge burden of care that women shoulder.
- In most countries, poverty is on the rise and increasingly has a feminine face.
- While there has been some progress in raising awareness and challenging gender stereotypes in the media and popular culture, as well as engaging men as partners, the battle to change mindsets is still far from won.
- Effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation of gender policies, programmes and activities continue to elude those charged with the responsibility of accounting to the public as the gap between policy and practice seems to widen.



HIV and AIDS has had a disproportionate toll on women. PHOTO: TREVOR DAVIES

The 2005 review of progress was significant in that it provided for the first time a wealth of quantitative and qualitative evidence to engage governments on the stumbling blocks, failures, as well as the successful strategies and measures that had made a difference to women's lives.

The audit also gave the civil society organisations that conducted it a hands-on education on how to develop frameworks and tools to begin to track and monitor governments and the SADC secretariat in order to make them more accountable to women. As the Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009 Report, *Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability* states: "Accountability is a core element of democratic politics and good governance... In democratic states, accountability relationships help ensure that decision-makers adhere to publicly agreed standards, norms, and goals."<sup>3</sup>

For the organisations conducting the

2005 audit, these standards and norms on women's rights and gender equality were agreed to by the SADC leaders when they signed CEDAW, the 1995 BPA, SADC's own 1997 Declaration, among others. The audit, therefore, gave them the means to assess the accountability of public actors from a gender perspective<sup>4</sup>.

One of the main recommendations of the 2005 audit gave rise to the process that is the subject of this handbook: **Heads of State were called upon to adopt a Protocol to Accelerate Gender Equality in SADC.**

1. International Ideas, UNIFEM, HIVOS and CREDO provided additional support. Organisations that contributed to the audit include: Gender Links, the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Women in Law in Development in Africa (WILDAF), SARDC/WIDSAA, and SAFAIDS.

2. Gender Links, the Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network, the Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Women in Law in Development in Africa (WILDAF), SARDC/WIDSAA, and SAFAIDS

3. *Who Answers to Women? Gender & Accountability*, Progress of the World's Women 2008/2009, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), New York, 2008, pg.2

4. UNIFEM's 2008/2009 Progress of the World's Women notes that there are two processes in an accountability relationship: assessment of the adequacy of performance, and the imposition of corrective action (such as institutional reform) or remedy in cases of performance failure (pgs. 2-3). The 2005 SADC audit initiated the first step in making gender equality one of the standards against which the performance of decision makers in the region is assessed.

## Roadmap to Equality – Steps towards adoption of the Protocol

### SADC Consultations

- 2005: SADC Gender Unit and SADC Parliamentary Forum commission audit of progress by SADC governments towards achieving commitments in regional and international instruments; audit information used as background information for August 17-18, 2005 SADC Summit, Gaborone Botswana.
- 2005 August: SADC Summit adopts 50/50 in decision making policy and SADC Secretariat mandated to start developing SADC Protocol to elevate SADC Declaration on Gender and Development into a legally binding instrument.
- 6-9 December 2005: SADC Gender Unit convenes Consultative Conference on Gender and Development. Conference theme: *Reflecting and Re-strategising for Gender Based Regional Integration*.
- 28-29 March 2006: first meeting of the Task Force to finalise terms of reference for the task force, adopt a road map for the development of the Protocol, and drafting instructions.
- 14-15 September 2006, Johannesburg South Africa: Review of first draft by Technical Roundtable of Experts.
- 16-18 April 2007: SADC Gender and Development Stakeholders Consultative Conference to develop draft Protocol.
- May 2007, Maputo Mozambique: Draft Protocol reviewed by Ministers Responsible for Gender and Women's Affairs.
- June 2007, Maseru Lesotho: Draft Protocol reviewed by Ministers of Justice
- SADC Summit August 2007 Lusaka Zambia: Draft Protocol deferred for further consultations.
- December 2007: SADC Senior Officials responsible for Gender Protocol review meeting, Livingstone Zambia.
- May 2008: SADC Gender/Women's Affairs Ministers review draft Protocol in Windhoek, Namibia.
- July 2008: SADC Justice Ministers/Attorney Generals review draft Protocol in Zambia.
- August 2008: Protocol adopted by SADC Heads of State and Government at the SADC Summit held in South Africa.

### Alliance Consultations

- Planning meeting 17-19 July 2005.
- Planning and review meeting (teleconference) 23 February 2007.
- Planning and Strategy Meeting 19-22 March 2007, Johannesburg South Africa
- Post SADC Summit Alliance Strategy Meeting 9 November 2007, Willow Park Johannesburg South Africa to revisit campaign strategy, review new draft and map a way forward.
- Strategy Meeting January 2008, Johannesburg South Africa to develop a roadmap towards the 2008 SADC Summit; work on a strategy to influence SADC Poverty Conference in April 2008.
- Strategy Meeting Parallel to SADC Summit August 2008, Johannesburg South Africa; to lobby SADC officials, develop a medium term plan of action, restructure Alliance (six thematic clusters, new Steering Committee).
- March 2009, Strategy Review Meeting, Johannesburg South Africa, to priorities actions for 2009 (thematic cluster planning), review IEC strategy, and work on a monitoring tool (SADC Protocol Barometer).

## What is the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development?

Adopted on August 17, 2008, the Protocol has elevated the 1997 Declaration to the most binding of the regional organisation's instruments. SADC leaders opened the door themselves for this instrument in Article 26 of the 1998 Addendum to the Declaration which made provision for the adoption of legally binding instruments.

The Protocol has 28 substantive targets for achieving gender equality by 2015, and places SADC at the cutting-edge of innovative strategies for giving global and continental commitments meaning at sub-regional level. The instrument encompasses commitments made in all regional, global and continental instruments for achieving gender equality. Remarkably it is the only Protocol in the SADC legal system with time bound targets, and one of the fastest to be adopted.

The Protocol's preamble gives a heightened sense of commitment by SADC Member States to gender equality. Besides reaffirming the principle of non discrimination, acknowledging that "gender equality and equity is a fundamental human right", and recognising their obligations to meet international women's rights standards, SADC Member States also pledged to tackle "social, cultural and religious practices, attitudes and mindsets" that are barriers to achieving gender equality.

All provisions in the Protocol recognise that women's empowerment is a central strategy for achieving gender equality. This approach, as a principle, is also found in the SADC Gender Policy, the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (1997), and the 15 year Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), the blue print for regional integration.

### Why the SADC Protocol on Gender is unique?

Besides being a global first, there are several unique facets of the Protocol:

- As a SADC legal instrument, it lays the basis for mainstreaming gender in all other SADC Protocols and policies, thereby making it central to the agenda of achieving regional integration, development and democracy;
- It sets a new precedent in comprehensively addressing new and emerging issues in the region, such as trafficking and gender and media.
- It has clear and comprehensive institutional mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating progress, thereby potentially raising the bar in terms of accountability by SADC Member States.

Table one below gives an overview of the main provisions in the Protocol.

### Table one: SADC Protocol on Gender and Development at a Glance (Main Provisions)

#### ARTICLES 4 - 8: CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL RIGHTS, ACCESS TO JUSTICE

This provides that by 2015, all Constitutions in the region must do their best to make specific provisions for gender equality and be sure that these are not contradicted by any provisions, laws or practices. This extends to equality between women and men in marriage.

By 2015, all countries must also do away with any remaining discriminatory laws and abolish the "minority status of women" or any legal provisions that leave women dependent on their fathers, husbands, sons, or any other male relative.

#### ARTICLE 9: PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

This Article provides that persons with disabilities must have their health, welfare and other rights promoted and protected, through enacting or reviewing laws and other measures. This should be done taking into account their vulnerabilities, for example, in the workplace, or abuse

#### **ARTICLE 10: WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS' RIGHTS**

Laws must be strengthened or put in place to make sure that widows and widowers are not badly treated, and unless if a court decides, widows automatically have guardianship and custody of their children, have the right to continue to live in the marriage home, and an equitable share in inheriting from her late husband.

A widow shall also have the right to remarry a person of her choice and protection from all forms of violence. These rights also apply to widowers

#### **ARTICLE 11: THE GIRL AND BOY CHILD**

Policies, programmes and laws must be in place to ensure the protection and development of both the boy and girl child, including eliminating all forms of discrimination in the family, community, institutions and government. Harmful cultural attitudes and practices must be eliminated, including violence and economic exploitation, and there should be equal access to education and health.

#### **ARTICLES 12-13 : GOVERNANCE (REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION)**

This Article provides that by 2015, governments will do their best to ensure that women will occupy at least half of all of decision-making positions in SADC in the private sector and public sector (including parliament, local government and cabinet).

The Protocol says that Member States should ensure that women participate effectively in electoral processes and decision-making by building capacity, providing support and establishing and strengthening structures to enhance gender mainstreaming.

#### **ARTICLE 14: EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

This article provides for equal access to quality education and training for women and men by 2015, as well as their retention at all levels of education. This should be done through passing laws, strengthening policies and programmes.

It further provides that by 2015, there should be gender sensitive education policies and programmes aimed at challenging stereotypes and eradicating gender based violence in educational institutions.

#### **ARTICLES 15-19: PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES AND EMPLOYMENT, ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT**

By 2015, governments are required to

- Ensure that there is equal participation of women and men in economic policy formulation and implementation.
- Allocate resources based on gender responsive budgeting to address the needs of both women and men equally
- Ensure equal access, benefits and opportunities for women and men to trade and entrepreneurship, public procurement processes
- Review all policies and laws that determine access to, control of, and benefit from productive resources by women, including land and water
- Ensure women and men have equal access to wage employment in all sectors of the economy.

#### **ARTICLES 20-25: GENDER BASED VIOLENCE**

The Articles addressing issues of gender based violence (GBV), provide that by 2015 governments:-

- Ensure that laws are passed or implemented to prohibit all forms of gender based violence, and that those responsible for such acts of violence are tried before the appropriate courts.
- Take measures to discourage norms and practices which legitimise or contribute to the problem of GBV with a view to eliminating them.
- Ensure that laws on GBV provide for comprehensive testing, treatment and care of survivors of sexual offences

- Have in place mechanisms for the social and psychological rehabilitation for those responsible for GBV
- Enact laws to prevent human trafficking and provide holistic support to survivors.
- Have in place laws, policies and programmes to eliminate sexual harassment
- Have in place adequate support services, including information, as well as gender sensitive training and education to all service providers
- GBV must be integrated and cross cutting, in order to reduce current levels of GBV by half by 2015.

#### **ARTICLE 26: HEALTH**

This article provides for the adoption and implementation of policies and programmes that address the physical, mental, emotional and social well being of women and men by 2015, and in particular:-

- Reduce the maternal mortality ratio by 75%
- Develop and implement policies and programmes to address the mental, sexual and reproductive health needs of women and men; and
- Ensure the provision of hygiene and sanitary facilities and nutritional needs of women, including women in prison.

#### **ARTICLE 27: HIV AND AIDS**

This Article covers prevention, treatment care and support in relation to HIV and AIDS, taking into account the vulnerability of the girl child and unequal status of women, coupled with harmful practices and biological factors resulting women being the majority of those infected and affected.

By 2015, governments are expected to develop strategies that are gender sensitive in order to prevent new infections, ensure universal access to HIV and AIDS treatment for infected men, women, boys and girls, and have responsive programmes that recognise the work of care givers and offers resources and support for their welfare. Men are to be encouraged to share responsibilities for care work.

#### **ARTICLE 28: PEACE BUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

This Article states that by 2015, measures should have been taken to ensure equal representation of women in conflict resolution and peace building processes as well as the integration of a gender perspective in the resolution of conflict in the region. Governments are also required to protect human rights, particularly those of women and children, during times of armed or other forms of conflict. They must also ensure that those responsible for such abuse are answerable before an appropriate court.

#### **ARTICLES 29 - 31: MEDIA, INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION**

This article provides for gender to be mainstreamed in all information, communication and media policies and laws. It calls for women's equal representation in all areas and at all levels of media work and for women and men to be given equal voice through the media by 2015. It also calls for increasing programmes for, by and about women and the challenging of gender stereotypes in the media.

#### **ARTICLES 32 - 35: IMPLEMENTATION, MONITORING, EVALUATION**

Articles 32 – 35 make provision for

- Remedies for any person whose rights have been violated on the basis of gender
- Gender sensitive budgets and resource allocation
- Implementation of the Protocol to be monitored by a Committee of gender/women's affairs ministers, Committee of Senior officials responsible for gender/women's affairs, and the SADC Secretariat
- Development of national action plans based on the Protocol
- The collection of baseline data for monitoring and evaluation

The Protocol requires that Member states submit comprehensive reports to the Secretariat every two years indicating progress achieved in the implementation of the provisions.

Whilst comprehensive, there are still gaps in the Protocol. For example, it is not explicit on women's sexual rights, some provisions are weak (persons with disabilities), and some are missing (the rights of cohabiting persons, rights of vulnerable groups). The Protocol also has a number of provisions where the language is permissive and not obligatory, and there are no defined sanctions for non compliance. On the whole however, it is one of the widest windows currently open for gender activists to turn the tide in the direction of gender equality.

### **What is the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance?**

Southern Africa gender activists can proudly and wholeheartedly claim that the Protocol is a direct product of their sweat, blood and tears. In this handbook we showcase the evolution and growth of the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance (the Alliance), which has been pivotal in leading the campaign for the adoption of the Protocol since 2005.

The Alliance began with organisations voluntarily conducting an audit of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development to coincide with the 2005 Heads of State summit (and also the tenth anniversary of the Beijing conference and the 25th anniversary of SADC). The Alliance, which has grown to a collective of over 40 national and regional NGOs, is now focused on the ratification and implementation of the Protocol. Gender Links (GL), a regional organisation with offices in South Africa, Botswana and Mauritius, was mandated by the collective to serve as the coordinating NGO of the Alliance, a role it still holds.

The diversity of the membership gives the Alliance a depth of knowledge, and a variety of skills and resources which it successfully drew upon to reach its first campaign milestone – the 2008 adoption of the Protocol. Along the way, the Alliance pooled its political and technical skills to develop a number of lobbying and advocacy strategies that contributed to its success.



*Lesotho gender activists gear up for action. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*



### A quick look at the Alliance's key strategies

Strategies and tactics are the essence of campaign building. Some of the Alliance's key strategies used in its campaign for the Protocol's adoption include:

- Gaining a presence on the task force set up by the SADC Secretariat to work on the drafting of the Protocol;
- Providing technical input into nine successive drafts of the Protocol; and was part of the negotiation and counter negotiation on the key provisions;
- Building relationships with state actors, particularly senior government officials in the ministries of justice, gender/women's affairs, and foreign affairs across SADC countries;
- Developing intelligence on key SADC processes and learning how to have a presence in appropriate and influential forums; and
- Using the media to raise awareness; get out information to the public; to start public discussion on the Protocol and key issues on gender equality and women's rights contained within its provisions; and to put national leader's commitment to gender equality under the spotlight.

Other Alliance strategies discussed more in depth in this handbook include working at the regional and national levels simultaneously, consolidating positions (always looking for the highest common denominator) and managing conflict within the Alliance, and with other civil society sectors, to ensure a consistent message and unified voice on the minimum standards gender activists wanted to see in the Protocol.

A diverse collective, working across borders, is not without its internal dynamics, politics, challenges and limitations. In this handbook, these are frankly discussed and the lessons learned highlighted. Without these lessons, the growth of the Alliance would have been stunted, and a more democratic and accountable space for harnessing the energies and talents of the members stymied.

### The next steps



Even before the Protocol's adoption, the Alliance mapped out its next steps on the campaign journey. Gender and women's rights activists realised that the adoption of the Protocol was just one part of the larger agenda articulated in the collective's vision of "a region in which women and men are equal in all spheres".

Building on its model for cross border campaigning, the Alliance has developed an action plan to guide its campaign for ratification and implementation to reach the 28 targets by 2015; a set of modalities to guide its work; and, it has restructured to decentralise leadership and management to more sharply focus on getting two-thirds of the SADC Member States to ratify the Protocol so that it comes into force.

Its new structure, which will be discussed more in Chapter two, includes an overall coordinating NGO, thematic clusters<sup>5</sup> headed by a lead NGO, and focal persons/organisations within the 14 SADC member countries.

An even bigger task which the Alliance now prepares for, is monitoring the implementation of the Protocol, and evaluating the extent to which concrete results and impact are achieved in line with the set targets and indicators. The Alliance plans to produce annual reports in all 14 SADC countries, beginning 2009, that document progress.

This process requires reaching out to the region's women and men citizens, with a particular focus on ensuring that more women citizens 'own' the issues, and, that they are empowered and enabled to hold their own governments accountable for delivery on their rights.

5. The thematic clusters are: Gender and the Economy; Gender and Governance; Gender and Media; Gender-based Violence; Constitutional and Legal Rights; Sexual and Reproductive Rights - HIV & AIDS.

## Why this Handbook?



Documenting change: Loga Virahsawmy, Judith Mtsewu and Pamela Mhlanga PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

Throughout the three years of intense lobbying, advocacy and negotiations leading to the adoption of the Protocol, activists within the Alliance had a constant refrain: "We must document what we do; and, how we do it". There is a general sense among gender and women activists in the Alliance that the hands-on experience of building a unified campaign across borders has many lessons, tactics and strategies that activists can use to build campaigns on the issues they work on daily.

This handbook is the answer to this call for a publication that gives insights and tips on 'how to do it', and it is a follow up to the recently launched video "*Roadmap to Equality: The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development*", which traces the journey towards the adoption of the Protocol.

The video profiles footage from six countries (Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho,

South Africa and Mauritius), and takes the viewer through the provisions in the Protocol, linking them to men's and women's realities on the ground. It also focuses on the role of the Alliance, and gives the perspectives of the members and other strategic partners on the significance of the Protocol and the important role played by cross border activism to get it adopted.

The handbook and the video provide an in-depth case study of what it takes to build a strategic campaign that includes the elements of lobbying, advocacy and negotiation across borders, targeted at a plethora of governments and one that involves civil society organisations with varying interests. The handbook illustrates how gender and women activists within national and regional organisations turned a potential volatile cocktail into a strategic, focused and consensus building campaign.

## Who is this handbook for?

The Alliance's experience of working on the development, adoption and implementation of the Protocol provides a good case study for reference and learning by other networks and initiatives advocating to institutionalise a gender equality agenda.

Organisations, including male-led organisations, working on human rights and other cross border issues, also may find the lessons, strategies, tactics and checklists presented in this handbook useful in the building of their own campaigns on issues, as well as valuable insights on how to mainstream gender and women's human rights into their campaigns.

The handbook is targeted at organisations and networks that primarily seek to lobby decision-makers and policy makers at the regional and national levels, and those that seek to develop evidenced-based strategies for increasing public awareness and institutionalising accountability as part of their engagement with public actors.

## Structure of the handbook

In addition to the introduction, the handbook comprises seven chapters which focus on 'how' the Alliance influenced the agenda for the adoption of the Protocol. Each chapter discusses a key strategy and ends with lessons learned and a checklist summarising the strategic entry points on the topic under discussion. Alliance members' reflections on particular topics or issues are interspersed throughout the chapters. The focus of each chapter is as follows:

**Chapter 2** discusses the coming together of Alliance members, choices made on which model partnership to use, how the partnership was broadened and rules of engagement.

**Chapter 3** covers strategies for engaging regional structures and processes. It specifically looks at how the Alliance negotiated and developed a relationship with SADC, gathering intelligence on the regional body in order to understand



*Prof Nkandu Luo of Zambia speaking at an Alliance meeting* PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

the system, and managing creative tension with governments.

**Chapter 4** on lobbying and advocacy at the national level looks at mobilising peers and the public, engaging government officials, and information and communication strategies adopted to raise the visibility of the campaign.

**Chapter 5** focuses on the Alliance experience of researching and drafting the text of the Protocol, beginning with the 2005 audit. This chapter also documents how the Alliance succeeded in rescuing key positions and texts in the Protocol as it went through the nine drafts.

**Chapter 6** examines the strategic role of information and the media in campaign, and illustrates how the Alliance targeted the media and used IT as a key tool for networking and communicating with the Alliance's members.

**Chapter 7** explores the capacity building of Alliance members for their effective participation in the campaign process, and provides examples of the learning approaches used and the skills learned.

**Chapter 8** analyses what has worked, what needs to be guarded, priority actions and how the Alliance will track and measure change.

## How to use this handbook



This handbook complements the DVD, "Roadmap to Equality" produced by the Alliance soon after the adoption of the Protocol in August 2008. While the DVD

brings the process to life through pictures, words and music, the handbook contains essential reflection and analysis on which to build the next stages and to contribute to the vital body of knowledge on how civil society organisations can best engage with governments and regional processes to advance human rights.

Each chapter ends with lessons learned and a checklist. A composite checklist is attached at **Annex A**.

The information, checklists, pointers and lessons in this handbook are premised on the understanding that not all regions are the same and therefore, campaigns cannot be replicated exactly in the same way. This handbook is written in a way that facilitates different approaches, but provides some insights into standard strategies and tactics, such as the use of media, evidence-based research, and ways to keep track and evaluate not only the campaign itself, but also the commitment and actions of the campaign's targeted group of decision-makers and other actors, that make for a more effective campaign.

While the handbook is not written in a training manual format, many of its sections can be appropriately used as case studies for learning in lobbying, advocacy and campaign building training sessions. The checklists also provide a framework for developing exercises on the elements of a good campaign and also can be used as frameworks to analyse the effectiveness of an organisation's existing campaign.

# Chapter 2

## United we stand- Coalition building



Members of the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance at the historic 2008 SADC Heads of State summit. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

This chapter focuses on the Alliance's beginnings, its growth, the development of partnerships and how it managed to maneuver a diversity of views towards consensus.

### **A movement is born: coming together in partnership**

In 2005, the tenth anniversary of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women and the 25th anniversary of SADC prompted several regional gender NGOs to reflect on whether women were any closer to achieving gender equality. The anniversaries also planted the seeds of the campaign for the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

As a collective pool of expertise in the areas of media, law, governance, economic justice, women's rights, gender and development, knowledge management, reproductive health rights and HIV and AIDS, the six organisations that voluntarily conducted a review of SADC government's commitment to gender equality, saw the merit of using the opportunity and platform presented by the audit process as a take off point to campaign for a transformed gender equality landscape in Southern Africa.

These organisations had expertise, regional and national 'footprints' essential for the beginnings of a cross border coalition. And, the existing partnership base within each organisation gave a high level of

visibility to the campaign from the outset; something that would have taken longer without this.

Early on in its development, the Alliance recognised that technical skills and expertise alone were not enough to mount a regional campaign that had as its main focus Southern Africa's male-dominated governments.

It needed political presence and muscle too, if it was to get its technical expertise through the right doors. Drawing on the experiences of members such as the Media Watch Organisation-Gender and Media Southern Africa (MWO-GEMSA) organisation in Mauritius and the Malawi NGO Gender Coordinating Network (NGOGCN) both of which had access to the highest political figures in their countries, Alliance members began to nurture and fortify their formal and informal political networks.

As the Alliance rolled-out its campaign, a "culture of learning" became a cornerstone of its work and it sought out other regional networks engaged in campaigns to learn from their experiences and to entice them on board as partners. Organisations such as Skillshare International and Action Aid were invited to early Alliance meetings, and during one of the sessions at its parallel meeting to the 2008 SADC Summit, successful networks/organisations campaigning for women's empowerment on the continent and globally shared their experiences. Networks and organisations such as Solidarity for African Women's Rights (SOAWR), African Women Economic Policy Network (AWEAPON), and CIVICUS were represented; some are now Alliance associates.

The growth of the Alliance's membership has been based on a set of agreed criteria. Membership has grown from six in 2005 to 41 in 2009 and the Alliance has been proactive in targeting new members – such as faith-based organisations and those that focus on economic justice - to broaden the profile, geographical reach and expertise as the campaign gathered momentum.



Swedish partners join in. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

## Membership criteria for joining the Alliance

The full institutional guidelines for the Alliance are provided at **Annex B**. NGOs, CBOs or FBOs that are part of the Alliance must meet the following criteria:

- Must be registered and operating in a SADC country at community, national or regional level.
- Should be working in the field of women's rights and/gender as elaborated in all SADC documents, especially the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and Addendum on gender based violence, as well as the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.
- Should either be led by women, demonstrate a gender balance particularly at decision making level or be striving to achieve this.
- Like-minded organisations from outside SADC may join as associates.
- Each member shall provide a profile of the organisation and the work it does
- Each member shall provide bi-annual updates on the progress being made in its work related to the Alliance.
- Other African organisations are welcome to be associates of the Alliance but cannot be members.
- Non-African organisations with similar interests that wish to be associates must be constituted in Africa and established by law in that African country. Such associates are expected to contribute financially and otherwise by lending support to a regional or national organisation.
- The members shall ensure that the work of the Alliance is known and supported in their countries and regions.

## Broadening partnerships

Spurred on by Norwegian Church Aid, one of the funders of the campaign, the Alliance reached out and continues to reach out to the Church. One of the most far reaching and best organised networks in Southern Africa, claiming millions of women members,

the Church is also still a bastion of patriarchy and therefore one of the key targets of the campaign. The following vignette by one of the faith-based groups in the Alliance illustrates the links between religion and gender equality.

## Why the Protocol is a key issue for the Church



*The church remains silent on abuse.*  
PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

The Protocol offers a political strategy for changing the attitudes of society towards gender equality. The Church as a key institution in society, is challenged to address itself to the social strategies, and to the analysis upon which they are based, as outlined in the thoroughly researched, documented and extensively discussed SADC Protocol on Gender.

