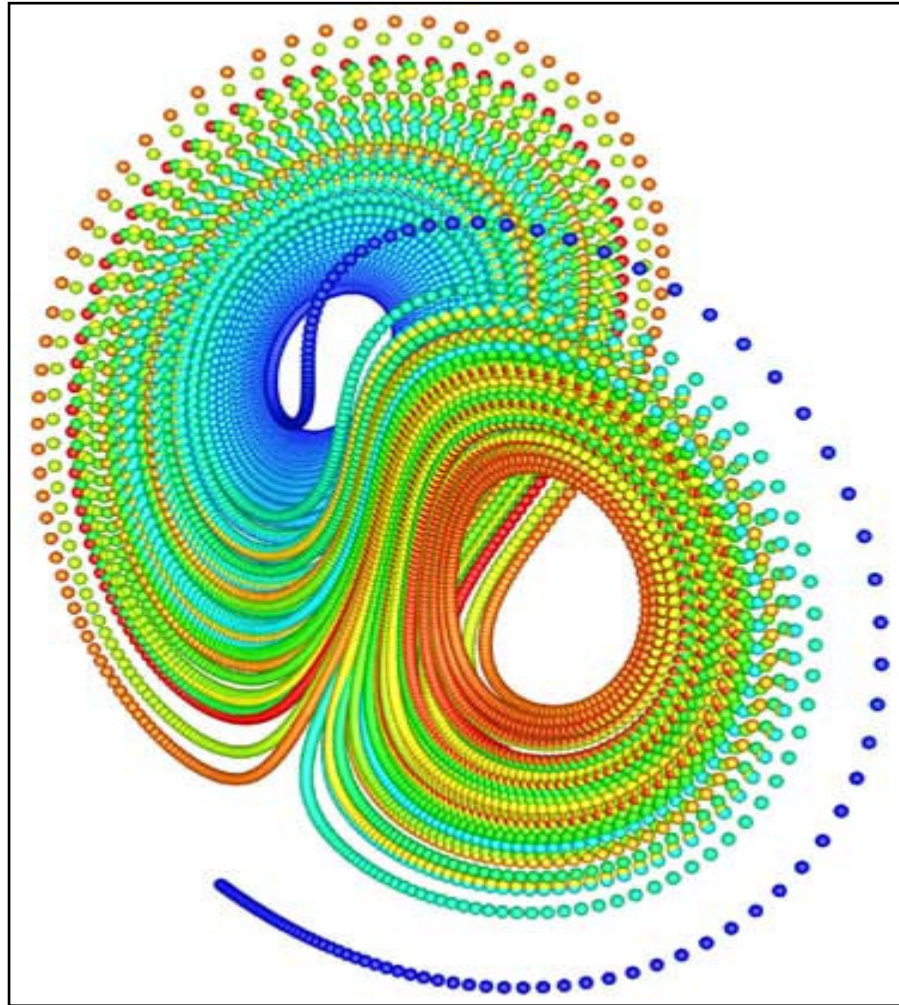


Order out of Chaos: Mapping the Complexity of Pan African Civil Society

Two thematic mappings by region and their Pan-African Linkages



Lorenz Attractor by Edward Lorenz "The Father of Chaos Theory"

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was carried out in 2008 by Oxfam Novib Pan Africa Program (PAF) as an explorative mapping of civil society in Africa.¹ It is effort to understand the landscape of civil society participation, particularly in the face of new continental and regional institutions (African Union, ECOSOCC, RECs and civil society fora). The mapping is presented by region, on two themes of Economic Justice and Gender Justice. The visual mappings of actors are presented in tables and collectively through Figure 2 (EJ) and 4 (GJ). Based on the observations made through this mapping, some hypotheses are formulated concerning the development of African Civil Society.

With the last 5 to 10 years, African civil society has grown exponentially. Some factors contributing to this grow include: growing global interest in Africa and increased global interconnectedness, surge of democratization and opportunity for civil society networking, AU growth and expansion which invites/ urges civil society to respond, increased political and social roles for the RECs in development (ex. EPAs) or as stepping stones to AU, and the advent of Social fora (ASF) that re-enforce CS actors' alliances and widening networks.

The environment for civil society varies by region and different criteria emerge for successful regional and continental advocacy strategies. Briefly, the regions were characterized:

West Africa is progressive and strong in its civil society with ECOWAS facilitating engagement, although with traditional blockages with language and some institutional weaknesses remain.

Horn of Africa is limited in active civil society to informal associations (grassroots), although civil society may serve as an important actor with a role in peace-building processes; no existing formal space at national level, so informal space and adjusted strategies are utilized. There are potential increases for civil society space through UN and AU institutions.

East and Central Africa, although two widely differing regions in term of developmental stability, are regionally linked in the form of overlapping and splintered RECs (EAC, COMESA). The engagement of civil society within regional economic and political bodies is limited and not formalized, although the presence of CS in this area is strong and regional farmer networks are present.

Southern Africa is a region with a strong and polarized civil society presence. The regional institutions are so large and varied in membership as to have limited say in negotiating more civil society space at the regional level, even though there are mechanism and initiatives available within for example, SADC.

The linkages between cross-regional or continental actors/networks and regional or national level realities provide opportunities for effective advocacy. One example includes the interaction between regional farmer networks ROPPA, SACAU, EAFF, and PROPAC which link back to national constituencies and increase pressure for national implementation of international accords on food security.² Trade issues, although causing divisions on a regional level, have increased the capacity and presence of civil society actors in debating national policy and successfully delaying signing of EPAs, for example.

GJ (the women's movement) is growing but lost of its momentum in recent years. Alternatively, consolidating around the SOAWR coalition and mainstreaming gender themes through fellow CSOs with other agendas increases the visibility and acceptance of gender as a priority for development and recharges the women's movement in Africa. The role of women has increased in national and regional level institutions, as well as leaders of CSOs themselves.

The continuing dependence of civil society on external funding remains a challenge. CS is growing more influential and experienced, are beginning to rejected northern agenda setting, and the role of northern donors is changing. Perhaps in the future, domestically or African generated resources will be secured to respond to this challenge. We see in general that political and governmental bodies have increased their openness and space for civil society

¹ Methods included inventorization from literature resources and input from interviews with representatives of CS in Africa.

² For example, the 10% Maputo declaration (2003).

participation; CS actors need to continue to use spaces (invited, created claimed, closed or partially closed) better, and assert themselves more. Overlapping, competition, lack of coherency and misinformation is common, there is a need for CS to be aware of each other and link ultimately to the grassroots levels. At the highest level for example, is the ECOSOCC of the AU, although this also retains its limitations³ including bureaucratic, capacity and experience. It remains complex and bureaucratically blocked for CS participation. None the less, CS is claiming their space at this level, and vocal actors such as FEMNET have taken up their role in these kinds of spaces, and urged on by engaged CS, and as a result these bodies are becoming more legitimate and permanent.⁴

This mapping provides an overview of civil society in Africa for two themes; further research is necessary and there is a need to scale down level of analysis to really make sense of the observed relationships. Any further exercise needs to be well-defined and isolated for the scale of the subject being observed (for example, by issue, nation, region, or network). Also, it would be interesting to apply more focus on the power relationships within civil society within one region or as part of a network; or to observe the power relationships for a certain issue between different actors, institutions, policy frameworks, or individuals.

³ Only CSOs with no more than 50% foreign funding are permitted to participate

⁴ See Fahamu, Africa: Civil Society Gains Strength at the AU by Sarah McGregor, Sept 2008.

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ACRONYMS and ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	All African Conference of Churches
AAI	Agribusiness Accountability Initiative
AAWORD	Association of African Women for Research and Development
ACA	African Cotton Association
ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development
ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific
ADBG	African Development Bank (Group)
ADO	Agricultural Development <i>Organization</i>
AFF	African Feminist Forum
AEMFI	Association of Ethiopian Microfinance Institutions
AGM (SARDC)	African Gender Monitor (Southern Africa Research and Documentation Center)
AIMES	Africa Initiative on Mining, Environment and Society
AIDC/TNI	Alternative Information and Development Center/Transnational Institute (part of SAPSN)
AJM	Association des Juristes Maliennes
ALIN	Arid Land Information Network
AMWA	Akina Mama Wa Africa
ANSA	Affiliated Network for Social Accountability
AOPP	Association des organisations professionnelles paysannes
APF	African Partnership Forum
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
APROCA	Association of African Cotton Producers
ASF	Africa Social Forum
ATN	Africa Trade Network
AWDF	African Women Development Fund
AWEPON	African Women's Economic Policy Network
AWID/WHRN	Association of Women in Development / Women's Human Right Net
AU	African Union
AU Protocol	Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program
CAFOB	Collectif des Associations et ONGS Féminines de Burundi
CEDPA	Center for Development and Population Activities
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CEMAC	Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa
CIFAD	<i>Comité</i> International Des Femmes Africaines Pour Le Developpement
CIDO	African Citizen's Directorate
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Civic Participation
CJSI	Centre for Justice Studies and Innovations
CNCR	Le Conseil National de Concertation et de Coopération des Ruraux
CNOP	Coordination National des Organisations Paysannes
CODESRIA	Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COFAB	Collectif des associations et ONGs feminines du Burundi
COGWO	Coalition of Grassroots women's organizations
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
CONGAFEN	Coordination des ONG et Associations Féminines Nigériennes
COVAW	Coalition on Violence Against Women
CPM	Coalition Paysanne de Madagascar
CRUS	Conseil Régional des Unions du Sahel
CSTNZ	Civil Society Trade Network of Zambia
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSIW	Center for Strategic Initiatives of Women

CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
CTDT	Community Technology Development Trust
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DWDAP	Dulmar for Women Development, Advocacy, and Peace
EAC	East African Community
EAFF	East Africa Farmer's Federation
EASSI	Eastern Africa Sub-regional Support Initiative
ECOSOCC	Economic and Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOWAP	ECOWAS Agricultural Policy
ENDA-TM	Environnement et developpement du tiers monde
EJ	Economic Justice (Trade, Agriculture, and Climate Change)
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
ESAFF	East And Southern African Small Scale Farmer's Forum
FAMDEV	Inter- African Network for Women, Media, Gender and Development
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FARA	Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa
FAS	Femmes Afrique Solidarité
FEMNET	The African Women's Development and Communication Network
FGM	Female Génital Mutilation
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GCAP	Global Call to Action Against Poverty
GCN	Girl Child Network
GEAR	Gender Equality Architecture Reform
GEMSA	Gender and Media in Southern Africa
GJ	Gender Justice (Women's rights, Leadership, Violence against women)
GROOTS	Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood
HURILAWS	Human Rights Law Services
HOA	Horn of Africa Bureau
IAC	The Inter-African Committee on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children
ICW	International Community of Women Living with HIV/AIDS
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFAP	International Federation of Agricultural Producers
IFI	International Financial institutions
IGAD	Inter Governmental Agency for Development
IIED	International institute for Environment and Development
ILC	International Land Coalition
IMOW	International Museum of Women
INAFI	International Network of Alternative Financial Institutions
ISODEC	Integrated Social Development Center
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
JOHAP	Joint Oxfam HIV/AIDS Program in South Africa
JOLIT	Joint Oxfam Livelihoods Initiative for Tanzania
JOHMET	Joint Oxfam HIV and AIDS Mainstreaming Program
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
LPM	Landless People's movement
NETRIGHT	Network for Women's Rights in Ghana
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non gouvernemental organisation
NNGO	Northern Non governmental organisation
OCA	East and Central Africa Bureau

OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OI	Oxfam International
OGB	Oxfam Great Britain
ON	Oxfam Novib
OSISA	Open Society <i>Initiative</i> for Southern Africa
PANOS (PIWA)	<i>PANOS</i> in West Africa
PAF (PAP)	Pan Africa Program
PELUM	Participatory Ecological Land Use Management
PENHA	Pastoral and Environmental Network in the Horn of Africa
PANE	Poverty Action Network Ethiopia
PAWLO	Pan Africa Women's Liberation <i>Organization</i>
PO	Program Officer (Oxfam Novib)
PROPAC	networks of farmer and agricultural producer organizations of Central Africa
PWV	Partners with Vision
PWYP	Publish What You Pay
RBCN	Resource Based Conflict Network
REC	Regional Economic Community
ROPPA	Réseau des Organisations Paysannes et de Producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
SACAU	Southern African Confederation of Agricultural Unions
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADC-CNGO	SADC Council of Non-Governmental Organisations
SAPSN	Southern Africa People's Solidarity network
SATUCC	Southern African Trade Union Coordination Council
SEATINI	Southern and East Africa Trade, Information and Negotiations Institute
SIHA	Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa
SISDO	Smallholder Irrigation Scheme Development Organisation
SOAWR	Solidarity for African Women's Rights
SPM	Strategic Portfolio Management
SLUF	Sustainable Land Use Forum
SATUCC	Southern Africa Trade Union Coordinating Council
SAPSN	Southern African People's Solidarity Network
SLUF	Sustainable Land Use Forum
SPM	Strategic Program Management
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights
TCOE	Trust for Community Outreach and Education
TWN	Third World Network
UN	United Nations
UNAC	União Nacional de Camponeses
UNECA	UN Economic Commission for Africa
UNFD	Union National de Femmes de Djibouti
VAW	Violence Against Women
WACSOFF	West African Civil Society Forum
WAF	West Africa Bureau
WECAN	ON Campaign against VAW through change makers
WGNRR	Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights.
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
WLAC	Women's Legal Aid Center
WLP	Women's Learning Partnership
WLSA	Women in Law in Southern Africa
WLUML	International Solidarity for Women Living Under Muslim Law
WOLPNET	Women of Liberia Peace Network

WOUGNET	Women of Uganda Network
WRAPA	Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative
ZNFU	Zambia National farmer's Union
ZUA	Southern African Bureau

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

“Civil Society is an intermediate associational realm between the state and family populated by organizations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect or extend their interests or values”
– White, 1994

Social movements in Africa are young, but deeply rooted. Activist, mass constituency movements are combining with more formalized, NGO forms of civil society in Africa. In recent years, these formalized, institutionalized civil society organizations are being recognized as viable actors in the public sphere of their national and regional contexts - as well as on the global scene. This upsurge of African civil society creates a renewed solidarity in the ability of Africa to campaign for its own social change (Sachikonye, 2004). There are emerging African institutions through the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (REC), but the place for civil society in these institutions is not always adequate; “citizens and civil society have not always been consulted nor mobilized to play a role in these initiatives for integration (ibid, p653).” The invited spaces for civil society in African Union Institutions are growing, however, and it is further up to civil society actors to claim, use, expand and/or demand the space they need to occupy in these institutions (Da Costa, 2007; G2708). Facilitating the growth and capacity building of African civil society to be able to participate in this process is one of the key activities of Oxfam Novib and other international NGOs. Particularly for Oxfam work in Africa, the Pan Africa Program (PAP) focuses on the added value of programs and campaigning at cross-regional and continental levels.

There was an Oxfam evaluation done earlier in 2008 on *Oxfam as a Campaigning force in and on Africa* (Da Costa, 2008). Complementary to that study, the purpose of this study is explorative, trying to understand the landscape of African Civil Society and the (potential) linkages between actors across the national, regional, and continental level. This also engages questions on hidden or dormant power,⁵ what strategies are necessary in building civil society, and how to activate the hidden power there? A mapping of the landscape of African Civil Society will help to answer these questions.

African Civil Society and Oxfam Novib

The number of African civil society organizations has exploded in the last two decades (Makumbe 1998). Especially by the early 1990s, we see an explosion of organized civil society – from small, grassroots community groups, labour unions, coalitions, alliances, advocacy groups, think tanks, church alliances, regional organisations, media groups, etc. Oxfam Novib (and affiliates) believes in capacity building of civil society organisations, both organisationally and institutionally, through alliance building, lobby and advocacy, and active citizen participation, for example. It is essential that civil society be vertically aligned, that the linkages from grassroots, to national, regional and continental are made (Brouwer, 2003). In their work with partners, Oxfam is part of this linking process. Examples are explored in two themes: *economic justice* and *gender justice*.

