

Preface

INTO THE FUTURE: ACTION AND RESULTS!



Looking to the future: Alliance Chair Emma Kaliya; Secretary General of the Beijing Conference, Gertrude Mongella and GL CEO Colleen Lowe Morna.
Photo by Gender Links

KEY FACTS

- The SADC Gender Protocol targets, aligned to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), expire in 2015.
- At their meeting in Lilongwe in 2014, gender ministers agreed to review the SADC Gender Protocol (the Protocol) in 2015. In Harare a year later, Ministers agreed that the Protocol should be aligned to the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Beijing Plus Twenty Review, and the Africa Agenda 2063. They also agreed that the Protocol should be accompanied by a Monitoring, Evaluation and Results (MER) Framework.
- The SADC Gender Protocol, that brings together all existing global and regional commitments to gender equality, and enhances these through specific targets and timeframes, is the only one of the 27 SADC Protocols that has specific time frames, and that will now have an MER framework.
- In anticipation of the review, the 2014 Barometer identified strengths and weaknesses of the SADC Gender Protocol, and suggested how this might be strengthened by the SDGs that currently have 17 goals and 169 targets, including Goal Five on gender equality. The SDGs, to be adopted at the UN General Assembly in September 2015, are likely to be accompanied by approximately 100 indicators.
- The 2014 Barometer identified 150 possible gender targets accompanied by 300 indicators; 100 of these concerning gender violence. Considering that gender is intrinsic to all the SDG targets, this is a credible finding.
- The Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance (the Alliance) has worked tirelessly to canvass the Post-2015 agenda through its 15 country networks as well as influence the global agenda, where this work has been acknowledged by the UN.
- The 2015 Barometer serves two purposes. It tracks progress since the historic adoption of the SADC Gender Protocol in 2008. It also proposes how the Protocol can be strengthened through alignment to the new instruments, especially the SDGs that have 33 complementary references to gender, and are likely to be accompanied by over 30 gender-related targets.
- What is clear from the analysis is that the biggest gap over the last seven years is implementation. This underscores the theme of the 2015 barometer: *A Strong Post-2015 agenda: Action and Results!*





“The review of targets in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development is very critical. It is encouraging to note that the review is one of the main agenda items that this meeting will focus on so as to align these targets to the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals, the AU Agenda 2063 and other relevant regional, continental and international instruments.”¹

Statement by SADC Executive Secretary, Dr Stergomena Lawrence Tax at the May 2015 SADC Gender Ministers meeting, Harare

2015 marks a turning point in the region as the targets of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development expire in August with major gaps in almost all 28 targets. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be adopted by world leaders in September provide an opportune moment for the region to use the global agenda to complement and enhance the regional gender equality Post-2015 agenda.

The Protocol is a best practise one stop shop for implementing gender equality. In July 2014, the SADC Gender Ministers meeting in Malawi noted that “most Member States will not achieve all the set targets by that date (2015). Therefore, the targets will have to be reviewed in line with Article 38 of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development and the SADC Treaty as Amended in Article 22 (11).” Ministers further noted that “an amendment in relation to the targets in the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development will be produced in 2015 for submission to the Council of Ministers for approval by the SADC Executive Secretary as per Article 13 of the SADC Treaty.”²

Why the Protocol targets should be reviewed

1. It has time bound targets that expire in 2015.
2. As an omnibus instrument for the region aligned to the MDG's, African Charter and Beijing Platform for Action, the Protocol must reflect the new global developments to remain relevant.
3. Two countries - Mauritius and Botswana - have not yet signed the Protocol. The review opens an opportunity for them to join.
4. The Protocol had targets but no indicators. With over 30 gender indicators, the SDGs provide an opportunity to strengthen the Monitoring, Evaluation and Results Framework.
5. Some countries are moving faster than others. There is scope for varied targets, so as not to hold back performance.

As follow up to that resolution the gender ministers meeting in Harare held from 27-29 May 2015 adopted a roadmap for the review of the Protocol targets. They agreed that to be current, these should be aligned to the SDGs, African Union Agenda 2063, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

Breaking with SADC protocol tradition, the ministers stated that the Protocol should be accompanied by “a regional monitoring, evaluation and reporting framework aligned with Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Time-Bound (SMART) targets and indicators” to be finally adopted during the next SADC Meeting of Ministers responsible for Gender/ Women's Affairs in 2016. In future, “progress made on implementation of the Protocol on Gender and Development” is to be reported annually in every meeting of Ministers responsible for Gender/ Women's Affairs. Attending her first gender ministers meeting, SADC Executive Secretary Dr Stregomena Tax requested technical assistance from the Alliance, along with UN WOMEN in the forward processes³. This preface to the 2015 Barometer tracks the background to these developments; the strategic opportunity that this presents, and how the region can best take advantage of these developments.

Background

Of all the sources of inequality and exclusion across the globe, gender is the most cross-cutting of all. Reinforced in formal and informal ways, gender inequality begins in the home; is perpetuated by the family; schools; work place; community, custom, culture, religion and tradition as well structures within society more broadly-the media, new media, popular culture, advertising, laws, law enforcement agencies, the judiciary and others. While society generally identifies other forms of inequality, gender inequality is so normalised that it often goes unnoticed, including by

¹ SADC Executive Secretary statement at official opening of the 29 May 2015 Gender Ministers Meeting.

² Final record of SADC Ministers of Gender Meeting, 25 July 2014.

³ E Mail communication with the Alliance, S Tax, 31 May.

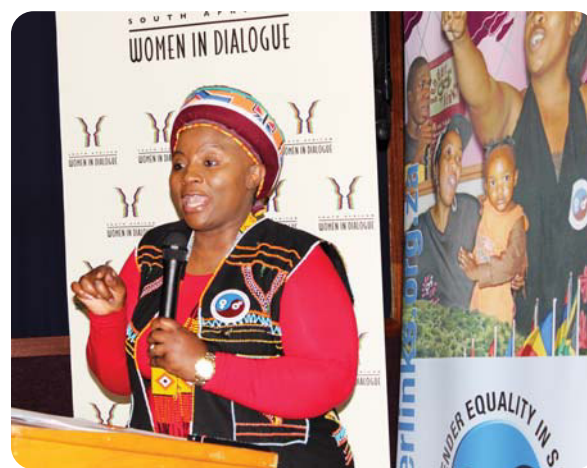
women who have been socialised to accept their inferior status. While these realities may differ in their specifics and intensity, gender inequality is a *global phenomenon*. Despite changes in laws and Constitutions, many women remain minors all their lives - under their fathers, husbands, even sons, and as widows subject to male relatives.

