

Gender Mainstreaming
in the South African National Department of Social Development:
A Policy Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Gender inequality remains the greatest challenge for many societies and this has implications for the sustainable development and well-being of societies. There exists gender inequalities with regards to access to resources such as land, healthcare, credit, information, education and decision-making power between races and between the sexes. The advent of democracy brought freedom for all South Africans and the new government understood gender inequality as a deterrent to the achievement of sustainable development for all and the building of a democratic state. The National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality provides a roadmap through which gender should be mainstreamed within government and elsewhere towards achieving the goal of gender equality. It stresses that the shift from inequality to equality requires the transformation of government and civil society.

The efforts of the Department of Social Development towards gender mainstreaming are premised in this national framework. The purpose of the present research is to ascertain whether and how gender is being mainstreamed in the National Department of Social Development (DSD), specifically looking at the conceptualization, management and structures in place for gender mainstreaming. This is a qualitative research analysis, using in-depth interviews as primary data collection methods, as well as a review of official gender mainstreaming documents of the DSD. Eighteen officials in middle management from all the different branches (reflected in the organogram in Figure 1) of DSD were selected. Middle management refers to staff that have the rank of Assistant and Deputy-

Director. These are members of staff who are directly involved in policy implementation and, in many instances, contribute to the development of policies.

The findings indicate that the implementation of gender mainstreaming is varied in the Department, with considerable success towards the attainment of employment equity target of 50/50 women representation in senior management. According to the DSD Employment Equity Report 2007/2008, women constituted 48% of senior managers. The official reports of the DSD point to progress being made in gender mainstreaming within the Department. This includes working towards approving a range of service delivery policies that address concerns of women and men, in intensifying service provision to respond to people's vulnerabilities and to ensure sustainable development of communities.

The respondents in this study argued that policy commitments to gender equality are not supported by political and administrative will and necessary resources. The majority of the respondents did not know that there was a Gender Focal Point, whose responsibility is the facilitation of gender mainstreaming in the Department. They struggled to define basic gender concepts with gender mainstreaming, mainly understood to be employment equity. The respondents were also not conversant with the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines and did not know what is needed in implementing gender mainstreaming. The gap between the official reports of the Department on successful gender mainstreaming implementation and the negative perspectives of the respondents needs further investigation.

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DECLARATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science in the Graduate Programme of Policy and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

I declare that this dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination at any other university.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DG	Director-General
DPSA	Department of Public Service Administration
DSD	Department of Social Development
GAD	Gender and Development
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GMGs	Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines
HIV	Human Immune Virus
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGM	National Gender Machinery
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
PSC	Public Service Commission
SA	South Africa/n
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SLBs	Street Level Bureaucrats
UN	United Nations
WID	Women in Development

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“Democracy will not be achieved unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of women in the country had radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all spheres of life as equal with any member of our society.”

(Nelson Mandela, 1994)

1) Introduction

The DSD Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines (GMGs) define gender mainstreaming as “a process whereby attention to gender equality is integrated into an organization’s analysis, planning, performance, personnel, policy, monitoring and assessment, thereby giving the content and direction of these practices at institutional level. The process assesses the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, research, dialogue and programmes in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of both men and women an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated” (DSD, 2007: 4).

The purpose of this research is to ascertain whether and how gender is being mainstreamed in the National Department of Social Development (DSD). The broad objectives of this study are to critically analyse;

- 1) the conceptualization of gender mainstreaming in the Public Service.
- 2) the management and structural arrangements (resources, processes, structures, personnel, mechanisms) in place for the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Public Service.
- 3) the challenges and successes in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Public Service.

South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality expects DSD, like other government Departments, to mainstream gender in its structures, systems and activities, but there has been no evaluation of how much progress is being made in this regard. The DSD really does not know how well it is achieving its commitment to gender equality. It is for this reason that an implementation analysis of gender mainstreaming in the Department was conducted.

2) Background to gender mainstreaming

2.1. Gender inequality within the South African Public Service

Gender inequality remains the greatest challenge entrenched by the patriarchal nature of societies and institutional structures. There exist gender inequalities with regards to access to resources such as land, healthcare, credit, information, education and decision-

making power between races and between the sexes. It is for this reason that gender equality is broadly recognized as an imperative for the achievement of sustainable development.

Gender equality means that women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential and for contributing to, and benefiting from, economic, social, cultural and political development. Gender equity is the process of being fair to women and men by ensuring the availability of measures to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from operating on a level playing field. Gender equity strategies are used to eventually gain gender equality. *Equity is the means, equality is the result*” (DPSA, 2006: 28).

Kate Young (1998), cited by Reddock (2000: 37) states that the subordination of women is socially constructed and not biologically determined and therefore can be changed and that change does take time. She defines gender as “the set of characteristics, roles and behavior patterns that distinguish women and men socially and culturally”. The gendered roles of women and men often relegate women to the household domain and essentially reproductive work, while men would be involved in productive work.

South Africa’s Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality, published by the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), defines gender as “the social roles allocated respectively to women and men in particular societies and at particular times. Such roles and differences between them are conditioned by a variety of political, economic, ideological and cultural factors and are characterized in most societies by unequal power relations” (OSW, 2000: xvii). This framework provides a roadmap for gender mainstreaming within SA government departments and elsewhere in society

towards achieving the goal of gender equality. It stipulates that the shift from inequality to equality requires the transformation of government and civil society. The main purpose of the Framework is to “establish a clear vision and framework to guide the process of developing laws, policies, procedures and practices which will serve to ensure equal rights and opportunities for women and men in all spheres and structures of government, as well as in the workplace, the community and the family” (OSW, 2000: 4-5).

This National Policy Framework recognizes that gender inequality is a complex structural problem of a generally patriarchal society that is evident even in government.

Gender inequality is systemic and entrenched in the structures, norms, values and perspectives of the state and civil society. It is pervasive but it is also often hidden, complex and insidious. The emancipation of women and the attainment of equality in the political, economic, social, cultural and civic spheres is a long-term process of social transformation that fundamentally challenges the way in which society is organized. At the level of the state it requires a new approach to the formulation and implementation of policy. Decision-makers need to develop new ways of thinking about the world; bureaucrats need to understand these in implementing policies, programmes and laws; and parliaments need to translate this thinking into law. At the level of civil society, women and men need to educate themselves and each other about the causes and manifestations of, and the solutions to, gender inequality and patriarchy (OSW, 2000: 25).

This understanding of gender inequality as a broad structural problem points to the complexity and far-reaching implications of gender inequality and the extent that all segments of government and society need to work together to abolish it. Employment is one of the areas in which gender inequality is prevalent and it has grave consequences for women.

The apartheid government was hierarchically structured along racial, ethnic and gender lines, with women, and especially black women, at the lower end of the hierarchy. In 2004, women constituted 31% of public servants nationally, compared to their male counterparts, who constituted 69%. There were even fewer women in senior management (Public Service Commission, 2008: 95). The new democratic government sought to address this problem by embarking on policy and legislative change to create an enabling environment for women's empowerment, representivity and gender equality. The number of women in the Public Service has steadily increased over the years, particularly those in senior management, and this is reported on in government reports discussed below.

The former Deputy President, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, in her speech at the Inauguration of the Public Service Gender Indaba in Boksburg on 18 August 2008, said that the number of women in government across all salary levels totalled more than 600 000, compared to about 500 000 men. This was a significant growth since 2004. She acknowledged that the challenge remained to raise the number of women in senior management, as women were more concentrated in non-decision-making positions. In 2008, women constituted 42.8% of ministers, 40% of deputy ministers, four of the nine premier posts in the country and 34% of senior managers in government (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2008: 2). In 2010, women constituted 41% of ministers; 40.8% of deputy ministers, five of the nine premier posts and 34.8% in government senior management (The Presidency, 2010). The 2008 and 2010 figures for women's representation in political positions in government show no significant increase towards meeting the 50/50 representivity target of government, except for provincial premier's posts.

Mlambo-Ngcuka (2008), at the same Gender Indaba, reflected on the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index, which is a measurement of political empowerment, economic participation, educational attainment and health survival across 128 countries. In 2007 SA ranked 20th in this Index, being the only African country to feature in the first 20, scoring well on political empowerment of women (Mlambo-Ngcuka, 2008: 2). In 2008 the country dropped to 22nd place, making small gains in political empowerment and educational attainment compared to Lesotho, ranking 16 (Hausmann *et al.*, 2008: 16-29).

At the second Public Service Gender Indaba, held in Durban from 20-21 August 2009, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Public Service Administration (DPSA), Mr Roy Padayachee, acknowledged the progress made by SA in being a signatory to international conventions and amending and enacting laws to ensure gender equality. However, there are gaps in the implementation of such laws. He stated that "it is evident that Government has taken most necessary steps on paper towards the development and advancement of women. The challenge that still lies ahead of us is translating the paper gains into a reality that speaks to all women, especially women from rural areas and disabled women (Padayachee, 2009: 5).

Dr Richard Levin, Director-General (DG) of the DPSA, at the same Indaba, pointed out that the compliance with equity targets in the Public Service was less than desirable. Women's representation at senior management in 2009 was 34.8% (compared to 34% in 2008), falling far short of the 50/50 target by March 2009. He referred to the analysis of

the Persal data [a name given to the information technology system that keeps information about all government employees] for 2008, which indicated that more women are at the bottom echelon of management positions. He emphasised what he called a very worrying trend, that there is no effort to replace women managers with other women when they exit a post. He called for a “national attitude revolution to see women recruited to senior positions, not merely for compliance, but for the recognition of their skills and competence” (Levin, 2009: 3-5).

It is generally understood that equity is just one important strategy for addressing gender inequality and that other more nuanced strategies are required to change the patriarchal nature of the Public Service, as well as the attitudes and behaviour of individuals. The struggle for gender equality not only focuses on the liberation and empowerment of women for their sake, but for the broader development of society. The goal of gender equality demands that gender is brought to the centre of government policy and programming. South Africa, in its 2008 CEDAW report, stresses the recognition of gender equality as essential to the achievement of development goals (OSW, 2008: 16).

There are policy imperatives for addressing gender equality in SA and gender mainstreaming is a strategy of ensuring that its commitment to gender equality is realized. The question of whether or not the ideals of gender equality are realized remains and requires continued investigation and, indeed, a long-term vision.

3) Overview of the research design

3.1. Research methodology

This is a qualitative analysis of gender mainstreaming in the DSD. Qualitative research allows for the use of more than one data collection method and strategy of inquiry (Creswell, 2003: 181-182). According to Amanda Wilmot (2005: 1), qualitative research “aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the world as seen through the eyes of the people being studied”. Wilmot (Ibid) explains that qualitative research uses ‘non-probability sampling, as it is not its aim to produce a statistically representative sample or draw statistical inference’. The present study focused on investigating the understanding and perceptions of public servants within the DSD on gender mainstreaming. It conducted a content analysis of official documents of DSD on the implementation of gender mainstreaming.

3.2. Research site and sampling

Tuckett (2004: 2) states that sampling in qualitative research often relies on small numbers and seeks to study a particular phenomenon in-depth. Respondents are purposively selected rather than randomly. The purposive non-random sampling technique was used for this study. With this technique, the number of people selected is not very important, as opposed to the criteria for selection, which focus on the

characteristics of respondents chosen to reflect the research population's diversity and breadth (Wilmot, 2005: 3).

The DSD is a National Department, with a Minister, Deputy Minister and DG, who is the administrative Head of the Department. The DSD also has Departments in the nine provincial spheres of government, tasked with the execution of its mandate at provincial level. The core functions of the DSD include:

- “Management and oversight over social security, encompassing social assistance and social insurance policies that aim to prevent and alleviate poverty in the event of life cycle risks such as loss of income due to unemployment, disability, old age or death occurring.
- Developmental social welfare services that provide support to reduce poverty, vulnerability and the impact of HIV and AIDS through sustainable development programmes, in partnership with implementing agents such as State-funded institutions, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) and Faith-Based Organisations” (DSD, 2010).

For the purposes of this study, middle management personnel from all the different branches (reflected in the Figure 1: organogram) of the National Department of DSD were selected. Middle Management refers to staff that have the ranks of Assistant and Deputy-Director. These are members of staff who are directly involved in policy implementation and, in many instances, contribute to the development of policies. A total of 18 face to face in-depth interviews were conducted and, of these, ten were women and

eight men. These individuals have worked for the Department for between one year and eleven years. The minimum period of one year was chosen as a reasonable time for them to be able to reflect on their experiences of implementing gender mainstreaming within the DSD. All the respondents approached for the interviews consented to participate in the study and signed their consent forms. Permission was requested to the respondents to voice record the interviews, only two respondents agreed to be recorded and the rest refused the recording. Detailed notes of the interviews were then taken and a thematic analysis of the data was conducted. The attached interview guide was used. See Appendix 1.

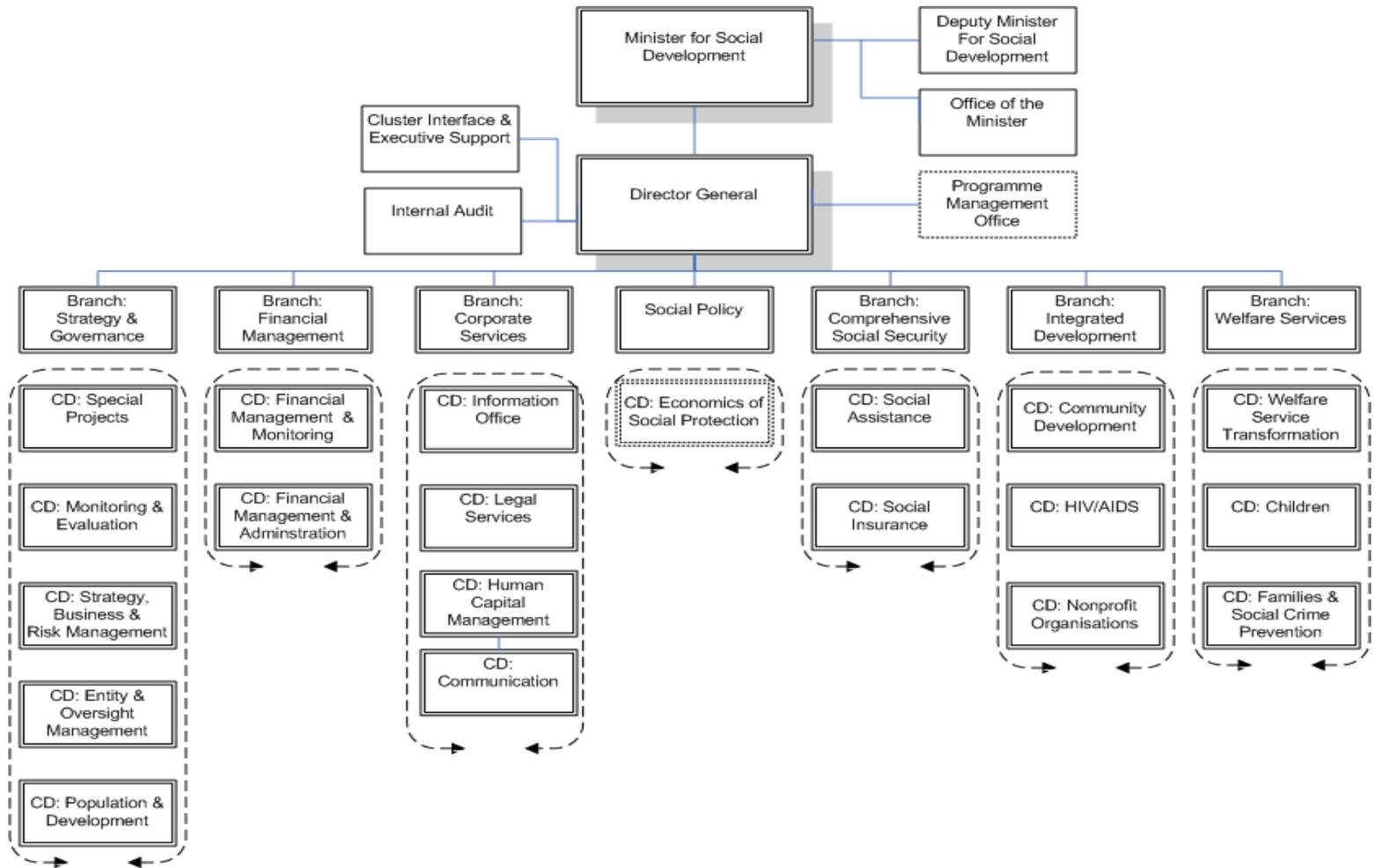


Figure 1: Department of Social Development: Organogram

3.3.Data collection methods

The primary data for this research was collected by using in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were useful in understanding the perspectives of the respondents on gender mainstreaming. According to Carolyn Boyce and Palena Neale (2006: 3), in-depth interviews assist in acquiring information about a person's thoughts or behaviour as well as understanding what happened in the programme and why, thus providing more detailed information or data. Sharon B. Merriam (2001: 72) says:

We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe...We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and interventions. We cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of the observer. We cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective.