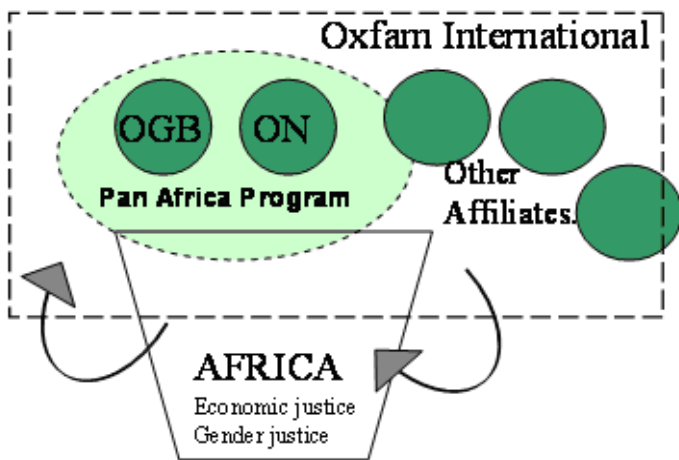
Economic justice (EJ) remains a dominant theme for Oxfam work with partners. There are several examples of Oxfam moving alongside African civil society, including the Make Trade Fair campaign since 2000 and the EPA campaign since 2004. The EPA campaign is a valuable initiative for its lessons learned on partner-led campaigning. Trade and climate change remain strong Oxfam International focus points, while at the same time there is a shift to food security (OI Agricultural Policy Discussion Document, 2008). These shifts parallel the changing priorities of African Civil society and the looming food crisis. It involves a combined strategy that address not only food production, but also biofuels, trade policies, aid and the policy changes necessary to guarantee government and donor obligations on spending for agriculture (African governments 10% funding to agricultural sector development) (Maputo Declaration, 2004). Food security is a growing concern that affects Oxfam works across different departments (programs, campaigns, lobby) and alongside the realities of our partners. For example, food sovereignty as an ideological framework may serve as an important guideline in the future.

⁵ See Veneklasen and Miller, *New Weave of Power*, 2002, p 60, for how different strategies to build up civil society can help to uncover hidden power.

A growing theme in Oxfam work is gender justice (GJ). For the women’s movement in African, Oxfam works on building the capacity of our partners working on Women’s rights and related themes. As a result, there is a consolidation of efforts and continuing exchange within the women’s movement, and a mainstreamed gender approach within Oxfam affiliates and partners falling under different themes. For example, next to cross-cutting initiatives⁶ there are separate campaigns such as the WECAN, which focuses on the potential of change makers to alter the perceptions of gender and violence against women (VAW)(Communiqué, 2008). This campaign will involve partners in Congo, Kenya, Tanzania, Niger and South Africa, among others. Spaces are opening up for women, as is shown by participation of women’s organizations in the civil society spaces within the AU (CCP-AU, the 3rd citizen’s continental conference). The continued support of the SOAWR coalition by Oxfam affiliates and other donors (DFID) is also an important milestone. Oxfam’s alliance with the SOAWR coalition has to continue with this momentum and consolidate on the gains made so far on, for example, on the AU Women’s Protocol (G0804)⁷. Also, there is need for internal consolidation on GJ work, in that a formal ON GJ program is still being developed alongside those of other Oxfam’s.

Oxfam work alongside partners still faces many challenges. In working with partners within African Civil Society, the complementarity of campaigning and programming work within Oxfam continues to be a challenge (Da Costa, 2008). For example, many partners are part of regional or continental campaigns alongside Oxfam, so questions posed to some partners about campaigning strategies are answered with a combination of the campaign activities alongside their program activities. Within Oxfam, synergy (parallel to partners) is yet difficult, especially across different affiliates. Some guiding documents for Oxfam strategies include policies such as the OI Southern Campaigning Framework and the concept of *Programming with a big P*.⁸ Never the less, there are differing interpretations and various levels of agreement as to what exactly this means for Oxfam’s way of working “as a campaigning force (Oxfam Video Conference, June 2008).”

Figure 1: PAP architecture within OI, for work alongside partners in Africa on two themes : EJ and GJ



Source: Author, May 2008

Figure 1 shows how PAP fits inside the OI architecture, alongside other affiliates, and with themes of EJ and GJ *in* and *on* Africa. The question remains as to how well the place of ON an OGB’s Pan African Program (PAF/PAP) as a program and approach has been integrated and added value realized by the regions and national level programmes.⁹ Alongside the work of programs, there is continuing opportunity for PAP to complement the political processes with the African Union(AU), the opportunities in regionalisation (social and economic integration within Africa), and how Africa copes with globalization processes. For example, civil society groups are

⁶For example, the WEMAN aims to integrate gender approaches in economic development interventions (GJ in EJ)

⁷These references are symbols for interviews held with resource persons during the course of this research. See the annexes for a key to these reference.

⁸ See references for related documents

⁹ Interviews with program officers, 2008

already taking up growing presence in higher level institutions, or executing campaigns on a regional or continental level (often linking with global initiatives). PAP needs to keep up with these trends. This mapping exercise also reveals suggestion as to how working through the PAP level is useful for the strengthening and stimulation of pan African civil society across regions.

Motivation of the Research

The Oxfam PAP seeks to work “in solidarity with pan-African coalitions and allies who are committed to working with men and women living in poverty.” The strategies used by PAP translate into three pillars:

- 1.) Accompaniment and joint campaigning with allies in Africa,
- 2) Grant making to continental coalitions and networks, and
- 3) Knowledge, information and capacity building of affiliates and continental allies (Kilio, 2007-2010).

Oxfam is trying to work alongside a Pan African civil society (PACS) that is complex, elusive and constantly shifting between the different levels at which it may exert influence. This study aims to sketch the civil society actors grouped within their roles listed below: *members of networks, coalitions, membership, organizations, regional organizations, campaigns, mass constituency organizations, research and advocacy groups, media groups and regional institutions*. By sketching what kind of *actors* are where and alongside whom, we can better understand the landscape and the possible strategies for PAP.

In this report, the following terminology is used to classify actors in each region or level:

<i>Actors</i>	the collection of organized groups or individuals that represent the interests of the population, state or private sector
<i>Members</i>	organizations or individuals that stand alone or are affiliated with or part of a network, a coalition, membership organization, or regional organization.

Actors and members are specified further as:

<i>Networks</i>	National, regional, or transnational, loosely organized and voluntary collection of individuals or members formed to provide mutual assistance, information, etc.
<i>Coalitions</i>	National, regional, or transnational; formalized alliance between member organizations or individual, coming together to form one identity, defined by target
<i>Membership organizations</i>	Larger national, regional, or transnational organizations with formal members (organizations of individuals) and an agreed structure
<i>Regional organizations</i>	Larger transnational or regional organizations, with or without individual organizations as members
<i>Campaigns</i>	Voluntarily organized systematic series of activities, defined by target
<i>Mass constituency organizations</i>	A number of persons joined or associated together for some common purpose (labor, farming, students, faith based groups)
<i>Research and Advocacy groups (think tanks)</i>	National or regional organizations, research and dissemination of information,

<i>Media groups</i>	National or regional organizations, generation and dissemination of information
<i>Regional Institutions</i>	Supranational political entities with some formalized powers given to the regional level
<i>Forum</i>	A formal space (usually at regional level) open for actors with a common interest to come together for exchange or networking, formalized

Also, for the purposes of the report, the term *national* pertains to one state, *regional* refers to geographic regions within Africa (West, Central, East, Horn or South), while *continental* is synonymous with pan African or African. This is not be confused with other uses of the term regional as African, or Africa as the region.

This study aims to answer the question:

What is the current picture and dynamic of Pan African Civil Society, so that Oxfam Affiliates, country offices, regional teams and civil society actors can better understand opportunities or strategies in this complexity?

Some context analyses as found within PAP documents for Pan African Civil Society and Strategic Plans of Oxfam Regional and Country programs are a starting point. More clarity is needed on which the actors and the possible relationships for these campaigns, allowing OI as a campaigning force more insight at to where and how to “jump in” or how to link better with work being done at different levels.

Methodology and Limitations

Mapping the *entirety* of African Civil Society, from grassroots to continental level, was not feasible in the time and resources allotted for this study. It was chosen to concentrate on actors falling under the OI strategic Change Goals of Economic Justice and Gender Justice, with a focus on farmer/pastoralists organizations and organizations working on women’s rights.¹⁰ Because Pan African Civil Society is inherently complex, the interest of the study was to get a clearer picture of the linkages existing between different actors and levels of operation (particularly regional and continental). As a result, this mapping includes partner organizations of Oxfam affiliates, allies, counter forces or other significant actors for the themes of EJ and GJ (Kilio, 2007-2010). The study was not exclusively of Oxfam partners, it included other actors surrounding partners. As a result, the study remains broad and does not claim to be exhaustive. Instead, the intended result is a global picture to better understand the linkages between different levels and the opportunities for Oxfam and civil society actors on two themes.

Information was gathered from the following resources:

- a) Review of available internal documents: literature on civil society in Africa, Steering Documents, Operational Plans, Strategic Programme Management, Positions Papers, Previous mappings, policy documents on civil society engagement, Oxfam International Documents on EJ and GJ, parallel studies taking place,
- b) Partner listings taken from Oxfam bureaus, further internet research on related organisations.
- c) Interviews with the program and campaign departments of Oxfam Novib.
- d) Interviews with partners or resource persons from other Oxfams/NGOs

Below is a summation of the main actors (allies) found at different levels of activity and in some cases, how linkages are existing. The author recognizes that the results to this point are heavily from the perspective of ON (the natural viewpoint), although partners of affiliates, sister NGOs, and peer organisations of partners have been consulted. Some points of interest from the mapping to consider:

- national members as part of larger regional or continental coalitions
- where can links be strengthened between national, regional, and PAF partners

¹⁰ In other words, organizations working dominantly on these two sub-themes (Farmers/pastoralists movement, women’s rights). These actors may also be active in other themes such as trade, climate change, gender based violence and women’s leadership.

- where are opportunities to execute national lobby via regional/Africa bodies¹¹

Presentation of the results

The presentation of the results is divided into the two themes of the research: EJ and GJ. The mapped actors are presented first by region (WEST, HORN, EAST, SOUTH) and then on a Pan African level. A highlighted overview of the civil society organizations present in a region is made. The abbreviations for countries are found in Appendix 2, with a geographic overview in Appendix 3. The more complex relationships between these actors are explained and how and where perhaps Oxfam as an ally, donor, or campaigning partner is present. Insights from respondents on their experiences in working with civil society partners are presented. The trends in the region are also discussed to show the context in which these actors are operating for this region.

In presenting the CSOs examined, those named is limited to regional or significant national organisations that have linkages to the regional level. Although several national level CSOs are named, it was chosen not to include all national CSO found in the research in this report¹²

The analysis that follows includes reflection on the results, and suggestion for where Oxfam (PAP) could seize more opportunities in joint campaigning, accompaniment or information sharing, linking and learning. The analyses will also included observations on the process of this study and some lessons learned on the internal and external operations of a Pan African approach for African civil society.

¹¹ For example, the added value of working within a Coalition/Network include 1)sharing information, 2) learning from others' experience, 3) buildup of campaigns, 4) increase effectiveness of the campaign.

¹² When asked how to estimate how many national level NGOs are active within a given African country, one program officer responded " more than 30 to 40", for one theme. This would have yielded hundreds of CSOs. Going to this depth in this report is beyond the scope of this study.

MAPPING of ECONOMIC JUSTICE ACTORS: Farmer's movement and trade actors

Economic Justice¹³ is a long-standing pillar of Oxfam International work and remains a dominant part of the Oxfam Novib Africa programs. For example, in 2007, 38% of program funds for ON was spent on Aim 1 (EJ), of which 37% of partner organizations were located in the African Region.¹⁴ The specified activities of many of these partners and the level at which they carry out these activities varies. As noted in the ON monitoring report of 2007, most Oxfam Novib EJ partners occupied with training and improvement in farming techniques (food security), with activities emerging on lobbying on market access. A Pan African approach stresses the importance of linking these two levels (farmer's organizations with lobby and policy influencing at a national, regional, continental and even international level). Since the shift toward or inclusion in the agenda of lobby and advocacy activities is a common trend for actors in the farmer's movement, this may mean stronger growth in the future through regional farmer networks. Actors working solely on trade issues are more often already regional lobby and advocacy groups, with links to national level constituents. We will see if this is the case in each region.

Actors are classified and defined according to the level at which they act. Definitions for the acronyms can be found in the beginning of this document. When actors are members of a larger network, organisation or coalition, this is indicated by parentheses. For example: ENDA-TM (ATN), or ENDA is member of ATN. Generally larger networks, organisations or coalitions 'members' are classified under 'regional CSOs' with a specification as to in which countries there are members for that region. The country codes are explained in Annex 2 and 3. The map in Annex 3 is also useful for tracing which countries are considered in which region. Regional mappings will be brought together in the final section of this chapter on Pan African actors.

¹³ The Economic Justice Change Goal of Oxfam (EJCG): *More men and women will realize their right to secure and sustainable livelihoods.* Economic Justice is synonymous with Aim 1

¹⁴ The economic Justice Strategic Change Goals names the goal of those partners working on EJ, namely: the right to a sustainable livelihood.

WEST AFRICA REGION

West Africa is a leader in Economic Justice related issues, with many larger trade networks located in this region. ON core countries for the region include Mali, Niger, and Nigeria. Agriculture is a central issue for West Africa. In terms of institutional and national entities, Ghana is especially a strong influence, as well as Nigeria where civil society is very active, and Senegal who is a strong player for regional coordination of the GCAP campaign. The presence of ECOWAP (the regional agricultural forum of ECOWAS) allows for an institutionally established space for civil society at the REC level. Themes that are now gaining momentum include campaigns for advocacy, transparency and accountability in the extractive sector, for example, through the adoption of the regional mining code. The adoption of this code is an example of how civil society lobby, advocacy and land rights groups can be involved to reach a common goal.

For this region, strong Farmer's organizations include: ROPPA, ATN (TWN member) the pastoralist networks such as Billital Maroobe. There is a strong national organisation of farmers and pastoralist organisations as can be seen from the list below. Also, ISODEC in Ghana has a link to human rights and participation, beyond basic needs. In the same trend, the GCAP campaign regional coordination is also present in Ghana. A significant forum on food security include the 2007 Nyeleni forum on food sovereignty, organized by global network La Via Campesina, and strategic for this region in advocating for food sovereignty. ENDA Tier Monde is working on lobby, research and advocacy on behalf of small scale farmers and grass roots movements alongside PANOS-PIWA working in media and active within Africa Social Forum (ASF) especially. Hence, media organizations are key to carrying out advocacy and the exchange of information surrounding advocacy events.