A regional gender audit of churches carried out by Women in Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) in 2008 suggests that (patriarchal) Hebrew culture and tradition is still rife in the attitudes of the clergy. Different cultural contexts with different taboos

around sexuality also make it difficult to discuss gender issues in the Church.

The Church remains silent on harmful rituals such as widow cleansing, early teenage marriages, incest, and other abuses like marital rape, genital mutilation, among others.

There is also a major danger for the Church to divide life into what is spiritual and what is physical, the first being regarded as the Church's concern.

The Church is disturbed by the pain and suffering of women caused by gender inequality. The Church is called to fight oppression; the message of the cross inspires people to make sacrifices.

The time for action towards the Church's transformation for gender equality is now. The Church mother bodies in Zambia have been drawn together into a Task Force to promote Gender Equality; to participate and fight gender based violence within their own institutions and society. The process is fully supported by the Norwegian Church Aid office in Zambia. Such an activity should be promoted in the region in order to reform the Church into a change agent for gender equality.

To keep the Gospel alive, the Church should become aggressive to heal the wounds of oppression; to take advantage of the millions of women engaged in church service; to change the status quo towards a free and peaceful world for women and children.

– Reverend Rosemary Nsofwa, Zambia Council of Churches

## **Making choices- principles, management and operational structures**

From the beginning, the organisation's grouped loosely into a network campaigning for gender equality and women's rights across national boundaries, were clear that they would get far more accomplished if they worked in unison and with one voice.

With this aim in mind, the partnership that developed took the form of a coalition of distinct organisations that were prepared to pool resources (technical, financial, political) in a collaborative way to achieve a common cause. The organisations also agreed central coordination was important, since many had experiences of networks and partnerships that had fallen apart without it. Gender Links (GL) was selected to be the coordinator of the Alliance, a role it continues to play.

How to structure itself also has been an ongoing discussion within the Alliance. In 2006, a Steering Committee was constituted to provide overall leadership, including

fundraising, participation and representation of Alliance members in the coalition's work. This committee was to be elected every two years by members and its role was to "ensure that participation in the work of the Alliance and/or representation of the Alliance in various meetings involves as many members as possible, on a rotational basis and according to expertise and comparative advantage".

At its August 2008 strategy meeting, the Alliance reflected on the anticipated shift in its ways of working once the Protocol was adopted, and began to re-organise and fine tune its structures. The Alliance identified focal contact persons and organisations in each country and formally established six clusters each with a lead organisation as follows:

- Constitutional and legal rights: Women in Law Southern Africa based in Lusaka, Zambia with offices in Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

- Governance: Gender Advocacy Programme, based in Cape Town, South Africa.
- Economic justice: Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre Network (ZWRCN) based in Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Sexual and reproductive rights, HIV and AIDS, Southern Africa AIDS Information and Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS) based in Harare, Zimbabwe and Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Gender violence, GL based in Johannesburg, South Africa with satellite offices in Mauritius and Botswana.
- Media, information and communication: Gender and Media Southern Africa (GEMSA) Network based in Johannesburg, South Africa with the following country chapters: GEMSA-Botswana Media Women's Association (BOMWA) in Botswana; UCOFEM-GEMSA in the DRC; GEMSA Lesotho; Media Watch Organisation (MWO)-GEMSA in Mauritius; Federation for Women and Children Promotion / GEMSA in Madagascar; Gender and Media Malawi (GEMMA); GEMSA Mozambique; GEMSA Namibia; Gender and Media Swaziland (GEMSWA); Gender and Media Tanzania (GEMTAN); GEM Plus in Seychelles; South Africa Gender and Media (SAGEM) ; GEMSA Zambia and Gender and Media Zimbabwe (GEMZI).

Alliance members believe that the post adoption phase of the Protocol campaign requires a much more structured way of working, including developing clear positions on thematic issues, and developing tools for monitoring and tracking trends, changes and developments. This approach also will allow each thematic cluster to 'lead' the debates, discussions and actions, based on a clear frame of reference and plan of action as highlighted in the cluster plans.

The composition of the Steering Committee was also reviewed in August 2008. Due to the launch of the thematic clusters, the cluster leaders and the overall coordinating NGO now constitute the Steering Committee. The tenure of the Steering

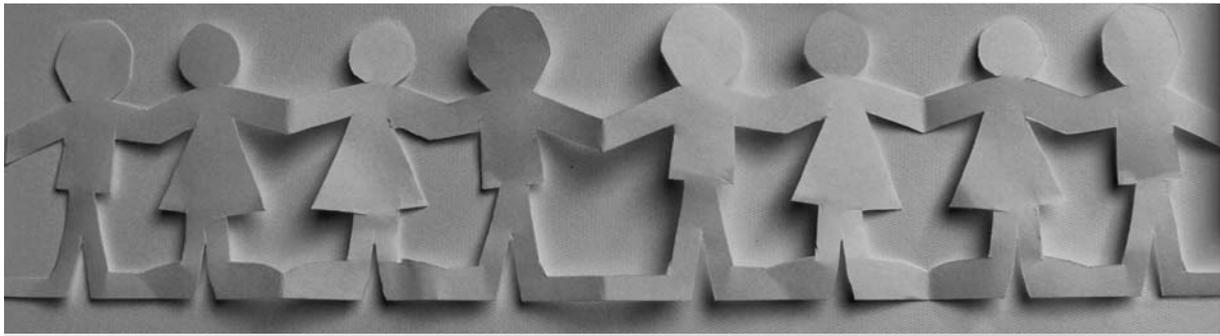
Committee is three years, to coincide with the medium term (3 year) plan developed by the members in January 2008, and its mandate is to manage the identified information, training, strategy development, and monitoring and evaluation activities at regional level which support the campaign.

For example, currently Gender Links, the overall coordinating NGO, has raised resources to produce IEC materials to support the campaign, including simplified versions of the Protocol in French, Portuguese and English, and pamphlets with local content and in the official local languages of SADC (for example Bemba, Creole, Afrikaans).

The lead NGO for a cluster, on the other hand, manages the regional activities on a thematic issue. Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), which manages the Constitutional and Legal Rights cluster, for example, is responsible for mobilising members and resources to implement priority activities identified for 2009, namely a gender analysis of all SADC constitutions and selected laws, and lobbying for legal and constitutional reforms so that they are aligned to Article 4 - 11 of the Gender Protocol. Each cluster is expected to meet at least once a year and to hold a teleconference every quarter.

The Alliance's campaign, post-adoption of the Protocol in 2008, is guided by the mission that the coalition "promotes and facilitates the creation of gender equity and equality through lobbying and advocacy towards the achievement of the 28 targets of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development by 2015".

In other words, the Alliance's campaign is time bound and specific, and the take off points are the benchmarks and targets in the Protocol. This focus encourages the Alliance's members to mainstream the Protocol issues into their own activities, programmes and agendas for change, so that the cross border campaign takes root and is grounded in national processes, particularly at this ratification stage of the campaign.



### **Building the coalition - what Alliance members say**

“Gender Links (as overall coordinator of the Alliance) recognised the importance of collective negotiation and advocacy and thus consulted the women’s movement in the region, as far as possible, so as create space for collective ownership as well as action and advocacy at a national and region level. It was necessary for coalition building as the movement (women’s movement in the region) was not as strong as it was after the 1995 Beijing conference... The establishment of the SADC Gender Protocol Alliance led to a successful coalition building scenario in the region”.

*Elsie Alexander, Botswana National Focal Point, Member Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF)*

“The Alliance network is interdependent, it is a considerable asset, and with the dedication of each and everyone, we will make a success of our objective by 2015”.

*Ialfine Tracoulat: FPFE Madagascar and Alliance Focal Point*

“For me more than anything else, the Protocol process was a lesson in engaging SADC... Despite the long road that the region travelled towards the signing of the protocol, there is better understanding of these processes, and organisations are better placed to undertake lobbying activities at the national and SADC level”.

*Patience Zirima, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC)*

“The road to the adoption and signing of the Protocol was not an easy one; a number of hurdles were encountered and some were easy to surmount, while others took a longer time. It was also important that the Alliance as the coordinating body develop strategies that were powerful and engaging to the policy makers to draw their attention to take cognisance of the issues that were presented”.

*Abby Taka Mgugu, Women’s Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa (WLWRSA)*

“For me and the entire nation, elevating, accelerating and advancing the SADC Declaration of Gender and Development to a SADC Protocol on Gender and Development was the biggest challenge. The campaign right from the onset seemed to have been halted, as it was difficult to measure progress on a regular basis. At some point it looked liked all battles had been lost against gender equality and equity in the region, until such time when, Gender Links called many civic groups in the region under the umbrella of the SADC Protocol Alliance... Since then, we have had an aggressive campaign on the Protocol”.

*Sarry Xoagus-Eises, Alliance Focal Point Namibia*

## Managing differences

The growth and maturity of civil society activism for gender equality and women's empowerment in the region that has evolved from the Alliance's Protocol campaign is built on a foundation whereby the Alliance tries to practice what it preaches. Its guiding principles, for example, are "equality, fairness, transparency, linguistic and geographical representation", and in 2008, these were expanded to include "democracy, ethnic and religious diversity, and accountability".

The Alliance translates these principles into methods of working together such as: valuing the voices of the different members, creating space for sharing ideas and constructive dialogue, acknowledging and valuing diversity, and efforts are made in workshops/meetings, to design processes that will ensure effective participation, frankness and experiential learning.

One example of democratic participation within the Alliance is when a member raised serious concerns about whether the Protocol campaign advocated for a set of women's human rights standards that were lower than those that existed in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights Optional Protocol on Women.

The member was asked to put this position in writing and circulate it to all members for their comments, including the SADC Gender Unit. A teleconference of the members and partners (including the SADC Gender Unit) was set up to discuss the issues, with the member who had raised the concern leading the discussion. After hearing several perspectives, a middle ground was reached with a position to continue with the campaign but with a stronger lobby on the areas where the Alliance had not laid emphasis before.

### **We did not always agree!**

From the outset, the process of coming up with the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development was a negotiated one between different stakeholders and groups. The art of harmonious negotiation with others was one of the first lessons that members of the SADC Gender Protocol Alliance had to learn in getting the SADC Gender Protocol off the ground.

In the parallel civil society meeting during the 2005 SADC Summit, the newly formed SADC Protocol Alliance pledged to broaden ownership of, and to get support for the elevation of the 1997 Declaration to a protocol, through concerted consultations at national level. Early on in this process, the Alliance met the divergent views of civil society; and, the art of balancing different interests not only of governments, but of those working in the same gender activism landscape, began.

Those who participated in the 2005 meetings strongly supported the elevation of the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender to a protocol, while other gender equality and women's rights organisations in the region believed there was no need for a SADC Protocol after the African Union (AU) had adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. These organisations felt that some groups had started to put pressure for the SADC Protocol without adequately consulting or including them.

As a way forward to ease this tension, the Alliance sought to bring into the earlier drafts of the SADC Protocol the same language used in the AU one. We believed that since the SADC Heads of State had already adopted and started to ratify the AU Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, the proposed SADC Protocol should not have weaker language. This would compromise the gains achieved in the AU Protocol and other international instruments like CEDAW.

But we hit another set of tensions, this time with governments. Any attempts to retain some of the language and rights issues in the AU Protocol were resisted by government stakeholders - more especially issues such as marital rape, women using their maiden names after marriage or combining their maiden surnames with those of their husbands.

If we were to see the Protocol adopted by the Heads of States, we had to drop the insistence on strong language and go along with the negotiated process. A strong case however, could be made that the push towards weaker language should not be accepted, because governments had already committed to this language and issues when they signed the AU Protocol. To now demand that the issues be removed and the language changed, was seen as sabotage to the process.

As the Alliance sought to enforce the credibility of the constitutional states in the region by pushing for language and issues in the Protocol to achieve fairness and social and gender justice, the rules of the game in the negotiations with government were no longer fair, and friction entered the process.

This friction was deeply rooted in the power relations endemic to civil society-government relations. At times in a bid to flex their power, governments excluded civil society from some of their processes, leading to a fixation of particular interests by both groups. Political participation had to be forced out of the power holders throughout the process.

The SADC Protocol Alliance members, therefore, had to learn tolerance throughout the negotiations with governments for the Protocol which brought to the fore the collision between those clinging to traditional cultures and those seeking more socially inclusive societies based on gender equality and justice.

The relationship between the Alliance and governments throughout the process was a fragile power relationship where concessions had to be made. Fortunately, in the interest of rendering or providing legitimacy to public institutions, the frictions were ironed out by seeing the process as an opportunity to achieve a balance between diverse interests.

*Matrine Buuku Chuulu , Women and Law Southern Africa (WILSA), Zambia*

Throughout its development, participation has been central to the Alliance's effectiveness and consensus building. And, a regular flow of information and frequent communications facilitated this participatory process.

In an interview, Lois Chingandtu, Executive Director of the Southern Africa AIDS Information and Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS), noted that the regular communications within the Alliance contributed to the success of the Protocol campaign. The Alliance, she said, ensured that there was constant and robust communication between all Alliance members about processes and developments in the campaign. This was done mainly through the use of the new technologies - e-mail, e-mail discussion forums and teleconferencing.

## **Challenges- making the rules of engagement work**

As the Alliance grows, savors its success and prepare for the next hurdle of ratification and implementation of the Protocol, it must grapple with how to keep the momentum, sustain the passion and keep all members on board. All of these challenges bring to the fore issues of internal commitment and accountability within the collective.

The overall coordinating NGO has increasingly felt the pressure of "carrying the load", and the role of the Steering Committee and cluster leaders is now more central to the way the Alliance must work. Also, accountability for delivery in the model rests squarely in members' hands. "We rely on the good faith of members to do what they have committed to do, and follow

through on this," said GL's executive director, Colleen Lowe Morna, at the Alliance's March 2009 strategy meeting. "We cannot be responsible (as the overall coordinator of the Alliance), for going around to each country getting members to deliver. This approach of course has its own short comings, particularly where the commitments have financial implications and may put the reputation of the partnership/organisation at stake when there is no accountability."

Delivery at the national level is shaped by factors outside the Alliance's control. For one thing, gender activism at the national level has many more players, and countries are at different stages of awareness, public discussions and government implementation of regional and international gender equality instruments. So while some Alliance members have succeeded in mainstreaming the Protocol issues into the national women's movement agenda and making it a rallying point for other ongoing activities, others have not.

This unevenness poses challenges of legitimacy and credibility, because the Alliance's operations and rules of engagement are premised on all members grounding the issues at national level through links with their peers, mobilising their respective constituencies on the issues, and feeding back the national temperament to the regional level. This is y critical at this point in the Alliance's growth, because unless there is a strong lobby nationally, there will be no significant movement of the Alliance's ratification and implementation agenda.

Another challenge is how to get members to do what they say they will do, given that the Alliance works on the basis of mutual accountability, with no sanctions for non compliance. This is a sound stance given the guiding principles, but problematic where contractual obligations go beyond Alliance members and involve third parties who require strict compliance with terms and conditions, especially in the case of funding for the Alliance's work. This issue was discussed at the March 2009 strategy meeting, and accountability measures

based on mutual trust were re-emphasised. These will include regular reporting, and increasing the role of the Steering Committee to address some of the leadership and management challenges.

## **Coalition building - what the Alliance did right**

In a SWOT analysis conducted at the March 2009 meeting, members cited the following actions taken by the Alliance as key to the successes achieved:

- Seized an opportunity as a collective to come together and maximise their presence and influence in an unfolding regional process aimed at accelerating gender equality.
- Took steps to create a strong identity and attract like minded organisations and expertise to buy into the process (the name and logo of the Alliance, visibility and impact).
- Built on the momentum of the campaign through directed and targeted membership drive (faith based institutions, gender and economic justice organisations).
- Developed a model to strengthen and grow the Alliance through a negotiated process of defining the mission, vision, principles and operational modalities.
- Used successive meetings and teleconferences to modify operations and strengthen accountability mechanisms
- Clearly defined leadership and management structures, and subsequently decentralized structures for better effectiveness.
- Continuously engaged constructively on challenges, and seized opportunities to develop new partnerships that have added value and brought new perspectives into the Alliance.
- Provided solidarity across borders and shared resources (technical, political, financial) to support the campaign.
- Identified the strengths and comparative advantages of the members and strategically positioned them to maximise their potential.
- Periodic sharing of successes and frustrations through periodic forums for internal reflection, and feedback to each other.

## Lessons learned



- A strong coalition for cross border organising evolves when members consult together to identify the need, frame the issues, and develop a distinct and negotiated identity.
- Continuous reflection on issues of mandate, leadership and management of the coalition are important for building transparency and commitment among the coalition's members.
- A model of operation that is flexible and not heavy on rules allows for creativity and innovation.
- Developing a good working model at regional level does not necessarily translate into a good national model; some time should be invested in developing a national working model that responds to the uniqueness of each situation.
- Accountability mechanisms must be reviewed periodically to take into account the dynamic nature of campaign processes and the roles and responsibilities of the membership.
- Membership criteria should be open and flexible to allow for partners and 'friends of the campaign' that may not want to be fully involved, but who can lend important support to the process, such as political influence.
- A good internal information and communication strategy is essential.
- Mobilising support beyond the national or regional sphere of a campaign is critical for movement building, and creates a stronger collective of voices that can open other doors of influence.
- One of the most important value-added dimensions of coalition building is the pooling and sharing of technical, political and financial resources.
- There is merit in carefully identifying partners so that the coalition reflects a broad representation of organisations that bring the voices and perspectives of a wider constituency of women and men to the campaign.
- Mechanisms for conflict resolution, continuous feedback and sharing are essential; diversity must not only be managed but also harnessed.

## Checklist



- ✓ Does the coalition have strategies and resources to build a shared understanding of the issues and purpose for collection action among its partners?
- ✓ Has space been created for constructively engaging on the campaign's identity, approach, mission, vision and operations?
- ✓ Is there room for periodic review of the fundamental glue (mission, operations) that holds the coalition together?
- ✓ Has the leadership been negotiated from the beginning, and structures for effective leadership debated and agreed upon? Is there space for periodic review?
- ✓ Are there accountability and transparency mechanisms in place? For example, periodic reporting, information on resources shared with all partners?
- ✓ Is there an effective mechanism for conflict management and resolution; are members periodically using it to share diverse views and differing opinions?
- ✓ What cross-border activism strategies are in place for building solidarity among members?
- ✓ Are there tangible benefits for partner organisations involved in the campaign, i.e. capacity building, shared resources, etc.?
- ✓ Are members sufficiently motivated and informed of all events and processes as they unfold? What mechanisms are in place for addressing members' differing information needs, particularly across borders?
- ✓ Are members' talents, influence and power acknowledged and harnessed at every opportunity, that is, are members at the centre of the coalition and driving it?
- ✓ Is there a communications strategy for networking the coalition's members and for supplying a steady flow of information to and from the members?

# Chapter

# 3

## Right place, right time? Understanding regional processes



*Gender Protocol meeting in Gaborone, Botswana in 2007. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

This chapter examines how the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance manoeuvred through the politics of an inter-governmental organisation like SADC, the creative tensions that emerged and the strategies the Alliance used to move its agenda through SADC processes.

## The right climate

Ever since the SADC Council of Ministers mandated the Secretariat in 1990 to explore the best ways to integrate gender issues into SADC's programme of work<sup>1</sup>, the sub regional body has put in place a number of initiatives and programmes to engage with gender and women's empowerment issues. Some of these initiatives are outlined below.

### SADC's early footsteps toward achieving gender equality

- **1990** Council of Ministers resolve to give priority to issues of gender and development and Eminent Persons commissioned to conduct a situational analysis on women in the region
- **1995** Post-Beijing Conference creates a task force to draft a regional Plan of Action
- **1996** Council of Ministers in Maseru approve that gender issues at the regional level be coordinated by the Secretariat, based in Gaborone, Botswana
- **1997(February)** Council of Ministers in Windhoek adopt a programme for the creation of a policy and institutional framework for the integration of gender issues into SADC
- **1997(August)** First meeting of SADC Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs (and Gender) takes place

A door was opened for the movement towards the SADC Protocol on Gender at the Council of Ministers 1997 Gender Strategy workshop which resolved that:

*SADC establish a policy framework for mainstreaming gender in all its activities by giving gender a specific recognition as an Area of Cooperation under Article 21(3) of the SADC Treaty and Protocol and*

*concluding a protocol on Gender and Development as provided for in Article 22 of the Treaty.*<sup>2</sup>

Further to the initiatives above, SADC's Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP), which sets the policies, strategies and priorities for achieving the long-term goals of SADC for deeper regional integration and poverty eradication,<sup>3</sup> identifies gender as one of the crosscutting issues. The six priorities of the SADC Gender Programme as stipulated by the RISDP include: Policy Development and Harmonisation; Gender Mainstreaming; Institutional Strengthening and Capacity Building; Women's Empowerment Programmes including: Women's Human Rights; Women and Girl Child Education; Violence against Women and Children; Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights including HIV and AIDS; Women's Economic Empowerment; Media and Information; and Women in Politics and Decision Making; Communication, Information Sharing and Networking; and Monitoring and Evaluation.<sup>4</sup> Many of the issues included in the Women's Empowerment Programmes formed the basis for the Articles of the new SADC Protocol on Gender.

The Alliance's knowledge of these initiatives, and of the Article providing for a Protocol on Gender in the SADC Treaty, provided the moral and political tools needed to push through a half-open door. Eight years after the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action was seen as more than enough time for SADC to begin to make good on its promise to put in place a binding regional instrument to achieve gender equality and women's human rights.

The regional climate was also pre-disposed to the Alliance's engagement with some 14 countries for a Protocol on Gender through a regional process, because of another sub regional institution's efforts to strengthen the dimensions of gender equality and women's human rights in its work.

The SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC-PF), established officially in 1996, spearheads the participation of Member States'

Parliaments in regional integration of the community and in contributing to a conducive environment of peace, democratic governance, gender equity and the quest for human rights to prevail.<sup>5</sup>

SADC-PF's programme to engender the region's Parliaments is informed by the then Declaration on Gender and Development, and its Plan of Action which was adopted unanimously at the SADC Parliamentary Forum Plenary Assembly in 2001 has set in motion activities to create a "critical mass" of gender-sensitive male and female legislators in the region. Foreword, Strategies for the SADC Parliamentary Forum in the New Millennium – Engendering SADC Parliaments, SADC-PF, 2001.

Legislators are key stakeholders to ensuring that the international and regional commitments signed become the bases for national laws on gender equality and women's human rights. The Alliance's link with this entity through its Secretariat's executive, gave added muscle to the regional impetus to push for a Protocol.

Once knowledgeable of all the regional bodies and SADC entry points that could facilitate the goal of upgrading the 1997 Declaration on Gender and Development to a Protocol, the Alliance also had to build the knowledge of its institutional and individual members. "The early IEC (Information, Education and Communications) materials (produced by the Alliance's coordinating organisation, Gender Links) began to make us aware 'why' a Protocol," said Alliance member Emma Kaliya of Malawi. Once the Alliance's members had the knowledge, they were able to use this to give the "SADC Gender Unit strength to move the agenda".

1. Into the Future – Gender and SADC, A Report of the SADC Gender Strategy Workshop (January 1997) and the Ministerial Workshop on Gender (February 1997)
2. Into the Future – Gender and SADC, A Report of the SADC Gender Strategy Workshop (January 1997) and the Ministerial Workshop on Gender (February 1997)
3. 2006 SADC Consultative Conference: Sub-theme on Cross-Cutting Issues, published by the SADC Secretariat, Botswana
4. <http://www.sadc.int/gender>
5. Strategies for the SADC Parliamentary Forum in the New Millennium – Engendering SADC Parliaments, SADC-PF, 2001
6. Foreword, Strategies for the SADC Parliamentary Forum in the New Millennium – Engendering SADC Parliaments, SADC-PF, 2001

## Developing a relationship with the SADC Gender Unit

Bringing together national organisations working on gender equality and women's human rights issues to work on a common goal regionally is no easy feat. And, engaging a regional grouping of States to think and act in unison to develop and commit to a more binding regional instrument to uplift the legal, political, economic and social status of half of the region's citizens – women – also seemed, at the start of the process, a Herculean task.

But giant footprints are often built by small, steady steps. And in this campaign, one of the first steps was to forge a working relationship with the unit within the SADC secretariat responsible for moving the region's gender equality and women's empowerment agenda.

From the very beginning of the movement towards a Gender Protocol, women civil society groups and the SADC Gender Unit (GU) became instrumental allies to each other.

This relationship between civil society organisations and the SADC Gender Unit began in 2005 when hands were joined in a collaborative effort to put gender equality in the spotlight in the run up to and during the SADC Heads of State Summit in Botswana that year. The SADC GU had plans to put two key commendations before the summit: (a) that the target of women in decision-making is increased from 30% to 50% in line with the African Union's (AU) decision; and (b) to elevate the 1997 SADC Declaration on Gender and Development to a protocol.

Consultations between several civil society groups and the SADC GU in early 2005 led to the idea of independent audits of various aspects of the 1997 Declaration, which then could be used to bolster the GU's recommendations to the Heads of State. Thus began a relationship where gender activists became the strategic allies who gave the SADC GU the independent strength and knowledge it needed throughout the Protocol process.