The secondary data was the policy and strategic documents of the Department, reports on gender mainstreaming and equity reports. A content analysis of this set of data was conducted to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts and an analysis of such relationships and meanings is conducted and inferences made (Busch *et al.*, 2005: 1). The advantages of using content analysis include the use of non-interactive data, in that the researcher does not intrude into the space of the respondents, but analyses already existing data (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006: 286-287). Creswell (2003: 187) explains that the use of documents "enables the researcher to obtain the language and words of participants and represents data that are thoughtful, in that

participants have given attention to compiling, as written evidence it serves the researcher the time and expense of transcribing”.

3.4. Data analysis

Creswell (2003: 190) points out that data analysis is an ongoing process involving continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions and writing memoranda throughout the study. A thematic analysis was used to analyse the data gathered from the in-depth interviews with Departmental officials. Themes are organized according to five protocols of Cloete and Wissink (2000) for successful policy implementation, which are content, context, commitment, capacity and clients and coalitions.

The secondary data was analyzed using relational analysis of content analysis. Relational analysis begins by identifying concepts in a text and examines semantic and meaningful relationships between them. Busch *et al.* (2005: 1) feel that concepts on their own do not have any ‘inherent meaning, rather meaning is a product of the relationships among concepts in a text’. Policy implementation and Gender and Development (GAD) theories and approaches to gender mainstreaming were used as the theoretical framework to analyse and interpret findings and draw conclusions.

4. Overview of the research report

The next chapter presents a discussion concerning the theoretical framework that grounds this study. Chapter 3 is a discussion of the legislative and policy framework for gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the South African Public Service. Chapter 4 will review the literature on global gender mainstreaming in government and studies within the South African Public Service. The findings and analysis will be presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will draw some conclusions on the factors influencing the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Public Service.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework

“The implementation problem is assumed to be a series of mundane decisions and interactions unworthy of the attention of scholars seeking the heady stuff of politics. Implementation is deceptively simple: it does not appear to involve any great issues”.

(Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975)

1) Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the theoretical framework that undergirds this study. The study focuses on public policy implementation and gender and development theories. These theories are used to critically analyse the implementation of gender mainstreaming within the National Department of Social Development (DSD). Over the years of the democratic government, great strides were made in developing a progressive legislative and policy framework for the achievement of gender equality. The National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality is a guiding policy document for the pursuit of the goal of gender equality through different strategies, including gender mainstreaming. However, policy implementation does not always correspond with policy objectives and this undermines the impact that a policy has on the lives of people.

2) Understanding public policy

Public policy is defined by Michael E. Kraft and Scott R. Furlong as “a course of government action or inaction in response to public problems. It is associated with formally approved policy goals and means as well as regulations and practices of agencies that implement programs” (Kraft and Furlong, 2007: 5). Robert M. Friedman defines public policy as “authoritative decisions that are made in the legislative, executive, or judicial branches of government that are intended to direct or influence the actions, behaviors, or decisions of others” (Friedman, 1999: 1-2). He stresses that the development of policy should be coupled with a strong implementation plan that is well carried out for it to have any meaningful impact.

Marilyn Taylor (2003: 106-108) discusses different views of public policy. The first view believes that the policy process is a rational, scientific, technical and managerial process that goes through a cyclical process. This process starts with the identification of objectives, followed by the development and implementation of plans to meet these objectives by systematic monitoring and evaluation, which feeds back into the development of future plans (top-down approach). Helga Pulz and Oliver Treib (2006: 3-5) stated that the top-down theorists believed that policy implementation was purely an apolitical administrative process which required clear and accurate bureaucratic procedures, adequate resources, clear responsibilities for implementers, as well as control.

Drawing on Philip Haynes' (1999) work on chaos and complexity theory, policy-making is viewed as a "complex process that is concerned with the negotiation of competing and conflicting interests and that there can be many points of engagement"- bottom-up approach (Taylor, 2003: 106-108). Parsons (1995: 462) feels that "policy-making does not come to an end once a policy is set out or approved. Policy is being made as it is being administered and administered as it is being made". The bottom-up approach means that policy implementation cannot be separated from policy formulation. This approach brought to the debate the role of street-level bureaucrats and their discretion in carrying out their roles and thus challenging the notion of hierarchical control (Pulz and Treib, 2006: 5-6).

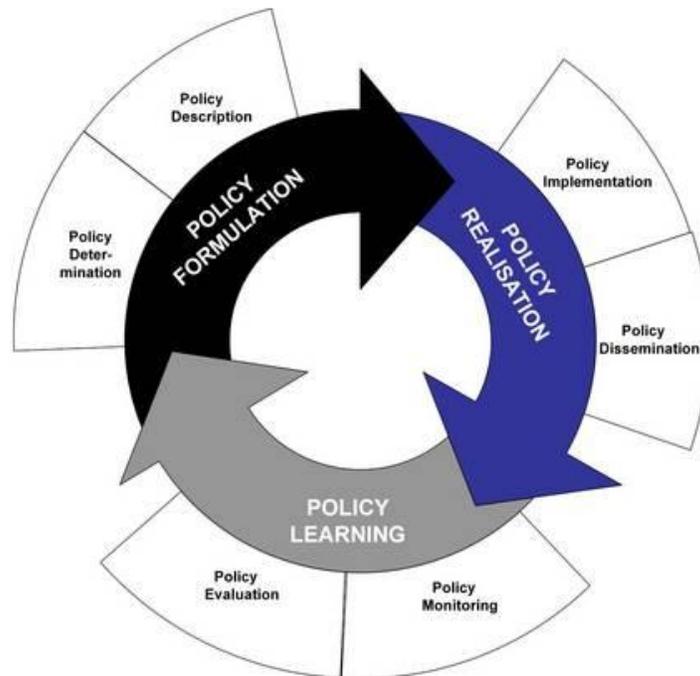


Figure 2: Public Policy Cycle (www.transport-era.net/about-ent/description-o...)

The complexity of the policy process involves values and politics that are brought to bear in implicit as well as explicit ways and overlaps between policy design and implementation stages.

It is hard enough to design public policies and programmes that look good on paper. It is harder still to formulate them in words and slogans that resonate pleasingly in the ears of political leaders and the constituencies to which they are responsive. And it is excruciatingly hard to implement them in a way that pleases anyone at all, including the supposed beneficiaries or clients (Bardach, 1977: 3, cited in Cloete and Wissink, 2000: 168).

Even though policy implementation is often not given the same status as policy formulation, it is a critical stage of translating government policy into reality and is as political as policy formulation.

3) Policy implementation

Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 447), cited in Friedman (1999: 3), define policy implementation as “those actions by public or private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions”. This definition means that policy implementation is a purposeful process, the aim of which is the accomplishment of policy goals. Cloete and Wissink (2000: 177) citing Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), explain that, “as a noun, implementation is the state of having achieved the goals of the policy. As a verb, it is a process – everything that happens in trying to achieve that policy objective. Thus, just because implementation (noun) is not achieved does not mean that implementation (verb) does not happen”. The present study

defines implementation in the verb form to understand the ongoing process of gender mainstreaming implementation in the DSD.

Policy implementation is not a neat, coherent and problem-free process. It is a complex, value-laden process, riddled with politics and power struggles. It requires much discussion and investigation for it to be handled more appropriately. Even this begs the question, who handles it more appropriately? John Montgomery states:

Politicians and officials do not always intend policies to succeed...development policies have served many purposes, not all of which are compatible with the presumed objective of improving immediate social conditions. Politicians may be satisfied with a policy that fails to achieve its stated goals if it succeeds in affirming public confidence in their tenure of office. Administrators, too, can be pleased with programmes that enhance their bureaucratic resources or status even though they have little impact (Montgomery, n.d: 4).

Eugene Bardach (1977: 56), cited in Parsons (1995:470-471), was of the opinion that “implementation is a game of bargaining, persuasion, and maneuvering under conditions of uncertainty”. Parsons emphasised that policy implementation is not just a technical bureaucratic process, but a political process taking place within the domain of unelected power. Michael Lipsky (1980) introduced the concept of street-level bureaucrats (SLBs) and the role they play in policy implementation, in line with Parsons’ opinions. Lipsky says:

the decisions of street level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out...public policy is not best understood as made in legislatures or top-floor suites of high ranking administrators, because in important ways it is actually made in the crowded offices and

daily encounters of street level workers...Citizens directly experience government through them, and their actions are the policies provided by government in important respects (Lipsky, 1980: xii, xvi).

Lipsky (1980: 13) felt that the SLBs make policy in two related respects, in that they exercise wide discretion in making decisions about citizens they interact with and determine the nature, amount and quality of benefits and sanctions meted out by their organizations. These work situations are too complicated to reduce to programmatic formats. SLBs will also circumvent reforms they view as limiting their discretion. Jerome Murphy, cited by Patton (1997: 201), concurs with the argument that it is incorrect to assume that “competently led bureaucracies would operate like goal-directed, unitary decision makers”. The SLBs do not simply follow directives but do what makes sense to them in their circumstances.

Patton (1997: 196) states that what gets implemented does not always match set policy goals and it is important to ascertain the level of accepted diversion and the conditions that necessitate such diversion. He stipulates that, to understand whether the policy was successful or not, implementation analysis needs to be conducted. It involves “finding out what is actually happening in the programme. Of what does the programme consist? What are the key characteristics? Who is participating? What do staff do? What do participants experience? What’s working and what’s not working? What is the program?” Similarly, Parsons (1995: 462) feels that “a study of implementation is a study of change: how change occurs, possibly how it may be induced”. Implementation analysis is about

assessing the extent to which a programme is being implemented and the factors that enable or constrain successful implementation.

3.1. Conditions that enable successful policy implementation

Cloete and Wissink (2000); Kraft and Furlong (2007); Weimer and Vining (2005) and Parsons (1995) present conditions that enable and/or constrain policy implementation. Their arguments enhance each other, as some go further than others and these will form the basis of this study's analysis. Cloete and Wissink (2000) provide the themes for analysis of this study, as their 5 protocols for successful implementation are broad enough and encompass the other factors discussed by the scholars mentioned above.

In appreciation of the complexity of policy implementation, Cloete and Wissink (2000: 179-185) use a combination of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to public policy. They present the 5C Protocols essential for successful implementation, a synthesis of the work of many scholars of policy implementation.

1. Content - refers to the articulation of the ends and specific means towards the achievements of the stated ends (179-180).
2. Context - refers to the institutional context, as well as the larger social, political and legal realities of the system enabling the implementation of the policy (180-181).
3. Commitment - refers to the commitment and ability of SLBs to carry out their responsibilities (181).

4. Capacity - refers to the availability of human, financial, material, technological, logistical and other resources. The resource question is, in itself, political, as questions of who gets what, when, how, where and from whom need to be asked (181-182).
5. Clients and coalitions - refer to the identification and bringing on board of key stakeholders affected by the policy or those who have special interests who could support the implementation of the policy (185).

Kraft and Furlong (2007: 82) present similar conditions to those discussed above, synthesized in three broad categories;

1. Organization - the establishment of resources, offices and methods of administering a programme.
2. Interpretation - the translation of the programme's language, plans, directives and regulatory requirements into a language that will be understood by those affected.
3. Application - the development of programme details, routine provision of services, payments or other agreed upon programme objectives or instruments.

Weimer and Vining (2005: 275-279) present three factors which could either enable or constrain policy implementation. These are the logic of the policy (is the theory reasonable?); assembly (who has the essential elements?); and the availability of fixers (who will manage the assembly?).

1. The logic of the policy refers to the characteristics of the policy and the circumstances of its adoption. The more legal authority and political support the policy has, the greater the chances of its success.
2. Assembly – the more varied the actors and elements to be assembled are, the greater the potential for implementation problems.
3. Availability of fixers – implementation actors may fail to assemble some elements because of incompetence or inability to mobilize support necessary for the success of implementation, as well as the disposition of implementers. Fixers (from within or outside the organization) intervene by providing needed elements and assume an oversight role.

Parsons (1995: 486), like the other authors, stresses that communication, adequate implementation structures, implementer disposition, support of allies and an enabling socio-economic and political environment are critical for effective implementation. He adds that a causal theory of how change is to be effected is also important. Parsons (ibid) draws from both top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation and feels that effective implementation requires the articulation of clear and consistent objectives; legally structured implementation structures to enhance compliance; committed and skilful implementers; support of interest groups and socio-economic and political conditions that do not undermine the policy.

Whilst the factors discussed above enable policy implementation, they could have a reverse effect, that of hindering policy implementation. The following section examines critical constraints to successful policy implementation.

3.2. Conditions which constrain successful policy implementation

This discussion presents various factors which constrain policy implementation and gives a more comprehensive view of what hinders policy implementation. Patton (1997: 202) presents a number of factors:

1. The lack of assessing the feasibility of implementation and a lack of correct conceptualization of policy implementation by decision-makers results in policies not being implemented as intended.
2. The human element is often not considered in policy implementation. Implementers make mistakes, power struggles develop and personalities clash, which have a negative effect on implementation.
3. What gets implemented does not always match with original goals and plans, as the implementation process contains “unknowns that change the ideal so that it looks different when and if it actually becomes operational”.

Patton (1997) feels that the ideal for policy implementation would be to address all these problems. Patton includes an excerpt that clearly articulates the struggles of implementation.

The objective of all dedicated department employees should be to thoroughly analyze all situations, anticipate all problems prior to their occurrence, have answers for these problems, and move swiftly to solve these problems when called upon...However...when you are up to your ass in alligators, it is difficult to remind yourself that your initial objective was to drain the swamp (Patton, 1997: 202).

According to Kaufman (1986), cited in Cloete and Wissink (2000: 71), non-implementation of policy is a result of three factors.

1. Subordinates do not know what their superiors want.
2. They cannot do what their superiors want.
3. They refuse to do what their superiors want.