Across Southern Africa, key challenges in achieving gender equality include:

- **Patriarchal attitudes still abound**, reflected in gender stereotypes in schools; the work place and the media; as well as predominantly male decision-making structures in all areas. Customary law contracts constitutional provisions with few ramifications in many countries. The case of a Lesotho woman denied the right to take over the chieftaincy after her father died is a chilling reminder of deeply entrenched patriarchal values. Hate crimes against lesbian women (widely publicised in South Africa) serve as another reminder of the lethal combination of homophobia and misogyny that still dog many countries in the region.
- **Gender violence remains the most telling indicator of women's lack of rights and agency:** The shockingly high levels of gender violence revealed by recent prevalence surveys (from 25% in Mauritius to nearly 80% in four districts of Zambia) shows that one in three if not more women have experienced some form of gender violence over their lifetime, often multiple times, and multiple forms of violence.
- **Backward movement in elections:** With few exceptions, the last set of elections have been disappointing: the decrease in women's representation both at national and local level in Botswana and Swaziland last year; persistent low levels of women's representation in the DRC, and the marginal increase in women's representation in the Lesotho national elections in May 2014 serve as a reminder of the fragile gains made by women in the political sphere.
- **The economy is still a male preserve:** Women still lack access to economic decision-making (26%), land, credit and other means of production. They constitute the majority of the poor; the unemployed; the dispossessed and those who work in the informal sector.
- **HIV and AIDS continues to threaten the fragile gains that have been made:** Young women remain the majority of those newly infected by HIV and AIDS as well as those who bear the burden of caring for People Living with HIV.

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development

In 1997, two years after the Beijing Conference, gender activists in the SADC region lobbied for the adoption of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development



Women demand action now campaign led by Alliance focal network South African Women in Dialogue. Photo by Gender Links

in Blantyre Malawi. This had only one target - 30% women in decision-making by 2005. At a conference in Durban in 1998, SADC Gender Ministers added to the Declaration an addendum on Violence Against Women and Children, due to the urgency of this issue in the region. During the Beijing Plus Ten review in 2005, activists came together again to review progress. They realised the benefits of the single target on gender equality, but also its limitations, as gender equality was being equated with women's numerical political participation. Regional NGOs working in various sectors, coordinated by Gender Links, undertook sector reviews that led to a paper entitled "Rationale for a Protocol on Gender and Development." Civil society organisations came together as the SADC Gender Protocol Alliance to lobby for this Protocol, which went through seven drafts before its adoption.

In 2008, SADC Heads of State signed a ground-breaking and unique instrument: the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, with 28 targets to be achieved by 2015, also the deadline for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). SADC is the only region in the world that has brought together all existing continental and international instruments for the promotion of gender equality into one legally binding Protocol. Unlike the other 26 SADC Protocols, the SADC Gender Protocol has specific targets and timeframes. Although Botswana and Mauritius have not signed the Protocol, it became enforceable in September 2012 after getting nine ratifications (over two thirds of the 13 signatories).

The SADC Gender Protocol encompasses ten thematic areas which include Constitutional and Legal Rights; Governance (Representation and Participation); Education and Training; Productive Resources and Employment, Economic Empowerment; Gender Based Violence; Health; HIV and AIDS; Peace Building and Conflict Resolution; Media, Information and Communication; Implementation with the over-arching objective of 50/50 parity by 2015.

Civil society - making the links

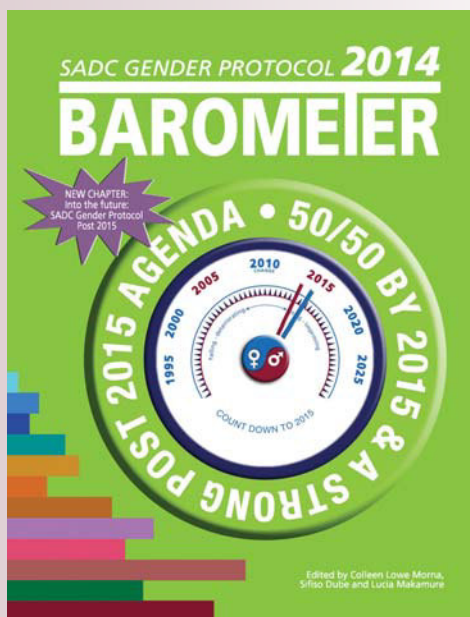
One of the most significant developments around gender in the region is the dynamic relationship between SADC and the Southern African Gender Protocol Alliance (the Alliance) that campaigned for the adoption of the Protocol and now for its implementation. The Alliance is a “network of networks” comprising 15 country networks, nine theme groups and two interest groups (men and faith-based organisations) across the SADC region.

Although the Alliance has no formal recognition by the SADC Secretariat except through its membership

of the SADC Congress of NGOs (SADC CNGO), the Alliance works closely with the SADC Gender Unit and Member States on gender issues. The creative tension between women’s NGOs, gender ministries, and the SADC Gender Unit goes a long way in explaining the progress that has been made to date, also in ensuring that the SADC Gender Protocol is one of the best known of the SADC Protocols by ordinary citizens. Since 2005 Gender Links (GL) has provided the Secretariat for the Alliance that produces 15 annual country and one regional Barometer to track progress in the attainment of the 28 targets of the Protocol in the 15 member countries of SADC.

Measuring change

Progress is measured using two yardsticks, the **SADC Gender Development Index (SGDI)** which is based on empirical data collected on 23 indicators on six areas (Governance, Education and training, Productive resources and employment, economic empowerment, Sexual and reproductive health, HIV and AIDS and Media and information and communication) and the **Citizen Scorecard (CSC)** based on citizen perception.



