

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction and Background

This report assesses the vibrancy of the women's movement in the SADC (Southern African Development Community) region and makes recommendations for more effective strategies to ensure equal rights for women. The consultancy was commissioned by the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, OSISA, in 2005. The study was in response to concerns expressed by participants at a series of regional meetings on the Beijing + 10 Review Process. Women felt that in recent years there was a loss of vibrancy in the Women's Movement, and this was cause for concern. The study's main objective was to: "... undertake a critical analysis of the state of the women's movement (then and now), identify the causes for its deterioration (shape shifting) and identify strategies for addressing the deterioration and develop a detailed action plan at both national and regional levels."¹

Methodology

A Task Team (TT) comprising women's rights activists from the region was established and on the advice of the TT, OSISA engaged three activist consultants to carry out the research. In depth interviews on a one on one basis and focus group discussions were conducted by individual researchers in each of the thirteen SADC countries of Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Respondents included people from the women's movement, its strategic partners, UN agencies and government. The sample comprised a minimum of 10 respondents per country, with at least two being young women between 18 and 35 and at least one interview with a community-based organisation outside the capital city. The interviews and discussions provided the basis for identifying the problems and challenges facing the movement and in making recommendations for its revival.

The limitations to the study included: time constraints, both in terms of data collection and in terms of respondents availability. The study was also constrained by a delay in identifying a Portuguese- speaking researcher.

Theoretical Framework

Definition of Concepts

A Women's Movement is "a movement to secure legal, economic, and social equality for women, otherwise called the feminist movement."² A women's movement can be classified as a social movement because it is social in nature, as it comprises women drawn from across the social hierarchy. A women's movement can also be classified as a "reform" movement

because it is dedicated to changing patriarchal norms. The vibrancy of the women's movement was assessed according to the following criteria:

- *Ability to push forward with the women's rights agenda.* The effectiveness of strategies in realising this agenda and in playing a *spearheading, challenging and watchdog/monitoring role*.
- *Level of feminist orientation.* The extent of recognition and action on issues of gender discrimination, and structural gender inequality.
- *Organisational appropriateness* for reflecting women's aspirations, the representativeness of organisations, their level of internal democratic management and their degree of autonomy from other organisations.

Using these criteria, the study aimed to examine the women's movement in the period 1985 – 2000, to compare the vibrancy of the movement pre- and post- the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action periods.

Main Findings

Respondents were generally of the opinion that the women's movement has waned and lost vibrancy since 1995. This pattern was consistent across the region, except in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where the women's movement was said to have been able to seize the opportunity created by the peace negotiations of 2002 and the 2003 – 2006 transitional phase.

The loss of vibrancy arises partly from the movement's pre-1995 success in pushing governments into ratifying and agreeing to international conventions and declarations and adopting policies for women's advancement and equal rights for women. This success has contributed to complacency and the loss of focus on key issues. The women's movement has failed to sufficiently adapt to this new situation and it has become more diffuse, with women's issues now being taken up by non Governmental Organisations (NGOs), governments and donor agencies. This has led to new categories of problems:

- Loss of NGO personnel to government and donor agencies;
- Loss of altruistic motivation within the women's movement, as many participants now join for salaried employment or for paid consultancy work;
- Patriarchal opposition within government, despite government's own gender policies;
- Watering down of the women's agenda, with more emphasis on humanitarian change within the present social structure, and less emphasis on ending gender discrimination.

In each country, a coalition of women's NGOs is commonly thought of as the women's movement. In practice such coalitions fall short in several respects:

- Many of the member organisations are not concerned with programmes for women's rights, but are more concerned with humanitarian or welfare issues;
- The majority of the programmes for women's advancement are now being implemented or supported by institutions outside of the NGO movement.

Respondents were not, however, entirely pessimistic in their assessment of the women's movement. Many felt that the current lack of vibrancy in the movement was caused by its successes in the earlier period. These successes needed to be celebrated.

Main Recommendations

Undertaking Purposeful Dialogues

Respondents felt that dialogue was the starting point in the quest to reinvigorate the movement. This ongoing dialogue must involve women's organisations at local and national levels and should span the generational divide to include founder members and more recent ones. This should be accompanied by the formation of an overall coordinating body to which all organisations within the movement will be affiliated.

Promoting the Celebration of Achievements and Rewarding Achievers

Respondents saw great value in celebrating success whether at local, national or regional level and exploiting its potential as a tool to motivate individuals and organisations to keep the woman's movement vibrant at all times. Such achievements include: the celebration of key gender festivals such as the International Women's Day and the Sixteen days of Activism Against Gender-based Violence as well as the celebration of landmark victories on issues of policy formulation and law reform. In many countries, these were the only instances of visible solidarity amongst different stakeholders in the women's movement.

Recommendations on Strategic Interventions

This report sees the overall problem as being structural and issue-specific rather than personal. There is a need for the women's movement to adapt to the overall structural change of a larger and more diffuse movement, hence the need for strengthened coordinating bodies. Structural shortcomings can be overcome through the institution of the following strategic interventions:

Strengthening Existing Coordinating Structures

The perception is that in each country, a coalition of NGO women's organisations is the women's movement. In a number of countries, this structure either lacks capacity or is defunct. It is therefore imperative that existing national coordinating bodies be strengthened or in extreme cases new ones formed. Each country specific situation should determine the course of action. The national coordinating structures should in turn form a regional coordinating body which will dictate the policies, direction and pace of the movement throughout the South African Development Community (SADC) without undue influence from governments and the donor community.

Identifying Strategies for Dealing with Patriarchal Opposition

One of the keys to reinvigorating the women's movement is dealing directly with patriarchal opposition. This is one of the most difficult and persistent problems the movement will have to contend with. The movement will have to come up with innovative ideas such as increasing the number of women with feminist beliefs in parliament, local government and government bureaucracy.

Reviving National and Regional Support Strategies

Previously, there has been very good regional and international co-operation within the women's movement in organising meetings and pressure groups to push governments to adopt United Nations (UN) conventions and domestic policies for gender equality. The need for a regional co-ordinating body that will support country specific co-ordinating structures cannot be over emphasised. This regional co-ordinating body should include all stakeholders in the women's movement, including NGOs, governments, and feminist groups.

Identifying Donor Strategies for Supporting Women's Movement

There is need for donor and development agencies to support the formation and operations of the women's movement, both at the national and regional levels. Donor agencies can support the women's movement and its agenda by:

- Accepting policy priorities in terms of the agency's comparative advantage and best *niche* in contributing to the national and regional women's agenda as outlined by the women's coordinating body.
- Avoid imposing priorities and conditions that interfere with implementation of the women's agenda, as agreed to, by and with the women's movement.

Endnotes

- 1 See Terms of Reference, (annex 5)
- 2 [http://www.answers.com/women's movement](http://www.answers.com/women's%20movement)

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE REPORT

The preparations for the Beijing+10 review, which took place between 2003 and 2004 brought to the fore progress and challenges and made recommendations to address constraints facing the women's movement globally. The Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) discussed this process at its March 2005³ meeting, where it was felt that the Beijing+10 process was a watershed in taking stock of the implementation of the gender agenda and setting the pace for addressing constraints.

Undoubtedly, gender and women's empowerment NGOs have played a major role in promoting the implementation of gender equity and equality as set in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) and the women's movement has been a vibrant force behind the advancement of the women's rights agenda. In Southern Africa, the participation of women's NGOs towards the Beijing +10 process was facilitated by support from the Open Society Initiative Southern Africa (OSISA), a leading regional foundation which was established by philanthropist George Soros to create and sustain the institutions, policies and practices of an open society.⁴

One of the main outcomes of the Beijing +10 consultative process was the observation of loss of vibrancy of the women's movement. This continues to be a cause for concern both at the national and regional levels. To that end, OSISA identified this as a concern meriting immediate attention. This led to the setting up of a Task Team, to act as a think tank in seizing and realising OSISA's vision of participating in reinvigorating the women's movement in Southern Africa.

OSISA, under the supervision of the Task Team and Gender Programme Advisor engaged three consultants involved in women's issues to provide a situational analysis of the women's movement in 13 SADC member countries over a twenty-year period (1985 to 2005), as well as to provide practical suggestions and advice on how to strengthen the women's movement regionally. The report on the findings was also to serve as a background paper to be presented at a regional roundtable meeting, to be hosted by OSISA in the first trimester of 2006 to examine the ways in which the women's movement in the SADC region can be reinvigorated and sustained. The report thus contributes directly towards a critical reflection by stakeholders from across the SADC region.

To this end, the consultants travelled to the following countries, where interviews were conducted with at least 10 prominent representatives of the local women's movement: Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. A list of persons inter-

viewed is attached as Annex 4. The assessment was undertaken in accordance with Part 3 of the Terms of Reference attached as Annex 5.

Background

A Women's Movement is "a movement to secure legal, economic, and social equality for women, otherwise called the feminist movement."

In profiling the women's movement, it is important to start by defining the concept. A Women's Movement is "a movement to secure legal, economic, and social equality for women, otherwise called the feminist movement."⁵ A more holistic approach in the attempt to define a women's movement would probably entail looking at the concept in terms of social movements. "Social Movements are a type of group action; they are large informal groupings of individuals and/or organisations focused on specific political or social issues, in other words carrying out social change."⁶ Education, as a catalyst of freedom of action and, ultimately, economic independence is key for the unprecedented number of contemporary social movements. In broad terms the women's movement can be classified as a social movement because it is social in nature, as it made up of women across the social hierarchy. For instance, housewives, workers, professionals, activists etc, all form part of the women's movement. In narrow terms, the women's movement can also be classified as a 'reform' movement because it is dedicated to changing some norms, *patriarchal norms*.

The international women's movement has its roots in the 19th century feminist movement. Feminism was a distinctive and concerted approach that sought to ensure the recognition of women's social, economic, political and cultural rights. This concept (feminism) is manifest in the literary works of celebrated feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Virginia Wolf who demonstrated total resentment to the "patriarchal society that has hindered or prevented women from realising their productive and creative possibilities."⁷

In the African context, the women's movement was lent impetus by world organisations such as the United Nations which sensitised and motivated African women to attend the 1975 Mexico women's conference. The main purpose of this conference was to "...end discrimination against women and to ensure their equal participation in society..."⁸ This was followed by the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies conference held in 1985. These two conferences consolidated African women's contemporary activism in the sense that they presented an "Africanised" version of the concept of feminism. Previously, feminism, owing to its origins, was associated with an exclusive struggle by white women who were trapped in domesticity. Their definition of the concept of gender was culturally exclusive in that it did not articulate the plight of African women (which was a more comprehensive cultural subjugation). Nonetheless, this does not imply that before the advent of feminism and, ultimately, the coming into existence of world organisations such as the United Nations (UN), there was absolutely no women's activism in Africa. There were women organisations, even though most of them were either welfare-oriented or politically motivated. Some activism was confined to the micro-level, without room for networking and cohesiveness.

An understanding of some of the factors that create and influence the social context within which the women's movement must operate is necessary. The socio-economic, political and legal terrain in Southern Africa is intricately complex. Generally, on the political front, the SADC continues to ride the wave of the democratisation process, with some countries such as South Africa celebrating sustained democratic progress. However, it is yet to recover from the

devastation of civil wars, political and social upheavals such as in the case of Angola, Mozambique, DRC and Zimbabwe. Consequently, the region is increasingly characterised by a high degree of mobility of persons within and between the countries due to displacement by internal hardships or due to economics and the search for better conditions elsewhere.

HIV and AIDS continue to exact huge development casualties for the region, with 58 percent of people living with HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa being women (UNAIDS and WHO UNAIDS Update 2003). Gender inequality, some harmful traditional practices and violence against women fuel the spread of HIV and AIDS amongst women in an unprecedented fashion. The “feminisation” of HIV and AIDS therefore poses a great challenge to the women’s movement, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. In response to the pandemic, the UN Secretary General commissioned a special envoy to assess the challenges brought about by the triple threat of food insecurity, HIV and AIDS and weakening governance systems. This led to the recommendation of urgent action to address the gender dimension of HIV and AIDS.

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Poverty and increasing unemployment levels continue to strain the Southern African economy, leaving the ordinary person in the street to her/his own devices as governments increasingly come under pressure to conform to structural adjustment programmes by the World Bank. The effects of structural adjustment programmes tend to be harshest for the poorest of the poor, of which women are a majority. Similarly, globalization appears to threaten those industries which are dependent on women’s work (e.g. agriculture, textile and conventional manufacturing). It is particularly worrying that while governments are actively promoting Poverty Reduction Strategies Papers (PRSP), macro-economic policies are all too often not concerned with finding measures to counter the rising feminization of poverty.

Globalization appears to have a bi-directional effect on the women’s movement. On the positive side, global policies help to ensure that adherence to the women’s agenda is a requirement to access global funds: i.e. funding is available for gender mainstreaming. Non-compliance not only limits one’s access to financial grants but may also result in sanctions and or disrepute. On the flip side, in Marxist terms, globalization (through gender mainstreaming) acts as a mechanism that propels women into the most insecure sectors of the economy where their voices are systematically muzzled. It is however gratifying to note that the women’s movement has noticed “this co-optation and has been careful not to compromise the important gains that have been made in achieving gender equality, (*protecting*).”⁹

African and sub-regional initiatives such as New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) have attempted to create spaces to entrench adherence to the women’s agenda. However, analysis of these initiatives has identified gaps and weaknesses in these processes which render them weak in advancing the women’s agenda (Longwe, 2002). There exists a legal duality, comprising customary and civil law that sometimes results in conflicting provisions, especially when they relate to the protection of women’s rights or the use of customary law to contravene or violate constitutionally entrenched human rights provisions. Some constitutions do not adequately cover grounds for discrimination from a gender perspective such as marital status and pregnancy.¹⁰

Women’s aspirations to decision-making positions were reaffirmed in the SADC Gender

Declaration Action Plan of 1999-2000. Article H (iii) of the document professes total commitment to “Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least thirty per cent target of women in political and decision making structures by year 2005.”¹¹ This initiative contributed to the strength of the movement in the region as it created gender structures that could influence policy decisions at the highest level of SADC. This continues to be one of the major challenges faced by the movement in the region more so because of the seeming lack of political will to meet the thirty percent target. Only a few countries, namely, South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique, have managed to reach the target. It is against this challenging background therefore that the women’s movement has to redefine its strategies for moving forward with a women’s agenda.

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Methodology

Process

The research process entailed holding several preparatory meetings to design an appropriate methodology. These meetings included a briefing by the Task Team on the 13th and 14th August 2005, as well as several meetings with the consultants to agree upon a theoretical framework, sample, content of the semi-structured interview questionnaire and field etiquette. In December 2005, the consultants met to consolidate the individual reports into a draft, which was instrumental in the production of a zero draft report. The zero draft was circulated to the Task Team members, who made comments at a joint meeting on the 3rd February 2006. Researchers held one more internal meeting to chart a way forward towards the completion of the report. In-between meetings, researchers relied on email communication, punctuated time and again by telephone conversations. The Task Team, coordinated by the OSISA office, was always available for clarification on the terms of reference as and when the need arose. The team members and researchers visited four countries each, with the Team Leader visiting a total of five countries.

Sampling

The researchers were mindful of the fact that the assessment is essentially qualitative rather than quantitative. Due to the small number of respondents in each country (minimum 10) and the limited time available for travel in each country (on average four days, including travel to a province or rural area), the sample cannot claim to be wholly representative of every stakeholder of the women’s movement. However, some degree of representation was achieved by taking a structured sample to represent the different categories of participants in different areas of the women’s movement, and special care was taken to seek interviews from a variety of stakeholders. Therefore, what follows is a reflection of the “majority opinion”, i.e. an indication of general trends as described by the majority of people interviewed.

The researchers were cautious to make full use of the four days per country that were allocated for data collection. In each country the first port of call was the capital city where a fair representation of civil society organisations (CSOs) are located. But, the urban/rural dichotomy meant that at least one rural site was visited. Care was taken to include at least two young women between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five out of the minimum ten respondents per country and the researchers were sensitive to understand how their knowledge and experiences have shaped the organisations they belong to and subsequently the women’s movement.

The target minimum ten respondents represented the following cadres: legal practitioners, media professionals, parliamentary caucus members, coalitions/consortia, community-based organisations, national women's machinery, United Nations agencies, funding organisations, regional gender/women's organisations and networks. Coalitions/consortia included those dedicated to: women human rights, private sector, education, peace, violence, sex/reproductive rights, women with disabilities, women in agriculture, economic empowerment, and environment, as well as faith based organisations, and eminent women identified by the Task Team

Where the researcher was not resident in the country under review, preparations for field-work were made through host organisations and known activists selected on the basis of their record of commitment to women's rights. (*For further details see annexes 1 and 2*).

Instruments Design (see annex 2)

A questionnaire was designed and agreed upon by the team members. The questionnaire was tested in Lusaka, Mbabane and Mozambique before being finalised and administered in the field. The design of the questionnaire incorporated the theoretical considerations and underpinnings of the study.

Methods of Data Collection

The primary method of data collection for this study was the use of the questionnaire. This was administered through in-depth one-on-one interviews with respondents. The responses elicited were captured via note taking and where permission was granted by a voice recorder. The questionnaire was also administered in focus group discussions, with the same method of data capture. Country profiles appended in the report were shared with host organisations and a few institutions by electronic communication. Responses were factored into the report. (*For further details see annex 1*).

Literature Review

A wide range of literature was reviewed on the subject under study. This included – but was not limited to – reports on the United Nations Women's World Conferences from Mexico (1975) to Beijing + 10 (New York, 2005); international, regional and sub-regional instruments seeking to advance gender equality such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) popularly referred to as the Women's Bill of Rights and its Optional Protocol, the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), the Protocol on the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa obligating States to respect normative standards on women's human rights, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and Poverty Reduction Strategies Papers (PRSPs), which have illustrated the extent of the feminisation of poverty in the SADC region.

Since the Beijing + 10 review process coincided with other seminal reviews – notably of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG + 5) and the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD +10) – a wealth of data is available mostly in the form of country reports. These reports show that governments continue pledging commitment to gender equality, equity and empowerment, but despite sustained advocacy campaigns, women's increased representation and mobilisation have not yet yielded positive, substan-

tive changes in women's lives, especially rural women and those living with disabilities (UNECA 2004). The literature has made attempts to critically analyse these processes in terms of the expected gains for women. The concept of gender mainstreaming has also been critically analysed with regards its contributions to gender equality. The literature also reveals that conferences have been hosted on the state of the women's movement in some countries in the region.

The history of women's movements is dominated by the American experience. The origins of feminism in African countries were intertwined with struggles of anti-colonial resistance, which led to the creation of public spaces for women in the form of women's associations and trade unions. This was the beginning of the articulation of the ills of patriarchy and claim for women's rights publicly. With regard to the formation of the women's movement in Africa, most of the early women's organisations were either welfare organisations or women's wings of political parties. The two initial African women's conferences (Mexico and Nairobi conferences) catalysed its formation and articulated a common goal of "ending discrimination against women and ensuring their equal participation in society." Most of the literature defines the women's movement along the lines of "...women organisations dealing with women's issues..." in the findings section this definition emerged as a challenge as most respondents decried this diversity, holding it responsible for the current duplication of efforts and the "scramble" for donor grants.

From the literature reviewed it was clear that the women's movement faces some common challenges at the level of SADC e.g. coordination.

Limitations

Time constraints did not allow the researchers to balance the sample geographically in each country, thus the data has an urban bias. The use of host organisations that were part of the women's movement meant that these organisations could influence the sample. The seven leading activists to be interviewed had very tight schedules this meant that interviews could not be secured. Only one out of the seven was available. The delay in identifying a Portuguese-speaking researcher also proved a constraint. Nonetheless, the study was carried out according to plan as outlined above. Where necessary, researchers improvised without compromising the ethics or quality of the research.

The report is presented in six parts as follows: Part Two, Conceptual and Theoretical Framework; Part Three, Findings: The Loss of Vibrancy, A Historical Perspective; Part Four, Factors Underlying Loss of Vibrancy; Part Five, Action for Change: Identification of Good Practices.

Endnotes

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| <p>3 Held in New York.</p> <p>4 OSISA's programmes focus on, Education, Media, Human Rights and Democracy, Information Communication Technologies, HIV and AIDS, Economic Justice as well as Indigenous Languages Promotion.</p> <p>5 http://www.answers.com/women's movement</p> <p>6 http://www.answers.com/social movements</p> <p>7 Virginia Wolf in M.H. Abrams' A Glossary of Literary Terms. (1957), P88.</p> | <p>8 Handout on the Nairobi forward-looking strategies of Implementation for the Advancement of Women. P1.</p> <p>9 Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, Vol. no: 48 of 2001. p3.</p> <p>10 A declaration on Gender and Development by the Southern African Community: Gender Plan of Action 1999-2000. p18.</p> |
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PART TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This part of the report is informed by the key research objective: “to assess the vibrancy of the women’s movement in the SADC region, and to make recommendations on more effective strategies to address the agenda on the equal rights of women.” To realise this objective, the first part of this framework focuses on providing implicit definitions of key concepts to the study.

The second part of the framework presents a “vibrancy criteria” which presents targets used to assess the “vibrancy” of an organisation. It also explores the concept of “organisational appropriateness” an indicator of performance set against internal structure and functioning. The “classification of organisations” follows with the aim of establishing the major players in the formation of different organisations. The final section discusses the women’s movement and women’s organisations vis a vis “levels of feminist orientation” with the aim of establishing the extent to which these organisations deal with women’s issues.

Definition of Concepts

Women’s Movement

A women’s movement is “a movement to secure legal, economic, and social equality for women, otherwise called the feminist movement.”¹¹ The women’s movement campaigns on issues such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassment, sexual violence. Its goals vary from country to country, e.g. from opposition to female circumcision in Sudan to opposition to the glass ceiling. In many African countries the women’s movement seeks recognition of women’s roles in all aspects of socio-economic and political development. A women’s movement has a social change agenda as it seeks to challenge patriarchy and ensure equity and equality for women.

Vibrancy

From the above it is clear that the characteristic feature of a movement is its ability to bring about change in an identified political, social, economic, legal, cultural, classed and/or gendered arena. Therefore, vibrancy in this report refers to ability, liveliness, and capacity to bring about the desired change. In this instance the movement’s ability to deliver on the agenda for gender equality.

Vibrancy of the Women’s Movement: Is it Necessary?

It is imperative to keep the women’s movement vibrant in order for it to live up to its vision and objectives. Without this there will be little or no accomplishment of the set goals and a certain erosion of rights secured. When there is a lack of vibrancy there is a very real risk that

membership will be disillusioned and thus opt out, culminating in the entrenchment of the patriarchal status quo. Like any other social movement the women's movement cannot afford to lose membership as this forms part of its support-base, its representivity and legitimacy.

Feminist Orientation

The assessment of the level of feminist orientation is made using progress against three different sets of criteria. To what extent is the women's movement concerned with, and able to achieve the following:

- closing gender gaps and challenging discrimination,
- promoting women's welfare or promoting women's empowerment,
- Challenging patriarchy.

Theoretical Framework

Justification

The choice of theoretical framework was influenced by the purpose and context of the study: to assess the *vibrancy of the women's movement*. The theoretical framework had to enable this assessment over a period of time. The framework is based on a combination of the *Longwe empowerment framework and African feminist perspective*.