Taiwo Makinde (2005: 63-64) argues that implementation problems arise whenever the following crucial factors for implementation are missing:

1. Communication – a lack of clear and consistent communication of what needs to be implemented creates implementation problems.
2. Resources - if adequate human (adequate number and competent staff) and material resources (relevant and adequate information, the authority to ensure accountability and facilities to support the implementation) are not made available implementation will be hindered.
3. Disposition - if the SLBs view the policy as hindering their organizational or personal interests they will resist, delay or subvert it.

4. Bureaucratic structures – lack of proper co-ordination of implementation actors may hinder successful implementation, especially in policy areas with varied elements to be assembled.

Policy implementation is a complex and nuanced process of translating stated policy goals into programmes and services for the intended beneficiaries. Crucial to the articulation of intended goals is how these goals are to be met, and setting in motion mechanisms and processes that support the implementation of policy. This is especially so in contested policy goals such as gender equality. Gendering public policy demands not only the enactment of specific gender policies but an integration of gender in all government policies and implementation processes. This is further discussed below.

4) Gender and public policy

Wakeman *et al.* (1996: 8-9) cite Caroline Moser in her book *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*, stating, “if policy is about what to do, then planning is how to do it, the organization of implementation is about what is actually done...Policy making is the process of social and political decision making about how to allocate resources for the needs and interests of society, concluding the formulation of a policy strategy”. Wakeman *et al.* recommended that policies should not only state the goals but also how these are to be achieved. They elaborate on how they are informed by gender issues. They say that if gender issues are not considered at the policy level, it is not likely that they will be considered at the project level.

Gender in public policy stems from a long history of advocacy for women's inclusion in development discourse, dating back to the 1950s. In the 1980s there was a move from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD) approaches. WID focused on the contribution of women in development and advocated their inclusion in development programmes. This approach was criticised for its narrow focus on women without considering the contexts from which they came. The GAD proponents advocated for a focus not just on women but also on men and relations between them. They felt that the power relationships between men and women influenced the involvement of women in development, or lack thereof. The GAD approach conceded that even though women's and men's roles differ, they are nonetheless part of the same context (Wakeman *et al.*, 1996: 9-11).

According to Connelly *et al.* (2000: 62), in their paper "Feminism and Development: Theoretical Perspectives", 'GAD recognizes that women are deeply affected by the nature of patriarchal power in their societies at the national, community and household levels, as well as their position in national, regional and global economies'. They emphasise that the GAD approach concerns itself with studying both the condition of women and patriarchal structures which define and entrench the subordination of women. GAD acknowledges how development policies and programmes impact on women and men differently and insist on recognizing the agency of women in their own development and that of others.

Beverley Haddad (2000) states that government has an important role in promoting the emancipation of women. She asserts that the GAD approach is concerned with the transformation of structures and insists on the necessity of mainstreaming gender into all levels of society. She makes the point that GAD has been adopted by the South African government, expressed in a number of policies and structures that monitor gender equity. This is primarily the reason why the GAD framework is being used for the present study.

The GAD approach makes advocacy and participatory knowledge claims and calls for the transformation of power relations between men and women. The GAD approach embraces politics and a political agenda recognizing that policy implementation of gender equality goals is as political as policy formulation. The GAD theories point out that policies need to include gender concerns at formulation, to ensure that these are implemented. Gender mainstreaming, as a strategy for the achievement of gender equality, is an ongoing process, the implementation of which requires continuous evaluation, lobbying and advocacy for improvement.

5) Approaches to gender mainstreaming in the Public Service

Gender mainstreaming as a strategy towards the achievement of gender equality is conceptualized and approached differently. Sylvia Walby (2003: 4) makes a distinction between agenda setting and integrationist approaches to gender mainstreaming. Agenda setting approaches, as with (or based on) the GAD approach, calls for the transformation of the mainstream policy paradigms and decision-making processes, whilst the

integrationist approaches seek to introduce a gender perspective without challenging the existing policy paradigm. Integrationist approaches are more in line with WID approaches that argued for the inclusion of women in development without seeking the transformation of contexts characterized by unequal power relations between men and women.

At a United Nations Workshop on Approaches and Methodologies for Gender Mainstreaming, held in New York from 27 February – 2 March 2001, a number of papers were presented highlighting different organizational approaches and lessons learned on gender mainstreaming. The following discussion will provide a summary of some of these papers. Thelma Kay (2001: 47-48) stated that three questions need to be asked in gender mainstreaming;

1. What kind of gender mainstreaming do we want or, more realistically, can we get? She echoes Walby's (2003) opinion that gender mainstreaming approaches could either be agenda setting (seeking to transform the driving force of development policies) or integrationist (integrating gender issues in existing programmes without altering the agenda).
2. What approaches should we use? These would include incremental approaches focusing on promoting gradual internal changes and deterring disengagement tendencies.
3. What strategies should we use? Sustained involvement of all entities, establishment and strengthening of institutional mechanisms and processes,

working with strategic allies, as well as competency building and support to staff, are all strategies that enhance the implementation of gender mainstreaming.

Wariara Mbugua (2001: 40) presented lessons on effecting gender mainstreaming within the United Nations Population Fund, which have a bearing on the Public Service;

1. The leader's commitment to gender equality in setting minimum standards, creating accountability measures and ensuring adherence to these.
2. Explicit unambiguous policy and goals.
3. Earmarked funds and ensuring that gender concerns are addressed in all other programmes.
4. Clear and adequately staffed structures to champion gender concerns.
5. Addressing gender issues at the initial stages of any intervention.
6. Developing gender competencies.
7. Adapting and changing strategies according to changing contexts.
8. The establishment of external allies to ensure both a barometer and catalyst contribution.

Carolyn Hannan (2001: 52-53) insists that the following key constraints to gender mainstreaming need to be addressed:

1. Lack of conceptual understanding of gender equality hinders the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming.
2. Poor knowledge of inter-governmental mandates on gender mainstreaming.
3. Lack of knowledge on the linkages between gender and the areas of work of the different departments.

4. Lack of capacity to incorporate gender perspectives.

Sissel Ekaas (2001: 32) stressed that, in order to make progress, gender mainstreaming must be linked with the overall programme planning, budgeting, monitoring, reporting and evaluation. She recommended that verifiable gender sensitive indicators need to be developed, monitoring responsibilities should be clearly communicated; regular progress reports should be made on gender mainstreaming and there must be a separation of gender mainstreaming in technical work and gender balance in staffing.

6) Conclusion

Policy implementation is a critical stage of the policy cycle during which policy goals are translated into programmes for beneficiaries. Initially, policy theorists conceptualized policy implementation as a value-free, technical process of realizing policy goals but, over the years of implementation studies, the recognition of the complexity of policy implementation has come to the fore. Scholars and practitioners acknowledge the politics involved in policy implementation, which could either enable or constrain successful implementation of the policy.

Policy implementation is enabled by a range of variables which include the organizational or broader societal context within which the policy is being implemented, the content of the policy itself, the commitment of implementers, the human, financial

and material capacity of implementers and the coalitions with key stakeholders who have an interest in the successful implementation of the policy.

The gender and policy theorists state that policies need to articulate gender concerns and need to explain how these would be addressed from the conceptual or design levels through to implementation. GAD theorists argue not for a mere inclusion of women's concerns in development, but also for the transformation of policy dynamics and decision-making.

The context for gender equality work within the South African government is enabled by the Constitution. The Constitution enshrines the rights to gender equality and is the basis for the Legislative and Policy Frameworks on gender equality and women's empowerment which are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

Legislative and Policy Framework

“We need a national attitude revolution that will challenge us to see women as our first recruitment choices for positions above our male counterparts, and not a second alternative which is regarded as malicious compliance, but because of their suitability and competence”.

(Richard Levin, 2008)

1) Introduction

The first part of this chapter consists of an account of the history of the concept of gender mainstreaming, within the context of global, African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC), followed by the South African legislative and policy framework for gender equality. The discussion on institutional mechanisms flows from the South Africa’s National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality, which provides for the creation of structures and processes to support and monitor the implementation of the government’s gender programme.

The mainstreaming of gender within the Department of Social Development (DSD) is described. Key strategic documents launched to drive this process are highlighted, viz. the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines (DSD, 2007) and the Women’s Empowerment and Gender Policy (DSD, 2010). This discussion includes official progress reports of the

DSD on gender mainstreaming, as well as the commitments of the current Strategic Plan 2010/2015 towards the achievement of gender equality.

2) Global policy context for gender mainstreaming

The concept of gender mainstreaming gained momentum at the United Nations (UN) Third World Conference on Women, held in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985. This conference and two previous ones, held in Mexico City in 1975 and Copenhagen in 1980, called for the establishment of national machineries to promote the status of women. The Decade for Women (1976-1985) focused on women-specific issues and, by the time of the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, the discussion had shifted to gender equality (Rai, 2003: 1-2). The Beijing conference called for international promotion of gender mainstreaming through the integration of a gender perspective in all policies and programmes in order to consider their effects on both men and women (UN, 1995: 25-26).

The consideration of policy impacts on women has been largely with hindsight. Gender mainstreaming not only calls for a biased consideration of women in policy processes, but the inclusion of men as well. South Africa is a signatory to a range of international conventions affirming gender equality, including the Beijing Platform of Action and CEDAW (Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women) and reports on progress every four years.

3) The African Union: efforts on gender equality

The African Union's commitment to gender equality includes the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, 2004. This is an important instrument to ensure that the gender equality agenda remains alive at the highest political levels within African governments. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), July 2001, has as one of its objectives the aim of accelerating the empowerment of women. "Promoting the role of women in social and economic development by reinforcing their capacity in the domains of education and training; by developing revenue generating activities through facilitating access to credit; and by assuring their participation in the political and economic life of African countries" (NEPAD, 2001: 10).

The AU adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa in July 2003. This Protocol commits member states to the elimination of discrimination against women and equal participation in decision-making through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures (AU, 2003: 4). The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, 30 January 2007, recognizes the role of women in the development and strengthening of democracy and calls for their full and active participation in decision-making processes and advocates gender parity in representation at all levels, including the legislatures (AU, 2007: 12).

4) The Southern African Development Community (SADC)

Following the Beijing conference in 1995, SADC signed the Gender and Development Declaration in 1997. The Declaration commits member states to the equal representation of women and men in decision-making positions of states and SADC structures at all levels, with a target of 30% by 2005; promoting women's full access to, and control over, productive resources to reduce the level of poverty among women; repealing and reforming all laws; amending constitutions and changing social practices which still subject women to discrimination and taking urgent measures to prevent and deal with increasing levels of violence against women and children (SADC, 1997: 1).

In 2005, SADC members committed themselves to a target of 50% women in decision-making positions, aligned to that of the AU's Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa 2004. The SADC Regional Integration Strategic Implementation Framework (2006-2010) is based on the SADC Declaration and is aimed at achieving gender equality and equity through gender mainstreaming and women's empowerment.

The Official SADC Trade, Industry and Investment Review of 2006 hails the SADC region as a "trendsetter" in the implementation of a gender programme, particularly in the areas of increasing women's participation in politics and decision-making. The Review points to gaps and challenges, which include the inadequacy of laws, systems and services for addressing gender violence, as well as contradictions present in all SADC

countries between customary law and codified law concerning women's rights (The Official SADC Trade, Industry and Investment Review, 2006: 1).

The SADC Gender Protocol was adopted in Johannesburg on 17 August 2008. It is a legally binding document, which commits member states to ensuring that gender transformation happens in their countries, both in government and civil society, by setting specific targets in various aspects to redress gender inequalities. This is a step forward for the SADC region and builds on previous efforts of ensuring that gender remains on the agenda of this Community. The Protocol calls states to enshrine gender equality and equity in national constitutions, to repeal all discriminatory laws and ensure 50% women representation in political and decision-making positions by 2015. It makes bold commitments, including abolishing the minority status of women by 2015 and requires member states to report on progress every two years.

5) The National Legislative and Policy Framework for gender equality in South Africa

The advent of democracy after the general elections in 1994 brought liberation for all South Africans. The new democratic government conceptualized gender equality as central to the realization of democracy in the country and this is entrenched in the new Constitution. The Constitution attests that SA is an independent state, founded on the values of "human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms; non-racialism and non-sexism" (Constitution No 108 of 1996).

Chapter II, Section 9, of the Bill of Rights outlines the equality commitment:

1. Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.
2. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination, may be taken.
3. The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.
4. No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.
5. Discrimination on one or more grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair, unless it is established that the discrimination is fair.

The Constitution addresses the weak position of women in law and society. Ntlama (2001) explained that, in enforcing the Constitution, the Constitutional Court has worked to give meaning and content to the concept of the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. “It has rejected the same or identical treatment standard of equality and has recognized that not every instance of different treatment will result in inequality and that identical treatment may produce serious inequality..interpreted the equality clause in a

manner that takes into account South Africa's history of exclusions and inequalities” (Ntlama, 2001: 3).

The government further changed and amended a range of laws and policies to integrate gender equality concerns. Table I shows the legislative and policy framework that redresses the imbalances of the past based on gender and race and creates an enabling environment for gender equality.

Table 1: Legal and Policy Framework

Family	Criminal	Employment	Health	Access to property	Education and training	General equality	Others
Divorce Courts Amendment Act No 65 of 1997	Criminal Law Amendment Act No. 105 of 1997	Occupational Health & Safety Act No. 85 of 1993	Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act No. 92 of 1998 The Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Amendment Act No 38 of 2004	Housing Act No. 107 of 1997	The National Education Act No. 27 of 1996	Independent Broadcasting Amendment Act No. 153 of 1993	Electoral Commission Act 51 of 1996
Maintenance Act No 99 of 1998	Prevention of Organized Crime Act No. 121 of 1998	Labour Relations Amendment Act No. 127 of 1998	Sterilization Act No. 44 of 1998	Housing Second Amendment Act No. 60 of 1999	Further Education and Training Act No. 98 of 1998	Film and Publication Act No. 65 of 1996	Public Funding of Represented Political Parties Act No. 103 of 1997
Marriage Act, Extension Act No 50 of 1997	Prevention of Organized Crime Amendment Act No. 24 of 1999	Labour Relations Act No. 66 of 1995	National Health Act, 2004 (no. 61 of 2003)	Rental Housing Act No. 50 of 1999	South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996	South African Citizenship Amendment Act No. 69 of 1997	Electoral Act No. 73 of 1998
Domestic Violence Act No 116 of 1998	Witness Protection Act No. 112 of 1998	Unemployment Insurance Act No. 30 of 1997	Traditional Health Practitioners Act, No 35 of 2004)	Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act No.19 of 1998	Skills Development Act No. 97 of 1998	Telecommunications Act No. 103 of 1996	Commission on Gender Equality Act, 1996 (Act 39 of 1996)
Recognition of Customary Marriages Act No. 120 of 1998	Criminal Procedure Amendment Acts No. 85 and 76 of 1997	Basic Conditions of Employment Act No. 75 of 1997		National Forests Act No. 84 of 1998	Higher Education Act No. 101 of 1997	Births and Death Registration Act No. 51 of 1992 and Amendment Act No. 67 of 1997	The Social Assistance Act 13 of 2004
Natural Fathers of Children Born out of Wedlock Act No. 86 of 1997	Sexual Offences Act No. 32 of 2007.	Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998		Land Restitution and Reform Laws Amendment Act No. 63 of 1997 & 18 of 1999	Education Laws Amendment Act No. 100 of 1997		The South African Social Security Agency Act 9 of 2004
Adoption Matters Amendment Act No. 56 of 1998		Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act No. 63 of 2003		Extension of Security of Tenure Act No. 62 of 1997	Skills Development Levies Act No 9 of 1999		The Water Services Act Act 108 of 1997
		Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act No. 4 of 2000		The Land Bank Amendment Act, No 21 of 1998			The National Development Agency Act of 1998
		Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act No 53 of 2003		Home Loan and Mortgage Disclosure Act No 63 of 2000			Non-Profit Organizations Amendment Act, 2000 Act 17 of 2000)
		-					Intestate Succession Act, 1987 (Act 81 of 1987)

(Adapted from South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality and the Policy +10 Review of the South African Population Policy 2009)

South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (OSW, 2000) is the policy document on gender equality for the country. This policy framework provides a roadmap for gender equality work. The main objectives of the policy framework are to:

- Create an enabling policy environment for translating government commitment to gender equality into a reality.
- Establish policies, programmes, structures and mechanisms to empower women and to transform gender relations in all aspects of work, at all levels of government, as well as within the broader society.
- Ensure that gender considerations are effectively integrated into all aspects of government policies, activities and programmes.
- Establish an institutional framework for the advancement of the status of women as well as the achievement of gender equality.
- Advocate the promotion of new attitudes, values and behaviour and a culture of respect for all human beings, in line with the new policy (OSW, 2000:5).