*Head of the SADC Gender Unit Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela (left) and Botswana gender activist Elsie Alexander.*  
PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

The SADC GU brought to the process the institutional support of the SADC Secretariat; an understanding of the legal and administrative steps necessary in SADC for developing a protocol and getting it onto the agenda of SADC summits; the mandate to convene at regional level key players such as the ministers responsible for gender and women's affairs and the ministers of justice; as well as a direct link to influential national decision-makers through the SADC structures within national governments' structures. While the Alliance, on the other hand, brought the research, IEC, media, monitoring and evaluation technical expertise; a wealth of knowledge on gender equality and women's human rights across a diverse range of areas; campaign, lobbying and advocacy skills; and a reach to the voices and perspectives of women across the region who often are not seen and heard by governments.

As strategic allies, the Alliance, representing civil society, and the SADC Gender Unit, representing governments, formed a relationship based on mutual cooperation, a clear understanding of what each partner could bring to the process, and on a healthy balancing act of knowing the distinctive roles of each ally - while the SADC Gender Unit works to strengthen the efforts by Member States to achieve gender equality, the Alliance on the other hand, works to keep the SADC Gender Unit as part of the regional bureaucracy, as well as the Member States, accountable to the equality, equity and human rights entitlements of the region's female citizens. The success of this relationship sought to challenge the way of engagement between civil society and state actors and to even reconfigure in terms of civil society engagement specifically.

While state and civil society relations are inherently conflictual, the Alliance recognised that it had to balance its watchdog role against being able to work from within. The Alliance and the SADC GU understood clearly that they had the same goal – the upgrading of the 1997 Declaration to a Protocol. Keeping their eyes together on this prize was far more important than letting tensions become power brawls.

## SADC Taskforce on the Gender Protocol

This symbiosis found its most concrete expression in the formation by the SADC GU of a task force comprising senior officials of the Troika (the past, present and future chair countries of SADC) and two civil society representatives in 2006. The SADC GU approached the Alliance to nominate two members to sit of the Task Team. The Alliance chose Colleen Lowe Morna, Executive Director of GL, then also chair of GEMSA, and Lois Chingandu, Executive Director of SAFAIDS.

Participation on the task team gave the Alliance early on some key insights into how SADC works, and helped the coalition to engage with government representatives in the drafting of the Protocol. The team's terms of reference were as follows:

- Finalise the road map for upgrading the SADC Declaration into a Protocol.
  - Plan strategically and advise SADC Secretariat, Member States and Civil Society on the implementation of the Road map.
  - Provide support in the resource mobilization efforts to fast track activities at member states and civil society levels.
  - Engage in advocacy and lobbying activities with SADC Executive Secretary, Chair of SADC Council of Ministers/ Summit-(Both current & incoming), senior officials and other strategic stakeholders.
  - Provide technical input in the drafting of the template / and draft protocol.
- Engage in technical backstopping of all the activities undertaken.
  - Provide leadership in soliciting for a consensus and buy in with the members states and other stakeholders, senior officials and Ministers of Gender.
  - Spearhead the meeting of Senior Officials and Ministers on the Draft Protocol.
  - Report to the rest of the member states and other stakeholders on the progress on a regular basis.

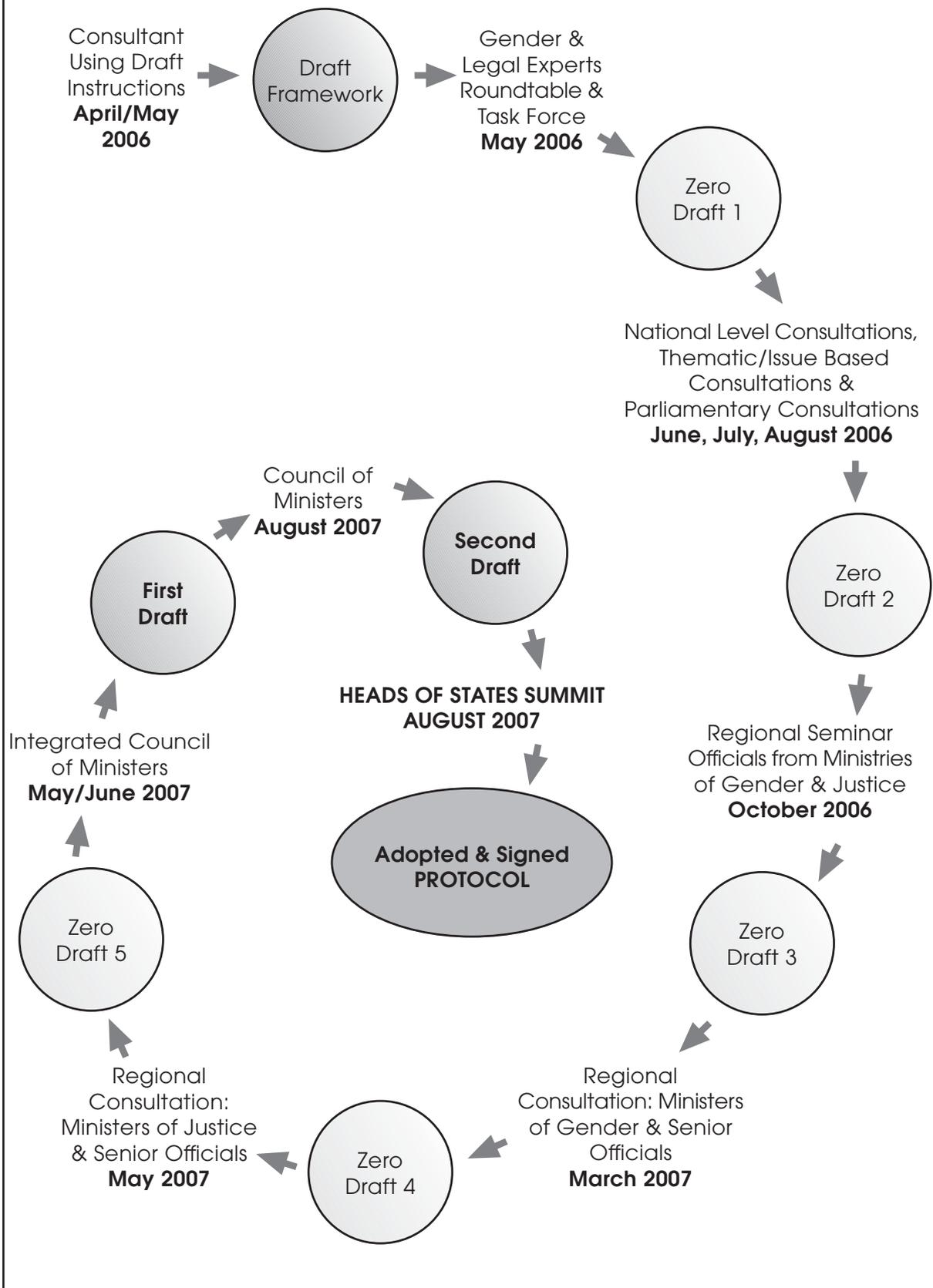
## Understanding the system

Successful lobbying on any issue depends on knowing **who, what, when, where** and **how**. Through its engagement with the SADC Gender Unit and SADC-PF, the Alliance was able to understand and navigate the process of getting a Protocol before the Heads of States to sign.

At its first meeting in Gaborone, Botswana in March 2006, this team drafted the legal drafting notes for the Protocol based on the 2005 audit, which had yielded an overview summary paper called "*Rationale for the Elevation of a Declaration to a Protocol.*" This meeting also mapped out the process for the adoption of the Protocol (see Figure one). In the end, there were two more steps to the process. After the heads of state sent the draft back for further work following the Lusaka summit in August 2007, the SADC GU convened a consultative meeting in Livingstone, Zambia, in December 2009 and a meeting of SADC Gender Ministers in Namibia in April 2008.

What the chart shows however is the complexity of SADC processes and the need to understand them to be able to make a difference. All too often NGOs arrive at inter governmental summits and expect to be able to influence outcomes without realising that the leg work takes place much earlier, and that those with the real power are the senior officials.

**Figure one: Roadmap presented at the First Task Team Meeting in March 2006**



These lessons grew out of early assumptions by the Alliance's members, many of whom were engaging in regional gender activism with SADC for the first time. One of these assumptions, according to Lois Chingandtu of SAfAIDS, was that civil society could control or at least determine the pace of the process, and the style of drafting key documents.

"There were clear differences in the work style between governments and civil society. At each meeting as civil society we expected that this should be a quick job – we review the Protocol and then it should move on to the Heads of States. Meanwhile from the government side, this was only the beginning of the process," said Chingandtu. "So we had a meeting to review what we were calling the first draft. Then we were called back again to another meeting to meet with the Parliamentary drafters from the different countries.

"They were not concerned about the content; they were focusing on the language as these were drafting specialists," Chingandtu recalled. "We went back and forth about language, because as civil society we wanted things direct and they would say that 'this kind of language will not pass with the Heads of States'. You are being too prescriptive...and governments don't want to be prescribed to."

The Alliance's members also soon realised the fallacy of assuming that ministers responsible for gender and women's affairs are the key target group for advocacy and lobbying. The Alliance had to quickly learn how to talk to the unconverted - the men who held the power to move the Protocol forward.

"The changes made to the document (the eight draft of the Protocol) by the Council of Ministers in 2007 also pointed to the challenges of articulating gender issues in a way that is accepted by all," said Patience Zirima of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC). "What I understood eventually was that Council of Ministers, who meet just before the Summit of Heads of State and Government to review such documents,

can and did change some sections of the draft Protocol, despite it having won the approval of Ministers of Gender and Justice. Council of Ministers made massive cuts in the document, in this case I believe because other key stakeholders in different ministries were not tuned in to the whole process.

"So in the different governments, gender may be delegated to Ministries of Gender or other machineries, but anyone involved in the process believes they have a stake in all issues to do with gender more than with any other issues. At the Senior Officials meeting, we (the Alliance) agreed that one way to get past such problems is to ensure that all parties, including members of the Council of Ministers, need to make an input into the process and that any misunderstandings are removed before presentation to Summit," Zirima said.

Zirima adds that the Alliance also had to confront its assumption that a comprehensive, detailed document on all gender equality and women's human rights issues would sway government officials. More homework was needed on the contents of other regional Protocols. "It was also here (2007 Council of Ministers meeting in Lusaka, Zambia) that the cliché on gender being a cross-cutting issue rang most true. Council of Ministers cross-referenced the Protocol to other existing protocols and documents on Education, Health, HIV and AIDS, Culture and Peace processes, to address these overlaps, thus putting in the forefront the need for us to understand how processes in the region are interlinked," Zirima said.

Besides learning by the old-fashion way of 'trial and error', the Alliance collected information on how SADC works through its participation in informal and formal meetings with the SADC Gender Unit and other SADC structures. The Alliance also kept a steady stream of information flowing between its coordinating structure and the SADC Gender Unit using new media and visits to the SADC Secretariat anytime members of the Alliance's coordinating structure travelled to Botswana on work assignments.



*Sheila Tlou, then minister of health in Botswana, and Magdeline Mathiba-Madibela at the Botswana Protocol meeting. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

The SADC Gender Unit was the strategic facilitator in the process towards the Gender Protocol. But it was the Ministers responsible for Gender and Women's Affairs who became not only key stakeholders in the Protocol process at the national level and regionally as the Committee of Ministers responsible for gender in the SADC region, but also champions for the Protocol's adoption as the process progressed. These ministers became the primary lobbyists among their colleagues in the Ministries of Justice, Foreign Affairs, the SADC Council of Ministers, and national Cabinets chaired by Heads of States.

Another group of champions evolved from the government representatives on the SADC Taskforce on the Gender Protocol. "The three representatives of government sitting in that task force had already bought into the Protocol...they did not want it to fail," said Chingandtu of SAfAIDS. "They also saw it as their own process and product.

This is something important for the future for success. When the document went back to the country level, they were involved in pushing their own colleagues at the country level to say 'you must support that document because I have seen it, as I sit on the task force. I was involved in drafting that document. It was not a civil society document'."

The Ministers responsible for Gender and Women's Affairs and other allies within government showed just how important insider champions can be to such a process after the 2007 Council of Ministers in Lusaka, Zambia watered-down the Protocol tabled before them into a toothless document by deleting some articles and changing the language in others to make state's compliance almost optional. The Ministers responsible for Gender and Women's Affairs quickly re-grouped and engaged with civil society to salvage their last agreed version of the document, before the 2007 summit, putting the process back on track.

“Because of the close consultations that had occurred leading up to the 2007 summit between governments and women’s human rights and gender equality groups in the Alliance, even governments were concerned with the changes made to the Protocol by the Council of Ministers in Lusaka, because by this point, governments, through the national machineries, had come to own the document,” said Emma Kaliya from Malawi. “So it was not difficult to get the sectoral ministers on board to question what had happened and to pick up the process again.”

Through its understanding of the strategic power of the sectoral ministers in this process and their influence with the secondary stakeholders (Ministers of Justice, officials in Foreign Affairs, etc.), the Alliance was able to tactically focus its lobbying efforts.

For example, at the regional level, the SADC Gender Unit was lobbied to keep the Protocol on the agenda of the SADC ministerial and Heads of States meetings,

and to ensure that the Protocol went through all of the sub regional organisation’s legal processes.

Nationally, the Alliance’s members worked flat out with the national gender machineries to hold national consultations among civil society groups and other governmental departments and ministries working on issues of health, education, economics and finance, HIV and AIDS, gender-based violence, women in politics and decision making, vulnerable groups, agriculture, food security, housing, among others.

Information flows between the national consultations and regional initiatives were consistent giving the Alliance a strong voice and intelligence that enabled it to be proactive and to strategise as a coherent, lobbying force.

“We had constant meetings at the regional and national levels which continuously gave the Alliance information to feed into the process, and this helped us to move with speed,” Kaliya recalled.



Emma Kaliya speaks out. PHOTO: TREVOR DAVIES

## Engaging Regional Processes: What the Alliance Members Say

"The (December 2007) meeting made me realise some of the mistakes we made mostly out of ignorance of the process and a failure to understand the reluctance by societies to accept 'change' that is necessary with women's empowerment, change of attitude and change of behaviour. In the articles I had written around the Protocol, I paid little attention to issues of process that are important if women are to engage effectively with SADC and took for granted that issues raised in the document are acceptable to all. As the region moves towards ratification and implementation, these lessons should not be lost. Women's organisations and key stakeholders now realise the need to understand SADC processes in order to be more effective. There is need for example to understand issues to do with ratification, domestication and then implementation of the Protocol".

*Patience Zirima, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre*

"It was important that the Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance developed a position paper right from the beginning on their basic demands in respect to the issues. This became an important reference point as the negotiations progressed and the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development evolved through nine drafts to be signed in August 2008. This was a negotiated process with negotiations happening at national level in the consultations and at regional level through the senior officials responsible for gender and women's affairs, the ministers of justice, the council of ministers through to the heads of state".

*Emilia Muchawa, Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association*

"The road to the adoption and signing of the Protocol was not an easy one; a number of hurdles were encountered and some were easy to surmount while others took a longer time. It was also important that the Alliance as the coordinating body develop strategies that were powerful and engaging to the policy makers to draw their attention and for them to take cognisance of the issues that were presented.

"It was known that most governments in the region paid lip service to women's issues while the practices were different: there was a gap between policy and practice, but the Alliance decided to devote its energy to urge governments and member states to 'walk the talk' and were able to continue its engagements with the policy makers. This process also assisted the two parties to move away from 'talking at one another' to 'talking to one another'. This approach in most cases has proved difficult for civil society which raises issues with the policy makers in a confrontational way!"

*Abby Mgugu, Director Women's Land and Water Rights Southern Africa*

## Managing creative tensions

Re-negotiating roles and mandates between governments and civil society organisations involved in the Alliance was a delicate balancing act throughout the five years of activism for a SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.

Because of the structural, financial and human capacity limitations of many of the national machineries on gender in SADC countries, and even in the SADC Gender Unit, the Alliance often found itself not only with the hands and feet to do the

lobbying and legwork needed both regionally and nationally, but also with the research and knowledge capacity to bring strong arguments, insights, data, and the voices and perspectives of women on a variety of issues, to the process. The Alliance also was able to highlight trends and identify new areas and issues that may have fallen off the radar of SADC's regional gender framework and programme, such as the sexual exploitation of women and girls in the region through trafficking which has taken a stronger root in the region since 1997.

While this expertise was a source of strength for the Alliance, it also was a weakness in that one of the greatest lessons of successful lobbying is to know when to push and follow from behind. The holder of knowledge and technical expertise seldom wants to fade into the shadows. But the constant reminder that it is governments who sign Protocols and who drive the Protocol process in a sub regional structure like SADC helped the Alliance to constantly review its role, and to devise strategies to put its energy, passion, and ownership of the Protocol in the right place.

While there were times at the beginning of the process when the Alliance ran ahead with its armoury of information, skills, research capacity and mandate to advocate on behalf of its constituency of women, it quickly learned to slow down, take a back-seat and transfer its speed by putting its knowledge and skills into governments' hands. This posture led some governments to include Alliance members as part of government delegations to key meetings, which provided the Alliance with first-hand, insider information on the Protocol process and red flags along the way.

"We also had to learn the negotiating art of using the process of consensus on each and every point. If we reached consensus on a point, language or issue raised in the Articles that have come to form the Protocol, we moved," Kaliya said. "After the 2007 summit in Lusaka where Council of Ministers changed the document, when we started the negotiations to get back on track, we strategised as an Alliance through consultations on what we could compromise on, what was non-negotiable and what we could live without. We compromised on some issues, but we gained a lot on others." The inclusion of 28 targets in the adopted Protocol with key targets in the areas of decision-making, education, HIV and AIDS, media, information and communications, gender-based violence, among others, was a huge gain for activists who now had the basis to measure governments' performance more uniformly and for strengthening evidence-based advocacy for governments' delivery on and accountability to gender equality and women's human rights.

Overall, the greater good of the Protocol



Building consensus at the 2007 Lusaka Heads of State Summit. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

was paramount to all players, and therefore agreements and compromises were used to create conditions which enabled peaceful relations to be established between different stakeholders.

But the creative tension between the Alliance and governments was not the only one to be managed. The Alliance soon met resistance from unexpected quarters – the regional civil society sector.

There was little, if almost no recognition of the gender agenda in the SADC regional NGO community, and the Alliance found little space in the parallel meetings organised by the SADC Council on NGOs at SADC Summits. So, the Alliance had to fund raise and organise its own meetings during the summits which provided opportunities to lobby officials, gather intelligence, engage the media and plan its way forward.

Rather than dividing time between trying to convince governments to adopt the Protocol on Gender and persuading regional civil society groups working on human rights, political rights and other issues to swing their support to the Alliance, women’s human rights and gender equality NGOs, with the support of faith-based and HIV and AIDS and reproductive rights groups, forged the campaign on their own.

“We were organised and we pushed an issue in unity. Even those who were not with us admitted that we were highly organised, while at the same time accusing us of high-jacking the SADC space,” Kaliya recalled. “We had an agenda and we needed to fulfil it.”

### **How the Alliance engaged in regional processes**

The Alliance’s three-year campaign for the SADC Protocol on Gender provided fertile ground for many lessons on lobbying and advocacy at the regional level. The campaign also highlighted the power dynamics between governments and civil society, and brought to

the fore the patriarchal attitudes that reside in decision-makers at all levels – one of the unseen, but fundamental deterrents to international and regional instruments moving from paper to implementation and change.

The following is a summary of some of the steps the Alliance took to engage the regional processes of SADC:

- Gained a good grasp of the political context and worked this to its advantage at every possible opportunity.
- Obtained knowledge of the SADC entities, frameworks, policies and programmes on gender equality and women’s human rights that opened the door for the push towards a Protocol on Gender.
- Used this knowledge to engage the SADC Gender Unit and the SADC-PF in discussions and to form strategic regional alliances.
- Strategically engaged the sectoral Ministers responsible for Gender and Women’s Affairs as the key stakeholders.
- Gained representation on a regional Taskforce of Experts on the SADC Protocol
- Used several strategies outlined in the SADC Framework for Advancing Gender Equality in the region to advance the lobbying efforts for a Protocol on Gender
- Lobbied at the national and regional levels, with a strong focus on the national
- Linked the national-regional-national chain of lobbying and consultations through steady information flows to the Alliance members using the new media and teleconferencing
- Provided technical expertise and knowledge to governments on women’s human rights and gender equality issues
- Stayed on message and focused on a women’s rights and gender equality agenda even in the face of a hostile civil society environment at national and regional levels
- The Alliance held parallel meetings while the Heads of States were meeting to strategise around further

- lobbying and advocacy mechanisms.
- An impromptu march outside the Sandton Convention Centre where Heads of States met for the Summit in August 2008. The idea of the march was borne out of the fear that the Protocol might yet again not be signed at the Heads of States Summit meeting; in the same way that it was not signed in Zambia. Several things were planned in addition to the march such as press releases and interviews with key mainstream media. The march is an example of how the Alliance claimed its space at the decision-making table.

## Lessons learned



Alliance members learned a great deal about how inter-governmental processes work and how best to influence these. They learned that on some days they would be welcome and other days they would not. They learned never to make any assumptions or to trust any one of the myriad processes that have to be followed before decisions are taken by regional bodies. But they also learned about their own power and strength, drawn from skills, expertise and sheer persistence. The lessons can be summarised under the two sub-heads, SADC processes and civil society muscle as follows:

### SADC processes

- SADC governments determine the pace of all SADC processes. Only governments had the mandate to decide when and how the process would move, and they had the “authority” to determine the content and language of the final Protocol.
- A relationship with the SADC GU did not guarantee civil society’s entry into all of the SADC processes on the Protocol. The Alliance had to put this condition on the table for the SADC

GU to negotiate with governments for civil society to be present in regional consultative processes on the Protocol.

- Relationships had to be built at the national level with not only the ministries responsible for gender and women’s affairs, but also with justice ministries and with the ministries that housed the SADC desks within countries – all were important to the Protocol moving forward.
- SADC’s commitment to gender equality and women’s rights is only as strong as the commitment and buy-in from the national governments grouped in the regional entity. A strong national activism on the adoption of the Protocol therefore, was more critical to the campaign than support from the regional Secretariat, since the lack of support from several national governments could derail the regional agenda.
- Without an official accredited status with SADC, the Alliance could



*MISA gender expert, Jennifer Mufune, at an Alliance meeting. PHOTO: TREVOR DAVIES*

not be present in the official meetings of the annual SADC summits and had to rely on others to be its eyes, ears and voices among the senior officials and Heads of State.

- It is important to have knowledge of all other regional Protocols and a strategy to address whether or not gender equality and women's rights have been effectively integrated into the language, commitments and actions of these documents.

### **Civil society muscle**

- Civil society organisations working on women's human rights and gender equality issues can leverage their engagement with SADC as an institution and with SADC governments by using their research, communications and lobbying expertise.
- The technical expertise of civil society can motivate and strengthen national machineries to act.
- The political understanding of how governments work and knowledge on regional frameworks, structures, policies and programmes on gender equality and women's human rights can be strategically used to lobby regional entities and national governments for change and transformation.
- Knowing when to push and when to take a back-seat helps to achieve ownership of an issue and process by the key stakeholders who are the drivers of sub regional processes.
- Evidenced based advocacy achieves maximum impact in a campaign aimed at governments.
- It is important to build consensus on what to compromise on, who to speak to and when, and on how to make hard choices on rules of engagement with the state and sub regional bodies.
- A consistent message and a critical mass is critical; states cannot ignore civil society when it has a strong and focused presence.

### **Checklist**



- ✓ Are there champions in the sub regional institutions/ organisations or in high-level political positions at national level that can be valuable and strategic allies in pushing your agenda?
- ✓ Are there key policy instruments and frameworks in the sub regional institutions/organisations that commit the region to advancing gender equality and women's human rights?
- ✓ Has the policy framework for advancing gender equality and women's human rights been translated into a programme of action with specific activities, targets and measurable outcomes?
- ✓ Do the gender equality and women's human rights policies and programmes provide the space and opportunities for engagement between civil society and governments?
- ✓ What sub regional institutions/ organisations are pivotal to advancing the gender equality and women's human rights agenda?
- ✓ Are there structures within the sub regional institutions/organisations tasked with coordination, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of the regional programme of action to advance gender equality and women's human rights?
- ✓ Do the structures have the capacity and resources to effectively carry out its mandate?
- ✓ Is it strategically placed within the sub regional institution/organisation to move the gender equality and women's human rights agenda?
- ✓ Is there a precedent of the structure relying on civil society for technical expertise?
- ✓ Who are the key, primary and secondary stakeholders in moving the gender equality and women's human rights agenda through regional processes?
- ✓ How are these stakeholders constituted at the sub regional level? What are their roles at the national level?

# Chapter

# 4

## Ground floor: Lobbying and advocacy at national level



*Gender activists strategise in Zambia.*

PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

This chapter explores the critical link between the regional and national level advocacy and lobbying efforts for the Protocol and provides insights on how national government officials were approached and the use of media at national level to give visibility to the Protocol and gender equality issues. The chapter reflects the critical importance of working on the ground floor, right down to village level in the case of Mauritius, in mobilising the necessary buy-in at regional level. It shows how lobbying host governments like South Africa, where the Protocol was finally adopted in August 2008, is critical to the success of regional processes.

### Shared strategies and national action

From the beginning, the SADC Gender Protocol campaign realised that regional and national strategies must work in tandem. Linking the national to the regional, and vice versa, was one of the key implementing strategies of the campaign to achieve its goal – the adoption of the Protocol by SADC member states.