The theoretical framework seeks to provide insight into the form of vibrancy and/ or lack in the women's movement nationally and regionally. It assesses the extent to which the women's movement is a coherent entity that is effectively moving towards the common vision for women's advancement. The strength of this framework lies in its potential for *comparing the different historical manifestations of the women's movement, i.e. assessing change over time*.

Vibrancy Criteria Specific to the Women's Movement

The vibrancy of the women's movement will be measured against the following criteria:

- The ability to push forward with the women's rights agenda
- The extent of organisational appropriateness

Ability to Push Forward with the Women's Rights Agenda

This point explores the series of roles that the women's movement could consider adopting in order to demand, realise and secure a women's agenda.¹² This lays a foundation for achieving "vibrancy" within the women's movement.

Role 1, Protection: Protecting and claiming those women's rights and entitlements that exist in present law and government policy; making sure that women can actually exercise these rights; ensuring that these rights are recognised, maintained, and not eroded. In other words: maintaining and protecting women's *existing space*.

Role 2, Spearheading: Leading the women's movement to claim the domestication of women's rights agreed upon in regional and international declarations and conventions. Therefore to push for action along the sequence of domestication of conventions into law, incorporation of agreements into policy, and government's implementation of the policy as well as the development of new strategies to keep this women's rights agenda alive.

Role 3, Challenging Inequalities: Pushing for the recognition of gender issues, and public action to address these issues in areas not currently recognised in national legislation, regional and international conventions, or in areas where governments lack political will to address such issues. Various strategies go into addressing such issues; these include, using various strategies such as advocacy, lobbying, public protests, drafting of model legislations as well as participating in legislative and constitutional amendments.

Role 4, Watchdog/monitoring role: Maintaining a shared overall vision of the women's rights agenda and its priorities, monitoring and evaluating progress on this agenda, ensuring that a high level of vision and focus is maintained, as well as devising new strategies to push the agenda forward. In other words, this role requires enabling the collective management of action and success in Roles 1, 2 and 3.¹³

These roles are equally important as mainstays of a vibrant women's movement. None should be compromised, they are complementary.

Extent of organisational appropriateness

There are different aspects of an organisational structure. Some structural forms are more appropriate and effective than others for realising gender equality. The organisational structure is looked at in terms of both *internal* and *external* structure. An assessment is made of the overall organisational appropriateness for reflecting women's aspirations, in terms of three different criteria: *elite or grassroots membership, top-down or bottom up management system, dependency on outside assistance or autonomy.*

Classification of Organizations

Component of Elite or Grassroots Membership

Here we look at whether the CSO has a narrow or broad based membership, with the latter being considered more appropriate for collective and broad-based action on women's rights.

Level 1, Elitist: The organisation is formed by a group of elite or middle-class women, e.g. the Women Lawyers Association, primarily to look after their own group interests, but also with secondary objectives to pursue broader and more altruistic purposes in the area of women's rights.

Level 2, Women's Wing: The organisation originates as the 'women's wing' of some larger organisation which itself has no overall interest in women's rights.

Level 3, Closed/Non Membership Organisation: The organisation originates as a research or service non-membership organisation, which seeks to protect the rights of women, e.g. a legal aid clinic run by a CSO.

Level 4, Grassroots Organisation: The organisations has a large membership of ordinary or grassroots women, formed for the purpose of addressing one or more aspects of discrimination against women, e.g. a women's credit association, or a widows association.

Top-down or bottom-up management system

Here we look at the level of women's representation within the policies and programmes of a CSO, according the following three levels:

Level 1, Control by Autocratic Leader: The organisation is led by an Executive Director who herself set up the organisation, has the ideas and drive, and has negotiated for funding from development agencies. In this type of organisation, staff follow the instructions of the Executive Director. If there is an Executive Board, this board tends to be merely advisory, rather than taking its executive role of establishing policy and approving programmes.

Level 2, Control by Executive Staff: Although an Executive Board is elected by members of the CSO, in practice most of the control and running of the organisation lies in the hands of the salaried Executive Director and her staff who are appointed by the Board.

Level 3, Control by Members: Overall policy and management is in the hands of volunteer members of the CSO, overseen by an elected Executive Board who are also volunteer members. Salaried staff do not take executive roles, but provide only administrative support (e.g. librarian, secretary, accounts clerk).

Level 4, Participatory Control: Decision-making is participatory, with members, the Board and staff having meaningful involvement in decision-making processes.

Whereas Level 1 suggests a hierarchical and top-down organisational structure, Level 3 and 4 imply a more horizontal and participatory structure. It may be noted that Level 3 and 4 are the more appropriate organisational structure for pursuing programmes of women's empowerment.

As with other sets of criteria, this set is intended to point to a parameter that is, in principle, independent of the parameters being assessed by the other criteria. For example, although an organisation may be classified as *grassroots* in its membership on criteria 3.1, it might nonetheless be classified as *autocratic* in its management system according to criteria 3.2.

Dependent or autonomous

The question here, is whether a CSO is an independent organisation, able to decide upon its own mission, policy and programmes. A distinction is made between different levels of independence:

Level 0, GONGO: The so-called "Government organised NGO", which is created by government for the purpose of implementing government programmes, receiving government funding, and supporting government policies and programmes.

Level 1, Development Agency CSO: An organisation formed at the instigation of a development agency, usually an international NGO, for the purpose of implementing the agency's programmes, for enabling local participation on programme implementation, and for receiving programme funding.

Level 2, Entirely Donor Dependent CSO: An organisation that is ostensibly independent, but largely dependent on various different sources of external funding for implementation of programmes, and associated administrative costs. The organisation is subject to various conditions imposed by the donors.

Level 3, Partially Dependent CSO: An organisation which is independent of donor funding for core operations, but which relies upon various sources of donor funding for the implementation of some development projects. Donor funding is sought for some projects, which may or may not be initiated and planned by the CSO and not by the donor.

Level 4, Entirely Independent CSO: An organisation reliant on its own resources, from membership fees or otherwise from disinterested donors. The organisation is therefore able to establish its own policies and implement its own programmes. Programmes are therefore based purely on the needs of the target group and the ideas of CSO members, and not influenced by the donor's interests, priorities, dictates or conditions.

Level of Feminist Orientation

Here an assessment is made of the level of feminist orientation of the national women's movement as a whole. This assessment is made in terms of the stage of development on three different sets of criteria, in terms of whether women's advancement is seen as being concerned with *closing gender gaps or challenging discrimination, women's welfare or empowerment, accommodating or challenging the status quo (patriarchy)*.

Closing gender gaps or challenging discrimination

This considers the question of the extent to which a women's organisation has recognised gender issues which need to be addressed in its work. We may consider four levels of issue recognition:

Level 0, Zero Level: No recognition of gender issues

Level 1, Gender Gaps: Action to close any gender gap in socio-economic status, or in access to resources.

Level 2, Discrimination: Action to modify or end any practice of gender discrimination that is causing a gender gap.

Level 3, Patriarchal Belief: Action to challenge and modify any patriarchal belief in the rightness of male privilege that underpins a discriminatory practice.

This theoretical perspective is premised on the level of feminist orientation and vigilance. Its applicability in each of the categories (listed above) is reflective of its ability to perform under the pillar(s) whose mandate it falls under. Organisations and national movement are analysed in terms of their ability to perform under certain key criteria for pushing forward the women's movement agenda. Each criterion is calibrated into levels that facilitate scrutiny into a selected facet of the women's movement. Under each of the criteria, room for recommendations to shape the future was accommodated.

Endnotes

- 11 [http://www.answers.com/women's movement](http://www.answers.com/women's%20movement)
- 12 This is the authors' attempt to interpret and further develop the conceptual framework presented in the *Report of the Task Team, OSISA, 8 and 9 June 2005*.
- 13 During the conceptual stage, the use of the term "gate keeper" considered with, as an expression of the level of preparedness to jealously guard the agenda and gains that the women's movement has made over time. In this paper the earlier term gate keeping has been replaced by watchdog/monitoring role. This is partly because the term gatekeeping is already a well-established term in the sociological literature, with the very different meaning of 'the system of entry controls used to control membership of a privileged social group', and partly because of fear of backlash in using a term whose conventional meaning has negative connotations.

PART THREE

LOSS OF VIBRANCY: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

The objective of Part Three is to present country specific findings. This section employs the theoretical framework introduced in Part Two in order to give a more precise assessment and critical analysis of the findings. The historical evolution of the women's movement is charted from 1985-2005 and the salient characteristics of the period 1985-1995 are compared with the key features of the women's movement in the later years 1995-2005. For each period a brief summary of findings is given regarding an assessment of the level of feminist orientation and the extent of organisational appropriateness. This then leads to a comparison of the women's movement in the period 1985-1995 to 1995-2005, highlighting the performance of the women's movement in different eras in relation to the protection, spearheading, challenging and monitoring roles.

It should be noted that in accordance with the Terms of Reference, this section is concerned with general trends and regional patterns, rather than in providing detailed analysis of the situation in each of the countries visited. However, a more detailed description of the findings in each country is available in annex 2.

With the exception of the DRC, where the women's movement has increasingly gained strength in the last years, the data showed a common trend: the women's movement in the period 1985 – 1995 was more vibrant compared to the years 1995 – 2005. For example, respondents in Namibia stated that their women's movement was more “visible” in the early 1980s under the leadership of The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) women activists. Similarly, in Mauritius the women's movement established an alliance with the political left in the 1970s and was thus able to influence government to a considerable degree.¹⁴ In Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland respondents revealed that their movement, then led by welfare organisations such as the Botswana Council of Women (BCW), Homemakers Association and Christian oriented organisations, was more vibrant in the early 1970s when it was preparing for the 1975 Mexico Women's conference.

Most respondents noted that the women's movement of today had lost its vibrancy, force and coherency. The consensus that emerged is that although the international women's conferences of Mexico, Copenhagen, Nairobi and Beijing raised enough momentum, much of this momentum was lost in the period 1997-2005. It is therefore abundantly clear that the research findings confirm the perspective articulated in the Addis Ababa preparatory and Beijing + 10 meetings where it was noted that the women's movement was “dwindling.” Logically then this raises questions about the underlying reasons and causes for this loss of

vibrancy, but first it is necessary to discuss the various manifestations and aspects of this perceived loss.

In the early days of the women's movement, the goal was to challenge glaring inequalities. This can be characterised as a period where governments refused to recognise the extent of discrimination against women.

When asked to explain the reasons for the loss of vibrancy, respondents commonly looked at the problem from a historical perspective. There was a common view that the issues to be addressed were less well defined and subsequently fewer issues were taken up than in the past. It was noted that more recently gender issues are more complex, action is more diverse and involves a range of different organisations and institutions e.g. both NGOs and government. It is worth noting that the earlier period was associated with sound activism, was comprised of largely non-gendered welfare orientated organisations and liberation movements. Literature attests to this that for many countries, the realisation of liberation created a window of opportunity for women and the securing of rights on the basis of waging struggle on an equal footing with men. But the literature also shows that this window of opportunity is short lived and patriarchy reconfigures itself making the demands and realisation of women's rights more difficult. In this way, respondents alerted the researchers to two issues: the changing objectives and composition of the women's movement which in turn suggests a certain shape shifting over time.

The Pre-Beijing Years: Formative/Concretisation Era

It appears that in many countries pre-independence was characterized by an embryonic women's movement, which although weak and lacking in feminist orientation, laid the basis for women's conscientisation. Initially, it appears to have consisted mostly of small-scale, local initiatives started by churches or welfare associations to "improve" women's roles as wives and mothers through basic education and health services and to address women's practical gender needs (e.g. clean water, income generating activities, improved agricultural production methods etc.). This is applicable to the women's movement in the DRC, where such initiatives were often led by the Roman Catholic church with the aim of "domesticating" women.¹⁵ Although these initiatives were not designed to transform gender roles and gender relations, they did form the basis for women's gradual conscientisation.

In countries like Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, the women's movement further evolved out of and alongside the pro-liberation movements. In Angola the women's movement was explicitly political in nature; to mobilize popular support the political parties vying for power formed women's wings and throughout the civil war this form virtually remained the sole formally recognized vehicle of the women's movement.

In the early days of the women's movement, the goal was to challenge glaring inequalities. This can be characterised as a period where governments refused to recognise the extent of discrimination against women. Thus the goal became to pressure government to recognise the issue and adopt legislation and policies to end pervasive gender discrimination. To this end, the women's movement adopted a strategy that was essentially twofold. Firstly, a research strategy to document the situation of women and to demand public and government recognition of the existence of various forms of gender discrimination. Secondly, an international mobilisation strategy, where representatives of national women's movements took part in formulating international conventions and declarations, and then mounting national campaigns to push their governments to sign conventions, assent to declarations, and change domestic policy in keep-

ing with these international commitments. Thus the 1980s were a time of key achievements: ratification of CEDAW, internal legal reform on nationality laws, family laws, etc.

At face value, this strategy was both clear and effective. In almost all the countries reviewed the governments claimed to be following agendas of human rights and good governance, and it was therefore difficult, in terms of ideological consistency, to overtly deny equal rights to women. (However, we can not afford to over-generalise as evidence has revealed that there are governments in the region who are lagging behind in their commitments. A good example is Swaziland, whose national gender policy has remained in draft form for five years.)

In many cases women came out of the struggle for liberation and were very clear that they were challenging a system of male domination, and pushing for more power for women – especially within parliament and government.

For this reason, there is a widespread perception that looking back at the pre-1995 struggles, it can be seen that the issues were very limited and concise, and therefore the strategies needed were less complicated. Indeed, respondents often indicated that the early women's movement was almost inevitably cast as militant since it challenged the conservative (patriarchal) values of new African governments as much as it denounced the patriarchy of the former colonial systems. Any improvement in women's status was immediately visible and significant, for instance the introduction of universal suffrage, giving women the right to vote.

Respondents reported that at that time, there was a good conceptual understanding of the basic problem of gender discrimination: the patriarchal belief in the superiority of men – something men themselves often made very explicit at that time. In those days the embryonic women's movement included many forceful and independent minded women. In many cases women came out of the struggle for liberation and were very clear that they were challenging a system of male domination, and pushing for more power for women – especially within parliament and government.

Respondents thus noted that the women's movement was highly effective in challenging patriarchy. Field data indicates that in most (if not all) of the countries reviewed, respondents counted the ability of the women's movement to create enough awareness on the rights of women and their discrimination as one of the fundamental achievements of the movement. In many countries – notably Mozambique,¹⁶ Namibia, South Africa and Mauritius – women came out of the liberation struggle and these women were often able to draw on their political connections to effectively lobby for legal reform protecting women's rights.

An assessment of organisational appropriateness shows that the movement in those early days was often described as a fairly small, urban and relatively elite movement. This enabled it to maintain coherence and forcefulness to push ahead and to maintain a good overview and assessment of the current state of overall progress. Although elitist, the movement was also characterized by a fair degree of "internal democracy": there was a good "bottom-up" approach to management with little internal hierarchy. Women's organisations were also fairly autonomous, being largely dependent on their own resources (mostly before the days of donor funding), and very independent of government (which over time came to be recognised as an adversary rather than an ally).

So although the women's movement in the early period may have been small and elitist, it was nonetheless quite radical in its orientation, and effective in pushing forward a women's

agenda. (Here the mass “women’s wings” of ruling parties are not counted as part of the women’s movement. These women’s wings are seen as a collection of women recruited to support a patriarchal system, and apparently accepting and even enforcing women’s subordinate position both within the ruling party and within the wider political system.)¹⁷

The Post-Beijing Years: Agenda Setting Era

The liberalisation and democratisation that took place in many countries in the 1990s resulted in the flourishing of civil society in general and the women’s movement in particular. Many NGOs were formed and they added their voices to the women’s movement, expanding its support and linking issues to priorities for sustainable human development. In the light of the proliferation of CSOs there was a clear need for the different stakeholders in the movement to coordinate and form alliances in order to consolidate a common agenda to lobby government, to hold government accountable and monitor progress against the government’s stated international commitments to women’s rights and equality.¹⁸ The Dakar Pre-Conference and Beijing Conference were highly instrumental in setting the agenda for the global women’s movement – and this was readily adopted by national women’s movements in the region.

Thus post-1995, we find that all the governments in the countries under review had ratified the 1979 Women’s Convention,¹⁹ and had assented to the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. In 1997 all of the states in the SADC region signed the 1997 Declaration committing themselves to at least 30 percent women in top decision-making positions by the year 2005. However, it is disappointing to note that only a few SADC member states have managed to reach this target. According to Morna (2005), the leading country is Mozambique 36 percent, followed by South Africa’s 32.8 percent, Swaziland in on the low-end of the scale with a mere 10.8 percent. Similarly, the new African Union (AU) has a policy of affirmative action for women’s participation in its executive and parliament. At the national level, governments have established “national women’s machineries” concerned with first establishing a national gender policy, and then with implementing this policy by a process of ‘gender mainstreaming’ within governments sectoral policies and strategic plans. In some cases governments have even gone a step further to establish Ministries of Gender and Women’s Affairs i.e. Lesotho, Namibia, Mauritius and South Africa.

Many respondents indicated that in spite of the “democratisation” of civil society few CSOs outside of the capital were headed by women. Thus, many leading figures of the women’s movement were urban and highly educated women, who had political clout. This leads to some debate on the problems of representativity and the extent to which the women’s movement was relevant to poor rural women. In this study the rift between urban-based and community-based organisations can be illustrated by a case from Botswana where a woman leader of a community based organisation complained bitterly about the “urbanisation” of the women’s movement to the extent that participation in international conferences was limited to Gaborone-based women only. Incidentally, it should be noted that the rift between CBOs and NGOs in the capital cities and those in the provinces or districts also deprives the women’s movement at national level of valuable field experience and technical experience. It also deprives the local organisations of information and opportunities to engage in high level discussions with government and/or funding partners. This is particularly relevant in

countries such as Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe where distances between the capital and outlying provinces are vast or in countries experiencing conflict.

Having achieved considerable victories, notably legal reform, government recognition of the fundamental role played by women in national development, the women's movement adopted new goals and strategies, such as women's political participation (SADC target of 30 per cent), women's participation in high-level policy making (e.g. inclusion in PRSP negotiations). These require strategic partnerships with government since government leads the national women's machinery. In many countries the ministries, departments or desks dedicated to women and/or gender equality are a relatively young and are often weak and under resourced and often while the structures may exist there is a lack of political will.²⁰

There is a general view that currently, the movement is rather stagnant. It is overly stuck at the level of *protection* and maintenance of gains made in the past, with relatively little activity in agenda-setting areas of *spearheading, challenging inequalities* and playing a *watchdog/monitoring role*. This relative lack of vibrancy is attributed, to a large extent, to the increased role of governments, which have now taken over the new responsibilities for gender policy formulation and implementation, but which are seen as lacking drive or enthusiasm for the task. It is commonly said that there is a "lack of political will." On the other hand, any NGO agitation at government's foot-dragging is seen as 'anti-government', and therefore risky or even dangerous. In some countries, i.e. Mauritius, governments have established NGO Councils that serve as co-ordination platforms for CBOs and NGOs but also allow governments to direct the focus and priorities of the affiliated organisations. Relationships between governments and NGOs are largely unequal. Some measure of financial dependence on governments by women's NGOs compromises advocacy agendas. Dwindling resources generally impact upon the autonomy of the movement.

Respondents indicated that the orientation of the current women's movement has changed, with movements retreating from a more overtly feminist and political stance in the earlier period to one which is characterised by the vocabulary used by the movement: "improved welfare", "increased access to resources." Government's entry into the area of "gender" indicates that there is renewed hope that government can be the main engine for bringing about gender equality, overlooking the extent to which government remains essentially patriarchal. This leads to accommodation within patriarchy, rather than challenging the patriarchal system of male domination within the government.

In the area of organisational appropriateness, there is a mixed picture. On the positive side, "modern" women's organisations are seen as being less elitist than in the earlier era, they are more representative with some increased involvement of grassroots organisations. On the negative side, however, there is an increase in the extent of bureaucratic and top-down management systems as the women's movement takes the form of larger NGOs and becomes more "professionalised". Women's NGOs and 'national women's machineries' offer good opportunities for the full-time employment of career women, who often have very different attitudes to women's advancement to that of feminist activists. The dependency on and control by donor agencies that impose their own agendas has served to dilute the vibrancy of the

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movement too. Very often donor agencies aim at being “non-political,” and therefore – in collusion with the government – avoid supporting more feminist oriented policies.

Summary

Overall, the respondents’ opinions showed that the women’s movement was considered to have changed – and declined – since 1995 by comparison with the earlier period. This pattern was very consistent across the different countries, except in the DRC where the women’s movement was able to grasp the opportunity created by the peace negotiations of 2002 and the transition phase of 2003-2006.

The modern women’s movement is assessed as less vibrant in all of the three main areas considered in this study: strategic effectiveness, feminist orientation and organisational appropriateness. It was found that in the period 1985-1995 the women’s movement focused on challenging discrimination and women’s rights. Although small, it counted militant activists amongst its members who were not of a mind to accommodate patriarchy at any level. This implies that the women’s movement was very actively fulfilling its role of *challenging* and *spearheading*. These efforts secured important victories for the women’s movement such as legal reforms and international conventions as well as the establishment of institutional mechanisms by governments. The latter set the stage for a “hand-over” by the women’s movement to government – implying more room for the women’s movement to fulfil its *protection* and *monitoring* roles. However, as many respondents described, this is where things “turned out differently than expected” – and this is frequently ascribed to the changed objectives (mainstreaming rather than militant advocacy to transform society) as well as the change in composition of the stakeholders (the women’s movement no longer consisted primarily of a core group of militant activists but evolved to include NGOs and CBOs as well as government structures such as the national women’s machinery etc.).

However, this perception of loss of vibrancy was not entirely a pessimistic indictment of the women’s movement. It was frequently couched in a sense that the women’s movement is “a victim of its own success”. To a large extent the present lack of vibrancy in the women’s movement has been caused by its high degree of success in the earlier stages. As analysed in the next part of this report, respondents noted that the lack of vibrancy was due to factors in three areas: the entry of government institutions, the influence of donor agencies, and the professionalisation of the women’s movement. Some respondents also emphasised the importance of conceptual changes and discourses that are used to promote and defend women’s rights.

Endnotes

- 14 Hawoldar, Shakuntala et al, *So That Flowers May Bloom: A brief history of the intergenerational struggle towards women’s empowerment in Mauritius* (UNDP, 2004)
- 15 Lumbi, Pierre et de Beus, Jos, *Rapport de la mission d’ evaluation de Comite National Femmes et Developpement en Republique Democratique du Congo* (Kinshasa, 2001)
- 16 Urdang, Stephanie *And Still They Dance: Women, war and the struggle for change in Mozambique* (Earthscan Publications, 1989)
- 17 The Women’s League of the South African ANC is clearly an exception to this otherwise general tendency. It should be noted that Angola and Mozambique are also characterised by a specific dynamic: prior to the “liberalization” or “democratization” of the 1990s, the women’s wings of the political parties in fact constituted the sole manifestation of the women’s movement.
- 18 Van der Winden (ed) *A Family of the Mussque: Survival and development in postwar Angola* (One World Action, 1996).
- 19 But for Swaziland which only assented to CEDAW in March, 2004
- 20 A Summary of The Report on the Study to Assess Capacity Needs of SADC Gender Unit and National Machineries for Gender Equality in Member State, May 2003 to April, 2004.