Table 1 : WEST AFRICA - EJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National	CNOP/AOPP	Agri/Pastoralist organisation	ML
	CRUS (Billital Maroobe)	Agro/Pastoralist subnational organisation	BF
	CNCR	Federation of members farmer organisations	SE
	ISODEC	Membership Organisation	Support, advise and networking with CSOs working for civic and human rights: GH / NG (<i>Mooriben</i> and <i>AREN</i>)
	GCAP	Campaign, National Coalitions	Poverty reduction campaign; 34 countries: GH/SE/NG/NA/LI/ML/CV/BE/BF/GU/GM/SL/TO
Regional CSOs	ACORD	Continental Member organisation, Regional Office, national chapters	Sahel 1 (MA/ML/BF/GU)/Sahel 2 (CH/NA/CA)
	Billital Maroobe	Regional Network of Pastoralists	NG/BF/ML/MA/SE/NA
	GCAP	Campaign, Regional coordination	Regional Coordination:
	ENDATM (ATN)	Regional member organisation	14 African countries: including ML/ET/TU/MA and Maghreb
	PANOS (PIWA)	Media Organisation	SE, francophone West Africa
	SINAPI ABBA	Microfinance network	GH/NG/BF
	ATN members	Network of members, national locations	15 members in 10 countries: GH/NA/SE/BE/BF/GB/CV/ML/MA/MR
	TWN (ATN)	Continental Organisation	Advocacy for sustainable development, African Secretariat: GH
ASF	Continental Forum, Regional Fora	(Niamey 2008); West Africa Social Forum: GU	

	ROPPA	Regional Network of farmer's organisations	BE/BF/CD/GA/GU/GB/MA/NE/SE/TO
Regional Institutions	ECOWAS	Regional Institution (trade area)	BE/BF/CV/CD/GA/GH/GU/GB/LI/ML/NG/NA/SE/SL/TO
	WACSOFF	Forum for CSOs	Member organisations from 15 ECOWAS member states (works with ECOSOCC representatives in West Africa)

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

Linkages in the region with global level initiatives includes (with La Via Campesina) members: CNOP/AOPP in Mali and CNCR in Senegal, both with links to ROPPA. This global network of small farmers also links to the European small farmer's movement, and has linkages to members in UNAC (national farmer's union) in Mozambique and CPM in Madagascar (recently became coalition member of the ILC¹⁵) and LPM in South Africa, among others. The World Forum on Food Sovereignty was also held in Mali, West Africa, in February 2007 – an event that will be further followed up this year within the context of the food crisis.

When asked about the value of Pan African Programming to their existing regional programs, respondents commented how through wide farmer networks like ROPPA and widespread regional organization ENDA, as well the country program of Nigeria are cross point for the two programs (regional and national). A network like ATN is instrumental in bringing together these links, especially with the institutional strength of the ECOWAS as regional body and the recognized need to involve civil society representation at this level (for which the *formal* spaces exist), in cases where, for example, the stance of West African region on EPAs is debated at the level of ECOWAS. The STOP EPA campaign, started in 2004, is a good example of national level CSOs were able to organize themselves as civil society to the regional level with success in staving off the EPAs in member countries. In general, respondents commented there is potential in West Africa to widen the regional level work through current networks and partners, although many remain strongly linked at a national level. There can be more opportunities seized by working through the regional institutions (see the table above). A challenge for the region in achieving this includes inner-regional conflict of francophone versus Anglophone organizations and "ways of doing business (R0904)." Also a factor is the dominance of regional power Nigeria. In ranking the most significant players in the region, resource persons mentioned the traders, the potential of small entrepreneurs or labor unions, Agrobusiness (often blockers for mass constituency farmers movements) in counties such as Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana and the overarching policies of IFIs. Although not directly part of the Aim 1 program, the GCAP campaign (regional) is a strategically actor in Dakar with national coalitions in other countries (R0904). ACORD also, is a continental organization with national chapters and a regional Sahel program in West Africa.

In terms of work related to other international partners, Oxfam Novib and OGB (especially in Ghana) are strong leaders in the region, especially as facilitators and networking for strategic events like the ASF and WSF (Link to observations on cross affiliate functioning, examples). The OI EJ mapping illustrates the concentration of work on farmer's organizations and trade issues in this area, investing most heavily via Ghana and Senegal – which hints at the concentration of strategic civil society actors in the area (2008). There is also a strong presence of International Financial Institutions (World Bank) activity in this region (value chain work and micro financing) (R0904).

In sum, the main challenges for this region in terms of working on regional campaigns remain:

- Communication is a problem for regional level (language, image)
- Actors needs to use more of the space in Regional institutions (*invited or claimed!*)
- Presence of strong national entities (Nigeria, Niger) within some coalitions, while regional program still to be filled with other actors
- Strong regional organisations offer platforms and a link to the Pan African level (ex. ROPPA), and
- A concentration on Agribusiness/ value chain work calls for more focus on small farmers movements.

¹⁵ working primarily on land rights and food security.

HORN OF AFRICA REGION

Civil Society in the horn of Africa has to deal with divergent political contexts, conflicts, and, in some cases, the disintegration of formally organized society. The region is interesting in that civil society here operates (or not) precariously alongside the state. In cases of Somalia (especially isolated) and Sudan, for example, the strategies of lobby and advocacy in the direction of the government are not a serious option. Civil society in either informal or formal forms can take a unique position in these circumstances (peace process between Eritrea-Ethiopia, Sudan, or limited democratization or denial of civil society in Somalia. It is through a conflict lens that trade or agriculture movements need to be seen (SPM Horn 2007-10). For example, civil society groups are often grass roots based and work on livelihood issues surrounding resource based conflict – versus for example, the stronger farmer's groups found in neighboring East and Central Africa, or even West. Rather, the focus lies of creating the space and enabling environment for civil society to exist.

The region and its civil society has as an asset the strategic position of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in the region, as well as proximity to the legitimized institutions of the UNECA and the AU as a new vehicle of African Identity and development. This presence also creates continental pressure and visibility of regional governments to be held accountable to the civil society visibly active in these new spaces. Finally, a regional institution of IGAD has been questioned as to its continued potential to act as a regulating force; the national members are within and among themselves still too tenuous. Other influential institutional actors in the region include the FAO (focus on very small famers), related UN agencies, and other international organizations (D0804).

One of the biggest regional networks in the area includes the Resource Based Conflict Network (8 national members) with linkages to the East and Central Africa region, and SLUF a cross-border, agricultural /pastoralist organization with link to PELUM in East and Central Africa. Working on similar themes, PENHA is also present with cross border and international links (more professionalized, lobby for pastoralist empowerment), with further links to environmental issues via IUCN and IIED (D0804). Both SLUF and PENHA are members of RBCN. For microfinance, the microfinance institution AEMFI is a link to International and African network INAFI. Finally, there is also a link from the continental level with ACORD Sudan.

The grassroots activity of civil society in this region is strong, perhaps exactly because of lack of formal mechanisms, and/or resistance by some states to formalized constituency organizations (D0804). Smaller national organizations for Aim 1 include groups working on food security, crop, water, and veterinary services. Interviews with POs resulted in approximately 6 to 8 formalized organizations that they had worked with or knew of per country. Microfinancing organizations are present dominantly in Sudan (with a positive link to ACORD) Within Aim1 is the climate change is also a priority, since scarcity of resources is so closely linked to conflict.

Table 2 : HORN of AFRICA - EJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSos	ACORD	Continental Member organisation, National Chapter	ET/ SU National Framer/pastoralists groups
	PANE	Network of INGOs and NNGOs	ET
	AEMFI	Microfinance	Member to INAFI International : ET
	GCAP	Campaign, National Coalitions	34 countries: SO/ET
Regional CSOs	SLUF	Farmers/Pastoralist Organisation	ET/SU/ER
	PENHA	Network Organisation - Pastoralists	ER/SU/SO/ET/DJ/SO/KE/UG
	RBCN	Network - mediate/prevent conflict	ER/ET/SU/SO/TA/KE/UG
	ATN members	Network of members, national locations	15 members in 10 countries: ET (Inter Africa Group)
	ASF	Continental Forum, Regional	(Niamey 2008); Maghreb Social Forum

		Fora	
Regional Institutions	IGAD	Regional Institution	DJ/ET/KE/SO/SU/UG
	AU	African Union Seat , location	Political and Social Union of Africa: ET seat
	UN institutions	Regional Institutions, locations	UNECA, UNHCR, etc

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

With regards to the work on a regional and linking to the continental level, the nature of civil society in the horn of Africa has much to benefit from the invitation and enabling environment that can be created by other strong civil society organizations in neighboring regions. The question remains as to whether, with the continued development of the AU institutions in their mist, the problem of civil society limitations in this region may receive more attention.

The presence of many international NGOs and multilateral institutions working on conflict prevention and human rights, relief, presents an opportunity for civil society to grow, but also a challenge to avoid overlapping efforts. There are strong regional pastoralist programs (D0804) in SU, SO, ET and ER. For Oxfam presence in the region, OGB and ON are sharing much of the lead, but stretching to combine the formalized regional work with national members is not yet realistic. One example of a successful network working cross border is RBCN, appropriate since conflicts on resources are often across borders. Hence, although agriculture and trade issues in the Horn often have to be seen within the context of conflict, there have been several successes, and there are opportunities to learn from projects that have succeeded, for example, the Regional Pastoralist Program, includes national level learning that are a 'showcase' for other countries (OI EJ Mapping, 2008)."

For the Horn, several conclusions can be made as to the state of civil society, particularly in stretching to the regional campaigns or working at Pan African level:

- Country groups are difficult to coordinate, this could be an opportunity to directly work at the regional level, or challenges for shifting via the national to the regional level?
- there are some opportunities for regional work, through, for example networks, especially in combination with Resource Based Conflict Network, and
- there is a need to link up more with grass roots or community organizations who are active on the same causes cross border

EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA REGION

The political environments vary among countries of East and Central Africa, but the multitude of civil society actors across this region hint at many opportunities. They are two very different neighbouring regions, they are important to consider together, especially since their membership in RECs largely overlap (see table below). This has consequences for the regional integration processes, and the potential platforms for civil society. This is why they are mapped together.

With strong NGO presence in regional leader Kenya, and many humanitarian (rebuilding/peace keeping) interventions surrounding the great lakes region, the demand for civil society engagement and development cooperation is high. One possible explanation for the strong presence of civil society includes the existence of an enabling environment and presence of political systems and processes that are accessible. Microfinance programs in TA, UG, KE, a significant part of the livelihood program of Oxfam Novib, for example, are also very active in this region. The number of integrated Oxfam Program in this region (JOLIT, JOHAP, etc.), alongside a concentration of other NGOs, are also indicative of the depth of organisations in this region, and the long history of civil society being active here (K1803). Also, strong regional institutions (EAC and COMESA) are instrumental platforms in campaigns surrounding the EPA negotiations, allowing a framework through which CSOs were able to target their advocacy work. Leading themes of activity in the region include agriculture, trade and microfinance. Some of the largest farmers' organisations are based here. Nairobi serves as the continental hub for Pan African organisations. How much do these organisations overlap or function in the same spheres, how do they come together and in what kind of spaces for civil society? The table of actors below also illustrates these overlaps in areas of work. The multitude of actors and their increasing sophistication also risks the loss of connection with the grass-roots. Also, the strong presence of northern NGOs has an enabling effect on the opportunities of civil society to speak out. Alternately, this fact may also become an impetus for competition (W2108). For example, when commenting on the strength of farmer's movements (lobby/advocacy) in this area, one respondent stated, "Working together is chaotic... but it is exactly then that we can combine thinking strategically (K1803)." When asked their experiences, respondents in general listed this region as one of the most active and well-developed in term of civil society in Africa (T0104, P0304).

Table 3 : EAST and CENTRAL AFRICA - EJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSOs	ACORD	Continental Member organisation, National Chapters	BR/RW/UG/TA
	ESAFF	Regional Member Organization, National Chapters	KE/RW/SE/TA/UG
	PELUM	Regional Member Organisation, National Chapters	KE/RW/TA/UG
	SISDO	Microfinance Organisation	TA
	KINNAPA	Community Membership Organisation	TA
	BRAC	INGO	Microfinance: UG/TA/SU/KE
	ALIN	Network	Land rights, agriculture: KE/UG/TA
	Mviwata (ESAFF)	National member Organization	TA
	IMBARAGA	National Organisation	RW
	GCAP	Campaign, National Coalitions	34 countries; TA/UG/RW/MW/CO/BR/KE/CA/CB

Regional CSOs	ACORD	Continental Member Organisation, Regional Secretariat	12 area programs in 17 countries: BR/RW/UG/TA
	ESAFF	Regional Member Organization	KE/LE/RW/SE/SA/TA/UG/ZA/ZI
	SEATINI	Regional Organisation	Lobby, coordination; ZI/SA/UG/KE
	PELUM	Regional Member Organisation	KE/RW/TA/UG
	FAHAMU (SOAWR)	Research/Communication/Media Group	KE/SA/SE (and the UK)
	ATN members	Network of members, national locations	15 members in 10 countries: KE/RW (UG/CA/TA)
	ASF	Continental Forum, Regional Fora	(Niamey 2008) Central African Forum TBD
	EAFF	Regional Farmer's Organisation	BU/RW/TA/UG/KE
	PROPAC	Regional Farmer's Organisation	CO/BU/CA/CB
Regional Institutions	EAC	Regional Institution	KE/TA/UG/BU/RW
	COMESA	Regional Institution	KE/UG/BU/RW/AN/CR/CO/DJ/EG/ER/ET/LI/MA/MR/SE/SU/SW/ZA/ZI
	CEMAC	Regional Institution	CA/CF/CH/CO/EG/GA

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

Possibilities for regional linkages are numerous through the multitude of regional (member) organisations such as SEATINI, PELUM, ACORD, ESAFF, BRAC, and regional farmer's organisations EAFF, PROPAC. Networking and coordination of more and more of these actors is encouraged by the civil society actors and the IFIs. For the STOP EPAs campaign, this region played a well-defined role in negotiating the EPAs including the contribution of major actors in influencing parliamentarians, raising awareness, and using their spheres of influence (ACORD, PELUM, SEATINI, small farmer's organisations). Also, because of the proximity of many significant actors in the region, East African (Tanzania, Kenya) often is the stage for meetings or coordination points for civil society. This is also for IFIs and intermediaries/NNGOs is this the case. Although strategically advantageous in terms of more easily made linkages and positioning themselves well, major actors or organisations are crippled when unsuspected crises such as those of this past January takes place (T0104). Alternatively, such a strong civil society presence and concentration can also be the medium for help at such moments when other formal mechanisms have ceased to work to protect citizens.

In summation civil society of east and central Africa is characterized by:

- STOP EPA Campaign leads that are strongly situated here (GCAP, ACORD and related organisations)
- Concentration on micro financing links it into the regional or continental networks (INAFI, other MFIs)
- Many farmer's organisations at potentially complementary levels and with different capacities (PELUM, ESAFF, ACORD, ATN with link to continental networks), and
- Because of the concentration of actors, programming/campaigning across different levels is more easily possible.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REGION

Southern Africa is a more polarized region of Africa in terms of civil society presence; Southern Africa serves as the regional trend setter still and carries the most political and economic weight. This makes dialogue between different civil society actors in southern Africa advanced, but also skewed. Especially in this region, today's civil society has its origin in the anti-apartheid and independence movements. Just as in West Africa, Southern Africa also faced language barriers – this also translates to a different way to approaching things and can serve as a potential source of conflict (Z3103). Communication and exchange (a key aspect of building alliances) and linking in each other's information is also hindered. Also, the difference in the political environments of these countries creates challenges that differ by country in terms of the potential to affect change in policy, or implement it. For Oxfam programming, the Agricultural campaign seems to be focused on Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique (OI EJ Mapping, 2008).

Regional Institutions are also very important here: SADC is a strong body with a social agenda, and an increasing popular platform at which civil society is invited to participate (or can claim their space).¹⁶ The EPA campaign as it happened in Southern Africa is mentioned as one of the most actively engaged yet detrimental development in trade relations, and this because of the divisive nature of the overlapping regional economic communities (K1404).¹⁷ Finally the private sector is named as a developing challenge to the engagement of civil society in terms of labour rights, land rights, agriculture, or even extractives (Z3103).