A regional SGDI score of 67% and CSC score of 67% reflect the extent to which gender is now on the region’s agenda. To date a total of 2935 **SADC Protocol@Work** case studies have been collected through the annual SADC Gender Protocol Summits hosted by the SADC Gender Alliance in collaboration with local government and the media and support from Gender Ministries. These case studies provide qualitative insights on how the SADC Gender Protocol is being used as a tool to promote gender equality by governments and civil society alike in the final countdown to 2015.

The Alliance also administers a **Gender Progress Score Card** used to measure changes in attitude towards gender equality, and the **Knowledge Score Card** is used to gauge how well the SADC Gender Protocol is known. These are administered to over 8000 women and men in the region each year. Since 2010, the Alliance and partners have convened the annual **SADC Protocol@Work summits**, at district, national and regional level, showcasing how this instrument is being used at local and national level, by the media, government and civil society, to bring about change. Table one shows that in the 2015 Barometer alone, the Alliance has shared 94 of the 1018 case studies gathered during the summits that took place from April to July 2015. Fourteen are regional. The balance come from virtually every country, with Zimbabwe (12) and South Africa (11) providing the largest number of case studies.

Table 1: SADC Protocol@Work case studies used in the 2015 Barometer

Theme	Angola	Botswana	DRC	Lesotho	Madagascar	Malawi	Mauritius	Mozambique	Namibia	Seychelles	Southern Africa	South Africa	Swaziland	Tanzania	Zambia	Zimbabwe	TOTAL
1.Education							1		1			2				1	5
2.GBV		2				1	1			1		1	1	1	1	1	10
3.Implementation		2			1	1			1		1	1		1	1	2	11
4.Media						1		1	1		3	4	1			1	12
5.Health						1	1				2		1			2	7
6.Gender & governance		1			1	2	2		1		1						8
7.Const & Legal rights			2	1		1		1			3	1	1			2	12
8.HIV and AIDS		3			1	1					1			1			7
9.Climate Change		1		1					1				1			1	5
10.Economic Justice		1		1	1	1		1	1		2	1	1		1	2	13
11.Peace & Security		1			1						1	1					4
TOTAL	0	11	2	3	5	9	5	3	6	1	14	11	6	3	3	12	94

Table one shows some of the Protocol@work case studies used in this barometer.

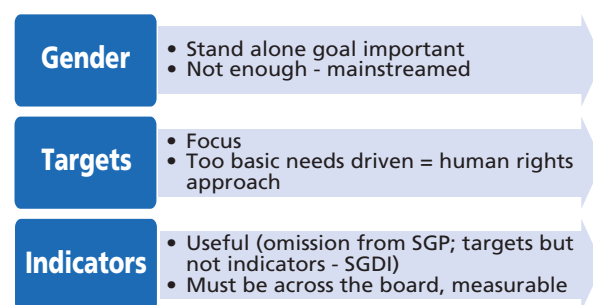
Lessons from the MDG era



Three key lessons emerge from the MDG era. First, valuable lessons have been learned on **mainstreaming gender, versus gender as a stand-alone target** during this period. The Gender and Development Network (GADN) comments: “MDG3 has demonstrated the impact that a dedicated gender goal can have. It has promoted

inclusion of gender in the broader development agenda and has increased political will for and attention to the needs and priorities of women and girls. It has also spurred new investment in gender both in relation to resources and also in terms of increased technical knowledge.” GADN argues that: “It remains critical that the Post-2015 framework contains a standalone goal on gender equality and women's rights alongside targets to eliminate gender inequality in all other goal areas.” The network goes on to argue that “Mainstreaming, ensuring that gender equality is embedded across the framework, requires targets and indicators that tackle gender inequality in every area, recognising that the barriers that women and men face may be different. Mainstreaming goes beyond ensuring that both women and men benefit equally from existing targets, to ensuring that priority is given to those interventions that are of particular

importance to achieving gender equality and women's rights.”⁴



The second is the value of **targets** in focusing energy and mobilising resources. However, the “lowest common denominator” approach with regard to both targets and indicators led to the criticism that the MDGs are too basic needs driven and that there is need for a right-based approach.

The third lesson concerns the value and limitation of **indicators**. An important difference (and omission from the Protocol) is that the MDGs have targets that can be measured across the board. A limitation of these indicators is that they are quantitative and do not always tell the full story. For example enrolment figures in schools do not reflect the quality of education, or safety in schools. One of the biggest challenges in the Post-2015 era is now to find more measurable and *meaningful indicators*.

⁴ Achieving gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in the Post-2015 framework, Paper by the Gender and Development Network.

Making gender equality count!

Assessing the gender impacts and dimensions of economic and social policies is possible using gender statistics and data. Gender disaggregated data has been increasingly important to ascertain gender dimensions of development. In 2013, the United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD) endorsed a minimum set of gender indicators to serve as a guide for the compilation of gender statistics.⁵ To close

the gender inequality gap, it is critical to expand indicators to beyond governance, health, education and employment. The Post-2015 gender agenda presents an opportunity for the world to cover the gender inequality gap. There is evidence of a vicious cycle whereby low availability of gender statistics leads to a lack of demand from policy makers and researchers, which in turn can reduce the incentive for their production.

The Post-2015 context and frameworks

In 2014, the Alliance mounted a Post-2015 campaign from national to regional to global level. Country level consultations focused on getting Member States to buy into reviewing the Protocol. Countries such as Namibia demonstrated how the Protocol has strengthened gender mainstreaming through alignment and costing of gender action plans.

Malawi's Ministry of Gender provided direct linkages with the Presidency as part of the SADC troika (the past Chair, Malawi, current chair, Zimbabwe, and forthcoming chair, Botswana) to review the Protocol. Minister Patricia Kaliati of Malawi hosted the Alliance during the 59th session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) at the Malawi Permanent Mission in New York. This provided a space for the Alliance to assess the Protocol against the SDGs in preparation for the Post-2015 review.