In practice, this translated into the Alliance's regional strategies and positions influencing the national agenda, and vice versa. For example, if a regional decision was made to influence the SADC Gender Ministers meetings, this would be supported by actions focused at the national machineries at national level. Another example is adopted positions on issues at the regional level would be followed through at national level through targeted lobbying and advocacy strategies. To effectively do this, a focal point for action, a person or organisation responsible for spearheading the campaign nationally, was selected. There are focal points for the Alliance's work in 14 of the 15 SADC countries; an Angolan focal point is still to be identified.

The Alliance also works to solidify the links between national and regional activism for the Protocol in several other ways. A standard agenda item of every Alliance meeting is feedback on actions taken at country level (accompanied by a tracking tool), which forms the basis for discussions on implications of country experiences for regional and national action going forward. Another standard lobbying tool that the Alliance has developed for

"The Alliance further noted that the new draft Gender Protocol, with few exceptions, effectively compromises previous SADC governments' national, regional and international commitments. In particular:

- The text creates loopholes to the adherence by governments to time bound targets, in line with commitments already made in global development blue prints such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Words like "ensure" are changed to "endeavour".
- The commitment to ensuring that where there is a contradiction between customary law and Constitutional provisions for gender equality the latter takes precedence have been removed. This leaves wide open the dual legal system that daily undermines the rights of women in the region, especially poor women in rural areas.
- Key sections on HIV and AIDS, health and education, the media, information and communication, have been completely removed and cross referenced with existing SADC Protocols that make no mention of gender disparities.
- The section on institutional mechanisms and some progress indicators, for example, with regard to addressing gender based violence (GBV), have also been removed. This renders the binding nature of the proposed Gender Protocol largely ineffective.

In light of this, Alliance members have resolved to engage with Ministers of Gender, Foreign Affairs and Justice, as well as parliamentarians, amongst others, in the 14 SADC countries". *Extract from Press Release Johannesburg 13 November 2007 "Southern African NGOs Condemn Backtracking on Gender Protocol".*

regional and national action is position papers.

Each Alliance meeting also maps a way forward, which guides national focal points and defines the mandate of the overall coordinating NGO. After the 2007 SADC Summit, for example, there was disappointment that the Protocol had been deferred. The Alliance needed to regroup and develop a new road map. Therefore at its first meeting after the 2007 summit in November, the Alliance decided to take a stronger political stance in its lobbying efforts, particularly at national level.

Alliance members had the task of engaging a wide range of stakeholders.

The extract from the Alliance 2007 press release outlining key areas of concerns to be taken forward at national level illustrates the importance of local level action:

At another strategy workshop (28-31 January 2008) in Johannesburg, South Africa, post the meeting of SADC Senior Officials Responsible for Gender Meeting held in December 2007, in Zambia, the Alliance further determined national level actions to be undertaken. This was a multilayered approach, with an emphasis on engaging governments, and also mobilising peers, linking with SADC National Focal Points, engaging media, conducting outreach work and mobilising resources. low is an extract from the roadmap:

Excerpt: Southern Africa Gender Protocol Alliance Consolidated Action Plan January – August 2008					
Benchmark	Time Frame	Action Country Level	Action Regional Level	Materials	Media
Alliance Strategy Workshop	Jan - Feb 08			Position paper	Press release Opinions and commentaries
National consultations	Feb – April 08	National Consultative workshops (link to government consultations)  Engage SADC National Focal Points (Min. Foreign Affairs) and SADC National Committees (SNCs)	Support country level actions  Information sharing	2 page summary on Protocol (for outreach)  Pamphlets	Press conferences  Opinions and commentaries

On three different occasions GL as coordinating NGO mobilised seed funds for national level activities: once from the Southern African Trust and twice from Norwegian Church Aid. GL then served as administrator of these small grants which made it possible to hold caucus meetings

at national level. Following the adoption of the Protocol, GL mobilised funds through DFID for developing pamphlets in 25 indigenous languages on the provisions of the Protocol. National focal points organised meetings around the creation of these pamphlets.

## Alliance members strategic positioning at national level

Members have worked in different ways at national level to implement the overall regional strategy. In some cases, the approach at national level has worked well, in others it has not. One of the frustrations for GL as coordinator had to do with late reports and the difficulty of getting adequate financial accounting for local level activities in some instances. This added to the administrative burden, and led to the coordinating agency feeling it should withdraw from mobilising funds at the local level, and concentrate on regional level activities. On the other hand, in many countries (and initiatives described in this chapter) these small catalytic grants helped to ignite key local level actions.

The success of the national processes has largely depended on the ability of the national focal point to create a structured way of working, and to create linkages with highly visible initiatives in order to mainstream the Protocol; for example, International Women's Day celebrations, the Sixteen Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence, or other national days (for example Women's Month in August in South Africa).

The Alliance's impact at the national level has also depended on the political influence of the focal point, and their tactical ability to use formal and informal networks to access the right people at the right time. A number of Alliance members are strategically positioned in the gender/women's movement, or have the ability to coordinate gender activities in a way that ensures that the key actors are on board and can influence the agenda. Some of the members have managed to mainstream the Protocol work in their existing advocacy or lobbying programmes, thus maximising on already existing opportunities to link with their peers.

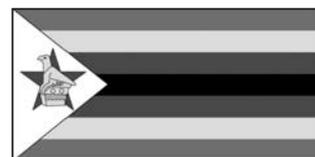
Where this worked well, Alliance activities gave gender and women's rights groups new impetus to coalesce on

issues that had otherwise lost momentum at national level. Some Alliance members had more success than others in creating strong links with governments on the Protocol. Others already had a well established track record of working with national gender machineries and were well placed to influence the direction of the Protocol agenda, particularly at the time when decisive steps were required for the Protocol to be adopted.

As Elsie Alexander from Botswana reflects: "The strategy to form a SADC Protocol Alliance in 2005 was effective as it led to a consultative process at the national level. The process facilitated coalition building at the national level, as consensus building and advocacy at this level was critical to feed into the regional process. The protocol process was also a stimulant to reinvigorating the collective/consensus approach as in some countries, such as, Botswana, gender coalitions/ coordinating machineries that were established were no longer as effective as before. The SADC Gender Protocol provided space and opportunity for bringing together the gender/women's organisations to collectively advocate for the adoption of the protocol by governments. The collective process at the national level strongly contributed to a level of ownership and collective negotiation for governments to listen".

There are many examples that can be cited where Alliance members brought key players together to define a national agenda, using the Protocol as the point of reference.

SAfAIDS, originally the focal point in Zimbabwe on the Protocol<sup>1</sup> successfully used the Protocol



process to keep gender issues on the radar of government at a very difficult



*Elsie Alexander and Judith Mtsewu at a Botswana Alliance strategy meeting. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

time in the political and economic history of the country. The process ensured that other players that would not otherwise have engaged with government at the time, had a window to put their issues on the table, using the Protocol as the entry point. Zimbabwe was one of the countries that signed the Protocol in August 2008, in spite of initial misgivings and concerns on some issues (marital rape, protection of the rights of vulnerable groups). Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) has taken advantage of the Protocol process to influence the constitutional review process in Zambia, in the face of difficulties encountered by gender activists as regards the content and consultations on the process.

What is significant about strategic positioning of the Alliance process at national level has been the potential it has to stimulate movement building and to bring SADC to the gender activists, other players, and citizens at national level. Resources were mobilised and members motivated to access funding to hold in country consultations, where some stakeholders who would otherwise not have had the opportunity to engage SADC processes, were involved.

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1. Zimbabwe Women Lawyers was identified as the new focal point from August 2008

## Engaging government at national level in Malawi



Malawi's government realises the need to address gender disparities through broad-based partnerships, committed leadership, multi-sectoral strategies, and strong involvement of stakeholders at every level in our society so that they share what they have learned through many decades of support and policy advocacy. This broad consultative approach enabled gender activists in Malawi to actively participate in all the processes to craft the SADC Gender Protocol at national level; and, this approach also gave a chance to most Malawians to understand the Protocol well before its adoption.

Although the ministry responsible for gender was not represented at the 2005 Gaborone SADC Summit, CSOs from Malawi attending the parallel SADC NGOs meeting had an opportunity to lobby the Malawian ministers present to support the 50/50 target of women in decision-making adopted by the Heads of State and Government during the Summit. This marked the start of my personal involvement in the SADC Protocol processes.

My involvement at the Gaborone meeting gave me strength to start advocating for the 50/50 target at the national level, long before our gender machinery made their official statement. The ministry officials waited for the official communications from the SADC Secretariat before taking action, while I began to mobilise my fellow Network members to join me in this initiative. My involvement in the Alliance also gave me so much information to share at the national level, even though was in its early stages of the (Protocol) campaign in 2005.



*Strategising: Pat Made and Emma Kaliya. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

Through my leadership, the NGOGCN and the Ministry of Women and Child Development jointly organised the first National Consultative workshop, with financial support from the SADC Alliance. The aim was to give Malawians a chance to discuss and comment on the (earlier) draft Protocol. The national machinery did not have resources to finance this kind of workshop, and solely depended on the financial support that the NGOGCN secured from the Alliance.

At this point, government recognised the substantive contributions from the NGOGCN around the Protocol, and the government included me on their delegation to the subsequent SADC Protocol meetings. They knew that I would make meaningful contributions to the process, because of the vast ideas that I had from the Alliance.

The NGOGCN was a valuable resource to the government in this process. This was proven when they technically supported our second National Consultative meeting in preparation for the SADC Senior Officials meeting in Namibia (2008). The government was quite aware that I had an institutional memory of all the processes, because my representation at national and regional level meetings remained consistent, while government kept changing its officials. I soon had dual representation – in the Alliance and government forums.

The mutual understanding, as well as the trust, that developed between the NGOGCN and government enabled our relationship to remain intact throughout the process. Due to this relationship, we again agreed to jointly design and implement a National 50/50 Programme around the 2009 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, even before the Protocol was adopted. This joint initiative further illustrates the honest relationship that prevails between us. The government continues to rely on my technical advice on issues regarding the Protocol, and there are times when the ministry officials engage us to lobby on sensitive issues with other high level authorities.

This helped us a lot, because they gave us some insights on the processes and how we could avoid touching on some sensitive areas. We got the blessing of most departments and they did assure us of their support at the (2008) Summit in South Africa.

The lessons learned in this process included:

- The good rapport established with the National Gender Machinery helped the process to be smoother at national level.
- The professionalism demonstrated earned me very high respect from Government.
- Remaining focussed on the agenda created a lot of trust.
- Involving others in lobbying process was an added value to the process because it was seen as a national agenda unlike individual business.
- The unity between the NGOs and government should be documented as good practice.

*Emma Kaliya, Malawi NGO Gender Coordinating Network*

(Editors note: At the time of writing, Malawi was one of three SADC countries, along with Botswana and Mauritius, that had not yet signed the Protocol but appears to be on the verge of doing so, thanks in large measure to the tireless efforts of the Malawi NGO Gender Coordinating Network).

The Malawi example reflects the tensions that existed within some governments who wanted to find ways to avoid engaging with civil society. One of the critically important strategies that the SADC GU deployed to open the space for civil society engagement was to ensure that every invitation to a technical meeting to review the draft Protocol required that government delegations include a civil society representative. This became a trump card that the Alliance could use for members to find their way into government delegations. This was also a strategy to influence the process from within; central to achieving much of the gains the Alliance made in successive drafts of the Protocol.

In essence there were two ways in which the Alliance directly influenced the government agenda on the Protocol at national level. First was direct engagement with senior government officials, in particular in the ministries of gender, foreign affairs and justice. One of

the strategies used was to create templates of communications the Alliance would send to respective ministries, clearly articulating the Alliance's position on matters of concern. The level at which the communications were pitched, and the concise articulation of Alliance concerns often open doors at very senior levels; the informal relationship with some of the senior officials also assisted in creating opportunities to discuss issues in concrete ways.

It is also worth noting that whilst some of the action was at national level, Alliance members also shared intelligence on who would participate at strategic SADC meetings (Council of Ministers, Senior Officials, SADC Summit), so that we could also lobby them in the corridors where possible.

#### Participating in government delegations: What Alliance members say



How does one get on a delegation? *Ialfine Tracoulat of the FPFE Madagascar and Alliance Focal Point*, knew of the Senior Officials meeting taking place in Zambia in December 2007 and that civil society would be represented on the government delegation:

"My strategy was to approach a key person in the Ministry for Health and Family Planning of my country, because this Ministry deals with Women in Madagascar, in order to confirm this information initially. But, I was very amazed when my interlocutress announced to me that they received the invitation on behalf of the focal point of the SADC in Madagascar, ... and that the civil society was not invited. With this information, I contacted the SADC focal point which recommended that I speak with the Ministry in charge of women. Correspondence amongst Alliance members was exchanged at the same time, and they confirmed that the delegation was to include one representative of the civil society.

"I came back my interlocutor at the Ministry but she told me that the appointment of the members of the delegation was made, the letter of official nomination was signed by the Minister and that the members of the delegation were the three people of the Ministry, resulting in civil society not being represented. In addition, the Ministry told me that the letter did not mention that civil society was to be member of the delegation. Later it was discovered that the contents of the original letter on behalf of the office of the SADC was changed due to translation error. Taking into account all these efforts, the Ministry assured me that from now onwards, they will take into account civil society in general, and members of the Alliance in particular, for other actions concerning this Protocol".



*Lorato Sakufiwa, former Director of the Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Project and the Gender and Development Sector of BOCONGO, relates her experience:*

"In April 2007, the SADC Senior Officials Meeting was held in Gaborone, Botswana and there were four of us representing civil society. Our input at this meeting was limited, because the government team did not seem keen to provide space for our views. This was the first SADC meeting I had attended and there had not been any briefing on the process, so I did not know how to deal with the fact that we could not express our views. My comfort was that the input from the National Consultative Meeting was captured in the document.

"The SADC Ministers of Women's/Gender Affairs followed in June 2007 and was held in Maputo, Mozambique. There were two civil society representatives in the Botswana delegation that consisted of the Assistant Minister of Labour and Home Affairs, the Deputy Permanent Secretary, and the Senior Gender Officer, Women's Affairs Department (WAD). On arrival, a meeting was held by the delegation to agree on issues to be presented. Occasionally, during the first two days (Senior Officials meeting), we were given an opportunity to speak on issues the team felt we articulated better. This was appreciated as a sign that civil society's opinion was respected. When the Minister arrived, there was a briefing session by the delegation with our equal participation.

"At the Senior Officials Meeting convened in Livingstone, Zambia in December 2007, the Deputy Director, WAD, the Permanent Secretary, Labour and Home Affairs and I constituted the delegation. We followed the same process of having a meeting as the Botswana delegation to agree on what would be presented at the larger meeting. The challenge here was that the position of government had changed and the Permanent Secretary as Head of Delegation, represented that position. The good thing was that he was willing to discuss and was flexible to adopt some of the issues raised. At this meeting the voice of civil society was clearly heard. Members of the Alliance met on the arrival night, discussed and had consensus on the issues of concern. Gender Links as part of the South African delegation presented the input of the Alliance members. Senior Officials reinstated important text that was removed after the 2007 Summit.

"At the Ministers Meeting held in Windhoek, Namibia in April 2008, things got tighter. Civil Society was represented and I was allowed to participate in all the discussions. However, there was no longer flexibility in terms of hearing out what we had to say. Government's voice was loud and 'final'."



*Sarry Xoagus-Eises, Alliance Focal Point, Namibia reflects: "On a number of occasions, I personally travelled with the Namibian government delegation to various destinations to protect civil society interests in the document. Let me share some of my findings with you. It was not easy to be part of the government delegation, as you travel as one team to conferences. It depends on your group's leader, which in this case is a senior*

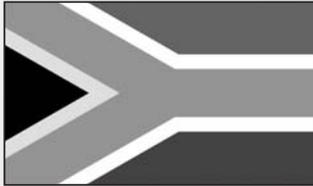
*government official, to allow you to contribute to any of the debates. These heads of delegation are always very careful not to allow civic groups to overtake these debates. Furthermore, things are done on consensus and civil society is aware of these limitations. But at the end of the day, both civil society and government reached consensus for the benefit of all the women in the region. Namibia was no exception."*

## South Africa 2008 – the final push

Following the blow of the Protocol not being adopted at the Lusaka Heads of State summit in 2007, the Alliance grasped quickly the political importance

of going for broke at the SADC 2008 summit scheduled to take place in South Africa, as described in the reflections below.

### Home ground



The then President Thabo Mbeki was under political pressure at home. He had always been more of a foreign than a domestic president. And gender equality had a highly visible place in his vision of an African Renaissance. Activists realised that if they failed to get the Protocol adopted while South Africa held the rotating chair and in Mbeki's last year of a two year presidential term the dream might be deferred for very many years to come.

We knew we had to get in on the ground floor. As GL we had cultivated good relations with the Office on the Status of Women in the president's office; with the then Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka (who featured prominently in our book: *Ringing up the Changes: Gender and Politics in Southern Africa*) and with the first lady, Zanele Mbeki. I sat on the President's Advisory Group on Women and used these quarterly meetings as an avenue to distribute information on the Protocol as well as conduct lobbying.

At a time when relations between the SADC Secretariat and civil society were strained to the point that the Task Team had virtually ceased meeting, as GL we got back into the process by being invited onto the South African delegation. This proved especially important at the December 2007 Livingstone strategy meeting for senior officials responsible for gender and women's affairs where we literally had to rescue the Protocol that had been hugely watered down by officials who met behind closed doors at the August summit in Lusaka.

The SADC Gender Unit had cleverly and strategically suggested that all government delegations have at least one civil society representative. They privately advised all of us to get onto our government delegations. At least five key alliance members came to the Livingstone meeting this way. We caucused in the evenings and strategised about who would say what. Mostly, we got our governments to say what we wanted to say, providing wording and arguments where these were required.

The tension that ensued was thus between governments, rather than between governments and civil society. There was a clear divide between the more progressive and conservative governments with South Africa at one extreme, Lesotho and Botswana at the other, and Namibia usually in between.

At these meetings we were exposed to some of the patriarchal attitudes still prevalent in our societies, even among senior bureaucrats and even among women. During the Livingstone meeting, a woman minister argued that women should not seek to retain their surnames, as this is against religion. Male officials questioned why the Protocol sought to restrict how many women they could marry (the debates on customary law versus Constitutional provisions). Delegates seemed to sniff sexual orientation in every clause, including references to marginalised groups, of whom there are so many, starting with poor women, disabled women etc.

I felt proud of my government delegation. They stood steadfast on all the hard issues: like custom, culture and sexual orientation. By taking a progressive stance, South Africa helped to ensure that the middle ground was not too far to the right.

The positions taken in December 2007 also sent the clear signal that Mbeki's government would pull out all the stops to get the Protocol adopted in August 2008. As the Alliance we knew this was our best chance and we had to hang on to it. At country level, we attended meetings of the National Gender Machinery and made sure all stakeholders remained agitated and on board. We invited the then minister responsible for gender, Essop Pahad, to address the parallel meeting of the Alliance at the 2008 Heads of State Summit. When he obliged, we knew that our quest might finally be coming to fruition."

*Colleen Lowe Morna  
Executive Director, GL*

## Mobilisation

The Media Watch Organisation (MWO)-GESMSA campaign in Mauritius to take the protocol to villages is a good example of what can be achieved with a few resources and a clear road map to elevate a campaign at national level. MWO took on the challenge of going beyond consulting key political figures to consulting communities.

They not only simplified the Protocol and identified the key issues for Mauritius activism, but used that as the reference to discuss gender and governance issues in Mauritius, amongst others, with various communities nation wide (see below).



## Taking the Protocol to the Villages in Mauritius



Councillors, NGOs and gender activists were invited to four villages in the North of Mauritius - Le Hochet, Terre Rouge, Baie du Tombeau and Calebasse - to educate and inform women and men in these communities on issues and articles in the SADC Protocol on Gender.

The village workshops included discussions on the barriers to women entering politics at national and local levels in the country, and possible solutions; and, also discussions on gender concepts which were not clear to the participants. These included terms such as: Gender, gender based violence, gender equality, gender mainstreaming, gender stereotypes, gender sensitive, multiple roles, sexual harassment, sexual and reproduction rights, PEP (post-exposure prophylaxis) and female condom. Participants expressed interest in the following articles of the Protocol:



*Mary Cooper, Susan Tolmay and Shamila Ramdoyal before a village workshop.*  
 PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

- Articles 6, 23 and 25 - **Domestic Legislation, Gender based violence and Sexual Harassment** – Most participants were not aware of legislations like the Sex Discrimination Act, the Domestic Violence Act, the Child Protection Act, Protection of Elderly persons Act and the HIV and AIDS Act that protect them and provides them with the recourse to justice with free legal services. MWO-GEMSA agreed to contact the Ministry of Women and the Sex Discrimination Division to organise workshops on gender laws in these regions.
- Articles 12 and 13 - **The Girl Child and the Boy Child** – Participants gained an understanding of how discrimination against girls begins when parents bring up their boys and girls with a different set of values.
- Article 14 - **Governance (Representation)** – There are only 17% women in Parliament and 6.4% as village councillors. There are 36 villages in the North with 432 councillors and only 19 of them are women making a percentage of 4.4%. Participants took the commitment of making sure that at the 2010 village elections there will be over 50% women candidates elected in these three villages.
- Article 15 - **Governance (Participation)** – Building the capacity of women – the Steering Committee in charge of the Action Plan for the North will organise regular workshops for women. A specific need raised was for women to be empowered to speak in public.
- Article 16 - **Gender equality in education** – Although girls and boys have equal access to education, the question of gender stereotypes in educational materials was raised.
- Articles 17 and 19 - **Economic policies and Economic Empowerment** – Although women and men have equal access to loans and to set up their own businesses,

women still lag behind and need proper guidance to get loans and advice on how to start their own businesses.

- Article 33 – **Media, information and Communication** – Sexist advertisement to be banned and women should participate in media literacy course.

At these meetings we succeeded in securing a commitment in principle to transforming the current state of affairs regarding women at local government level (6.4 percent), so that in the 2010 village elections there will be over 50% women candidates contesting from these villages.

I hasten to add that Mauritius is one of the three countries that, at the time of writing, had not yet signed the Protocol. The main reservation concerns provisions on affirmative action that are contrary to the Mauritius Constitution. But the pressure now mounting from the grassroots gives us hope that Mauritius will find a way of signing the Protocol. This is a good example of why we not only need to work at national level but also to mobilise. If democracy is government for and by the people – women and men – then their voices must be heard; they must determine policy.

*Loga Virahsawmy*

*President, Media Watch Organisation (MWO) GEMSA*

This “Taking the Protocol to the villages” model has inspired other members to consider this wide-scale outreach. Gender Links, for example, has secured resources to undertake 100 village level meetings a year in the 15 SADC countries for the next 5 years and is doing so in tandem with its gender and local government project.

### **What the Alliance did to strengthen national activism**

In summary, the Alliance and its members took the following steps to strengthen national activism:

- Developed a clear regional strategy that informed national level action.
- Developed some tools to utilise at internally to articulate positions and create a shared understanding amongst the members, and deployed these tools in national lobbying and advocacy (for example position papers).
- Identified opportunities at national level to mainstream Protocol campaign activities in ongoing processes.
- Gathered intelligence on government actions and used the information to directly engage government officials, as well as participate in official

delegations.

- Engaged peers, politicians and took the message and information to communities, in order to influence the agenda ‘from below’.
- Worked closely with the SADC Gender Unit, to ensure that Alliance action was in tandem with the government roadmap (for example the Alliance roadmap towards the adoption of the Protocol, which was developed in January 2008, was in direct response to the official government roadmap developed by Senior Officials in December 2007).
- Developed key strategic relations with government delegations.
- Mobilised stakeholders in-country, including at the local level.
- Developed a strong information and communication strategy, including a carefully managed media strategy, which involved building a relationship with media leaders (editors), and also training of Alliance members on how to engage the media in an informed way.
- Maintained a consistent message on the Protocol content and process at regional and national levels; thereby ensuring that visibility of the campaign was underpinned by coordinated and focused action.

## Lessons learned



Lesson learned in this process include:

- Whilst cross border activism implies focusing on a regional strategy to support trans-border campaigning, it will not take root unless there is a clear process of translating this into a national strategy, supported by well defined, country specific and flexible structures.
- One size does not fit all; allow for different operational models at national level, provided they stay true to the vision and mission of the campaign.
- Map out points of entry at national level, and promote the 'value add' of bringing the region to the national to influence transformation where it matters the most.
- Mobilising and outreach in a clear targeted manner, with a consistent message and an agenda to support women's empowerment, using the Protocol as the frame of reference works well; it is has to be supported by a tactical and astute organisation or collective.
- A mix of technical skills and political savvy is essential to engage with the state and influence agenda setting; for Alliance members that have made significant inroads at national level, this is what distinguished their lobbying and strategy efforts.
- Engaging governments requires a very good understanding of bureaucracy and deploying both formal and informal networks to gauge the level and manner of engagement.
- Gathering the right intelligence, knowing when and what to negotiate and remaining consistent even in the face of stiff resistance to transformation is critical; in the absence of this approach the campaign can fall apart and the agenda distorted.
- Visibility at national level of the issues and the campaign itself is a priority. This should be supported by a clear information and communication strategy, which involves targeted media involvement, including close liaison with editors and other decision makers in media.