Table 4 : SOUTHERN AFRICA - EJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSOs	AIDC	Research and Advocacy	SA
	ACORD	Member organisation, National Chapters	AN/MO
	UNAC	Mass Constituency Organization - farmers	MO
	ESAFF	Regional Member Organization- National Chapters	LE/SA/ZA/ZI
	CSTNZ	Trade network	ZA
	ZNFU	Mass Constituency Movement (framer's union)	ZA
	TCOE	National organisation	Training for participation in government; SA
	LPM	Mass constituency movement- land less	SA
	GCAP	Campaign, national coalitions	34 countries; AN/MO/SY/SA/ZI/ZA/NM/MU
Regional CSOs	ANSA	Network	SA/regional
	SATUCC	Regional Trade Union Organisation	(Unions in SADC) BO/AN/LE/MW/MO/SW/TA/ZA/ZI/NM/SA/MA/CO/SY
	ATN members	Network of members	15 members in 10 countries: MW/MO/ZI (ZA/AN/MU/SA)

¹⁶ see Gaventa, 2006

¹⁷ *The division of countries with memberships in two (or more) RECs caused a rift in southern Africa's solidarity. Negotiations with individual countries is illegal and divisive considering they make up part of one common market!*

	PELUM	Regional Secretariat, Member organisation, national chapters	10 national members, including : BO/ MA/ LO/ SA/ ZA/ZI
	AIDC -TNI	Research/Advocacy	SA
	SAPSN	Network	ZA
	ASF	Continental Forum, Regional Fora	(Niamey 2008) Southern African Social Forum October 2008:SW
	SACAU	Regional Farmer's Organisation	MD/MW/NM/ZA/ZI
	MWENGO (ATN)	Member organisation	ZI
	CTDT	Regional Organisation	Participatory research and training for small-holder famers
Regional Institutions	COMESA	Regional Institution (Trade Area)	KE/UG/BU/RW/AN/CM/CO/DJ/EG/ER/ET/LI/MA/MR/SE/SU/SW/ZA/ZI
	SACU	Regional Institution (customs union)	SA/BO/LE/SW/NM
	SADC	Regional Institutions (social and economic integration)	BO/AN/LE/MW/MO/SZ/TA/ZA/ZI/NM/SA/MU/CO/MD/(SY)
	SADC- CNGO	Civil Society Forum for SADC	CSOs from 14 member states
	FARA	Forum on agricultural research	Three sub-regional organisations as members.

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

Because of the regional institutional mechanisms in southern Africa (for example COMESA and SADC) the opportunities for advocacy and lobby work for farmers or trade issues are many, with coordination as one of the greatest challenges. For example, overlappings and strategic opportunities are present for the strong network ATN (the largest grouping of trade organizations in Africa) which has several members in this region, linking up also with West Africa East and Central Africa and the actors there. SACAU the Regional Farmer's organization brings together the many farmers' rights groups in Southern Africa and is a powerful framework for an already active labour movement within southern Africa, represented by regional organizations such as SATUCC (Z3103). Trade unions are also some of the biggest and most organized, having its source in the long history of civil rights movements in southern Africa. Within the region, South Africa remains a hegemon, in discussions on economic agreements, trade, or in who speaks on agricultural policy). These debates are still very much nationally determined and are confounded by the dependencies on South African as an economic leader in a region in addition to many institutional overlaps in terms of RECs.

In sum, some observations on linkages with civil society activity across southern Africa include:

- That counties remain individually resilient – regional program programs results that are a gathering across national agendas
- a challenge for international allies remains: choosing to work with regional partners or coordinating national partners to link upwards? How to combine a national campaign with regional work?(Z3103)
- certain countries have a strong overlap of trade network members that easily link into continental campaign, or may lead in speaking for the region (for example, SA)
- many research and advocacy groups are present, strong capacity
- more interregional work can be a stepping stone to more regional (African) work, and

- thinking in program regions for campaigns has to match with the reality of African regional institutions which they are trying to influence (the “regional realities” of the RECs parallel with the institutional agendas of partners in Africa)

PAN AFRICA LEVEL

The rough mappings of the EJ movement as found in the four regions of Africa come together to form an overview of *Pan African civil society*. This is presented below. First, some analysis on the development of Pan African civil society will be presented.

A recent statement by the network ANSA was critical in describing the slow progress made thus far in bringing about a “Southern driven paradigm shift in global development.”¹⁸ This broad statement called upon the role of African governance systems (RECs and AU) and *African civil society* to be active participants in taking back the leading role to “create and propose her own agenda” for development in Africa. These elements of self-determination are exactly what we see in the regional mappings above, and they feed into the picture of Pan African Civil society for EJ themes. Africa civil society organizations, existing across different levels, are active in setting their own agendas, influencing the decisions made through regional structures, and/or are using the spaces that are opened for them (as is the case for the women’s movement in Africa). Linkages to the Pan African level that came forward in the regional mappings (highlighted actors) now come back to fill in the landscape at Pan African level.

Below is a sketch of Pan African civil society actors, spanning from cross-regional actors, to continental organisations, and to links to global initiatives.

Table 5 : PAN AFRICA - EJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members/link with regions</i>
Continental Civil Society Organizations	APROCA/ ACA	Regional Member Organisation	13 countries (especially Central/West Africa)
	ATN	Continental Network-Lobby/Advocacy	15 regional/national members spanning 10 countries; regional spread and presence, themes include trade, agriculture, climate change and women’s rights - MW/MO/ZI/KE/RW/EG/ET/GH/NA/SE/BE/BF/GB/CV/ML/MA/MR
	AIMES (TWN)	Network on Mining/Environment	BF/CO/GH/GU/KE/ML/NA/SE/SL/SA/TA/ZA/ZI/
	PWYP	International Campaign, national coalitions	15 national coalitions: NA/GA/CH/MA/CB/CA/CD/GH/NG/CO/GU/SL/LI/GB/ML/ZA
	ACORD	Continental Member organisation, regional coordination and national chapters	12 area programs in 17 African countries: SU/ET/BR/RW/UG/TA/AN/MO/CO/ER/KE/Sahel 1(MA/ML/GU/BF)/Sahel 2 (CH/CA/NA)
	GCAP	Campaign	34 countries; GH/SE/NG/NA/LI/ML/CV/BE/BF/GU/GM/SL/TO/SO/ET/ TA/UG/RW/MW/CO/BR/KE/CA/CB/AN/MO/SY/SA/ZI/ZA/NM/MU
	ASF	Campaign	Activists from African CSOs
	PANOS (PIWA)	Media Organisation	SE, francophone West Africa/ work with ASF
	CODESRIA	Continental Research Group	38 countries:
	INAFI	Continental Network of Member organisations	24 countries: BE/BF/BU/CA/CH/CO/Ey/ETY/GH/KE/ML/MR/SE/SO/SA/SU/TA/TO/UG/ZA/ZI
	ROPPA/PROPAC/ EAFF/SACAU	African farmer’s organisation	Continental Africa level

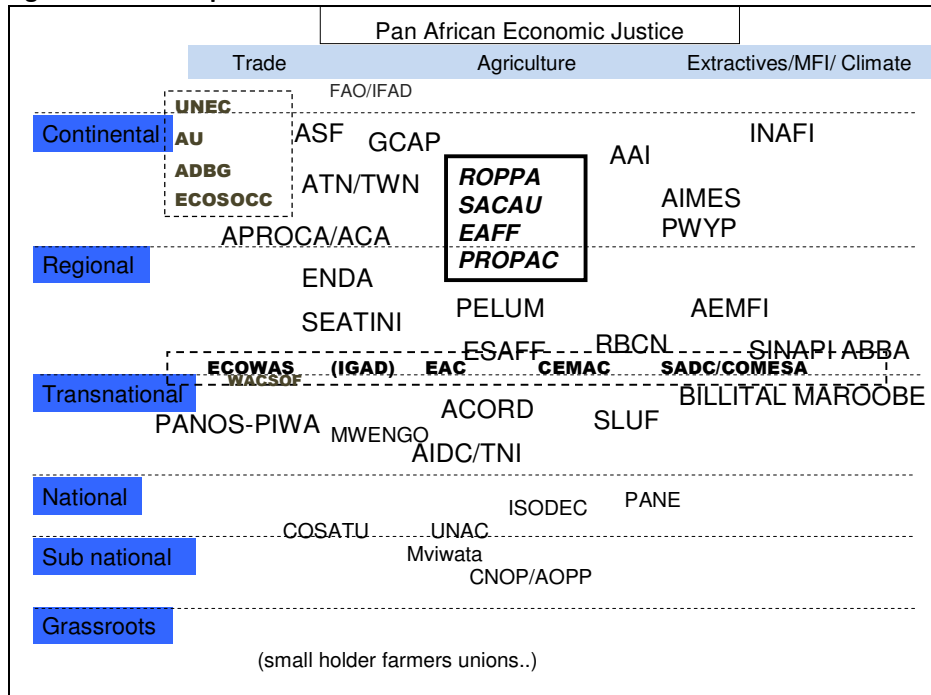
¹⁸ This southern driven paradigm shift is similar to the ideals strived for in the OI Southern Campaigning Principles (partner-led) (S0704)

		network	
Continental Institutions	ADBG	Development Institution	Development Financing
	AU	Continental Institution	Confederation of 53 African nations, intergovernmental organizations
	AU commission	Governance of the AU	Administrative/executive branch (secretariat) of the AU
	AU/ECOSOCC	AU institution	AU institutional space for CS participation at Continental level, 10 sectoral committees, advisory role for the AU
	NEPAD (CAADP)	Continental Program	Secretariat, steering committee within AU (agricultural program)
	AACC	Continental Institution	Ecumenical forum for faith based structures
	FAO	Multilateral - United Nations Agency	Food and Agricultural Organization
	UNECA	Multilateral - UN Agency	Economic Issues in Africa
	CIDO	Unit of AU commission	Facilitation of all CS engagement with AU, secretariat functions for ECOSOCC, organizes the AU-CSO Forum
Global Civil Society Organizations/movements	IFAP	International Member Organisation	120 National organisations in 79 countries
	APF	Forum	North+ south
	AAI	Global Network	academics, activists, experts from farm, labor, environment, consumer, church and development organizations
	Partnership for Change	North-South Network	Exchange and increase awareness, support other networks, from WSF 2007
	Jubilee South	Network	International South movement on debt
	IFAD	Multilateral - UN Agency	IFI for Agricultural Development
	La Via Campesina	Global movement, African Coordination	MO (UNAC)
	PWYP	International Campaign	Globally 26 organized national coalitions

Trends, Strategic Linkages and Positioning

The actors listed above are the compilation of the regions discussed already. In some cases there are criss-crosses or overlaps, noted through the use of parenthesis ('actor'). A stand alone actor with parentheses means it is part of a larger network. A visual mapping of these actors with approximations of their relationships to each other are shown in the Figure 2. Approximations are made for which themes these actors are active, and across what levels. The lighter RECs and regional institutions are grouped together. Significant national level actors have a smaller font. This figure is interesting for understanding the relative position of the actors to each other, and the institutions.

Figure 2: Visual Representation of the EJ Actors



Source: author, 2008.

One of the most often mentioned examples of Pan African campaigning across civil society actors is the EPA campaign. It is interesting to trace the interactions of these actors in Figure 2. From the tables above, actors involved in this campaign included: ATN (TWN-Africa), ACORD, GCAP, PELUM, among others. Continental Campaigns such as GCAP, ACORD and ASF have an added value in coordinating the progress of different regions. These leading regional organisations were able to carry it further for their region with the weight of mass constituency organisations (like EAFF and ROPPA) and through regional institutions open for civil society participation, for example, ECOWAS, EAC and SADC) (Van Wijk, 2008). Media and communication being an important element, organisations like PANOS and FAHAMU are essential in several campaigns.

The EPA campaign is one of the most significant pan African campaigns, for several reasons. A review of the EPA campaign will be done this year. We can learn about campaigning in African from the roles that actors took upon themselves in STOP EPA. As a continental actor, ATN has been a leading organisation for coordinating the campaign. The secretariat of ATN, TWN proved to be one of the most visible actors of the campaign (G2708). At the Pan African level, initiatives were grounded from the regions since they represent the ultimate signatories of the EPAs. Then, CSOs already working on advocacy at this level were able to consolidate their efforts to prevent adoption of the EPAs. Coordination of strong regional players was essential for coordinated campaign and an exchange of lessons learned and resources (Van Wijk, 2008).

There are lessons learned in the division of labour between actors and northern partners, especially between Oxfam and African CSOs learning how to coordinate efforts. For example, Oxfam media resources combined with African CSOs doing direct advocacy with their constituent governments. Strategic support of this campaign involved identifying all the stakeholders, the opportunities for influence and the moments for action, and the realms of legitimacy that an actors has. Box Y illustrates how the STOP EPA campaign continues today to need the engagement of active civil society in negotiating for fair trade arrangements with the EU.

BOX 1: The STOP EPA campaign continues today

The STOP EPA Campaign, running since 2004 has had medium levels of success in preventing the RECs signing of EPAs for individual countries (deadline January 2008) and Interim EPAs. By the beginning of January, only the Caribbean region had signed a full EPA deal, and another 20 ACP countries had initialed interim agreements, while 43 countries did not want - or were unable - to sign up to anything at all. Some countries have initialled individual or different texts, even though they belong to different trade blocks or customs unions.

An example of civil society trying to influence these negotiations is the recent case of Kenya. Kenya is negotiating under the East African Community. Last year the EAC countries 'initialed' an Interim EPA, in effect a promise to consider signing the agreement while maintaining the market access to Europe they had before. ACORD in Kenya formally resist the signing of the EPAs, or even interim EPAs a middle step to signing the full EPAs. Recent attempts to protest against negotiations in Nairobi and Kenya were met with violent police reaction. The power struggles are evident: the signing of the EPAs is a threat especially to small-scale farmers and Kenya's industries, but the government has a different opinion. Civil society groups voicing their opposition are subdued, and fees paid to be allowed to stage the protest are lost. The protestors see this as a way the government is using its systems to keep the small-scale producer's voice from being heard. Negotiations continue to try to sign adjusted EPAs. (excerpts from ACORD, Policy Briefing Paper No. 5, Sept-Oct 2008)

On a continental level, the AU bodies and institutions are important medium for potential civil society participation. There have been opportunities seized at this level (FEMNET on the advisory board for ECOSOCC) but support mechanism for African civil society (often NNGOs and donors) distances these legitimate players from participating. Hence, obstacles remain for participation, especially in that actors themselves, according to one respondent, should be more active in claiming, demanding and cultivating their own spaces for participation (G2708). As a result, African institutions' should be stimulated to provide these spaces while at the same time, it is important for civil society to "build voice through linking with local realities and bringing these to a higher level," says Bonaventura Wakana of ACORD. He stresses importance for civil society having good relationships at all levels (grassroots, national government) to avoid critique of some Pan African organisations as "elitist"(W2908).

ASF is a major platform for the participation of African CSO in agenda setting. Most, if not all of the organisation listed will have an association with the forum. ASF is a platform for civil society participation with a flat structure and a member-based agenda. This with the objective of calling more attention from decision makers. The forum brings together members of or the same players named already, as well as womens' groups, human rights advocates, media, trade networks, think tanks, trade unions, farmer's organizations, etc. A compliment to the WSF held every two years, the ASF is a space for African civil society that has been seized and voluntarily used to forward the agendas of civil society movements. Through experience, we see the social forums as a space to re-affirm momentum of movements and set African priorities for development agendas of decision makers. An example is of ESAFF formation after WSFD 2002 in Johannesburg) (C2908). Also, national and regional forums have allowed CSOs to profile their agendas on a regional level. STOP EPAs has been a major theme, and now a shift to *food sovereignty* in the face of the food crisis faced by many producer organisations. With growth, the ASF is evolving to a more defined mechanism (secretariat and Africa council) to strengthen the ASF as a complementary regional force. Perhaps this will create more legitimacy and recognition as a substantive social force among the global social forums. The challenge is to keep participation and ownership across the members, and not in the structures created.

For EJ issues, there is a trend to bring agriculture and trade issues to the continental level, to create a pan African Platform for the farmers of Africa (see regional institutions/ farmers organisations and Figure 2, above). For Agriculture specifically, networks of farmer and agricultural producer organisations are coming together to form this (SACAU – Southern, PROPAC – Central, EAFF – Eastern, ROPPA – West) (Addis meeting, May 2008). Linking strong regional farmer and agricultural producer organisations together at the continental level calls formalized attention, via its own institutions, to the effects of the food crisis on the African continent. This is a new level of engagement and presents an opportunity for Pan African Actors at the regional level to bringing their regional interests into a continental agenda on farmer's interests, particularly in light of the food security question. It is

their challenge to use these opening spaces, and also demand the AU that food security is an issue to be discussed with organised farmer's organisations/CSOs at this level.