In seeking ways to influence the global policy agenda so that this could be used as leverage at home, the Alliance held several meetings with UN Women's policy teams as well as the Post-2015 team in New York. The Alliance is a member of the Women's Major Group and the Beyond 2015 group which collate inputs into the Post-2015 agenda. Gender Links (GL) as the coordinating NGO for the Alliance contributed critiques on preliminary reports for the indicators report.⁶ As chair of the Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAG) GL has been especially active in campaigning for the inclusion of gender, media and ICTs, presently missing altogether from the SDGs (see Chapter nine, on the media). The March, 2015 SDG Targets and Indicators report acknowledges this input.⁷

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)



Alliance members with Malawian Gender Minister Patricia Kaliati at the Malawi Mission to the UN during the 2015 CSW. Photo by Gender Links



The zero draft⁸ of the outcome document for the United Nations General Assembly that will adopt the Post-2015 development agenda covers four components of the agenda including Means of Implementation. The SDGs currently comprise 17 goals and 169 targets, including a stand-alone gender equality goal.

⁵ Progress of the World's Women 2015 - 2016, UN Women.

⁶ Indicators and a Monitoring Framework for the Sustainable Development Goals, 12 June 2015 <http://unsdsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/150612-FINAL-SDSN-Indicator-Report1.pdf>

⁷ Acknowledgements, Sustainable Development Goals targets and indicators report, March 2015, United Nations.

⁸ Zero draft outcome document - UN General Assembly for the Post-2015 Development agenda, 1 June 2015.

SDG Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

- 5.1 End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere.
- 5.2 Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking, sexual, and other types of exploitation.
- 5.3 Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation.
- 5.4 Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate.
- 5.5 Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life.
- 5.6 Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed

in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences.

- 5.a Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws.
- 5.b Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women.
- 5.c Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels.

Attached at **Annex 1** at the end of this report is a table that shows the relationship between the MDGs, the SADC Gender Protocol, and the SDG targets and indicators. This table shows that in addition to the provisions of Goal Five, references to gender mainstreamed in other SDG targets bring the total number of gender targets in the SDGs to 33 (including those on climate change).

The zero draft outcome document suggests investment at national and regional level in the following means of implementation for Goal Five:

- Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources in accordance with national laws.
- Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women.
- Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of girls at all levels.

The United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD) working with the Open Working Group on the SDGs has developed indicators and a monitoring framework to measure the proposed targets for the Post-2015 goals. The indicators cover national, global, regional and thematic monitoring. These provide a platform for sub-regions such as SADC to develop their own monitoring system. The UNSD recommends a framework of 100 Global Monitoring Indicators, accompanied by Complementary National Indicators. Thirty five gender specific indicators are included in the global list; 12 under Goal Five (gender equality). Strong financing for development avenues are recommended to implement the proposed targets, measure their progress and a follow up multi-tiered Post-2015 review process. At a national level, the Post-2015 review process recommends active citizen participation.



Lusaka Mayor, George Nyendwa, Daisy Ngambi, Ministry of Gender and Child Development Permanent Secretary, and Sara Longwe, Gender Links Board Member, during the SADC Gender Protocol@Work Summit in Zambia.

Photo by Gender Links

The ten red flags of the SDGs on gender equality



The Women's Major group raised ten red flags in June 2015 on areas that need strengthening to achieve a transformative agenda:

- Gender equality and the human rights of women and girls must be recognised as a cross-cutting issue critical for the success of the Post-2015 development agenda.
- Commitments to human rights and inclusivity must be strengthened.
- Commitments to civil society and major group participation must be strengthened.
- The role of feminist and women's organisations must be recognized and supported.
- The role of the private sector must be regulated and its social, economic and environmental impacts assessed and remedied where appropriate.

- The Political Declaration must emphasise commitments to the wellbeing of people and the planet.
- The Vision and the Call for Action need to acknowledge the way in which the current economic model has contributed to inequalities and environmental degradation.
- The goals and targets proposed by the Open Working Group should be fully endorsed, and there should be a clear path to devise ambitious indicators for the SDGs.
- Means of Implementation must be prioritised for the Post-2015 agenda.
- The commitments to monitoring, review and accountability must outline comprehensive processes for national, regional and global reviews.

Source: International Women's Health Coalition www.iwhc.org

The Beijing Plus Twenty Review



The world celebrated the historic roadmap signed by 189 governments 20 years ago that is still considered the most comprehensive blueprint on women's rights during the 59th session of the Commission on the Status of Women. 164 countries conducted

reviews of the Beijing commitments towards gender equality and women's empowerment.

Women and the economy has been a cause of concern since the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA). The Beijing Plus Twenty review proposes acceleration of women's empowerment through increased decision-making, education and training that include Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects; recognition of the multiple roles of women and financing empowerment activities. The environment, women in peace keeping and violence against women remain areas that need accelerated processes to reduce the gender equality gap.

The Africa review of the BPFA called for transformative change for women and girls. However, the continent raised concerns on new and continuing challenges on issues such as climate change, conflicts, HIV/AIDS, epidemics, human trafficking, child labour, religious extremism, terrorism, global economic and financial crises and increasing inequality, which threaten to set back progress made so far towards gender equality and the advancement of women and girls across the continent. The review emphasised the correlation of Africa's sustainable development with gender equality.

The Addis Beijing Plus 20 review called for a strong **regional accountability framework** involving Governments, the private sector and civil society to monitor and track progress with a view to achieving the Post-2015 development goals, and particularly the stand-alone goal on gender equality and women's empowerment. The review called for investing in data and information systems for monitoring and tracking of gender equality and empowerment.

The review calls for stronger mandates for gender machineries to monitor and evaluate the achievement of agreed-upon gender equality targets and indicators, including by equipping them with the requisite staff to drive, convene and coordinate policies, programmes and interventions. Capacity building programmes, gender audits, gender markers and integrated reporting across all sectors are highlighted as key to tracking funding for gender equality and women's empowerment. The Beijing Plus 20 review emphasises connecting SDGs to implementation at a local level.



Marching for equality at the 59th Commission on the Status of Women meeting, March 2015.
Photo by Katherine Robinson

Financing for development



Governments, civil society and the private sector gathered in Addis Ababa in July 2015 to deliberate on financing the world's development framework. The Financing for Development (FFD) Agenda calls for domestic resource mobilisation which may leave poor countries reliant on foreign aid. As highlighted in Chapter Four on the Economy, SADC's push on industrialisation raises concerns as to who will benefit from this growth and job creation.