The National Policy Framework also provides for the establishment of institutional arrangements to support and monitor the implementation of gender equality laws and policies.

6) The National Gender Machinery

During the transitional period to a democratic South Africa, women's organizations lobbied for women's interests to become part of the debate concerning rights in the development of the new Constitution. The Women's National Coalition (WNC) developed the Charter for Women's Effective Equality, which became a catalyst for the inclusion of women in parliamentary elections.¹ The WNC also proposed that the State should include a package of institutions which included a Women's Caucus, the Office on the Status of Women (OSW) and Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), to promote and protect gender equality. These institutions were later established, forming part of the National Gender Machinery (Meintjies, 2005: 232). The National Gender Machinery (NGM) was co-ordinated by the OSW which has now been replaced by the Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities. However, there still exist OSW offices in the provinces. The NGM is tasked with the following responsibilities;

- Achievement of equality for women as active citizens, decision-makers and beneficiaries in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres of life. Women most in need of social upliftment must be given priority;
- Development and implementation of mechanisms through which South Africa can meet its constitutional, sub-regional, regional and international commitments towards gender equality, human rights and social justice;
- Transformation of existing institutional values, norms and cultures which hinder gender equality;

¹ The Charter had twelve articles-equality; law and the administration of justice; the economy; education and training; development infrastructure and the environment; social services; political and civil life; family life and partnerships; custom, culture and religion; violence against women; health and media.

- Enactment of laws that take into account the needs and aspirations of women;
- Development of strategic objectives for implementing such laws and policies;
- Adoption of effective management information systems to ensure that those who implement policy receive adequate, appropriate and relevant training and development;
- Development of clear performance indicators in line with priority areas to ensure effective monitoring and evaluation of progress;
- Allocation of resources for the benefit of women in rural and urban areas and mechanisms ensuring that these resources reach them (OSW, 2000: vii-viii).

Table 2: National Gender Machinery

<p style="text-align: center;">Government</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Presidency</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Department for Women, Children and People with Disabilities</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Department of Public Service and Administration</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Provincial Offices on the Status of Women</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gender Focal Points in line Departments</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gender Focal Points in Local Government Structures</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Office on the Status of Women (in provinces)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Independent Statutory Bodies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Constitutional Court</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The other courts</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Commission on Gender Equality (CGE)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SA Law Commission</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Public Protector</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Land Commission</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Truth Commission</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Youth Commission</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Independent Electoral Commission</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Public Service Commission</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Financial and Fiscal Commission</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Legislature</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Women’s Empowerment Unit (WEU)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Parliamentary Women’s Group (PWG)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Portfolio Committee for Women, Children, Youth and Persons with Disabilities.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Select Committee for Women, Children, Youth and Persons with Disabilities (NCOP)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Provincial Women’s Caucus</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Cabinet</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Departments</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Civil Society</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NGOs</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Religious Bodies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CONTRALESA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SALGA</p>

According to the National Policy Framework, the principal structures are the OSW, GFP, CGE and various organs of civil society. The framework outlines the following functions for the GFPs in Departments;

- To ensure that each Department implements the national gender policy.
- To ensure that gender issues are routinely considered in Departmental strategic planning exercises.
- To ensure that Departments reflect gender considerations in their business plans and routinely report on them.
- To review Departmental policy and planning in line with the National Gender Policy Framework.
- To review all policies, projects and programmes for their gender implications.
- To ensure that Departments provide and use gender disaggregated data in their work.
- To establish mechanisms to link and liaise with civil society.
- To co-ordinate gender training and education of all staff within Departments so as to ensure that gender is integrated into all aspects of the work.
- To monitor and evaluate Departmental projects and programmes to assess whether or not they are consistent with the national gender policy (OSW, 2000: 29).

Currently, all government Departments, as well as provinces, have GFPs tasked with assisting Departments in mainstreaming gender in their policies and programmes. The National Policy Framework advocates the regularization of location of these units within

Departments and recommends that they be located in the Director-General's offices for access to all programmes and officials.

7) Gender mainstreaming within the South African Public Service

The Department of Public Service Administration (DPSA) is responsible for the transformation of the Public Service into a more equitable institution. It is tasked with Public Service administration, ensuring Public Service excellence and the promotion of good governance in all government departments. DPSA developed the Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006-2015). "The fundamental objective of the Framework is to spearhead the creation of an enabling environment that would facilitate the development of strategies, mechanisms and interventions by government Departments and provincial administrations to achieve the strategic objective of women's empowerment and gender equality" (DPSA, 2006: 9).

The Framework provides that gender equality issues should be central in policy decisions, medium-term plans, programmes, budgets, institutional structures and processes. Government Departments are expected to integrate gender issues in their service delivery work and structures. The Framework seeks to make the ideal and mandate of gender equality and equity a reality for the women of South Africa. It outlines that, in mainstreaming, experiences, interests and perceptions of both men and women are brought to bear in policy-making, planning and decision-making. The Framework's objectives for gender mainstreaming in the public service include:

- “analytical reports and recommendations on policy and operational issues within each line function and area of responsibility should take gender differences and disparities fully into account.
- policy and strategy analytic approaches ensure gender differences and equality are among the factors considered in assessing trends, problems, and possible policy outcomes.
- specific Departmental strategies should be formulated for gender mainstreaming;
- systematic use of gender analysis, sex–disaggregation of data and, where appropriate, commissioning sector-specific gender studies and surveys.
- medium-term plans and budgets should be prepared in such a manner that gender perspectives and gender equality issues are explicit.
- procedures and work processes give attention to gender equality issues at critical decision-making steps of normal work routines, such as those related to preparing parliamentary documentation, establishing expert groups, commissioning research, planning technical assistance activities.
- managers take an active role in providing guidance to staff about the objectives and responsibilities of gender mainstreaming and create a supportive environment for staff to explore issues of gender equality” (DPSA, 2006: 16-17).

The DPSA launched an 8 Principle Plan of Action for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment for Heads of Departments (HODs) on 27 August 2007. This plan seeks to ensure accountability and responsibility for performance agreements of HODs in the following areas: transformation for non-sexism; establishing a policy environment;

meeting equity targets; creating an enabling environment; mainstreaming gender; empowerment of women; providing adequate human, physical and financial resources and accountability, reporting, monitoring and evaluation. All government Departments were expected to achieve a target of 50% for women in senior management levels by 31 March 2009 (Cabinet Memo 2005). This target has, however, been missed and has been extended to 2015.

On 18-19 August 2008, the Public Service Gender Indaba was launched in Boksburg, with the theme “Engendering the Public Service Policy”. The former Minister for the DPSSA, Geraldine Fraser Moleketi, said that the objective of the Gender Indaba was to “promote and raise awareness of women’s role in the Public Service which supports key areas of economic growth, creates a policy environment and opportunities to support the development of women.... This means that the vision is to create an environment where women and men meaningfully participate in ensuring that the work of the Public Service is taken forward” (Fraser-Moleketi, 2008: 5). She went on to say that, critical to the proper functioning of democracy, was equal access for both men and women to power, decision-making and leadership at all levels.

8) Gender mainstreaming in the National Department of Social Development

The DSD, like other Departments, is expected to work towards gender equality as prescribed in the National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality and the Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service

(2006-2015). The GFP in the Department is located in the Branch: Strategy and Governance and not in the DG's office, as recommended by the National Policy Framework. The gender mainstreaming agenda of the DSD is drawn from the National Policy Framework. In its efforts to implement this national mandate, the DSD, through the Gender Focal Point (GFP), developed the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines (GMGs).

These GMGs (2007: 2) provide broad strokes of what the different branches (see Figure 1: 11) of the Department could do to mainstream gender in their focus areas, pointing out that the detail needs to be developed for specific interventions. They recommended bringing gender into the mainstream of activities of the DSD. The Guidelines also indicate that the Department provides development services to communities where gender disparities are glaring and it is therefore important that gender is mainstreamed, not only within the Department but in programmes and projects, to address inequalities among those who benefit from the services. Three main areas identified for gender mainstreaming in the DSD are: promoting women's empowerment and gender equality in service promotion (external transformation); raising public awareness about gender in dealing with clients and stakeholders in the private and community sectors (both internal and external transformation); promoting women's empowerment and gender equality in the internal employment policies and practices (DSD, 2007: 2).

The DSD launched the Women's Empowerment and Gender Policy on 26 April 2010. The goal of this policy is "to promote and support the achievement of equality between

women and men and to ensure sustainable development. The policy aims to set up mechanisms and processes and to provide guidelines for the mainstreaming of gender, for the attainment of gender equality, and to eradicate inequalities of access to resources and benefits between women and men in the programmes and projects of the DSD”(DSD, 2010: 12). The objectives of the policy are:

- “To provide for the leadership of the DSD to take special measures and initiate interventions to promote non-sexism, equal opportunity of access and control, for both women and men, to resources, knowledge, information and services and to facilitate corrective measures to addressing existing inequalities.
- To promote gender equality through representivity across all job categories and management levels, advance women’s equal participation with men as decision makers at all levels, as well as to ensure equal access by both women and men, people with disability, the elderly and children, to opportunities for economic development and other benefits accruing from the programmes and projects of the DSD and those of its agencies such as the South African Social Security Agency and the National Development Agency.
- To guide the provision of adequate resources for the mainstreaming of gender through gender responsive budgeting, upgrading of the Gender Unit to a Chief Directorate and providing it with adequate financial, human and other material resources.
- To ensure that the DSD takes measures to eradicate all forms of discrimination in the Department’s processes and practices, including in recruitment, selection,

employment and the retention of female and male employees, as well as to ensure that there is zero tolerance towards sexual harassment.

- To provide for capacity building within the DSD for the review of all Departmental processes and programming for gender responsiveness and use of these Departmental policies and guiding documents towards the attainment of gender equality.
- To further provide for capacity building of DSD personnel on SA Equality Laws, other gender-related national, sub-regional, regional and international instruments that the SA government has committed to implement.
- To ensure that the programmes of the DSD take into consideration the different roles and needs/interests of women and men, including their parenting roles by creating a family friendly environment.
- To promote the use of the 8 point priority Plan as a means of awareness creation on gender, and of establishing standards, criteria and gender impact indicators required to monitor.
- To establish standards and criteria required to monitor, evaluate and ensure the follow-up of progress is realized in mainstreaming gender equality and empowerment of women” (DSD, 2010: 14-15).

The Director-General of the DSD, Mr Vusi Madonsela, presented the progress report in the implementation of the DPSA’s 8 Principle Plan of Action for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment for HODs at the Public Service Gender Indaba in August 2009. He reported that the staff complement of DSD is made up of 65% professional women.

Women in senior management constitute 47%. According to the 2007/2008 DSD Employment Equity Report, the staff complement was 64.3% women and 35.8% men. In the top/executive management there were 4 women and 6 men and the senior management was composed of 48% women and 52% men (DSD, 2008). Mr Madonsela reported on progress made in the Department, including the finalization of the Sexual Harassment and Disability Policies, the development of a Women's Strategy, the extension of the child support grant with women being the major recipients, equalizing access to the old-age grant for men and women, ensuring that men of 60 years of age can access the grant. The DG concluded that the Department is doing well in mainstreaming gender internally and in programme delivery. He said that the Department is in a drive to recruit more male social workers, arguing that the Department is well on its way to implementing gender mainstreaming in its staff recruitment, development of policies and programming. He acknowledged that the culture of meetings and travelling in the Department remains a challenge for people with families (Madonsela, 2009).

The DSD Annual Report of 31 March 2009 reported on progress made in rendering social development services to the most vulnerable groups of society. The social safety net coverage rate rose from 2.5 million in 1994 to over 13 million in 2009. This included child support grants, foster care grants, disability and old-age grants, with women being the majority of recipients. In the year of the report, services to older persons, people with disabilities and children were intensified. A Strategy on the Engagement of Men and Boys in the prevention of gender-based violence was developed. The report records that the Expanded Public Works Programme target of 40% women and 30% youth jobs was

exceeded; a gender needs analysis study was completed and integrated into the new Women's Empowerment and Gender Policy; human trafficking work is underway; middle management were trained on gender budgeting and gender and masculinity.

The current Strategic Plan 2010/11-2014/15 asserts that 2010 marks the final phase of the removal of disparities in the qualifying age for the old age-grant between men and women applicants. The Strategic Plan presents the goal statements of the Department for the term, which include contributing to social cohesion by tackling substance abuse which results in violent behaviour; intensifying programmatic interventions geared towards gender based violence and the social impact of HIV and AIDS; reducing the risk of physical and sexual violence against women; promoting gender equality with a view to dismantling patriarchy, including addressing issues of masculinity. Gender mainstreaming training for the integration of gender in Integrated Development Plans of municipalities of presidential nodal areas will be conducted, as well as gender mainstreaming into social research for national and provincial Departments. Specific commitments of the Department through the GFP include the establishment of a sick-bay facility and implementation of gender strategies within the sector supported (2010/11); coaching and mentoring programme for women developed, gender responsiveness of the sector programmes audited (2011/12); child care facility and recreational facility designed and implemented, gender responsiveness of programmes improved (2012/13); child care and recreational facilities established, the implementation of Women's Empowerment and Gender Policy evaluated (2013/14); DSD Gender Policy reviewed, the review of sector gender policy supported (2014/15).

These are the efforts that the Department is committing to in the next few years. The DSD has, however, not conducted a systematic evaluation of how it is doing in mainstreaming gender in its policies and programmes and how these are received by members of staff and beneficiaries. In practice, the DSD does not know how well it is achieving its commitment to gender equality. The UK government Department of Foreign International Development (DFID) echoes this by saying that most organizations have policies that support gender equality, but many do not know how well they are achieving their commitments to gender equality (DFID, 2007: 2). It is for this reason that an implementation analysis of gender mainstreaming in the DSD was conducted.

9) Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming as a means of achieving the goal of gender equality stems from the lobbying and advocacy of women's organizations for the inclusion of women's issues in development at the UN World Conferences for Women. The institutionalization of gender mainstreaming through national gender machineries emerged from the Beijing Conference in 1995. The African Union, as well as the SADC communities, have committed their member states to the resolutions of the Beijing Conference and other UN Conventions on the elimination of discrimination against women.