PART FOUR

FACTORS UNDERLYING THE LOSS OF VIBRANCY

This part of the report looks at the underlying factors that have contributed to the relative lack of vibrancy in the women's movement. It also critically reflects on the conceptual issues and discourses used to defend and promote women's rights.

Effects of the Overall Expansion of the Women's Movement: Opportunities and Challenges

The success of the women's movement in the period 1985-95 has resulted in its expansion. By 1995, SADC governments were in the process of establishing "national women's machineries", and most were also in the process of drafting gender policies. This process was given new impetus and direction to the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action which sets out detailed strategies for public action by governments and international agencies. For the women's movement, this appeared to be the dawn of a new era. The struggle for gender equality seemed to be largely over, since finally governments had conceded that discrimination against women was a problem which warranted urgent attention. Prior to this period, the struggle was conceptualised by the movement as being a process of persuading and pushing government to recognise the problem of discrimination against women, in order to provide the basis for pushing governments to adopt policies of gender equality.

It seemed that, in the elation and triumph of the moment, women felt that the whole process of achieving gender equality could now be confidently "handed over" to governments. This initial optimism was perhaps influenced by the earlier stage of gaining independence from colonial rule, whereby governance was "handed over" to African politicians. After all, governments were not hesitant to sign numerous international and regional instruments that proclaimed and defended women's rights. These include – but are not limited to – CEDAW (1979) and its Optional Protocol, Dakar Declaration (1994) Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), SADC Heads of State Gender Declaration (1997), Millennium Declaration and the MDG (2000) UN security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), NEPAD and its African Peer Review Mechanism, the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the African Union Women's Protocol, and the Declaration by the African Heads of State on Gender Equality (2004).

Although governments continued to commit to these international instruments much less progress was made in ensuring effective implementation at national level. As a result, most respondents stressed that the women's movement felt disappointed and betrayed by government, particularly as the current human development indicators show that the majority of women still face the same problems today as they did ten years ago. For instance, HIV and

AIDS statistics from 2001 indicate that “48 percent of new infections were in women, 55 percent of whom lived in Africa South of the Sahara.”²¹ This clearly indicates that there are issues on the women’s movement agenda that need to still be addressed. Other emerging issues include maternal mortality levels that remain worryingly high in Mozambique, Angola and DRC, the feminisation of poverty in all the countries reviewed and the illegality of abortions in many countries.

Although most countries have initiated legal reform to “domesticate” CEDAW and other such conventions, this process is slow and often highlights the continuing tensions that exist between the stated high-level commitment of the state and the actual practice.

The drafting and implementation of government gender policies led to the emergence of two new and daunting types of problems. Firstly there was the huge task of implementing programmes for gender equality in countries with weak and minimal outreach to women. Secondly, there was a lack of government enthusiasm for this task. Governments were dominated at all levels by bureaucrats who had an intrinsic belief in patriarchy. It was not in their best interests nor were they particularly enthusiastic in pursuing a gender agenda, this is evidenced by the slow process of reporting by states on progress made in implementing their commitments.

The patriarchal tendencies of post-independence regimes were often exacerbated by “African renaissance” ideologies which tended to embrace pre-colonial cultural values. This typically entailed the ‘renaissance’ of traditional forms of discrimination against women, or even adapted traditional forms of gender relations into more vicious modern equivalents, now enshrined in the regulations and laws of a modern state. Most country constitutions actually served to legitimise these new patriarchal developments, as they either did not have an equality clause or otherwise had qualifying clauses recognising derogations on cultural grounds. Notable exceptions are Angola, DRC, Malawi, Namibia and South Africa where the constitutions unequivocally give protection against gender discrimination.²²

The prestige and legitimacy of such constitutional principles and international instruments²³ is critically undermined when they continue to exist alongside inconsistent national legislation and discriminatory customary laws/practices. Cheraw’s principal objective is the “adoption of legislative measures to prohibit all forms of discrimination against women and ensure that women have access to protection from discrimination through national tribunals and other public institutions.” Although most countries have initiated legal reform to “domesticate” CEDAW and other such conventions, this process is slow and often highlights the continuing tensions that exist between the stated high-level commitment of the state and the actual practice. In other words, it shows the duality between the development of gender policies and gender commitments and public attitudes towards gender equality. It also shows that there are insufficient mechanisms to link these instruments to the national, internal legislation. The latter is highly problematic as it reveals that there is no adequate mechanism to make governments accountable to the nations they represent. Furthermore, it appears that the legal reform process will only be successful if it can address the continuing gender biases and if the national gender machinery can involve all local stakeholders including representatives of the women’s movement as well as the ministry of justice, law enforcement etc.

The Effects of Professionalisation of the Women’s Movement

The first effect of government’s new commitment was the sudden involvement of the government and development agencies in the struggle for women’s rights and gender equality.

This meant that the relationship between the women's movement, government and development agencies changed: whereas previously the government and development agencies had been supportive or strategic partners of the women's movement, now they became critical actors alongside women's NGOs.

There was also a growing need for a large number of skilled people who could lead the formulation and implementation of policies for women's advancement. This has led to new professional categories such as *gender advisers, gender planners, gender consultants, and gender trainers*. Respondents indicated that some of the people on these new career paths were formerly activists from the NGO movement. These people were often co-opted by the bureaucracy and soon found that it was necessary to tone down their radicalism in the hope of being accepted into this new professionalized, male environment. Many radical activists did not join the bureaucracy, or if they did, they soon left in disillusionment. Thus you had the emergence of a new generation of "gender professionals."

Very often these were young women university graduates who were perceived to be primarily concerned with personal career advancement rather than women's advancement. As they often had no background in the women's movement they had little commitment to the former struggle. A specialisation in "gender and development" was seen as a good career move, especially for young female graduates who might otherwise find it difficult to get a start in the bureaucracy of government, or development agencies. Typically they were neither radical nor feminist, and would avoid using the word "feminist" for fear of jeopardising their present work, as well as their future prospects. A radical stance carried the risk of endangering any prospects of graduating *out of* the area of gender and development, which professional women often regard as a mere stepping stone for promotion into the higher levels and other specialised arms of government administration. However, there is need to shift the focus from negative to positive aspects of professionalism, looking at both the gains that have already been made and those that are yet to be exploited. Concentration should be shifted to the enabling rather than threatening aspects of professionalism. As such, professional young women should therefore be brought on board because they have both the potential and the duty to create awareness and conscientisation, as far as women's issues are concerned.

Likewise, in the NGO world, women's NGOs proliferated from the early 1990s onwards. NGOs actively recruited young graduates looking for work as "gender consultants." Very often they were aiming to use their NGO base to work on short-term contracts for development agencies. Such consultancies could be used as stepping-stones into jobs as "gender advisers" within development agencies. As the individual women's NGOs expanded in membership and activities, so the management became more professionalized, as it was taken over by full-time administrators. The tendency was for women's NGOs to be run by an executive director, with a staff of secretary, programme officer, librarian, and so on. Professional, technical qualifications were equally important – sometimes more important – than a demonstrated commitment to women's rights. Thus many staff was not required to have any previous experience in the women's movement. They were more likely professional administrators, who saw their future career prospects in development agencies or in government. It is often these professional administrative staff, rather than the ordinary NGO members, who are now to be found discussing problems of women's advancement at nation-

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al and international meetings. This raises questions: to what extent are NGOs fully representative of their constituencies?

In describing this aspect of the women's movement, respondents often mentioned the term *queen bee* or *founder syndrome*. By *queen bee* they meant "a woman who gets to the top but then devotes much of her energy to ensuring that other women do not climb up the ladder behind her." This behaviour of the *queen bee* therefore illustrates the extent to which women within both government and NGO bureaucracies can compromise the principles of women's advancement and sisterhood in order to concentrate on protecting their own positions within patriarchal bureaucracies.

Is the expectation of
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exploitation?

Another aspect is that of voluntarism – committed activism – which was gradually replaced by a professional career predicated on the acquisition of technical skills and competencies. Some respondents indicated that all too often donors require projects and programmes to be managed by professional staff but they are not always prepared to finance staff positions. This appears to be due to a general assumption on the part of the donors that gender activists should "not be in it for money but for love and idealism". This shows the opposing ends of volunteerism, on the one hand it has been seen as a contribution to the women's movement, but on the other it compromises individuals. Therefore, younger activists could be challenging it, whilst older ones are holding onto the positive contributions it has made. Is the expectation of volunteerism from women activists not a perpetuation of exploitation of women's labour? Where should the line be drawn between a positive contribution and exploitation?

Another issue that was raised is that of the proliferation of NGOs and CBOs which has made room for the formation of "non-authentic" organisations that appear to function merely as instruments to access funds. While established organisations deplore this situation because it may erode the credibility of the women's movement in general, they point out that salaries are not often included in project financing since some donors assume that activism should be a voluntary activity. Thus many staff resort to several jobs which restricts both personal availability and commitment. In light of these very real difficulties, investments in capacity building will have to be made if donors are to become fully supportive of the women's movement.

However, the foregoing does not imply that professionalisation of the women's movement is the sole cause of its loss of vibrancy. What is being questioned is the compromise of some values at the expense of professionalism. This is not to suggest an outright rejection of professionalism. The acquisition of skilled personnel into the movement has improved the quality of service delivery. Examples could be drawn from most countries. On the other hand, however, the risk remains that each NGO comes under pressure to establish its administrative procedures and secure its own goals, which may well fragment the women's movement.

Deteriorating Standards of Governance

Paradoxically, the professionalisation of the NGO women's movement has not necessarily led to improving standards of governance. On the contrary, many respondents cited numerous examples of cases where a high degree of professionalisation has been accompanied by a fall in standards of internal governance. (Here professionalisation refers to the process by

which the work of women's movements is increasingly in the hands of paid professionals, rather than volunteers. By comparison, professionalism refers to the process of maintaining proper and professional standards in all work done.)

Respondents noted that women's movement organisations do not always have proper standards of organisational governance which, in turn, impacts negatively on its capacity to deliver. In some cases the inadequate standard of governance is characterized by lack of governance instruments to guide proper management, but in other cases there is blatant non-compliance or disregard of governance instruments. The women's movement is also characterized by poor communication mechanisms and intra-organisational conflict within the main network. For example, the Women's Coalition in Botswana was said to have closed down without the knowledge of its members, who learnt of its closure through the media.

Lack of professionalism was also identified. In some cases, chairpersons are notorious for overshadowing directors and wanting to take over the running of the organisation. In other cases, many executive directors were said to act unilaterally or some in tandem with staff, others with the Board. Misuse of an organisation's property, especially cars, for personal gain was said to be the order of the day. Interestingly, not a single case of financial embezzlement was mentioned, but several on the diversion of funds and nepotism. Attendance of conferences both regional and international was another contentious issue, with directors, founder members and board members having the sole preserve of such travel. Often failing to report back and follow up on conference recommendations.

Most respondents indicated that the relationship between donors and women's organisations is fraught with potential tension. One of the difficulties is that donors are reluctant to engage in long-term relationships to ensure that the organisations they have invested in can demonstrate sufficient capacity to manage, operationalise projects and financially account for funds. The result is that donors often finance activities instead of programmes, making it difficult to integrate and consolidate results.

The Generation Gap

Respondents from all the countries, with the exception of South Africa and DRC, repeatedly cited generation gaps as one of the challenges facing the NGO women's movements in the region. Compounding the problem is the fact that the few young women who are in the women's movement are finding it difficult to make meaningful contributions in light of established and conservative practices ("founder syndrome"). It was generally observed that organisations forming part of the women's movement are not actively developing succession and mentoring plans. Younger women complained of being assigned junior tasks that do not encourage them to develop further and acquire new skills. This lack of exposure leads to a void when the experienced leadership leaves.

Some respondents boldly identified themselves as founder members and challenged younger women to form their own organisations dedicated to address issues that are closer to their hearts, espousing methods that are suitable for them. They argued that the movement belonged to all interested individuals. The questions they asked were: "Why do the younger ones want to be treated with kid gloves? Why do they need to be invited?" The generational

tension is also evidenced by the fact that older members of the NGO movement often identified the younger generation as cause for concern because they lack certain values, which they argued, contributed to the moulding of the movement to what it is today. They said the young women saw the NGO movement as their training ground on the road to becoming young executives and career activists. Older members asserted that they were knowledgeable in their own right though they were not as academically qualified as the younger women and acknowledged room for coexistence as long as there is mutual respect.

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In addition, there is a widespread perception among the first generation that the second generation is no longer interested in pursuing a feminist agenda in light of the significant achievements that have been made to date. Furthermore many respondents explicitly noted that, this complacency is deepened as the value of solidarity is overtaken by economic interests.

The differences in perceptions by the young and old pose themselves as tensions, but should also be viewed as windows of opportunity. Each generation brings some value to the movement; focus should rather be on amicable means of bridging the gap in a way that promotes the common objectives.

The Effects of Government Involvement

Beijing paved the way for a greater reliance on women in government. This has two distinct aspects: firstly, government bureaucracy was concerned with formulating and implementing gender equitable policies they therefore needed to employ women in the area of *gender and development*. Secondly, due to commitments to international and regional instruments e.g. the SADC Gender and Development Declaration, there was a need to *increase the proportion of women* in the government bureaucracy, at the political level, and within parliament.

But as mentioned above, employing more women with gender and development expertise has not necessarily led to the challenging of the underlying structural causes of gender-based discrimination. On the one hand, this approach has certainly generated a wealth of information and analysis, but transforming that information into practical measures capable of making a positive difference for women has proved highly difficult. The gender and development (GAD) and gender mainstreaming approach have “technocised” the women’s movement agenda and simultaneously reduced it to the “empty rhetoric of gender mainstreaming.” In this sense, gender equality becomes a technical and static process devoid of any politicised action and engagement.

Some of the respondents’ most critical comments were directed at governments’ efforts at “gender mainstreaming.” Here, the common perception was that government had set up a system which looks good on paper (policies, strategic plans, institutional arrangements, organisational charts etc), but there was a strong feeling that much of this was rhetoric to obtain funds or to appear to subscribe to principles of good governance and women’s rights.²⁴ Many respondents expressed doubts as to whether governments fully understood the concepts and terminology being used. This was illustrated by respondents pointing out that the ministry for women’s affairs uses a mixture of women in development (WID) and GAD strategies and/or have a department for women and family as well a “department for gen-

der”. This finding is in line with (Misihairambwi 2005) who believes the gender debate introduces a certain level of apologising for raising women’s rights issues.²⁵

Governments were also blamed for not extending adequate financial support for activities of the women’s movement. Where government support was given to women’s NGOs, this was most often extended to organisations concerned with purely humanitarian and welfare interventions, rather than with organisations concerned with women’s advancement and empowerment in this regard it is worth noting that the governments of Lesotho and Swaziland are extending the lowest levels of financial support. The common perception was that government’s adoption of “gender mainstreaming” policies had entailed a loss of focus on policies for women’s empowerment. Respondents sometimes used terms such as “window dressing” and “lip-service” to describe government’s process of gender mainstreaming.

Clearly, women’s participation in political structures is important, but it is equally important to determine the extent to which the elected women serve the interests of the women they represent.

There were also criticisms that the national machinery did not have sufficient “clout” within government. This is supported by the fact that often the national machinery is part of a minor ministry or located purely at the administrative level. This implies that the national machineries lack the political power to oversee line ministries such as health and education – that are often more advanced in terms of gender mainstreaming and strategic planning around gender objectives than the dedicated ministry. Respondents did not see the system of “gender focal points” in sectoral ministries as an effective means for gender mainstreaming. These gender focal points are appointed at junior or middle levels of management; often they are appointed purely on the basis of being female, and without the requirement of having any training, let alone commitment to gender issues. As soon as the gender focal people have been trained, many are transferred or promoted. For that reason, in Mozambique the Grupo Operativo (multisectoral coordination mechanism consisting of all gender focal points in government) was terminated in 2004 and replaced by a high-level National Council for the Advancement of Women in which Ministers participate.

The 1990s also resulted in a rather optimistic belief that the participation of women in political structures would be key to promote a women’s agenda. Many respondents pointed out that this strategy cannot serve its purpose if the new female recruits have no commitment to principles of gender equality. Mere numbers are not enough. It was noted too that people were employed specifically because of lack of radicalism on gender issues. Governments in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa, seemed to have a subtle variation of this rather neutralising recruitment policy. Governments strategy was to recruit and thereby co-opt the cream of the women’s movement in order to silence them and weaken the movement. Clearly, women’s participation in political structures is important, but it is equally important to determine the extent to which the elected women serve the interests of the women they represent.

Many similar observations were made regarding the limited role of women parliament. Members of Parliament can support the women’s movement by passing legislation, proposing bills, introducing motions, demanding explanations from government on certain issues etc, all of which serve to help strengthen the accountability mechanisms with regards to gender policy instruments. In parliament, it was generally felt that the relatively small, but growing, number of women (at about 15 percent outside South Africa, Tanzania,

Women MPs with feminist inclinations revealed that the male parliamentary majority is quick to mobilise to quash any moves by the women's caucus. In this context, there is at present, virtually no place for the women's movement and the women's movement agenda in parliament.

Mozambique) could not form an effective caucus for women's rights. Quite apart from their minority position, respondents identified two further reasons for the ineffectiveness of women's caucuses in pursuing a women's rights agenda. Firstly, many of the women MPs may fear the political costs of challenging conventional party politics on sensitive issues like gender equality. Secondly, for the most part women members of parliament (MPs) are not elected on a feminist ticket. On the contrary, it was often indicated that if they had revealed feminist principles, their political parties would almost certainly not have adopted them as parliamentary candidates in the first place. Women MPs with feminist inclinations revealed that the male parliamentary majority is quick to mobilise to quash any moves by the women's caucus. In this context, there is at present, virtually no place for the women's movement and the women's movement agenda in parliament.

Party Politics

It was frequently noted that political parties have tended in recent years to "politicise" women's issues for their own purposes, in the process fragmenting the movement. The example that was often cited was that each party will periodically speak out on domestic violence or abortion as a means of garnering votes but none has been willing to foster a national consensus from which to lobby across party divisions. In addition, the present political and electoral mechanisms often require ethnic considerations to take primacy over gender equality considerations in political negotiations. This has weakened the role of the women's leagues within the political parties, since few women are represented in the formal leadership of parties. Similarly, the women's wings of the trade unions do not have a voice in the syndical Executive Committees. In this sense, it can be said that while in the pre-1995 phase the women's movement benefited from a close alliance with government and political parties, in recent years the feminist agenda has not only been "hijacked", but also paralyzed and silenced by its former political allies. Many committed activists observed that they no longer have an appropriate vehicle to sustain their feminist agenda and consequently they have opted out, preferring instead to remain critical observers. While they will not hesitate to use their voice to be heard and influence the leadership on relevant issues, there is virtually no mechanism to articulate a united position.

The divisive role played by party politics within the movement is a clear indication that the women's movement lacks mechanisms to interrogate what it means to be a member of something called the women's movement, what this means in terms of articulating a women's agenda across party lines, what it means in terms of the range of diversities and differences that we bring to the movement as women and what it means to enter into alliances with government, other civil society structures etc. According to the data, a classical example of the rift caused by party politics is that of Namibia where the ruling party, SWAPO, forced the Namibian Women's Voice to shut down on grounds that the latter was diverting focus from the common enemy – the then existing apartheid regime. Female government ministers face additional pressure to conform and tow the party line.

The adoption of gender policies at national level has had a diluting effect on the women's movement. Beijing instilled a hope that "state feminism" would promote a women's agenda, but it has become clear that this can only go so far. In South Africa, the fact that not all members of the Commission for Gender Equality have relinquished their party political

membership has undermined the Commission's ability to critically reflect on government's policies with regard to gender equality. The Angolan experience shows that allegiance to political party affiliation may take the upper hand when CSO's are faced with the need to ensure their organisational survival.

Effects of Donor Agency Involvement

Donor support for the women's movement is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand there are a few bilateral and international NGO agencies that have adopted radical agendas and are willing to give relatively small but well focused support to more radical NGOs. But on the other hand, considerable donor support goes to the "gender mainstreaming" machinery within government that as illustrated previously, is ineffectual. Much of this funding is in line with the funding policies of the UN and bilateral agencies. This type of funding is seen as either naïve or dishonest to the agenda of women's advancement, based on an uncritical acceptance of governments' good faith and political will, despite evidence to the contrary. The funding dynamic has impacted on Government Civil society relationships. NGOs are now seen as having less autonomy and with this, the room to be critical of government is shrinking. Some NGOs are seen as partners supporting the implementation of the government's gender policy and programmes.

The assessment revealed that the donors' role has been dual and inconsistent. On the one hand, donors were showered with accolades for having lent impetus to the women's movement through providing much-needed funds. However, on the other hand, funding conditions have often had a disempowering effect. Stringent proposal conditions advantage well established urban organisations with better human and financial capacities, to the detriment of smaller and rural organisations. This was said to create, accentuate and perpetuate gaps in organisational capacity between different NGOs, leading to competition, resentment, distrust, and ultimately the fragmentation of the women's movement.

Furthermore, many donors were accused of contributing to the weakening of the women's movement through their determination to identify their own priority themes for funding, in total disregard of the needs on the ground and the priorities of the organisations seeking funding. In the process, particular organisations have lost focus of priority areas in order to attract donor funding that is crucial for maintaining organisational sustainability. For example, HIV and AIDS and male involvement in gender programmes are top donor priorities currently, and this has been substantiated by statistics earlier on in this report. In this way, donor agencies tend to predetermine the agenda and programmes of the NGOs that they fund.

In addition, there is a general reluctance amongst many donor agencies to give funds to NGOs with a political or human rights agenda as opposed to NGOs concerned with humanitarian service delivery. This is because of the current oppositional relationship between the NGOs and governments in all of the countries under review. Some NGOs are critical of government's progress on human rights agendas and they resist free-market policies.

The opportunities that arise from interactions with governments and donors were not fully explored by respondents. It would be necessary for the women's movement to analyse the gains, if any, brought about by this interaction and in moving forward, position itself strategically.

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Respondents were concerned about the negative impact HIV and AIDS has had on fundraising initiatives. Interestingly, the feminisation of HIV and AIDS was not raised as an issue, yet it is an indication of the imbalance in power relations between women and men. It is therefore imperative that the women's movement views the challenge of the feminisation of HIV and AIDS as a yardstick for key issues that need to be taken up and spearheaded by the movement rather than as something that diverts attentions from the movement's core agenda. HIV and AIDS has touched the lives of all women in the region as affected, infected, and caregivers with very limited support from the both family structures and the state. Without a consolidated women's movement rallying around to reduce the impact and spread of HIV and AIDS, it may be very difficult for the movement to make further gains.

Several of the older generation of women activists considered the lack of development of a grassroots movement as a fundamental failure.

In summary, since governments adopted their own gender policies and began "gender mainstreaming", with support from donor agencies, the women's movement has been relatively weakened and disempowered. There has been a loss of focus on the earlier roles of "spearheading" and being a "watchdog" and more emphasis continues to be placed on its roles of "protecting" and "challenging."