Linkages to the Global level

Before shifting to the Gender Justice Campaign, there are a few linkages worth noting from the Pan African to Global level. As mentioned in the mappings, some large and dominant Trade and or farmer's movement partners/allies at the global level include campaign such as la Via Campesina in Africa, GCAP campaign; global organisations like INAFI, CIVICUS, PANOS, TWN, AAI, IFAP (600mill farm families represented); international institutions such as UNECA, IFAD, FAO; and other global north-south networks (see Pan Africa EJ). The roles that different African actors may take up include popular mobilization, advocacy, research, and lobby, but then for the context of the African continent. For example, INAFI Africa is a member of INAFI Global. Continental actors often overlap with the regional or national network organizations on the same themes, as a member of the network or not. As a result, overlapping and linkages can occur at each level from Global to continental, regional, national and sub-national. Examples of this kind of overlapping include broad networks like TWN/ATN. An interesting development currently is to see how these networks/ lobby organizations with links to the Global level, stretching to the national level can use their positions to address global issues such as the Food Crisis, related to running programs on food security/sovereignty.

MAPPING of GENDER JUSTICE ACTORS: Women's movement

Gender remains an important focus for Oxfam as a stand-alone program and as mainstreamed through their own and their partner's work. The full participation and claim to rights by women is necessary for equitable and productive growth in society. As an example of this priority, in 2007, 13% of program funds for ON was spent on Aim 5, of which 28% of partner organization were located in the African Region. GJ program is two-fold; it is a stand-alone program (change goal) and a mainstreamed activity across the Oxfam affiliates and partners (ON communiqué, 2008). As a result, the change goal GJ has automatic implications at different levels.

“La question des femmes est beaucoup plus difficile, elles sont plus de victimes, et elles ont plus du mal d'être pris sérieusement. La transition du travail des projets vers la politique reste difficile, car la situation de femmes est incorporée dans la société “

– Taoufik Ben Ahdallah, ASF

The women's movement in Africa has grown significantly, and a female representation is more strongly present in all levels of the AU, ministerial offices, and local governments. Female participation in government and ministries is

improving, but renewed challenges continue to arrive for large-scale women participation (resurging conflict, implications of religion). Having several leading women in high positions is a start, but ultimately all female citizens need to be called to participate in decision making in her own context (Adeleye-Fayemi in Kerr et al, 2004). Also in terms of economic participation, women are still lagging behind with women representing the majority of the 44% of African population living below the poverty line. Although there have been gains made, some argue there has been a loss of momentum for the women's movement in recent years, and the difficulties encountered in effecting change in (women's rights) policies on a national level (G0804)

There are new dynamics within the women's movement. These include not only stand alone (women's right groups, etc.) programs but also integrated initiatives for microfinancing, trade and environmental issues, health and education, governance, etc. Termed *Gender Justice* by ON, work on improving gender equity focuses on shifting the systems and norms that create inequality (R0904). A three part strategy is being implemented, which represent ON analysis of the nature of gender problems¹⁹. This way of approaching gender issues can also be recognized in the women's groups and gender programs of civil society. Women's groups are involving themselves in different themes²⁰ while other CSOs with different areas of work are integrating a gender aspect into their programming. An example is that of the GCAP campaign, that combines mainstreamed gender with other advocacy issues. Reversely is AAWORD, a women's organisation that is expanding its area of research to include macroeconomic policies. Gender is being integrated into the programming of other bodies such as AU mechanisms including NEPAD and APRM (M0403) – not traditional gender platforms. Finally, the SOAWR coalition, launched in 2004 as an African wide network, has advocated for the successful ratification and popularization of the AU Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa. This mapping includes members of the coalition; these are indicated by 'SOAWR' in parentheses.

Civil society actors working on women's rights are mapped by region. These regions come together in Pan Africa Region, the final section, followed by a discussion.

¹⁹ The three part dynamic to achieving this: STOP Gender Based Violence (GBV), MOVE OVER or creating institutional space in all aspects of activity for women, and DIFFERENT TOGETHER aiming to change the policies, practices, values and attitude of the people themselves (Kloostermans, 2007)

²⁰ (not just women's rights, but also leadership, violence against women, minority rights),

WEST AFRICA REGION

Discussions with program officers of the ON West Africa program region yielded a wide picture of engagement by women's groups on different levels in the region, and many strong national organisations. There are gender activities being carried out through programs with varying focuses and women's organisations and pastoralist organisations for economic development traditionally have a strong position in West Africa. Women are major actors in small scale agriculture and trade and, having organised themselves already, is a logical step to asserting their right within different legal frameworks. As one CSO representative stated "often in West Africa there are progressive policies since women are already sharing in the economic sector through small, medium and cross-border enterprise.. (W2008)." Nigeria came forward as strong performer on gender (H0804), especially in terms of legal aid and advocacy groups. Niger is also an important player, with the WECAN campaign beginning there and in Mali.

10 out of 17 West African countries have ratified the AU Protocol²¹. WILDAF (west Africa) has been a strong actor in the campaign on a regional level, coordinates actions and offers institutional support in the process. Because of the availability of women's legal groups in the region, organisations are trying to focus on women's leadership and transformative leadership (leading men advocating for women) as a medium for change (H0804). Some criticism of these organisations claims they "lack national constituency and accountability at a grassroots level (especially in rural areas)." The 'rootedness' (integrating grassroots level) is a growing challenge for larger, intellectually-based women's organizations working on legal issues (VAW, women's rights), lobby and advocacy. For example, as one respondent explained, "Ultimately our work does affect the women on the ground, as well as the children affected by war, or those rural women who have more access to information. Sometimes it is necessary to focus on a national level, to understand the details that is making things move there.."

Table 6 : West Africa - GJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSOs	NETRIGHT	Coalition of National Members	GH
	AJM (SOAWR)	National Association	ML
	IAC	International membership organisation, national chapters	BE/BF/GM/GH/GU/GB/CD/LI/ML/MA/NG/NA/SE/SL/TO
	BAOBAB ²² (SOAWR)	National Organisation	NA
	Voix des Femmes (SOAWR)	National Organisation	Education, sensitization, dissemination of information on women's rights; BF
	HURILAWS (SOAWR)	Legal Aid Organization	NA
	WOLPNET	National Network Organisation	Women in peace; LI
	WRAPA	Nation member organisation	Legal Aid, sensitization, information, training; NA
	CONGAFEN	National Association of Women NGOs	NG
	TIMIDRIA	National Organisation	Anti-slavery; NG
	ICW	International Organisation, national offices	Training, advocacy, participation, research: BF
	CEDPA	International Organisation, national offices	Training, partnering, mobilizing on gender (education, SRHR): NA
	AWEPON	Regional Network, national	Research, lobby, advocacy for women's rights in

²¹ Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa ("the AU Protocol").

²² Member of international networks like WLUML and WLP.

		member organisations	economic policy; SE/MR/GM/GH/CA/GU/CD
Regional CSOs	WILDAF	Regional Network Organisation	Research, legal aid, capacity building, advocacy ; BE/BF/GH/ML/NA/SE/TO
	FEMNET (SOAWR)	Network Organization, national focal points	Advocacy, training, communications ; with partners throughout Africa, national focal points in 22 countries NA/CD/GU/MA/ML/CA/CF/SE
	CIFAD	Regional organisation	17 french speaking countries are members of CIFAD; CD/CF/TO
	ABANTU for Development	Continental Organisation, Regional Office for West Africa	Gender and policy advocacy organisation, consultative status with ECOSOCC; NA
	PAWLO	Pan Africa Women's organisation, regional coordinator	Networking and coordination: participation, gender issues, progress toward full inclusion of gender in Pan African institutions: NA
Regional Institutions	ECOWAS	Regional Institution (trade area)	BE/BF/CV/CD/GA/GH/GU/GB/LI/ML/NG/NA/SE/SL/TO
	WACSOF	Forum for CSOs	Member organisations from 15 ECOWAS member states (works with ECOSOCC representatives in West Africa)

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

WILDAF is representative to AU ECOSOCC from Ghana, along with another local NGO (first permanent general assembly launch in Sept 2008). This is a strategic position and WIDLAF is strong in training and research dissemination, lobby and advocacy. There are also several important grant-making foundations based in the region: AWDF in Ghana, Trust Africa in Senegal, Fahamu (which is strong in communication, media and information). The heavy membership of IAC within this region hints at the volume of women's groups working against VAW and for reproductive rights.

Linking into more nationally owned groups like those which are familiar with the cultural sensitivities surrounding these issues, might be useful for more continental campaigners who are also working on these issues. In a similar vein, several notable national organisations are listed in the mapping. For example, BAOBAB supports advocacy, knowledge and awareness of women under customary, statutory and religious laws. TIMIDRIA as well, recently became better known because of their anti-slavery work, counter to taboo cultural practices.²³ Other national organisations are listed above. Continental networks such as FEMNET have members dominantly in West (and southern) Africa, which overlaps in some cases with the SOAWR coalition (Forum Mulher in MO). One interesting is NETRIGHT affiliated with ATN, which is pulling grassroots community groups together and is now emerging as independent (G2708). Perhaps this is a signal to the strong link between women's groups bridging to trade issues, human rights, and vice versa.

²³ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/7693397.stm>

HORN OF AFRICA REGION

The ON agenda for the Horn of African is broadening it focus for women’s issues. In often precarious political situations, it is the role of women as peace keepers that its gaining attention. This region is prone to conflict and strong national governments that limit the activities of NGOs and activists. As a result, NGOs may be severally restricted in their activities or allowed in the form of pseudo state mechanism, inviting alternate, more subtle routes to civil mobilization through grassroots movements and community organizations.

One CSO representative interviewed commented that “there is a strong gender element in the development approaches adopted for this region, so the programs seem progressive, but the progress is slow; often the strong state hinders any practice changes for the status of women (W2008).” Moreover, women are often the most effected victims of violence, conflict and resource shortages that are common in this area. Women and girls in this region are too often exploited and exposed to VAW and practices like FGM, which are re-enforced in domestic and public spheres. There is an important role for grassroots movements in altering harmful practices for women, and changing the perceptions of the roles and rights of men and women alike. “On the grassroots level, a lot is happening on GBV”(H0704). Many groups focus on the training of women with the capacities necessary to organize themselves and to participate in the limited political spaces that are open to civil society, or in servicing basic needs (SPM HOA 2007-2010).

Because establishing regional institutions in this region is difficult without stable national governments, the majority of regional activities occur within the theme of linking and learning, or sharing experiences between national organisations. Below are listed several prominent national organisations (often collections of grassroots organisations), as well as two important regional organisations: SIHA and members of FEMNET.

Table 7 : Horn of Africa - GJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSOs	IAC	International membership organisation, national chapters	SO/SU/ET/DJ
	UNFD (SOAWR)	National Union of Women	DJ
	COGWO	National Coalition	Program of peace advocacy and civic education aimed at promoting women's participation in the political process; SO
	CSIW	National organisation	Strengthen women’s participation in CS: ER
	DWDAP	National organisation	Women’s empowerment in politics and private sector: SO
	AWEPON	Regional Network, national member organisations	Research, lobby, advocacy for women’s rights in economic policy; ER/EY
Regional CSOs	SIHA (SOAWR)	Network of National member organizations	Indigenous regional organization campaigning for the rights of women and girls; DJ/ER/ET/SO/SU
	FEMNET (SOAWR)	Network Organization, national focal points	Advocacy, training, communications ; with partners throughout Africa, national focal points in 22 countries: SO/EY
	PAWLO	Pan Africa Women’s organisation, regional coordinator	Networking and coordination: participation, gender issues, progress toward full inclusion of gender in Pan African institutions: ER
	SLUF	Farmers/Pastoralist Organisation	Strengthening women and youth participation in the program; ER/ET/SU
Regional Institutions	IGAD	Regional Institution	DJ/ET/KE/SO/SU/UG
	AU	African Union Seat , location	Political and Social Union of Africa: ET seat

	UN institutions	Regional Institutions, locations	UNECA, UNHCR, etc
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Strategic Linkages and Positioning

For ON, the Horn Region was the first regional bureau with a stand-alone program on gender.²⁴ The presence of women’s organisation in the Horn are coming from a post-conflict situations, and thus these organisations have opportunity and more impetus to present themselves as legitimate voices in rebuilding and peace-keeping. In the future, women may take a more dominant role in the structures that are (re) established – they need to be present (and are claiming this role in peace-building processes). As mentioned above, the effect of conflict are often burdened by women, they are also the medium for providing for the family. The basic needs approach of much of the humanitarian missions (UN bodies, AU) present in this area can be an opportunity for women to participate further, and claim their space during negotiations. Again, the geographic location of existing CSOs and women’s movements as close to AU bodies is an opportunity, especially in participation to the ECOSOCC (similar to EJ issues). Pan African CS structures could serve as a medium to reach these structures (PAWLO, for example). Initiatives like the network SIHA and SLUF, an important regional resource forum, is instrumental in mainstreaming the relationship between gender and resources/food security.

For SIHA, they face challenges because of “the lack of recognition for strategic, geographical, rational and political linkages within the region.” Clearly, there are challenges. This program also focuses on increasing the capacity to address gender equality and development programs against violence against women. This is because organizations have difficulty analyzing and sharing their experiences with other members and partners. This stands in the way of building regional linkages, and challenges the development of greater knowledge and better understanding of regional and global issues affecting communities and women across the region.²⁵ As one program officer commented, “I have challenges already bringing these organizations to a regional level, let alone pan African organizations..”(H0704)

²⁴ Aim5 (“rights and security of women”).

²⁵ <http://www.sihonet.org/>

EAST and CENTRAL AFRICA REGION

Coming from the EJ mapping above, this region is characterized by the presence of regional farmer’s organisations that have extended their programs to include gender, both mainstreamed within their organisations and a stand-alone program (for example, ESAFF/PELUM/ACORD). Joining these kinds of efforts together are networks such as AWEAPON, which has a strong presence in this region. UN presence in this area (Kenya) may explain the many human rights and participation groups. As can be seen below, SOAWR members are concentrated in this region.

