



## *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; SAMDI; 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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# Acknowledgements

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### **COLLEEN LOWE MORNA**

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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Emma Kaliya (Malawi) is Programme Manager, Malawi Human Rights Resource Centre, and Chairperson of NGO Gender Coordination Network in Malawi that brings together 41 NGOs addressing gender, human rights, HIV and AIDS in Malawi. She also co-ordinated the Network Against Gender Based Violence in Malawi. Since 1988, she has worked with the following organisations: League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Society/Malawi Red Cross Society, Medicines Sans frontier, Finnish Refugee Council, Africare, PSI, Danish Centre for Human Rights and Malawi Human Rights Resource Centre.



### **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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Abby Mgugu (Zimbabwe) is the Executive Director of Women Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa (WLWRSA). She comes from Zimbabwe, where she has had considerable experience working with sanitation issues, especially in relation to poverty reduction. Abby took a lead role in advocating the economic provisions of the Protocol.



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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

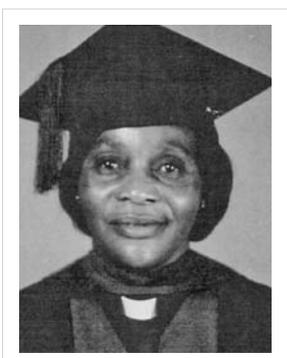
for non profits and has received training from the Centre for Non-Profit Boards USA. Emilia has a daughter (16) and son (12).



### **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**

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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 (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.



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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.



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# 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  |
| WLWRSa       | Women's Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa  |
| ZWRNC        | 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*  
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