The Failure to Cultivate a Mass Movement

Several of the older generation of women activists considered the lack of development of a grassroots movement as a fundamental failure. Given that the early women's movement was small, elite and urban, one might think that the recent expansion would automatically make it more representative, egalitarian and grassroots-oriented. This is not the case, although there are a small number of NGOs and CBOs that are genuinely rural based and involve rural women, but this remains proportionately small.

Gender-responsive development programmes remain the concern of elite educated women within urban NGOs and the government bureaucracy. This raises questions about the relevance of such activities for the grass roots women; some women benefit from the "trickle down" effect but there is considerable doubt about whether this has anything to do with women's advancement in the form of bottom-up empowerment, rather than top-down provision of welfare benefits and increased access to resources. In other words these interventions tend to be more concerned with the amelioration of women's position and condition rather than with the present structure of gender inequality and discrimination. Thus, the expansion of the women's movement has only served to increase the number of elite women involved in the movement, while at the same time de-radicalising and reducing its vibrancy.

It should be noted that mass movements for women exist in countries where the political parties formed large women's wings. However, they are almost solely concerned with mobilising popular support for the mainstream agenda of the political party and thus not concerned with transformation of gender roles in society. In that sense, they are not counted as part of the women's movement as defined in this study.

The various setbacks faced by the women's movement have impacted negatively on its internal co-ordination mechanism. The strength of a movement lies in its ability to co-ordinate the myriad activities falling under its rubric. This has been the strength of the women's movement in DRC and South Africa where diverse networks have been established to coor-

dinate stakeholders in thematic areas of critical concern. But on the ground, co-ordination was found to be fragile and in some instances non-existent. Co-ordinating bodies were characterized by a lack of internal capacity, and lack of support from the membership. There was a tendency for co-ordinating organisations to concern themselves with implementation and this lack of adequate co-ordination lies at the heart of the movement's current ineffectiveness in "spearheading" and playing a "watchdog" role.

Level of feminist orientation and gender mainstreaming discourses

In order to assess the nature of the women's movement, it is useful to consider the distinction between the welfare and empowerment approach. In all the countries visited, the majority of organisations who are members of the women's movement have in fact adopted the welfare approach, deploying a wide range of activities that address women's practical needs. Only very few organisations or activists can be said to be implementing a feminist approach, advocating for radical change in gender roles and addressing women's strategic needs. Gender-based violence is often still treated from a welfare perspective, with many organisations aiming to provide support services for victims of violence, without strategically addressing the bigger picture, i.e. attitudes and inequalities that contribute to the causes of violence against women and children. Very often, where the women's movement has strategically opted to campaign for the adoption of progressive laws eradicating inequality and discrimination, the agenda has been limited to placing the laws on the books, and all too often there remain serious challenges in ensuring that the laws are properly enforced and disseminated in order to empower citizens. With the exceptions of Namibia, South Africa and the DRC, the implication is that the women's movements in the region lack a clearly articulated feminist orientation.

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It can be argued that the welfare orientation of many organisations is historical. Many well-known and respected organisations were formed at the time of independence when women's reproductive roles were unchallenged by the welfare paradigm that predominated at the time. This was clearly the case in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. In Mozambique, women were actively involved in the liberation struggle, yet at independence the women's movement was almost entirely subsumed within the Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM) which was subjugated to the ruling party and thus bound to the prevailing patriarchal structures of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO). In many countries, a similar trend took place: where the women's movement actively engaged in the liberation struggle, the feminist agenda was often became secondary, as women accepted freedom as the primary goal. The recruitment of a limited number of women into government at independence was not sufficient to ensure that a feminist agenda would be adopted by the newly established powers. A notable exception is Mauritius, where the feminists were closely allied to the political left and able to use that relationship to successfully lobby for women's rights in the period beginning 1975 until the balance of power in national politics changed in 1983. South Africa and Namibia obtained independence in a different era, characterized by an unequivocal emphasis on non-discrimination of any kind. This has fostered recognition of women's struggles and the systematic inclusion of women's rights in government policies and commitments.

Although some of these early organisations have certainly attempted to transform their agenda from a welfare approach into an empowerment approach, it is necessary to question how

they see empowerment as few deploy strategies that are aimed at addressing the broader picture and transforming gender roles within society. Across time there have been few organisations who have successfully challenged the patriarchal mainstream. The implication is that the women's movement has therefore ended up, to a large extent, accommodating patriarchy instead of challenging its manifestations in national politics, government priorities and common social values.

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The factors underlying the predominant trend of accommodating patriarchy are complex. What is significant is the fact that women's movements have tended to underestimate the resilience and pervasiveness of a patriarchal value systems. For instance, in the euphoric days following independence, it was not unreasonable to assume that women's interests would be heeded by their former political allies and that a handover to government would be possible. However, history has shown otherwise. Furthermore, once feminist proponents were recruited into formal power structures of decision-making they faced many challenges in trying to lobby or implement a feminist agenda, and often political survival dictated a pragmatic approach which resulted in the toning-down of feminist goals. This was exacerbated by the fact that only very few women were recruited into government or elected to parliament, thus pre-empting a critical mass of insiders committed to the fight for women's rights. In many cases, the hard core of feminist activists who find themselves in government or parliament thus are subject to enormous pressure "to perform" and deliver on a women's rights agenda. While some may suffer from burn-out, many resign themselves to a less radical and hence less controversial stance. While humanly understandable and politically expedient, this is perceived by many grassroots women as an abandonment of the feminist ideal and has resulted in a growing divide between the women in power and their constituencies. There is indeed a widespread perception that the grassroots women who helped to secure attain seats in parliament and political office for women, are no longer adequately represented by the women they voted for.

The compromise with patriarchy has been underwritten by the introduction of a new discourse on women's rights based on the concept of "gender equality" and the strategy of "gender mainstreaming." There is a consensus within the women's movement that this is essentially an external concept, developed by donors and governments. Although this new discourse was undoubtedly developed to promote women's advancement by increasing the possibility of "buy-in" by states and men in general, it has transformed the initial focus on women's rights into a much more vague series of "women's issues" and/or "gender issues." This vagueness is all the more apparent from its "cross-cutting" nature where gender can mean everything and nothing at all, making a women's rights agenda difficult to operationalise.

By locating "gender issues" firmly within the mainstream, women's rights are tied to dominant patriarchal structures leaving very little room to critically challenge those structures. All too often, mainstreaming is not properly executed and is treated in practice as a series of ad-on comments and activities. Paradoxically, it appears that mainstreaming has resulted in relegating gender to a parallel universe where access to funding is negotiated in terms of compliance with the mainstreaming ideology or on an ad-hoc basis with individual donors. Considering that few women's movements are able to function without external funding,

many have embraced the mainstreaming approach. For example, the majority of co-ordinating bodies of the movement are actively providing gender training and mainstreaming skills to their member organisations. These skills have enabled women's organisations to participate in high-level discussions with government, such as the PRSP processes. It should come as no surprise however, that this participation has not resulted in a vigorous critique and debate of the patriarchal paradigms that characterize the PRSP processes.

Nowhere is the absence of a vigorous debate more apparent than in parliamentary discussions. Although most countries have succeeded in significantly raising the number of women elected to parliament, the Women's Caucus is not always adequately engaged and on many sensitive issues female parliamentarians still vote along party lines. The number of women in parliament is therefore not an adequate measure of representation of female constituencies and is even at risk of becoming tokenism. The present situation serves to highlight the critical need for an active, pro-active women's movement that rallies around a clearly defined and solid agenda to hold parliament and other institutions firmly accountable for addressing women's rights.

Endnotes

- 21 Common wealth Secretariat, (2005), Gender Mainstreaming in HIV/AIDS.p21.
- 22 The case of DRC shows that constitutional review adoption can be a window of opportunity for the women's movement.
- 23 Article 2b & c of CEDAW taken from Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equality, no: 64, 2005.p8.
- 24 Here the respondents, opinion coincides with the observations by UNECA that "Even today, gender concerns continue to be treated rhetorically or as separate women's projects." See United Nations Economic Commission for Africa: Seventh African Regional Conference on Women (Beijing +10) Decade Review of the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action, October 2004, p6.
- 25 In New Agenda South African Journal and Economic Policy, Speaking Out Against the Gender Conspiracy. Interview with Priscilla Misihairembwi, Shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs in Zimbabwe's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) Issue 19.

PART FIVE

ACTION FOR CHANGE: IDENTIFICATION OF GOOD PRACTICES

Examples of Current Good Practices

This section introduces the recommendations based on the findings and it highlights examples of best practices. These examples may be few, but they are instructive for generalising the success of the more radical feminist frontline operating within the women's movement. Undoubtedly, the participants at the roundtable discussion will share their best practices to augment this section of the report. The best practices have been categorised in accordance with the Theoretical Framework presented in Part 2.

Practices for pushing forward with the women's agenda

Protecting: Legal aid for women attempting to realise their rights under existing law (e.g. Federation of Women Lawyers in Lesotho, Legal Assistance Centre in Namibia, the Women's Legal Clinic in Zambia, the Women's Legal Centre in South Africa, Legal Aid of Women Lawyers Association in Zimbabwe and Legal support offered by Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) chapters visited.

Spearheading: The legal aid strategy may also entail *spearheading* where it uses the courts to challenge and overturn discriminatory legislation, thereby setting a precedent. Good examples are the citizenship case in Botswana²⁶ and the Bhe²⁷ case of South which ruled African customary law of primogeniture as unconstitutional, thereby establishing the rights of girls regardless of their birth status to inherit from the father's estate.

Challenging inequalities: In Tanzania, FemAct organises weekly meetings on gender issues raised by members of the public. This often leads to press releases and sometimes to public demonstrations. Tanzania Women's Media Association (TAMWA), has a good relationship with the media and is the lead organisation in ensuring that the press picks up stories. In Namibia, Sister Namibia coordinates the gender sector, which includes responding to women's issues raised in the media, the Namibian Women's Manifesto Network advocates for 50 percent women in regional councils.

Watchdog/monitoring role: In South Africa, the different sectors in the women's movement take responsibility for setting the agenda and taking it forward. The Women's Charters of Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe are key instruments for maintaining a vision of the overall women's agenda. This can be used to hold government to account on progress in implementing the Charter, and for co-ordinated effort by women's organisations to pursue priority issues.

Practices which reveal a feminist orientation

Challenging gender discrimination and patriarchal belief: The Malawian women lawyers took part in bringing to court a petition by the newly appointed female Inspector-General of Police, challenging parliament's refusal to endorse her appointment. The case was however lost in the High Court. This was a key case in Malawi, which forcefully brought home to women the patriarchal opposition from government to policies of gender equality. It also exposed female members of parliament who would not support gender equitable policies. In Botswana, women have successfully challenged the Citizenship Act followed by the adoption of the Marital Power Act of 2004 which challenges male headship and male dominance in decision making.

Welfare/Empowerment: Mobilisation and collective action around gender issues is illustrated by the weekly networking meetings held by the Zimbabwe media women to demand public action on gender issues, e.g. birth certificates for every citizen, abolition of the tax on sanitary towels. FemAct in Tanzania has adopted the strategy of lobbying government rather than one of direct action.

Accommodation/Transformation: Some women's organisations challenge government's practice on gender issues. In Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, women's NGOs write "shadow" reports to counter official government reports to UN bodies such as CEDAW and CSW.

Examples of "radical", i.e. feminist, strategies were hard to find. This illustrates a general trend that the women's movement is still hoping to work with and through government, despite disheartening experiences and increasing scepticism.

Practices which reveal appropriate organisation

Grassroots membership: Zambia's Chipata District Women's Association (DWA), is a grassroots rural CBO, whose governance structure is bottom-up. The Zambian Eastern Provincial Development Women's Association has decentralised Area Associations (about 12 in each district) where each Association is made up of groups of women, each of which elects its own chair, treasurer, secretary, and trustees. The men's role is confined to acting as trustees, involving technical duties such as looking after mills, cattle, or building. A similar structure is found in Women's Action for Development in Namibia, where committees are elected from the communities at local level, followed by a regional tier and finally a national one.

Autonomy: Fem Act is a good example of an organisation that is very independent of donor control and influence. Based in Tanzania, it is an offshoot of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP). Radical feminist action is being spearheaded by FemAct, which is led by a core group of about 15 women, who are the vanguard members that are driving the process. Membership is by invitation only. About 30 per cent men have been invited as members, as a way of minimising patriarchal backlash, and toning down male opposition. This was a deliberate strategy to avoid the fate that

befell Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania (BAWATA), the former council of women's NGOs that was de-registered by the government. However, in FemAct, men are not allowed to hold the positions of chair, secretary or treasurer, just like in the DWAs of the Eastern Province in Zambia, in order stop them from dominating the women.

Recommendations on improved strategies for the women's movement

Most respondents repeatedly recommended that the women's movement must extricate itself from the moribund situation it finds itself in today. Many ideas were given and the following represents the best strategies put forward to improve the workings of the organisation:

Purposeful Dialogues

Dialogue was viewed as the main starting point in the quest to invigorate the movement. These conversations must involve women's organisations at local level including national founders and those actively engaged in the past. They must be competently managed, failing which they could be a source of further tension and increased fragmentation within the movement. One of the biggest apprehensions regarding this process was who would be responsible for inviting stakeholders? It is imperative that whoever is tasked with the invitations and hosting of these dialogic meetings should be acceptable to the vast majority of the stakeholders.

The main purpose should be to discuss the resuscitation of the women's movement through the formation of an overall coordinating body, into which all other organisations within the movement will be affiliated. There must be "buy in" by everyone for effective results to be realised. The process should also be based on a bottom up and participatory approach that would ensure social inclusion and consensus when it comes to decision making.

The capacity-building of all organisations should also be the responsibility of this co-ordinating body. It is vitally important that monitoring, evaluation and feedback of policies and agendas be conducted on an on-going basis to enable the positive effects of this endeavour to trickle down throughout the SADC.

Documenting of Best Practices

The importance of documenting best practices and sharing them throughout the SADC region cannot be overemphasised. With the formation of a regional coordinating body, it is possible to easily achieve this as the coordinating body will be responsible for disseminating information throughout the region.

Celebrating Achievements and Rewarding Achievers

Respondents saw great value in celebrating success whether at local, national or regional levels and exploiting its potential as a tool to motivate individuals and organisations to keep the woman's movement vibrant at all times.

Recommendations on Strategic Interventions

This report sees the overall problem as being essentially structural and issue specific rather than being personal. There is thus a need for the women's movement to adapt to overall structural change of a larger and more diffuse movement, hence the need for a new and

reformed Regional Coordinating Body. These structural shortcomings can be achieved through the institution of the following strategic interventions:

Strengthening Existing Coordinating Structures

The perception is that in each country, a coalition of women's NGOs is the woman's movement. In a number of countries these structures are either lacking in capacity or are defunct. In practice, however, such coalitions fall short in several respects: many are more concerned with humanitarian and welfare issues and are being supported by institutions outside the NGO movement who dictate programmes and have generally lost the support of the membership. It is therefore imperative that existing national coordinating bodies be strengthened or in extreme cases new ones formed. Each country situation should determine the course of action. The national co-ordinating structures should in turn form a regional co-ordinating body which will provide guidance on matters of policy formulation, direction and the pace of the movement throughout the SADC without undue influence from governments and the donor community. These bodies at both national and regional levels should be able to guide, coordinate and stimulate action and vibrancy in the women's movement using a participatory perspective.

One of the keys to invigorating the women's movement is dealing with patriarchal opposition head on. This is one of the most difficult and persistent problems the movement will have to contend with.

Mentoring Young Women and New Comers

The movement needs to make use of the old cadre, the veterans and vanguard of the women's movement to mentor younger members. To achieve this, it is vital that issues that affect the youth are brought to the fore and debated vigorously along with broader national and regional issues. In this way the youth will feel a sense of belonging and thus expend their energy to take the movement to greater heights. The women's movement in the region needs to put in place mechanisms to bring on board young women to be admitted on the basis of their level of interest and commitment to the women's agenda.

Pushing Forward the Women's Agenda

Much of the lack of vibrancy in the women's movement may be attributed to the lack of an institutional means for generating and achieving a strategic plan for realising a women's agenda including the various roles that need to be fulfilled for a cooperative and collaborative pursuance of this agenda. Key to pushing forward this agenda are the four roles of Protecting, Spearheading, Challenging and Watchdog/Monitoring role (as defined in 6.1.1 "Practices for pushing forward with the women's agenda" under "Examples of Current Good Practices").

Dealing with Patriarchal Opposition

One of the keys to invigorating the women's movement is dealing with patriarchal opposition head on. This is one of the most difficult and persistent problems the movement will have to contend with. The patriarchal society has been with us for millennia, and is not going to disappear overnight through some internationally sponsored agreement at the UN. It is too deeply entrenched in society, including government to be easily uprooted. The movement will have to come up with innovative ideas such as increasing the number of women with feminist beliefs in parliament, local government and government bureaucracy. Other ideas include challenging the governments in ideological areas where the movement is able to build an argument and defend itself: areas such as violence against women and land owner-

ship; maximising the embarrassment of governments on issues that have female support locally.

National and Regional Support Strategies

Previously there has been very good regional and international cooperation within the women's movement in organising meetings and pressure groups to push governments in the direction of adopting UN conventions and domestic policies for gender equality. The need for a regional coordinating body that will support a women's coordinating body in each country cannot be over emphasised. This regional coordinating body should include all stakeholders in the women's movement, including NGOs, governments, and feminist groups.

...donor agencies are generally not sufficiently effective in supporting policies for women's empowerment and equal rights. The main reasons for this are that donor agencies are overly involved with supporting government programmes, which are faint hearted in the pursuance of gender equality.

Donor Strategies for Supporting Women's Movement

This recommendation implies that there is need for donors and development agencies to support the formation and operations of the women's movement, both at the national and regional level. All multilateral and bilateral organisations and governments are mandated to allocate a percentage of their programme budget for gender mainstreaming. National UNDP offices' contribution for instance stands at 20 percent. Ironically, much of this goodwill is either unutilised or channelled to other uses. If at national level especially, some mechanism is tasked with the responsibility of spearheading to coordinate available donor funding, gender mainstreaming and collectively to work with government and women NGOs in disbursing the grants, the current *ad hoc* nature of this work would be overcome, transparency achieved and prioritization and efficiency would be enhanced.

The findings of this study are that donor agencies are generally not sufficiently effective in supporting policies for women's empowerment and equal rights. The main reasons for this are that donor agencies are overly involved with supporting government programmes, which are faint hearted in the pursuance of gender equality. This is compounded by donor agencies' tendency to each pursue their own policies, priorities and areas of interest.

The authors of this report are of the opinion that donor agencies can support the women's movement and its agenda by:

- Accepting policy priorities in terms of the agency's comparative advantage and best *niche* in contributing to the national women's agenda as outlined by the women's co-ordinating body.
- Ensure that strategies of gender mainstreaming include elements of attention to overcoming structural gender equality, and are not overly focussed on humanitarian interventions, or human interpretations of problems, which are essentially structural in nature.
- Support separate women's projects, with priority objectives concerned with addressing gender issues. Support for the women's co-ordinating bodies would be one such category of women's projects.
- Provide support for the *process* of women's empowerment, with feasible indicators of success.
- Avoid imposing priorities and conditions that interfere with the best collective implementation of the women's agenda, as agreed to by and with the women's movement.

Towards a Conclusion

Drawing conclusions to a study of this nature and magnitude is very challenging. For one, the study is based on a vehicle which is continuously shape-shifting in an attempt to respond to a similarly changing environment. An attempt to conclude thus raises more questions than brings one to an end. It is in interrogation of the questions that conclusions can possibly be drawn. For that reason, what follows here is an overview of the main factors that shape the women's movement and define the extent to which it is able to fulfil its roles of spearheading, protecting, challenging and monitoring, followed by some key issues which merit further reflection at the regional roundtable meeting.

Foremost, the women's movement is a social movement, which is played out in a specific socio-political and historical context. It is thus, a dynamic movement. It is normal that over the years the women's movement has come to play different roles, expanding, creating new opportunities and challenges. The expansion of the women's movement and change of agenda heralded by the Beijing Conference has resulted in important changes: professionalisation and bureaucratisation, which of itself, does not guarantee improved internal governance within civil society organisations. With the advent of a new generation of "technocrats" generational differences and differences in leadership style came to the fore, which have been instrumental in the failure to cultivate a mass movement. The change from a challenging, militant activism to a more accommodating gender advocacy approach has paved the way for greater government involvement, thus indirectly rendering the women's movement more vulnerable to the divisive influences of party politics and donor policies.

In spite of these trends, which are manifest in all countries, there are plenty of encouraging examples of organisations that have managed – through appropriate organisational structures, dynamic and committed leadership and innovative best practices – to overcome such problems. In particular, it is clear that much can be expected of positive initiatives that seek to strengthen the existing coordination mechanisms, provide mentoring opportunities for young recruits to the women's movement (who often start out by acquiring some practical experience through hands-on field work in CBOs), debates that seek to establish a common perspective and push forward the women's agenda whether at local, national or regional level. The success of any such initiatives will continue to be predicated on maintaining a constructive but clear dialogue with government, identification of national and regional support mechanisms and unambiguous donor support modalities.

The expansion of the women's movement and change of agenda heralded by the Beijing Conference has resulted in important changes: professionalisation and bureaucratisation, which of itself, does not guarantee improved internal governance within civil society organisations.

Endnotes

26 Attorney General V. Unity Dow Botswana Court of Appeal 1992.

27 Bhe v. Constitutional Court of South Africa 2004 a matter in which the Women's Legal Centre acted on behalf of two girls aged nine and two, who were being denied their deceased's father's property on the grounds of being female and illegitimate.

ANNEX 1:

FRAMEWORK FOR SAMPLED AND STRUCTURED QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS AND SUB-QUESTIONS	PURPOSE OF QUESTIONS
Background information on the individual and the organisation 1A Name of the respondent and organisation 1B How long the organisation has been operating 1C Organisation's area of interest and purpose 1D How long the respondent has been with the organisation 1E Role of the respondent within the organisation 1F Before joining, respondent's previous involvement with women's issues	Mainly researcher's orientation to the purpose of the organisation, the respondent's role, and therefore a sense of the sort of question selection and focus which would be relevant, in terms of what the respondent is likely to know, given her background and involvement. Preliminary assessment of whether the respondent has any feminist or activist background, or is more a professional functionary within the organisation.
Extent of Organisation's focus on gender issues 2A Identification of gender issues that the organisation is interested in 2B Background on how and why the organisation became interested in these issues	Assess ability to distinguish between women's issues and gender issues. Assess interest in gender issues in terms of gaps, discrimination and/or belief. Assess whether gender issues are a central focus of the organisation, or a side or secondary interest.
Type of action being taken to address gender issue(s) 3A Give an example of a particular gender issue being addressed 3B How did you (your organisation) become interested in this issue? 3C What actions or interventions is the organisation implementing? 3D Who are the implementers (e.g. Organisation's officials, members, target group)? 3E What have been the outcomes so far?	Assess whether interventions are accommodately, focused challenge or transformatory. Assess position on Women's Empowerment Spectrum. Assess whether actions are part of women's rights agenda. If so, is it protecting, spearheading, challenging inequalities or maintaining progress. Identify types of intervention strategies (see Framework Nine). If assessment of above criteria is low, ask of action on another gender issue, where women's advancement assessment might rate higher.