## Checklist



- ✓ What strategy is being deployed at regional level to support a campaign and how is this replicated at national level?
- ✓ Has there been a careful mapping of national processes, and how is the campaign going to be mainstreamed and form a reference point for these processes?
- ✓ What are the key entry points at national level, and what tools are being deployed to engage meaningfully?
- ✓ What mechanisms are in place to develop a shared consensus on issues, and how is this going to feed back to the regional process?
- ✓ Has a clear information and communication strategy been developed? Does it address media engagement? How?
- ✓ What space is there for shifting strategy at national level to take into account changes and developments? How does this feed into the regional processes?
- ✓ Is the outreach work well structured? What linkages have been developed with community based initiatives, traditional leaders/structures, and women in respective communities in terms of taking leadership and owning the process?
- ✓ Have all IEC materials been developed in a targeted way and link regional developments to national concerns and issues (regional in dimension but country specific?)



Loga Virahsawmy. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

# Chapter

# 5

## Wordsmiths at work: The power of research and drafting



*Taking Note - Bookie Kgetusigile-Mujura (left) and Gladys Mutukwa. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

Throughout the nine lives (or drafts) of the Protocol, the Alliance played a critical watchdog role through gathering information and contributing to the drafting of the Protocol, salvaging critical clauses and fighting for the strongest possible language. But as these types of things go, you win some and you lose some. This chapter examines the processes leading up to the initial drafting of the Protocol as well as analysis of the drafting steps, highlighting the importance of being present and represented during this process. The chapter also covers the gains and losses throughout the drafting stages.

## Audits and accountability

In 2005 six regional organisations<sup>1</sup> embarked on an audit to review the extent to which SADC member states had begun to deliver on commitments, through regional and international instruments that they had signed, towards advancing the rights of women and achieving gender equality.

The year 2005 was significant for several reasons:

- It was the 25th anniversary of SADC.
- It was the tenth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.
- It was the deadline set in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development for the achievement of 30% women in all areas of decision-making.
- In September, leaders from around the world were going to review progress towards the implementation of the MDGs five years after their adoption.

A collaborative effort between the participating NGOs, SADC Gender Unit and SADC Parliamentary Forum, the audit covered the eight themes identified in the various instruments as the main areas for advancing gender equality. These areas were: constitutional and legal rights, governance and women in decision-making, economic empowerment, education, violence against women, health

and reproductive rights, including HIV and AIDS, media and communication and institutional arrangements.

The papers were produced by the contributing organisations in line with their areas of expertise, thereby ensuring the relevance and quality of the findings.

The audit took place in three in main steps:

- Comparing the existing provisions and gaps in the key instruments for achieving gender equality including the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development (SDGD); the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (the African Protocol); Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA); Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); as well as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- Measuring performance by each country against this "package" of commitments.
- Proposing areas and targets for inclusion in the new Protocol.

The audit found that while there has been progress in Southern Africa in all of the eight areas listed above, the audit highlighted the following key gaps:

- Despite several elections in SADC countries over the two years (2003-2005), the average representation of women in the parliaments of the region stood at 20 percent in 2005 when the audit was conducted. Only two countries (South Africa and Mozambique) had achieved the 30 percent target and only one other (Tanzania) was likely to achieve the target before the end of 2005.
- Laws, systems and services for addressing gender violence are inadequate. New forms of gender violence, such as trafficking, are on the rise.
- In virtually every country there are contradictions between customary law and codified law when it comes to women's rights. These contradictions are not addressed in Constitutions.

- Women, and especially young women, are the majority of those living with HIV/AIDS, the pandemic which more than any other has preyed on the gender disparities in the region and added to the already huge burden of care that women shoulder.
- In most countries, poverty is on the rise and increasingly has a feminine face.
- While there has been some progress in raising awareness and challenging gender stereotypes in the media and popular culture, as well as engaging men as partners, the battle to change mindsets is still far from won.
- Effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation of gender policies,

programmes and activities continue to elude those charged with the responsibility of accounting to the public as the gap between policy and practice seems to widen.

The table that follows shows the gaps and challenges that were identified by the audit, the recommendations made for the draft Protocol and the provisions and targets in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development which was adopted on 17th August 2008.

1. Gender Links (GL), Gender and Media Southern Africa Network (GEMSA), Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), Women and Law in Development in Africa (WILDAF), SARDC/ WIDSAA and SaFAIDS.

**Table two: THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT PROTOCOL FROM A DECLARATION TO A PROTOCOL**

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<b>CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL RIGHTS</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affirmative action: There is no explicit reference in the instruments to legal and/or constitutional provisions for affirmative action as a way of redressing gender imbalances.</li> <li>• Age of majority: This is not adequately covered in the instruments, despite the fact that early marriages and young motherhood enhance the risk of problems in childbirth and limit the prospects for economic and self fulfilment among women.</li> <li>• Customary law reigns supreme: Twelve out of the 13 Southern African countries (except Mauritius) have a dual legal system, with customary law governing the every day lives of the majority of women in the</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All discriminatory legislation to be expunged by 2015.</li> <li>• Constitutional reviews and amendments to enshrine gender equality in the Constitutions of all member countries that have not done so by 2010.</li> <li>• Constitutions to state that provisions for gender equality take precedence over customary law by 2010.</li> <li>• Minority status of women abolished by 2010.</li> <li>• Set out women’s rights to bodily integrity and autonomy; security of person and reproductive choice.</li> <li>• Legislation to eliminate harmful practices e.g. FGM.</li> <li>• Standardise maternity provisions to three months paid leave.</li> </ul>	<p>Article 4: Provides for all Member States to enshrine gender equality in their Constitutions. It requires State Parties to adopt and implement legislative measures to eliminate practices that negatively affect the fundamental rights of women and men.</p> <p>Target 1:            ✓ By 2015 enshrine gender equality and equity in their Constitutions and ensure that these are not compromised by any provisions, laws or practices.</p> <p>Article 5: Provides for affirmative action to eliminate barriers which prevent women from participating meaningfully in all spheres of life.</p> <p>Article 6: requires that Member States review, amend and or repeal all discriminatory laws as well as enact and enforce legislation to ensure equal access to justice and</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<p>region. Only two countries (South Africa and Namibia) have made it clear in their Constitutions that where there is a conflict between the two legal systems.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marriage turns women into minors: Only seven of the 12 Southern African countries have passed laws giving women and men equal rights in marriage.</li> </ul>		<p>protection before the law.</p> <p>Target 2: ✓ By 2015 review, amend and or repeal all discriminatory laws.</p> <p>Target 3: ✓ By 2010, abolish the minority status of women.</p> <p>Article 7: Provides for State Parties to put in place legislative measures which promote and ensure the practical realisation of equality for women.</p> <p>Article 8: Provides for legislative or administrative measure to be taken to ensure that women and men enjoy equal rights in marriage and that they are regarded as equal partners in marriage.</p> <p>Article 9: Members States to adopt legislation and other provisions to protect persons with disabilities taking into account the particular vulnerabilities of women with disabilities.</p> <p>Article 10: Provides for the rights of widows and widowers</p> <p>Article 11: Provides for laws, policies and programmes to be adopted to ensure the development and protection of the girl and boy child.</p>
<b>GOVERNANCE</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of timeframes beyond 2005: The weakness of the AU position is that it does not have any time frames; while that of the SDGD is that it has no timeframes beyond 2005.</li> <li>• Narrow political focus: The MDGs, that are commanding centre stage in current UN and global efforts, have only one indicator on decision-making as part of the provision on gender equality: women's equal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Define governance to include: the executive (cabinet, the public service); the legislature (national, regional, provincial, local) the judiciary; political parties; diplomacy and international relations; the media, private sector, civil society.</li> <li>• Target of 50% in all areas of decision-making by 2020 with an incremental approach adopted by each country.</li> </ul>	<p>Article 12: Provides for the equal representation of women in all areas of decision-making, both public and private and suggests that this target be achieved through Constitutional and other legislative provisions, including affirmative action.</p> <p>Target 4: ✓ By 2015, 50 percent of decision-making positions in all public and private sectors are held by women including through the use of affirmative action measures provided for in Article 5.</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<p>representation in national parliaments. This is not only a narrow interpretation of decision-making; it is a narrow interpretation of political decision-making.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fixation with numbers: The SDGD, which is the best known instrument in the region in the area of decision-making because of the 30 percent target, focuses narrowly on numbers with no regard for effective participation. This includes ensuring that women have access to leadership positions within decision-making structures and can input effectively into policy processes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Those that have achieved the thirty percent in any area of governance to aim to achieve 50% by 2015 or earlier.</li> <li>• Those that have not achieved the thirty percent to aim to achieve this by 2015 or earlier.</li> <li>• All members to take measures to ensure effective participation of women in decision-making and adopt indicators for achieving this.</li> <li>• Develop indicators on the qualitative difference that gender and good governance make.</li> <li>• All members to draw up an action plan for achieving the above targets and indicators by August 2007.</li> <li>• Annual reports on progress towards achieving these targets.</li> </ul>	<p>Article 13: Provides that Member States should adopt specific legislative measures and other strategies to enable women to participate effectively in electoral processes and decision-making by, amongst others, building capacity, providing support and establishing and strengthening structures to enhance gender mainstreaming.</p>
EDUCATION AND TRAINING		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The African Protocol is the only instrument that addresses gender violence in schools.</li> <li>• None of the instruments address the importance of sex education and youth friendly sexual and reproductive health facilities.</li> <li>• None of the instruments address the responsibilities of adolescent and young fathers, nor what school policy should be towards them.</li> <li>• None of the instruments address the obstacles to good performance by girls, including their dual role as learners and care givers at home, especially in the era of HIV/AIDS.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and at all levels of education no later than 2015 (MDGs).</li> <li>• Eradicate illiteracy by 2020.</li> <li>• Introduce state supported child development in all members by 2020.</li> <li>• Eliminate stereotypes in educational curricula and school activities.</li> <li>• Set targets for eliminating gender bias in subjects appropriate to the national situation.</li> <li>• Start campaigns on, and end gender violence in schools by 2020.</li> </ul>	<p>Article 14: Provides for equal access to quality education and training for women. It further provides for the adoption and implementation of gender sensitive educational policies and programmes addressing gender stereotypes in education and gender based violence in education.</p> <p>Target 5:  ✓ By 2015, enact laws that promote equal access to and retention in primary, secondary, tertiary, vocational and non-formal education in accordance with the Protocol on Education and Training and the Millennium Development Goals.</p> <p>Target 6:  ✓ By 2015 adopt and implement gender sensitive</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None of the instruments address state support for pre-school which research shows is critical for women's effective participation in the labour force as well as for early child development.</li> </ul>		<p>educational policies and programmes addressing gender stereotypes in education and gender-based violence, amongst others.</p>
<b>PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES AND EMPLOYMENT</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is scant reference in the instruments to the gender dimensions of international trade and globalisation.</li> <li>Only the African Protocol refers to the need to recognise non-remunerated work but does not say how or when, and in what way this should inform policy formulation.</li> <li>While there is reference in most of the instruments to supporting women in the informal sector, this is based on the premise that women are destined to remain in Small and Medium Enterprises (SME's).</li> <li>Despite the several gender budget initiatives globally, many of which have been piloted in the SADC region, there is no reference to policies and tools for ensuring gender sensitive resource allocations in the various instruments.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day and or suffer from hunger (MDGs).</li> <li>End the disproportionate presence of women among the poor by 2015.</li> <li>End all discrimination against women with regard to property rights by 2015.</li> <li>Take measures to minimise the negative impact of globalisation on women and to maximise new opportunities.</li> <li>All members to conduct time use studies by 2010; adopt policy measures for reducing the burden of the dual role played by women.</li> <li>Frameworks for analysing budgets and resource allocations from a gender perspective that include: specific initiatives to empower women; employment-equity related allocations; gender sensitivity in the allocation of resources within and between sectors (Annex on gender budgeting). All departments to state in their budget submissions what they are doing to achieve gender equality. Budgets to contain an annex on gender awareness in the</li> </ul>	<p>Article 15: Provides for the equal participation of women in economic policy formulation and implementation as well as ensuring gender sensitive and responsive budgeting.</p> <p>Target 7: ✓ By 2015 ensure equal participation of women and men in policy formulation and implementation of economic policies.</p> <p>Article 16: Recognises the multiple roles of women.</p> <p>Target 8: ✓ By 2015 conduct time use studies and adopt policy measures to ease the burden of the multiple roles played by women.</p> <p>Article 17: Provides and targets around economic empowerment, entrepreneurship and stipulations on trade policies.</p> <p>Target 9: ✓ By 2015 adopt policies and enact laws which ensure equal access, benefit and opportunities for women and men in trade and entrepreneurship, taking into account the contribution of women in the formal and informal sectors.</p> <p>Target 10: ✓ By 2015 review national trade and entrepreneurship policies, to make them gender responsive.</p> <p>Target 11: ✓ By 2015, and with regard to the affirmative action</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
	<p>allocation of resources.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safety nets and social service programmes that are easily accessible and monitoring mechanisms to measure the impact of economic policies on targeted beneficiaries.</li> <li>• Ensure that women have equal access to credit by 2015.</li> <li>• Support women to become entrepreneurs; not just in the Small to Medium Enterprise (SME) sector.</li> </ul>	<p>provisions in Article 5, introduce measure to ensure that women benefit equally from economic opportunities, including those created through public procurement processes.</p> <p>Article 18: Makes provision for policies and laws around access to, control of and benefit from productive resources.</p> <p>Target 12: ✓ By 2015, review all policies and laws that determine access to, control of, and benefit from, productive resources by women.</p> <p>Article 19: Provides for reviewing, amending and enacting laws and policies that ensure women and men have equal access to wage employment in all sectors of the economy. It also provides for equal employment benefits for women and men, including maternity and paternity leave.</p> <p>Target 13: ✓ By 2015, review, amend and enact laws and policies that ensure women and men have equal access to wage employment in all sectors of the economy.</p>
<b>GENDER BASED VIOLENCE</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender based violence is now accepted as one of the “leading factors for HIV infection” (UNAIDS <i>et al</i>, 2004:47). Yet none of the commitments make any reference to the legal provision of PEP, a course of anti-retroviral drugs that can help to reduce the likelihood of HIV infection after a sexual assault. This shortfall is disturbing given the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the Southern Africa region.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All members to adopt specific legislation on gender violence, including trafficking, by 2010.</li> <li>• Add a section on the relationship between gender violence and HIV/AIDS and the need for laws to ensure that all health facilities are able to administer Post Exposure Prophylaxis or PEP.</li> <li>• Include social, economic, cultural and political provisions in the Addendum.</li> </ul>	<p>Article 20: Makes provision for the implementation of a variety of strategies, including enacting, reviewing, reforming and enforcing laws, aimed at eliminating all forms of gender based violence. There are specific stipulations for the provision of a comprehensive package of treatment and care services for survivors of gender based violence, including the access to Post Exposure Prophylaxis and the establishment of special courts to address these cases. There</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monitoring and evaluation: Whilst provision is made in the Addendum for ensuring that “all these measure are implemented in integrated manner by all stakeholders”, no mention is made of mechanisms to be used in evaluating whether the provisions have been implemented.</li> <li>• Lack of specific GBV legislation.</li> <li>• Lack of specific laws addressing, or reference to, trafficking.</li> <li>• Weak legal provisions on sexual harassment.</li> <li>• Traditional norms and religious beliefs.</li> <li>• Limited State support for legal aid.</li> <li>• Limited State support for places of safety.</li> <li>• Lack of coordination and resources.</li> <li>• Lack of effective regional monitoring of the Addendum.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Services, including rehabilitation of offenders.</li> <li>• Education, training and awareness building, including working with men as partners.</li> <li>• Integrated approaches, including institutional cross-sector structures in each country for ending gender violence.</li> <li>• Budget and resources (all gender violence legislation to be costed and a specific allocation made in the budget for combating gender violence.)</li> <li>• Monitoring and evaluation: Construct a composite index for measuring reduction in violence against women; halve current levels by 2020.</li> </ul>	<p>are specific provisions on human trafficking.</p> <p>Target 14: ✓ By 2015 enact and enforce legislation prohibiting all forms of gender-based violence.</p> <p>Target 15: ✓ By 2015 ensure that laws on gender based violence provide for the comprehensive testing, treatment and care of survivors of sexual offences.</p> <p>Target 16: ✓ By 2015, review and reform their criminal laws and procedures applicable to cases of sexual offences and gender based violence.</p> <p>Target 17: ✓ By 2015 enact and adopt specific legislative provisions to prevent human trafficking and provide holistic services to the victims, with the aim of re-integrating them into society, among others.</p> <p>Article 21: Provides for the review, and eradication of traditional norms, including social, economic, cultural and political practices and religious beliefs, which legitimise and exacerbate the persistence and tolerance of gender based violence.</p> <p>Article 22: Provides for legislation which defines and prohibits sexual harassment to be adopted and enforced.</p> <p>Target 18: ✓ By 2015, enact legislative provisions, and adopt and implement policies, strategies and programmes which define and prohibit sexual harassment in all spheres, and provide deterrent sanctions for perpetrators of sexual harassment.</p> <p>Article 23: Sets out the services that States should provide to survivors of gender-based</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
		<p>violence, including information on services available, accessible, effective and responsive police, prosecutorial, health, social welfare services, accessible, affordable and specialise legal services, specialised facilities and support mechanisms and effective rehabilitation and re-integration programmes for perpetrators.</p> <p>Article 24: Provides for gender education and training of all service providers involved in gender based violence as well as community sensitisation programmes regarding available services and resources for victims of gender based violence.</p> <p>Article 25: Recommends the adoption of integrated approaches a method for reducing gender-based violence.</p> <p>Target 19:  ✓ By 2015 adopt integrated approaches, including institutional cross sector structures, with the aim of reducing current levels of gender based violence, by half.</p>
<b>HEALTH</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The provisions on health are heavily biased towards the reproductive health of women. They do not define health holistically nor mention other health needs of women.</li> <li>• The provisions make little reference to the health needs of men, e.g. prostate cancer which afflicts a large number of men in the region.</li> <li>• The rate of maternal mortality has remained steady.</li> <li>• Few of the member states</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Define health to encompass a state of well being; note that women’s health is broader than reproductive health.</li> <li>• Set targets for access to primary health care.</li> <li>• Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015 the maternal mortality ratio (MDG’s).</li> <li>• Ensure universal access to and use of contraceptives by 2015.</li> <li>• Provide gender and youth friendly access to sexual and reproductive health</li> </ul>	<p>Article 26: Provides for the adoption and implementation of policies and programmes that address addressing the maternal, sexual and reproductive health needs of women of women with a specific target on reducing the maternal mortality ratio.</p> <p>Targets 20-23:  ✓ By 2015, in line with the SADC Protocol on Health and other regional and international commitments, adopt and implement legislative frameworks, policies, programmes and services to</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<p>provide reproductive health services free of charge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Often family planning is seen as a “women’s issue”. Men are rarely involved.</li> <li>• The decision to terminate a pregnancy is restricted by legislation in many countries.</li> <li>• Information is often not accessible or relevant, as it is not produced in indigenous languages and for the specific target audience.</li> <li>• The needs of marginalised women are often ignored.</li> </ul>	<p>services free of charge.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Greater access to high quality and relevant information targeting the reproductive and sexual rights and services for women and girls. This includes providing information in all vernacular languages, Braille and sign language.</li> <li>• Policies and programmes that address the sexual, reproductive and other health needs of women in vulnerable situations such as prisons, internal displacement camps, refugee camps, elderly women and women with disabilities.</li> </ul>	<p>enhance gender sensitive, appropriate and affordable quality health care, in particular to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ reduce the maternal mortality ratio by 75% by 2015</li> <li>✓ develop and implement policies and programme to address the mental, sexual and reproductive health needs of women and men; and</li> <li>✓ ensure the provision of hygiene and sanitary facilities and nutritional needs of women, including women in prison.</li> </ul>
<b>HIV and AIDS</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Although the HIV and AIDS epidemic represents the greatest development challenge in the SADC region, few provisions are made specifically related to protecting women and girls from HIV infection.</li> <li>• The MDG provision on HIV and AIDS is broad, covering “HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases”. It makes no reference to gender.</li> <li>• Few of the national policies have specifically addressed the linkages between gender inequality and HIV/AIDS despite the increasing feminisation of the pandemic.</li> <li>• There is limited gender data on VCT services.</li> <li>• The PMTC approach has ignored the role and plight of fathers of infected children, prompting more progressive organisations to talk instead of PPTCT</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Research on preventive methods and information targeted at women.</li> <li>• Preventive messages that address imbalances in power relations; target men, especially “sugar daddies.”</li> <li>• Involving People Living with AIDS (PLWA), and especially women, in public awareness campaigns.</li> <li>• Providing information and services to vulnerable groups including sex workers, truck drivers, miners, migrant labourers, and men who have sex with men.</li> <li>• Reducing stigma and discrimination, and the related gender violence, through an open, frank and human rights driven approach.</li> <li>• Providing legal support to those (and especially women) who experience stigma and discrimination.</li> </ul>	<p>Article 27: Provides for prevention, treatment care and support in accordance with, but not limited to, the Maseru Declaration on HIV and AIDS.</p> <p>Targets 24-26: By 2015:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Develop gender sensitive strategies to prevent new infections.</li> <li>✓ Ensure universal access to treatment for women, men and children infected by HIV and AIDS</li> <li>✓ Develop and implement policies and programmes to ensure the appropriate recognition, psychological support and allocation of resources to the work carried out by caregivers, the majority of whom are women; as well as promote the involvement of men in the care and support of People Living with Aids.</li> </ul>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is limited data on who is accessing ARVs.</li> <li>• Home-based care has been viewed as a panacea for caring for People Living with AIDS.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing the number of VCT and PMTC services and encouraging women to use these services.</li> <li>• Ensuring that HIV positive women who have given birth and their partners have access to comprehensive ARV treatment programmes.</li> <li>• Counselling HIV positive parents who wish to have children on their options.</li> <li>• Equal access by women and men to ARVs; use of gender disaggregated data in monitoring to ensure that this is the case.</li> <li>• Spelling out and providing for the sexual and reproductive health needs of PLWA.</li> <li>• Measuring and recognising the additional burden of care shouldered by women and girls as a result of HIV/AIDS; using this to inform policies.</li> </ul>	
<b>PEACE BUILDING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION</b>		
<p>This issue was not covered in the initial audit.</p>		<p>Article 28: Provides for the equal representation of women in conflict resolution and peace building processes as well as the integration of a gender perspective in the resolution of conflict in the region. It makes further provision for the treatment of human rights abuses in times of conflict.</p> <p>Target 27:  ✓ By 2015 put in place measures to ensure that women have equal representation and participation in key decision-making positions in conflict resolution and peace building processes, in accordance with UN Council Resolution 1325 on Peace Building, Peace-making and Peace keeping.</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<b>MEDIA, INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Media provisions in the regional and international commitments are the weakest of all. The MDGs and CEDAW make no reference at all to the media.</li> <li>Gender is not only about women! The only such reference in the SDGD is to “encouraging the mass media to disseminate information and materials in respect of the human rights of women and children”. The clause gives the impression that gender concerns can be equated to women and children.</li> <li>Gender should cut across all topics: The SDGD refers only to stories specifically about women’s and children’s “issues”. This excludes other areas of coverage, such as social and economic circumstances.</li> <li>Women are still under represented in all areas of the media.</li> <li>Only a small proportion of media houses have adopted gender policies, including the public media.</li> <li>Gender mainstreaming among media training institutions, many of which are government funded, remains ad hoc.</li> <li>Media regulatory authorities are male-dominated and they have not integrated gender criteria into licensing and other mechanisms at their disposal for making the media (especially the public media) more accountable to the public</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Acknowledging communication as a right; gender equality as intrinsic to freedom of expression; “giving voice to the voiceless” as key to citizenship, participation, and responsive governance.</li> <li>Affirming the key role of the media in changing attitudes and mindsets.</li> <li>Recognition of, and support for, civil society in conducting public awareness campaigns; working to transform gender relations in and through the media.</li> <li>Mainstreaming gender in all information, communication and media laws.</li> <li>Pledging governments and statutory regulatory authorities, and encouraging self regulatory authorities, to use whatever leverage they have, especially in relation to publicly-funded media, to ensure gender accountability.</li> <li>Ensuring that gender is mainstreamed in all publicly funded media training institutions, and encouraging privately funded media training institutions to follow suit.</li> <li>Support and resources for ensuring that women have greater access to, and can use, NICT’s for their own empowerment and to conduct gender justice campaigns.</li> <li>Support and resources for civil society initiatives and networks to conduct research, training, monitoring and advocacy</li> </ul>	<p>Article 29: Makes provision for member states to ensure gender is mainstreamed in all information, communication and media policies, programmes, laws and training in accordance with the Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport. It further requires that State parties shall take measures to promote the equal representation of women in the ownership of, and decision making structures of the media.</p> <p>Target 28:  ✓ Take measure to promote the equal representation of women in the ownership of, and decision-making structures of the media, in accordance with Article 12.1 that provides for equal representation of women in decision making by 2015.</p> <p>Article 30: Makes provision for gender in media content including increasing programmes for, by and about women on topics that challenge stereotypes and reflect women in diverse societal roles. It also specifically provides that state parties should take appropriate measure to encourage media to play a constructive role in the eradication of gender based violence by adopting guidelines which ensure gender sensitive coverage.</p> <p>Article 31: Provides that State parties should put in place information and communication technology policies and laws in the social, economic, and political arena for women’s empowerment regardless of race, age, religion, or class. These policies and laws shall include specific targets developed through an open and participatory process, in</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
<p>on their gender practices.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• With the exception of South Africa, none of the information and communication ministries in the region have gender units nor have they mainstreamed gender considerations into information and communication policies.</li> </ul>	<p>on gender and the media including ICTs.</p>	<p>order to ensure women's and girl's access to information and communication technology.</p>
IMPLEMENTATION		
	<p><i>Planning</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National action plans for achieving gender equality with targets, indicators and timeframes based on the Protocol drawn up according to a standard format, with each country identifying baseline data against which progress towards achieving targets will be monitored.</li> </ul> <p><i>Structures</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Women's Machineries be strengthened by being positioned strategically; staffed at a senior level; supported by Gender Focal Points (GFPs) throughout government with political champions.</li> <li>• SADC forum of gender ministers and Regional Advisory Group including civil society members be resuscitated to drive the process.</li> <li>• Each SADC National Committee to have a GFP.</li> <li>• The work performed by GFP at national and regional level be recognised in job descriptions and performance agreements; rewarded and remunerated.</li> <li>• An independent SADC Commission on the Status</li> </ul>	<p>Articles 32 – 36: Make provision for gender sensitive budgets and resource allocation; oversight of the Protocol by a Committee of gender ministers; development of national action plans based on the Protocol; and the collection of baseline data for monitoring and evaluation.</p> <p>The protocol provides further that state parties submit comprehensive reports to the Secretariat every two years indicating progress achieved in the implementation of the provisions.</p>

GAPS AND CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED BY 2005 AUDIT	RECOMMENDATIONS MADE	PROVISIONS IN THE PROTOCOL ADOPTED 17 AUGUST 2008
	<p>of Women (SCSW) comprising eminent gender experts who convene each year to receive and review country reports; initiate research where appropriate; and make recommendations. This body would receive sitting fees for the time it convenes and be serviced by the SADC GU.</p> <p><i>Resources</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All gender structures, at national and regional level, have identifiable budget lines and be empowered to do their work.</li> <li>• Such budget lines not be used as an excuse for not mainstreaming gender in overall budget allocations, as contemplated in the recommendation and framework for gender budgeting under "access to productive resources."</li> </ul> <p><i>Monitoring and evaluation</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Annual reports based on the standardised action plan and adjudicated by the CSW.</li> <li>• Support for research by civil society organisations on trends and best practices.</li> <li>• Ensuring that best practices are shared through the annual meeting of the SADC gender minister and Regional Advisory Group.</li> <li>• Sanctions for non compliance in accordance with SADC procedures.</li> </ul>	

The single greatest challenge identified in the audit was to move the SADC region from an era of commitments to an era of implementation.