The thinking on working with gender specifically has shifted because of organizations in this region; initiatives need to more based on changing the perceptions of population on gender issues.²⁶ Many national NGOs are working increasingly with grassroots groups, to empower women at this level. For example, the WE CAN campaign of ON is focused on the idea of change makers; instead of moving reactively in the women’s movement, actors are working pro-actively to change the perceptions of men and women on VAW, gender roles, women’s rights, etc. This is a growing approach of many women’s groups working on participation, women’s leadership, etc. The role of women’s groups within Central Africa is less evident in the mapping, but the presence of linkages there very important. The kinds of vulnerabilities described in the Horn of Africa Region (as victims of violence and bearing the weigh of the results of conflict) are similar in this region. Perhaps because of the lack of larger national women’s organization in for example, DRC and Rwanda, are campaigns such as the WECAN (starting with the community level) is important. Also, community women’s groups are significant and are characterized by one respondent as “the driving economic force in rural areas.” One CSO representative characterized this region in general: “a lot of progress is being made and with strong legal structures in place, where significant progress has been made as the rights of women. In leadership this is also especially good (W2008)”

The growth and advancement of the women’s movement in this region of Africa is countered with the risk of elitism quoted often by women’s activists themselves, as well as the program officers commenting on their partners activities (T0104). However, the kind of shifts in campaigns (to the grass roots level) that is being stressed above may deter this happening too much in this region, or at least continue to critique it. “*We need to continue to tap into the link between grassroots and national level (ibid).*”

Table 8 : East and Central Africa - GJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSOs	IAC	International membership organisation, national chapters	UG/CB/KE/CH/CA/CF/DJ/TA
	COVAW (WILDAF) (SOAWR)	National organisation	KE ; violence against women as a crime and HR violation
	COFAB (SOAWR)	National Coalition	BR; Women’s NGOs
	Equality NOW	International Organization, Regional (Africa) Office	KE
	FIDA (SOAWR)	National Association	KE
	WOUGNET	National Women’s Network	ICT, tech support, communication: UG
	ICW	International Organisation, national offices	Training, advocacy, participation, research : UG/KE

²⁶ For example, through receptiveness to the WE CAN campaign (CO/TA/KE)

	KHRC	National Organisation	Participation/human rights; KE
	AWEAPON	Regional Network, national member organisations	Research, lobby, advocacy for women's rights in economic policy; UG/CO/BU/KE/TA/RW/CB
	PWV	National organization	Human, women and children's rights and poverty alleviation in communities: KE
	FIDA	National Organisation	Legal rights, women's status in Uganda; UG
	WLAC	National organization	Legal rights of marginalized groups: TA
Regional CSOs	EASSI (SOAWR)	Regional Member Organization	Monitoring and evaluation of Beijing Commitments; BU/ER/ET/KE/RW/SO/TA/UG
	Women Direct (SOAWR)	Regional Network Organisation	BU/ET/KE/RW/TA/UG
	FEMNET (SOAWR)	Network Organization, national focal points	Advocacy, training, communications; with partners throughout Africa, national focal points in 22 countries: KE/RW/TA
	GROOTS	International network organisation, national organizations	CA/KE/RW/UG
	PAWLO	Pan Africa Women's organisation, regional coordinator	Networking and coordination: participation, gender issues, progress toward full inclusion of gender in Pan African institutions: UG/CA
	ABANTU for Development	International Organisation, regional program	Gender and policy advocacy organisation, consultative status with ECOSOCC; Eastern Africa
Regional Institutions	EAC	Regional Institution	KE/TA/UG/BU/RW
	COMESA	Regional Institution	KE/UG/BU/RW/AN/CR/CO/DJ/EG/ER/ET/LI/MA/MR/SE/SU/SW/ZA/ZI
	CEMAC	Regional Institution	CA/CF/CH/CO/EG/GA

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

Program officers mentioned the difficulties in getting strong national partners to network and combine work more with each other (T0104). Cases where these linkages are happening (via regional, African or even international women's organisations) are mentioned above. The comments of the program officers also suggest, however that the abundance of NGOs in the area (geographical concentration in certain countries) makes it difficult to have integrated efforts among all these players. As one CSO representative commented: "two years ago it was not as easy as today, now we (CSOs) can pool together resources, but there are also challenges, including competition and better positioning, issues on branding, funding relationships, and the risks of duplication, or stand along initiatives (W2908)."

Nonetheless, some prominent regional women's network organisations are listed above. For example, the EASSI is a CSO that follows up the Beijing and African Platforms for action (1995) through monitoring and evaluation of these commitments in 8 east (central) African countries. EASSI has added value within SOAWR. Also, links to Pan African (PAWLO) and international movements (GROOTS) are evident (see "Pan Africa" for more elaboration). Finally joint ON initiatives that affect the work of women's groups in the area include JOHMET (Horn, East and Central Africa) and a joint initiative on HIV/AIDS on national level in Tanzania.

SOUTHERN AFRICA REGION

In this region, women's organizations are strong and well-coordinated up to a regional level. The legal position of women in countries of southern Africa is among some of the best in the continent, but there are sharp contrasts in the region. For example, as one respondent explained "southern Africa is quite strong in its policies on women's rights, but overall there are great country to country variations, with South Africa as a dominant leader (W2008)." Women founded research institutions or NGOs with specific aims for women's issues are prevalent, and the networks between them are increasing (SPM 2007-10). The focus of these actors is to bring more decision making power to women (especially poor rural women) and empower them to claim their economic rights as citizens. In terms of programmatic focus for these CSOs, there are many actors working for women's rights already, and a shift is happening to more implicit strategies, such as female leadership, a joint women's movement, and building strong coalitions (ibid). A program officers commented, even in this region that, " the urban, elitist organisations are best organized and visible, it is more difficult to make a link to grass roots level." "The trick is trying to get them to speak to each other (P0104)."

Table 9 : Southern Africa - GJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
National CSOs	IAC	International membership organisation, national chapters	AN
	SOAWR	Continental coalition, National member	ZI/
	Forum Mulher (SOAWR)	National Organization	MO
	GCN (SOAWR)	National Organisation	ZI
	Sister Namibia (SOAWR)	National Organisation	NM
	Univ of Pretoria Center for Human Rights (SOAWR)	Academic Institution	Research; SA
	Women's Net (SOAWR)	National organisation	Equality and justice through ICT; SA
	CEDPA	International Organisation, national offices	Training, partnering, mobilizing on gender (education, SRHR): SA
	ICW	International Organisation, national offices	Training, advocacy, participation, research : ZI
	Masimanyane	International Women's Organisation	Capacity building for advocates: SA
Regional CSOs	FEMNET (SOAWR)	Network Organization, national focal points	Advocacy, training, communications ; with partners throughout Africa, national focal points in 22 countries: BO/LE/MW/ZA/NM/SW/ZI

	ABANTU for Development	International Organisation, regional program	Gender and policy advocacy organisation, consultative status with ECOSOCC; southern Africa
	PAWLO	Pan Africa Women's organisation, regional coordinator	Networking and coordination: participation, gender issues, progress toward full inclusion of gender in Pan African institutions: ZI
	AWEPON	Regional Network, national member organisations	Research, lobby, advocacy for women's rights in economic policy; ZI/MO/SA/ZA/LE/SW/BO/MW/NM
	WLSA	Regional Research Organization	Research and lobby: BO/LE/MW/MO/SW/ZA/ZI
	GEMSA	Media Network Organisation	Gender sensitivity and attention through media: AN/GO/LE/MA/MU/MO/NM/SY/SA/SW/TA/ZA/ZI
	OSISA	Regional Organisation	Advocacy, networking, grant-making, capacity building (Women's Right 's program) for democratic, participative, open society; AN/MO/BO/LE/NM/SW/MW/ZA/ZI
	AGM (SARDC)	Publication of Advances in Gender	Research, Advocacy and Monitoring of progress on Gender issues
Regional Institutions	COMESA	Regional Institution (Trade Area)	KE/UG/BU/RW/AN/CM/CO/DJ/EG/ER/ET/LI/MA/MR/SE/SU/SW/ZA/ZI
	SACU	Regional Institution (customs union)	SA/BO/LE/SW/NM
	SADC	Regional Institutions (social and economic integration)	BO/AN/LE/MW/MO/SZ/TA/ZA/ZI/NM/SA/MU/CO/MD/(SY)
	SADC- CNGO	Civil Society Forum for SADC	CSOs from 14 member states

Strategic Linkages and Positioning

Strong legal organisations such as WILSA are present (working also with CEDAW and AU Protocol) that work on several institutional levels with SADC, the AU and the UN²⁷, as well as at national levels. Other strong regional organisations are listed below. Also, for this region, coordinated work on HIV/AIDS touches women's groups' work (sexual and reproductive rights) and are a priority in many of their agendas.

This strong legal presence contrasts to grass roots organisations such as GCN, which have a strategic role in this environment among these high-level professional women's organisations (P0104). Women leadership still needs to be supported as an issue in this region. Initiatives through media organisations such as GEMSA call attention to the position of women and their work, challenging perceptions. Organisations that work on building the capacity of states and civil society to care for the rights of women include OSISA. There is a multitude of (national) women's organisations that are members of the SOAWR coalition, and the importance of communication

“the girls in the school clubs become the network, so the movement we're trying to create is in the organization itself. It's the girls in these clubs in the rural areas that become the owners of the space to express themselves...”
– Betty Makoni, GCN

²⁷ With the SADC gender unit and the SADC Minister of Gender and Women's Affairs. With AU, observe status to the ACHPR. With Women and Development in the UNECA.

groups such as FAHAMU (SA) is also important here. Finally, larger regional actors like ACORD are integrating gender into their programming.

For international women's organisation working within Africa, locations are often within South Africa. This hints at the creation of a conducive environment and availability of international support for the women's movement. This may explain the level of progress in term of women's rights and protection in southern Africa, simply because of the presence of these organisations, with direct link to international networks.

PAN AFRICA LEVEL

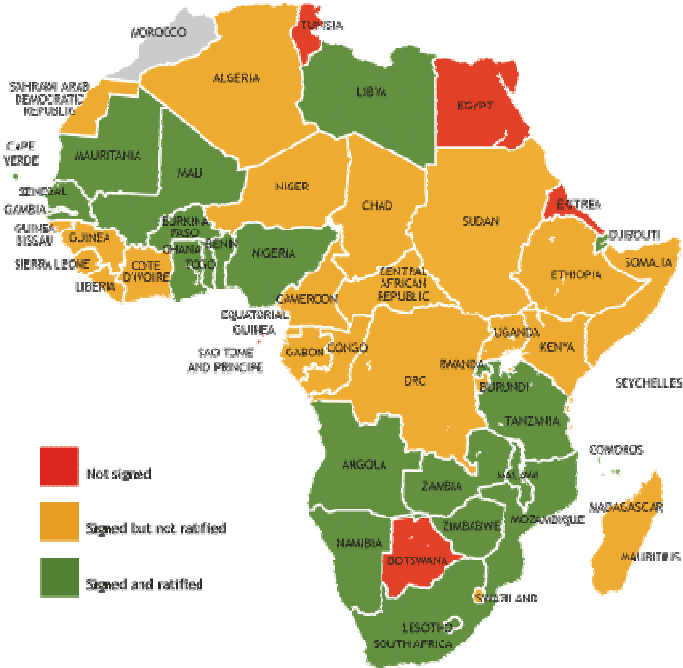
The regional mappings presented culminate at the Pan African level. The continental networks or women's movement found at this level are important for linking into the international facet of the women's movement. What role does Africa and its organisations have within the global movement? We have seen references and linkages to the international networks in each region, but now question is asked if, at the Pan African level, these strategic linkages are being used to their advantage.

There are several significant African Women's CSOs functioning at the Pan African level. Some examples include main continental women's organisations such as AMwA, FEMNET, WILDAF, AAWORD, AWDF. Outside of these, some of the initiatives where large groups (or strong national CSOs) may come together include continental forums for women's issues (AFF/AWID), through publications like AGM (SADC), international initiatives like the CEDAW, and, most importantly, the SOAWR coalition for advancement of the AU Protocol. There are examples of pan African CSOs claiming their space to participate. For example, there are different approaches and strategies used by ON and its partners to achieve *gender justice* (women's rights, women leadership, stop VAW, participation and empowerment, SRHRs, etc.). One of the more activist feminist organisations includes Akina Mama Wa Africa (AMwA) which organized the Africa Feminist Forum in 2008. This is significant for women's organisations claiming space to assert their voices as African Feminists, even with different viewpoints than other members of the women's movement in Africa.

The annual civil society forum is a chance to secure participation, but CS has to demand a place, fill the space, and be sufficiently organized in itself and with others to participate.
 -Norah, Winyi, FEMNET

Different global or international foundations and CSOs have 'regional' programs in Africa. For example, Mama Cash is one of the oldest international women's fund in the world. AWID, Equality NOW, IAC, Global Fund for Women, GROOTS and ICW are some other example, of international initiatives that have concerted programs in Africa. Global women's organisations often have a focus on Africa, also in trying to support the capacity of women's organisations in Africa. Active African women CSOs are necessary to link in the global women's movements (K0104). For example, initiatives like the Global March of women also includes the participation of African CSOs. The mappings already have shown examples of active women's movements, but the question remains which ones can link into movements happening already. As mentioned in the regional mappings, coordinating and consolidating among sister organisations is one of the main challenges mentioned by representatives. The mapping below presents significant GJ actors at the continental level.

Figure 3: State of the SOAWR Coalition Campaign in Africa



Source: http://www.soawr.org/en/auprotocol/article/protocol_watch/

Currently, SOAWR is the most significant coalition at the moment in the African context (AU Protocol has weight and legitimacy in Africa) for the structural improvement of women's rights. CSOs such as WILDAF, FAS, FEMNET, Akina

Mama Wa Afrika and others have been central to launching, implementing and supporting the SOAWR coalition. The adoption of such an African-initiated and African-implemented Protocol could have significant implication for the rights that female citizens are able to claim in the future. Figure 3 presents the countries that have ratified the Protocol already,²⁸ representing also the successes of coalition members in their region to lobby their governments to ratify. In several countries, social and cultural reasons remain for the delay in approval of the Protocol. The challenge now is to translate and implement the Protocol into national law in those countries.

Table 10 : Pan Africa - GJ

	<i>Actor</i>	<i>Typology/Activities</i>	<i>Constituency/Members</i>
Continental Civil Society Organisations	AAWORD	Continental organisation on Research/Advocacy	14 African National chapters: CA/CV/GH/CB/KE/MA/MR/NG/NA/CO/SE/SW/TA/CH/TO/TU
	AWDF (AFF) (SOAWR)	Grant making foundation	Funding of over 600 women's organisations in 41 African countries (GH)
	FEMNET (SOAWR)	Network Organization	Advocacy, training, communications ; with partners throughout Africa, national focal points in 22 countries (KE)
	SOAWR (via FAHAMU)	Continental Coalition	30 national/regional members throughout Africa; urge African leaders to ratify and implement Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women; 25 ratified
	Akina Mama Wa Africa (SOAWR)	Continental Organization	Leadership training, capacity building, sensitization, influencing policy
	AFF	African Forum	Ideological and political space, consolidate the efforts of African feminist movement
	Trust Africa (SOAWR)	Grant Making	REGIONAL FOCUS on Partnerships, Training, Capacity Building
	FAHAMU/PAMBAZUKA (SOAWR)	African Network	Support civil society, communication, training; KE/SA/SE
	FAMDEV (SAOWR)	Africa Organisation	Media in development and women's rights
	AWEPON	Continental Network	Research, lobby, advocacy for women's rights in economic policy, participation of women at national and grassroots level in policy making; members in 24 countries
	FAS	International Organisation, Pan African program	Advocacy, Research and Campaigns for role of women in peace process; great lakes region, continental and international advocacy and lobby. (helped found AU W&G directorate)
Continental Institutions	CEDAW/ OHCHR	UN Protocol	International basis for the rights of women
	AU	Continental Institution	Confederation of 53 African nations, intergovernmental organizations
	AU commission	Governance of the AU	Administrative/executive branch (secretariat) of the AU
	AU/ECOSOCC	AU institution	AU institutional space for CS participation at Continental level, 10 sectoral committees, advisory role for the AU
	CIDO	Unit of AU commission	Facilitation of all CS engagement with AU, secretariat functions for ECOSOCC, organizes the AU-CSO Forum
	PAWLO	Pan Africa Women's	Increased participation of women in the Pan African Congresses, gender issues at the center of the Pan African

²⁸ Figure3 illustrates the process of the SOAWR campaign for national ratification of the AU Protocol. Despite the progress in ratification, the coalition has had both successes and challenges with national level implementation of the protocol. Zimbabwe is the most recent success of ratification.

		organisation	Movement Agenda, assessing progress towards achieving resolutions of the Congresses.
	The Women, Gender and Development Directorate	Department of the AU commission	Convenes women's forums around the AU summits, advisory role to the AU commission on related issues.
Global Civil Society Organisations/Movements	Mama Cash	International Foundation	Support 45 women's groups; 14 in Africa.
	AWID/ (SOAWR)	International Member Organisation	Thousands of members in 130 countries/ international fora
	WLP	International Partner Organization	18 national and regional partners, including: CA/EY/MA/MR/NA/ZI
	Equality NOW (SOAWR)	International Organization	Mobilization, documentation, campaigning for women's rights; Women's Action Network for doc/dissemination
	GAATW	International Network of Members	Alliance of organizations against trafficking; members in KE/NA/SU/TA
	IAC (SOAWR)	International membership organisation	FGM, harmful traditional practices, information, education, capacity of communities to eliminate harmful traditional practices; 28 African Countries, 15 international affiliates
	Feminist Dialogues (SOAWR)	Platform for exchange	Surrounding WSF
	WGNRR	Global Network	1,000 individual an organisation members in 157 countries; grassroots members especially
	Gender IT (SOAWR)	Global Network	ICT, info exchange
	Global Fund for Women (SOAWR)	International Network	Grant making to women's organizations
	Global March of Women	Global Women's Movement	Mass constituency movement from all countries
	Urgent Action Fund – Africa (SOAWR)	Global Grantmaking	Research, rapid response grant making (KE)
	GROOTS	International network organisation,	Networking, exchange and solidarity among grassroots organisations across regions: including in CA/KE/RW/UG
	CEDPA	International Organisation	Training, partnering, mobilizing on gender (education, SRHR): NA/SA/ EY
	ICW	International Organisation	Training, advocacy, participation, research : UG/BF/ZI/KE

Trends, Strategic Linkages and Positioning

A study was completed in 2006 that gave an overview of the Women's Rights Organizations Working Globally (Sprengrer and Virmani, 2006). In this study was found that a large majority (80-90 %) of the existing women's rights organisations in the world are small organisations working locally with small budgets (fall outside the immediate scope of this study). This is no doubt then also the case in mapping Pan African Women's groups, and important to remember when considering a constituency as large as Africa - how many African women's organisations are inherently represented by the larger organisations mapped here. A visual overview of the women's CSOs active in Africa is given in Figure 4.