The new South African government committed itself to gender equality from its advent. The Constitution clearly reinforces this commitment, by making unlawful all kinds of discrimination, including gender. The new government has enacted and amended laws

and policies to redress imbalances of the past, including race and gender, and has provided a legislative and policy framework for gender equality. The NGM's secretariat in the Presidency co-ordinates the gender work of the country. The DSD, mandated by the National Policy Framework, has established a GFP located in the Branch: Strategy and Governance, which has developed GMGs for mainstreaming gender within the Department and in service programmes and projects.

The next chapter briefly summarises a number of research studies that have been conducted on gender mainstreaming within government in South Africa as well as other countries.

Chapter 4

Literature Review

“Perhaps transformation from the top of a deeply patriarchal and classist state is going to lead to uneven achievements, with an excess of rhetoric and a minimum of implementation. In that case, contradiction may be the norm, and we are probably doing as well as can be expected under the circumstances”.

(Yvette Abrahams, 2008)

1) Introduction

Chapter 4 begins with a brief review of some international studies on the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies within governments and development agencies. This is followed by a review of South African studies, looking specifically at the structures, mechanisms, resources and processes put in place to support the gender mainstreaming programme of the government. The findings of the present study will be compared and contrasted with some of these studies.

2) Global experiences of gender mainstreaming in government

Toni Schofield and Susan Goodwin (2005: 9) reported on their study of gender dynamics in policy-making processes in the New South Wales public sector in Australia. They focused on the division of labour; power and authority; emotional relations and symbolization or representation. They concluded that policy-making continued to be

heavily male-dominated and that some of their respondents thought that gender needed to be addressed in gender-specific policy. Schofield and Goodwin (ibid) suggested that policy-making may be understood in terms of Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony:

At its heart is the normalization of political dominance and the generalization of dominant interests as the common interest. Through this process, the interests of a dominant minority come to be seen and accepted as securing those of the majority. This usually occurs through the routine practices that prevail in social institutions (including the institutions of the state)...Hegemony, then, is one of the most powerful mechanisms by which social hierarchy is maintained and reproduced because it is quintessentially *consensual*. Those who are accorded power in this way have no need to be coercive. The configuration of gender relations here constitutes a distinctive gender regime in which masculine presence, constituted by male dominance of the process, goes hand-in-hand with a culture of policy-making in which women's exclusion from participation is normalized and in which gender inequality is excluded as a concern for mainstream agenda setting (Schofield and Goodwin, 2005: 9).

The advancement of gender equality is not just a technical endeavour, but a political process. This understanding needs to inform implementation. Gender mainstreaming implementation is a political process which requires a degree of political skills and mobilization by implementers. Schofield and Goodwin (2005) concluded that "advancing gender equality in public policy making demands the development of a thoroughgoing understanding of the gender politics involved in the process". They caution that gender politics are not "generalized and uniform throughout the public sector. Their diversity is patterned according to the specific configurations of gendered organizational practices associated with the division of labour, the relations of power and authority, emotional

relations and symbolic representations that characterize policy-making processes” (ibid: 19-20).

Rekha Mehra and Geeta Rao Gupta’s (2006: 2) paper, “Gender Mainstreaming: Making it Happen”, states that, since its adoption, gender mainstreaming is yet to be fully implemented anywhere. Their reviews point at wide gaps between policy commitments and actual implementation. They stress that one of the major limitations of gender mainstreaming implementation is the understanding that all staff should be responsible for the implementation and success of gender mainstreaming. This, in their view, hampers implementation, as nobody becomes accountable for the implementation of gender mainstreaming. “Gender equality goals can be swept away by the mainstream instead of changing it” (ibid). They refer to the experience of the Dutch government in its attempts to mainstream gender in policy-making processes. The government closed all gender equality offices at local level, leaving none with any specific responsibilities, and this led to the disappearance of gender equality policies (ibid: 5).

Wakeman *et. al.* (1996) examined the Tanzanian government’s commitment to women and gender equality. They reported that Tanzania had dealt with women’s issues for many years, including the representation of women in senior positions in government. They looked at the water sector of Tanzania and found that even the NGOs that work with the Tanzanian government to implement water and sanitation projects had clear policies on involving women in development. “Yet, when it comes to implementation, women’s involvement is generally very limited”. They also criticised how the Women’s

office had been moved around in government and conceded that it is not given the status that it deserves (Wakeman *et al.*, 1996: 17).

Mona Lena Krook and Judith Squires (2006: 4) states that, despite the institutionalization of national machineries and the expedition of resources for gender equality, power differentials and conditions of dominance between men and women still exist. Mehra and Gupta (2006) point out that GFPs have not been successful in their mandate of ensuring that gender mainstreaming happens in government agencies because more often than not they are marginalized, tend not to be gender experts themselves and lack clout and influence. GFPs are inadequately resourced and struggle with competing responsibilities and time demands (Mehra and Gupta, 2006: 5).

Aruna Rao and David Kelleher (2005: 57-58) warn that, despite progress made in gender equality work, “practices that promote women’s empowerment and gender equality are not institutionalized into the day-to-day routines of the State...more important are the myriad, insidious ways in which the mainstream resists women’s perspectives and women’s rights”. They refer to feminist activism in South Africa which indicates that shifting the paradigm of patriarchy is insurmountable. While there are good gender equity policies and women are increasingly occupying senior positions, South Africa ranks highest in the world on violence against women.

Rao and Kelleher (2005: 61-62) identified a number of challenges that face institutions of government in mainstreaming gender. These include the difficulty of moving from individual attitudinal and behavioural change to institutional and social change. There

still exists socio-cultural resistance to gender equality ideals. They state that the lack of knowledge and capacity of implementers, as well as the marginalization of gender mainstreaming units, hinders the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Rao and Kelleher (2005) stress that the transformation of gender relations is a political process that requires “changes in deep-seated values and relationships that are held in place by power and privilege”, as well as “access to, and control over, material and symbolic resources”. They stipulate that:

In order to strengthen the project of transformation, we need to disaggregate the range of strategies and activities that are dumped in the gender mainstreaming bag (such as policy reform, advocacy, capacity building, analytical frameworks, programme development, monitoring systems) and analyse their gains and their failures (Subrahmanian 2004)... At the same time, measurement systems need to be developed that can capture the full range of gender equality outcomes, both tangible and intangible (Rao and Kelleher, 2005: 62-63).

Investigations conducted by Transform Africa concerning NGOs in Zambia, Uganda, The Gambia and Rwanda, including government departments, found that gender mainstreaming is largely viewed as an external concept imposed by international NGO partners, donors or governments for their own benefit, rather than for that of the community. Transform Africa found that the people struggle with the concept of gender equality. Government officials in the study cited resistance at implementation level, where people give higher priority to other activities because gender mainstreaming it is not viewed as relevant.

The discussion at government level repeatedly raised a specter of robbing men of their power and status, something seen as deeply threatening. At the core of the resistance seemed to be a concern that the concepts of gender were culturally inappropriate, that there was a direct threat to men and male power, and that these concepts were hard to implement because they were not well adapted

to local realities on the ground. In translating them into practice the concepts were poorly understood, if at all” (Wendoh and Wallace, 2005: 72).

Dometrio Innocent, in his study of gender mainstreaming in Cambodia, found that there was lack of attention, if not hostility, to gender issues within governmental agencies. Gender mainstreaming was understood in vague terms, especially by government officials and policy-makers (Innocent, 2007: 1).

These international studies generally highlight struggles of gender mainstreaming implementation in the different governments. They show the disconnect between gender equality commitments articulated in policies and non-implementation of those commitments. Some of the factors identified include the lack of understanding of basic concepts of gender equality, which makes implementation difficult. This is linked to notions of gender equality as the stripping of men’s power, followed by resistance. Schofield and Goodwin (2005: 19) concluded that gender equality in the public service demands an understanding of the gender politics involved in the process. The other factors that hinder policy implementation are the lack of human and material resources of the GFPs to effect change in governments, as well as the disposition of implementers. The studies emphasized the general lack of gender expertise in government and resistance and lack of interest of public servants to gender equality goals.

3) The South African Public Service gender mainstreaming experience

Milly Daweti and Bunny Subedar, in their presentation at the IBSA (India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum) conference in Brasilia from 15-19 September 2008, pointed out

three major challenges in implementing gender policy within the South African Public Service. The first is the entrenched socio-cultural traditions which continue to hinder women from benefitting from gender equality policies. These refer to notions of male leadership and the burden of care for women, which places tremendous strain on their professional work. The second and third challenges refer to the responsiveness of the labour market and the lack of capacity building. They pointed out that “women are underrepresented in the economy (especially in business) and occupy fewer senior positions and earn less than men. Men still dominate politics, business, the trade union movement and the economy” (Daweti and Subedar, 2008: 2-3).

Daweti and Subedar (2008: 3) point out that, in 2005, women filled only 29.6% of senior management positions in the Public Service. They state that, “in order for gender mainstreaming to gain impetus in the Public Service, management training programs needed to go beyond gender awareness. Gender mainstreaming would be enhanced by developing skills in the use of specific tools including planning, gender analysis and gender responsive budgeting” (Daweti and Subedar, 2008: 2). According to the *PSC Special Edition of Womanhood*, in May 2006, 591 040 women (56%) and 461 239 (44%) men were employed in the South African Public Service. Despite this significant number, women with disabilities and women at senior management levels are underrepresented. This report says that, in 1996, women in senior management made up to 10%; 14% in 1998; 18.28% in 1999, 27% in 2005 and 30% in 2006 (PSC, 2006:3). “The PSC is of the view that the Public Service should move beyond the setting of targets and create a work environment that reflects equality. A change in the traditional roles of men and women in

society and in the family is required to achieve full equality between women and men in society and in the family. Even though women have made great strides, there is a need to ensure that the way men and women related to each other is not determined by personal values” (PSC, 2006: 8).

Another report by the PSC, *The State of the Public Service Report: a Mid-Term Review of Public Service Transformation* (2008: 87-89), states that, in 2007, women representation in government stood at 35% and 31% in 2004 compared to men, who were at 65% in 2007 and 69% in 2004. At national level, men constituted 66% and women 34% at senior management level. The report raises concerns regarding the slow progress in achieving gender equity targets, especially in the light of the new 50% target for representativity of women in senior government positions by 2015. This report warns that if 30% took such a long time to be achieved how much more time will it take to achieve the 50% target.

“In the area of gender mainstreaming, the Public Service needs to take a more strategic approach which, while focusing on the achievement of numerical targets, would also address issues such as family friendly policies, improved gender relations in the workplace and institutional changes in the areas of new skills and working methods that support the institutionalization of a gender perspective into mainstream activities of the Public Service” (PSC, 2008: 91). One of the major recommendations of this report was that gender equity needs to be closely monitored, to protect the gains that have been made and efforts to achieve equality between men and women in the workplace need to be expedited.

In its 2008 Country Report to CEDAW, the South African government reported that women in South Africa still earn less than their male counterparts and have higher rates of unemployment (OSW, 2008: 93). The report pointed out that government has put in place measures to address discrimination in the workplace and has enacted the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998. Various codes of good practice have been developed. These include the Code of Good Practice on the Integration of Employment Equity in Human Resources Policies and Practice; Code of Good Practice on Key Aspects of Employment; and the Code of Good Practice on the Employment of People with Disabilities (OSW, 2008: 96).

Katherine C. Naff (2008: 11), in her assessment of gender equity in the South African public service, documents some perspectives of her respondents. These included resistance to the idea of equality between women and men. Some pointed out that women's family responsibilities prevented them from taking up jobs that will require travelling and they were also not able to devote the time required in senior management. The lack of managerial experience and corresponding qualifications was also mentioned as an inhibiting factor for women.

Amanda Gouws (2005), in her paper "Shaping Women's Citizenship: Contesting the Boundaries of State and Discourse", reflects on the comparative studies of Stetson and Mazur (1995), conducted in fourteen countries outside Africa, which "showed uneven rates of success in promoting women's empowerment". African national machineries have had similar results. Gouws cites Mama (2000: 15), who found that reviews of

national machineries indicate that their achievement has been largely limited to affording women more space in the state, but have done little to alleviate the plight of ordinary women. They have not played a transformatory role, but have merely implemented mainstream policies (Gouws, 2005: 75).

Gouws highlights the work of the Gender Research Project (2000), which showed that the greatest success of the national machinery has been on the level of representation and liaison with constituencies of women, to the exclusion of rural women. The other area of success was in policy areas directly related to women's concerns, such as reproductive rights, violence and the regulation of customary marriages. Participation in these processes was mainly by well-organized and skilled women's groups (Gouws, 2005: 76).

Gouws (2005) argument on the marginalization of rural women, is in agreement with Jo Beall's (2004) study of women in local government which revealed that women's participation and representation is hampered by the continued salience of traditional authorities. She points out that non-elected traditional leaders dominate local government, thus limiting women's access to, and influence on, local government (Beall, 2004: 1). The most telling critique of gender mainstreaming is that the core of government remains masculine.

The aim of gender mainstreaming is to institutionalize women's equality but through the depoliticization of gender. Women's subjectivity and the activism around women's issues become suppressed. Where the driving force around gender activism used to be women's experiences, mainstreaming turns it into a technocratic category for redress that also suppresses the differences between women (Gouws, 2005: 10).

The NGM has faced numerous problems of under-funding and juggling of other demanding tasks other than the pursuit of gender equality goals. The OSW, which is a facilitator of the NGM, faces problems of capacity to drive the gender programme of government. The lack of human and financial resources and capacity and inadequate enforcement capabilities limits the reach of the NGM (Britton, 2005: 134). Yvette Abrahams (2008: 1) states that the NGM has succeeded in the development of a legal and policy framework and the political representation of women, but has failed in “stemming the chronically high rate of violence against women, lifting women out of poverty, and putting in place the institutional infrastructure in government for gender equality work”. Progressive policies face a resistant bureaucracy and would therefore mean nothing if not implemented.

During the 2005/2006 financial year, the Public Service Commission (PSC) conducted a study ‘to monitor and evaluate gender mainstreaming initiatives by government Departments at national and provincial levels’. The study covered two Departments per province and six national Departments.² The report (PSC, 2006: 3-48) pointed out a number of problems with gender mainstreaming in the Public Service;

- The focus on employment equity targets as the only indicator for gender mainstreaming presents serious limitations to gender empowerment and gender equity (3).

² Departments of Transport and Education in Limpopo; Economic & Tourism and Housing in KwaZulu-Natal; Social Development and Safety & Security in Free State; Safety & Liaison and Transport in North West; Public Works and Education in Mpumalanga; Social Services and Development Planning & Local Government in Gauteng; Social Services and Education in Western Cape; Housing & Local Government and Safety & Liaison in Eastern Cape; Social Services and Finance in Northern Cape. National Departments included Public Service & Administration; Labour; Transport; Science & Technology; Treasury and Public Enterprises.

- The perceived slow progress in implementing gender mainstreaming is reported as the main concern (3).
- The concept of gender mainstreaming was not understood by most of the staff. Members interviewed mostly³ equated the concept with employment equity (33).
- Even though the Departments have been successful in developing gender policies, the implementation of the policies was not as successful, with a key challenge being the ability to effectively integrate such policies into overall Departmental plans, programmes and other processes (34).⁴
- Gender mainstreaming drivers of government [that is the GFP] were inadequate (36).
- Environment in general is not enabling for the empowerment of women, as it remains a mainly male-dominated environment (36).
- Apart from meeting employment equity targets for women, gender mainstreaming is not happening in any significant way (39).
- While management verbalize support for gender mainstreaming this has not been seen as a priority in Departments and has therefore not been translated into practice (39).
- There is a lack of knowledge about gender mainstreaming in most Departments and across all levels (47).
- Senior management does not know how to move from policy to strategy and action. The main reason is the lack of knowledge and understanding of what

³ Research participants included senior managers(80% of whom were men); middle managers (60% men and 40% women) and junior staff (60-70% women)

⁴ Reasons cited for this failure were that “senior staff did not take gender policies seriously; senior staff did not know the *how* of gender mainstreaming; there was no one with authority to drive gender mainstreaming and there were time constraints and other departmental priorities”.

needs to be changed, why it needs to be changed, how to go about the change process and what results should be produced (47).