The Women's Major Group, representing more than 600 women's groups from over 100 countries, expressed concerns that the framework fails to:

- Advance solutions to developing countries' debt crises, continuing to jeopardize the human rights of women and girls worldwide who bear the burden of harsh austerity measures and debt repayments.
- Address systemic imbalances in the global financial system or advance a new paradigm for democratic economic governance. Women continue to act as shock absorbers and stabilisers during financial crises.
- Regulate the role of the private sector through binding frameworks that align their actions with human rights and sustainable development objectives and hold corporations accountable for violations of human rights and gender equality.
- Ensure that trade and investment agreements do not undermine policies intended to uphold human rights and provide decent work consistent with international labor standards.

African Union Agenda 2063



The African Union finalised a framework in April 2015 to optimally use Africa's resources for advancing the wellbeing of Africans¹⁰. The framework proposes a rights-based approach to development that is mirrored at a national and sub-regional level. The Agenda 2063 framework sets goals and targets for the continent's

development including reducing gender inequality. The African Union further declared 2015 as a year of women's empowerment. In Aspiration number six, Agenda 2063 calls for people driven, inclusive development through:

- Including women through decision-making regardless of gender, political affiliation, religion, ethnic affiliation, locality, age or other factors.
- Fully empowering women in all spheres, with equal social, political and economic rights, including the rights to own and inherit property, sign contracts, register and manage businesses.
- Enabling rural women to have access to productive assets: land, credit, inputs and financial services.
- Eliminating gender-based violence and discrimination (social, economic, political) against women and girls.
- Attain full gender parity, with women occupying at least 50% of elected public offices at all levels and half of managerial positions in the public and the private sectors.

The African Union Agenda 2063 raises the bar for gender equality and especially empowerment of women. The framework however lacks an implementation framework in the form of indicators to measure the set targets.

The SADC Post-2015 Gender Protocol - key issues

The Alliance began 2015 with a campaign demanding that the region:

- Conduct a thorough and honest review of the last seven years, and use this to reposition for 2030.
- Ensure that all gender provisions of the SDGs are incorporated.
- Go further than the SDGs on gender, media and ICTs.
- Strengthen the sustainable development provisions of the SADC Gender Protocol.
- Strengthen the rights-based language in the SADC Gender Protocol.
- Remove contradictions and anomalies around custom, tradition and religion.
- Adopt an implementation framework with strong gender disaggregated indicators.

Since the 2014 Barometer, the Alliance has been reviewing the Protocol targets against the agreed 17 goals and 169 indicators of the SDGs. The Alliance found that the Protocol needs to be bolder and more specific in a number of areas. Target five of the SDG's on gender equality goes much further than its predecessor MDG 3. The global agenda includes GBV, has a number of economic indicators (including the

⁹ Women's Major Group Press release, 26 July 2015.

¹⁰ The Future We Want for Africa, African Union Agenda 2063, April 2015.

unwaged work of women); goes beyond numbers in women's political participation through provisions for "effective" leadership and pushes some boundaries on reproductive health and rights.

On the other hand, the SDGs are thin on gender, media and ICT's, sparking an outcry by the Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAG). Globally, all eyes are now on the indicators that will accompany the SDGs that are expected to be adopted by Heads of State at the UN General Assembly in September. The Alliance and GAMAG shared a potential 300 gender indicators with technical committees working on the global framework. As of latest count, the SDGs had 34 specific indicators on gender, a considerable improvement on the 8 in the MDG's criticised for taking a minimalist, basic needs approach to gender equality. This illustrates how Southern Africa has influenced the global gender agenda, while also looking to strengthen its own position.

The campaign has met with some resistance from the SADC Secretariat that hesitates to re-open Protocols and points out that none of its other protocols have targets let alone indicators.¹¹ Zimbabwe, the current chair of SADC, did not have a gender minister for several months, leading to a hiatus at a critical time. But Malawi, the immediate past chair of SADC,

supported by South Africa, Mozambique, Seychelles and Lesotho has provided strong leadership in support of revising the SADC Gender Protocol Targets. The Gender Ministers meeting in May 2015 provided much-needed guidance to the process. The meeting also raised key conceptual issues that need to be grappled with as part of the review, including:

- How best to align the SADC Gender Protocol to the SDGs, Beijing Plus Twenty Review and the Africa 2063 Agenda;
- The balancing act between strengthening the SADC Gender Protocol and ensuring that gender is mainstreamed in all SADC Protocols;
- How to concretise key provisions in the SADC Gender Protocol that are not currently cast as targets; and
- How best to come up with timeframes and a monitoring framework, when there are such wide differences in country performance.

Alignment and pushing the envelope

Often referred to as a sub-regional road map for MDG Three, SADC has up to now stayed ahead of the global agenda in its aspirations for gender equality. Table 2 is a numerical summary of the table at **Annex 1**, found at the end of the Barometer, showing the progression on gender from the MDGs to the SDGs, and where the SADC Gender Protocol sits within these frameworks.

Table 2: FROM MDGs to SDGs - Aligning the SADC Gender Protocol to the SDGs

THEME		TARGETS			INDICATORS		
		MDGs - Gender	SADC Gender Protocol targets	Sustainable Development Goals - Gender	MDGs - Gender	SDGI	SDG indicators - Gender
1	Constitutional and legal	0	3	3	0	0	2
2	Governance	1	1	1	1	3	1
3	Education	1	2	2	2	3	7
4	Economic Justice	4	7	6	1	8	7
5	Gender Based Violence	0	6	3	0	0	4
6	Sexual & Reproductive Health	4	4	3	2	3	9
7	HIV and AIDS	1	3	1	2	3	2
8	Peace and Security	0	1	0	0	0	0
9	Media	1	1	1	0	6	0
10	Environment	3	0	12	6	0	2
TOTAL		12	28	32	8	26	34

Table two shows that:

- The SADC Gender Protocol went further than the MDGs with 28 targets on gender equality in ten sectors compared to 12 in the MDGs in seven sectors.

The SADC targets cover a wider range of areas than the MDGs, including Constitutional and legal rights, violence against women, peace and security and the media. However, the SADC Gender Protocol is silent

¹¹ E Mail communication with the Alliance, E Kakukuru; 11 May, 2015.

on gender and the environment, an area the MDGs began to touch on, ahead of the SDGs.

- With 32 targets specific to gender or in which gender is mainstreamed, the SDGs go beyond the MDGs in a number of areas, and potentially reinforce the SADC Gender Protocol in almost all theme areas, except for the media, peace and security. With 12 gender-related targets on the environment, the SDGs are especially strong in this area.
- Although SADC governments did not have a Monitoring, Evaluation and Results (MER) framework

for the SADC Gender Protocol, the Alliance devised the SADC Gender and Development Index (SGDI) with 26 empirical indicators in six sectors. The MDGs had just eight gender indicators, in similar sectors. The SDGs have 34 gender indicators, in eight sectors. These indicators have been selected by a team of experts from statistical offices around the globe because they are measurable. This means that these indicators can definitely be used to strengthen the SGDI.

Table 3: Integrating the SDG provisions into the SADC Gender Protocol

	TARGETS	INDICATORS
Additional to the SADC Gender Protocol	4	24
Similar and can be merged	16	8
Only the SADC Gender Protocol has these	13	18
Total	33	50

Annex 1 shows in detail how the provisions of the SDGs and the SADC Gender Protocol might be merged, by categorising targets and indicators into those that are additional to the Protocol; those that are similar and can be merged, and those that are unique to the SADC Gender Protocol. **Table three** summarises these findings. It shows that a simple merging of these provisions might lead to 33 targets, and 50 indicators in the Post-2015 SADC Gender Protocol. *However, this is not a numbers game, or a mathematical exercise; rather one of identifying what is going to ensure that gender equality is achieved by 2030.*

Annex A is on the CD ROM because it is a working document that the Alliance is contributing to the review process, for which it is providing technical advice. This details not only the provisions in the SDGs, but also in the Beijing Platform for Action, and Agenda 2063, against the targets of the Protocol. It also includes gender provisions in other SADC Protocols, where these have been mainstreamed. Based on the analysis of authors in this Barometer, the annex proposes ways in which the SADC Gender Protocol targets can be aligned to these global and continental provisions. The annex also identifies indicators

for which credible data can be sourced, both from the experience of working with the SGDI, and the debates on the SDGs. As these are still matters for negotiation, it is premature to put numbers to what may emerge for review. What is apparent however is that there is a basis in agreed instruments for a strong MER framework for the Post - 2015 SADC Gender Protocol.



Looking at all the options: Regional SADC Gender Protocol@Work summit, May 2014. Photo by Thandokuhle Dlamini

Table 4: Mapping of global gender frameworks against the SADC Gender Protocol

Thematic area	MDGs	The SADC Gender Protocol	SDG	BPFA	AU Agenda 2063
Constitutional and Legal rights	Yellow	Light Green	Yellow	Light Green	Yellow
Governance	Yellow	Light Green	Yellow	Light Green	Yellow
Education	Yellow	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Light Green
Economic Justice	Yellow	Dark Green	Dark Green	Dark Green	Light Green
Gender Based Violence	Yellow	Light Green	Light Green	Dark Green	Yellow
Sexual and Reproductive Health	Light Green	Light Green	Light Green	Light Green	Red
HIV and AIDS	Light Green	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green	Red
Peace and Security	Yellow	Light Green	Yellow	Light Green	Yellow
Media	Red	Dark Green	Red	Red	Red
Climate Change	Red	Red	Dark Green	Light Green	Light Green

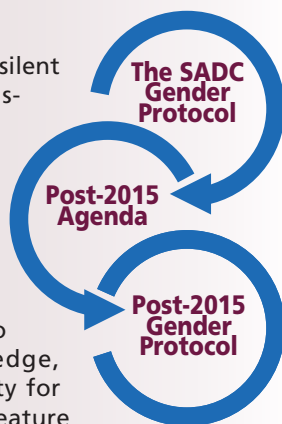
Key	Gender missing	Gender weak	Strong on gender	Very strong on gender
	Red	Yellow	Light Green	Dark Green

Table four summarises the *content* of **Annex A**, showing also the progress that has been made with regard to global discourse on gender since the MDGs. With colour coding ranging from red for gender missing to dark green for very strong, the analysis

shows that the SADC Gender Protocol is a strong instrument lacking only on climate change; and open to strengthening in seven areas. The Protocol also has much to contribute to global debates, especially on the media, ICTs, HIV and AIDS.

A dynamic interplay

The SADC Gender Protocol is silent on **climate change** and sustainable development, a key area in the Post-2015 agenda. The SDGs are strong on women's representation and participation in climate change decision-making as well as investment in agriculture, mining and tourism to empower women. Knowledge, development and accessibility for women on climate change feature strongly in the SDGs and the BPFA. The AU Agenda 2063 targets equitable use of natural resources for socio-economic beneficiation. Tapping indigenous knowledge from women as a means of knowledge generation and decision-making is highlighted in the SDGs, BPFA and the AU Agenda 2063. The three frameworks highlight the involvement of women in disaster management as well as the equitable allocation to land for income generation and food security.



While the Protocol focuses on enrolment in **education**, the SDGs bring in completion rates. The BPFA also focusses on changing negative cultural norms to promote girls' retention at school. The BPFA emphasises safety and sanitation facilities at school as means of keeping girls in school. It also recognises early childhood development as key to gender responsive career pathing. By having a target and indicators on prevalence of **gender violence**, the SDGs open the door for cascading the GBV baseline studies that have now been conducted in six SADC countries to all countries in the region.

The SADC Gender Protocol is the only framework that recognises care work linked to **HIV and AIDS**. While the SADC Gender Protocol has strong provisions on gender equality in and through the media, there is superficial mention of increasing access to ICTs and internet usage in the SDGs and AU Agenda 2063. All instruments need to be more up-to-date on cyber violence, use of ICTs for economic empowerment and improvement of literacy levels of women using ICTs.

Stand alone or mainstream? Gender in other SADC Protocols

A perennial question for SADC, as for any organisation, is the extent to which gender should be mainstreamed in existing instruments, as opposed to the stand-alone

Protocol. The SADC region has 27 Protocols (including the SADC Gender Protocol). Gender mainstreaming in these instruments is patchy at best; missing at worst.

Table 5: Gender in mainstream SADC Protocols

	Protocol	Year adopted	Gender references
1.	Protocol to the Treaty establishing SADC on Immunities and Privileges	1992	1 Provision: Officials of SADC shall: Be immune together with their spouses and members of the family forming part of the household, from immigration restrictions, alien registration and from national service obligations.
2.	Protocol on Energy	1996	1 Provision: Ensure that the development and use of energy takes cognisance of the gender realities of the region.
3.	Protocol on Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking	1996	
4.	Protocol on Trade	1996	
5.	Protocol on Transport, Communications and Meteorology	1996	
6.	Protocol on Education and Training	1997	
7.	Protocol on Mining	1997	
8.	Protocol on Health	1999	2 Provisions: To develop common strategies to address the health needs of women, children and other vulnerable groups; Encourage adolescents to delay engaging in early sexual activity which may result in unwanted teenage pregnancies.
9.	Protocol on Legal Affairs	2000	
10.	Revised Protocol on Shared Water courses	2000	
11.	Protocol on the Tribunal and Rules thereof	2000	1 Provision: Article 4 - Nomination, Selection and Appointment of Members :2) Due consideration shall be given to fair gender representation in the nomination and appointment process.
12.	Protocol Against Corruption	2001	
13.	Protocol on Control of Firearms, Ammunition and other materials	2001	
14.	Protocol on Fisheries	2001	2 Provisions: In the Implementation of this Protocol, State Parties shall promote gender equality and address any potential inequalities; State Parties shall ensure that all stakeholders participate, at the appropriate level in decision-making processes that affect the management of shared resources.
15.	Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security	2001	
16.	Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport	2001	4 Provisions: Article 3 - State parties undertake to cooperate in the following areas: f) gender equality and equity; Article 9 - State parties shall co-operate in ensuring gender equality and equity in the areas of culture, information and sport in light of the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development; Article 17 - In fulfilment of the Principles of this Protocol, State Parties shall co-operate in the area of information in order to attain the following objectives: f) ensure that the media are adequately sensitised on gender issues so as to promote gender equality and equity in information dissemination; Article 24 - In fulfilment of the Principles of this Protocol, State Parties shall co-operate in the area of sport in order to attain the following objectives: d) promote active participation by stakeholders in sport and recreation activities, with special emphasis on women, children and persons with disabilities.
17.	Protocol on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters	2002	
18.	Protocol on Extradition	2002	1 Provision: Article 4 - Extradition shall be refused in any of the following circumstances: b) if the Requested State has substantial grounds for believing that the request for extradition has been made for the purpose of prosecuting or punishing a person on account of that person's race, religion, nationality, ethnic origin, political opinion, sex or status or that the person's position may be prejudiced for any of those reasons.

	Protocol	Year adopted	Gender references
19.	Protocol on Forestry	2002	ARTICLE 13: 2 Provisions: State parties shall adopt national policies and mechanisms to enable the effective participation of women in effective forestry management, including affirmative steps to seek and encourage such participation; develop regional guidelines and share information and expertise related to the participation of women in sustainable forest management.
20.	Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons	2005	
21.	Protocol on Gender and Development	2008	Gender Protocol.
22.	Protocol on Science, Technology and Innovation	2008	1 Provision: Promotion of gender equity in all areas of science, technology and innovation
23.	Protocol on the development of Tourism	2009	
24.	Protocol on Finance and investment	2010	
25.	Protocol in Trade in Services	2012	
26.	Protocol on Environmental Management For Sustainable Development	2013	8 Provisions in Article 19 on Gender equality and Women's Empowerment, gender analysis and gender mainstreaming; gender responsive policies, strategies, projects and programmes; gender responsive capacity building, education, and training; participatory consultations including women and men; utilise women's skills, knowledge and capacities in mitigation and adaptation strategies; conduct research which does exist on gender and environmental management; gender sensitive indicators for environmental management; collect and publish gender disaggregated data.
27.	Protocol on Employment and Labour	2014	11 Provisions across the Protocol including: promoting gender equality in the employment and labour sector; equality of opportunity in employment and labour market policies; elimination all forms of direct or indirect discrimination on grounds such as sex, gender, pregnancy, marital status; ensure equal pay for work of equal value, and equal remuneration for jobs of equal value for women and men; the eradication of occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination; adoption of reasonable measures to enable men and women to reconcile their occupational and family obligations; promotion of decent work; equity in post-employment security schemes; maternity protection is afforded to all employed women, in accordance with the ILO Maternity Protection (Revised) Convention, 2000 (No. 183); compulsory social insurance paid by both the employer and the employees in respect of the total number of men and women employed, without distinction of sex; Maternity medical benefits shall include prenatal, childbirth and postnatal care, as well as hospitalisation care when necessary; paternity leave in order to ensure that child-caring is a shared responsibility between father and mother; ensure that women are not discriminated against or dismissed on grounds of maternity; working conditions and environments are appropriate for and conducive to pregnant and nursing mothers; sustainable human development which promotes innovative, gender-sensitive training and skills development programmes, such as apprenticeship programmes, mentorship, business incubators, promoting a culture of entrepreneurship.
TOTAL			34 references to gender

Table five analyses the existing provisions for gender equality in SADC Protocols. It shows that 11 out of the 26 mainstream Protocols make some reference to gender. Significantly, the most comprehensive references to gender are in the latest two Protocols:

the Protocol on Employment and Labour and Protocol on Environmental Management for Sustainable Development.¹² This is a positive sign that gender mainstreaming is beginning to take root in SADC processes.

¹² Gender Dimensions of Regional Integration; C L Morna, 2015.

Table 6: Gender references in SADC Protocols by theme

Theme	SADC Gender Protocol targets	References to gender in other SADC Protocols (no specific targets)	SADC Protocols that make these references
Constitutional and legal	3	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protocol to the Treaty establishing SADC on Immunities and Privileges • Protocol on the Tribunal and Rules thereof • Protocol on Extradition
Governance	1		
Education	2	1	Protocol on Science, Technology and Innovation
Economic Justice	7	16	Protocols on Energy, Fisheries, Forestry, Science and Innovation, Employment and Labour
Gender Based Violence	6		
Sexual reproductive Health	4	2	Protocol on Health
HIV and AIDS	3		
Peace and Security	1		
Media, ICT and communication	1	4	Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport
Environment and climate change		8	Protocol on Environment Management
TOTAL	28	34	

Table six summarises the more detailed mapping of gender in mainstream SADC Protocols by theme in **Annex A on the CD ROM**. This shows that there are 34 references in six theme areas. Not surprisingly, given SADC's economic bent, the most number of references to gender are in the economic justice sector. An important vindication of the stand-alone gender protocol is that there are no references to gender in other SADC Protocols in four key areas: governance, GBV; HIV and AIDS; peace and security. Numerical representation in other areas should not be mistaken for adequacy. In some instances, as reflected in Table Five, references are vague and peripheral. *Of great significance is the fact that the other SADC Protocols do not have specific targets, timeframes or an MER framework. This underpins the Alliance position that mainstreaming all SADC instruments should be cross referenced with the SADC Gender Protocol.*



A SADC Protocol on gender and development workshop in DRC. Photo by Gender Links

Why cross referencing is key

A case in point is the creative tension that has existed between the SADC GU and the Alliance on Gender and Climate Change. Recognising the gap on this issue as natural disasters in the region swirl around us, the Alliance started a campaign for an addendum on Gender and Climate Change in 2011. While the addendum did not eventuate, many of the proposals found their way into the Protocol on Environment

Management and Sustainable Development. The Alliance still argues that given the crucial importance of this issue for women in the region, reference should be made to these provisions in the SADC Gender Protocol, and enhanced through its unique targets, timeframes, and now MER framework. Alignment to the SDGs, that are particularly strong in this area, will enhance the action and results that this Barometer calls for.

Provisions in the SADC Protocol that are not targets

Table 7: Targets and provisions in the SADC Gender Protocol

Theme	SADC Gender Protocol targets	SADC Gender Protocol Provisions
Constitutional and legal rights	3	36
Governance	1	7
Education	2	0
Economic Justice	7	8
Gender Based Violence	6	15
Sexual reproductive Health	4	0
HIV and AIDS	3	2
Peace and Security	1	1
Media	1	6
Environment		0
TOTAL	28	75

Another key area for consideration in the review are existing provisions in the Protocol that have not specifically been designated as targets. **Table seven** shows that while the Protocol has 28 targets for the attainment of gender equality by 2015, it has another 75 provisions for gender equality. Working with the Protocol, especially in aligning national action plans

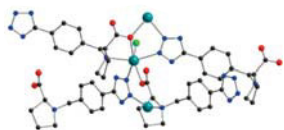
to the SADC Gender Protocol, has raised questions as to why some provisions constitute specific targets, while others do not. A critical debate is required during the review on what informed these decisions, and whether they need to be relooked in the Post-2015 review, as illustrated in the media example that follows:

Why more media provisions should be targets

The media targets of the SADC Gender Protocol are recognised globally as among the most progressive. Yet only one of the ten provisions (equal representation of women in the ownership of, and decision-making structures of the media by 2015) is a specific target. Of particular concern to gender and media activists is that the provision on “giving women

equal voice in all areas of coverage” in Article 30.2 is not a time-bound target. While monitoring has proceeded on the premise that this *should* be a target, the fact that it is not weakens advocacy in this area. The Alliance will be lobbying hard for certain *provisions* of the Protocol to become *targets* in the Post-2015 era.

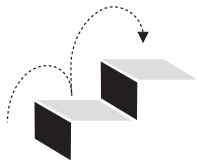
Variable performance



A fourth and final key consideration concerns timeframes and variable performance between countries. As detailed

in the chapters that follow, SADC countries vary greatly in size and performance. While some have come close to reaching certain targets, others still lag behind. For example, three SADC countries (Seychelles, South Africa and Namibia) are now close to attaining gender parity in women's

representation in parliament. Yet in four SADC countries (the DRC, Zambia, Botswana and Mauritius) women's representation in parliament is below 15%. Clearly, some SADC countries should set themselves earlier deadlines than others for achieving the gender parity target. *Overall, the review should not just be a case of substituting 2015 with 2030. It should be based on a realistic assessment of performance, overall and by country, to set achievable targets that will lead to action and results.*



Next steps

Table 8: Roadmap for the review of the SADC Gender Protocol

ACTION	WHO	WHEN	OUTPUT
Set up task team - one senior official per Member State plus Technical Team.	Secretariat	June 2015	Task Team
Draft Budget for the process and mobilise resources.	Secretariat	June 2015	Budget
Alignment exercise leading to draft Post-2015 targets and indicators.	Technical team	July 2015	Zero Draft revised targets and indicators
Circulate to Member States for input.	Secretariat	July 2015	Input from MS
Notification on the review process to Council of Ministers.	Secretariat	July 2015	Endorsement of the review process
Meeting of Task Team in the margins of the SADC HOS.	Secretariat/ Alliance	August 2015 (Botswana)	Draft Targets and MER Framework
National consultations.	Member States/ Alliance	September/ October 2015	Feedback on the draft Targets and MER Framework
Meeting of Gender Ministers in the margins of the AU/UNECA meeting.	Secretariat/ UN WOMEN	November/December (TBC) - 2015	Revised targets and MER Framework
Council of Ministers Meeting.	Secretariat	March 2016	Final comments on the revised targets and MER framework
Annual Gender Ministers Meeting.	Secretariat/UN WOMEN, Alliance	May 2016	Adoption of the revised targets and MER framework

Source: SADC Gender Ministers Meeting May 2015.

The May 2015 Gender Ministers meeting crafted a roadmap for the review process (**Table eight**) which will be led by the Member States, the SADC secretariat, UN Women and the Alliance. The process requires commitment from the government, SADC secretariat and the gender movement. The Alliance has a platform to contribute to strengthening the Protocol using lessons learnt from 2008 to 2015. Alignment to global

processes will help to ensure synergy and enhance the possibility of resource mobilisation. The region has seen the value of time-bound targets but also felt the gap of indicators to measure the targets. The implementation framework agreed to by governments will help to ensure that targets will be met in 2030. *Now is the time for all to demand, and work together for, action and results!*