The links made with national level CSOs remain important: “the real challenge lies not in influencing AU norms and standards but in domesticating an implementing them in individual African countries (W2008).” Hence, the policy framework outlined through initiatives like the AU protocol are important, but the real work of implementation lies at the national level, with influence at the regional. For example, in his 2007 study on working with the AU, Da Costa asserted that “state parties are much more likely to adhere to commitments made at sub-regional level than at AU level (2007:4).” A result of these mappings and finding like this is that the work of women’s organisations already working or aiming to work at regional level is important in pulling national policies in the right direction. Using RECs as medium for implementation on national level is undervalued.

“It is impossible to portray a clear picture of the dynamism of gender equality work simply because of the fact that the women’s movement has never been one single movement but rather movements, multiple and diverse, each operating and based in different realities, with its own local struggles and challenges.”

– Joanna Kerr, 2004

Successes of the women’s movement in Africa include: increasing legislation for the protection and rights of women, an increasing role for women in government and leadership positions in general, and an improvement in the reproductive rights and care possible for women (G0804). A helpful factor to these successes, membership and participation in bodies like ECOSOCC is important and gives prevalence to women’s groups in Africa. However, in the end, even ECOSOCC has an advisory function to the AU, and has only as much influence as those within it are able to muster. The space has been created, but women’s groups need to present more pro-actively if they do hold a position, and focus on facilitating implementation via the regional bodies/frameworks. Also, the momentum of the women’s movement in Africa needs to be renewed and maintained. As one respondent explained, the focus age group is changing for the women’s movement, so the strategy of the CSOs needs to adapt to involve younger generations. There has been a slow down of momentum in the 90s, and the African women’s movement is looking to the younger generation to take it up again (B1405).

There is potential rift between grassroots women’s organizations and higher level, intellectual women’s organisations. Accusations of elitism, similar to organisations on EJ themes, can happen here. For example, AAWORD in their strategic plans has been trying to integrate the involvement of lower-level women’s organisations. This concern is based on the possibility that although real policy changes or necessary research is done by intellectual women’s organisations, the ultimate benefits of the women’s movement needs to be in solidarity with the ‘female citizens’ that still experience injustice in their daily lives (M0403). This topic will also be addressed in the upcoming AWID conference in Cape Town.²⁹ Through the mappings above, there are still inks to be made with several leading women’s organisations to make sure that they link to the greater women’s movements, as well as broader movements (trade or farmers movements) as there is a great potential of these integrated women’s movements being “strong and influential (W2108).” Also, gendered approaches need to be mainstreamed through development programs instead of remaining stand-alone (B1405).³⁰ There are many examples of this from the EJ mapping, including the PWYP campaign; a campaign for transparency in extractives, where women’s groups also form a part of the coalitions, alongside monitoring groups, lobby and advocacy groups, etc. Women’s agendas have expanded as well, and there are not only different strategies (women’s rights, VAW, women leadership, participation, etc.) but also a different agenda, including economic issues, climate, or basic needs (K0104).

“We have to be careful not to get spread too thin. We need to follow up, not scratch the surface of issues without gaining concrete results, We need to accept that we can’t do it all but that we have to choose areas to work on.”

–Norah Matovu Winyi, FEMNET

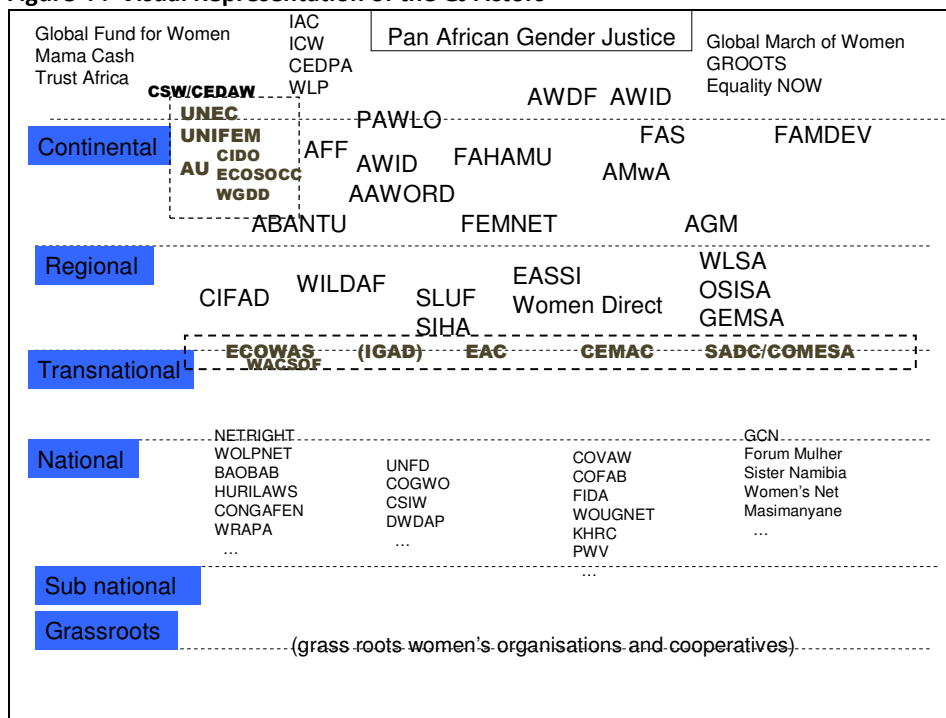
Complimentarity is sometimes difficult because goals/results are sometimes vague, not concrete and immediate for women’s movement, particularly for higher level women’s groups. Other challenges also remain: resources are few for women’s organisations to continue their work, but there work is also hindered by political resistance because it deals with issues that are sensitive, taboo, or controversial (often misunderstood). One program officer explained: “‘making noise for change’ depends on the weight of your noise, or how women’s organisations can

²⁹ AWID conference will take place in November 2008

³⁰ The role for stand alone women’s organisations alongside this trend acting as resource persons for these partners)?

make their voices heard.” Further, “some counterparts are good at building an organizations (‘change makers’) while others are good at grassroots level interventions (‘change doers’) (M0403).” Clearly the two need each other.

Figure 4 : Visual Representation of the GJ Actors



Source: Author, 2008

Linkages to the Global level

Some say the global movement is weakening, because of a backtrack of global events that all attention to the issues of gender. However, the conferences of AWID (major continental actors) are strategic venues to pick up the momentum once again (G0804). Still many grassroots organisations especially struggle with carrying out their programs because their institutional environments, or even those systems they are trying to influence, are weak (G0804). Continuing to link into global movement is important, but the women’s movement in Africa also has a clear place of their own working with national, regional and continental institutions. As one program officer named: “there is less capacity in Africa, so there needs to be a global dimension... Pan African networks are also often linked to the global level as well (K0104).” Linkages to the Global level movement are important; some examples were mentioned already, others are listed below.³¹

The GEAR campaign through the UN- CSW is trying to popularize the idea of a strong body for women’s issues in the UN level, a strengthened, unified women’s entity to gain more attention to women’s issues. FEMNET is trying to make this campaign and its significance known to the African Region; African women’s groups role on the international stage needs to grow. Examples do include the participation of leading African women’s groups in the UN’s CSW. The international advocacy group Equality NOW works at the Africa continental level in support of the SOAWR campaign and at national level organisations (often legal organisations) which offer legal support in the case of crimes against women. Strategically using these kinds of linkages means that members may be more able to lobby governments and use media as a tool to increase the visibility of women’s issues (M2508). African CSO participation in the Global March of Women is another example.

³¹ Next to those mentioned here, also AWID, GATTW, BAOBOB, ILGA, World March of Women, GROOTS, SIS, CSW have a link to working with African women’s CSOs.

REFLECTIONS on PAN AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY

The mappings of the two themes by region and their linkages to the Pan African level were presented above. From these mappings, we can make observations and conclusions about the nature of CS within a region, the emerging space for Pan African civil society, and the role of Oxfam in all these developments.

Observations for the regions

In regional mappings above, there is a noted shortage of information on civil society for more conflict prone areas: the horn and central Africa. Partners themselves have noted the “donor gap” that exists in these areas. This is in part logical considering the conditions that are ideally present for the existence of vibrant civil society (freedoms, legitimate governance structure) – or at least the conditions that make it much easier. However, in the case of developing Pan African civil society, there is opportunity for civil society to use regional or AU platforms to assert their agendas. For example, for the Horn of Africa; with regard to the Pan Africa Program links, the respondents mentioned the will to participate on more regional/continental level events, but that their capacities (and logistics) hinder their participation.³² The willingness we have seen in the mappings, especially of strong grassroots level, signals that this energy could be better used.

There is a polarity within different regions in terms of a country’s influence and dominance of their CSOs, WEST: Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, HORN: Ethiopia (Egypt), EAST: Kenya, Tanzania, CENTRAL: DRC, SOUTH: South Africa. These polarities exist on the basis of economic, social, and linguistic regions. For example, South Africa in its region is a dominant leader, but southern Africa also retains a regional solidarity and strength vis a vis the other regions of the continent with a strong voice on the African level.

In terms of REC’s, ECOWAS/ EAC, and SADC are amongst the stronger regional bodies for civil society engagement (most initiatives) (Da Costa , 2007). This was conformed during interview with respondents for the mappings. In the areas mentioned, ECOSOCC representative bodies are also present for the regional coordination to AU level. This may be an example for civil society actors in regions such as Horn or Central Africa, whose RECs (across often fragile states) are less established, legitimate, or effective, but where the alternative AU institutions at a regional level maybe interesting for them. Also, the opportunities for the women’s movement in these areas include an opportunity for active participation in peace processes, or in establishing new structures or government institutions (a seen in the mappings of the more unstable regions).

Finally, possibilities exist in linking more with religiously based mass constituency organisations. Some examples include the work done through the AACC, or with a link to the WCC. For certain regions more than others, religion plays a powerful role. There is legitimacy via faith based organisations – an untapped possibility, especially since the basis of organized civil action is often through church communities, congregations, and ideals (Da Costa, 2007).

Observations for Pan African Civil Society

In examining the complexity and overlapping institutions, unions, organization, coalitions, alliances and campaigns in Africa, one can lose track of the logical and/or strategic choices an ‘actor’ may make to be able to reach a lobby goal, or carryout an program of activates, or learn from the experiences of other organisations.³³ However, despite the debates, complexities, and current discussions on Pan African civil society, several tendencies are observable, and it is to these that we turn now.

First a crucial question: how far have actors come in achieving Pan African Civil society? When examining the state and nature of Africa Civil Society, is that the role of northern donors that is significant and still affects the agendas of actors (C2908). This fact is

“.. two years ago it was not as easy as today (to organize campaigns), now organisations are putting together resources, creating a revolution that has really caused us to come together.”

– Bonaventure Wakana, ACORD.

³² Within Oxfam Novib, the role of the RST is seen as crucial step to the continental level, it is of added value for this region in particular

³³ In fact, possible rationalization of the ‘systems’ (regional bodies, organisations, foras) in African to simplify civil society participation is currently up for debate (Y2707, W2908).

handled differently among donors, some view it as unavoidable, while others see it as an inherent challenge in development cooperation. Donors still have influence – but there is an ever-growing presence of African Civil Society and its independent potential. For example, organisations are also changing the ways they see themselves vis a vis a donor (B1405, N2108). Some actors claim that it is the institutional weakness of the invited space of the AU that holds civil society back. However, as one respondent stated – it is not the cause of the institutions (platforms) that civil society is not able to grow, but the fact that actors are not engaged to demand the space for themselves (G2708). Civil Society actors have begun to claim their space, as seen from the complexity mapped above, but need to continue pro-actively to increase it , also to counter act donor influences.

Positive cases of civil society participation include the EPA negotiations, or the adoption of the AU protocol, or the invited participation of civil society within the structures of a working African Union. These successes have been achieved despite the large and complicated linkages among continental advocacy organization that each have a different mandate, origin and nature of working. An organisation like ACORD, for example, is very present in multiple countries and has capacities to link to other actors in the field (W2908). When choosing a strategy it is

“What we believe as an organization is that Africa is part of a globalized world, but that the globalized institutions are not working for the Africans...”
– Bonaventure Wakana, ACORD.

important to know which actors are in the region and what their agendas are. A mapping process such as this one can be useful first step. Also, reviewing campaigns (but then by Civil society) as standard practice could be useful.

Some respondents explained that the strength of Pan African organisations comes from their rootedness in the civil society/popular movements on the ground or at national level (A2908), since downward accountability is the ultimate goal. The grassroots civil society movements are, in the end, the ultimate beneficiaries of the work of these CSOs – they need to be included in the work at higher levels and efforts toward this inclusion are happening. By doing so, CSOs also avoid accusations of elitism. This is a difficult balance when you consider the number of strategic and large think tanks, research institutions, and lobby and advocacy organisations that are mapped as significant actors, above. The growing link between regional farmer’s organisations PROPAC, SACAU, EAFF, ROPPA, the platform they create, and the networks they share will become more important (S2508). Also, producer organisations specially need to have a way to be linked up to the multitude of initiatives run by organisations that work within Africa (Gates, Clinton, Rockefeller, Ford foundations, FAO, UNDP, NEPAD, etc.). Often, farmer/producer organisations lack the knowledge, network, capacity, volume or organizational structure to approach these kind of actors. So, producer organisations need to be able to respond to the opportunities here via their national farmer cooperatives or regional farmer’s organisations. These cooperatives and regional organisations have a role in linking these opportunities for their constituencies at community/national level.³⁴

For both EJ and GJ themes and campaigns there are challenges among civil society actors: competition and positioning of CSOs, branding and funding issues, and the survival of many organisations. This is changing however, as many organisations also see the added strength of speaking as one voice (G2708). In the multilateral sphere, Africa is the only continent that so often “treated as one entity for development policy” (G2708). This is interesting considering that African Civil Society is, on the whole, very young³⁵ and developing within the widely varying contexts within Africa. Being able to respond to this assertion with an African owned, coordinated civil society for those most fundamental of development issues (themes of agriculture and trade, for example) is the challenge. Also what is the place of international NGOs, or – more interestingly – what is the place of an African voice, supported by a northern donor? This calls up question of legitimacy and ownership that organisations (including Oxfam) haven taken an ideological stance on this question (OI Advocacy Principles, 2003). In a statement by ANSA:

“International cooperation in essentially a lopsided power relationship that empowers the developed northern and western powers while disempowering the developing south to a status of permanent dependency through trade regimes, neo-liberalization, aid and related donations” - ANSA, 2008

³⁴ Capacity.org magazine

³⁵ For example, GCAP has been active for 4 years, while EPA campaign also so long.