- There is a lack of a clearly defined institutional framework that is necessary to facilitate the attainment of the vision of gender mainstreaming (48).
- Gender mainstreaming is not included in any Departmental planning, monitoring and budget processes, apart from ensuring that employment equity targets are met (48).

According to the National Policy Framework, all government Departments should have a GFP located in the office of the Director-General. Britton (2005: 132-133), in her study of women in parliament, found that GFPs differ in terms of structure, location and power. In certain Departments the Unit is placed in the Human Resources office, thus limiting the focus on meeting equity targets; others focus on the implementation of gender legislation and those located within Ministries are provided with real power, as they are able to combine both the human resource and the implementation focuses.

In his address to the High-Level Roundtable on Gender Mainstreaming in the Public Service in August 27 2007, the then Minister in the Presidency, Essop Pahad, reflected on the status of gender mainstreaming, acknowledging that the country still faces problems with the “glass ceiling syndrome” and the “steel door” syndrome. The glass ceiling problem is a result of patriarchal organizational cultures which hinder the upward mobility of women in organizations. The steel door is being pushed open as more women are finding employment in both public and private sectors. He also acknowledged the fine

work that had been done in advancing women's empowerment and gender equality. These achievements are, however, challenged by lack of skills, lack of know-how and lack of an integrated co-ordination framework with clear lines of communication and accountability. In turn, there have been problems in implementation and monitoring and evaluation of gender programmes. Pahad then contended that there is a need to strengthen processes and mechanisms aimed at advancing women's empowerment and gender equality. This would include resourcing and strategically locating GFPs (Pahad, 2007).

In his statement at the 53rd Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, Deputy Minister Fezile Bhengu pointed out that SA needs to review the issue of maternity and paternity leave, to align with commitments made globally. There is a need to recognize the unpaid work done by women and increase the role men play in the lives of their children and household responsibilities. Addressing issues in the private sphere of women which often limit their active and full participation in the public sphere will go a long way towards advancing women's empowerment and in attaining the goal of gender equality (Bhengu, 2009).

4) Conclusion

The international and domestic studies reviewed in this chapter show uneven successes in the implementation of gender mainstreaming and that, other than progress in meeting equity targets, gender mainstreaming is not implemented in any significant way. There is a lack of understanding of basic concepts of gender equality, as well as gender politics

that hinder implementation. The lack of capacity to move from policy to programme planning and implementation has been identified, as well as a lack of adequate financial and staffing capacity. In essence, these studies point to a lack of commitment to ensuring that gender mainstreaming happens in the Public Service.

The representation of women in political and management positions has been supported by quotas. The 50% target the South African government had set for itself was missed in March 2009 and has now been extended to 2015. While there is clearly some significant improvement with regards to representation, the realization is that gender mainstreaming has not been substantively implemented across the public sector. The gender mainstreaming programme is criticized for having blunted the struggle and advocacy aspects of gender equality. The lobbying and advocacy edge of gender mainstreaming has been compromised and this has resulted in slow progress in the transformation of government, which remains a patriarchal institution, regardless of the increasing number of women in senior positions.

The findings of this current confirms in some instances the literature reviewed above. These are presented in the following chapter organized according to themes on conditions for successful policy implementation. These themes are taken from Cloete and Wissink (2000). They are: the content; context; commitment; capacity; and clients and coalitions.

Chapter 5

Findings and Analysis

“While there has been some progress in raising awareness and challenging gender stereotypes in the media and popular culture, as well as engaging men as partners, the battle to change mindsets is still far from being won and effective implementation of monitoring and evaluation of gender policies, programmes and activities continue to elude those charged with the responsibility of accounting to the public as the gap between policy and practice seems to widen”.

(The Official SADC Trade, Industry and Investment Review, 2006)

1) Introduction

Chapter 5 presents the findings of this research, which sought to answer the questions of whether and how gender mainstreaming is being implemented in the National Department of Social Development (DSD). The following key questions guided the data collection for this study:

- 1) How is gender mainstreaming conceptualized in the DSD?
- 2) What management and structural arrangements (resources, processes, structures, personnel, mechanisms) are in place to support the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the DSD?
- 3) What are the challenges and successes in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the DSD?

Data was collected primarily through in-depth interviews with 18 government officials and the review of the official DSD documents on gender mainstreaming. The responses are coded by R_1 (for respondent 1) up to R_18 and are organized according to themes on conditions for successful policy implementation. These themes are taken from Cloete and Wissink (2000). They are: the content; context; commitment; capacity; and clients and coalitions. This analysis is informed by policy implementation theory which looks at conditions that both enable and constrain implementation or cause non-implementation. To analyze gender mainstreaming implementation also requires the use of gender mainstreaming approaches based on Gender and Development (GAD) theories.

2) Conditions for successful policy implementation

Cloete and Wissink (2000: 179) present the 5 Protocols essential for effective implementation, which are a synthesis of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation. They work either to support the implementation of a policy or to constrain its implementation.

2.1.Content

Cloete and Wissink (2000) take from Lowi's (1963) work on policy that public policies are either distributive, regulatory or redistributive. Gender equality policies are both regulatory ("specify rules of conduct with sanctions for failure to comply") and redistributive ("attempt to change allocations of wealth or power of some groups at the

expense of others”) in nature. Cloete and Wissink (ibid) point out that fundamental to Lowi (1972) was his assumption that policies determine politics, stressing that “the content of policy, then, is a function of the level and type of coercion by the government” (Cloete and Wissink, 2000: 180).

The implementation of gender mainstreaming in the DSD is mandated by South Africa’s legislative and policy framework, as well as its commitment to international conventions which “coerce” the whole of government to transform gender relations in government and in the broader society. South Africa’s National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality provides a broad framework of how government and civil society needs to change and implement laws and programmes towards the achievement of gender equality. The framework also mandates the setting up of Gender Focal Points (GFPs) to facilitate the implementation of gender mainstreaming in government Departments.

The DSD has a GFP at a Directorate level located in the Branch: Strategy and Governance. The Department developed the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines (GMGs) based on the national policy framework and on April 26, 2010 launched the Women’s Empowerment and Gender Policy. The GMGs provide a broad framework of how the different branches of the Department could mainstream gender. The recently launched Gender Policy is aimed at giving thrust to the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the planning and programming of the Department. During the data collection phase, the

Gender Policy had not yet been launched, so it did not form part of the conversations with the respondents.

Kay (2001: 47) states that in gender mainstreaming we need to ask what kind of gender mainstreaming do we want or, more realistically, can we get? Gender mainstreaming approaches could either be agenda setting (seeking to transform the driving force of development policies) or integrationist (integrating gender issues in existing programmes without altering the agenda). The National Policy Framework, the GMGs and the Women's Empowerment and Gender Policy do not stipulate what kind of gender mainstreaming government and the DSD aim for. From the review of DSD official documents on gender mainstreaming, it could be deduced that the approach is more integrationist than agenda setting. There is no clear advocacy and transformatory agenda for ensuring that gender concerns and transformation is brought to the mainstream of the Department.

The respondents were asked if they were aware of the GMGs and if they have been using them:

“Didn't even know if there were any guidelines. I feel that gender mainstreaming is not one of those important things and a priority. I am an open-minded person and don't need any gender mainstreaming workshop”. R_01

“We were interviewed when they were developed to discuss issues on promotions, pays, working hours but I don't know if they were approved”.R_11

“Yes, though I'm not familiar with them. They aim to promote balance between men and women and recognize potentials and capabilities for both men and women”.R_04

“Yes. Not interrogated but assume they say how can we have women play their role in society”.R_05

Glimpse of them. My assumption is that it’s one of those documents that are gathering dust. It must be a Bible for all managers”.R_17

“I’ve seen the Guidelines when I was attending a gender mainstreaming workshop but I have never interrogated them”.R_13

“I know that they are there but I’m not aware. It’s things that I disregard because of a lot of work that I’m doing”. R_15

“I have never seen the Guidelines; I only saw a draft Gender Policy but did not go through it. In fact I never had much interest on gender issues. It’s far from me”.R_18

The GFP’s role is to help the Department understand the content and language of gender mainstreaming policies and guidelines. All 18 of the respondents were not conversant with the contents of the GMGs, which are meant to guide them in implementing gender mainstreaming in their work. They do not know what is expected of them in mainstreaming gender. Kraft and Furlong (2007: 82-83) explain that essential to successful policy implementation is the interpretation or translation of policy into a language that will be understood by those affected and, if this is not so, implementers will struggle to do what is expected of them. Taiwo Makinde (2005: 63-64), citing Edward (1980), warns that implementation problems arise whenever there is lack of clear and consistent communication of what needs to be implemented.

The correct conceptualization of gender is at the heart of successful implementation of gender mainstreaming. The respondents were asked how they understood the different

gender concepts. In response to questions about the meaning of gender, a range of different understandings was reflected:

“Roles that males and females do. Women are assigned reproductive roles in the home and males productive roles and bringing income home”.R_09

“How do you behave as men and women (there is a perception that women are caring and men are supposed to be assertive, aggressive and strong)”.R_11

“Empowering of women and men that are disadvantaged or vulnerable (unemployed, affected by abuse in the home)”.R_07

In addition to the above respondents, all the other respondents referred to gender as the biological differences between men and women. In terms of gender equality, the respondents understood it to mean:

“Empowering women and putting them on the same position with men so as to enjoy same privileges taking into account women’s vulnerabilities (eg. Child birth, biological factors (often physically weaker than men), treat them considering those facts”. R_07

“Bringing about the equalization of the two sexes socially and at work. Both men and women should be equal especially in the workplace in terms of distribution of resources but also consider issues specific to females and for men. At home, cultural issues play a significant role and it depends on an individual”. R_14

“In terms of work, men and women need to be treated equally, more women in senior positions in order to balance. This is easier at work because there are regulations at home, it is more difficult”.R_16

“Treating everybody equally, but also focus on elevating women to the same position as men, especially in the workplace, home politics is something else”.R_03

“Make sure that you balance the status quo at work and society eg. Community organizations especially in care are driven by women and men need to be roped in”.R_13

“We need to be given equal opportunities and not discriminate on the basis of gender, treat and respect both genders before the law and every where, recognition of women and treated as human beings, bringing about transformation of society from patriarchy”. R_14

“Has to do with a patriarchal history, men are more privileged and we need to re-look at how we do things so that everyone has a fair share at work, business ventures, etc”.R_10

“It is all about the emancipation and empowerment of women to bring them on board to avoid a situation where men are given opportunities eg. employment”.R_14

“There should be equality between men and women in the workplace and elsewhere” R_12.

“Giving equal opportunities to men and women (work, training, etc)”. R_11

The respondents were asked what they thought were factors that constrained gender mainstreaming in the Department and the following responses were given;

“Different understandings, lack of common understanding”.R_04

“Ignorance on my part”. R_01

“You hit me with a subject I never thought about, we need education on what gender mainstreaming aims to achieve and how it’s implemented”. R_02

“It is a completely new subject to me. R_14

“Lack of awareness, we don’t understand gender, it is not popularized. When we talk gender we think men and women (biological differences) and don’t know anything beyond that”.

“Lack of understanding (perceived to be putting women everywhere regardless of whether they can deliver)”.R_18

“I was told by someone who sat in my interview that two women who were in the panel argued to hire a candidate who came second because she was a woman. Their argument was that a man cannot work on(to protect the identity of the respondent) matters. I was the first man to be taken in this Directorate. What was interesting is that within a month a Director who is a man was appointed and we are now two man and are working well with the women here”.R_14

“Lack of capacity in terms of conceptual understanding of gender mainstreaming, people have not internalized the issue”.R_13

Hannan (2001: 52-53) felt that the lack of conceptual understanding of gender equality constrains the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming. Kaufman (1986), cited in Cloete and Wissink (2000: 71), echoes this by stating that implementation is hindered when “subordinates don’t know what their superiors want”.

Whilst the majority of the respondents said they did not know what gender mainstreaming is and what needs to happen in mainstreaming gender, a few shared what they thought gender mainstreaming meant:

“Whenever people plan they should always think about gender issues, how do you raise kids (planning their education-do you plan marriage for your girl and university for your boy) and work-programmes should take into account gender and additional burdens from home should be considered especially for women. Physical demands and abilities need to be considered also eg. Carrying heavy stuff may be an issue for women and would therefore need assistance to do their work easily, flexi-time for women to care for their demands eg. Children. There should not be a one-size-fits-all approach to equality”. R_11

“Make sure that our policies, strategies, programmes are engendered-approach should be gender sensitive eg. Policy development consultations should consider representation of women to hear their voices”. R_07

“Thinking of gender in terms of planning, how many men and women are going to benefit from the services of the department, considering women in the design of programmes, in budget as well, need to think of women’s needs”.R_06

Cloete and Wissink (2000: 180) stress that, important to the content of a policy, is not only the means it chooses to achieve its objectives but also the ends it determines and the means it chooses to achieve those ends. In agreement, Wakeman *et al.* (1996: 8-9) emphasise that policies should not only state the goals (ends) but also how these are to be achieved (means). They elaborate on how they are affected by gender issues. Gender mainstreaming calls for the elaboration of how policies and programmes are shaped by gender issues.

Kay (2001: 47-48) submits that gender mainstreaming requires a range of strategies for it to be effectively implemented, including sustained involvement of all entities, establishing and strengthening institutional mechanisms and processes, competency building and support to staff, as well as working with strategic allies and support groups. Many of the respondents were not aware of any mechanisms in place in the Department to support the gender mainstreaming programme. The respondents identified a number of methods they thought the Department used in mainstreaming gender:

“Human Resources recruitment focuses on balancing numbers between women and men”.R_09

“There are celebrations during Women’s Month and International Day of Women. These events are budgeted for, more than that I don’t know”. R_11

“...Events come and go and there should be something else in place and I haven’t heard much.R_11

Meeting employment equity targets was viewed as one of the methods of gender mainstreaming and, to a great extent, understood to be gender mainstreaming. Training in gender mainstreaming was mentioned by other respondents as a mechanism used in implementation for senior managers; promotional materials as well as posters on gender were also mentioned. One respondent mentioned that periodically he would be asked to complete a template that requires sex-disaggregated data on a range of services to beneficiaries.

The DSD Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines suggest ways in which the different branches of the Department could mainstream gender in their different programmes and projects. The GMGs are quick to point out that these are guidelines only and details need to be developed per specific project. The respondents of this study do not have a working knowledge of the contents of the GMGs and, as Kaufman (1986) pointed out, this lack of knowledge hinders the implementation of gender mainstreaming (Cloete and Wissink, 2000: 71).

2.2.Context

Cloete and Wissink (2000: 180) focus on the institutional context, whilst acknowledging the importance to policy implementation of the social, economic, political and legal realities outside the organization. They stress that human relationships are more important to implementation than hierarchical organizational regulations.