The **main recommendations** arising from the audit were that:

- Heads of State adopt a Protocol to Accelerate Gender Equality in SADC: This would entail elevating the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development into a Protocol, as contemplated in Article 26 of the Addendum to the Declaration on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children which makes provision for the adoption of legally binding instruments.
- The Protocol breaks new ground globally by incorporating and enhancing all existing commitments, thus creating synergy and harmonising the various reporting processes. The proposed Protocol would take account of all the commitments made by member countries in the various continental and international instruments; but also enhance these by taking account of gaps that have been identified in the existing instruments and in their implementation.
- The Protocol incorporates all existing targets and also sets realistic, achievable targets where these do not exist: These targets include raising the current target of 30 percent women in decision-making by 2005 to gender parity in all areas of decision-making by 2020, in line with the African Union (AU) position, through a phased and incremental approach.
- The Protocol is accompanied by an action planning framework and institutional structures that would ensure regular and effective reporting, benchmarking, monitoring and evaluation, and appropriate sanctions for non-compliance.

The audit:

- Established baseline information from which to work, which basically served as an initial situation analysis;
- Identified areas of weakness or

complete gaps, especially in areas of particular relevance to the region such as HIV and AIDS and trafficking. This information was used to develop recommendations for the draft Protocol which was used as the guiding tool for the drafting process;

- Provided a lobbying tool because member states are signatories to other regional and international instruments which they have not delivered on; the audit served as demonstration of this renegeing.

### Three years of paper trails

Alliance members presented the results of the audit at a civil society meeting held parallel to the August 2005 Heads of State Summit. Points for inclusion in the proposed Protocol, which formed the starting point of the drafting process, were put forward at this civil society meeting.

The results were also presented at a December 2005 regional consultative conference *Reflecting and Re-strategising for Gender Based Regional Integration*, organised by the SADC Secretariat in Gaborone, Botswana. Held at a technical level, this forum included in-depth discussions on priorities, strategies, activities and timeframes for the SADC Gender Programme.

One of the main objectives of this conference was to reflect on progress made in the implementation of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and its Addendum, as well as identify challenges faced and lessons learned in efforts to achieve gender equality and gender equity in the region.

Once the drafting of the Protocol commenced, one of the main functions of the Alliance was to track the changes in the various drafts, through participation of members in the Task Team described in chapter three and on national delegations described in chapter four. This involved analysing each draft to track losses and gains as well as to establish the issues that

the Alliance still needed to lobby for. This was essential for two main reasons: to ensure that key provisions were not lost or watered down and if they were to bring them back in; and to ensure that all of the Alliance members were aware of the provisions that were still being lobbied for so that this formed the basis for the national consultations and lobbying efforts in each of the countries.

Protocol Alliance members in each of the member states organised consultative meetings with civil society organisations and representatives from government, including ministries responsible for gender and gender machineries. These consultative forums were used as a means to make substantive contributions to the Protocol's content, as well as lobby governments to include crucial provisions in the draft document. Once agreement was reached at these meetings and the drafting of the Protocol got under way, the role of civil society was then to participate in regional consultative meetings with their government delegations to ensure that recommendations were included in the drafts.

Volumes could be written on each of the nine drafts. The first zero draft was 33 pages; the first draft went up to 42 pages and the final Protocol is a succinct 22 pages. On the advice of empathetic high level officials that the initial draft was too long, the Alliance worked closely with the drafters to shorten the document and yet not lose its punch.

With each new draft, Alliance members analysed the document to assess and track the losses and gains. These tools informed the Alliance's strategy, "choosing our battles", which resulted in some instances taking tough choices on which crucial provisions to fight for and which provisions to concede on.

The relevance of the national and regional consultations cannot be overemphasised as it was in these forums that civil society engaged in meaningful negotiations with governments about the content and where positions were won and compromises reached. These positions informed official meetings and moved the process forward.

### **Rescuing key issues**

The draft Protocol was substantially altered at the 2007 Heads of State Summit in Lusaka, with many sections watered down or removed completely. Below are some examples of sections that were rescued and reinstated into the final protocol.

### ***Marriage and family rights***

The right of married women to choose whether to retain their nationality or acquire their spouse's nationality; this is a key provision as regard's women's ability to pass on citizenship to their children.



*The Protocol supports women s economic empowerment.* PHOTO: FRANK WINDECK

### **Economic empowerment**

The clause on ensuring that women benefit equally from awarding of public procurement contracts was removed, but then reinstated as a target to ensure that women benefit equally from economic opportunities including those created through public procurement processes; the clause also includes the use of affirmative action measures to ensure that this happens. This was a huge coup, because state procurement is an area in which governments can make a substantial difference to the economic empowerment of women.

### **Gender based violence**

All of the monitoring and evaluation provisions were removed from the post 2007 Summit draft. Lobbying at the December 2007 strategy meeting resulted in the target of reducing by half the current levels of GBV by 2015 being reinstated.

### **Health**

The target of reducing the maternal mortality ratio by 75% by 2015 was removed

but then reinstated following civil society lobbying efforts.

### **HIV and AIDS**

The post 2007 Summit draft reduced the originally comprehensive section on HIV and AIDS to merely recommending state parties to take necessary steps to adopt and implement policies in accordance with the Maseru Declaration on HIV and AIDS. Alliance members argued that the Declaration fails to take account of the the gender dimensions of HIV and AIDS and it is not binding. The Declaration also makes no reference to the burden of care borne by women and there are no time bound targets.

Because of the disproportionate effect that the pandemic has on women, civil society fought hard for the inclusion on specific provisions to recognise the unequal status and vulnerability of women and girls. GEMSA, which has waged a regional campaign called "Making care work count" worked especially hard to ensure such a provision, providing language at the

December 2007 senior officials strategy meeting to help the process along. The Protocol now contains specific targets to develop strategies to prevent new infections; ensure universal access to treatment and to develop policies and programmes to recognise care work and allocate resources and support to care givers, as well as promote the involvement of men in care and support.



*Media, information and communication*  
Despite the media being a potential driver of democratic participation and change, this section of the draft Protocol was severely watered down after the 2007 Summit with the provisions being largely reduced to ensuring that gender be mainstreamed in media and communication in accordance with the SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport. The major problem with this provision is that the Protocol referred to in fact refers back to the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. The only target in this section, requiring that state parties ensure 50% representation of women at all levels of decision-making in media, was also removed.

Following some strong lobbying from civil society, crucial provisions were reinstated. The target for equal representation in accordance with Article 12.1 (which speaks to governance) was one of these. Including provisions on encouraging media to give equal voice to women and men in all areas of media coverage addresses the issue of gender in the media being more than just programmes for and by women. The provision on encouraging the media to play a constructive role in the eradication of gender based violence can be considered a major accomplishment by civil society.

## Losses

As with all important negotiations for every gain there is also a loss. The drafting of the Protocol was no different. A mantra became that we should not *throw the baby out with the bath water*. But these concessions were not easy and by no means diminish the importance of the issues and the need to continue fighting for amendments.

The article for inclusion on cohabitation rights was one of the provisions that caused some of the biggest debate at the many national and regional consultative forums. But despite being a very real and relevant issue in the region, government delegations warned that the inclusion of this provision had the potential of derailing the entire Protocol process and in the end this was one of the provisions that they would not budge on.

The recognition of socially excluded and marginalised groups (seen as a camouflage for sexual orientation), explicit reference to political parties in reference to the 50% target of women in decision making, equal rights of succession and inheritance and explicit reference to marital rape in the provisions on gender based violence are the major losses for the Protocol.

## Compromises

The following are some of the areas where governments and the Alliance found a middle ground.

### *Language*

Some of the compromises made related to the use of language, which governments considered too mandatory. The replacement of *ensure* with *endeavour* was one such compromise. But there were also gains, such as the removal of, *where necessary and practical* in the Article on access to justice and retaining the more obligatory *shall*, without the qualification. Replacing the word *victim* with *survivor* in the Article on gender based violence was another gain.

## Modifications

### Constitution and legal rights

- One of the hard fought for provisions was to ensure that all laws, including customary laws, be subject to the national Constitutions. The provision in the adopted Protocol however, is not explicit in providing that Constitutions take precedence over customary law, but rather seeks to ensure that provisions on gender equality and equity in Constitutions are not compromised by other provisions, laws or practices.
- The provision to ensure that no person

below the age of 18 marries was removed from the draft at the 2007 Summit, but was then re-negotiated back in with the qualification: *unless otherwise specified by law, which takes into account the best interests and welfare of the child.*

### Persons with disabilities

- This article was removed completely from the draft at the 2007 Summit, but was later reinstated; but rights

## Taking stock of losses and gains

*Emilia Muchawa of the Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association* notes that a key lesson learnt was that negotiations consist of give and take to reach a win-win position. Below is an illustration of some of those texts that were modified, but not lost.



SA women fought hard for strong gender provisions in their constitution. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

a mixture of positions on such clauses at domestic level. Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Zambia are examples of constitutions that have claw back clauses, which whilst guaranteeing equality for women, negate this by allowing discrimination in issues of personal law or customary law.

*The supremacy of constitutions over customary and religious laws:* The final version of the Protocol in Article 4(1) provides that "State Parties shall endeavour, by 2015, to enshrine gender equality and equity in their constitutions and ensure that these rights are not compromised by any provisions, laws or practices."

The originally proposed text had read "States Parties shall ensure that by 2015 their constitutions state that the provisions enshrining gender equality will take precedence over their customary, religious and other laws."

This was removed and modified as countries such as Mauritius, indicated that the proposed clause would go against their constitution as religion was more supreme. The region has a

South Africa and Tanzania are examples of countries with constitutions that make the constitution supreme over customary laws and this leads to enhanced protection of women's rights. Though not specifically stated, this modified clause can still be interpreted to imply the supremacy of constitutions over customary and religious laws and practices.

*Early marriage:* The original version of the protocol provided in Article 4(8) (b) that no person below the age of 18 marries. This was initially removed in between and resurfaced as follows in Article 8(2) (a) providing that no person under the age of 18 shall marry unless otherwise specified by law, which takes into account the best interests of the child. The return of this clause was as a result of the realisation that removing it was ignoring the lived reality of most African societies of the early marriage of girls. If no age of marriage was set, it would imply that the region was condoning this and leaving girls susceptible to early marriage. Some of the researched and known effects of early marriage highlighted included the denial of education for girls leading to economic dependence, and health complications, such as maternal death, due to early pregnancy. Increased risk of HIV infection and susceptibility to violence were also identified as resulting from early marriage. The strongest persuasion came from the fact that this was out of line with international and regional frameworks, such as the Convention on the Rights of The Child and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, as well as the Protocol to this on Women's Rights.

*Marital Rape:* Marital rape was specifically identified as an act of gender based violence in the original version of the text, which read in Article 8(2) (1) (a) that member States shall by 2015, enact and enforce legislation prohibiting all forms of gender based violence including marital rape. In its final version the protocol reads as follows: *By 2015, enact and enforce legislation prohibiting all forms of GBV.*

Some member states were clearly repulsed by having such a provision arguing that it did not reflect African customs especially as lobola was paid in most of the countries and this was interpreted to mean consent to sexual intercourse in the marriage. Such a position clearly ignores the reality of rape in marriage and the HIV infection implications of this. This position is also against international standards of model laws on gender based violence. Some countries such as Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia have already criminalised marital rape in their domestic legislation. Further, the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development already recognised marital rape as a form of gender based violence.

The removal of the explicit mention of marital rape as an example of a form of gender based violence does not exclude its inclusion, however. This was traded well knowing that if the need for interpretation arose, marital rape could very easily be read to be one of "all forms of gender based violence".

*Sarry Xoagus-Eises, Alliance Focal Point in Namibia* reflects that media practitioners realised in Livingstone, Zambia in December 2007 that the media draft Articles (29-31) had been changed several times in terms of content, messaging and wording. In some cases, wording such as *endeavour* and *shall* dominated the debate and this was dependent on the interest attached to the issues contained in these articles by individuals and government departments.

Issues that were closer to our hearts; sexual orientation, cohabitation, rights of widows and widowers, the girl and boy child, representation, gender-based violence and participation were delivered, with the exception of sexual orientation rights. We had to lobby the South African delegation to deal with this and that, they did. At the end of the negotiations, this was clustered in the clause on "social exclusion".

## Gems in the Protocol

It is easy to dwell on the negative. What is more important and challenging is to take up the unique aspects of this sub-regional instrument which include:

**Time bound targets:** The greatest success of the Protocol on Gender and Development is that it has 28 time bound targets. This puts it streaks ahead of other regional and international instruments which do not specify timeframes within which to achieve the commitments made towards achieving gender equality.

**Affirmative action:** Evidence from across the region shows that affirmative action measures are one of the ways to increase women's representation in decision making. This is evidenced by the fact that no SADC country has achieved gender parity in parliament (the target set by the SADC Protocol for 2015) and that all of the countries which have achieved and exceeded the 30 percent target have some form of quota. Five countries (Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Namibia) have achieved or exceeded the 30% target set for 2005 by the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. Only one SADC country, Lesotho, has exceeded the SADC target of 50% in local government with 58% of local councillors in Lesotho being women. Lesotho and Tanzania are the only countries that have a legislated or constitutional quota, in the other countries political parties have implemented voluntary quotas. The affirmative action clause recognises the need for member states to put in place measures to fast track women's representation and participation in all spheres and to create an environment conducive for such participation.

**Recognising multiple roles of women:** It is an accepted fact that women have multiple roles to play in their private and public lives and that this has an effect on economies, because much of the work that women do is unrecognised and as a result unremunerated, and this has, to date, not been effectively quantified. The Protocol recognises the multiple roles of women and also requires

member states to conduct time use studies which should be used to inform policy measures to be taken to ease the burden of the multiple roles played by women.

**Emerging issues — Trafficking:** Trafficking is one of the major emerging issues in the region that has the potential to reverse some of the gains made in the gender justice sector if it continues unchecked. Because it is a relatively new issue it was not covered in the SDGD or the Addendum; provisions in other instruments are weak and legislation preventing this form of GBV is non-existent in most countries. Article 20 (5) of the Protocol requires member states to enact and adopt legislative provisions to prevent human trafficking as well as provide holistic services to survivors. They are also required to put in mechanisms to eradicate human trafficking networks, as well as improve data collection mechanisms. Joint actions against human trafficking across countries are required as well as capacity building, awareness raising and sensitisation campaigns for law enforcement officials. All of this should be in place by 2015.

**Financial provisions:** One of the major stumbling blocks in ensuring that gender is taken into account in all programmes and policies is the allocation of resources. The protocol requires member states to back up their commitments to gender equality by ensuring gender sensitive budgets and



*Gladys Matukwa (left) and then Zambian Minister of Gender and Development Patricia Mulasikwanda. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

planning and designating resources towards initiatives aimed at empowering women and girls, as well as mobilise resources for the successful implementation of the Protocol.

**Monitoring and evaluation:** As the saying goes, *if it's not counted it doesn't count*. Article 35 addresses the issue of implementation, monitoring and evaluation and requires that member states develop their own national action plans with measurable timeframes as well as collect and analyse baseline data to measure progress against. It also requires member states to report on progress achieved in the implementation of the Protocol to the SADC Executive Secretary every two years.

## Lessons learned



The lessons learned during the long and arduous drafting processes may be summarised as:

- Conducting good quality research and having all the facts from the start is an essential first step. The initial audit that was conducted was a situation analysis and equipped the Alliance with the crucial baseline information from which to plan its work.
- Working with organisations with expertise in specific areas enriched the process because it ensured that the information gathered was relevant and of high quality.
- Developing a checklist at the start of the process to ensure that nothing was left out meant that there was a framework within which to work.
- National consultations with civil society organisation and governments were organised in each country and it was in these forums that civil society engaged in meaningful negotiations with governments about the content and where positions were won and compromises reached. These positions informed gender officials meetings and moved the process forward.
- Having representatives from a number of the SADC countries ensured that there was group collaboration across all countries and that the Alliance was

represented on a number of different fronts, including as representatives on Government delegations at regional forums. This became very important especially in identifying some of the national reservations to the hardly contested provisions.

- It was essential that after the various regional meetings where the content of the Protocol was changed that the alliance tracked, monitored and conducted analysis on this. Tracking tools and position papers were developed to track what was lost, gained and what still needed to be lobbied for – this ensured that all of the Alliance partners were, as it were, *reading from the same song sheet*.
- It was essential to have a checklist at the start of the process to ensure that nothing was left out.
- Monitoring and analysis tools – what was lost, gained and still to be lobbied for position papers – were critical for tracking the negotiations and lobbying at regional and national levels.

## Checklist

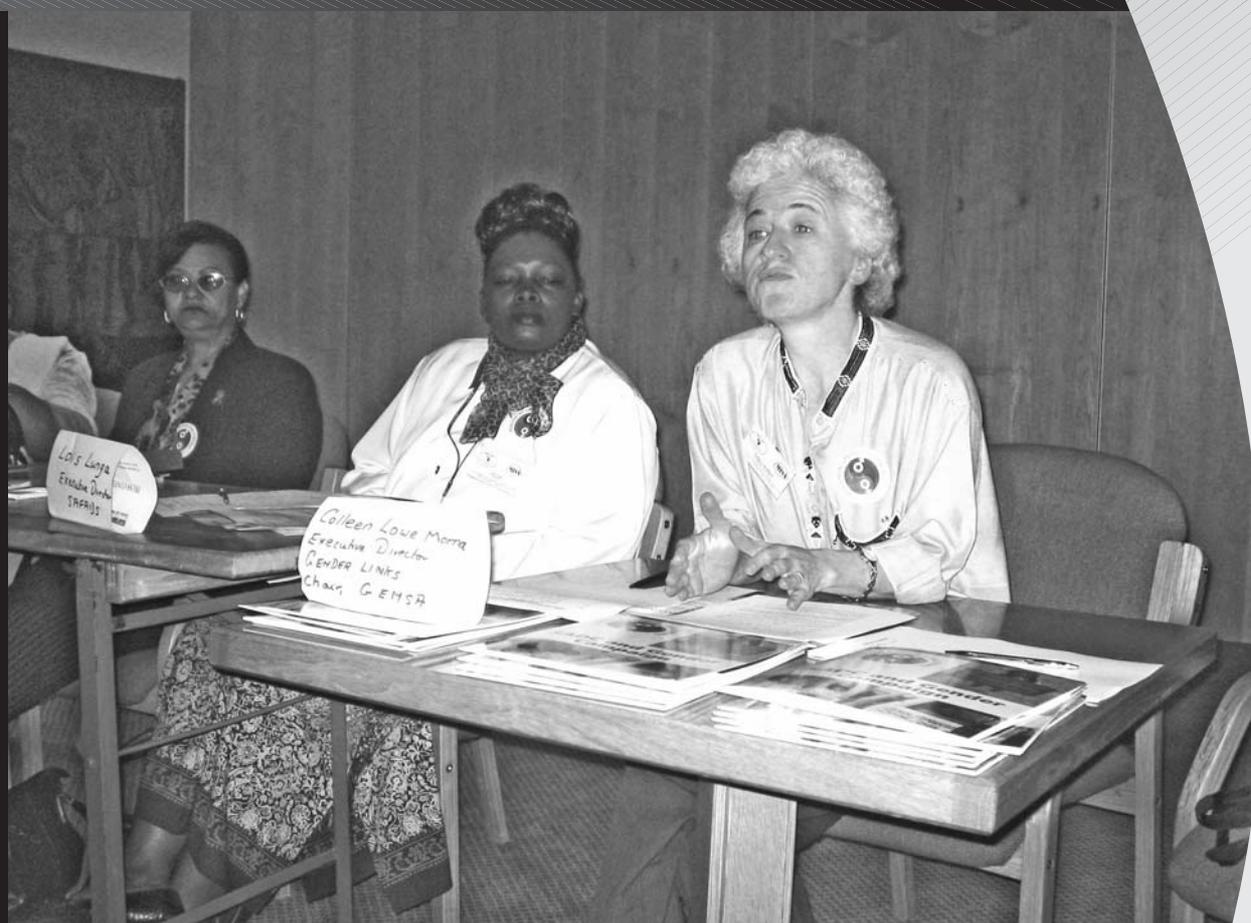


- ✓ Have audits and research been conducted to establish a strong baseline for the areas and issues that need to be addressed in a legally binding document on gender equality?
- ✓ Has an international and regional commitments framework been used to contextualize and pull together in the protocol the standards and benchmarks that countries should aspire to reach?
- ✓ Have a series of checklists been developed to identify the gaps and provide a structured approach to make recommendations to eliminate the gaps?
- ✓ Are tracking tools in place to monitor changes, losses and gains as a developing protocol moves through a series of drafts?
- ✓ Are activists ready with alternative strategies and wording should more strongly worded texts be rejected?

# Chapter

# 6

## Getting smart- Media, information and communication technologies



*Elsie Alexander, Lois Chingandu and Colleen Lowe Morna address a press briefing on the Protocol in Gaborone, Botswana at the 2005 Heads of State Summit. PHOTO: SUSAN TOLMAY*

As reflected in the previous chapter on the losses and gains made in the final Protocol, media was both an issue and a tool in the campaign. While the last chapter highlighted progressive provisions on gender and the media as one of the success areas in the final document, this chapter concerns the way that Alliance members used the media, including new media, to advance the campaign.

## Gender and the media: key issues



*Zambian journalist at a meeting of the Protocol Alliance in Lusaka, Zambia, August 2008.*  
PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

Some context is important. Gender disparities in the media remain among the most glaring of all. Across the globe, women are grossly under-represented in the decision-making structures of the media. The only news-making category in which women predominate is as TV producers. The Gender and Media Baseline Study (GMBS) conducted by GL and GEMSA in 2003 showed that women constitute 17% of news sources in Southern Africa.