According to some, the concept of pan African Civil Society is, artificial and constructivist, considering that a true and complete Pan African civil society activism for agricultural issues or trade may not even be possible, but rather dominated by sets of regionalisms (W2908). The reality is more closely that Pan Africanism is an ideal, best embodied by the realisation of Pan African institutions like the Africa Union, but whose mandate is not yet completely justified by its citizens (working on AU popularization) (Da Costa, 2007). Despite these criticisms (and the challenges faced by different actors), the positive developments present above, and beginnings of linkages to regional and continental level, signify that there is an emergence of what can be called *Pan African* civil society.

Reflections about Oxfam

Developing 'Gender'

Within ON, there is a bigger focus on EJ networks than on the women's movement. The GJ program with Oxfam Novib, is beginning to formally take shape. What is important to remember for the future of GJ is the duality of the gender question – as a stand alone program as well as a 'mainstreamed' concept. This parallels the program development within the African women's movement. Questions on how to best balance this can be thought about along side current CSO partners. From the mapping, CSO organisations can be identified that may be able to react to these kinds of questions.

Linkages

From the interviews and the conclusion drawn from the input of representative and program officers, several conclusions have already been made about the linkages to Pan African and Global level civil society movements. For the work of Oxfam (Novib) there are also some observations to be made:

- the clear link with Campaign portion of ON need re-enforcement
- among programmes, there is an unclear understanding on what position Pan African Program has within Oxfam Architecture, although working at continental level is seen as having added value, and
- different Oxfams have different ways of working, causing confusion in some cases (B1405)

Partners gave input as to the role that donors, specifically Oxfam should play in campaigns, etc.: "their role should be in discussion with us" and, concerning the strategic importance of nationally affiliated partners: alliance building and "political positioning depends on a regional context (B1405)." After years of northern partners being selective, strong African players in several cases now choose their campaign allies according to the political color or reputations northern donors carry in their region. Further 'partnership' needs to have a different embodiment, both parties have something to bring, instead of resorting to the 'classic' relationship (B1405)."

African Civil Society is changing

Another example of internal Oxfam developments includes increasing the focus on the issue of food security for Africa. Wakana of ACORD argues the importance of claiming space for the participation of community and states. Hence the political perspective of Pan African civil society reaches "beyond food security, to Africans having control of their own situations, having the right to decide as a force on its own in the World (W2908)." This is, needless to say, a long-term vision.

Oxfam needs to be aware of the changing nature of African CS; those actors most active with *policy* and those more active with *project* work still are in a ratio of 1:10. This is changing, demanding more capacity and confidence to fill the policymaking space (B1405). The concept of an organisation/individual working for a cause, without being elected or chosen (for example, farmer's organisations representing poor people), represents the new dynamics of legitimacy – a kind of

Oxfam is a well-respected organization with vast experience and capacity for campaigns and advocacy work... a partnership has added value for local organizations and coalitions... At the country level, an opportunity for linkages always needs to be explored' for example, the AU government project where AU member states were asked to consultations at a national level. In Kenya, Oxfam GB took the initiative to mobilize CSOs to engage the government to give space for that as well as pull the public into the debate by holding a public forum, TV discussion, etc. ... "

- Faiza Mohammed , Equality NOW.

democracy that has its mandate from members or the population (B1405). In fact, respondents stressed the importance of individuals in organisations in that capacity and human resources still are often the biggest challenge. Support of Oxfam also influences which CSOs attract and keep competent/motivated people (B1405). A complicating factor is that CSOs/NGOs in Africa compete for competent people. How can we avoid this element by Oxfam, or, at least minimize the effects?

With the complementarity of campaigning and program work, the question remains as to how to strategically finance a campaign or movement. One method involves securing the spaces, moment, strategic planning moments and evaluations, information creation and knowledge proliferation, and loose structures that represent the coming together of these actors. The value of these expansive meetings is that it adds to the identity and legitimacy, alliance building within the campaign. Increased coordination in complex alliances across different Oxfam bureaus and affiliates is necessary to optimize support.

Reflections on process of the research

A complete mapping of Pan African Civil Society is actually impossible – one can never fully capture all of the actors in the space outside of formalized state and private sector. Fowler explains the ‘fuzziness’ of defining civil society in the CIVICUS indexing project, and how defining which elements to look for relates to the answers being sought (Fowler, 2002). This mapping has been done primarily in terms of the role that it can take upon itself vis a vis the state and private sector, especially on a regional or continental level. Also, source of information exists within the players who are knowledgeable about their environment, and collecting this has been a subjective attempt at further clarity. Furthermore, Pan Africanism is a concept that is used to signal continental movements, while as a concept it is used to signify a wider movement toward Africa as one entity, with a common struggle and interwoven interests.

When a mapping like this is attempted, it is important to use other mappings already made. Other CSOs and research organisations are working already on doing this kind of a mapping (see for example, CIVICUS), but then of global civil society. The results of these studies can be found through them, and has taken several years, a staff of researchers, and a considerable wealth of partner resources and organisational experience. A complete mapping of Pan African civil society would have to include a trajectory of this nature. Unfortunately, these kinds of conditions were not available for this mapping. It would be advisable to look to these other sources mentioned for more insight, or to delve deeper into certain themes, networks or regions where civil society is being studied.

RECOMMENDATIONS - OXFAM work in EJ and GJ

Finally, based on the mappings and the observations made from them, the following recommendations are made.

Added value

Efficiency and effectiveness is increased by working at the Pan African level. There is a definite need for this strategic level of work – but the question remains as to how to develop a way of working that allows checking of linkages/overlapping of funding or strategy at different levels. Here we have been able to gain more knowledge about how we can act on all levels with the regional bureaus. This parallels a problem within African Civil Society, in organisations’ own efforts at coordination (*where and who needs to be when, with what resources and what information.*) There are institutional barriers, and actors are looking for a way of streamlining everything that is happening with Pan African Civil Society and the moments when they need to be (re/pro) active. For example, respondents had commented on the proliferation of NGOs as suitcase NGOs, not linked productively into what’s happening already. Another example is the need for linking to take place. Taking the jump to small scale commercial farming from subsistence farming is important to ensure income for farmers in the developing world. They need to join together in cooperatives that are then linked to national or international bodies. In how far is Oxfam supporting this?

What's in a name

Lessons can be learned from sister donor organisations. For example, in the past accused of “taking up the space”(of African Civil Society), now Action Aid describes itself as decentralized and much more closely aligned to partners who are able to voice their agendas and develop a strategy together with Action Aid representatives on sight (A2908). Observations of how exactly this happens could not be directly made, but the assertions of this mechanism are clear. As a result, one of Action Aid’s points of pride seems to be their level of decentralization. Perhaps Oxfam can learn from this?

Solidarity versus competition

One respondent mentioned the challenge of inclusiveness (G2708); that only certain “major” or “reputable” organisations are invited to participate in agenda setting, or in higher level meetings with international players, while an open invitation should be made, or at least communicated to civil society. This is a question of the ideal of inclusiveness and transparency versus feasibility and practicality for decision making processes and debate. When it is not possible for multiple actors to be present, it is up to the invited players to communicate then back to fellow organisations and “create space” for all actors in this way. Oxfam can support this process. As International actors, partners, or members, we as Oxfam need to encourage this attitude of solidarity and African allies, and amongst our northern sister organizations who are also working with allies.

Walk the talk

Strengthen the southern campaign force while respecting the OI Southern Advocacy Principles. What is important in this is to recognizing the players already working on the issues in Africa and that their agendas and ideas need to be the leading elements for campaigns/accompaniment by Oxfams. A mapping of interests for a certain theme or campaign is a good start. The EPA campaign is one interesting example of a joint continental strategy of which Oxfam affiliates were a part. Also, in trying to coordinate more closely the relationship between campaign and programs (a gap noted by several respondents), Oxfam needs to be sensitive to the agendas of African civil society organisations and their priorities. The priorities of African actors are paramount.

Own the strategies

The gender program needs to include elements of gender across the three dimension mentioned in the introduction to GJ mapping: STOP, MOVE OVER, DIFFERENT together, reflected in initiatives such as the GMLT, WECAN and WEMAN. From a ON (OI) perspective, these initiatives have started to be implemented. The level of ownership among partners for these strategies (in pilot project phase or just after), in that at the moment, it is largely Oxfam pushed and pulled (R0904). Perhaps there is opportunities to be highlighted in that many partners that are working primarily under other themes, have already elements of Gender strategies within their programs. Work with what partners have done already and consolidate this!

Growing Portfolio

Through mappings like this one, more oversight can be gained as to the emerging picture of African civil society. Results may include suggestions as to how Oxfam can seize more opportunities in choosing partners, or inspiration for new strategic partners. In the future, a quick scan can be done for a region (Africa), asking several practitioners in the field to fill out a similar set of tables to the ones used above, including their commentary. This yields a great deal of information in a short time.

CONCLUSIONS

The mapping is a useful exercise but needs to be repeated on a smaller scale for accuracy. For example, one specific theme within the EJ and GJ campaigns can be mapped, or even the relationship between different actors and levels further explored. This mapping as it is a reference source for program officers, partners who participated in giving input, and other interested researchers who would like to expand on it.

RESOURCES

Other Mappings:

Duty Trip reports 2006-08, PAF Program

Regional Strategic Team mappings of partner organizations and cross-affiliate work.

OI Pan Africa Economic Justice Strategic Plan 2008-2011, January 2008

OI Economic Justice Programme Reference Group, Livelihoods Mapping, June 2008

OI EJ Operational plan for Economic Justice (trends, actors, and Oxfam strategies)

Civil society organisations and the African Union: towards a continental advocacy strategy for World Vision

OI Pan Africa Programme Operational Plan 2008

Draft OI Agriculture Policy Discussion Document, May 2008?? And continued discussions on food Crisis (Madelon Meijer)

Da Costa, P. (2007), Civil society organisations and the African Union – towards a continental advocacy strategy for World Vision, World Vision Africa, April 2007.

Do Costa, P. (2008) A Strategic Assessment of Oxfam’s current Africa-wide campaigning practice in an on Africa: Emerging opportunities for future work. Commissioned by OGB Pan Africa Program.

J. Gaventa. (2006). Finding the Spaces for Change: A power analysis. IDS Bulletin 37:23-33

“Kilio cha Haki” Oxfam International Pan Africa Programme 2007-2010 Steer

Notes on internal exchanges and meetings, PAP staff, Sept 2007 – present.

OI Operational Plan for Economic Justice, 2007-2008

PAF SPM 2008

SPMs of each of the four regional bureaus of Oxfam Novib

ON Pan Africa Regional cluster - Strategic Plan 2007-2010

ON Regional cluster and Core Country SPMs, Africa Bureaus.

ON Monitoring Report 2007.

OI Pan Africa Economic Justice Strategic Plan 2008-2011, January 2008

Livelihoods Mapping (2008), OI Economic Justice Programme Reference Group, June 2008

The Right to Sustainable Livelihoods: Strategies, Actions, and Lessons Learned (2007-2010), An Oxfam Novib Position Paper.

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Oxfam Novib Communiqué (2008), Putting Gender at the Center of Our Work, March 2008.

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VeneKlasen, L. and Miller, V. (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People & Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation*, World Neighbors

Fowler, A. (2002) *Mapping Civil Society; Facing Problems of Research Bias and operational Complexity*, CIVICUS Panel on the Civil Society Index.

ANSA, (2008) *Pan African Civil Society Statement: The North will not provide the answers for global development!* Statement made during the Pan-African Preparatory meeting to the IV International Forum on Democracy and Cooperation from 15 to 16 May 2008, August 2008.

Kerr, J. Sprenger, E., Symington, A, eds (2004). *The Future of Women's Rights : Global Visions and Strategies* , distributed by AWID and Mama Cash.

Kloosterman, J. (2007) *Gender Justice: Empowerment and Inclusion Aim 5 The Right to an Identity: Gender and Diversity*. Oxfam Novib Policy Paper, June 2007.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 List of Persons Interviewed

<i>Code</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Aim 1</i>	<i>Aim 5</i>	<i>Organization/Region</i>	<i>Date</i>
D0904	Ron Delnoye	x		ON-WAF (PO)	09.04.08
H0804	Mieke Hartveld		x	ON-WAF (PO)	08.04.08
D0804	Karin van Dijk	x		ON-HVA(PO)	08.04.08
H0704	Manon Heuvels		x	ON-HVA (PO)	07.04.08
K1803	Thur de Kuijer	x		ON-OCA (PO)	18.03.08
T0104	Lucy den Teuling	x	x	ON-OCA(RCO)	01.04.08
Z3103	Monique van Zijl	x		ON- ZUA (RCO)	31.03.8
A0104	Mirjam Andriessen	x		ON-ZUA (PO)	01.04.08
S0704	Leo Stolk (P w P)	x		ON- ZUA (PO)	07.04.08
P0104	Denise Parmentier		x	ON-ZUA (PO)	01.04.08
M0403	Marie Louise Murekatete	x	x	ON- PAF (PO)	04.03.08
K0104	Anne Kooistra		x	ON- Global Programs (PO)	01.04.08
M1704	Gigi Manicad	x		ON – Global Programs (PO)	17.04.08
P0304	Duncan Pruett	x		ON Change Goal Management (Popmob, Alliances, CSR, labour)	03.04.08
G0804	Rose Gaway		x	OGB- Gender Policy Advisor (UK)	08.04.08
R0904	Daniela Rosche		x	OI- Gender Lobbyist	09.04.08
W2108	Paul van Wijk	x	x	ON – Pan African Program Manager	21.08.08
K1404	Dot Keet	x		AIDC/TNI	14.04.08
B1405	Taoufik Ben Abdallah	x	x	African Social Forum (ASF)	14.05.08
G2708	Yao Graham	x	x	Third World Network (TWN)	27.08.08
N2108	Mouhamet Lamine Ndiaye	x		Pan Africa Head of Economic Justice	21.08.08
W2908	Bonaventure Wakana	x	x	ACCORD	29.08.08
C2908	Jonathan Chisaka	x		PELUM	29.08.08
A2908	Dede Amanor-Wilks	x	x	Action Aid African Regional Office – International Coordinator for West and Central Africa	29.08.08
S2508	Ted Schrader	x		Agriterra – Partner Relations	25.08.08
M3001	Betty Makoni		x	Girl Child Network	30.01.08
M2508	(Faiza Mohamed)		x	Equality NOW	25.08.08
M2708	(Sarah Mukasa) (Beatrice)		x	AWDF	27.08.08
W2008	Norah Matovu Winyi		x	FEMNET	20.08.08
S2808	(Ellen Sprenger)		x	Mama Cash	28.08.08

APPENDIX 2 Table of Country Codes

Country	CODES	Country	CODES
WEST		EAST and CENTRAL	
Mali-c	ML	Uganda-c	UG
Niger-c	NG	Burundi-c	BR
Nigeria-c	NA	Congo-c	CO
Burkina Faso	BF	Rwanda-c	RW
Cote D'ivoire	CD	Kenya	KE
Ghana	GH	Tanzania	TA
Guinea-Bissau	GB	Madagascar	MD
Senegal	SE	Cameroon	CA
Morocco	MR	Comoros	CR
Liberia	LI	Congo Brazzaville	CB
Mauritania	MA	Equatorial Guinea	EG
Tunisia	TU	Central African Republic	CF
Guinea	GU	Chad	CH
Gabon	GA		
Benin	BE		
Cap Verde	CV	SOUTH	
Togo	TO	Angola-c	AN
Sierra Leone	SL	Mozambique-c	MO
Gambia	GM	Malawi	MW
		Zimbabwe	ZI
HORN		Zambia	ZA
Ethiopia-c	ET	South Africa	SA
Sudan -c	SU	Botswana	BO
Somalia-c	SO	Swaziland	SW
Eritrea	ER	Seychelles	SY
Djibouti	DJ	Lesotho	LE
Egypt	EY	Namibia	NM
		Mauritius	MU
ON core countries			

APPENDIX 3 Map of Africa