South Africa is a signatory to a range of international conventions on gender and development. These provide a context and framework from which national policies and programmes have been developed. These conventions play an accountability role, as they expect signatories to provide periodic progress reports on implementation. One respondent felt that South Africa's work on gender is mandated by its commitment to the Millennium Declaration. His view was that women's development is linked to the development of whole societies and hence the MDG 3 goal is important. MDG 3 states "promote gender equality and empower women" (UNDP, 2000).

"In order to reach the goal of equality we have to consider gender mainstreaming, especially in line with MDG 3".R_09

The new democratic dispensation in South Africa committed itself to respect for human rights and dignity and this is entrenched in the Constitution. The Constitution mandates the right to equality and non-discrimination on the basis of gender (Constitution No 108 of 1996, Chapter II, Section 9:3). The following respondents believed that gender equality is mandatory in a democratic state:

"We are living in a democratic society, to credit our democracy we need to consider both sexes equally. If everything can be run by men alone that would be discriminatory. Women have the potential to run this country".R_14

"With the Constitution and democracy we need to strive for equality".R_01

Other respondents were more specific in highlighting that, whilst South Africa's history involves the dark past of racial discrimination, women, especially black women, suffered the most:

"Based on previous imbalances, it is important that other people's concerns are taken seriously. Women have been deprived".R_02

"Women have not been taken seriously so it is important that they should have a say as most things tend to favour men".R_07

"When we work it doesn't depend on whether you are male or female but your passion and skills of what you are doing".R_12

Whilst the struggle for gender equality is a protracted struggle, one of the respondents argued that it was a new imperative in government. The question remains, is it new because the Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities has just been created, or is it new in the lifetime of our democracy? The responses presented above mentioned that despite the existence of laws advocating gender equality, women continue to be marginalized. Racial discrimination in SA has been given attention and "criminalised" and the question is what would happen if gender discrimination were to be given the same seriousness and attention and why it is not.

Patriarchy was highlighted as a defining social and political context, within which gender mainstreaming is implemented in society broadly and within government itself. Patriarchy is a form of social organisation or government in which a man or men rule and descent is reckoned through the male line (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, 9th Edition, 1995).

“Government is one of the sub-systems of society and has been patriarchal. Government management is hugely male and that needs to change. Poverty issues affect women mostly and that also needs to change”.R_10

“Government including the private sector must ensure that women occupy leadership positions. Government is trying, in private sector men are still in charge. We are all human beings, study the same stuff, why should we be treated differently”.R_16

“Culture change is a new imperative in government; it is beginning to find its expression in the public sector driven by the Presidency. May not be that far because it’s new, needs time for best expression”.R_06

Weimer and Vining (2005: 275-279) state that the more legal authority and political support the policy has, the greater the chances of its success. The goal of gender equality is supported by the international community and conventions that SA is a signatory to; by the equality imperatives enshrined in the Constitution and by a range of government policies and programmes. However, the reality of a patriarchal society also forms part of this broader context, within which gender mainstreaming is implemented in the DSD and its influence constrains implementation.

Kraft and Furlong (2007: 82-83) feel that successful policy implementation requires effective organization, which includes the establishment of resources, offices and methods of administering the programme. The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality in the Public Service (2006-2015) calls for managers in government Departments to take the lead in providing guidance to staff concerning the objectives and responsibilities of gender mainstreaming. They should create an enabling environment for staff to explore issues of gender equality (DPSA, 2006: 16-17). There is verbal and written commitment

at DSD to mainstream gender evident in the GMGs and the new Gender Policy, but implementation is minimal.

The respondents pointed to a lack of political leadership and support for gender mainstreaming at DSD and insisted that this needed to change. One respondent said:

“It was for the first time that I heard our leaders speak about gender mainstreaming, the Deputy Minister’s speech at the end of year function last year was very encouraging. There is not any kind of support for women in management. R_10

The forewords of both Minister Edna Molewa and Deputy Minister B. Dlamini and the DG’s overview in the Annual Report (31 March 2009) do not mention gender mainstreaming. There is reference to programmes such as human trafficking, victim empowerment for survivors of sexual violence, extension of grants and old-age pensions. Is it assumed by leaders and administration that if these services are mentioned then gender mainstreaming is addressed and embedded in these and therefore there is no need to address it or even mention women specifically?

The legislative and policy context in South Africa is enabling for gender mainstreaming, as there are laws and policies in place to redress gender imbalances, both in government and society in general. The commitment of government to gender equality is communicated by political leaders. In the DSD, the presence of the GFP, the development of the GMGs, as well as the Gender Policy, are steps in progress in the implementation of gender mainstreaming. However, these do not seem to provide enough impetus to the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Department and there

seems to be a lack of leadership support and commitment in driving the gender programme.

2.3.Commitment

Warwick (1982: 135), cited in Cloete and Wissink (2000), explained that effective policy implementation depends largely on the commitment and ability of street-level bureaucrats to carry out their responsibilities. Cloete and Wissink (2000: 181) add that commitment is required not only at the street level but at all levels. The respondents were asked how they see gender mainstreaming being implemented in the Department by themselves and by others. According to all of the respondents, gender mainstreaming is not being implemented in the Department in any significant way except for efforts towards meeting equity targets. According to Hannan (2001: 52-53), successful implementation of gender mainstreaming is hindered by lack of knowledge of the linkages between gender and the areas of work of the different Departments. The respondents of this study could not make linkages between gender and their specific areas of responsibility and felt that the GFP is not delivering on its mandate of ensuring that gender mainstreaming takes place in the Department.

In terms of programmatic work, one respondent criticized the GFP for travelling to conferences and not having time to do significant work in the Department, except for focusing on once-off events. Different respondents echoed the lack of a consistent, clear plan of action of the GFP for the Department, arguing that this could help focus the

gender mainstreaming work and keep it in people's consciousness. The following extracts illustrate this poignantly:

"I don't know, gender mainstreaming is just a once-off thing; we need to sensitize people continuously. With HIV and AIDS, people didn't want to talk about it or even hear about it but through continuous engagement, now even children can talk about it. If we don't engage and debate we will lose track. GFP should make presentations during the Strategic Planning sessions so that people who may have missed gender issues in their planning may be reminded and requested to include them".R_13

"Don't see people bothering about mainstreaming gender and the only time is when templates/questionnaires need to be completed". R_07

"I have accounted statistically on numbers of men and women who have benefited in certain projects".R_13

"Lack of information, GFP is not coming out to say what they are doing (from management to lower levels), information should be made available to everyone so that people can understand".R_16

The Director-General of the DSD reported at the Public Service Gender Indaba in August 2009, that the Department is doing well in mainstreaming gender internally and in programme delivery. He highlighted a number of programmes and policies in place to address the gender inequalities that have been discussed in previous chapters. His progress report is in stark contrast with the responses gathered in this study. Could it be that the implementation of gender mainstreaming needs to be understood in terms of Pressman and Wildavsky's definition (1973), quoted by Cloete and Wissink (2000: 177), that, "as a noun implementation is the state of having achieved the goals of the policy. As a verb it is a process-everything that happens in trying to achieve that policy objective. Thus, just because implementation (noun) is not achieved does not mean that implementation (verb) does not happen"?

The respondents felt that the gender programme in the DSD does not enjoy the support of the leadership and hence its implementation is minimal.

“No sure. The talking and doing is different. Are there resources created for the empowerment of women? Even in law, there are lenient policies for rapists”. R_11

“Lack of eagerness to implement gender mainstreaming, gender is not taken seriously, focus is only on figures”. R_07

“Gender mainstreaming has become such a cliché, because nothing comes of it. In the end people don't listen, we need to be creative and indicate its importance”. R_10

“Refusal to adhere to policy (people know but they refuse to comply), there is no policy implementation monitoring”. R_17

Kraft and Furlong (2007: 83) feel strongly that the discretion of implementers cannot be under-estimated. They say the implementation decisions (and non-decisions) often reflect the political philosophy and preferences of the Chief Executive of an agency. The paradox of public policy is that that politicians and administrators do not always want the policies they enact to succeed if their interests are served by non-implementation (Montgomery, n.d: 4). The 8 Principle Plan of Action for Gender Equality for HODs, launched in 2007 by the DPSA, seeks to ensure accountability and responsibility for the performance agreements of HODs by stipulating specific objectives for gender transformation in Departments.

Mbugua (2001: 40) states that, in mainstreaming gender, the commitment of leaders to gender equality is critical in setting minimum standards, creating accountability measures and ensuring adherence to these. Ekaas (2001: 32) adds that, for successful implementation, gender mainstreaming must be linked to overall programme planning,

budgeting, monitoring, reporting and evaluation. She emphasises that gender sensitive indicators need to be developed, monitoring responsibilities clearly communicated and progress reported regularly. There must be a separation of gender mainstreaming in technical work and gender balance in staffing.

Makinde (2005, 63-64) cites Edward (1980), who stated that the disposition of street level bureaucrats towards a policy informs their discretion in implementing a policy. If the SLBs view the policy as hindering their organizational or personal interests they will resist, delay or subvert it. The following responses pointed to personal struggles of implementers with the ideals of gender equality:

“Mind set difficult to transform (men in power have reservations of taking gender into planning, incorrect conceptualization (thinking numbers only)”.R_06

“We guys are not happy with this gender mainstreaming because it makes life very difficult for us. The 50/50 issue is very disturbing, men no longer get employment on the basis of their qualifications because of women, they are doing this gender mainstreaming at the expense of other people and that is discrimination”.R_15

“negative attitudes-men think gender is a women’s thing and this has to do with how these gender issues are communicated (bashing events for men), our traditions engrave how men and women behave and that flows even to work (men do not look at women as colleagues but as women), women take the change too far instead of being assertive they get aggressive”. R_11

This idea of women’s aggressiveness was discussed with a group of Deputy Directors from the Population and Development Chief Directorate. They argued passionately about how women managers humiliate their subordinates, are aggressive and not understanding. The discussion came to the conclusion that women tend to tolerate a male boss who is

“bossy” and accept it because it should be that way, but their tolerance levels of a female boss are low, because she is expected to be pleasant, warm and soft. The Deputy-Directors conceded that, in most instances, it is not even that she is actually aggressive, but her assertiveness and leadership is perceived as aggression.

The one thing that this study elucidated was that government officials show a level of resistance to implementing gender mainstreaming, giving higher priority to other activities, because gender mainstreaming is not viewed as being relevant. A number of respondents mentioned their lack of interest in gender issues and also their lack of understanding of what gender mainstreaming is all about. They did not see gender mainstreaming as their own responsibility but that of the Gender Focal Point.

2.4.Capacity

According to Cloete and Wissink (2000: 181), public policy implementation requires structural, functional and cultural capacity. This includes the availability of human, financial, material, technological, logistical and other resources. They state that the resource question, is in itself, political, as questions of who gets what, when, how, where and from whom need to be asked. Further, “capacity also includes the intangible requirements of leadership, motivation, commitment, willingness, courage, endurance, and other intangible attributes needed to transform rhetoric into action” (ibid: 182).

The National Policy Framework recommends that the GFP should be located in the office of the DG, to allow it access to all programmes and officials, to have a level of power to influence the Department. The DSD Gender Focal Point is at a Directorate level located within the Branch: Strategy and Governance. Respondents said:

“the GFP is not well positioned at the moment. It should be positioned higher in the Ministry office”.R_6

“GFP is very small and I wonder if she (...) can manage to do this work. They need capacity. I don't see how two or three people can manage”.R_09

“Lack of staff and capacity in the GFP”.R_11

“I know there's a Unit, but don't know who they are”. R_04

“Don't know, never seen anything about gender”.R_16

The staff complement of the Directorate consists of the Director, her secretary and two other staff members. The recently launched DSD Women's Empowerment and Gender Policy (DSD, 2010: 36) recommends that the GFP be upgraded to a Chief Director and says nothing about its strategic location within the Department. Makinde (2005: 63-64) stressed that if an adequate number of competent staff, as well as the authority to ensure accountability, is not made available, implementation will be hindered. Mbugua (2001: 40) adds that clear and adequately staffed structures to champion gender concerns are critical for successful implementation of gender mainstreaming. Parsons (1995: 486) concurs with these sentiments by saying that successful implementation requires the availability of adequate implementing structures.

Another implementation challenge that was mentioned is lack of understanding of how to go about integrating gender in specific programme areas and holding people accountable for implementation, or lack thereof.

“At the Strategic Planning meeting last year we were told to consider gender in our planning, we got confused and we did not know what we were supposed to do. We called the gender Director for assistance but she could not help either. There hasn’t been any follow-up to see if people have in fact considered gender in their plans” .R_18

“Lack of support for gender mainstreaming, people are not conscientised enough”. R_10

“We are not really involved in planning and gender mainstreaming needs to be part of planning”.
R_14

Hannan (2001: 52-53) cautions that the lack of capacity to incorporate gender perspectives is a major hindrance to effective gender mainstreaming implementation. Weimer and Vining (2005: 275- 279) point out that implementers may fail to implement the policy because of incompetence or inability to mobilize the support necessary for the successful implementation of the policy.

The other constraint to the implementation of gender equality policies is that gender equality is a complex issue to deal with and has varied elements.

Gender inequality is systemic and entrenched in the structures, norms, values and perspectives of the state and civil society. It is pervasive, but it is also often hidden, complex and insidious. The emancipation of women and the attainment of equality in the political, economic, social, cultural and civic spheres is a long-term process of social transformation that fundamentally challenges the

way in which society is organized. At the level of the state it requires a new approach to the formulation and implementation of policy. Decision-makers need to develop new ways of thinking about the world; bureaucrats need to understand these in implementing policies, programmes and laws; and parliaments need to translate this thinking into law. At the level of civil society, women and men need to educate themselves and each other about the causes and manifestations of, and the solutions to, gender inequality and patriarchy (OSW, 2000: 25).

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1981) pointed out that some problems are easier to deal with than others. They refer to this as tractability of the problems (Mazmanian and Sabatier (1981), cited in Cloete and Wissink (2000: 172). Gender equality is not an easy goal to attain as it seeks to challenge and change years of patriarchal domination, challenge men to relinquish some of their power and empower women to assume new roles and responsibilities.

What will we see when gender mainstreaming has happened? One respondent expressed her view of what needs to happen when gender mainstreaming is successfully achieved:

“I should not feel intimidated attending a meeting with 20 men and one woman, know that as a woman I’m taken seriously (in meetings when issues are tackled, men gang up together and are often the majority). In meetings men tend to be bossy and intimidate women, women are always defending themselves and trying to prove themselves. Men should change their behaviour” .R_10

A number of questions could be raised: what does gender mainstreaming need to do to help people gain self-confidence, regardless of the number of people in the room; what needs to happen to enable men not to feel they need to lord it over women; what needs to

happen to make women comfortable in their own skin and their abilities, such that they do not need to prove themselves; what will it take for men to change; and change from what? These questions point to the complexity of working towards the goal of gender equality. Whilst it is an ideal that can be achieved, the process is complex and varied. Weimer and Vining (2005: 275- 279) state that the more varied the actors and elements to be assembled are, the greater the potential for implementation problems.

The location and resourcing of the Gender Focal Point, not knowing how to integrate gender in specific programmes and the sheer complexity of what needs to be done to mainstream gender (other than meeting employment equity targets) were mentioned as major capacity challenges hindering the implementation of gender mainstreaming within the DSD.