Extent of liaison with other organisations in addressing gender issues 4A Extent and type of co-operation or collaboration with various agencies: Nationally, e.g. with other NGOs, NGO consortium, government agency, church Regionally, e.g. with FEMNET, SADC. Internationally, e.g. support from bilateral or international development agencies. 4B The trend over time, especially the past ten years, on how the extent of collaboration with other agencies has changed. Are you more or less independent than you used to be? If so, how has this affected your operations?	Assess extent of involvement in a wider women's movement. Assess whether the respondent's programmes and activities are determined, at least in part, by their need to contribute to the larger activities and priorities of the women's movement. Identify involvement in any national or regional campaigns on a particular gender issue, e.g. girl child, violence against women, putting more women in parliament. Assess degree of autonomy, or alternatively whether the respondent's organisation and purpose is over-determined by the policies and priorities of funding agencies. Assess how relationships with other organisations, and the degree of autonomy, have changed over time Assess whether there has been a fall-off of interest and activity in the post-Beijing era. If so, identify the reasons. Probe along the spectrum of explanations suggested in the "Tentative hypotheses to explain loss of vibrancy."
Extent of involvement in pursuing UN commitments on women's Advancement 5A Has your organisation attended any meetings concerned with meeting national Commitments in UN Declarations or Conventions? 5B If so, where and when? Which meetings? National? Regional? Internationally? 5C What has been the outcome, at national level, of this (these) meeting(s)? 5D Is your organisation concerned with follow-up action to the Beijing Platform For Action? If so, in what ways? 5E If not, would you like to be more involved? What have been the hindrances to Your involvement? 5F Was your organisation previously more involved with implementing UN goals for women's advancement. Has there been a fall-off of interest? If so, why?	

Difficulties and obstacles in action to address gender issues To the extent that the previous answers have revealed the respondent's dissatisfaction with action to address gender issues, return to these answers and ask for the underlying causes. If necessary, probe different categories of answer, e.g. 6A Internal organisational difficulties, e.g. organisation as conformist, lack of control by membership, lack of grassroots involvement, departure of key personnel or activists. 6B Domination of NGOs by development agency policies 6C Need for donor agency funding and involvement of members in consultancies 6D Involvement of government agencies in women's advancement agendas 6E How all of the above have changed over time – especially the past ten years	Continue with the assessment of whether there has been a "loss of vibrancy" and if so, what are its features. Press for underlying causes, perhaps making suggestions on possibilities where these seem to have been implicit in previous answers, but without putting words in the respondent's mouth. Look of underlying causes in terms of the "Tentative Hypotheses to Explain Loss of Vibrancy", but look also for the respondent's different type of explanation which were not expected by the researchers, and are not on the initial list of "Hypotheses."
How useful has been the contribution of other organisations? 7A Comparing the present with the past (10 years ago) which organisations have joined into programmes of action for women's advancement? 7B How would you characterise the movement 10 years ago? Was it an NGO movement? 7C If so, has the addition of different types of organisation made progress better or worse? (Can you give examples of each type?) 7D If some types of organisation have made things more difficult, why is this? How has this happened?	Here we may test the hypothesis that some organisations i.e. government and international development agencies, have made the struggle for women's advancement more difficult. Does the respondent have any sense of this? Are some agencies more concerned with window-dressing and lip-service, rather than making real progress? Are some agencies actually opposed to women's advancement, whilst making claims to the contrary? Are former NGO activists who joined agencies are now frustrated, developing other interests, have they abandoned their former principles?
Comparison of progress now with ten years ago, and possible reasons for the difference 8A Looking at the status of women in your country today, as compared to ten years ago, are things getting better or worse? Specific examples? 8A Where worse, what are the main reasons? 8B In the areas of improvement, why are these areas improving, and others not? 8C What are the lessons for better progress in future? 8D What are the main priorities for better progress in future? (i.e. which are the main gender issues which are not receiving sufficient attention, and ought to be the focus for action?)	Some of this assessment may be made by the researcher by looking at the analysis of the "Situation of Women" in the country, ten years ago and recently. If so, does such analyses tally with the respondent's assessment of progress, stagnation or erosion of gains? Overall, this question gives the respondent the opportunity to look at the big picture and to identify the main gender issues which ought to be a focus of action for the women's movement. This consideration therefore makes a good focus of interest for the next two questions on "How effective is the women's movement", and "How can it be made more effective?"

Is there an effective women's movement in this country? 9A Looking back at the previous discussion, can we now define what we mean by a "women's movement?" 9B Or can we define what we <i>ought to mean</i> when we talk of the women's movement? 9C In terms of our definition, do we have an effective women's movement in this country? 9D To the extent it is effective, what are the good points which make it so (e.g. in successfully taking collective action on particular gender issues)? 9E Conversely, to the extent that the women's movement is ineffective in some areas, what are the causes of this.	Here the respondent is asked to look back at the earlier questions and answers, and to face up to the reality of ineffectiveness in some areas, and also perhaps the extent to which the women's movement has become less effective over recent years. Therefore, it is in order for the interviewer to remind the respondent, if necessary, of some of the previous questions and answers, in order to get the respondent to identification of <i>underlying causes</i>, and to frame the next question of how to make the women's movement more effective.
How can the women's movement be made more effective? Here the respondent may look at one or more of the following sub-questions, of how to make the women's movement more effective at the level of: 10A The individual NGO 10B A national consortium of NGOs 10C A regional consortium of NGOs For one or more of the above, the respondent may consider ways which NGOs can: 10D Get a better collective focus on priority gender issues 10E Adopt more effective strategies for addressing gender issues 10F Build more effective collaborative organisations for implementing collective strategies 10G Benefit from new forms of support for international development agencies	Here the respondent has a more difficult task of suggesting new and different initiatives for the women's movement. Whereas the interviewer cannot go as far as making her own suggestions, it may be useful to remind the respondent of some of the problems, obstacles and underlying causes which were suggested by the respondent in the earlier discussion. What are the possible ways of overcoming these difficulties?

ANNEX 2:

SUMMARIES OF COUNTRY FINDINGS



ANGOLA

Historical Background

The Angolan women's movement predates the country's accession to independence in 1975. Contrary to other countries in SADC, where the women's movement during the colonial period consisted almost entirely of a few locally-based initiatives initiated by churches and welfare societies, at its inception the women's movement in Angola acquired an explicitly political nature. It was founded by political parties to mobilize popular support as they vied for power after independence. The MPLA, UNITA and FNLA formed their women's wings known as OMA, LIMA and AMA respectively.²⁸ Soon after independence civil war broke out that pitted the ruling party MPLA against the rebel party UNITA. The war confirmed and strengthened the political nature of the young women's movement.

As MPLA assumed power and installed a single-party regime, OMA became the sole official women's organisation. In keeping with Mila's Marxist dogma, OMA quickly evolved into a well-structured mass movement with outreach at community level and centralized decision-making. The democratic reform of the early nineties and the Associations Law²⁹ led to the emergence of numerous NGOs, including organisations working on behalf of women and organisations providing services for internally displaced persons and war victims.³⁰ Many newly founded CBOs and NGOs regrouped under a national umbrella organisation called FONGZA, which was established in 1991.³¹ Given that the war had eroded the ability of local governments to provide citizens with services, people at community level organized in ways they deemed fit in order to protect interests. However, since OMA was sanctioned by government, it retained its monopoly on the "legitimate" and indigenous women's movement.

The hope that the Bicesse Agreement would secure peace was shattered when fighting broke out in Luanda after UNITA rejected its election defeat in 1992.³² Throughout the decade, civil society generally evolved into a proactive force. Although civil society helped to realize some legal reform such as three months of maternity leave and review of the Family Code, much of its effort remained focused on humanitarian help and advocacy for peace. For example, OMA created countrywide counselling services for victims of domestic and war-related violence in 1987.

Major Achievements

In order to coordinate and facilitate the participation of women's organisations in Beijing, Rede Mulher was created in 1995. A national network of women's NGOs dedicated to promoting women's rights and gender equality, Rede Mulher quickly developed into the fore-

most mechanism to implement and monitor the Beijing Platform of Action. As it sought to be inclusive Rede Mulher not only counted NGOs and CBOs among its growing membership but also OMA and the women's wings of other political parties.

In 2002, Rede Mulher formed the Comité das Mulheres Políticas (CMP) to mobilize women to participate in the life of political parties.³³ CMP unites representatives of the women's wing of all parties. To comply with the 30% target set in the SADC Gender Declaration, CMP lobbied for the parity principle in the Law of Political Parties. However, Parliament threw out the proposed clause when it approved the law in 2005. This is a clear violation of the international agreement, but it also serves to illustrate the weak position of women's wings in the political parties. CMP will continue to lobby for the parity clause, but some of its members openly spoke of their numerous difficulties: for example, CMP encouraged and lobbied each party to adopt a gender policy but to date only one party has adopted its gender policy.³⁴

In 2002, Mulher Paz e Desenvolvimento (MPD), another network uniting several NGOs, organized a national discussion on the participation of women in political office (mobilizing for the 30% target) and the promotion of coalitions/alliances so that women can fully exercise citizenship rights.³⁵ The conference challenged participants to define mechanisms to ensure coordination and to establish functioning networks/alliances. In response, MPD launched an alliance known as Coligação Mulher e Democracia³⁶ in 2003. Uniting some 20 institutional members, its objective is to strengthen the role of women in civil society and in the peace process. Women's peace initiatives in Angola focused on civic education, tolerance, a culture of peace, reconciliation at community level and mobilizing support for peace negotiations.

As the most strategic partner of the women's movement, government has put in place some measures to comply with its international commitments to end discrimination and promote gender equality. In 1984, Angola ratified CEDAW and this has led to some legal reform including the family law, legislation prohibiting discrimination against people infected with HIV and AIDS and maternity leave. However, the bulk of the legislation has not yet been reviewed and modified in line with CEDAW. The government has created institutional mechanisms, most notably the Ministry for Family and Women's Promotion which was established in 1997.³⁷ Gender focal points have been appointed in key government institutions and line ministries³⁸ and the Council of Ministers' Social Commission is tasked with monitoring progress towards gender equality. A national gender policy has been drafted but is not yet officially promulgated, but gender has been integrated in the Plano Nacional Para Todos Até 2015,³⁹ as well as some sectoral plans such as education and reproductive health.⁴⁰

Current state of the women's movement

The question that is often raised today by observers is whether the struggle for women's political participation is relevant to the majority of the country's population that lives in the rural areas or that has flocked to the periphery of major cities. Indicators for social and human development are bleak, with high maternal mortality, high female illiteracy rates, rural infrastructures crumbling and massive unemployment in the cities. Another common observation is that the women's movement has acquired an elitist character. This is partly

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due to the fact that the majority of women who attended Beijing belong to the urban, political elite and very little feed-back or information dissemination was carried out. Many NGOs and churches have only faint notions of the significance of Beijing and do not feel part of the women's movement. Churches attract more women than any NGO but are not formally counted as part of women's movement. This represents a lost opportunity to recruit religious and other civil society entities into the formal structure of the women's movement and to broaden its agenda. It is often said that there is no independent mass movement because women at base level are not ready to engage. While women are indeed averse to politics after decades of civil war, this may well be due partly to the paucity of issues/themes articulated by the women's movement.

The women's movement also lost the potential to effectively monitor the government's performance with regards to gender equality and women's rights. Divided and isolated from the rest of civil society, the women's movement relied on its members to influence government. However, the position of women in political party structures remains marginal. OMA and other women's wings lacked the clout to push for radical reform for gender equality. In the words of one respondent: "participating in conferences and signing declarations is easy, but the problem lies in implementing recommendations of these events and this is very difficult because men are not ready to give up power to women".

The protracted nature of the civil war relegated the birth and nurturing of the women's movement to the back burner in Angola. There was no way woman could bring their issues to the national forefront whilst war was raging.

Way forward

A clear women's agenda subscribed to by all women activists will help deal with the common criticism that the vision of an organisation depends more on the individuals point of view rather than on the organisations official mandate. The fact that individual views can predominate over institutional mandate is also related to the lack of internal structures and democratic culture within the organisations. A consequence of this is that organisations may slacken considerably when the coordinator or executive secretary leaves her post. This has happened, for example, to the Association of Women Lawyers and Association of Women Journalists.⁴¹

With the advent of peace in 2002 the women's movement has had to face the challenge of redirecting its focus, articulating and consolidating its position. This will be a difficult task. Foremost, it will require effective and credible cooperation between women's NGOs. Coordination bodies with substantial membership exist, but effective coordination is at risk if these coordinating bodies continue to be perceived as political adversaries. The explicitly political origin of the women's movement has fostered a culture of allegiance to adversarial political ideologies and parties. It is therefore incumbent upon coordinating bodies in the country to depoliticise the movement and articulate a common agenda for all the women in the country.

Women's NGOs submitted a shadow report on CEDAW in 2004 as well as shadow reports for Beijing +5 and Beijing +10. Nonetheless, more use could be made of these instruments

to monitor progress. In this sense, the women's movement should fully exploit the experience and expertise acquired by other countries through increased regional networking. It is frequently noted that language is a considerable barrier for Lusophone and francophone countries, but with concerted effort, this barrier can be overcome.

BOTSWANA

Historical Background

The history of the women's movement in Botswana can be said to date back to the period prior to independence. At that time it was a phenomenal force. The movement in this form was led by welfare organisations such as the Botswana Council of Women, and the Young Women's Christian Movement and these organisations paved the way for the current manifestation of the movement. Preparations for the 1975 Mexico Women's conference lent further impetus to the Botswana women's movement. This meant that the period 1975 to 1985 was seen as a formative but very vibrant period in the history of the Botswana women's movement. The movement however soon came to be labelled as elitist because it attracted many educated Botswana women married to foreign men. One of the topical issues was the denial of citizenship to children of Botswana women married to foreign men. This culminated in the Citizenship case of 1992.⁴² Other issues of that time were unequal taxation of married women and inadequate maintenance laws.

Post 1985, there was a proliferation of women's organisations focusing on advocacy, research, women's rights awareness and litigation. Organisations included: Emang Basadi, Ditswanelo, Women and Law in Southern Africa and Women and Law in Development. This era coincided with the availability of funding and this meant that the movement grew rapidly enjoying a prolonged period of vibrancy with post Nairobi and preparation for Beijing 1985 to 1994 as the peak.

This vigour reached a plateau in the late 1990's post-Beijing, after which it started to dwindle. By Beijing +5 there was a marked decline in the vibrancy of the movement.

Major Achievements

These include the establishment of the Women's Affairs Department, which works hand-in-hand with the Ministry of Gender in revising laws that accorded women minority status. These laws include the Land Act (which previously prevented women from owning land) as well as the abolition of marital power.

The prioritisation of the Beijing Platform for Action into 6 critical areas of concern which both government and women's NGOs are focusing on can be cited as another achievement. The appointment of women into key decision making positions as such as the bench, parliament and more recently the Attorney General. The country has successfully reached the 30 percent quota of women nominees in the local government elections.

Current state of the women's movement

"The movement was once a choir, but is now failing to even whisper." It can be said that more recently the movement is reactionary rather than proactive. Lack of effective networking strategies means that there is duplication and very little impact. Change in leadership due



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to burnout was accompanied by a lack of succession planning which has served to dilute and weaken. The current lack of a clear feminist orientation by younger, careerist members has also undermined the movement.

The classification of Botswana as a middle income country has meant that donor funding is not forthcoming. In the same vein, the movement is becoming donor driven, and in an endeavour to attract the limited funding, fuels unhealthy competition within the movement.

Way forward

Regrouping to resuscitate the women's movement through an inclusive process involving the young and the elderly was seen as key. Importing best practices from other countries for adoption into the Botswana context can also be recommended. There is "urgent" need to strengthen the coordinating machinery outside government in order to spearhead this process and increase regional networking.



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC)

Historical Background

In order to fully grasp the context in which the women's movement in DRC is active, it is necessary to describe the historical evolution of the women's movement against an overview of the country's overall political, social and economic background.⁴³ During the colonial period (1876-1960) the women's movement largely consisted of a few local associations that promoted women's roles as wives and homemakers. As most were formed under the aegis of the Catholic Church they focused on improving women's domestic roles. The country acquired independence from Belgium in 1960, but the first years of independence were characterized by political instability. Although women obtained the right to vote in 1967, the authenticity policy curbed women's other aspirations by placing emphasis on traditional, patriarchal values.

When the ban on political parties was lifted in 1990, some 200 political parties and many more NGOs were formed. Most NGOs focused on economic empowerment and regrouped in the National Council of Development NGOs (CNONGD).⁴⁴ For the first time, the delegation that attended the Beijing Conference consisted almost entirely of women drawn from the women's wing and ranks of the then-ruling party, MPR.⁴⁵ However, the presence of NGO representatives showed that for the first time women's voices could be heard independently of government structures.

Respondents unanimously referred to the momentum generated by the Beijing Conference as the turning point for the women's movement. It created a platform to mobilize a wide support base and to organize themselves into appropriate networks, which in turn gave them sufficient credibility to access donor funding for capacity building and implementation of their programmes. However, concerted action was required for NGOs to implement and monitor commitments made in Beijing. Previously much emphasis had been placed on economic empowerment, human rights and representation, the focus was now on promoting gender equality and transforming the existing political, social and economic structures in a quest for gender equality, with particular emphasis placed on women's rights to participate in political structures.

Major Achievements

The years following Beijing (1997-2005) are characterized as a period of achievement. By and large, the women's movement effectively lobbied government and parliament to create mechanisms to implement some key Beijing recommendations. This has resulted in the creation of governmental institutional mechanisms for gender equality, such as a National Programme for the Promotion of Congolese Women in 1999,⁴⁶ creation of a Ministry for Women and Family in 2003,⁴⁷ promulgation of a National Gender Policy on 8 March 2004, creation of a National Council for Women.⁴⁸

Also, Government's commitment to gender equality and gender mainstreaming is illustrated by the creation of a gender-dedicated division within the Ministry of Planning⁴⁹ and the participation of the Ministry for Women and Family in the technical committee appointed to draft the PRSP.⁵⁰ In Parliament, a commission was formed tasked with the analysis of issues pertaining to women and girls and this has been instrumental in some legal reform (e.g. abolition of marital authorisation for employment of married women in 2003).

DRC appears in effect to be the only country in the SADC region where the overall impact of the Beijing Conference is unanimously rated as highly positive and where the women's movement has not lost vibrancy in recent years. The question remains whether the women's movement will be able to consolidate its gains and gather maturity, while at the same time creating space for future leadership by a new generation of women.

DRC appears in effect to be the only country in the SADC region where the overall impact of the Beijing Conference is unanimously rated as highly positive and where the women's movement has not lost vibrancy in recent years.

Current status of the women's movement

In sum, at present the women's movement consists of diverse stakeholders including individual NGOs and networks of NGOs that work in partnership with government and parliament. Although embryonic in the period 1975-1995, it has steadily gathered strength and mobilized support in a vast and often politically divided country. The period 1995-2005 was often identified as a "decisive moment for the coming of age of the women's movement."

Way Forward

The women's movement suffers great political divisions on tough issues such as social reintegration of war victims, national truth and reconciliation mechanisms, internally displaced populations and refugees from the Great Lakes region, and AIDS (3 million people are thought to be infected). The emphasis on political rights and participation in government appears to "suffocate" women's other fundamental rights, such as the right to education, economic activity, health etc. In the words of one respondent: "Women's rights is of the essence – gender equality and parity are aspects thereof – but it is necessary to recast gender into the human rights framework again in order not to suffocate and extinguish other rights women have".



LESOTHO

Historical Background

The women's movement in Lesotho dates back to the early 1960's prior to independence. The few organisations in existence included: "Tlokomela Bana", Lesotho National Council of Women and Homemakers. These organisations were primarily concerned with welfare issues and preparing women for caring, nurturing roles. These organisations commanded respect in society as they were seen to be preparing women to play their rightful role and were led by respected women, wives of senior politicians amongst others. The UN decade for women 1975 to 1985 lent a hand in promoting the movement and creating awareness of women's issues. The mid-eighties saw a proliferation of women's rights organisations including rights organisations like FIDA (Association of Women Lawyers of Lesotho), Women in Business and later Women and Law in Southern Africa, with a paradigm shift in focus from welfare to advocacy, lobbying, and research on women's rights.

Basotho respondents cited several reasons for loss of vibrancy such as; lack of political will by government, demonstrated through actions such as ratifying CEDAW with reservations, and the extension of very limited financial resources to the women's movement.

Preparations for Beijing helped in consolidating the women's movement nationally and at SADC level. The years 1993 to 1997 were a time when the movement became a force to be reckoned with, by government and society at large. Post 1997 the momentum started down sliding, without anyone taking note. It was only in about 2003, that it became clearly evident that the movement was down sliding.

Major achievements

Top of the list of achievements of the women's movement in Lesotho was the creation of awareness on women's issues and rights, which in itself was part of the leveling of the playing field. Review of laws such as the Married Person's Equality Act was cited as one of the major achievements. Women in decision-making positions have also been increased, with 30 percent seats reserved for women in local government. Lesotho ratified the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and drafted and adopted Gender policy.

Current State of the Women's Movement

The movement in Lesotho was described as very weak and fragmented. Some described it as "Past Tense." Basotho respondents cited several reasons for loss of vibrancy such as; lack of political will by government, demonstrated through actions such as ratifying CEDAW with reservations, and the extension of very limited financial resources to the women's movement. A polarised movement along political lines, with individuals and organisations failing to appreciate common issues and garner support beyond political lines. Respondents also decried the compromised professionalism and "labeling" of the leadership. Weak coordination structures and unhealthy competition was also said to contribute significantly to the loss of vibrancy. Added contributory factors were donor fatigue in funding on gender and women's empowerment, resulting in a movement which has become donor driven and reactionary. Another source of loss of vibrancy commonly identified in Lesotho, was lack of appeal of the women's movement to the youth, coupled with a lack of mentoring programmes for the few who are part of the movement.

Way forward

Respondents recommended the hosting of inclusive dialogues with a view to find the means to invigorate the women's movement by taking corrective measures on all the identified problems. Respondents found it important to regroup, resuscitate and populate the women's movement through an inclusive process. Strengthening the capacity of women's movement coordinating mechanism is also important along with, recruiting young women and mentoring them in this way capacitating the women's movement and decentralizing its activities. Improved networking in the region and the hosting of regional workshops to strategize on how to invigorate the women's movement was also identified as important.

MALAWI

Historical Background

Women took part in the 1960s independence struggle and were amongst the prominent politicians who were jailed by the colonial authorities. The most notable was Rose Ziba Chibambo. After independence, the women's wing of the Malawi Congress Party was also effective in involving women cadres at grassroots level in both rural and urban areas. This mobilisation was facilitated by a fully fledged women's ministry under the theme of "Chitukuko Cha Amai M'Malawi" (CCM), i.e. women's development, which concentrated on women's welfare issues. This formation cannot be considered a women's movement given the definitions used within this report as the women leaders viewed women's issues within the confines of patriarchy. This was typified by flamboyant dancing for the male leaders, by a dancing ensemble named the "Mbumba za Kamuzu" (women of Kamuzu) after the first Head of State, Kamuzu Hastings Banda.