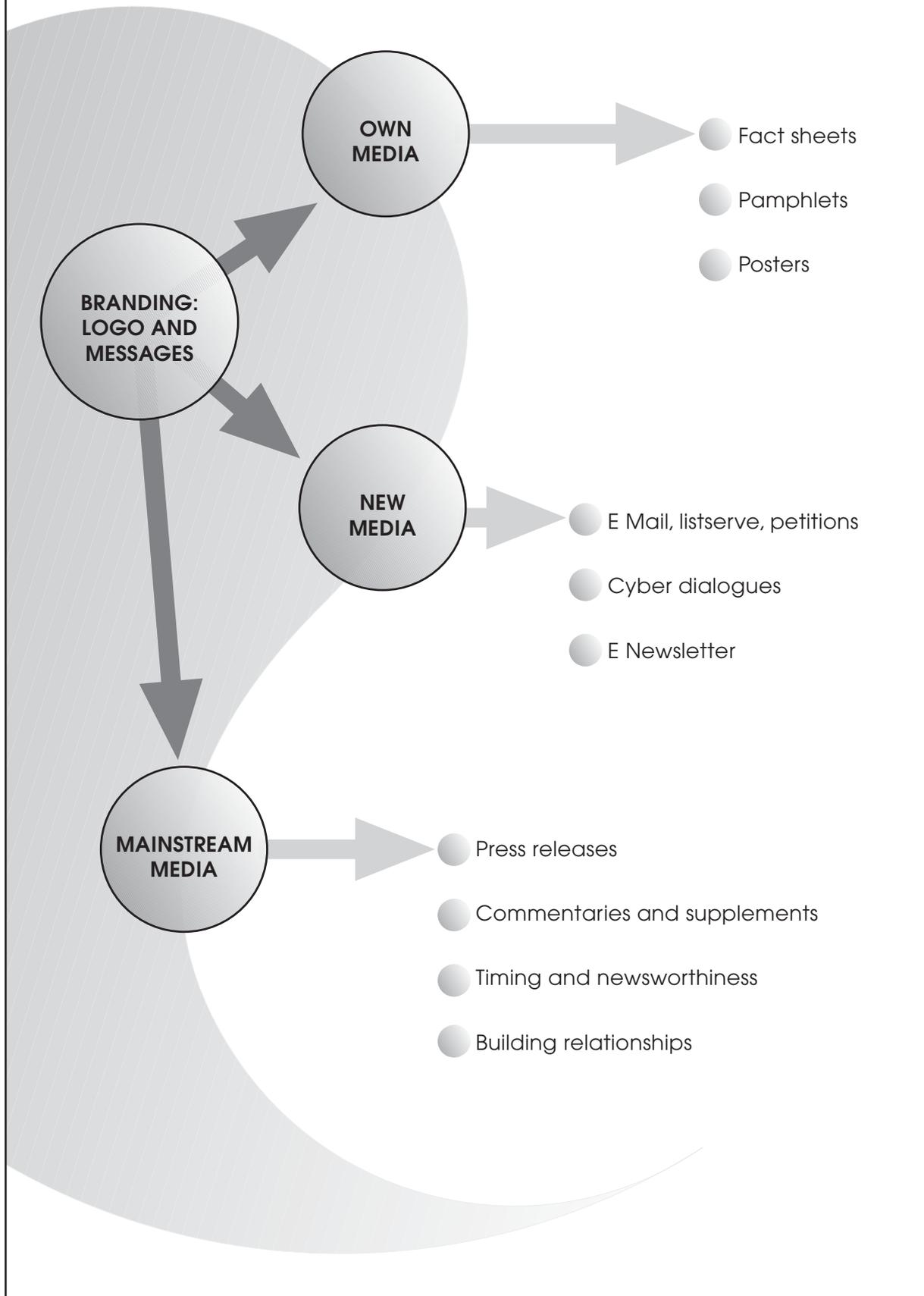
While women politicians in Southern Africa account for about 20% of news sources, they accounted for only 8% of the politicians whose voices were heard. The study found that women's voices are virtually absent in a range of mainstream areas including the economy, politics and sport and that older women are virtually missing from news pages. Women are most likely to be portrayed as homemakers, fashion models or as victims of violence, and rarely as citizens participating in the building of their nation. Given the importance of media to politics, it is clear that media's role stretches across gender equality issues.

## Putting advocacy centre stage

More and more, gender and other activists are refining their advocacy strategies to both make the media alive to the gender deficiencies of media coverage and to take greater advantage of media as an important tool in campaigns.

As illustrated in the diagram, the Alliance had a four prong strategy: branding the campaign; creating its own media; making use of new media as well as working with and through the mainstream media. In the modern era, giving any campaign or product a distinct identity is key. Materials such as posters and brochures were important coupled with using the media to reach and influence of a wide cross-section of stakeholders. Media coverage has the power to sway both public opinion and policy priorities. Activists who are able to engage with media, both in terms of producing content and encouraging journalists to be more aware of certain issues, are more likely to see their issues at the forefront of national, and international agendas. Engaging with media was central to the SADC Gender and Development Protocol Campaign, and included media capacity building for Alliance members, producing content, and sensitising and encouraging journalist to write on the campaign.

## ALLIANCE ADVOCACY STRATEGY



## Branding

In a campaign with a wide scope (as in the diverse provisions in the Protocol), many campaigners make the mistake of trying to diffuse too many messages. This can be confusing, and significantly lessen the impact of a campaign. It is important to identify a few key messages and symbols, and allow those diverse issues to come out as part of this key message. Of course, agreeing on symbols and messages relevant to the diverse country settings is a challenge.

The earlier and later version of the logo tell an interesting story about the evolution of the Alliance. In the early meetings, as the momentum grew and it became apparent that we needed a logo, Alliance members agreed on the use of the 50/50 logo (above left), a campaign that many members already belonged to. The Alliance also adopted the slogan “accelerating gender equality in SADC” as a tactic to affirm governments for progress made, but making it clear that the pressure would be mounting.



As the campaign progressed, further scrutiny of the logo led to some key changes. First, some members objected to the male symbol being above that of the woman. They wanted these symbols side by side. Second, members wanted greater urgency to be reflected in the slogan. They also wanted it to use simple and easy to remember words, as any good slogan should. Borrowing from the catchy slogan of the African National Congress in the South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994 (now is the time, the time is now) the Alliance chose the slogan: “Gender equality in SADC: the time is now.”

This slogan was reproduced on posters, t-shirts, badges, bags and an easy to use pamphlet.

## Making media

**Badges:** The badges were particularly powerful as many people asked what the badges meant and how they could get one!

**Fact sheets:** In order to provide a quick overview of key provisions, the Alliance produced a series of fact sheets outlining the context of the issue, what the Protocol says, the successes and challenges. These fact sheets have been very useful in communicating basic facts to media and others interested in the campaign.

**Brochures and posters:** GL, on behalf of the Alliance, produced brochures on key issues in the Protocol as well as posters, during the course of the year. These were an important information source on the significance of the Protocol process, widely distributed nationally and regionally.

**Video case study: Roadmap to equality:** The Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance produced a video case study on gender and governance in the Southern African region. Entitled *Roadmap to Equality*, a case study of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development adopted by Heads of State in August 2008, the video



shows how civil society organisations successfully lobbied for the adoption of the Protocol. The video also explores how this is being used to lobby for one of the targets, 50% representation of women in decision-making by 2015.

## Making IT work for gender justice

Although here is still a gender digital divide in Southern Africa, information technology (IT) provides a useful tool in supporting campaigns, especially the communication and media aspect. It can be a medium by which those actively involved in the campaign share and disseminate information, and part of the communication strategy to reaching diverse audiences.

**Website:** On behalf of the Alliance, Gender Links created and hosted a web page on their website dedicate to the campaign, housing such resources as drafts of the Protocol, produced materials for download, facts sheets, and photos of the campaign. This made the information easily available to Alliance members and other stakeholders in the campaign, as well as media and any

other interested person. The Protocol webpage contains regular updates regional and in country activities

**E-list:** Gender Links also maintains an electronic mailing list, which includes approximately 4000 subscribers. Throughout the campaign, key events, press releases, and commentaries were distributed via this list.

**Cyber dialogues:** The cyber dialogues are a flagship strategy of Gender Links, which was included in the Alliance campaign. Cyber dialogues are real time discussions that take place in an online chat facility. During the campaign, activists and interested people linked virtually at key times to discuss issues related to the Protocol. The cyber dialogues provide an opportunity to connect people to discuss a particular issue, at relatively low cost. The cyber dialogues provided an opportunity for people in country to connect with the regional HOS meetings and add their voices to the campaign. At other times the cyber dialogues have assisted in keeping members of the Alliance connected with each other.



*Edwidge Mutale and Luckson Chipare during the Alliance cyber dialogue at the 2005 HOS in Gaborone.*  
PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

## Working with the mainstream media

Yes it is a fact indeed! Media is the Fourth Estate in terms of democratic governance structures; others are the Executive, Legislation and the Judiciary. A true democracy can not be complete without participation of the media. Therefore, the "Fourth Estate" should not be seen as an "enemy" rather a complementing agent in development of any country. (Sarry Xoagus-Eises, Alliance Focal Point in Namibia)

**Press releases and commentaries:** Press releases at key moments of the campaign highlighted specific issues for action in the media. In August 2008, just before the signing of the Protocol, the GL Opinion and Commentary Service and Alliance produced a whole series of articles to help put pressure on the leaders to sign. Since the signing, attention since turned to continuing pressure on countries who did not sign, but also producing articles to keep the Protocol and its issues on the public agenda, with hopes of encouraging quick ratification, domestication, and implementation.

**Commentaries and Supplements:** Alliance members produced a news supplement *Lentsoe La Basali – Women's Voices* in time for the 2006 the HOS held in Lesotho in August. The only weekly paper in Lesotho,

*Public Eye* carried copies of the supplement. Copies of the supplement were also distributed to everyone at the HOS as a part of their of conference documentation for the day.

The Alliance produced a further issue of the supplement carried by one of the widest circulating newspapers in Zambia, the 2007 host country for the Summit, as well as to Summit delegates and other civil society groupings. It is also a flagship of the Alliance Protocol campaign, as it continued to be distributed to other countries after the Summit as an awareness-raising tool. In January 2008, Alliance members developed articles and opinion pieces for a news supplement for publication in April 2008 in time for the SADC Heads of State Poverty Summit in Mauritius.

**Newsorthy content:** The Protocol, most of the issues it covers, and gender in general are not usual topics for most media houses. By creating relationships with journalists and decision-makers, the Alliance was able to help media understand the issues as well as encourage editors to be more receptive to produced content and story leads about events and

### Major step for gender rights on SADC agenda

Gender activists are lobbying for a legally binding protocol on gender and development at the upcoming annual SADC Heads of State Summit, writes Pamela Mhlanga



key moments. Such relationships also allowed campaigners to learn from the media - the stories that interest them, the best times to approach editors or writers, and how to shape stories into useable articles.

The phrase 'producing sexy content' was used frequently during the campaign. The Protocol is meant to change women's every day lived experiences. A key

media strategy was to get women from across the region to tell their stories. First hand accounts of women who had experienced discrimination on the basis of gender inequality gave the media different perspectives. A story by

Edwidge Mutale from Zambia about how she had to fight to inherit her husband's estate after his death gave impetus to why laws relating to inheritance and widows needed to be changed.

### **Putting issues on the agenda:**

Media around the SADC Protocol often used the important issues that the document addresses as a launching point, both before and signing, raising discussions on these issues. Prior to signing, speaking on these topics helped to illustrate the importance of the document, and the real impact that it can have on gender equality in the region. One example is the issue of gender quality in governance, and the target outlined in the Protocol of 50/50 gender equality in decision-making.

Prior to signing the GL Service helped to keep this target on the agenda. For example, in "Mauritius preparing for more woman in 2010 election," published in July 2008, Loga Virahsawmy highlighted the need to plan ahead for government to ensure gender equality in the next elections. The article appeared in *L'Express* in Mauritius, the regional publication Southern Times, as well as the online new portal All Africa. This followed a previous article by Virahsawmy, "No democracy without women," which appeared in *L'Express*, Namibia's *Informante*, and Botswana's *The Mirror*. Although Mauritius did not sign the Protocol at the August Summit, it has nonetheless moved forward in paving the way for greater equality in governance.

More recently, a number of articles challenged governments to meet their commitments. For example, in "Where will the women vote in the next election?" by Kubi Rama in January 2009 and "Gender parity in politics is a far cry from equal rights for women," by Colleen Lowe Morna, both question how the government will live up to their gender equality commitments in the context of the elections. Both highlighted to South African readers the importance of holding governments accountable, the Rama's appearing in South Africa's *The Sowetan* and *Daily News*, and online news portal Women's Net and Citizen Journalism, and Lowe Morna's in *Sunday Independent* and *Cape Argus*.

Another example of keeping this issue on the agenda was "Malawi electoral commission K100,000 fee blow to women candidates," by Lowani Mtonga in January 2009. Mtonga pointed out the discrepancy between leaders' promises and actions, especially related to encouraging women in governance. "This past August, Southern African Development Community (SADC) leaders committed themselves to 50% women in decision-making when they signed the SADC Gender Protocol...According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union database, at 13% Malawi ranks 89th in the world when it comes to women's representation in Parliament. Thus, the decision of the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) to hike the fee for parliamentary candidates from K 5,000 (about US\$ 35) to K100,000 (US\$ 705) comes as a great surprise."

Although it is difficult to say how much impact such media has had before conducting an in-depth evaluation of the campaign, the sustained issue-based coverage no doubt played significant role in helping to keep the Protocol and gender equality in the public spotlight. Without such a spotlight by the Alliance, it is unlikely that the Protocol would ever have become a reality.

**Knowing the media in country:** Alliance members recognised that creating relationships and tailoring media campaigns to individual countries would help encourage localised coverage relevant to the issues and needs in individual countries. SADC is a widespread area with many different circumstances and priorities. Knowing what media exist, and their likely interests, helps to ensure coverage. This also includes knowledge of the reach of different kinds of media, for example while community radio may be relevant to involve rural populations in the campaign, certain newspapers or a website will better target policy makers and organisations.

Prior to every HOS meeting a list of media for the relevant country was pulled together with assistance from local partners. Before

getting to the country a media brief was emailed to media practitioners. In 2005 in Botswana the need for gender Protocol became a key rallying point in the media. The extent of coverage may in part be attributed to the preparation and readily available materials that the Alliance was able to provide.

A very important strategy is to involve the media as partners. Inviting the media to participate in meetings and be part of the campaign was crucial to getting buy-in. The media is rightfully resentful that civil society organisations only contact them when they want coverage and do not involve them otherwise. The example below from Botswana shows why it is important to cultivate relationships with the media.

### Successful relations with the media



Keabonye Ntsabane. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

The Botswana Council of NGOs (BOCONGO) Gender Protocol Sector in collaboration with GEMSA, BOMWA, Gender links and other civil society organisations held two seminars targeted at editors and reporters to solicit their involvement in lobbying and advocating for the signing of the Gender Protocol. Media professionals were also briefed on the critical issues of concern as well as articles in the protocol. The information pack on the protocol was availed to them and this gave them more knowledge on the Gender Protocol. Furthermore, the media came to understand the emerging issues in the protocol as well as the

need to lobby the government of Botswana to sign it. This resulted in the media playing a critical role in lobbying and advocating for the signing of the gender protocol even though Botswana is yet to append its signature.

The sensitisation seminar for reporters and editors included participants from the electronic and print media. The seminar ended with a statement of commitment by the media. The result was that in the print media free columns were made available for feature stories. Producers in the electronic media informed Gender activists about availability of programmes that could be utilised to disseminate information on the Gender Protocol. The publicity on the gender protocol was not as extensive as we had intended, but it was commendable overall all thanks to the commitment of the media. The media followed most of the events planned for publicising the gender protocol.

– Keabonye Ntsabane

**Keeping in touch:** Relationship building is key to a successful campaign. Knowing and being a reliable source for media professionals helps to attract good coverage. However, it is important that this not only hinge on special events, but that the media is a long-term strategy. For example, during the campaign, there was a significant amount of media coverage and materials produced around Heads of State Summits, but throughout the year the GL Opinion and Commentary Service also produced issue-based pieces covering the wide range of Protocol provisions.

All the media practitioners that the Alliance came into contact with were added to the GL contacts database. This ensured they received information regularly. Some of the journalists started writing for the GL Opinion and Commentary service.

**Making key people available:** In a shrinking media environment, providing journalists or editors with key information and key people to speak to can go a long way to seeing success in attracting media coverage. Making it easy for them makes you a more interesting source! During the Protocol campaign, key people were always available to media, and during special events, especially HOS Summits, media releases were distributed, various Alliance members interviewed on radio and television, and a media contact was always on hand.

One of the strengths of the Alliance is that it could provide voices from across Southern Africa. The media had access to a diversity of voices and views that enriched the content.

## The final push

Throughout the campaign, many of the advocacy activities were organised around key events. This was particularly important during the final push, leading up to the August 2008 Summit where Heads of State signed the SADC Protocol. In the days leading up to the event, the GL Service distributed several commentaries calling on leaders to commit to gender equality

by signing the Protocol, the Alliance distributed press releases to media, and a media liaison focused on answering queries and assisting with organising interviews. This was important as it provided media with relatively easy access to key people and information to be able to cover stories about the Protocol effectively. Since the Alliance organised a parallel meeting to the Summit, this also provided media with a wide range of regional guests and perspective on the subject.

The success of the communication strategy is evident in the amount of media coverage the campaign was able to attract. For example, just during the few days surrounding the 2008 Summit, the media coverage that GL was able to identify, included the following

In addition, Protocol Alliance members participated in radio interviews on Radio 2000 and the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation, as well as on television programmes about the Protocol on *Rendez-Vous* (South African Broadcasting Corporation) in South Africa and the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation

The campaign gained enormous momentum in the lead up to the signing in August 2008, with major involvement by the media, especially the public broadcasters in each country. Media monitoring has shown dramatic increases in both the quantity and quality of coverage during these campaigns. The table below provides examples of articles written and how these got picked up in newspapers around the region:

From August 2005 until June 2009, the GL Service commissioned and distributed 65 articles that referred to the SADC Protocol, covering a wide range of topics, from the Protocol itself through to economic empowerment, women in governance, health and HIV/ AIDS, gender budgeting, and many more. On average, each of these articles were published 3.2 times, that the Service was able to track, in mainstream media all across the region.

Article	Writer	Newspaper
Push for adoption of key protocol on gender	Pamela Mhlanga	Cape Times Southern Times The Star Daily News Pretoria News
Gender protocol vital	Arthur Mwansa	Daily Mail
Businesswomen Could Benefit From Media Coverage	Deborah Walter	Mmegi All Africa.com
Activists celebrate SADC Adoption of Gender protocol	Press Release	Citizen Journalism Botswana Gazette
Ground-breaking Gender Protocol Signed	Zahira Kharsany	IPS All Africa Africa Files Mail & Guardian Online
Zimbabwe: Heads of State Hailed for Adopting Protocol on Gender	Press Release	The Herald The Chronicle All Africa.com
What will SADC free trade mean for women?	Deborah Walter	All Africa.com The Namibian The Southern Times
SADC women soar to new heights	Colleen Lowe Morna	Sister Namibia Mail & Guardian
SADC Protocol - What's in it for media?	Gloria Ganyani	The Southern Times Southern Times Journalism.co.za

## Lessons learned



- It is important to include the media as partners.
- Gender activists must involve media professionals in the planning process and training plans.
- Civil society must understand how the media works, their schedules and what makes something newsworthy.
- Media will respond to produced content, if it is good quality and relevant to their consumers interests.
- Learning is two way – activists learn from media and media learn from activists.
- Multi-media is key to reach diverse audiences.
- Ensure a key message and slogan, but embrace diversity in the details.
- Be pro-active and organised, have media lists and keep them updated. Keep the media informed in between major events.
- Have media points-person and try to keep the person consistent so that the media knows that they can always contact a particular person.
- Make decision makers and people who provide first hand accounts available to the media.

- Have relevant pictures available and offer them to the media.
- Be strategic about when you have press conferences, it might sometimes be better to send a media brief and follow up with calls and set up interviews.

## Checklist



- ✓ How do you plan to brand your campaign?
- ✓ Do all members agree with the logo, slogan and messages?
- ✓ What sort of materials do you need to develop? To whom will these be distributed? How will the distribution be tracked? How will feedback be incorporated into your work?
- ✓ How can you use new media to leverage your work?
- ✓ What relationships have been developed with the mainstream media? How can these be improved?
- ✓ What materials can be developed to help improve media coverage?
- ✓ How do you plan to track media coverage? How can this assist in improving the quantity and quality of coverage.

# Chapter

# 7

## Tools of the trade- Skills, capacity and environment



*Kubi Rama (foreground) working with GEMSA members in Zambia on a press release during the 2007 Heads of State summit. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

This chapter covers the skills members of the Alliance gained through their participation in the campaign for the Protocol and the various approaches taken to build these skills such as learning by doing and learning from each other.

## Building skills and learning on the campaign trail

"I have seen how people can wield an amazing amount of power. This (Alliance) process has resulted in women within SADC claiming their own agency."  
*Kubi Rama, Deputy Executive Director, Gender Links*

The Alliance can be best described as a 'learning' coalition of organisations and individuals. This has translated into a collective that recognises that growth, change and transformation must be informed by reflection, dialogue, skills building, expert inputs and sharing of knowledge. Opportunities have been created to support this approach to learning, and can be categorised into three distinct areas: formal approaches, peer learning and on the job learning.

## Skills Building — Formal approaches

Skills-building training within the Alliance emerged from identified needs, the relevance of the skill to the members' work situation, as well as their role in advancing the Alliance's vision. All the formal skills building undertaken by the Alliance so far has been integrated into Alliance meetings.

One of the success stories has been the training on how to engage the media. The focus of this training was on how the power of the media can be harnessed to champion the transformation of gender relations in and through all forms of media. In January 2008 during the Strategy Review Meeting held in Johannesburg, South Africa, Alliance members were trained to appreciate the role of the media and on how to write opinion pieces for use by the media.

In this training, Alliance members developed story ideas to put the Protocol provisions into context and relate them to the lived realities of women and men in SADC. These opinion pieces were published in a news supplement that was produced in time for the April 2008 SADC Poverty Conference held in Mauritius. Below is an extract of an editorial plan developed for the supplement:-

SADC SUPPLEMENT EDITORIAL PLAN		
STORY	WRITER	PHOTO
<b>Overview</b>		
Gains and key issues	PM	File
Imagine what life will be for a seven year old girl that grows up with the Protocol	Nonhlanhla	Girl child
Opinion/editorial: SADC should draw on its history of fighting oppression to overcome the forces of culture and tradition that threaten the Protocol. The Protocol is consistent with <i>Ubuntu</i> - a particular Southern African editorial	Rev Nsofwa	SADC flags
<b>Constitutional and legal rights</b>		
Comparisons of constitutional provisions in different SADC countries; what difference these have made	Emilia	
Disability- why it needs to be explicit in the Protocol	Siza	Disability group in Swaziland that she works with

SADC SUPPLEMENT EDITORIAL PLAN		
STORY	WRITER	PHOTO
<b>Constitutional and legal rights (continued)</b>		
Cohabitation is a reality in Southern Africa. If we fail to recognize this we will bury our heads in the sand and many women will be the losers. Why was this dropped, why this needs to be brought back into the Protocol? Interview with a woman in such a relationship who has been dispossessed.	Nyasha	
<b>Governance</b>		
With all the different models for rapid increase in women's political participation in SADC there is no excuse for not achieving 50%	Sarry	50/50 march pics from the region? Lesotho?
Women's political participation at the local level- water campaign	Asseny	Water campaign in Tanzania that will be used as example
<b>Productive resources and employment</b>		
How gender equality would help to address the food deficits in the SADC region	Abby	Women and farming
Credit making a difference to rural women- from the small time to the big time (Portuguese)	Sophia	Group she works with in Moz.

The methodology for writing the opinion pieces for publications sought to build the research and writing skills of the members, and also provided the impetus for members to develop analytical skills whilst communicating ideas to a potential diverse

group of people. This training exercise also provided space for Alliance members to pool together their expertise, experiences from different countries, and their passion for the cause. It also is not often that gender activists find time to sit, reflect and write.

### Writing opinion pieces: learning the ropes

The use of opinion pieces created a learning curve for me and members of the Alliance as the process was able to draw public attention to the issues around the SADC Gender Protocol and made an impact that prompted people to take action. The opinion pieces also created recognition of the process and women's issues at the relevant levels as they were able to capture the attention of local, national and regional leaders, who in most instances paid very little attention to the issues of women despite having acceded to/ratified a number of protocols, treaties and conventions that were meant to promote and protect women's rights.

The opinion pieces I and other Alliance members produced were based on ideas, and supported by facts, which were accurate, as they were based on studies that the members had done. The articles produced made strong arguments in support of the issues that were being discussed and flagged at both the national and regional levels.

The pieces took advantage of the fact that the member states had to mainstream gender into all the activities of their implementation plans. (RISDP 2003). Thus the opinion pieces provided highly valued information that reminded the policy makers, as well as international cooperating partners, of their earlier commitments on the subject of women and gender mainstreaming in the region.

The articles were used as advocacy tools and centred on the issues that both the Alliance and the governments had in common. The opinion pieces did not focus solely on the difference between the women movement and the government in as far as women's rights are concerned, but capitalised on the already agreed principles based on the existing policy frameworks at national levels... There was a gap between policy and practice, but the Alliance decided to devote its energy to urge governments and member states to 'walk the talk', while still continuing its engagements with the policy makers. This process also assisted the two parties to move away from 'talking at one another' to 'talking to one another'. This approach, in most cases, has proved difficult for civil society which raises issues with the policy makers in a confrontational way!!!

Because writing an opinion piece does not guarantee publication in the targeted news papers, the other authors and I had to undertake high level research before writing the piece. The level of research undertaken provided facts and figures to show the authenticity of the issues that were being flagged for public consumption and monitored by elected officials... Thus, the engagement processes using the opinion pieces, ensured that the Alliance helped to put the issue on the political agenda!

*Abby Taka Mgugu, Director Women's Land and Water Rights Southern Africa (WLWRSA)*

## Peer learning

Platforms for Alliance members to learn from each other have ensured that the rich organisational and individual experiences form the basis of mutual learning and support throughout the process. These opportunities have arisen in many ways,

including joint implementation of activities, planning together, joint advocacy, direct lobbying of officials, and sharing of valuable information on developments that have implications for the growth of the Alliance and its work.



*Namibian Alliance members learn from each other. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA*

### Learning from peers: What Alliance members say

"I got good experience on working together with GEMSA Mozambique and other organisations, where I learned how to implement (activities), translating (ideas) from theory and practice."

*Azarius Muchanga, Christian Council of Mozambique*

"Setting up an alliance/coalition for economic justice. Developing advocacy materials for our programmes."

*Naome Chimbetete, Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network*

"Being empowered to speak confidently about the Protocol to a range of role players – including Ministers."

*Keabonye Ntsabane, GEMSA/BOMWA*

"I learned how to push for important issues with our governments."