2.5.Clients and coalitions

Cloete and Wissink (2000: 184) cite Elmore (1979: 610), warned that the formation of coalitions with people affected by the policy is critical to successful implementation. It is important to identify and include key stakeholders affected by the policy or those who have special interests who could support the implementation of the policy. Parsons (1995: 486) adds that successful implementation requires the support of allies as well as interest groups. One respondent said:

“I don’t see GFP working on their own. I worked with them once to organize an event. They should lead the process. R_11

The GFP collaborates with some units and individuals within the Department on certain projects, but there is no intentional strategy of forming coalitions and structured working relationships within the Department and with key stakeholders from outside. From time to time the GFP would send out emails to the different units of the Department to request specific information or completion of sections of questionnaires for reporting to International Conventions on gender equality efforts. One respondent commented on this:

“...the only time is when templates/questionnaires need to be completed”. R_07

The GFP, as part of the National Gender Machinery (NGM), attends periodic meetings organized by the NGM. It also attends the Public Service Gender Indaba. These are government “networking” forums for the purpose of supporting Departments in gender mainstreaming and holding them accountable by requiring them to submit progress reports. South Africa’s National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality outlines one of the GFP’s roles in establishing mechanisms to link and liaise with civil society, which plays a significant role in setting the gender agenda of the country (OSW, 2000: 29).

Weimer and Vining (2005: 275-279) point out that SLBs may fail to implement policy because of their inability to mobilize the support necessary for successful implementation. They recommended that “fixers”, either from within or outside the organisation intervene by providing the needed support and, at times, playing an oversight role.

3) CONCLUSION

Chapter 5 presented the findings of this research on the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Department of Social Development. The results show a lack of proper conceptual understanding of gender equality and mainstreaming in the Department. This constrains the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming. The respondents revealed that, except for efforts to meet employment equity targets, gender mainstreaming is not happening in any significant way. They felt that the Gender Focal Point is not effective in its work, because it does not have adequate capacity to influence the Department. They called for the reconfiguration of this unit, for political and administrative leadership in gender mainstreaming and for intensified capacity building of officials.

Departmental official reports point to progress that is being made in working towards the attainment of a 50/50 gender balance in senior management, in approving a range of service delivery policies that address concerns of women and men, in intensifying service provision to respond to people's vulnerabilities and to ensure sustainable development of communities. The distance between the Department's official reports of successful gender mainstreaming implementation and the respondents' experiences needs further investigation.

The concluding chapter provides a discussion of these findings juxtaposing them with similar studies that have been conducted elsewhere.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

“...Not surprising, then, that the budget for catering and travel in government departments outstripped the gender budget by a factor of 1-10”.

(Yvette Abrahams, 2008)

1) Introduction

Chapter 6 synthesizes the key major findings of this study and, where appropriate, comparisons are made with other studies that have been conducted within the South African Public Service and elsewhere. The study critically analyses the implementation of gender mainstreaming within the National Department of Social Development.

2) Conditions for successful policy implementation

2.1.Content

The Department of Social Development Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines, as well as the Women’s Empowerment and Gender Policy, lay down the goals and principles for gender equality and the means through which these goals could be achieved. Gender mainstreaming is viewed as a strategy towards the achievement of gender equality in the Public Service. It remains to be seen whether or not systemic and structural changes will

be entrenched to support the goal of gender equality. Gouws (2005: 75) cautions that the national gender machinery has not played a transformatory role but has merely implemented mainstream policies. Krook and Squires (2006: 4) add that, despite the institutionalization of national machineries for gender equality, power differentials and conditions of dominance between men and women still exist.

The aim of gender mainstreaming is to institutionalize women's equality but through the depoliticization of gender. Women's subjectivity and the activism around women's issues become suppressed. Where the driving force around gender activism used to be women's experiences, mainstreaming turns it into a technocratic category for redress that also suppresses the differences between women (Gouws, 2005: 10).

Schofield and Goodwin (2005: 19) state that the advancement of gender equality in the Public Service requires an understanding of the gender politics within the process. It cannot be that gender mainstreaming remains simply a technical agenda to be implemented by technocrats; it is a highly political agenda that requires the involvement of political power and will, as well as lobbying.

Kraft and Furlong (2006: 82-83) stress that key to policy implementation is the translation of the programme's language, plans, directives and regulatory requirements into a language that will be understood by those affected. The majority of respondents in this study did not know anything about the GMGs, that have been in existence from 2007, which are meant to guide them in implementing gender in their programmes. This lack of understanding of what is needed to mainstream gender in programmes results in sporadic or non-implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Department.

The conceptualization of gender remains a challenge, as the majority of respondents understood gender to refer to biological differences between men and women; productive roles for men and reproductive roles for women; that women are caring and men assertive and aggressive; and that gender is about the empowerment of vulnerable women and men. The respondents were quick to point out that the gender equality debate is a workplace issue and relations at home are run differently. The transformation of gender relations at home is left to individual choice and something that they do not even view as a possibility.

In the workplace, the respondents envisioned gender mainstreaming as a process that should not only transform the organisational systems and how services are rendered but relations between men and women, that there must be focus on change in behaviour and respect for each other. There was also an argument that gender mainstreaming should not be a one-size-fits-all strategy, but that it should consider the particular circumstances of women.

The different understandings of gender concepts by the respondents in this study highlight the difficulty that exists of fully comprehending what the gender equality debate is about. This goes beyond the DSD. Dometrio Innocent (2007), in his study of gender mainstreaming in Cambodia, found that one of the major limitations was that gender mainstreaming was understood in vague terms, especially by government officials and policy-makers. The PSC (2006: 33) study of the South African Public Service found that

the concept of gender mainstreaming was not understood equated to employment equity by most of the staff members.

The achievement of gender mainstreaming requires a range of methods and strategies to address specific areas of concern in different political, social, cultural and economic contexts. Employment equity was viewed as a major effort that the Department is making in gender mainstreaming and, to a great extent, understood to mean gender mainstreaming. The PSC (2006: 39) study in government Departments found that, apart from meeting equity targets, gender mainstreaming is not happening in any significant way. The report says that gender mainstreaming was not included in Departmental planning, monitoring and budget processes and there was a lack of a clearly defined institutional framework necessary to facilitate the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Mehra and Gupta (2006: 5) state that the implementation of gender mainstreaming is yet to happen anywhere, as the gap between policy commitments and actual implementation widens.

2.2.Context

The international community and conventions that SA is a signatory to; the equality imperatives enshrined in the Constitution and a patriarchal society all form the broader context within which gender mainstreaming is implemented in the DSD. Cloete and Wissink (2000: 180) warn that the institutional context and the larger political, legal and

cultural contexts are essential for the successful implementation of the policy and could also create implementation problems.

Despite the progressive legal and policy environment, gender inequality still lingers in South Africa. Rao and Kelleher (2005) feel that, in South Africa, the shifting of patriarchy is a mammoth task. Despite the existence of gender equity policies and the visible representation of women in political and senior management positions, violence against women continues unabated. In mainstreaming gender in government, there is the challenge of moving from individual attitudinal and behavioural change to institutional change. There still exists socio-cultural resistance to gender equality ideals (Rao and Kelleher, 2005: 57-58).

Daweti and Subedar (2008: 2-3) agree that entrenched socio-cultural traditions in the South African Public Service continue to hinder women from benefitting from gender equality policies. Abrahams (2008: 4) speculated, “perhaps transformation from the top of a deeply patriarchal and classist state is going to lead to uneven achievements, with an excess of rhetoric and a minimum of implementation. In that case, contradiction may be the norm, and we are probably doing as well as can be expected under the circumstances”. The PSC (2006: 36) study concluded that the environment in the South African Public Service is not conducive to the empowerment of women, because it remains a male-dominated environment.

The DSD forms part of the context described in the PSC (2006) study. The respondents to the present study felt that the Department is male-dominated at decision-making level and shows resistance to the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The Department shows written commitment to the implementation of gender mainstreaming evident in the GMGs and the new Women's Empowerment and Gender Policy, but gender mainstreaming implementation is minimal.

2.3.Commitment

Weimer and Vining (2005: 276) state that if the policy has strong political support, and if the elements are less varied, then implementers have a greater chance of success. Implementation requires political strategies necessary to mobilize resources and allies. The respondents in this study indicated a lack of political leadership and support for gender mainstreaming at DSD and stressed that this needed to change; that the Department should move from rhetoric to action.

The paradox of public policy is that politicians and administrators do not always want the policies they enact to succeed if their interests are served by non-implementation (Montgomery, nd: 4). The PSC (2006: 39) study of gender mainstreaming in some government Departments found that, whilst management verbalizes support for gender mainstreaming, it is not seen as a priority in the Departments and has therefore not been translated into practice.

The respondents revealed that within the DSD there is a blatant refusal to adhere to policy as people know what is expected of them but refuse to comply. This is because there is no monitoring of policy implementation and holding people accountable. There is resistance to the implementation of gender mainstreaming as it is not viewed as important. The change of mind-sets and behaviour is a long-term vision that requires consistent messaging of the vision, mandates and activities for gender equality. Makinde (2005, 63-64) cites Edward (1980), who stated that the disposition of street-level bureaucrats towards a policy affects their discretion in implementing a policy. If the SLBs view the policy as hindering their organizational or personal interests they will resist, delay or subvert it.

Wendoh and Wallace (2005: 72) studied gender mainstreaming in Tanzania. They found that government officials blamed resistance at implementation level, as people gave priority to other activities because gender mainstreaming was not viewed as relevant. The study found that the Tanzanian men in government viewed the gender equality work as robbing men of their power and status. Innocent (2007: 1) made similar findings in Cambodia, namely that there was hostility to gender issues within government agencies and gender mainstreaming was understood in vague terms, especially by government officials and policy-makers.

The Director General of the DSD, at the Public Service Gender Indaba in August 2009, announced that the DSD was on track in gender implementation as it had significantly increased the representation of women in senior management, finalised the Sexual

Harassment and Disability Policies, and extended social grants to benefit both men and women. This is in contrast to the responses gleaned in this research. Could it be that policy implementation needs to be understood in terms of Wildavsky (1973), when he explained that “as a noun, implementation is the state of having achieved the goals of a policy? As a verb it is a process-everything that happens in trying to achieve that policy objective. Thus, just because implementation (noun) is not achieved does not mean that implementation (verb) does not happen” (Cloete and Wissink, 2000: 177).

2.4.Capacity

South Africa’s National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality mandates the setting up of GFPs to facilitate the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Departments. The respondents in the present study felt that the GFP does not have adequate human and financial resources to be able to carry out its mandate. There was criticism from one respondent that the staffing of the GFP is itself problematic, as there are only women employed entrenching the idea that gender is a women’s thing; that the staff travel to international conferences and do not come back and apply lessons; that they focus on one-day events without any follow-up.

The National Policy Framework recommends that the GFP should be located in the office of the DG to allow it access to all programmes and officials and to have a level of power to influence the Department. This is not the case at DSD, as the GFP is at a Directorate level, located within the Branch: Strategy and Governance. In 2007, the then Minister in

the Presidency, Essop Pahad, acknowledged the need to locate the GFPs in more strategic positions for them to be effective in their work. To date there has not been any movement government-wide to affect this.

Rao and Kelleher (2005: 61-62) stated that the lack of knowledge and capacity of implementers, as well as the marginalization of GFPs, hinders the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Mehra and Gupta (2006: 5) add that GFPs fail to ensure that government Departments mainstream gender because they are marginalized, tend not to be gender experts themselves and lack clout and influence.

The PSC (2006: 47) report says that senior management does not know how to move from policy to strategy and action. They do not know what needs to be changed, why it needs to be changed, how to go about the change process and what results should be produced. Senior management and other staff members in the Department were taken through different training programmes on gender mainstreaming, but this training has not translated into noteworthy mainstreaming of gender in their work. Government officials still do not know how to move forward with gender mainstreaming.

2.5.Clients and coalitions

Kay (2001: 47-48) stresses that gender mainstreaming requires a range of strategies for it to be effectively implemented, including sustained involvement of all entities, as well as working with strategic allies and support groups. Whilst it was not a focus of this study to

establish the existence of allies for gender implementation in the DSD, some respondents indicated that the GFP needed to work in collaboration with other officials in the Department because of their lack of staff and political capacity. The National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality also emphasised the need for GFPs to liaise with civil society interest groups and to gain their support to expedite gender mainstreaming.

The history of gender work in South Africa involves the advocacy and lobbying work of civil society organizations of women. The Women's National Coalition developed the Charter for Women's Effective Equality and this became a catalyst for the inclusion of women in parliamentary elections. This Women's Coalition also influenced the establishment of the National Gender Machinery which coordinates the work of gender equality and women's empowerment in the country (Meintjies, 2005: 232). For gender mainstreaming to happen within government, it requires the formation of strong allies with civil society organizations and interested individuals.

3. Conclusion

This study shows the commitment of the South African government to gender equality and women's empowerment as prescribed in our Constitution, as well as, in a range of other Legislative and Policy Frameworks. There is equity targets set for senior management in government even though progress towards meeting these targets has been slow. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy that has been adopted as a strategy to ensure

that both men and women's concerns and experiences are an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes of government.

The Department of Social Development mandated by the National Policy Framework on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality set out to establish a Gender Focal Point (GFP) to coordinate gender equality work in the Department. The task of the GFP is to coordinate and facilitate gender mainstreaming in the Department. This study shows that the GFP has not made any significant gains towards mainstreaming gender in the Department.

There are Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines and the Policy for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality that have been adopted in the Department. However, there seems to be no substantive change in the patriarchal culture of the organization. The majority of the respondents argued that gender mainstreaming is not happening in any significant way in the Department. Some of them did not even know about the GFP which is supposed to facilitate gender mainstreaming work. The respondents argued that this unit lacks clout, expertise and resources to effect any changes in the Department.

The respondents pointed out that there is resistance to gender equality within the Department and government wide. It was beyond the scope of this study to explore this issue of resistance further, and establish the reasons why this behaviour is allowed despite government's commitment to gender equality.

Appendix 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE: GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Chief Directorate

Interviewee Date

Directorate

Interview Code

Female

1

Male

2

1. How many years have you been working for the Department of Social Development? ____

Conceptualisation of gender

We will start by a discussion of gender and gender mainstreaming. I will invite you to share with me around some of the following questions.

2. What is your understanding of gender?

3. What do you understand about gender equality?

4. What do you understand about gender mainstreaming?

5. Do you think that gender issues are important considerations in government departments? Explain

6. How should this mainstreaming look like, how will you recognize gender mainstreaming when you see it?

7. Are you aware of the Department's gender mainstreaming guidelines? If yes, what do they aim to do? Why were they developed?

Management and structural arrangements for gender mainstreaming

We will now focus on the management of gender mainstreaming in the Department.

8. How were the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines developed (and the Gender Policy managed) Probe: processes and participants

9. Who is responsible for gender mainstreaming? Probe: who is doing what in gender mainstreaming implementation (department/ directorate)

10. What organisational structures are there to facilitate the implementation of gender mainstreaming within department/directorate? Probe if necessary: awareness of Gender Focal Point; their responsibility; interaction with them

11. What mechanisms are in place to facilitate that gender mainstreaming happens in the department? Probes: what are they- budget; training; staff; information; tools and material resources; monitoring and evaluation

12. Could you describe staff (or your?) experiences in implementing gender mainstreaming? Probes: any problems, achievements etc

13. What factors within the department would you identify as being the most enabling of the implementation of gender mainstreaming? Please describe

14. Which factors within the department constrain/hinder gender mainstreaming? Explain

15. In your view, what would be needed to ensure that gender mainstreaming happens?

16. Any thing else you would like to add about the management of gender mainstreaming in the Department?

17. We have come to the end of our conversation, is there anything else you would like to add?

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