Major Achievements

Autonomous women's organisations (i.e. professional CSOs) emerged from the early 1990s after the introduction of multiparty politics. They provided an opportunity to raise women's awareness of their human rights in various areas like, women's political decision making, legal reform, access to resources, gender based violence, sexual and reproductive rights, HIV & AIDS pandemic.

The women's movement was relatively vibrant in the period 1993-1997, due to preparations for Beijing and the post-Beijing review process. Within this period women were involved in a range of national activities, such as: The constitutional review process (1993-94); The removal of Malawi's reservation to articles of CEDAW; The formulation process of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action; Advocacy for formulation of the national gender policy and national action plan for implementation of Dakar/Beijing PFAs; Legal reform of discriminatory laws such as inheritance, domestic violence against women; The adoption of the SADC Gender Declaration at Lilongwe Summit (1997) that included the quota of 30 percent women in decision making positions by 2005. Currently Malawi's female representation in decision making public positions is: 14 percent of parliamentarians, 13 percent of cabinet ministers, 37 percent of deputy ministers (highest), 23 percent of local government councilors, 18 percent of judges and 13 percent of permanent secretaries; The formation of a Gender Coalition Network to enable civil society mobilise themselves better and it operates on voluntary and part-time basis.



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Current State of the Women's Movement

The main reasons cited for the declined vibrancy of the women's movement in the period 2000-2005, included the following: The agenda for post-Beijing is perceived to have been “hijacked” by government and donor agencies through their shift to focus on gender mainstreaming rather than women's empowerment; new women's era organisations have maintained elitist perspective by not involving the grassroots women (both urban and rural); The non-existence of mentoring strategies in organisations for young professional women has led to decline of feminist activists to maintain the momentum of women's movement; the dwindling of donor support to autonomous organisations has contributed to competition within the movement for dwindling donor funds; government's lack of “political will” has also led to non-implementation of the gender budget analysis approach, even though funding has been provided by donor agencies; women's organisations are pre-occupied with routine programme work to meet donors' funding requirements at expense of proactive activism on women's issues.

Way Forward

Suggestions for the revival of women's movement included, at a national level, the following: solidarity amongst women who should come together to talk about the issues that serve to hinder women's advancement; exposing employees in CSOs, government and donor agencies to gender analysis; mentoring new women activists who are proud to be female; drawing women parliamentarians into the movement to speak out forcefully on behalf women on matters of women's rights; extending the reach of the movement to rural areas in order to challenge traditional patriarchal values; harnessing open source funding for actions on emergency and emerging women's issues.

At a regional, global level suggestions for revival included: linking the local women's movement with regional and international women's NGOs; facilitating gender analysis of national budgets to put pressure on governments to allocate a fair share of resources to women and women's issues

MAURITIUS

Historical Background

The Republic of Mauritius has achieved free universal education and health services. Both its human development index (HDI) and gender related development index (GDI) ranking are well above the Sub-Saharan African average, being 64th and 55th out of 177 countries respectively. However, the absence of women in high political and administrative office is conspicuous and still short of the target set by SADC to achieve at least 30 percent women in high-level decision making position (The elections of 2005 resulted in an increase – only two female ministers were nominated and 17 percent of MPs are female).

The women's movement here is characterised by a broad spectrum of actors, but the most significant feature is that government plays a significant role in directing the women's movement. Until Mauritius gained independence in 1968 there was little social or political room for a pro-active women's movement. The shift in power that took place in 1983 ushered in a different era, characterized by a government style that was broadly supportive of the women's movement but that at the same time created mechanisms that radically redefined the relationship between government and civil society.

At one end of the continuum there are the 1200 or so small associations, cooperatives, religious groups and local NGOs formed by grassroots women. On the other, a handful of NGOs that were formed around specific issues of a more strategic nature, such as SOS Femmes (focusing on domestic and gender-based violence) and the Mauritian Self-Help Association. It was frequently remarked that political parties have tended in recent years to “politicise” women’s issues thus influencing the leadership on relevant issues.

Major Achievements

Legal reforms; the ratification of CEDAW (1983); the Domestic Violence Act (1997 Sex Discrimination Act (2002); the ratification of Equal Remuneration and Discrimination Conventions (2002); the creation of a Ministry dedicated to women’s rights (1983) can all be cited as major achievements for the movement.

Significant progress has been made towards implementing the recommendations of the Fourth World Conference on Women, notably the creation of a national women’s machinery (Ministry for Women’s Rights, Child Development and Family Welfare and Women’s Unit inside the Ministry, nomination of Gender Focal Points in each ministry) and the adoption of a National Gender Policy and National Gender Action Plan (2000).

Challenges and Way Forward

There is still need for the women’s movement in Mauritius to ensure that laws targeting the welfare of women are properly implemented. The movement faces the challenges of strengthening the capacity of its national machinery to design and successfully implement gender equality programmes. The lack of a common mechanism jointly address women’s issues, makes it difficult for the movement to mobilize the younger generation of women

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MOZAMBIQUE

Historical Background

The Republic of Mozambique has approximately 18 million inhabitants, of whom 54 percent live in absolute poverty. As a country with a very low human development index, Mozambique is still struggling to establish the necessary social and economic infrastructure after two decades of civil war. The number of women in decision-making and high political office has steadily increased in recent years (30 percent of MPs are women, the Prime Minister is a woman and two ministries are headed by women: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Women and Social Action). However, this trend is still largely confined to the public sector. In the private sector many women are still underrepresented and concentrated in low-skilled jobs. Since multiparty-ism was established in the early 1990s, civil society has steadily grown and gained maturity, culminating in the participation of women’s organisations in high-level political discussions including the PRSP (PARPA) processes and ongoing legal reform processes.

Major Achievements

The following can be cited as major achievements of the movement: the target of 30 percent women in decision-making positions has been met; CEDAW has been ratified (1993 – entered into force 1997); the creation of a Ministry dedicated to women’s rights (2000); the



establishment of Family Counselling Services for Violence in police stations; the inclusion of women's rights in Land Law (1997) and Family Law (2005).

Current State of the Women's Movement

The women's movement in Mozambique is very active at the policy level as is evidenced from the consultation of women's representatives in PRSP negotiations, SWAP negotiations and legal reforms. In particular, Forum Mulher (an umbrella organisation for women's NGOs) is widely perceived as a credible and critical force in civil society and has good relationships with government. However, grassroots women feel that they are insufficiently represented and many organisations that work in the field still use a welfare approach to alleviate the lot of the many women who still live in absolute poverty.

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Challenges

The following reasons have resulted in the loss of vibrancy of the movement and are real challenges to be addressed: the Ministry for Women and Social Action is weak; Women have been lumped together with other vulnerable groups targeted for social action (welfare approach); there is an absence of a National Gender Policy and Strategy, this has undermined the implementation of the National Post-Beijing Plan of Action; the ineffectiveness of the former Grupo Operativo (a multisectoral coordination platform for government and women's representatives of civil society) and the recent formation of the Conselho Nacional para o Avanco da Mulher to substitute the Grupo Operativo has led to a certain amount of instability; rifts between the national Head Quarters of national gender NGOs and their provincial/regional offices; professionalisation (recruitment of activists into gender positions in government and donor jobs); the weakness of provincial coordination forums for NGOs working on behalf of women; the perception by donors of gender issues as an add-on, which are then treated and financed as projects

Way forward

Measures to sensitize women parliamentarians need to be put in place so that they can actively lobby within their parties and parliament on matters of women's rights and push for a national Gender Policy and Strategy. There is also need to strengthen the provincial coordination forums that have been created for NGOs working on women's issues. Greater focus on women's organisations active in rural areas in order to challenge traditional patriarchal structures is important in moving forward and strengthening and the movement's scope and scale.



NAMIBIA

Historical Background

The women's movement in Namibia was borne out of the liberation struggle. The movement's visibility dates back to 1983 when a few women activists, especially those belonging to the ruling SWAPO party, came together to discuss a way forward in view of the political situation at the time. At that time the movement focused on equipping women with the necessary knowledge to identify and fight any form of discrimination against them. The Namibian Women's Voice and the Young Women's Christian Association were formed in 1983 and 1984 respectively. These two organisations worked hand in hand in preparation for the 1985 Nairobi Forward- Looking Strategies Conference.

The serious challenge that faced the women's movement in the run up to independence was the political tug-of-war with the liberation party, SWAPO. The leadership of the liberation party felt threatened by the solidarity of the movement, in particular the Namibian Women's Voice. The situation became so intense that this organisation was invited to a meeting in Lusaka and ordered to shut down, on the grounds that it was diverting focus from fighting the common enemy, the apartheid government.

This weakened the movement only to see it resuscitated after independence in 1990. This was further enhanced by the return of political exiles who were fighting the apartheid regime from outside Namibia's borders. However, this also proved to be a challenge as tension accrued between locally based women activists and those returning from exile. Party politics has made it very difficult for the movement to have a recognized umbrella body.

Major Achievements

The target of 38 percent of women in decision making positions has been reached and to this end Namibia also boasts a Deputy Prime Minister. The establishment of the Ministry of Gender, and more recently a Ministry of Women and Gender Equality, was seen an achievement by the women's movement in Namibia. Gender Equality is entrenched in the constitution, creating a conducive environment for law review including, the Married Person's Equality Act, Domestic Violence Act, Property and Inheritance Laws. A gender policy has been drafted and adopted. The level of awareness has been raised amongst women and the public at large on women's rights and issues.

Current State of the Women's Movement

Some were of the opinion that the women's movement in Namibia has been stifled. A few felt that there was a strong sectoral movement which has not solidified into an over-arching women's movement. Others believed that post Beijing, the movement was on a downward slide.

Challenges

Gender mainstreaming has overshadowed and undermined the women's movement agenda and this has lead to a loss of vibrancy. Donor fatigue remains a challenge along with poor coordination and lack of support from membership. Fragmentation along party political and racial lines as well as the neglect to build and maintain contact with a grassroots constituency has served to further weaken.

Way Forward

Respondents recommended the hosting of inclusive dialogues to refocus the movement and chart a way forward. It was recommended that an all encompassing coordinating body must focus on resuscitating the women's movement. Through an inclusive structure, the government would be lobbied to allocate more funding towards the women's movement agenda. It was felt that the movement should learn from best practices from other countries in the region.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Historical Background

The women's movement in South Africa is a product of political strife. It dates back to around 1912 when the major political parties such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) were formed. Women grouped themselves as a force to fight the then monstrous apartheid regime.

In the lead-up to independence in 1990, women's issues were sidelined for political ones. In recognition of this, women started calling for the need to regroup at a conference they held in Amsterdam called, "Malinbongwe." This regrouping was catalysed by the Confederation of Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations that were taking place at the time, preparations for the 1995 Fourth World Women's Conference, as well as the general euphoria brought about by the anticipation of a new political dispensation (1994 Democratic elections). This culminated in the formation of the South African Women's Coalition, which started by drafting a women's charter through a process of intense consultation. The charter was seen as a key instrument for effective advocacy and lobbying for the strategic positioning of South African women in the constitution and other development processes. The Coalition was also tasked with the role of co-ordinating the South African women's movement activities for the Beijing conference.

Post-Beijing, the movement managed to coerce government to ratify certain instruments such as CEDAW, establish the Office on the Status of Women and Parliamentary Committee on the quality of life and the status of women, the Commission on Gender Equality as well as the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action. Post independence, the momentum was lost. Though, the Women's Coalition was given a mandate to continue, it lost a lot of the leadership, clout and direction. This has been coupled by donor interest and all the implications this entails.

Major Achievements

A world class national constitution that clearly articulates women's rights and gender issues, with an attendant menu of laws that seek to protect women, including those living under customary law; massive awareness on women's rights; several statutory implementation structures have been established, i.e. Office of the Status of Women, Commission on Gender Equality; strong sectors, e.g. gender based violence and sexual and reproductive rights, that are able to coordinate their agendas have been established, all these can be cited as major achievement.

Current State of the Women's Movement

Most respondents were of the view that the women's movement was "weak, reactionary and had no vision." A minority voice noted the movement was weakening. Some observed that this was not the case as the movement had maintained its vibrancy through a different mechanism of sectoral work which needed to be harnessed for enhanced and improved delivery.

Challenges

There has been a mass exodus from the women's movement to government. There is confusion regarding the role of the different parts of national machinery with the sizeable number of women members of parliament being less vocal on women's issues. The lack of a recognized

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co-ordinating body, enjoying popular support, with a focused agenda remains a challenge as this has resulted in a loss of focus and the lack of a clearly articulated feminist agenda.

Way Forward

Respondents made several recommendations for a way forward: the hosting of a national feminist convention as a way to re-orientate the movement, establish a recognised co-ordinating body that can capacitate member organisations. Bridging the Information Communication Technology (ICT) digital divide was also noted as being vital. Auditing good practices from other countries for use in creating a viable framework for addressing women's issues by government must also be considered.

SWAZILAND

Historical Background

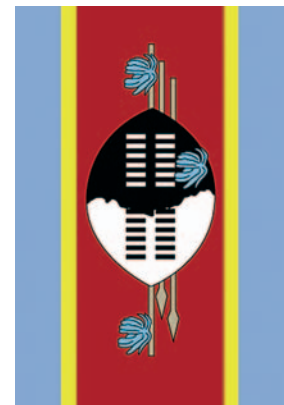
Respondents traced the history of the women's movement in Swaziland to pre independence days, when welfare organisations were operating under the patronage of senior politicians' wives who were accepted and respected for reinforcing women's nurturing roles as good mother and wives. Prior to the 1975 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies Conference, the then, King, His Majesty Sobhuza II appointed a leader of the traditional women's movement, the first Swazi women Senator preparations for the Nairobi conference were thus led by Lutsango Lwaka Ngwane and the and the government.

Topical issues at the time included women's equal rights and benefits in employment, such as equal pay for equal work and skewed taxation laws which rendered the income of a wife to be that of her husband. Also during this time there was a lot of advocacy to include women in development projects. This gave birth to the myriad women's income generating projects which were used as riders for other developmental initiatives. Throughout this period, activism was intricately intertwined with national patriotism.

Post 1985 and Nairobi saw a proliferation of women's organisations with different areas of focus and this trend was maintained through the mid 1990's. Some of the very vocal organisations that were established include Business Women's Association, (BWAS) Women and Law in Southern Africa, (WLSA) Women and Law in Development and Swaziland Action Group against Abuse (SWAGAA). The period also coincided with the availability of funding which fuelled preparations for the Dakar Africa Women's preparatory conference culminating in the Fourth World Women's Conference, Beijing in 1995. This can be characterised as the peak of the Swazi women's movement when members remember it as vibrant, solid and exhilarating. The Beijing preparatory committee was known as the Swaziland Committee on Gender and Women's Affairs (SCOGWA), which was comprised of government and NGO members. Post Beijing saw the birth of the gender desk within SADC and the establishment of the gender unit in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Major Achievements

Respondents identified the major achievements of the women's movement as follows: the creation of awareness on the rights of women and women's issues; increased representation of women in decision-making positions; introduction of gender-sensitive legislation i.e. equality in taxation; the ratification without reservation of the Convention on the Elimination



of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; establishing a gender desk in the Ministry of Home Affairs and the entrenchment of an equality clause in the national constitution.

State of the Women's Movement

The movement is said to have, in recent years dwindled. As many respondents observed: “the women’s movement has been fragmented to a point of non-existence”, another respondent noted: “it’s so pathetic that it cannot get any worse.”

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Challenges

Respondents identified several causes for the loss of vibrancy by the women’s movement including: poor coordination accompanied by a lack of passion and focus both of which were noted to be significant contributors to the decline in the momentum of the women’s movement. This was said to lead to a reactionary movement. The lack of adequate mentoring of younger members within the movement has meant that as the former leadership has moved on, a vacuum has been created. Name calling and women working against women (PHD) were also identified as contributory factors to the downslide of the movement. Donor fatigue, coupled with the predominant focus on gender mainstreaming and HIV and AIDS programmes were viewed as contributing significantly to loss of vibrancy. Lack of political will by government in advancing the women’s agenda was also seen as a major challenge.

Way Forward

Respondents made recommendations for a way forward as follows: Regroup and refocus the women’s movement agenda through an inclusive process to dispel elitism. Respondents recommended the creation of an overall coordinating body of the women’s movement, it was noted that this body should have the responsibility for redefining critical areas of concern, mentoring programmes, capacity building of existing organisations, lobbying for the creation of a statutory body to guide the Gender Desk for enhanced delivery of service. It should also document best practices and share them locally and SADC wide as well as creating a directory of all the people who have been a part of the women’s movement. Regionally, it was felt that the women’s movement at SADC level could be resuscitated through a consultative process.



TANZANIA

Historical Background

During the struggle for political independence, grassroots women participated actively in civil disobedience activism. However, after attaining independence, women activists were marginalised from enjoying the ‘spoils of independence.’ A women’s council for NGOs called Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania (BAWATA)) was used as a vehicle for keeping women within the patriarchal ideology and practices of the one-party-state era. After returning to a multi-party system BAWATA was de-registered (1992), apparently on the grounds that the ruling party was afraid that it might be used by the women’s movement and opposition to fight the government on their lack of policies on gender and women’s issues. Women took their protest against the deregistration to the High Court. The case is still before the High Court.

Major Achievements

In the period from 1980 – 1990, the women’s movement was vibrant, spearheaded by aca-

demic women activists under an NGO called Women's Research and Documentation Programme (WRDP) registered in 1985. A special collection library on gender and feminist literature was established at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam and this influenced the establishment of a gender studies course, which became one of basic courses for undergraduates at the University of Dar es Salaam. This increased gender awareness amongst the elite activists with many women graduates joining women's organisations like TAMWA that spearheaded the struggle against discriminatory media; the consortium of registered civil society organisations (Tanzania Association for NGOs - TANGO) has been led by women chairpersons that were part of the women's movement and therefore it took the lead role on gender issues from within. Women lawyers provide legal aid and legal counselling to vulnerable women on pro bono basis.

In the absence of an umbrella organisation, the post-Dakar and Beijing processes helped to build up a loose coalition between academics, professional and grassroots women under the Tanzania Gender Network Programme (TGNP). This was spear-headed by academic and professional women and men who used an issue based approach. Women's organisations in TGNP took lead in advocating for national gender policy and the gender responsive Land Act. The gender-budget analysis training programme is led by TGNP and it also offers its services to the SADC region. Grassroots women in rural areas are reached through rural-based intermediary gender networks (IGNs) comprising of women and men that form part of large presence at TGNP's annual national gender festivals (held since 1996). A feminist ideology is spearheaded by a Feminist Action Group (FemAct). Women were able to make the Tanzania regime increase women in decision making positions (currently Tanzania has 22 percent women parliamentarians:15 percent cabinet ministers with 24 percent women deputies and 34 percent women councillors, 26 percent women Permanent Secretaries).

Challenges

The main reasons cited for the declined vibrancy of the women's movement included the following: The women's movement was under threat from gender mainstreaming, which has led to marginalisation of women's issues. TGNP's gender mainstreaming approach also seen as a contributing factor to the downplaying of feminism within the women's movement; there was loss of initial activists through burn-out because they took up too much. And some activists compromised the women's movement by becoming consultants or joining government/donor agencies for personal survival, thus they gave-in to gender approaches; there has been limited mentoring of the next generation of activists; inappropriate organisational structures of many women's organisation have led to "pull her down" syndrome (PHD).

Nonetheless, it seems that the women's movement in Tanzania is relatively more vibrant than most other countries in the region. Despite the difficulties created by government and donor agency intrusion, and the mixed blessing of "gender mainstreaming", FemAct remains a good example of the survival of a civil society feminist vanguard.

Way Forward

The following were given as suggestions for the revival of women's movement: holding a national women's conference to revive the old practice of women's meetings without men, in order to strategise freely on raising voices to bring change in women's favour; societal

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mentors (traditional and modern) need to be made aware of gender issues so that these issues are tackled on a daily basis within all social ecologies (home, school, village and community at large); institutionalise effective networking by establishing a framework and providing a budget for the mechanism – for example the women’s movement could publish literature to share good and bad practices in recognising and addressing gender issues; capacity building of the women’s movement to accumulate funding that they can control and be able to use for the movements own priority issues, like gender conscious-raising activities, e.g. funds for the TGNP’s gender budget analysis were raised specifically to mount a training program; Hold triad dialogues between CSOs, government and donors to demystify the fear of working with line ministries or vice versa.

At a regional level, it was felt that regional collective action could be undertaken by linking up on regional issues like implementation of Beijing+10 review outcomes, the African Union Protocol on women’s rights. It was also felt to be beneficial to establish linkages between NGOs in different countries engaged in similar work, so that they can learn from each other.



ZAMBIA

Historical background

During the colonial period, two types of women’s organisations were initiated: on one hand there was the women’s clubs focusing on western cooking and sewing for urban and rural grassroots women, on the other hand the Girl Guides (1924) and Young Women’s Christian Association (1957) focused on elite urban women and girls and the “development of good future wives.”

During the struggle for independence women’s club members joined the women’s wings of political parties. In 1970 YWCA successfully held their first national women’s rights conference, which called for a statutory review of women’s property rights and a new statutory marriage law. In the early period of the one-party regime (1973-80), elite women’s organisations were required to affiliate to the UNIP women’s political wing, in this way UNIP aimed to put the lid on the formation of any organisation with feminist aspirations.

Major Achievements

During the period 1980-95 the women’s movement was identified as being at its most vibrant. The preparations for the 1985 Nairobi World Conference on Women were the greatest catalyst for the mobilisation of women’s organisations into a movement: They established a women’s national consortium in 1985, the Non-Governmental Organisations Co-ordinating Committee (NGOCC), which effectively facilitated the activism of the women’s movement in this era, including mobilisation of women’s participation in the Third and Fourth World Conferences on Women (Nairobi in 1985 and Beijing in 1995) and post-Beijing reviews (2000 and 2005). ZARD in March 1985 organised a second national women’s rights conference. Amongst 64 recommendations, there was a call for government to ratify CEDAW (achieved the same year) and a call for a unified inheritance law (achieved 1989), and a call for reform of laws which are overtly discriminatory against women (the majority were removed from the statute books by 1995). The fourth National Development Plan (1986-1999) incorporated a Women in Development Chapter for the first time and this was a first victory after the Nairobi conference. The Women in Development Unit was established within the government bureaucracy in 1986, and this unit

was elevated to the Gender in Development Division within Cabinet Office in 1997 following continued pressure from the women's movement. They began the practice of producing 'shadow reports' (under NGOOC) to government's watered down reports to the CEDAW Committee and CSW sessions on examining progress on the status of women. A women's legal aid support group was established as well as a drop-in Centre at YWCA (1991) and the Women's Legal Clinic by women lawyers of the Law Association of Zambia (1990). Two landmark court test-cases on women's rights were mounted: Edith Nawakwi vs Attorney General (1990), which endorsed a mother's right to put her children in her passport without consent from the child's biological father or guardian; and Sara Longwe vs Inter-Continental (1992), which endorsed a woman's freedom to enter public places without a male escort. Both cases cited CEDAW to support the women's rights. The establishment of the collective practice of holding annual commemorative activities for International Women's Day (8 March) and 16 days of activism against gender based violence (November 26 –December 10) were also undertaken.