*Emma Kaliya, Malawi NGO Coordination Network*

"We have learned how to produce our own material as women and to document our knowledge and experiences."

*Loveness Jambaya Nyakujarah, Gender Links*

"Gender Links has woken me up to a new challenge, the Church and women's rights."

*Rev Rosemary Nsofwa, Zambia Council of Churches*

### Learning on the job

The relevance of all the training/learning opportunities created through the Alliance, is the impact this has on the work members undertake in their own careers and in other activities beyond the Alliance. The feedback from members on how they use the expertise they have learned include using the strategic planning skills and tools in their own organisations, training on gender issues and sharing strategic information on the Protocol with partners. For example, Azarius Muchanga, of the Christian Council of Mozambique noted: "I share what I have learned at church. I sensitise people at church, university and community level. I, together with other organisations, organise some workshops where we address people on gender issues, especially as regards the empowerment of women."

Other feedback from Alliance members on how they apply what they have learned includes sharing strategies on campaign coordination, network

building, research, lobbying and use of media with other organisations "through informal settings... and in workshops, as examples of best practices and lessons others can use to implement effective campaigns", says Patricia Ann Made, ZWRCN and Gender Links Board Member. And, Claire Mathonsi of the Gender Advocacy Programme (GAP) in South Africa, which spearheads the 50/50 campaign, says what she learned "has added value to what I do already".

Alliance members' experiences demonstrate that if the learning opportunities provided are targeted and experiential, this approach builds a reservoir of skills that open new doors for activists to advance an initiative. For example, Emma Kaliya, Chairperson of the Malawi NGO Coordination Network, says: "It is very easy now to push for any agenda with governments and the general population after going through this process which took almost three years."

## Lessons learned



- A knowledge building process in the coalition needs to be multifaceted, and periodic review of the needs of the members is essential.
- Innovative ways of learning need to be explored, for example mentoring each other. The feedback from faith-based institutions that are in the Alliance, on the inspiration they have received from their participation, is encouraging. Reverend Nsofwa of the Zambia Council of Churches, for example, speaks of a far reaching process that has begun in her church to address gender equality and women's empowerment in the church, and she credits her exposure to the Alliance with providing guidance in many aspects of the work she has undertaken to train members of the church on gender.
- Linking formal structured training to other processes, such as planning meetings, has proved effective, helped in managing costs, and is designed to link proposed actions to training that has been designed.
- A structured feedback mechanism on the learning within the Alliance needs to be periodically documented, reviewed and the lessons integrated into further training.
- Designing training so that it serves a number of purposes is the key to making a lasting impact. For example the training on engaging with the media produced a concrete product (news supplement), built a good information base on the issues under discussion, built the research skills of the members, provided the base for a good advocacy tool, and paved the way for strengthening the writing skills of the activists involved.

## Checklist



- ✓ What informs the training being undertaken for members? Is it designed to produce a number of outcomes (direct and indirect)?
- ✓ What opportunities have been created to utilise the skills and expertise within the membership? What steps have been taken to provide incentives to members who provide expert input and support?
- ✓ Are there ways of linking one training process with another, to ensure that learning building blocks are well established?
- ✓ What follow up support is provided for members once training is complete? Is there a well structured feedback mechanism on how the training has been utilised?
- ✓ How well designed are training opportunities so that there are spaces for peer learning and sharing, including mentoring?
- ✓ What mechanisms exist for replicating good practices in experiential learning?



Learning by doing. PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

# Chapter

# 8

## Into the Future



*Pamela Mhlanga maps the way forward at an Alliance meeting.*

PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA

This chapter maps out the future direction of the Alliance looking at what has worked, what needs to be guarded and priority actions, such as tracking and measuring change.



## What has worked

“The adoption of a collective/coalition approach was the best strategy as gender transformation, evidenced from past achievements, will effectively take place if it is done from a collective perspective ensuring that all key stakeholders in the region are consulted and actively participating in the process. Using a participatory approach to the process to ensure that most key stakeholders are on board and take part adequately was the key to the success of the adoption of the protocol”.

*Elsie Alexander, Botswana national focal point, and of Women in Law and Development in Africa(WILDAF)*

As the Alliance looks to the future after the adoption of the Protocol, it is focused on consolidating the gains that have been made, and using the lessons learnt as the foundation for its growth and for taking the campaign to the next level of ensuring that member states now walk the talk and implement the Protocol. Issue-based advocacy was the cornerstone of the Alliance’s work and this principle will continue to sustain the campaign’s momentum in the future.

As the Head of the SADC Gender Unit Magdeline Madibela noted in her *Foreword* to this handbook, the partnership between governments and civil society, strategic organising, having a clear roadmap and support structures such as taskforces all were successful strategies leading to the adoption of the Protocol. The following, are some of the other strategies and approaches that worked:

### **Coalition building**

- Agenda setting – setting a central agenda from the onset and using this as a basis for building regional and national lobbying strategies.
- The identification of partners as well as a targeted expansion strategy. The coming together to form a coalition was an organic process. Partnership identification was based on the mandates, expertise, comparative advantage, a shared vision and ethics.
- Creating a democratic and affirming space for cross border campaigning has been key in guiding the Alliance’s work. Developing guiding principles and working modalities that foster transparency and accountability has underpinned the coalition building process within the Alliance.

### **Advocacy and lobbying**

- Structured process of reviewing and refining advocacy and lobbying strategies also worked well. Alliance members met at strategic moments, for example at SADC Summits, to talk through their experiences and to strategize on how to address the gaps and challenges. In March 2009, for example, members conducted a SWOT analysis and resolved to bring the momentum back into the campaign with a renewed focus on some emerging issues (the impact of humanitarian crises in SADC on the rights of women).
- The crafting of a broad range of tools to facilitate tracking of processes internally (report back tool for Alliance members), and externally (analysis of developments relating to successive drafts of the Protocol), as well as advocacy and lobbying (position papers on Alliance concerns and proposals). These have ensured that the campaign’s message and approach remain consistent.
- Gathering intelligence on government, intergovernmental and other structures, their functions and level and influence, and the implication for the campaign at national and regional levels. For example, information on the dates of

key meetings, the agenda of these meetings and the composition of government delegations. Elsie Alexander, the Alliance's Botswana focal person, also said that "incorporating the national machineries more effectively after 2007 at the national and regional level led to the success of the adoption of the protocol".

- Constant negotiation on the Alliance member's positions on issues, as well as constant discussions and negotiation on when to retreat, when to change direction and how to articulate the main points of the campaign proved successful in building ownership of the campaign and a strong unity among the members.

### **Information and communication**

- Raising the visibility of the campaign through a well structured media strategy. This has included periodic writing of opinions and commentaries, press releases, involving media practitioners in Alliance activities, targeted briefing of media, engaging media editors.
- Using innovative communication strategies for members to meet and stay connected; teleconferences in between Alliance meetings, cyber dialogues on specific issues.
- Unpacking the information in the Protocol so that there is better outreach to a range of end users; for example simplified versions of the SADC Protocol in local languages and the three official SADC (English, French, Portuguese) languages. An Advocacy Kit with fact sheets that the Alliance members and other partners can use.

### **Leadership and management**

- Identifying strong leadership with the requisite mandate and reach is key in maintaining the momentum of a campaign. Likewise decentralizing leadership so that there is wider ownership and shared decision making is a hallmark of effective organising; this is linked to responsibility and accountability
- It is essential to create space for frank and open conflict resolution and a

mechanism for airing views on the pros and cons of the coalition and its work. Efforts have been made to create the space in each Alliance meeting to focus on working modalities, challenges and opportunities, whilst also addressing concerns.

- The Alliance is leading the Protocol campaign and needs to constantly reflect on how it can reposition itself so that Protocol issues are on the agenda and are mainstreamed in the work of other social movements in SADC.

### **Knowledge building**

- There has been recognition that whilst members come into an initiative with rich expertise and good track records in addressing a diversity of gender issues, specific skills may be required to support the campaign process. Training has been undertaken, particularly on engaging media, in order to strengthen the members' skills base so that they can campaign more effectively. However, some important learning opportunities have also evolved, for example, a better understanding of SADC, the Protocol system, diverse gender issues and how to articulate them better, mapping of players and processes on gender and development at regional level. This remains a central strategy for making the Alliance and campaign process more effective.



*GEMSA's Rose Haji and Charles Chisala get the word out through Cyber dialogues.*

PHOTO: COLLEEN LOWE MORNA



## What needs to be guarded?

The growth of the Alliance and its work requires careful management and nurturing, to ensure that it maintains its essence and stays true to its vision, mission and principles. This requires a reflection on what needs to be guarded in order to ensure that the process is sustained and its impact and influence is felt; there is still a long road to travel in order to make the Protocol a reality in the daily lives of women and men in SADC. So what needs to be guarded?

### ***Integrity of the process***

- Sensitivity to issues of diversity, differences of opinion, different locations and understanding of the Alliance and its work by members must be maintained in order to ensure that there is space to nurture this.
- Much energy needs to go towards maintaining the profile of the Alliance as a serious and focused network, which means maintaining the consistency of the message, articulation of issues and shared understanding on approaches to the work.
- The experience and comparative advantages, political influence and profile of the members needs to be nurtured, creatively utilized and supported to anchor the growth of the Alliance and ensure delivery; the level of trust that has been built needs to be maintained.

### ***Building and nurturing relationships***

- The relationship with governments and the SADC Secretariat is strong in some cases and fragile in others, however, the Alliance always has to take care not to be co-opted and lose its agenda; retaining the identity of the Alliance as a civil society movement is integral to its success.
- Building constructive relationships with other key thematic networks on areas where mutual support is necessary will remain a priority.

Examples of potential networks and organisations to invest in include human rights networks, SADC Council of NGOs, HIV and AIDS networks, and organisations involved in broader social movement building.

- A stronger and more structured relationship with SADC is essential going forward; thus whilst the current entry point for the Alliance is the SADC GU, there is need to use this relationship to forge a stronger alliance with other Directorates in SADC.
- The leadership and management of the Alliance have been consistent, and stronger support mechanisms are needed so that the leadership does not suffer from fatigue; members need to take greater ownership of processes and strengthen synergies amongst themselves.

### ***Knowledge building***

- The approach adopted to support Alliance members' knowledge base is critical if the work of the Alliance is to sustain momentum. Knowledge building has been addressed through specific skills building sessions within the Alliance. This needs to be nurtured and built on.
- Critical reflection has played an important role in the growth of the Alliance, and every opportunity needs to be created to support this, and to bring in other thinkers and players to facilitate and share in the process.

### ***Movement building from the ground***

- The 'Taking the Protocol to the Villages' advocacy model has demonstrated the potential for nurturing movement building to achieve gender equality, in a way that can bring men and women together to achieve a common goal. This is potentially an excellent way of grounding the Protocol campaign in a more sustainable way, so that it is more people driven than before.



## Where next?

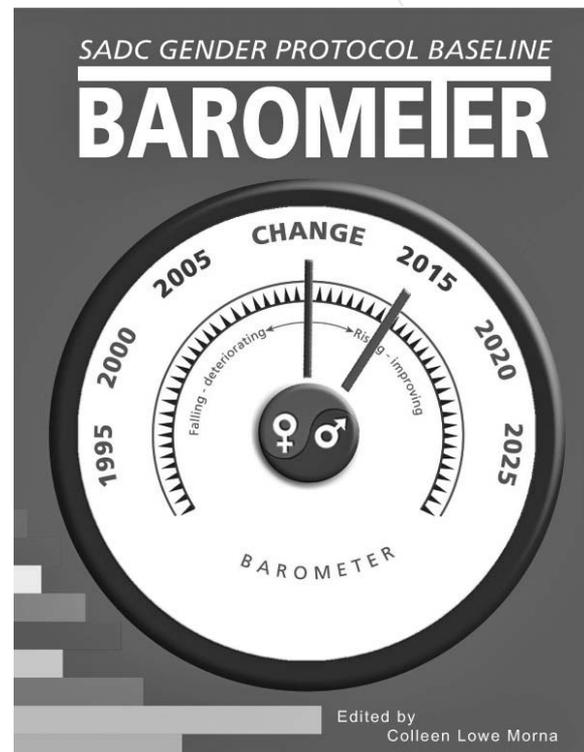
### Priority actions

- The priorities for the Alliance in the short and medium term include mobilising for the ratification or signing of the Protocol, and its effective implementation. Critically monitoring and tracking progress is central to the work of the Alliance going forward. The focus of the nine thematic clusters will be to ensure that the actions identified to advance the actions in those sectors are undertaken and meaningful impact is achieved. The thematic priorities will inform national action in those areas, as well as relevant members of the Alliance.
- Periodic review of the three-year consolidated plan and operational guidelines is key to sustaining the work of the Alliance, supported by a good resource base mobilised by the Alliance leadership with the support of the members.
- The growth of the Alliance in terms of reach and depth is essential for long term sustainability, which is, reaching out to new partners and associates, and deepening the approaches and strategies to achieve results.

### Measuring change

- There are two distinct areas of work for the Alliance in the short to medium term. First is the design of a tool for measuring change in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in the sectors prioritised and identified in the Protocol. In March 2009, the Alliance reviewed and worked on a measuring tool, the SADC Gender Protocol Barometer (Barometer). Baseline information was identified, as well as the indicators and sources for the information at regional and national level. Second, is strengthening the tools for measuring the growth of the Alliance, beyond the numbers. This requires review in order to ensure that more indicators of success are integrated.

The Barometer will be used by members to measure change at regional and national levels. The quantitative and qualitative data will provide information on the status of women relative to men in each of the sectors, but also allow one to compare information across countries in all the areas. It is designed as a user friendly tool that members will be comfortable using. The idea is to further interface this process with other efforts, such as those developed by the SADC Gender Unit and its partners (e.g. SADC Gender Monitor).



### National Action

- While the regional campaign continues, much more energy needs to be applied in-country. In particular, the protocol needs to be taken to every hamlet and village of SADC if we are to achieve a region in which women and men are truly equal.

# Annex A

## Checklist for change

### Coalition Building

- ✓ Does the coalition have strategies and resources to build a shared understanding of the issues and purpose for collective action among its partners?
- ✓ Has space been created for constructively engaging on the campaign's identity, approach, mission, vision and operations?
- ✓ Is there room for periodic review of the fundamental glue (mission, operations) that holds the coalition together?
- ✓ Has the leadership been negotiated from the beginning, and structures for effective leadership debated and agreed upon? Is there space for periodic review?
- ✓ Are there accountability and transparency mechanisms in place? For example, periodic reporting, information on resources shared with all partners
- ✓ Is there an effective mechanism for conflict management and resolution; are members periodically using it to share diverse views and differing opinions?
- ✓ What cross-border activism strategies are in place for building solidarity among members?
- ✓ Are there tangible benefits for partner organisations involved in the campaign, i.e. capacity building, shared resources, etc.?
- ✓ Are members sufficiently motivated and informed of all events and processes as they unfold? What mechanisms are in place for addressing members' differing information needs, particularly across borders?
- ✓ Are members' talents, influence and power acknowledged and harnessed at every opportunity, that is, are members at the centre of the coalition and driving it?
- ✓ Is there a communications strategy for networking the coalition's members and for supplying a steady flow of information to and from the members?

### Understanding regional processes

- ✓ Are there champions in the sub regional institutions/organisations or in high-level political positions at national level that can be valuable and strategic allies in pushing your agenda?
- ✓ Are there key policy instruments and frameworks in the sub regional institutions/organisations that commit the region to advancing gender equality and women's human rights?
- ✓ Has the policy framework for advancing gender equality and women's human rights been translated into a programme of action with specific activities, targets and measurable outcomes?
- ✓ Do the gender equality and women's human rights policies and programmes

provide the space and opportunities for engagement between civil society and governments?

- ✓ What sub regional institutions/organisations are pivotal to advancing the gender equality and women's human rights agenda?
- ✓ Are there structures within the sub regional institutions/organisations tasked with coordination, implementation and monitoring and evaluation of the regional programme of action to advance gender equality and women's human rights?
- ✓ Do the structures have the capacity and resources to effectively carry out its mandate?
- ✓ Is it strategically placed within the sub regional institution/organisation to move the gender equality and women's human rights agenda?
- ✓ Is there a precedent of the structure relying on civil society for technical expertise?
- ✓ Who are the key, primary and secondary stakeholders in moving the gender equality and women's human rights agenda through regional processes?
- ✓ How are these stakeholders constituted at the sub regional level? What are their roles at the national level?

### **Lobbying and advocacy at national level**

- ✓ What strategy is being deployed at regional level to support a campaign and how is this replicated at national level?
- ✓ Has there been a careful mapping of national processes, and how is the campaign going to be mainstreamed and form a reference point for these processes?
- ✓ What are the key entry points at national level, and what tools are being deployed to engage meaningfully?
- ✓ What mechanisms are in place to develop a shared consensus on issues, and how is this going to feed back to the regional process?
- ✓ Has a clear information and communication strategy been developed? Does it address media engagement? How?
- ✓ What space is there for shifting strategy at national level to take into account changes and developments? How does this feed into the regional processes?
- ✓ Is the outreach work well structured? What linkages have been developed with community based initiatives, traditional leaders/structures, and women in respective communities in terms of taking leadership and owning the process?
- ✓ Have all IEC materials been developed in a targeted way and link regional developments to national concerns and issues (regional in dimension but country specific)?

### **The Power of research and drafting**

- ✓ Have audits and research been conducted to establish a strong baseline for the areas and issues that need to be addressed in a legally binding document on gender equality?
- ✓ Has an international and regional commitments framework been used to contextualize and pull together in the protocol the standards and benchmarks that countries should aspire to reach?
- ✓ Have a series of Checklists been developed to identify the gaps and provide a structured approach to make recommendations to eliminate the gaps?
- ✓ Are tracking tools in place to monitor changes, losses and gains as a developing protocol moves through a series of drafts?

## **Media, information and communication**

- ✓ How do you plan to brand your campaign?
- ✓ Do all members agree with the logo, slogan and messages?
- ✓ What sort of materials do you need to develop? To whom will these be distributed? How will the distribution be tracked? How will feedback be incorporated into your work?
- ✓ How can you use new media to leverage your work?
- ✓ What relationships have been developed with the mainstream media? How can these be improved?
- ✓ What materials can be developed to help improve media coverage?
- ✓ How do you plan to track media coverage? How can this assist in improving the quantity and quality of coverage?

## **Capacity Building**

- ✓ What informs the training being undertaken for members? Is it designed to produce a number of outcomes (direct and indirect)?
- ✓ What opportunities have been created to utilise the skills and expertise within the membership? What steps have been taken to provide incentives to members who provide expert input and support?
- ✓ Are there ways of linking one training process with another, to ensure that learning building blocks are well established?
- ✓ What follow up support is provided for members once training is complete? Is there a well structured feedback mechanism on how the training has been utilised?
- ✓ How well designed are training opportunities so that there are spaces for peer learning and sharing, including mentoring?
- ✓ What mechanisms exist for replicating good practices in experiential learning?

# Annex B

## ALLIANCE Institutional and Operational Guidelines

### Principles and criteria for membership

#### Principles:

The Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance (Alliance) is a coalition of gender and women's NGOs campaigning for the adoption, ratification and implementation of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (Gender Protocol). The vision of the Alliance is underpinned by the desire to make every voice count, and guided by the principles of democracy, ethnic and religious diversity, equality, fairness, transparency, accountability, as well as linguistic and geographical representation.

The Alliance is for the effective participation of women, gender activists and gender NGOs in the implementation and monitoring of the region's gender agenda, so that gender equality and women's empowerment become a living reality for the millions of SADC women and girls.

On adoption of the Gender Protocol, the Alliance's focus shifts to lobbying for its speedy ratification, and then tracking and monitoring implementation by SADC governments.

The Alliance shall have a logo which will be used in all correspondence.

#### Membership Criteria

The NGOs, CBOs or FBOs that are part of the Alliance must meet the following criteria:

- Must be registered and operating in a SADC country at community, national or regional level.
- Should be working in the field of women's rights and/gender as elaborated in all SADC documents, especially the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development and Addendum on gender based violence, as well as the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development.
- Should either be led by women, demonstrate a gender balance particularly at decision making level or be striving to achieve this.
- Like minded organisations from outside SADC may join as associates.

- Each member shall provide a profile of the organisation and the work it does.
- Each member shall provide bi-annual updates on the progress being made in its work related to the Alliance.
- Other African organisations are welcome to be associates of the Alliance but cannot be members.
- Non-African organisations with similar interests that wish to be associates must be constituted in Africa and established by law in that African country. Such associates are expected to contribute financially and otherwise by lending support to a regional or national organisation.
- The members shall ensure that the work of the Alliance is known and supported in their countries and regions.

### **Membership Application**

- A formal application should be submitted to the overall coordinating organisation
- The application shall be considered by members of the Alliance Steering Committee, based on the criteria, and within one month of the submission of the application.
- A formal communication shall be sent to the applicant organisation communicating the decision of the Steering Committee.

### **Operations**

The Alliance shall be composed of an overall coordinating NGO and thematic clusters. The clusters shall be coordinated by a lead NGO that will liaise periodically with the overall coordinating NGO. The overall coordinating NGO and thematic cluster lead NGOs shall form a Steering Committee. The Steering Committee shall meet periodically to review progress, and shall report periodically to the Alliance.

The tenure of the overall coordinating NGO and the Steering Committee shall be for a period of 3 years.



### OMALANDULATHANOTO-KOLO GA-SADC KOMBINGA YUUKASHIKE KO OKANTU NOMAPENDULOPO

GA ZIMNIVA ETI 17 AUGUSTE 2008

**MAFANEKO**  
Mafaneko a SADC a kombinga yuukashike ko okantu nomapendulo po. Ake ko okantu nomapendulo po.

**KWATELOMO**  
Kwateलोमो ko okantu nomapendulo po. Ake ko okantu nomapendulo po.

**MAFANEKO**  
Mafaneko a SADC a kombinga yuukashike ko okantu nomapendulo po. Ake ko okantu nomapendulo po.



### Maitlamo a SADC mo dikgannye Tsa bong le ditlhabololo

E SAENETSEWE KA 17 PHATWE 2008

**Maitlamo a SADC** mo dikgannye tsa bong le ditlhabololo. E aaretse maemo a a dirwang mo ditlhabololo tsa bong le ditlhabololo.

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**E ROTLOTSHA**  
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### NY FENITRY NY SADC AN FITOVIANA SY FAMPANDRAHA RAHA ATAD INDRAY MI FENITRY NY SADC MAHA NY LAHY SY NY VAVY EO FAMPANDROSOAN

NAKATSONA TANY 17 AUGUSTE 2008

**NY FENITRY NY SADC** an fitoviana sy fampandraha raha atad indray mi fenitry ny SADC maaha ny lahy sy ny vavy eo fampandrosoan.

**MASAHANA**  
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**MAHAFY**  
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**MAHIVOTRA**  
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### Maitlamo a SADC mo dikgannye Tsa bong le ditlhabololo

E SAENETSEWE KA 17 PHATWE 2008

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### LE PROTOCOLE DE LA COMMUNAUTE POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE L'AFRIQUE AUSTRALE (SADC) SUR LE GENRE ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT

ADOPTÉ LE 17 AOÛT 2008

**Le Protocole de la Communauté pour le Développement de l'Afrique Australe (SADC) sur le Genre et le Développement**

**CONTENU**  
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**REHAUSA**  
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### O Protocolo da SADC sobre Género e Desenvolvimento

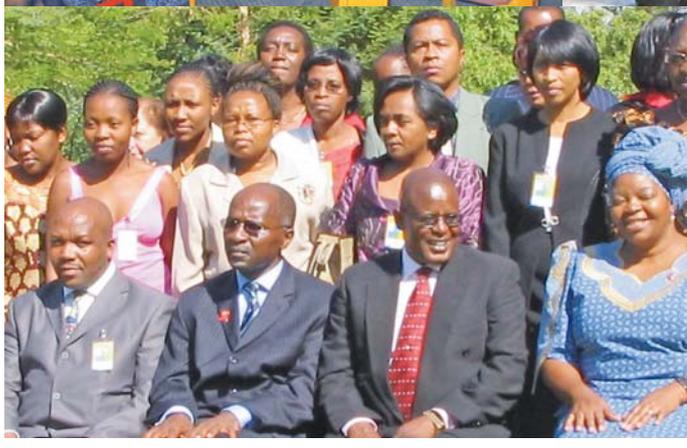
Adoptado em 17 de Agosto de 2008

**O Protocolo da SADC sobre o Género e Desenvolvimento**

**ABRANGA**  
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**MELHORA**  
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**AVANÇA**  
Avança ko okantu nomapendulo po. Ake ko okantu nomapendulo po.



### M'GWIRIZANO WA SADC PROTOCOL PA ZA AZIMAI NDI AZIBAMBO NDI CITUKUKO

WIBWIMBEZEDWA 17 AUGUSTE 2008

**M'gwirizano wa SADC** protocol pa za azimai ndi azibambo ndi citukuko. E aaretse maemo a a dirwang mo ditlhabololo tsa bong le ditlhabololo.

**UTSOOLERA**  
Utsoolera ko okantu nomapendulo po. Ake ko okantu nomapendulo po.

**UMHAKITSWA**  
Umhakiswa ko okantu nomapendulo po. Ake ko okantu nomapendulo po.





"I realised the power of partnerships between governments and civil society, because the different comparative advantages brought in by the various partners enhanced the drafting of the Protocol."

MAGDELINE MATHIBA MAGDIBELA  
HEAD, SADC GENDER UNIT