Challenges

Some of the reasons cited for the decline included the following: The women's movement slackened from the late 1990s because its advocacy faced a more sophisticated patriarchal regime than before. The government gender machinery has adopted pro-gender approach and is supported by donor agencies that previously funded NGOs women's issue based programmes. Hence, the national gender policy (2000) although a result of a long advocacy by the women's movement, lacks implementation. Donor funding for action on gender issues is often now part of basket funding for large government programmes, and little is available for supporting autonomous projects of independent NGOs.

There are mixed reactions among women on whether to support women in politics and public offices who have no interest in women's empowerment. Women have not effectively used their majority amongst voters: few women were elected in 2001 (16 percent parliamentarians and seven percent women local government councillors; and the two women presidential candidates (amongst eleven) got the smallest proportion of the votes (less than one percent).

Some respondents were not comfortable with feminism because they saw it as a western concept and linked it to lesbianism; but some acknowledged that feminist principles were universal and cardinal to attaining an effective women's movement. Others called themselves feminists, but were in fact more concerned with adaptation within a patriarchal system. Some regarded themselves as feminists, but were wary of using the word for fear of frightening the patriarchal opposition. Finally, some respondents were very clear about their personal agenda of taking action on women's rights, and calling themselves feminists. In short, the term *feminism* was mired in ideological and strategic confusion.

Old vanguard activists have not mentored new activists; thus young women see their work in women's organisations as stepping-stones to professional career with government and international donor in their gender machineries. In addition, the women's organisations are still urban-based and have few rural based members.

Some of the work of the women's co-ordinating organisation involves working in coalition with other co-ordinating organisations that are not primarily concerned with the women's

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rights agenda. To some extent, this has detracted from the women's co-ordinating organisation's task of maintaining a central focus on gender issues. A current example is provided in the common NGO effort to push the government towards adopting a new constitution. Here, the main issue is the government's reluctance to reduce the powers of the president, and by comparison the issue of equal rights for women has not attracted much attention.

Way Forward

Among suggestions made for revival of women's movement included the following: the re-birth of the women's movement by reviving voluntarism and by individual feminist starting to donate some of their own resources to special programmes. Women in political decision-making positions should not be left on their own. They should be monitored and supported by the women's movement, and made to account for their contribution to the women's cause. Women in politics have to push for the women's agenda through being proactive. The gap between academia, activists and grassroots on women's rights must be bridged. For instance, working closely with grassroots women like the Chipata rural district women's associations that already have autonomous and bottom-up organisational structures.

Mentoring future activists. NGOCC has a deliberate policy to groom young women, and has facilitated the formation of an independent *Young Women's Action Group*. (This group was formed especially because young women were leaving NGO work in favour of donor agencies, and had expressed their dissatisfactions, especially in being marginalised by older women.) This coupled with active participation by all women's organisations and groups in marketing their various programmes through information technology links; video/magazine profiles on women's movement (strengthen links with the media). Media involvement should go beyond newspapers, television, and radio but also include women film makers, ICT women working on internet, websites to be linked to. This would enable effective and timely information dissemination. It was thought to be necessary to keep writing shadow reports to counter government's watered-down reports to CEDAW and CSW.

At a regional level it was thought to be necessary to establish a sub-regional women's movement to facilitate collaboration on common issues with activism taking place in each country at the same time.



ZIMBABWE

Historical background

The women's movement began during the pre-independence era, when there were women's clubs in urban and rural areas. They were however, welfare oriented. The membership of these clubs were later absorbed into women's wings of political parties. Global movements such as the last three UN World Conferences on Women (Copenhagen-1980, Nairobi-1985 and Beijing-1995) spearheaded the formation of the current elite women's organisations and their rural affiliates.

Major Achievements

The vibrancy of the women's movement fluctuated during the period 1980-1995. The first wave was in the 1980s and was related to the Nairobi and Beijing World conferences that

spearheaded various women's advocacy activities on girl-child, research for legal reforms on inheritance issues, child maintenance and gender based violence and creation of information clubs for women in rural areas, etc.

The second peak period of vibrancy was from late 1990s to 2002: Women's organisations collectively formed a Women's Coalition (1999) as a coordinating body for registered organisations. They formulated a *Women's Charter* in 1999 (modelled on South African's women's Charter). The Charter was used as a guiding principle for advocacy in pressurising for an increase in women's representation in public decision making positions (after elections of 2000 and 2005 there were increments: from 14 percent to 16 percent women parliamentarians; 12 percent cabinet ministers with five percent women deputies; 10 percent women councillors; nine percent women Permanent Secretaries; and 30 percent women Judges); influencing legal reform like the Matrimonial Act, Domestic Violence Bill. Setting-up projects to curb rapes, the eviction of women political activists from land or urban settlements or villages; wilful infection of women with HIV; battery, including setting up a child-rape hotline; and providing legal aid to women and girls on pro bono basis.

Challenges

The main reasons cited for the declined vibrancy of women's movement included the following: From 2003, it has become increasingly difficult for women's organisations to be active. For instance, some women activists have been arrested or blacklisted for speaking out on human rights related issues, or to hold protest marches, as they previously did in the '80s when police arrested women dressed in short dresses or walking outdoors after dark.

The so-called "gender concept" is more accepted and funded than women's issues that concern feminist principles. This was seen as a contributing factor to loss of key women activists to gender mainstreaming machineries of government and donor agencies. Respondents said that feminism is considered as a western concept by many people (male and female). Many people also often related feminism to failed marriages and lesbianism.

Women had mixed opinions on the quota system: some found it to be demeaning to women's intelligence and capabilities, because they do not consider historical gender discrimination as sufficient ground for "favouring" women over men. Some respondents reckoned that the women's movement was the site of a tug-of-war between professionalism and activism. They also said that academics did not see themselves as part of the movement, hence they prefix their academic qualifications to their names such as "Prof" or "Dr". Open solidarity amongst women is lacking. For instance, when a woman parliamentarian, a former women's rights activist, was physically assaulted by a male cadre of her party, only personal friends contacted her on the issue. Elitist women's organisations were said to be not facilitating grassroots women when they interact with them, instead they dominate the grassroots women's work in a top-down manner. Hence, women's issues are neither adequately dealt with nor internalised at grassroots level. Further, women's organisations are not active in male-dominated generic movements such as, the millennium development goals (MDGs), global call for action on poverty (GCAP), poverty reduction strategy programmes (PRSP) and world social forum (WSF).

The so-called "gender concept" is more accepted and funded than women's issues that concern feminist principles. This was seen as a contributing factor to loss of key women activists to gender mainstreaming machineries of government and donor agencies.

Way Forward

Among suggestions made for revival of women's movement included the following: there is need to unpack the principles of feminism, because these must provide the basis for the women's movement. Women in politics have increased in number during the past 10 years, but are void of feminist principles. Women's organisations should hand pick young women and give them space and support them to rise within the organisation and within the women's movement. In addition, the organisations should employ women who have the women's cause at heart, and adopt an *issue based approach* for collective actions. There is need to appreciate the different strengths and positive contributions of different members of the movement: e.g. some are good at organizing protest marches or speaking in public (in meetings, on radio/television) or writing (papers, speeches, petitions, press releases, novels, proposals or fundraising. There is need to build solidarity amongst women, such as setting up alert systems or hotlines for women in crisis, to provide readily support. In addition by looking at what went wrong in cultural socialisation, which had made women not to look after their interests. One organisation suggested a slogan "nothing for us without us women".

The Federation of Africa Media Women Zimbabwe (FAWMZ) suggested piloting a gender desk in newsrooms to work with other desks: i.e. reporter, editing desk, sub-memory person, casting headlines, proof reader and the gender desk, followed by editor's desk in order to get rid of media's continuing stereotyped imaging of women.

The Women's Coalition should ensure that women are represented in generic social movements at all levels in order to speak out for themselves as women on issues like globalisation, making poverty history, MDGs, PRSPs.

It was thought that the women lawyers associations should work collectively at regional level on common legal issues e.g. discriminatory marriage laws because they are similar. Such regional collaboration is also necessary to target constitutional articles on prohibition of discrimination against women, because currently there are qualifying clauses, which effectively condone and legalise gender discrimination against women within customary laws and practices.

Endnotes

- 28 *Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola* (MPLA), União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and *Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola* (FNLA); *Organização da Mulher Angolana* (OMA), *Liga da Mulher Angolana* (LIMA) e *Associação da Mulher Angolana* (AMA).
- 29 *Lei das Associações*, promulgated in 1990.
- 30 For example, many churches officially registered the associations they had created in the previous decade as NGOs or CBOs. Most of these focused on health, education and rural development through agriculture.
- 31 *Forum das Organizações Não-Governamentais de Angola* (FONGZA).
- 32 The Bicesse Agreement of 1991 was brokered by Portugal, US and Russia and foresaw in a cease-fire to allow for general elections in 1992. The UN Verification Mission (UNAVEM) was established to enforce the cease-fire and secure peace until the elections but failed largely due to its restricted mandate and limited resources. After UNITA rejected the election defeat, fighting broke out, followed by a repressive campaign by the government against UNITA supporters in Luanda. Negotiations in 1994 were unsuccessful.
- 33 *Committee of Women Politicians* (CMP) – not to be confused with *Rede das Mulheres Políticas e Parlamentares* which is an UNFPA-supported Network for Women Politicians, Ministers and Parliamentarians. CMP members are drawn from approx. 30 political women's organizations.
- 34 PDN adopted a gender policy; it is also the only party with female leadership.
- 35 *Forum Nacional para Mulher e Democracia: A Participação da Mulher na Vida Pública e Política do País*.
- 36 *Women's Coalition for Democracy*.
- 37 The *Ministério da Família e Promoção da Mulher* replaced the former State Secretariat for Promotion and Development of Women (*Secretariado do Estado para a Promoção e Desenvolvimento da Mulher*) which was created in 1991.
- 38 The gender focal points are regrouped in the *Conselho Multisectorial de Género* (Multisectorial Gender Council). While this council has statutes its mandate has not yet been formally endorsed by government.
- 39 *National Plan for the Development of All up to 2015*.
- 40 Cfr. For example *Plano Estratégico sobre a Saúde Reprodutiva 2003-2008*.
- 41 *Associação de Mulheres Juristas* and *Associação de Mulheres Jornalistas*. Both started out as strong associations but weakened when leadership changed hands recently.
- 42 Attorney General of Botswana v. Dow 1992
- 43 For this reason, this section is somewhat lengthier and more detailed than in other Country Profiles.
- 44 *Conseil National des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales de Développement*, established in December 1990, the year in which Mobutu Sese Seko abandoned the one-party system. By 1993 more than 473 NGOs had joined the Council.
- 45 *Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution*, founded in 1967 by Mobutu.
- 46 *Programme National pour la Promotion de la Femme Congolaise* (PNPFC).
- 47 *Ministère de la Condition Féminine et de la Famille*.
- 48 *Conseil National pour la Femme*, this is a multisectorial network of gender focal points in government mandated to mainstream gender equality in ongoing government programmes such as the Programme Multisectoriel d'Urgence pour la Reconstruction et Réinsertion (PMURR).
- 49 *Division Femmes, Famille et Enfants du Ministère du Plan*. Note, however, that this is not officially called a "division for gender equality" but rather division for women, family and children.
- 50 Apart from the representative of the Ministry for Women and Family, four women members of the technical committee out of 24. PRSP, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper.

ANNEX 3

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

ANGOLA

Grupo de Género: representatives of NGOs member of Rede Mulher

Luisa Maria Cardoso Neto	Comité Nacional para Saúde
Fernanda Ricardo	Oficial de Programas, Rede Mulher
Isabel Manuel Diogo	AFAMODSA
Francisca Cutabiala	USODEMA
Evalina Ndombele	AMUSA
Catarina Zaldanha	Rede Mulher
Noemia Baião	OMA
Joana Costa	Rede Mulher

CMP - representatives of women's wings of political parties

Rosa de ...	OMTRD
Regina Bento	PDM
Ana Manuel	MMSA-PSA
Carolina Miranda	CMP (coordinadora)
Emiliana Susso	CMSD-PSD
Elisa Belmira	UMRS-PRS
Fernanda Ricardo	Oficial de Programas, Rede Mulher
Rosaria Mateus	OMCVA
Aida Antonio Joaquim	OMCNA
Aurora Junjo	OMA

MPD

Fatima Aguiar Fonseca
Palmira Africano de Carvalho

Community visits in Luanda Province

Comunidade Tanque 2, Ramiro (rural)
Comunidade Camama, Kilamba Kiayi (peripheral/urban)
Comunidade Agostinho Neto, Moxico Viana (peripheral/urban)

OSISA Luanda Office

Elias Isaacs
Katila Pinto de Andrade
Patricia Galvalio

BOTSWANA

Hosted by Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Project for field work in Gaborone and Women Against Rape (WAR) in the Maun 24-28 October, 2005.

Botho Ntswaneng	Executive Director, Botshabelo Rehabilitation Crisis Centre formed
Chibuya Dabutha	Executive Director, Women Against Rape (WAR)
Daisy Gorata Wright	Botswana National Council of Women/Local Councillor
Dieno Mogapi	Senior Counsellor, Kagisano Society Women's Shelter Project
Elsie Alexander	Chairperson, Botswana National Council of Women and WILDAF member formed in 1992.
Imelda Molokome	Gender Trainer
Joyce Anderson	President Emang Basadi formed in 1982
Kebby B.Letsididi	Lentswe La Basadi BaBotswana formed in 1999
Keboitsi Machangana	USAID Regional Centre for Southern Africa/Emang Basadi Board
Kgelebale Setswalo	Botswana Democratic Party (Shakawe)
Kitso Mosieman	Botswana Television Channel Controller/WLSA Part Time Associate
Magdalene Mathiba-Madibela	SADC Gender Unit
Ngonye Margaret Kwama	Kobe-Botswana Democratic Party (Shakawe)
Okopanye Connie Tshekelo	Botswana Democratic Party (Sehitwa)
Onneetse Makhumalo	Programme Officer, WLSA founded in 1990
Pearl Tsimmama	WAR
Pelonomi M. Letshiwiti	Chilipwe – Child-line founded in 1991
Rosalid Wangai	Programme Officer, WAR
Segametsi Modisaotsile	Political Education Coordinator, Emang Basadi
Thaloganyang Mbwe	WAR
Ms.Vivian Gunda	Gender Specialist/former Women's Coalition Co-ordinator founded in 1993
Yodit Molosi	Executive Director, Women's Finance House

DRC

Julie Zenga	Chargée de Programme Jeunesse, WOPPA
Ellyse Dimandja	Coordenatrice, WOPPA
Elise Muhimu	Secrétaire Permanente, CONAFED
Rose Mutombo Kiese	Procureur de la République/WOPPA
Marie Mossi	Coordenatrice, Réseau Action Femmes
Père Rigobert Minani Bihuzo	Groupe Jérémie
Grâce Lula	Coordenatrice Ligue des Femmes pour le Développement et l'Education a la Démocratie/Membre de la Commission Electorale Indépendante
Peter Vermaeck	Coopération Belge
Georgette Biebiesongo	Cause Commune
Florence Boloko	Cause Commune
Esperance Makofi	Cause Commune
Godel Lapu	Cause Commune
Adine Omokoko	Cause Commune

Pasteur Willy Mbuyi	Coordonateur National de la Commission Paix et Justice/Conseiller Politique du Président National de l'Eglise du Réveil du Congo
Jacqueline Mulanga	Journaliste/Vice-Présidente de l'Association des Journalistes de la Presse Féminine
Cathy Kabula	Député Honoraire/3ème Vice-Présidente REFAMP
Yvonne Risai Tamasho	Administrateur/Député honoraire/membre REFAMP
Apolline Musengeshi Musau	Député nationale/membre REFAMP
Mimi Mopunga	Député nationale/membre REFAMP
Christine Makusudi	Député nationale/membre REFAMP
Thérèse Olenga	Vice-Ministre Honoraire/Secrétaire Générale REFAMP
Anne Marie Makombo	Député nationale/Présidente de la Commission Femme et Famille au Parlement
Victorine Opango	Mandataire/Conseillère REFAMP
Jeanine Aiwa	Député nationale/2ème Vice-Présidente REFAMP
Princesse Kalongomujing Theodosie	Député honoraire/membre REFAMP
Jeanne Ebanda	1ère Vice-Présidente REFAMP/Ministre honoraire
Joséphine Ngalula	Présidente Forum de la Femme Ménagère
Fabiola Faïda Mwangilwa	Ministre de la Condition Féminine et Famille

LESOTHO

Researcher was hosted by Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust for field work in Maseru, 20-23 September, 2005.

Makehiloe Beukes	Executive director – Lesotho Durham Link
Mamosa Moteetee	Information Officer, UNDP
Libuseng Nyaka	Reporter, Public Eye News Paper
Thandiwe Solwandle	Information Officer, Lesotho Council of NGO's
Flora Mokhitli	Anglican Women's Fellowship – involved in women's movement since 1990
Malikeleli Mokokoane	Lesotho Home Markers formed in 1935
Mathabiso Mosala	National Council of Women (NCW) formed in 1961
Matseliso Moshoeshe Chadzingwa	National University of Lesotho (NUL)
Libakiso Tsoho	Full Time Research Associate, WLSA formed 1990
Tsepang Mncina	Gender Media Southern Africa(GEMSA) formed in 2003/LEMA Newspaper
Tebello Ralebitso	Gender department, Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation
Mahali Sekantsi	Gender department, Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation
Mahlao Diaho	Gender department, Ministry of Gender, Youth, Sports and Recreation
Mampai Lebeko	Lesotho Evangelical Church Women's Programme
Mampiti Moletsane	Lesotho Evangelical Church Women's Programme
Lineo Sephelane	Women in Business formed in 1988
Mamosebi Pholo	Federation of Women Lawyers Association (FIDA) formed in 1989
Mamoecketsi Ntho	Lecturer – National University of Lesotho (NUL)

MALAWI

Researcher hosted by Women and Law in Southern Africa Trust

Seodi White	Executive Director, Women and Law in Southern Africa – Malawi (formed 1998)
Maggie Katewera Banda	Gender Programme Officer (WLSA-Malawi)
Tinyande Kachika	Legal Programme Officer (WLSA-Malawi)
Mary Frances Malunga	Executive Director, National Association of Business Women (NABW) (formed 1998)
Violet Mabaso Chiumya	Tawuka Maize Mill, Ekwendeni Branch (NABW)
Maggie Nhlema	Tawuka Maize Mill, Ekwendeni Branch (NABW)
Enelesi Nyangwira	Tawuka Maize Mill, Ekwendeni Branch (NABW)
Gwen Muthali	Acting Executive Director, Women’s Voice – WV (formed 1993)
Tabu Munthali	Administrative Secretary, Muzuzu Branch (WV)
Alice Musuku	Voluntary Paralegal, Muzuzu Branch (WV)
Pilirani Semu Banda	Journalist
Emmie Chanika	Executive Director, Civil Liberties Committee (CILIC)
Faustace Chirwa	Executive Director, National Women’s Lobby & Rights (NWLRL)
Lugede Chiumya	Programme Officer, DanChurch Aid
Linda Kabwato-Ziyendamumanja	Chairperson, Malawi Women Lawyers Association
Esnart Kalyati	Former Civil Servant and former UNDP Programme Officer
Isabel Matenje	Director for Gender Affairs, Ministry of Gender, Child Welfare and Community Service
Peter Msefula	Gender Mainstreaming Coordinator (Min. of GCWCS)
Cathrine Munthali	Coordinator, Society for Advancement of Women – SAW (formed 1993)
Majorie Ngaunje	Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Vera Ng’oma	Assistant Director, British Council
Naomi Ngwira	Chairperson Malawi Commission of Law and Freelance Economist (with Tovwirane members), Mzimba
Helen Munthali	

MAURITIUS

The mission was hosted by Media Watch but also received much support from UNDP.

Loga Virahsawmy	Chair, Media Watch & Country Representative of GEMSA
Magda Verdickt	Assistant Resident Representative (support to civil society project) UNDP
Lindsey Collen	Founding member Mouvement Libération Femmes (est. 1976) & currently Member of Parliament in Ledikasyon pu Travayer (political party)
Joceline Minerve	Founding member of Femmes, Développement e Solidarité (est. 2000) & currently Member of Parliament
Pouba Esso	Consultant, gender activist & founding member of MLF (est. 1976)
Bali	Acting Head of Women’s Unit, Ministry of Women’s Rights, Child Development and Family Welfare

Marie Claire	Women's Unit, Ministry of Women's Rights, Child Development and Family Welfare & Formerly Coordinator of National Women's Council
Lovania Pertab	Barrister, gender activist & founding member of MLF (est. 1976)
Mr. Ram Nookadee	National Secretary, MACOSS (Mauritian Council for Social Policy – NGO forum)
I. Koodoruth	Associate Professor (sociologist) & Former Technical Adviser Ministry of Women's Rights Child Development and Family Welfare
Christian Loeseke	Labour Law specialist & Technical Adviser (support to civil society project), Ministry of Labour

MOZAMBIQUE

Graca Samo	Executive Coordinator ForumMulher (est. 1992)
Theresinha da Silva	President Forum Mulher (est. 1992) and academic
Rafa	Executive Coordinator MULEIDE, Maputo
Yolanda de Figueiredo	Coordinator MULEIDE, Beira
Macario Antonio	Provincial Directorate of Ministry of Women and Social Action, Sofala
Antonieta Chauque	Provincial Directorate of Ministry of Interior, responsible for Gabinete de Atendimento a Mulher e Crianca Victimas de Violencia e Abuso
Muchimba Sikumba-Dils	Programme Officer FDC and activist
Ines Alves	Gender Focal Point, EU.
Ana Rita Sithole	Member of Parliament

NAMIBIA

Researcher hosted by Eunice Impinge Gender Lecturer and SWAPO Women's Office in Namibia field work between 7-11 November, 2005.

Albertha Somoos	Regional Trainer, Women's Action for Development (WAD) (formed in 1995)
Amanda DeKlerk	Women's Voice Member, WAD (formed in1995)
Bibiana Banuan, M, M (Sr)	Maryknoll Sisters,Catholic Church
Cathrine Sasman	Editor, Big Issue Namibia
Christine Mbala	Chief Development Planner, Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare
Christele Diwouta	Parliamentary Legal Health Project Assistant (formed in 2004)
Hileni Muileni Ilonga	Coordinator, Namibia Women's Centre (founded in 1993)
Lindi Iloze	Cactus Consult/founding Secretary General Namibian Women's Association
Liz Frank	Director, Sister Namibia (formed in 1989)
Leena Kasheeta	Director, Young Women Christian Association (formed in1988)
Marianne Erastus	Namibia Women's Network (formed in 1997)
Nadia Belete	Young woman, Catholic Bishop Aids HIV and AIDS Project, for Programme officer FAWENA
Ottillie Abrahams	Chairperson, Namibia Women's Association founded1988/Namibian Girl Child (founded in 1998)
Rachel Cloete	Chairperson, Women's Voice and National Women's Day

Rosa Namises	Executive Director, Women's Solidarity Namibia (formed in 1989 and revived in 2005)
Rosalia Ndakola	Coordinator (Volunteer) Namibia National Women's Organisation (NANAWO) (formed in 1993)
Veronica deKlerk	Executive Director, (WAD) (founded in 1995)
Wilma Maasdorp	Regional Coordinator, (WAD)

SOUTH AFRICA

The Researcher was hosted by Ms. Boogie Khutsoane

Boogie Khutsoane	Consultant, former Regional Coordinator of WILDAF formed in 1990.
Bronwynne Pereira	Foundation for Human Rights
Chana Mojake	Chief Executive Officer, Commission on Gender Equality founded
Colleen Lowe Morna	Executive Director – Gender Links, founded in March, 2001
Lebuhang Pheko	Gender and Trade Network, Motheho Mokhantso Innovations
Lerato Peloeahae	Department of Social Development
Lisa Vetten	CSVR
Mavivi Y.L. Myakayaka-Manzini	Head of International Relations/Deputy President ANC Women's League
Mamathe Kgarimetsa-Phiri	Development Bank of Southern Africa
Mmabatho Ramagoshi	Chief Executive Officer
Sally-Jean Shackleton	Women's Net Information Manager

SWAZILAND

Field work in Swaziland between the 19 Septmeber and 3-7 October, 2005. Swaziland Action Group Against Abuse (SWAGAA) hosted the gender consortium group discussion.

Audrey Nhlabatsi	Retired Diplomat/Foreign Affairs, Tourism former Lutsango Executive member (formed in 1970)
Bella Katamzi	Coordinator Lutsango/Women's Caucus
Bongiwe Zwane	Women in Media founded in Information Officer CANGO
Buyie Masuku	Chairperson, Swaziland National Association of the Physically Disabled Persons (SNAPDPe)
Makhosazana Mabuza	former Executive member, Swaziland Committee on Gender and Women's Affairs SCOGWA (formed in 1993)
Lineo Vilakazi	Career Guidance Ministry of Education former SCOGWA member.
Dumsile Sigwane	former Chairperson, Business Women's Association of Swaziland (formed in 1985)
Gideon Gwebu	Gender Desk, Ministry of Home Affairs (formed in 1996)
Joyce N. Vilakazi	Lecturer Theology/UNISWA
Lomcebo Dlamini	Acting National Co-ordinator, WLSA (formed in 1990)
Lorraine Hlophe	Magistrate
Maureen Magwaza	Council of Swaziland Churches (formed in 1978)
Nonhlanhla Dlamini	Director, SWAGAA (formed in 1990)
Ntombifuthi Dlamini	Family Life Association of Swaziland (formed in 1978)

Phumzile Dlamini	Coordinating Assembly of NGOs Programme's Coordinator (formed in 1989)
Stella Nkosi-Director	FAWESWA (formed in 1994)
Tjengisile Shabangu	World University Service
Winnie Magagula	Senator, Women's Caucus (formed in 2004)

TANZANIA

FemAct hosted the researcher for her fieldwork in Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo, 20-26 November 2005

Salome Anyoti	Programme Officer, Forum for African Women Educationists – Tanzania, FAWE-TZ (formed 1998)
Herminal Mkanula	Programme Officer, FAWE – Tanzania
Mary Janeth Rusimbi	Executive Director, Tanzania Gender Networking Programme – TGNP (formed 1992) and Feminist Activists' Coalition – FemAct (formed 1996)
Majorie Mbilinyi	Head of ALA Department, TGNP/FemAct
Deus M. Kibamba	Senior Programme Officer, Policy Analysis, Coalitions and Networking, TGNP/FemAct
Subira Mumbiru	Principle Programme Officer, Women's Dignity Project – WDP (formed 1996)
Catherine Kamuhumi	Research Programme Officer, WDP
Nicholletta Konsalona	Programme Officer for Public Engagement – WDP
Marie Mkalawa	Member, Bagamoyo Women's Development Network (formed 2003)
Rodina Mwasupa	Secretary, Bagamoyo Women's Development Network
Stella Josia Bendera	Gender Adviser in Public Service Management
Lidya Mkisi Kibona	Gender Director, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children
Zaina Maimu	Policy Officer for Gender, Sexual & Reproductive Rights – Netherlands Embassy
Mary Shaba	Member, Marcus Garvey Foundation (formed ..) & member of FemAct
Zubeida Tumbo-Masabo	Women Research and Documentation Project formed – WRDP (formed 1980)
Anne E. Mazalla	Public Service Management
Salma Moulidi	Coordinator, SAHIBA Sisters Foundation (formed 1997) & Member of FemAct
Adela Njau	Administrator – Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar-es-Salaam
Redimuna Gimula	Programme Officer for Women Land Rights, Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (formed 1989)
Irene K Bwire	Programme Officer, Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) (formed 1987)

ZAMBIA

Fieldwork was undertaken during the period 12 October-28 November 2005, in Lusaka and Chipata.

Helen Banda	Programme Coordinator, Eastern Province Women Development Association (formed 1996)
Fadaless Phiri	Administrative Assistant – EPWDA
Esther Thole	Executive Director – EPWDA
Okka Zimmermann	(Intern) EPWDA
Emmi Hyppönen	(Intern) EPWDA
Anedy Nyirenda	Executive Director, Chipata District Women Development Association – CDWDA (formed 1991)
Aliness Nyau	Office Assistant – CDWDA
Florence Tembo	Paralegal Officer – CDWDA
Mary Mumba	Paralegal Assistant – CDWDA
Lucy Muyoyeta	Chairperson, Non-Governmental Organisations Coordinating Council – NGOCC (formed 1985)
Engwase B. Mwale	Executive Director – NGOCC
Matrine Chuulu	Regional Director, Women and Law in Southern Africa – Zambia, WLSA-Zambia (formed 1991)
Joyce Mcmillan	Executive Director – WLSA-Zambia
Mekia Mohammed	UNV Volunteer – WLSA-Zambia
Isabela Mukanda Shamabo	Chairperson, Zambia Association for Research and Development – ZARD (formed 1984)
Martina Kaunda	member ZARD
Musola Catherine Kaseketi	Chairperson, Women Film Makers of Zambia – (formed 2005)
Anna Musonda Phiri	member, Women Film Makers of Zambia
Lillian Mushota	Lawyer, Managing Advocate in Mushota and Associates (Private Lawyer)
Sibongile Gondwe	Secretary, Chipata Youth Development Foundation (formed 2003)
Patricia Chambisha	Programme Officer, Women for Change – WFC (formed 1992)
Florence Chibwasha	Women Finance Cooperatives (formed 1987)
Inger Jernberg	First Secretary, Embassy of Sweden
Mary Kazunga	Former Secretary General, Young Women Christian Association of Zambia – YWCA (formed 1957)
Judith Lungu	Dean of Students of Agriculture (University of Zambia)
Francesca Numba Muyenga	Member, Zambia association of Disabled Women – ZNADW (formed 1990)
Hilda Kafumukache-Msunsa	Chairperson, Zambia Women Writers Association – ZAWWA (formed 1994)
Mwansa P. Mwansa	International Organisation Migration
Edith Z. Nawakwi	President for Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) & Member of Parliament (formed 2001)
Renee Nachengwa Nglazi	Permanent Secretary – Gender in Development Division (GIDD) (formed 1996)
Mary Anne Ng’uni	Board Member, National Council of Catholic Women – NCCW (formed in 1972)

Lubinda Tafira	Executive Director, Zambia Alliance of Women – ZAW (formed in 1982)
Inongwe Wina	Chairperson of Women Parliamentary Caucus of National Assembly

ZIMBABWE

WLSA-Zimbabwe hosted the researcher for the fieldwork in Harare and Bulawayo – 19-25 September 2005

Betty Makoni	Director and founder, Girl Child Network(1998) and Chairperson of Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe – WCoZ (formed in 1999)
Regina Dumba	Deputy Chairperson – WcoZ
Netsai Mushonga	National Coordinator – WcoZ
Shumirai Mirriam Chakarisa	Director, Association of Women's Clubs (formed in 1938)
Martha Ditima	Senior Programme Officer, Association of Women's Clubs
Juliet S. Bethule	Community Development Field Officer, Jekesa Pfungwa/Vulingqondo (JPV) (formed in 1947)
Evelyn Chatizobo	Administrative Officer, Ministry of Local Government
Chemhere Anna	Director, Girl Child Network (formed in 1999)
Judith Chiyangwa	Campaigns and Advocacy Officer, Women in Politics Support Unit – WiPSU (formed in 2001)
Tsitsi Dangaremba	Director of Festival, Treasurer and Office Manager, Women Filmmakers of Zimbabwe (formed in 1999)
Chipo Dube	Women's Projects Coordinator and facilitator, United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe, Dangamvura, Mutare
Fortune Kutukwa	Project Management Consultant, Symacsn PIL (formed in 2003)
Melody Kutya	Founder President and Director, Youth Against Human Trafficking – YAHT (formed in 2005)
Julia Makhurane	Chairperson, Self Help Development Foundation (formed in 1982)
Annie Malinga	National Coordinator, Zimbabwe Women with Disabilities in Development (ZWIDE) (formed in 1998)
Laiza Masuka	Finance Officer, Zimbabwe Women Lawyers Association (ZWLA) (formed in 1992)
Thandekile Ngwenya	Finance Officer – ZWLA
Tsitsi Matekaire	Deputy Director, Campaign Coordinator and Researcher – Women in Politics Support Unit - WiPSU (formed in 2001)
Susan Njanji-Matetakufa	Chief Correspondent, Agence France-Presse Association of Women's Clubs
Lynette Muringi-Matimba	Acting Director – WILDAF (formed in 1990)
Sian Morgan	Assisting in fundraising and outreach – ZWLA
Violet L. Sigidi-Moyo	Programme Officer, Musasa Project (formed in 1991)
Tafadzwa Roberta Muropa	Cordinating Officer, Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development/ Zimbabwe Social Forum (formed in 2004)
Sinikiwe Msipa	Director/Team Leader, Federation of Africa Media Women Zimbabwe (FAMWZ) (formed in 1985)
Priscilla Misihairabwe-Mushonga	Member of Parliament for MDC
Flora Buka	Member of Parliament for ZANU PF for Gokwe East, and Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Thandiwe Ncube	Economic Development Co-ordinator, Adventist Development and Relief Agency Zimbabwe (formed in 1980)
Tabeth Ngoro	Consultant, former Gender Desk Officer in Government (in 1999)
Dorothy Molly Bhebe nee Ndlovu	National Coordinator, Women's Information Access Centre & Missing Link of Ubuntu Bethu (formed in 1997)
Tsitsi Nzira	Researcher, Coordinator, Women and Law in Southern Africa Research and Education Trust – WLSA-Zimbabwe (formed in 1989)
Filia Rifa	Administrative support staff, Women and AIDS Support Network (formed 1989)
Mildred Sandi	CEO/Consultant Clinical Social Worker/Psychotherapist, Dinah Falala & Phoebe Sandi Foundation (formed in 1994)
Ellen Sithole	Individual Activist
Edinah Masiyiwa	Executive Director, Women's Action Group – WAG (formed in 1983)

ANNEX 4:

MEMBERS OF THE OSISA TASK TEAM

The OSISA Task Team was formed in response to concerns expressed by representatives of the women's movement in the SADC region, attending the Beijing+10 Review process (Lusaka, 26-29 April, 2004). The participants were of the opinion that women's movement in the sub-region had lost its vibrancy.

OSISA, with a view to bring on board her comparative advantage of building the capacity of civil society in the sub region, decided to facilitate a regional roundtable aimed at exploring the issue of dwindling vibrancy of the women's movement in SADC region by convening a consultative meeting in Johannesburg (8-9 June 2004). The outcome of the meeting was the creation of a Task Team comprising women's rights activists in the sub-region, to constitute a think tank to reflect and refine the task at hand of reviving the vibrancy of the women's movement in the region. The Task team was also mandated to draw up terms of reference for a team of three consultants to undertake the following:

- To conduct an assessment of the women's movement in SADC countries.
- To explore ways of making the women's movement more effective.
- To present the recommendations to a roundtable of select representatives of the women's movement in the sub-region, on effective strategies to address the agenda on equal rights for women.

The assessment of the women's movement in the SADC region and the proposed regional roundtable are under the continued guidance and supervision of the Task Team that comprises:

Alice Kanengoni	Gender Programme Advisor, OSISA
Elsie Alexander	University of Botswana and WILDAF.
Irene Lomayani	Gender Focal Point of the UNECA Southern Africa, Lusaka, Zambia.
Thoko Matshe	Feminist, OPIC.
Keiso Matashane-Marite	National Co-ordinator, Women and Law Southern Africa, Lesotho and Gender Activist
Everjoice J. Win	Feminist, Action Aid International Women's Rights Coordinator

ANNEX 5:

TERMS OF REFERENCE

Situation analysis on invigorating and sustaining the Women's Movement in SADC

BACKGROUND

The Beijing + 10 review process at national, sub-regional and regional levels was carried out in 2003 and 2004. The progress achieved and the constraints encountered in the implementation of the recommendations of Beijing Conference on Women (1995) were assessed; and measures to address the constraints encountered were also proposed. This process was further discussed in the meeting of the Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) held in New York in March 2005. The Beijing + 10 assessment process therefore provided a watershed as to where we are with regard to implementing the gender agenda; mapped out strategies for addressing the remaining hurdles; and, sharing of responsibilities and accountability.

Civil society, in particular NGOs in the SADC region have played a central role in democratization and development processes. Gender and women's empowerment NGOs have thus played a critical role in promoting gender equity and equality, through the implementation of the recommendations in the BPFA. Their initiatives have focused on deepening knowledge and awareness of the status of women through research and training, lobbying and advocacy to promote gender sensitive policy and legislative developments, providing services to meet women's needs, and providing targeted and relevant information for awareness raising and informed decision making.

The Beijing Plus 10 review process required the active involvement of key stakeholders, including women's empowerment NGOs. In this regard there had been an intensification of cross border dialogue and engagement by SADC NGOs and prepared for every stage of the review process. This culminated in the Working Session by SADC NGOs in April 2004 in Lusaka, Zambia to consolidate their positions and made recommendations regarding progress made, challenges encountered, and mapped the way forward. The recommendations fed into the SADC review of Beijing Plus 10 at the Ministers of Women/Gender level, in Lusaka, Zambia in April 2004. This subsequently fed into the Regional NGO Forum organized by ECA in Addis Ababa in September 2004; the Seventh African Conference on Women (October 2004) and the Commission on the Status of Women (New York March 2005).

On its part, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) has been in the forefront in supporting the review process in Southern Africa either as participants, sponsors or through monitoring the following critical fora:

- SADC NGOs working session organized in Lusaka, Zambia on 25 April 2004 to map out their consolidated position which inputted into the sub-regional review meeting held in Lusaka, Zambia on 26-29 April 2004;
- OSISA participated and networked in the sub-regional review meeting held in Lusaka, Zambia on 26-29 April 2004;
- OSISA sponsored the participation of *nine Southern African NGOs* to the Regional NGO preparatory meeting in Addis Ababa in July 2004. This demonstrates NGOs' inspiration on the Beijing + 10 process and positive prospects for targeted follow-up programmes;
- As an immediate follow-up to the Addis Ababa meeting, on 04-06 August 2004, *OSISA organized a session of a working group of Southern Africa NGOs with a view to concretizing strategies and modalities for Southern African participation to the Regional NGO Forum* organized in October 2004 in Addis Ababa.
- OSISA supported 6 participants from Southern Africa to attend the Committee on the Status of Women (CSW) meeting that took place in New York in March 2005 and OSISA is informed of the outcomes through networking with other like minded organisations and the Internet.

Out of the major outcomes of the Beijing + 10 review process, was the vibrancy of the women's movement in the SADC region. The women's movement, a dynamic driving force behind the advancement of women appeared to have dwindled even during the ten years of Beijing. To that end, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) has identified this issue as an area of concern that it could collaborate with a few partners in putting measures in place for invigorating and sustaining the women's movement in the SADC region.

With a view to brainstorming on strategies to initiate the process, in June 2005, OSISA organized a five member Task Team to constitute a think tank for this process. ((Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, ECA-SA, and OSISA)

ABOUT OSISA

OSISA is a leading regional foundation, established in 1997 by investor and philanthropist George Soros, to create and sustain the institutions, policies and practices of an open society, where good governance, human rights and justice are respected and upheld. Its programmes broadly focus on Education, Media, Human Rights and Democracy, Information Communication Technologies, HIV and AIDS, Economic Justice as well as Indigenous Languages Promotion.

In addition to undertaking advocacy, and working through multi-level partnerships with others, OSISA oversees US\$5 million in grants annually across a region made up of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

OSISA's vision is that of "A vibrant inclusive society in which citizens, free from material and other deprivation, understand their rights and responsibilities, and are empowered to participate democratically in all spheres of life".

OSISA's mission is "To identify and support organisations, institutions, programmes and movements through education, promotion of human rights, the free flow of information and initiatives that strengthen the pursuit of an open society.

OSISA'S WORK IN GENDER

OSISA primarily works with civil society formations in its 'pursuit of the ideal of an open society. OSISA as such does not have a women's programme. OSISA however endeavours in its' approach to adopt an inclusive strategy that recognises the exclusion of women and other sectors in society and seeks to bring about positive changes in that regard. To illustrate a few:

In education:

- Inclusion is one of the guiding principles. This entails ensuring that education provision reaches children marginalized by poverty, social status, language, gender, disability, ethnicity, and the impact of HIV/AIDS
- Increasing learning opportunities and improve the quality of education for girls is one of OSISA's priorities

In Human rights and democracy building:

- One of this programme's purposes is identified as follows "In particular, the realization in the region's countries and communities of women's rights to access resources; to participate in decision making; to reproductive health and choice, including to meaningfully protect themselves from HIV/AIDS; to inheritance, to non-discrimination in the family, workplace, from credit institutions, etc; and against gender violence and femicide; continues to be a critical challenge. Children's rights are also an area of rising concern, with shocking statistics on, and trends in, child sexual abuse, denial of basic education, etc. The programme places a deliberate emphasis on strengthening interventions in the areas of women and children's rights".
- As one of its' guiding principles, OSISA will seek to support interventions that "Promote a focus on the rights of women, and of children".
- OSISA will also seek to promote projects that have an emphasis on women's rights in the areas of –
 - Protection against gender violence,
 - Access to justice and equal protection before the law, and
 - Participation and decision-making.

The Media Programme seeks to:

- Promote people's right to communicate by providing marginalised members of society – in particular women and young people – access to and control of media
- Provide a voice to people who do not otherwise have easy access to, and / or who are marginalised by existing media, in particular women and young people.

- Support initiatives that develop the role of media to democratise society, in particular those that enable women, young people and other marginalised members of society to exercise their right to communicate through mass media – especially radio and print – and thereby hold those in authority and power accountable to those they are supposed to serve.

OSISA will support projects that *inter alia* “incorporate effective participation of women in the entire project cycle, including that the baseline studies contain as much as possible disaggregated information on women and men; that the project design addresses gender related challenges emerging in the baseline; that the implementation teams involve both men and women in equitable roles and responsibilities including leadership; and that monitoring and evaluation indicators are as far as possible disaggregated.

With the above in mind, OSISA has therefore proceeded to support a number of projects, however, it is important to point out that a significant amount of funds approved go to projects targeted specifically at women or to women’s organisations. This support ranges from organisational development and capacity building to support for activities that aim to contribute to the elimination of gender inequalities in SADC. It is against this background that OSISA seeks to contribute to invigorating and sustaining the women’s movement in SADC.

SCOPE OF WORK

OSISA is seeking the services of a team of consultants to carry out a situational analysis of the women’s movement in the SADC region focusing on selected countries. Consultants will identify the challenges and direction on four pillars that define a women’s movement namely; **spearheading, protecting, challenging and gate keeping** and give a report and recommendations. Consultants will use the report to come up with a background paper to then inform and provide a framework for a roundtable of regional stakeholders. The four pillars will provide the consultants with a baseline for their research.

Consultants will undertake a critical analysis of the state of the women’s movement (then and now), in consultation with stakeholders across the region; identify the causes for its deteriorating (shape shifting) and identify strategies for addressing the deterioration and develop a detailed action plan (all at both national and regional levels).

More broadly, the analysis is expected to cover the following:

Examine the causes of deterioration including:

- who are the stakeholders
- the institutional mechanisms in place
- human rights instruments
- the main activities/initiatives (PRSPs, SAPs etc) (contra and positive)
- how has the movement related with other institutions e.g. government, media, UN, etc
- effect on state governance
- how has the governance of women’s NGOs impacted the women’s movement
- how has the movement been structured so far (national, sub-regional, regional and global)
- shape shifting (trends and patterns)

Analyse strategies and modalities including:

- What has worked, what hasn't and what can still work lessons to be drawn from this
- What are the commonalities?
- How the movement has dealt with backlash
- The relationship that have existed at the national, regional and global levels
- The terms and management of attracting, recruiting and retaining new blood.
- What has been the role of party politics in dividing and coalescing the women's movement?

Draw up recommendations based on findings to be presented to the sub-regional roundtable for:

- Identification of activities
- Defining roles, responsibilities of the stakeholders in the women's movement
- Setting time frame for implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the above

Prepare a report of the situational analysis and a background paper for the Round table

Draw up a budget to organize the Round table

Present the situational analysis and background paper to the Round table

Prepare a draft report of the Round table.

DELIVERABLES:

A Situational analysis report

- National (Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe).
- Regional (comparative with the rest of the regions (West Africa, East Africa, global etc)
- From 1985-2005 period.
- "Shape shifting" of the women's movement, the trends and patterns of the women and the impact it has had on the women's vibrancy; weakened the activists and infiltrated the structures and hence the movement has become invisible; when women go into politics and enter the super structures get "lost" from the activism.
- Transforming the institutional structures
- Develop a culture of gate keeping and implant people who will support and have a critical mass of people who are committed to the issues.

A background paper for presentation at a regional roundtable, defining amongst others, the following concepts on which the women's movement should be focused:

- Spearheading – playing a vanguard role to achieve women's human rights
- Protecting – creating a conducive environment in which women's human rights are respected and safeguarded without losing past gains.
- Challenging – to question patriarchal ideology and its oppressive culture to women at all levels.

- Gate keeping – to play a role of defending, monitoring and adherence to feminist principles and agreed women’s agenda.

TEAM OF CONSULTANTS

Seasoned activists, feminists, principled and have values, demonstrated commitment, been part of the movement for a long time, knowledgeable.

Three consultants will undertake a situational analysis in 13 countries as follows:

- Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia South Africa, Swaziland
- Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe
- Angola, DRC, Mauritius, Mozambique

A task team will guide the work of the consultants

Not any two should come from the same background and from the same country

METHODOLOGY

The sample detailed methodology for country visits will be developed by the consultants and approved by OSISA. The sample to be agreed on will be developed jointly between OSISA and the evaluation team. Detailed methodology and sample will be presented as addendum to these Terms of Reference.

ANNEX 6:

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Gender and Development Declaration of SADC

CONSTITUTIONS

1. Constitution of the Republic of Botswana
2. Constitution of the Kingdom of Lesotho
3. Constitution of the Republic of Mauritius
4. Constitution of the Republic of Malawi
5. Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique
6. Constitution of the Republic of Namibia
7. Constitution of the Republic of Tanzania
8. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa