Promoting Gender Equality in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape: an appraisal based on perceptions of gender focal persons and the Head of the Western Cape Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:
Abstract

The South African government has committed itself to the promotion of gender equality in the national constitution and also with the signing and ratifying of regional and international documents. Examples of a regional document is the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development and international document the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Beijing Platform for Action.

The Gender Machinery in South Africa was created at a national level to promote gender equality on all levels of government through structures on provincial and local government levels. This study focused on the provincial level and more specifically on the gender focal persons and the Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC). The study was done with the aim to assess progress on the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC.

Information was gathered through interviews with members of Gender focal units and the Head of the Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality.Interviews were conducted with seven of the nine departments in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape.

Findings on the promotion of gender equality indicate that a long road lies ahead. Limited Progress is seen, however, and can be attributed to the work of dedicated gender focal persons and the Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality. Specific to the work of dedicated gender focal persons, this study finds that within the context of financial and other constraints relating to an absence of specified expectations and a double workload, progress is still made under these circumstances.

Based on the findings the following recommendations are made. Firstly, broad scale gender awareness training is required for the personnel of the provincial administration. Secondly, there is a need to develop a job description for gender work and if reasonable to integrate this into the line function of gender focal persons. Thirdly, the gender focal units need to have a specific budget for gender-related work, as this will facilitate planning for gender-related projects. Finally, further training is required for the gender focal persons regarding gender mainstreaming and how to translate the goals of gender mainstreaming into action in the respective departments.
Opsomming

Die regering van Suid-Afrika het met die nasionale grondwet, streeks dokumente en internasionale dokumente 'n verbintenis gemaak om geslagsgelykheid te bevorder. Voorbeelde van streeks dokumente is die "Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development" en internasionale dokumente is die "Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women" en die "Beijing Platform for Action".

Nasionale strukture in Suid-Afrika is saamgestel om geslagsgelykheid te bevorder op nasionale, provinsiale en plaaslike regerings vlakke. In hierdie studie was die fokus op die provisiële vlak en meer spesifiek die geslags fokus eenhede en die Kantoor vir die Status van Vroue vir Geslagsgelykheid in die Provisiale Administrasie van die Wes-Kaap. Hierdie studie is gedoen met die doel om die vordering met betrekking tot geslagsgelykheid te evalueer.

Inligting vir ontleding is ingesamel deur middel van onderhoude met geslags fokus persone en die hoof van die Kantoor vir die Status van Vroue vir Geslagsgelykheid. Onderhoude was gevoer met verteenwoordigers van sewe uit nege departemente van die provinsiale administrasie.

Bevindinge rondom die bevordering van geslagsgelykheid toon dat daar nog 'n lang pad vorentoe is, maar dat daar wel beperkte vordering binne die provisiale administrasie gemaak word. Hierdie vordering kan toegeskryf word aan die werk van vasbeslote geslags fokus persone en die hoof van die Kantoor vir die Status van Vroue vir Geslagsgelykheid. Spesifiek tot die werk van vasbeslote geslags fokus persone wys die studie dat binne finansiële en ander beperkinge daar wel steeds vordering rondom geslagsgelykheid is binne sekere departemente.

Gebaseer op die bevindinge word voorgestel dat daar eerstens ten volle bewussmakingsessies oor geslagsgelykheid gehou word vir alle personeel van die administrasie. Tweedens, dat daar 'n posbeskrywing geformuleer word vir mense wat binne die geslags fokus eenhede werk en indien moontlik moet daar gekyk word of dit deel van die lyn funksie van die geslags fokus persone gemaak kan word. Derdens moet dat daar aan die verskeie geslags fokus eenhede 'n begroting gegee word sodat projekte vir die bevordering van geslagsgelykheid beter beplan kan word.
Laastens is dit belangrik dat die lede van die geslags fokus eenhede verdere opleiding kry met betrekking tot “gender mainstreaming” en die omskrywing hiervan in spesifieke aksies.
Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Carla Ackerman without whose assistance this project would have been much more problematic than I had expected and to my supervisor, Prof. Gouws for all her insights and advice.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

Many women globally suffer from discrimination on the basis of gender. In South Africa however, gender equality promotion has gained elevated status as part of the transformation agenda of the new democratic government. The government has over the past few years taken huge steps toward promoting gender equality through the signing and in some cases ratification of significant international and regional accords as well as the establishment of a gender machinery. Rhetoric and action are however worlds apart and thus it is essential that progress on the promotion of gender equality is periodically monitored. It is the aim of this project to do this. Under scrutiny in this study is the promotion of gender equality in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC) through insights from the Gender Focal Units (GFU’s) and the Head of the Western Cape Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality (WCOSW).

This chapter aims to explore conceptualisations of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, as an approach to promoting gender equality and argues the importance of assessing the promotion of gender equality. Significant regional and international documents, which the government has signed or ratified, will be introduced to indicate commitments that the government has made toward promoting gender equality. An important development in South Africa toward the promotion of gender equality is the formation of a gender machinery. The gender machinery will be discussed in this chapter with regard to its composition and functions at the national and provincial levels of government.

1. The Meanings of Gender Equality

Numerous definitions exist of gender equality and below some of the conceptions of gender equality are analysed.

Jet Bussemaker (1991: 53) identifies two conceptions of gender equality, firstly "in terms of equal formal rights between men and women "which constitutes a liberal notion of equality."
Secondly, a conception of gender equality "in which equality has been related to equal access to welfare and equal opportunities", in other words substantive equality¹.

Tuija Parvikko (1991: 37) argues that equality from a woman's perspective is "the notion of a double-edged sword" because "it is through the ideal of equality that women have gained the same political rights as men have".

The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) (1999: 197) defines gender equality as referring to "the equal utilisation by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards". Thus indicating the need for equality, which focuses on equal access to societal resources and opportunities for women and men.

A report by a committee referred to as a Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming² (1998: 4) commissioned by the Council of Europe, refer to it as "equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life".

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¹ The distinction between liberal and substantive equality will be addressed in Chapter 2.

² Composition of the Committee: Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming: Representatives of the CDEG: Ms A Andersen, Special Advisor: Ministry of Labour, Ms J. Tecero Valentin: Head of Department, European Relations, Women's Institute, Ministry of Social Affairs, Specialists in the field of equality: Ms C. Degauquier: FOREM Centre for In-Service Training, Ms M Verloo: Assistant Professor, Women's Studies, Faculty of Policy Sciences University of Nijmegen, Ms M. Fuszara: Institute for Applied Social Sciences University of Warsaw, Ms M. Manuela Da Silva: Economist, Ex Professor at High Institute of Economics and Management, Ms M. Anti Gaber: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Philosophy, Sociology Department, Ms B. Åseskog: principal Administrative Officer, Ministry of Labour, Equality Affairs Division, Ms U Arnholm (representative of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe): Councillor, Fenland District Council, Ms P. Meier (consultant expert): Research Officer, Free University of Brussels
Furthermore emphasis is placed on valuing equally the roles played in society by men and women and accepting the differences between men and women (1998: 4).

These definitions indicate that women and men should be fully incorporated into the public and private sphere irrespective of differences that exist between them, which are mainly biological. Problems however exist where biological differences are manipulated and become socially embedded social constructions, which portray one sex as superior to the other. Through gender equality promotion, this social construction of gender is challenged.

This study uses a definition of gender equality as defined by the Report of the committee referred to as the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (1998: 4) but with the focus on “equal visibility, empowerment, and participation of both sexes in all spheres of public life”. The emphasis falls on public life because this study considers whether there is progress in promoting gender equality in the PAWC. This has direct implications for the way that the PAWC plans for, recognises and addresses the needs of women and men in its area of jurisdiction and specifically for people employed in the administration and people to whom services are delivered.

2. The importance of assessing gender equality promotion

Baden (1998:14) argues the importance of monitoring the promotion of gender equality, as constraints exist which disadvantage the promotion of gender equality. Different writers have highlighted these constraints such as Parpart and Staudt (1989: 9) who focused on women and the state in Africa and emphasised staff and resource constraints as characteristics of the gender machinery. In turn they questioned the effect of the gender machinery to open the state to greater participation (Parpart and Staudt, 1998: 9). Linzi Manicom (2001: 6, 11) questions the understanding of ‘gender’ that is being promoted in governance discourse and highlights some of the main obstacles to gender mainstreaming. The main obstacles identified are lack of funding, insufficient ‘gender expertise’, inadequate implementation, problematic organisational cultures, lack of clarity on ‘gender’ and ‘gender equality’, superficial support from the state and other institutions (Manicom, 2001: 11).
Problems also arise with the gender structures and international experience pertaining to setting up effective national machinery. According to Albertyn (1995: 13) common problems are broadly political, structural and economic.

Problems in the political context centre on political marginalisation of gender structures, a bureaucratic culture that is in opposition to gender concerns, and differences in policy visions due to differences between women. Furthermore, incumbents lack independence because gender structures are tied to the government of the day and a lack of pressure from outside in the form of a strong women's movement (Albertyn, 1995: 13).

Structural problems include lack of financial and human resources, inefficiency, "fragmentation of administrative organisation between and within government departments and various structures of the machinery" and the flow of information between structures as well as between structures and civil society is poor (Albertyn, 1995: 13).

Economic problems include budgetary restraints and more fundamentally its relation to the way the economy is defined. Further considerations centre on the costs associated with gender policies and this becomes problematic if the economy is in recession or the government is involved in a fiscal crisis (Albertyn, 1995: 13). This then means that policy items such, as gender equality promotion becomes last on the priority list of the government's financial agenda.

According to Albertyn (in Gouws, 1996: 35) the decision on gender structures in South Africa saw its own political problems. These centred on the marginalisation of gender structures, conflicts about policies as women did not always agree, partisan loyalty, structural problems due to lack of communication between departments and gender structures as well as civil society and budgetary constraints.

An investigation is therefore required to assess the constraints of the structures comprising the gender machinery and the extent of its impact in crippling the work to promote gender equality. Based on an analysis of the constraints and reasons for their existence recommendations can be developed to move past these constraints.
An important consideration regarding structures as highlighted by Eisenstein (in Gouws, 1996: 33) refers to the type of power that these structures require for affecting change. Eisenstein (in Gouws, 1996: 33) notes an important aspect being to “extend the areas within which one’s gender experience and expertise was recognised by the men who continued, overall, to set the agenda”.

In the context of a broader study of the gender machinery in South Africa, an assessment could be made of the political authority vested in the National Office on the Status of Women (NOSW) in South Africa. The motivation for such an investigation could be derived from key features for a gender machinery according to Albertyn (1995: 14) which centres on the need for the structures in the executive to have political authority to influence and impact on policies and government operations and departments.

A further reason for evaluating government performance in the promotion of gender equality is based on national, international and regional obligations of the national government. Significant examples of documents are the South African constitution, regionally the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development and an addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children (CGE, 2000: 52). Significant international documents ratified by South Africa are amongst others the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1995 and the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 (Joint Standing Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women Report, 1998: 2,3). The following section will highlight important commitments made by the South African government to which the Provinces must also adhere.

3. Significant National, International and Regional documents

The importance of these documents is derived from their guidance function for the promotion of gender equality and their monitoring function through requesting timely progress reports.
Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996

Important in the national context is the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996: 7), where discrimination by the state or any person against another on the basis of sex, race, gender, pregnancy, marital status and sexual orientation amongst others is prohibited.

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

On the 18th of December 1979 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the CEDAW. This Convention stems from 30 years of work by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (established 1946) to monitor and promote women’s rights. CEDAW in a sense acts as a Bill of Rights for Women and sets an agenda for countries to guarantee these rights for women and ensure that they are enjoyed.

In the preamble the existence and extent of discrimination against women is highlighted and when considering this discrimination the Convention focuses on three factors, the legal status of women, human reproduction and the impact of cultural factors on gender relations. Relevant in CEDAW to this study is the commitment that the governments made to:

...take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in political life and shall ensure that women, on equal terms with men, the right to participate in the formulation and implementation of government policy and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government (CEDAW, 1979).

As was previously mentioned, the South African government ratified CEDAW and according to Murray and Kaganas (1994: 36) this means that the principles comprising this convention becomes part of South African law. For the provinces this means that provincial governments need to increase the number of women at management level where their input into decision-making can have the most effect and that anti-discrimination practices such as sexual harassment policies need to be established in the PAWC. There are further areas of intervention identified by this convention, which hold further duties for provincial governments.
Beijing Platform for Action

The Beijing Platform for Action was formulated in 1995 at the Fourth World Women's Conference and was attended by a South African delegation. Here the South African government committed itself to "the full implementation of the human rights of women and the girl child as an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Furthermore the government committed itself to "take effective action against violations of these rights and freedoms" (Amnesty International Report, 1996).

Critical areas identified to which the government must pay attention are women and poverty; education and training of women, women and health; violence against women and women and armed conflict. Further critical areas are women and the economy; women in power and decision-making; institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, human rights of women; women and the media; women and the environment and the girl child (Beijing Platform for Action).

Pertaining to the Beijing Platform for Action critical area on institutional mechanisms, South Africa has a gender machinery in place of which the structures in the PAWC, specifically the GFU's and the WCOSW are under consideration in this study. Furthermore according to Sadie (2001: 66), the national priority areas of concern in South Africa as it relates to the Beijing Platform for Action, is violence against women, women and poverty, health, education and economic empowerment.

The Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development

Governments in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) produced a Declaration on Gender and Development in 1997. This document is described as being a reaffirmation of commitments made through the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, African Platform for Action and the Beijing Declaration (SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, 1997).
The South African government committed itself to:

Ensuring the equal representation of women and men in decision-making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least a 30% target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005 (SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, 1997).

Representation of women and men at provincial level decision-making structures such as parliament indicate that in 1999 women comprise merely 21% of provincial members of parliament (MacGregor, 1999: 29). In 1998 an addendum was added to this declaration, the Prevention and Eradication of Violence Against Women and Children (Sadie, 2001: 65-66).

4. The development of the Gender Machinery in South Africa

On the 27th of September 1991 the African National Congress Women's League hosted a meeting of approximately forty women's organisations to discuss collaboration on creating a Women's Charter (Albertyn, 1994: 50). On the 25th April 1992 the Women's National Coalition (WNC) was formed (Albertyn, 1994: 50). Pat Horn (1992: 85) indicates the aim of the coalition was to “prepare a document of women's rights (some call it a Women's Charter) for inclusion in the new constitution of South Africa.”

According to Albertyn (1994: 51) the role of the Women's National Coalition was firstly to serve as a political campaign aimed at consciousness raising amongst women at grass roots levels on issues of concern to them and secondly it sought to influence the constitution writing process in South Africa. According to others, the formation of the WNC was established mainly in response to an identification of women's exclusion from the multi-party negotiations (Meintjes, 1996: 48; Horn, 1992: 86-87; Sadie and van Aardt, 1995: 82, Connel, 1998:198). Thus the common problem of exclusion of women from the negotiations involved superseded the importance of differences such as race, culture, language and political divisions and sparked co-operation. Albertyn (1994: 52) notes that in attempting to build unity in diversity in the WNC, women were being mobilised around broad issues and slogans and it also aimed at inclusiveness and representivity in its structures and activities.
Albertyn (1994: 52) further suggests that the mobilisation of women, the inclusion of women's experience in the Women's Charter, finding an understanding of equality that captures socio-economic and cultural realities of women's lives, constituted a feminist project. The result of which was the development of a substantive understanding of equality for the constitution and the law.

According to Hassim and Gouws (1998:53) the coalition drafted the formal demands of South African women in the Women's Charter for Effective Equality and Khadalie (1995: 65) notes its formal hand over to the then President Nelson Mandela and the Constitutional Assembly on National Women's Day in 1994. Significant passages in the Women's Charter for Effective Equality (1994), states that "the principle of equality shall be embodied at all levels in legislation and government policy" and that "the state shall establish appropriate institutions to ensure the effective protection and promotion of equality for women".

Prior to discussions on a package of structures, was a debate on what would be the structure of the mechanisms to deal with gender equality promotion. One of the options was for the establishment of a women's ministry. Further developments toward creating gender structures to promote gender equality occurred at conferences from 1992 and the result of these conferences was an agreement on a package of structures to operate at different levels of government, in parliament and in civil society (Albertyn, 1996: 6).

The envisaged package of structures included a National Office on the Status of Women (NOSW) as co-ordinating structure in the Office of the President. The establishment of gender desks or units in the various government departments and envisaged also was the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) to serve as an independent structure which focuses on research and monitoring. Other envisaged structures included the parliamentary structures, which would comprise a multi-party Women’s Parliamentary Caucus and the creation of linkages to structures at the provincial level (Albertyn, 1996:6). South African women identified the role of these structures as being to "mainstream’ gender into all legislation, government policy, planning and activities" (Albertyn, 1996:6).
Motivation according to Albertyn (1996:7) centred on ensuring that the needs of women and men are given equal respect and concern by both government and non-governmental bodies. Thus gender mainstreaming became the approach to gender equality promotion.

5. Gender Mainstreaming

To understand the function of the gender machinery it is essential to understand the concept, gender mainstreaming. Conceptual diversity is common place when considering the meaning of gender mainstreaming and only a few definitions will be highlighted.

Debates in gender mainstreaming currently centre on the conditions, factors and instruments that facilitate or hamper the effectiveness of this strategy to promote gender equality (Manicom, 2001: 11). This report considers developments in terms of gender mainstreaming and therefore it is essential that the concept be clarified.

According to the report of a committee named the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (1998: 8), the development of gender mainstreaming can be traced to a debate in the UN commission on the Status of Women regarding the role of women in development. The term first appeared in international texts at the Third World conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 and was adopted in Beijing at the Fourth World conference on Women 10 years later (Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming Report, 1998: 8).

The pioneering definition of mainstreaming of Rounaq Jahan (in Staudt, 1998: 177) is putting “women at centre-stage, part of the mainstream in either an integrationist or agenda setting approach”. Others define mainstreaming as referring to “that attention and accountability to women ought to be infused in all program operations.” (Staudt, 1998: 17).

A further definition of gender mainstreaming in the report from the committee referred to as the Group of Specialists on Mainstreaming (1998: 10) is:

... the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making.
Thus gender mainstreaming seeks to influence the accuracy with which issues are addressed pertaining to considerations of gender-related influences and gender-related implications. Therefore part of what the government has to strive to achieve is to institutionalise gender analysis in decision-making in government programmes and policies. This then provides a new set of lenses to be applied by policy makers and other decision-makers in government and furthermore indicates a new training agenda for government. This training agenda then needs to be imported or developed on the provincial level toward the fulfilment of a national obligation to promoting gender equality.

6. The Gender Machinery in South Africa

According to Gouws (1996: 31) the institutionalisation of gender occurs through the creation of a gender machinery at the national, regional and local level as well as statutory bodies such as the CGE and its provincial duplicates which function as monitors of the promotion of gender equality. Gouws (1996: 31) further notes the importance of provincial level duplications of the OSW and the CGE as important access points to the state and also policy-making arenas. Thus the importance of these institutions lie in the access that it affords to women's interests to be represented in policy and programmes. Therefore in the context of this study the WCOSW and the departmental GFU's as structures comprising the gender machinery at the provincial level are under scrutiny.

A gender machinery was established in 1997 and does not vary much from the aforementioned envisaged structures. The National Office on the Status of Women (NOSW) is in the Office of the President and is duplicated on a provincial level and found in different locations within the respective provincial administrations. The NOSW was established in 1997 and co-ordinates and facilitates implementation of government policy and programmes on gender in government (Baden et. al, 1998: 11, 13). Further functions are to develop and take forward national policy on gender, promoting affirmative action, supporting government departments and public bodies to integrate gender into all policies and programmes. Other functions include organising of training for government departments, monitoring and evaluation of programmes and initiating cross-departmental initiatives (Baden et al, 1998: 13).
With regard to a gender policy, up until 2001 the NOSW have not officially released a national policy on gender to the public but an unedited version has been circulated amongst those involved in promoting gender equality and a new draft has recently been released.

GFU’s as further government structures of the gender machinery should exist in departments on a national and provincial level. In May 1995 the cabinet approved the establishment of GFU’s in all government departments. These structures derive their significance from their role in mainstreaming gender into their various departments. The work of the GFU’s is co-ordinated by the OSW both at a national and provincial level.

A further structure is the independent body birthed by the constitution, the CGE, whose role is to promote respect for and the attainment of gender equality (The Constitution, Act 108 of 1996: 102). The CGE was formally established in April 1997 (Baden et al, 1998: 13). The functions of this body include monitoring the implementation of government policy and commitments, public education and investigating inequality as well as evaluation of the policies and practices of government and private institutions. Further duties include making recommendations to government on promoting gender equality, highlighting needed changes to existing legislation, proposing new legislation and resolving gender-related disputes through mediation and arbitration and commissioning research (Baden et al, 1998: 13). According to Baden et al. (1998: 15) the significance of the CGE lies in its oversight function, which includes monitoring the private sector. Since its establishment, the CGE has been battling to perform its functions amidst internal difficulty as well financial constraints. In comparison with other commissions with similar status such as the Human Rights Commission, the CGE receives much lower budgetary allocations (Baden et al, 1998: 15).

This once again highlights issues raised by Parpart and Staudt (1998: 9) regarding the ability of these structures to work effectively in light of resource constraints and Manicom (2001: 11) where structural constraints are highlighted. Furthermore according to Albertyn (1995: 17) arguments against the CGE centred on the separation of gender equality from human rights issues as the Human Rights Commission deals with human rights violations.
It is, however, beyond the scope of this project to consider the role of the provincial CGE in gender equality promotion in relation to other human rights issues and the extent of the constraints faced by the Commission.

In Parliament resides the Joint Standing Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women, which was permanently established in June 1998. Its role is "to monitor and oversee progress with regard to the improvement of the quality of life and status of women in South Africa". Significant roles played by this committee is monitoring the implementation of the CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action, disaggregating data by gender and analysing the budget along gender lines (Baden et al, 1998: 11).

Further parliamentary structures include the Women's Caucus, the Parliamentary Women's Group and the Women's Empowerment Unit. The Women's Caucus is a multi-party caucus whose duties mainly involve creating a forum where women in parliament can debate gender issues, identify a common platform from which to present these issues to the legislature and also for capacity building amongst members (National Gender Policy Framework, n.d.: 29). Further functions include serving as an access point for advocacy by civil society and to serve as a focal point for women parliamentarians to link up with civil society. The Parliamentary Women's Group comprises women from different parties and whose objective it is to make "the environment on Parliament more gender sensitive" (Rathus, 1998). It is furthermore noted that this structure is not formally recognised and thus has no proper access to parliamentary resources. The Women's Empowerment Unit is situated in the office of the Gauteng speaker but has national scope. The function of this unit is to train and build the capacity of women parliamentarians at all levels (Baden et al, 1998: 11).

Women for various reasons often manage the gender structures and those who try to promote a gender interests are sometimes referred to as femocrats. The presence of the femocrat comprises an important part of the successful incorporation of gender interests into institutions and institutional processes. The presence of femocrats should therefore have a huge effect on the work of the gender structures and specifically on the gender structures under consideration in this study. This is, however, a highly contested phenomenon and will be discussed in the next chapter.
7. The Gender Machinery of the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC)

This study aims to assess the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC and focuses specifically on insights from the GFU’s in the provincial government departments and the WCOSW. The WCOSW is situated in the Department of Provincial Administration under the Chief Directorate Human Rights Programmes and Poverty Alleviation.

The selection of the Western Cape Province is primarily based on it being run by an opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, whereas gender equality promotion is a policy of the African National Congress. Furthermore the selection is based on the ability to obtain information from reasonably established gender structures at the provincial level and prior dealings with the GFU members and the WCOSW facilitate access to these structures. Financial constraints limit the scope of this study to extend beyond the Western Cape and it would however be interesting to compare the provinces on progress in promoting gender equality.

The Western Cape Office on the Status of Women

The WCOSW came into existence on the 1st of July 1999 and was the last of the Provinces to initiate such an office. The Annual review of the WCOSW (2000) notes partial reasoning for the development of the office stems from the need to remove: “all obstacles barring the advancement of women in society …” to “create an equal society in which women will have the opportunity to optimally develop their potential” (WCOSW Report: 2000).

The move toward the establishment of this office was further based on commitments by National Government to the Beijing Platform for Action and the CEDAW. In the WCOSW annual review (2000), the mission statement of the WCOSW is to have a” Provincial Administration (and a society in general) where equality, dignity, human rights and equal access to opportunities and services are not predetermined by a person’s gender”. The importance of the WCOSW lies in its co-ordinating function of the GFU’s in the Western Cape with other gender structures and civil society organisations as well as from its function to monitor gender equality promotion in the PAWC.
The Departmental Gender Focal Units

According to the WCOSW report (2000: 7), all eight departments in the PAWC have started departmental GFU's. The PAWC has restructured its departments and currently has nine departments. Furthermore the report notes that "none of the staff members who comprise these Units are specifically dedicated to gender, i.e. this role is fulfilled in addition to their existing work responsibilities" (WCOSW Report, 2000: 7).

The significance of the GFU's is their responsibility to promote gender equality in the respective government departments where they are employed. Secondly they form part of the gender machinery and thus require periodic assessment of progress in promoting gender equality.

This study assumes that gender focal persons, those comprising GFU's, would be aware of the meaning of gender mainstreaming and also attuned to developments around gender mainstreaming in the departments, as this is their function. They are considered in this study on the basis of their role in the gender machinery and it is under the aforementioned assumption that the results of the research will be interpreted. Important to note is that in some cases GFU's may comprise of only one person.

This research essay will proceed in Chapter 2 with a discussion of the discourse around gender equality, research done on gender equality promotion in the Western Cape and continues with an explanation of the methodology employed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will report on the findings followed by concluding remarks and recommendations in Chapter 5.
Chapter 2
Theory and Research on gender equality promotion

This chapter aims to introduce the discourse on gender equality as it relates to the promotion of gender equality through the gender machinery. This will entail introducing relevant frameworks and debates and highlighting the findings of existing research on gender machinery in two developing African and two western industrialised countries. Included in this chapter is a review of existing research on the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC. This chapter concludes with comments on selective aspects from discussions in this chapter.

1. Discourse on Gender Equality

The women/gender debate

The move from Women in Development to Gender and Development captures much of the debate around the move from the focus on women to the focus on gender. In considering the arguments for change I will firstly provide a discussion of the Women in Development and Gender and Development frameworks and secondly consider some of the positive and negative viewpoints for a change of focus from women to gender.

Women in Development

According to Visvanathan (1997: 17) the women in development approach subscribes to assumptions of modernisation theory where traditional societies are viewed as authoritarian and male dominated and new ones as democratic and egalitarian. In this perspective emphasis is placed on western values and the individual is regarded as the catalyst for social change.

The work of Boserup (in Visvanathan et. al., 1997: 17-18) on the regressive impact of development on women's lives is noted as the point of beginning for liberal feminists concerning advocacy on the integration of women in development. Two dominating themes within this approach are gender equality and economic efficiency (Tinker, 1997: 21).
According to Visvanathan (1997:20) "a major policy initiative in the Women in Development approach is the mainstreaming of gender issues into development agencies". Jahan (in Visvanathan, 1997: 20) notes that the mainstreaming of gender have been promoted by women in development advocates through increasing the visibility of women, reporting on development with gender disaggregated data and by setting the agenda for planning.

The South African government has approached the promotion of gender equality through the process of gender mainstreaming which is noted in the National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality compiled by the NOSW and which is currently only available in draft form.

**Gender and Development**

This approach is informed by numerous diverse feminist perspectives and stems from women’s activism in the women’s movement and division from the ranks of Marxists feminists. According to Visvanathan (1997: 23) socialist feminists predominate in this framework and have combined the lessons learnt from Women in Development failures and Women and Development limitations.

This framework focuses on gender relations in both the labour force and the reproductive sphere and is further characterised as being a holistic approach that considers development as complex by recognising the role played by political and socio-economic influences (Visvanathan, 1997: 23). Thus providing a broader platform from which gender equality promotion has to be approached and more considerations so that a fuller picture of requirements to effectively promote gender equality can be determined.

When considering support for a change of focus to gender, Rowlands (1998:15) describes this approach as contextualising gender relations because it considers women’s roles and the dynamics and structures of gender relations. Kabeer (in Visvanathan et al., 1997: 24) highlights the usefulness of this approach in its ability to open new strategies for feminist intervention.

According to Ostegaard (in Visvanathan, 1997: 24) this approach diverts more attention to the concept gender where it refers to the socio-cultural construction of male-female relations. Bazilli (1991: 8) notes the reason for using the term gender is because “it is the only way to explain why social relations between men and women are so fraught with dissonance".

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On extending the focus in attaining gender equality, Bazilli (1991:8) argues that gender takes the biological attributes of difference and creates an ideological construct based on societal understandings of biological differences between women and men.

The argument, however, against a conceptual move to gender is based on the rights attained being accrued then to socially constructed roles (Bazilli, 1991: 8). A further problem is gender being equated with women and this reduction of the meaning of ‘gender’ continues to focus gender analysis on areas of social life traditionally attributed to women such as the domestic sphere (Bazilli, 1991: 8-9). According to Bazilli (1991: 9) equating women with gender has had two effects, the first of which is the use of the term ‘gender’ “without any kind of broad-based education has attempted to make men and women responsible for addressing issues... considered ‘women's work’”. The second implication is the aforementioned problem of the reduction of the meaning of ‘gender’ (Bazilli, 1991: 9). The benefit attached however lies in women remaining the focus of analysis of oppression in the context of patriarchy (Bazilli, 1991: 8-9).

**Formal versus Substantive equality**

Albertyn and Kentridge (1994: 152) define formal equality as presupposing “that all persons are equal bearers of rights within a just social order”. Thus definitions dealing with the legal aspects of gender equality promotion are based mainly on what is referred to as formal equality. Changing the law however does not necessarily mean that there is real equality if in the private sphere many women often experience gender relations in a very unequal and burdening way. Institutionally however having these formal rights and being aware of these rights and how to use them affords women some influence and thus also power.

The other side to the coin is substantive equality. Albertyn and Kentridge (1994: 152) provide a simple descriptive distinction between formal and substantive equality as “the form and procedures of the law” for formal equality and “the content or substance of the law” for substantive equality. According to Albertyn and Kentridge (1994: 152) substantive equality requires “effective economic and social equality”.

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According to Albertyn and Kentridge (1994: 152), to assess the extent to which substantive equality is being promoted one should compare the actual social and economic conditions of groups and individuals to constitutional commitments to equality. Albertyn (2000/01: 155) on the situation of women in South Africa, highlights that a gap remains between the reality of women's lives and their legal and political gains. This highlights the need for future developments toward closing the gap between the reality and the gains that women have made.

The Femocrat Phenomenon

With the gender machinery a process of the institutionalisation of gender was initiated. An important consideration regarding the institutionalisation of gender is the contested femocrat phenomenon. A femocrat according to Sawer (1995: 22) refers to “feminists who took up women's policy positions…” and “later it was used for feminists who moved on to mainstream positions in the bureaucracy”.

Gouws (1996: 32) argues that the femocrat phenomenon involves conflicting perspectives, as there exists a view that women involved in the aforementioned areas are regarded as having sold out to the cause by being co-opted. The other view in the debate on the femocrat phenomenon is based on the importance of femocrats in bringing about institutional change due to their commitment to feminism (Gouws, 1996: 33). Sawer (1995: 22) argues the importance of femocrats within government as one factor that resulted in better policy outcomes for women when considering the development of the Office of the Status of Women in Australia. Therefore if one accepts, as this study will assume, that the femocrat plays an important role in the institutionalisation of gender then the need exists to investigate whether those in the gender structures in the Western Cape have the attributes associated with the femocrat phenomenon.

From the definition of the femocrat by Sawer (1995: 22) one can extract the following characteristics, firstly that femocrats are feminists and secondly that femocrats focus on women's policy positions and have become part of the mainstream bureaucracy.
When considering the idea of the femocrat as a feminist, Gouws (1996: 34) highlights the problem with the gender units regarding articulation of gender consciousness, which is exacerbated by antagonism to feminism from grassroots and academic women. This situation is further disadvantaged by a change in academic discourse from feminism to gender (Gouws, 1996: 33). However, for the purpose of this study it would be useful to assess the extent to which a feminist consciousness does exist with gender focal persons. Gouws (1996: 34) argues that this is important for facilitating an understanding of gender inequality and also for political action. Assessing the existence of a feminist consciousness gains further importance, as it serves as an indicator for the level of understanding of the issues involved with gender equality promotion and importantly for the identification of hidden obstacles. Furthermore, an understanding of gender equality discourse will facilitate an understanding of strategies to deal effectively with identified and hidden obstacles to promoting gender equality.

Gouws (1996: 33) further questions the impact of the femocrat on especially the provincial level. Essential to assess therefore is the extent to which there are femocrats within structures on the provincial level especially important in this context would be the existence of “femocrats” in the GFU’s in the PAWC. The question used to assess the presence of the “femocrat” phenomena refers to whether those involved as gender focal persons would view themselves self-consciously as feminist in the broad sense of working for gender equality. Furthermore, also whether they will promote the interests of the women’s movement in society or the priorities of the structures in which they work. Further considerations are the extent to which they are guided by feminist or gender policies and also whether the incumbents of the gender structures have a clear understanding of the theoretical aspects involved in gender equality (Gouws, 1996:33).

2. Why focus on women?

When investigating the reasons why the focus on the promotion of gender equality falls on women, one needs to assess the societal situation regarding gender and power relations. This is clearly indicated by Pateman (in Hassim and Gouws 1998: 55) who notes that “membership of a political community is profoundly gendered and unequal"
Thus in the sphere of contract theorists sexual difference is construed as political difference and also the difference is highlighted between “men’s natural freedom and women’s natural subjection” (Pateman, 1989: 5). When considering the elements that bind those in the economy and in the practice of the contract, Pateman (1989: 7) notes this as shared interests in the control over women and defended by laws and policies of the state.

The idea of control over women being maintained partially through laws and state policies highlight the need for amendments to laws in order to gain equality. This change in laws translates into formal equality where women are protected from discrimination through the introduction and review of laws. Mainly liberal feminists advocate this approach as a means toward attaining gender equality. This approach is essential to raising the status of women in society but is very dependent on women being aware of their rights, which in turn would lead to be able to lay claim to them. This is highly problematic in South Africa where illiteracy is high and information may not be that easily transferred to women specifically in rural areas who mostly comprise the marginalized. Furthermore situations of violent domestic and economic dependence on spouses or male relatives would heavily influence women’s decisions to lay claim to their rights.

When considering the contract further, Pateman (1989:43) describes the contract as constituting “patriarchal civil society and the modern, ascriptive rule of men over women”. She argues this further on two platforms where firstly women are excluded from the contract because brothers “inherit the patriarchal sex right” and with this too the legitimisation of their claim over women and their ability to reproduce (Pateman, 1989: 45). The second aspect refers to everything that civil law consists of is what women lack (Pateman, 1989: 45). Cavarero (in Parvikko, 1991: 36) deals with the idea of the social contract by highlighting that the ‘logic of neutrality’ is not maintained in the social contract, which is later interpreted as male. Therefore what may have seem to be intended to be gender blind actually translated into being gender biased in favour of men over women.
In this regard therefore the world is one for the benefit of men and not humankind. Thus I would argue that a women-specific approach to gender equality is required and this argument would support the idea of women in development where the focus for attaining equality is based on looking at women only. The role that men should play in promoting gender equality should however not be ignored and men and women should be educated on the importance of mutual respect and equal opportunities and mobilised to change the attitudes of others.

Regarding women and politics in South Africa the reason for focussing on women is their disadvantaged positions with regard to social and economic resources and decision-making positions (CGE, 1999: 197). Indicating therefore that an attempt is being made to uplift the position of women relative to men with a focus on resource redistribution and increased numbers of women in decision-making positions.

Even though women are the focus, women are considered in relation to men and the GAD approach looks at how women are disadvantaged relative to men and also sees a role for men to play in order to achieve gender equality. This idea of considering the relationship between women and men is useful within the context of redistribution and planning for projects amongst other things as the gendered context and implications have to be considered. Furthermore this approach requires the disaggregation of data along the lines of gender to establish whether women and men benefit equally.

3. Comparative illustrations of Gender Machinery

According to Stetson and Mazur (1995:4) women's policy machinery differs extensively and cannot be categorised easily. To illustrate the variety of women's policy machinery I have selected Canada, as an established democracy, as a success story and Poland, as a new democracy as an unsuccessful story as examples of women's policy machinery. This is duplicated with Botswana constituting a relative success story and Zimbabwe as a relatively unsuccessful story for developing countries in Africa but more specifically in the SADC region.
Canada

According to Geller-Schwartz (1995: 48) an array of political machinery exists which consists of the Women’s bureau, the Minister responsible for the Status of Women, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The machinery further includes a central department on the status of women, senior advisors or divisions in various departments and a few permanent interdepartmental committees (Geller-Schwartz, 1995: 48). This array of women's policy machinery was noted as very effective in influencing policy however, if its agenda run against the grain of the government found itself in a sense marginalized. Its value in the case of Canada is derived from the access that it affords dedicated femocrats to resources to stimulate public pressure for specific goals (Geller-Schwartz, 1995: 53).

Poland

According to Robinson (1995: 206) Poland's equivalent of a gender machinery is the Liga Kobiet (Women's League) founded in 1945. This structure derived from the Stalinist ruling party and not from feminists and when defining the needs of women they were inclined to base it on class terms (Robinson, 1995: 206). This structure was also dependent on the legitimacy that it was afforded by the state and thus was bound to the parameters set by the state (Robinson, 1995: 217). This indicates that a top down approach to improve the conditions of women is based on the ideology of the ruling party and also the role played by the political system of the country, which in this case is state socialism.

A problem for the Liga Kobiet relates to the paternalist nature of state socialism (Robinson, 1995: 218). According to Kalorska-Bobinska (in Robinson, 1995: 218) problems for the Liga Kobiet are furthermore related to the political culture, which has become one of apathy and this is seen as a consequence of forced participation in the communist era. Furthermore the discourse around women has not changed, as “major players are still the same in many instances,” (Robinson, 1995: 218).
Robinson (1995: 218) notes that current research reveals that femocrats and state feminism is more likely to flourish in conditions of open competition amongst political parties. Further facilitating factors are an open system for recruitment to the public administration and the existence of certain established rights and liberties for citizens are further identified as well as the role of an active civil society is also highlighted (Robinson, 1995: 219).

**Botswana**

According to Dambe (2000: 1) structures in Botswana to promote the advancement of women is referred to as a National Machinery for the Advancement of Women (Dambe, 2000: 8). The national machinery comprises the co-ordinating mechanism in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs as the Women's Affairs Department (Dambe, 2000: 20).

The structure of the national machinery within government is described bureaucratic and associated problems were identified as causing delays and increasing the possibility for corruption. Further associated problems centre on a hierarchical decision making process and discriminatory practices in criteria for allowances (Dambe, 2000: 17). Problems are also related to women experiencing difficulty to move in the structures because of its creation when men dominated the public sphere and that the location of gender under one ministry is not that effective as it is a cross cutting issue (Dambe, 2000:19). Positive developments pertaining to promoting the status of women in Botswana are a national gender programme and the existence of political will to promote gender equality (Dambe, 2000: 22).

**Zimbabwe**

The report of the Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN) (2000: 30) indicates that the national machinery for the advancement of women comprises the Women in Development Unit of the Ministry of National Affairs, Employment Creation and Co-operatives. Since the 1980’s it has moved to different sections of government (ZWRCN, 2000: 4). GFU’s exist in various government ministries as part of the national machinery (ZWRCN, 2000: 5). Achievement of the national machinery relates to formal legal equality than substantive equality (ZWRCN, 2000: 8).
A later development not considered as part of the gender machinery is the Ministry of Gender in the Office of the President which has lent itself to problems relating to its functions whereas the Women in Development Unit is said to be clear on its mandate (ZWRCN, 2000: 30).

Problems experienced in Zimbabwe surrounding the gender machinery and its inability to follow through on its mandate stems from political interference, lack of resources in terms of human and financial, information, technology and political will and this has been attributed to the location of the national machinery (ZWRCN, 2000: 39). Furthermore the report depicts a lack of communication with non-governmental organisations and an absence of a national gender policy (ZWRCN, 2000: 40). The problems experienced by gender machinery in other countries further support this line of findings, as there are numerous obstacles to bridge. In assessing these obstacles one can assist in identifying methods to either side step the problems identified or find possible solutions.

Thus the national machinery in Zimbabwe has much to change before it will be able to reach its goals in promoting gender equality especially regarding its lack of communication with civil society organisations and its resource problems. The current political and economic problems in Zimbabwe, linked to the land issue amongst other issues can only exacerbate the challenges that the national machinery faces in reaching its goals.

4. Review of prior research on gender equality promotion in the Western Cape

The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) Information and Evaluation workshop

In March 1998 the CGE released a report from an information and evaluation workshop in the Western Cape organised by the National Commission for Gender Equality. The report was based on submissions from the provincial administration as well as civil society organisations. The CGE Report (1998: 11-12) provided insight into the development of a provincial gender machinery and notes that lobbying by the Women’s Caucus and other sectors led to talk of establishing a post in a government department. Probable locations were the Premiers Office and Department of Social Services.
No understanding was identified in the province regarding the roles of the NOSW and its role in promoting gender equity within all levels of government (CGE Report, 1998: 12). Further findings indicated that the employment of black people and women in the administration shared a negative trend with the exception of the Department of Social Services. A positive aspect, however, is the existence in the provincial legislature of a Standing Committee on Gender. Challenges and problems identified by the report are a lack of political commitment in the province, lack of translation of constitutional commitments to gender equality into reality and few links with civil society organisations (CGE Report, 1998: 11). Furthermore, the report (1998: 11) indicates that representatives highlight a perceived trivialisation of women’s position and gender equality. The CGE Report (1998: 10-12) highlights further that at the time of the workshops that Provincial GFU’s were absent and that no formal policy or strategies to address gender inequalities existed in government.

**Gender audits**

Gender audits are an important method of assessing the progress that the provincial governments have made in terms of the promotion of gender equality. Van Stade and Ackerman produced gender audits in the Western Cape in March 1999 and September 1999 respectively. Following after the gender audits is a recent study by Lazarus on the mainstreaming of gender in the PAWC, where the focus is on the rationale, policy approach and contribution of the gender focal units.

**Gender Audit by Van Stade March 1999: Department of Social Services**

**Gender structures, Plans and gender sensitivity programmes**

Findings from the report of Van Stade indicates that seven out of eleven departments has identified a focal person responsible for driving the development of a gender policy and three out of seven of these identified persons have time allocated to tasks (Van Stade, 1999: 8). Furthermore only two departments are involved in broader provincial gender movements, which act as facilitators and monitors of developments (Van Stade, 1999: 8).
Pertaining to a departmental plan or strategy for gender issues two out of then eleven Departments formally received and set in place a process to understand the Beijing Platform for Action and CEDAW (Van Stade, 1999: 11). However only one department was formally invited to a post-Beijing Workshop and understands its role in the advancement of women and only one department initiated plans and processes as part of their Beijing and CEDAW responsibility (Van Stade, 1999: 11). The plans and processes of other Departments are based on Departmental National Policy directives, broader discrimination issues and other department programmes that focus on women but as part of their own identified key areas (Van Stade, 1999: 11).

Regarding attitudes toward gender equity, none of the departments have addressed attitudes between the sexes and Van Stade (1999: 26) notes the Public Service Commission identifying the existence of a traditional view of women’s role as seen by women and a traditional view of women’s role as seen by men. Only two departments have a formal or semi-formal, gender sensitivity programme for personnel and an identified need exists for staff to engage with issues around gender in order to heighten their understanding which in turn will facilitate a desire or commitment to effect change (Van Stade, 1999: 19). Furthermore four departments could clearly identify some projects or programmes focused on or benefit women and the girl child (Van Stade, 1999: 21).

Regarding capacity-building programmes, no department has developed a plan for the advancement of women and where women’s Human Resource Development is submerged in overall personnel Human Resource Development (Van Stade, 1999: 30). According to Van Stade (1999: 30) this is often where barriers to, especially, opportunities for development are hidden.

**Dealing with discrimination**

In dealing with discrimination on different levels the report indicates that all departments have drafted or approved Affirmative Action Plans and all departments recognise their responsibility towards racial and gender representivity in terms of personnel breakdown and representivity (Van Stade, 1999: 13).
When considering the management cadre and its representivity, only three out of eleven departments have senior managers who are female and according to the report it is clear that the PAWC is still male-dominated (Van Stade, 1999: 15). However, when looking for baseline information from where such transformation can begin, the report indicates that no department has done a study of which jobs women hold as opposed to men (Van Stade, 1999: 22). This type of study is vital to obtain a true picture of attitudes toward jobs, advancement of women, stereotypes and perceptions of roles. Furthermore the audit indicates that only two departments felt that identifying support for women only is discriminatory. With regard to women and decision-making, all departments indicated that women are involved in decision-making both inside and outside the department (Van Stade, 1999: 24).

On analyses of discriminatory practices, only two departments, Transport and Works and Agriculture have comprehensively considered or acknowledged the existence of discriminatory practices (Van Stade, 1999: 25). Concerning sexual harassment, all departments report that women have access to resources but in the case of the Department of Health however possible barriers could be foreseen to accessing these resources (Van Stade, 1999: 29).

**Resource availability**

Concerning a gender budget and budget disaggregation Van Stade (1999: 16) notes, "change is largely possible if funds are allocated to the area for facilitation, services or programmes". Furthermore the report notes that until departments are able to significantly allocate funds, it will be impossible to strategically and effectively promote the advancement of women and gender equity (Van Stade, 1999: 17).

None of the Departments had any information regarding the proposal to establish inter-departmental gender management system that would address problems experienced by women in PAWC, analyse discriminatory practices and monitor gender equity in appointments (Van Stade, 1999: 23). Further issues that require attention to make PAWC more gender friendly, is identifying measures to eliminate sexual harassment, facilitate gender sensitivity, challenge perceptions and research on gender issues (Van Stade, 1999: 23). Related to external service delivery, no department has done an analysis of the status of women in their client base (Van Stade, 1999: 28).
Gender Audit by Carla Ackerman September 1999: Western Cape Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality

Findings from the report of Ackerman indicate firstly that none of the departments have a specific gender policy and this is the same concerning gender training. Furthermore findings indicate that Departmental Transformation Units (DTU’s), except in the case of the Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs, are mostly male dominated. The Department of Agriculture and Tourism, Health and Social Services and Economic Affairs do not have specialised units to manage transformation.

When considering monitoring and evaluation, the report indicates that none of the departments have a monitoring policy and that only half of the departments involve their gender focal unit. On gender disaggregated data, Housing, Local Government and Planning, Economic affairs, Agriculture and Tourism and Health and Social Services feel that their data is not adequate for gender analysis. Departments such Finance, Community Safety, Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Education indicated that the data they produce is disaggregated by race and gender.

When considering tendering and the procurement system the report indicates that departmental tender Committees are male-dominated and only the Departments Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, Finance and Education have procurement policies that favour gender equality.

Regarding gender-based financial information, the Departments of Economic Affairs, Community Safety, Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Agriculture and Tourism indicated that senior women managers are active throughout the budget process. No department has a gender budget and none of the Departments could indicate any international, regional or national policy guidelines that influence their financial planning with respect to gender. According to the report, the Department of Finance planned to implement gender programmes or projects. The Departments of Housing, Local Government and Finance and Corporate services do not have any gender programmes and or projects.
Pertaining to gender information the report indicates that only the Department’s of Health and Social Services do not have a document or resource centre. Furthermore, only the Departments’ of Housing, Local Government and Planning, Finance, Community Safety and Education resource centres cater for gender information. According to the report only Departments of Community Safety and Environmental and Cultural Affairs have structures to liaise with gender organisations in civil society.

**Lazarus (GETNET commissioned researcher)**

Lazarus focused on gender mainstreaming in the PAWC in terms of the rationale, policy approach and the contribution of the GFU’s. The work of Lazarus provides insights into the developments around gender mainstreaming in the PAWC with specific focus on the theoretical approach being employed to promote gender equality and insights from gender focal persons. The research is based on an analytical framework of Rounaq Jahan (1995) called the analytical framework for assessment of Women in Development or Gender and Development policies and measures (Lazarus, 2000: 10).

**Theoretical background and policy framework**

With regard to theoretical attachments, Lazarus (2000: 38) notes that the "PAWC uses a combination liberal feminism which is more the practice and socialist feminism which is more the intent". Furthermore Lazarus (2000: 24) notes that a combination of approaches will emerge with the objectives of the policy framework envisages holding all of PAWC “accountable for gender transformation while administering to poor women’s specific needs”. Lazarus (2000: 38) expands on the approaches used as being “a GAD approach to gender analysis and a WID integrated approach to policy goals” where GAD refers to Gender and Development and WID refers to Women in Development.

**Findings**

On the Draft Gender Policy Framework Lazarus (2000: 38) notes that it "does not reflect a clear commitment to equity" but identifies poor women as targets and has an internal and external focus whereas action in the Provincial Administration has been directed mainly internally. A further finding on the Draft Provincial Gender policy is that its purpose is to “question the nature of service delivery” (Lazarus, 2000: 23).
The rationale is explained according to set substantive objectives namely “the advancement of women in society especially to the improvement of the quality of life of poor women in the Western Cape.” Secondly “the development of an ‘equal society’ (gender equality)” and “the empowerment of women through opportunity for them to develop their potential” (Lazarus, 2000: 23).

Findings include that while the WCOSW has its policy goal as to “question the nature of service delivery”, it has focused more on institutionalising women in development. It is also noted as not yet having forged the essential partnerships with organised women’s groups but had begun the process of partnerships in civil society with gender and training non-governmental organisations and academic institutions (Lazarus, 2000: 38).

**Findings specific to Gender Focal Units**

Findings from insights of the gender focal persons, reveals that all departments do not have functioning GFU’s and that gender is an addition to the line function without time or budgetary allocations (Lazarus, 2000: 38). Resistance to the setting up of GFU’s is identified in the debate for the necessity of these units or the argument for these units being located under already established Departmental Transformation Units (DTU’s) (Lazarus, 2000: 39). Lazarus (2000: 39) further notes that the GFU’s are comprised mainly of women and that the strength of gender focal unit stems from the commitment of its members.

In informal interviews with gender focal persons from the GFU’s on the roles that they see themselves playing some noted how they became involved in the gender unit and the perceptions that some people have of gender “champions” (Lazarus, 2000: 25). Specifically related to the above question on the role that they see themselves playing were answers such as allaying the threatening feelings of men. One respondent referred to this as being “subtle but firm about women being empowered…” (Lazarus, 2000: 25). Lazarus (2000: 26,38) highlights that an analysis of the interviews reflects that the work of the GFU’s as an additional job to that of the line function and this extra workload is not calculated with regard to time allocation or budget.
Challenges identified

Findings indicate challenges for gender mainstreaming, as comprising an internal challenge revolving around changing organisational culture to increase its ability to be dynamic and to engender service delivery. Furthermore, a lack of will and commitment from political leadership to engage as partners with the community and also their role in defining the culture of the organisation are highlighted as problem areas (Lazarus, 2000: 27). Lazarus (2000: 39) further notes problems for the GFU’s as derived from a lack of formalisation, lack of commitment from senior management described as comprising mainly white males and needs identified are for gender awareness and gender analysis training (Lazarus, 2000: 39). External problems relating to service delivery are training needs around gender planning and programming, “Gender policy needs to be translated into programming and service delivery in any concerted way” (Lazarus, 2000: 39). A positive aspect in this regard is that attempts have been made toward gender sensitive planning (Lazarus, 2000: 39).

5. Concluding remarks

This chapter indicates the complexity of the process toward gender equality in terms of approaches to be employed and the political and structural constraints faced by those involved in gender work. It further provided comparative insights into the developments of gender machinery in more developed versus developing countries.

The research that has already been done in the Western Cape indicates that gender structures exist in most departments but not all are active. Furthermore in terms of constraints faced this mostly revolves around a lack of political support and commitment and linked to this organisational culture as well as time and budgetary constraints.

Of extreme importance is the fact that those involved as gender focal persons do this work as an addition to their line function. This therefore impacts on the amount of time that can be spent on the promotion of gender equality and thus in turn the quality and success of the process toward gender equality.
Chapter 3
Methodology

The aim of this project is to assess progress in the promotion of gender equality in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC). The procedure employed to assess progress was through interviewing gender focal persons who comprise the Gender Focal Units (GFU's) in the various departments and the Head of the Western Cape Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality (WCOSW). In this chapter the methodology employed for the research is explained.

1. Explanation of the methodology employed

This study is qualitative and cross sectional and thus displays only an evaluation of the promotion of gender equality at the present time. The methodology employed is survey methodology and the instrument for data collection took the form of face-to-face structured interviews. One of the interviews was however conducted through e-mail due to the gender focal person's unavailability at the time that the interviews were conducted.

2. Advantages and Disadvantages of this method

According to Neuman (2000: 272) the advantage of using face-to-face interviews is firstly that the response rate is very high. Out of a sample of sixteen, thirteen interviews were completed and this translates into a response rate of 81%. Secondly it allows for longer questionnaires and the observation of the surrounding environment by the interviewer (Neuman, 2000: 272-273). Pertaining to the ability to use long questionnaires, in this study the questionnaire was not long and therefore not very time consuming. This was important consideration for many of the respondents.

The disadvantages associated with face-to-face interviews are expenses pertaining to traveling and training of interviewers amongst other things. An important problem however is interviewer bias, which according to Neuman (2000: 273) has the most impact on data collection. Interview bias refers to the appearance, tone of voice and wording of the question amongst other things may affect the respondent (Neuman, 2000: 273).
3. The Respondents

The interviews were conducted with gender focal persons and the Head of the WCOSW in the PAWC and took place on the ninth, tenth and twelfth of July and the first of August 2001. During this time twelve interviews were done. These were with representatives from the Departments' of Provincial Administration, Community Safety, Local Government, Housing and Planning, Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism, Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Sport, Finance, Education and the OSW also located in the Department of Provincial Administration. The thirteenth interview was done with a gender focal person from the Department of Finance some time afterward through e-mail distribution of the questions. The questions sent by e-mail carried a disclaimer noting for the attention of the particular gender focal person only and not for distribution as an attempt to ensure that the specific person does in fact answer the questions.

Departments not represented in the findings are those of Social Services and Health whose representatives due to heavy workloads were unable to give face-to-face interviews or replies to the questions sent by e-mail after numerous attempts to secure an interview.

4. The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule\(^3\) broadly aimed at extracting information regarding constraints to gender equality promotion and the conceptual knowledge of gender focal persons. This was done through a question on the meaning of gender mainstreaming and the specification of where this has been applied in the respective departments. Furthermore the interview was aimed at assessing the commitment of the gender focal persons through inquiring on the way in which they became involved and the extent to which a feminist consciousness exists amongst those working as gender focal persons. The latter question was posed with the aim to extract information on whether the agenda of the institution or that of the women's movement would be represented by the gender focal persons.

\(^3\) See Appendix 1
The interview schedule specifically focused on assessing constraints of time and budgetary nature as well as constraints in the form of the absence or presence of support from peers, colleagues and more specifically from upper management. Furthermore, knowledge on available mechanisms in the departments to promote gender equality was considered by respondents having to provide examples of mechanisms that they were aware of at the time of the interview. The mechanisms were focused specifically toward those that deal with discrimination against women and those that facilitate the promotion of women to upper management positions.

Information on position that the person holds within the department and the means by which the person came to the position of gender focal person formed part of the interview schedule and so too did a question on whether a specific job description for work related to gender equality promotion exists.

A separate interview schedule\(^4\) was developed for the Head of the WCOSW. This interview schedule considered the role of the office in the promotion of gender equality through training and civil society partnerships amongst other aspects. Further considerations centered on developments toward a national gender policy and the development of a provincial gender policy. Pertaining to difficulties that are being experienced a question was posed on constraints experienced in attempting to promote gender equality in the PAWC.

In the following chapter an analysis is provided of the responses obtained to the questions that were highlighted above.

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\(^4\) See Appendix 2
Chapter 4

Engaging with the interview material

The interviews were conducted with gender focal persons in the various departments in the PAWC. The total number of interviews equals thirteen, one of which is an interview with the Head of the WCOSW located in the Directorate of Human Rights Programmes and Poverty Alleviation within the Department of the Provincial Administration. Departments with gender focal persons who are not represented are Health and Social services therefore out of nine departments in the PAWC, seven departments are represented in the interviews. The interviews took place from the ninth of July 2001 to the first of August 2001. One of the interviews was sent by e-mail and a response was received through the same medium. Furthermore the Department of Planning, Local Government and Housing is well represented with the five focal persons constituting their gender focal unit, otherwise referred to as the Human Rights Unit, were interviewed.

It is interesting to note this approach taken by one of the GFU’s to change their name to the Human Rights Unit. One would then think that the focus, which is gender equality, is lost as human rights refer to many things and thus also increases the scope of their work. In the event that they do not indicate that their work focuses specifically on gender equality promotion the successful promotion of gender equality in this department can be questioned.

For the purpose of analysis the data will be considered in three categories, namely demographic information, constraints and the femocrat phenomena.

1. Demographic information

Sex composition

The respondents who are gender focal persons within the represented departments of PAWC in this study comprise eleven women and one man. The Head of the Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality is also a woman thus making the overall number of female respondents twelve.
In terms of gender representation amongst gender focal persons, women are overwhelmingly more involved with gender equality promotion. This could be attributed to what Bazilli (1991: 89) refers to concerning understanding of gender being equated with women, which could serve as a possible reason for the lack of male representation as gender focal persons. A further and related interpretation of the understanding of the meaning of gender is that most people who were asked to assign the duties of the gender focal person to people under their authority assumed that it needed to be a woman. One could also call to mind a lack of involvement by most men as a form of resistance based on fears and misunderstandings related to gender equality promotion.

**Education**

Most respondents have post-matric qualifications of which the highest level of qualification is a Master’s degree and three respondents hold this qualification.

**Mean age of those interviewed**

The mean age of the respondents is 34.6 years of age.

**Occupation levels**

Most of those interviewed are located at the Administrative and Assistant Director level. In terms of upper management there are two respondents at Deputy Director level and one at Director level.

2. **Constraints**

**Time**

Seven of the gender focal persons interviewed who are representing gender focal persons indicate that they have very little time to spend on promoting gender equality. Many of these respondents indicate that they spend approximately five percent or less of their working week on work related to gender equality promotion. Furthermore, three of the respondents who spend a small amount of time on promoting gender equality note reasons respectively as being that work around gender is their lowest priority, gender is not a main duty and that time dedicated to gender centers on attending meetings.
Respondents who mentioned little time, note reasons such as lack of capacity and trained staff in gender, even 5% of the working week is hard to obtain and that sometimes there is no time available. Another reason mentioned is that the work for gender is bigger than the time available. One respondent noted that time can only be assessed in terms of being sufficient, in the department where she is employed, when people responsible for gender work are identified, meetings are held and when the issues around gender that need to be addressed are tabled. One of the respondents who also mentioned having very little time noted this amount of time as sufficient for involvement in gender equality promotion and in conjunction with this mentioned focusing on a specific type of gender related work.

Respondents indicating that they spend 20% or more of their time on work related to gender equality promotion comprises 5 out of 12 gender focal persons. The most time spent on promoting gender equality reported by one of the respondents is 80% of the working week. When considering opinions on the sufficiency of the time that is used on promoting gender equality, most of those that responded with an answer of 20% of the working week or more indicated that time is not sufficient. The insufficiency of time in these cases is found in this being an additional function to the line function and that the scope wherein gender equality needs to be promoted being too large for the time available. One of the respondents commented on problems with senior structures, in terms of management, being more of a constraint than time.

Budget

Six of the gender focal persons interviewed note having a budget and five of the six, report that the budget is for the gender focal unit, which has been alternatively named the Human Rights Unit. This translates into two departments having a budget for gender related work. Six respondents indicated that they either have no budget, as is the case most of the time and some noted uncertainty on whether a budget exists or not. Those who mention not having a budget, however, noted that money for gender equality promotion related projects comes from different sources. Sources mentioned are existing budgets, donor funding and in one occasion the Directorate of Human Resources.
Support

Most gender focal persons indicate that support does come from upper management sometimes from the Head of Department but mainly at the levels of Chief Directors and Directors. Two respondents indicated all round support from upper management and colleagues. One respondent indicated support from the Head of Department and from colleagues and noted that specifically female colleagues responded negatively as they do not see many women moving up in ranks but they seem to be more positive about promotion abilities for women. One of the respondents at Director level reported little support from peers but more so from people in lower level positions and this was interpreted as being more needs based. Furthermore a respondent mentioned that the message of gender equality promotion has not reached middle management.

Pertaining to those who indicate a lack of support from upper management levels, respondents identified a support base as ranging from clerks to administrative officers, colleagues on equal rank seen as supportive and more support from women than men. Another respondent reported support from supervisor but little else. One of the respondents mentioned support from colleagues on one occasion but highlighted also negative comments and jokes being laid against work on gender equality promotion as wasting time. One of the respondents when answering the question of support labeled the department concerned as being in a sense in general apathy about gender equality promotion. A further interesting response related to a lack of support being tied to a lack of activity on promoting gender equality.

Special Mechanisms

Mechanisms prohibiting discrimination

When considering mechanisms to prevent discrimination all mention the provincial sexual harassment policy. One of the respondents noted an induction program centering on orientation of new employees and one of the topics discussed is gender. Another respondent mentioned the particular department currently working on a department specific sexual harassment policy. In another interview the formation of a sexual harassment committee was mentioned and in another sexual harassment officers. The respondent who mentioned the sexual harassment officers mentioned furthermore the GFU and the Office on the Status of Women as mechanisms to prohibit discrimination.
Other mechanisms mentioned are the Employment Equity Act, Labour Relations Act and an equity policy that is specific to one of the departments and which has targets to fulfill as well as the Public Service Code of Conduct and the Departmental Transformation Units.

Mechanisms promoting women to upper management positions

Two respondents indicated that they were unaware of mechanisms to promote women to upper management positions. Four respondents mentioned the Provincial Executive Program, which serves to fast track people from designated groups for management positions. Other answers provided are Transformation 2000, which is also a provincial level programme, the Human Rights Unit that lobbies for more representivity in the department where it is involved, the Affirmative Action Task Team and three respondents mentioned the Employment Equity Plan.

3. Defining Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is an important concept for those involved in promoting gender equality. It is part of an approach toward promoting gender equality located in the Beijing Platform for Action. This is an important concept for gender focal persons to grasp as this clarifies their function.

Only one of the respondents indicated an inability to provide a definition for gender mainstreaming. Eight of the respondents captured broadly the aspects related to gender mainstreaming and some within this group offered rather informed definitions with emphasis on the need for integration of gender into the workplace and into the work that is being done by the various departments. Three respondents placed greater emphasis on sensitising people on gender.

A further question on gender mainstreaming considered an application of the understanding of the respondents of gender mainstreaming. In the question respondents were asked to mention any successful projects that they had around mainstreaming gender. The respondent who was unable to answer the question on defining gender mainstreaming however provided an example in the tendering process where women owned businesses get more points.
Furthermore other projects identified were lobbying for more representivity on committees, starting a day care facility, a programme becoming more representative in terms of people who benefited, funding to projects with a gender focus, increased representation of women into community police forums and advocacy. Five of the respondents noted that either nothing was happening or that they were not aware of such projects.

4. Searching for the Femocrat Phenomenon

A femocrat according to Sawer (in Stetson and Mazur, 1995: 22) refers to "feminists who took up women's policy positions...". Gouws (1996: 33) provides a view of the femocrat phenomenon, which centres on the importance of femocrats in bringing about institutional change due to their commitment to feminism. From the definition of the femocrat by Sawer (in Stetson and Mazur, 1995: 22) one can extract the following characteristics, firstly that femocrats are feminists and secondly that femocrats focus on women's policy positions and have become part of the mainstream bureaucracy.

When considering the presence of the femocrat phenomena the first set of questions of the interview schedule focused on institutional interests versus gender equality promotion interests. The reason for this approach is to explore which of the interests would be paramount to the gender focal person. In this regard these questions assist in assessing the extent to which institutional interests will overshadow gender equality interests in various departments and in turn the extent to which effective gender equality promotion can take place. The questions investigating institutional versus gender equality interests were how the respondent became a gender focal person, whether this is part of his/her line function and whether they have a job description for their gender portfolio. Further questions posed focused on whether they have received training, their involvement in women's organisations and the role that they envision for themselves in promoting gender equality in the PAWC.

Secondly the existence of a feminist consciousness is explored and as Gouws (1996: 34) argues this is important for facilitating understanding of gender inequality and also for political action. An assessment is made here of the extent to which there are femocrats in the GFU's, based on the partial understanding of femocrats being feminist.
The questions based on the presence of the “femocrat” phenomena refers to whether gender focal persons would view themselves self-consciously as feminist in the broad sense of promoting gender equality. This understanding of being a feminist was not indicated to the respondents and they were requested to answer based on their own understanding of a feminist.

Gender as part of line function

The importance of the line function relates to its explanation of duties associated with the particular job description. All of the respondents except two noted that work around gender equality promotion is not part of their line function. In the event that gender-related work is not part of the line function it becomes additional and thus secondary to everything else that needs to be done. Pertaining to the two respondents who said that gender is part of their line function, one respondent noted being seconded to do gender work and the other respondent noted gender as being verbally added to the line function.

Job description for gender portfolio

A job description provides an idea of the duties involved in a particular form of employment and also provides clarity on function. Specifically to the question on whether a job description exists for their gender portfolio, all respondents noted that they do not have a job description for their work as gender focal person. One of the respondents noted, however, that currently she has no job description for this work but it is in the process of being developed. One of the respondents on numerous questions revealed the problem of lack of clarity of function as a gender focal person and this lack of clarity can be attributed to a lack of a job description on gender portfolio.

How involvement as gender focal person came about

The respondents were divided according to involvement in work around gender equality being based on their own initiative, being asked and being instructed or nominated by others. Based on the responses, the majority of those working as gender focal persons were nominated, instructed or asked to serve as gender focal persons. Numerically this translates into two of the respondents whose personal interest is partially the reason for their involvement and the other ten respondents were instructed, nominated or asked to be involved.
Training for work related to gender equality promotion

The responses were considered in terms of training on gender equality versus no training on gender equality. Two of the respondents mentioned having had no training at all. The other ten respondents all had some training, which was mostly arranged by the WCOSW.

Involvement in women's organizations

One assumes that involvement in women's organizations would create a heightened awareness of the needs of women and the need to promote gender equality. Three respondents noted involvement in women's organisations in the past.

Perceived role in the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC

Most of the responses to this question center on raising awareness through advocacy and activity co-ordination. Some respondents mentioned specific areas of involvement such as budgeting, gender reporting and mentoring. One of the respondents mentioned time being an important factor in explaining what role she sees herself as playing and another respondent mentioned a need for clarity on expectations.

The presence of a feminist consciousness

The feminist identity of the respondents was assessed according to self-selection of a position on a feeling thermometer. Seven of the respondents could be rated as being feminist based on self-definition on the feeling thermometer. Five of the respondents rated themselves as not feminist. Three of the five respondents who categorised themselves as not being feminist supplied reasons such as seeing past race and gender, a sensitivity about female side tends to annoy people and being gender sensitive rather than feminist.

5. Analysis of information from gender focal persons

Constraints

Constraints can mainly still be found in the forms of budgetary and time constraints. Pertaining to finance, however, alternative sources for funding exist where a budget for gender work does not exist, as is the case in most of departments represented in the interviews.
This is positive in the sense that there is not an absolute lack of finance for projects around gender equality promotion. The problem, however, lies in a lack of steady funds that are available to facilitate planning for gender related initiatives.

Time related constraints could be attributed to the work as gender focal persons in most cases being an addition to the line function. Furthermore the lack of job description around the gender portfolio and its absence from the line function of most gender focal persons negates the need to specify time. This lack of clarity around the work of the GFU hampers gender equality promotion and raises questions on the importance of this unit in the provincial administration and also on the future success of this unit. More importantly it raises questions on commitment from upper management for gender equality promotion.

The extent of the work that needs to be done in the respective departments is also much more than gender focal persons may have expected. When considering the roles that respondents envision for themselves pertaining to gender equality promotion, one finds these roles generally center of advocacy and awareness raising and this one could argue are not extremely time consuming if they are tied to specific celebratory days such as Women's Day. This would also seem the best option in light of time constraints for many of the gender focal persons.

Support is considered as a possible constraint as this can inhibit the work of the GFU's. Most of the respondents have some support and in many of the cases the support comes from superiors and upper management. It is not common however for respondents to report having encompassing support and this can possibly be attributed to a lack of understanding of gender equality promotion and highlights the need for extensive gender sensitivity training.

The gender focal persons show high levels of information pertaining to provincial mechanisms for preventing discrimination and for the promotion of women to upper management positions but this is not so at the department level. This may be due to an absence of such mechanisms. Furthermore the responses indicate that numerous mechanisms exist to prohibit gender-based discrimination and also bodies to deal with this in the event that it occurs and is reported.
Defining Gender mainstreaming

When considering the answers provided by the respondents on a definition of gender mainstreaming, one can broadly divide the answers among the integration of gender into work and the workplace and gender awareness and sensitivity. A question that arises however in this regard is whether the gender focal persons can translate the broad aim of gender mainstreaming into specific actions that can be taken by the unit. This was considered when looking at whether the members of the GFU's could provide examples of successful gender mainstreaming projects and most of the respondents could provide examples.

The Femocrat Phenomenon

As was previously mentioned, the femocrat phenomenon was considered by looking at institutional versus gender equality interests and the presence of a feminist consciousness. With regard to institutional interests versus gender equality interests it is clear that institutional influences make it difficult to promote gender equality because gender related work is an addition to the line function. Furthermore, there is no job description for most respondents on the work related to gender equality promotion and the majority of those involved in GFU's did not become involved of their own accord. Important missing elements are incentives as motivation to enhance commitment especially where interest in gender was not forthcoming when selected.

One can possibly assume that dedication to work for gender equality may not always be forthcoming within the context of numerous constraints and a lack of incentives. Furthermore the lack of consideration of people on the basis of interests in gender equality promotion raises questions about the dedication of the department's management who instructed and nominated people without information on whether personal interest exists if in fact this was the case in all instances is however not known.

Gouws (1996: 33) points out on the existence of a feminist consciousness, another point of view in the debate on the femocrat phenomenon, is the importance of femocrats bringing about institutional change due to their commitment to feminism (Gouws, 1996: 33). Thus by identifying oneself as a feminist, and therefore by implication indicating commitment to promoting gender equality, an assumption can made about whether institutional change can be enhanced.
Most respondents rate themselves as feminist and in the context of supporting gender equality, as this is what this study assumes to be a definition of a feminist. This can therefore possibly be interpreted as an indication of some kind of commitment to promoting gender equality. This is not to imply that those who did not categorize themselves as feminist as lacking commitment but this could be due to a different understanding of what a feminist is as previously reported responses indicate. Furthermore, the argument made for institutional change can be seen in projects, such as the day care center and tendering procedures, which in some cases are reported to have become more gender sensitive.

6. Interview with the Head of the Western Cape Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality

The Head of the Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality received a different interview from that of the GFU’s as their functions differ. This interview schedule focused on work that the WCOSW has done in terms of structures to promote gender equality in the PAWC, partnerships with civil society, training for GFU’s, policies that guide the WCOSW’s work and constraints experienced in the PAWC.

An important development, which will have a considerable impact in the promotion of gender equality in the Provincial Administration, is that the Head of the WCOSW, a very committed feminist, before the completion of this dissertation stepped down from this position. This currently leaves the PAWC without staff for the co-ordinating structure on gender equality promotion and without a support and guidance base for the GFU’s.

Work of the OSW

A question was posed on structures that the WCOSW has put into place and identified by the respondent is an informal structure with GFU’s. Furthermore a Provincial Gender Co-ordinating Committee exists which was put into motion through the Director-General.

Important in the promotion of gender equality is the relationship between government and civil society, the Head of the WCOSW reports the relationship with civil society as based on training and information sharing. In terms of information sharing the CGE is mentioned as an example.
With regard to other partnerships with civil society organizations the Center for Rural and Legal studies is cited as an example of a partnership based on support for projects from the WCOSW. Other projects noted to be in the pipeline are for example a victim trauma room at the police station in Claremont.

When considering what is being done to create awareness around gender in the PAWC, the respondent noted that there are awareness campaigns, which are attached to special events but there is a strategy in the pipeline for creating awareness on gender.

A question was posed on the involvement of the OSW in gender related programmes both internally and externally, which refers to service delivery. In this regard internally nothing specifically gender related is reported but externally there is involvement with a skills development programme which is reported to be at its beginning stage and empty facilities in the province of the PAWC are being used as skills development centers.

Prior research on gender equality promotion in the PAWC

The respondent mentioned studies done by Alison Lazarus and the Gender Advocacy Program (GAP) as examples of prior research. According to the respondent nothing has been done internally except for the Gender Audit at the end of 1999.

Training

With regard to training initiated by the WCOSW, the most recent has been with the Cape Administration Academy and the Civil Service College (UK), which entailed a two-day training session for public service managers. Before this training was done with the GFU's. A further question was posed on training specifically by the Provincial Administration Training Academy on gender sensitivity, gender analysis and gender planning and the respondent noted that there are no such programmes.

Policies for guidance

On the existence of guidelines the respondent notes that there is a national policy to guide the work of the WCOSW and prior to this there was functional guidelines from the NOSW. Furthermore, only the popularized version of the national policy is currently available and is awaiting approval by Cabinet.
Pertaining to what this policy will mean for the PAWC the respondent noted that implications for the provincial OSW first needs to be extracted from the National Policy. The WCOSW was in the process of developing its own policy for the province but in light of the National Policy it will now be redirected to form a Provincial Gender Action Plan, according to the respondent.

**Constraints experienced by the OSW**

The constraints identified by the respondent are staff capacity, budgetary constraints and problems with top management commitment and directive.

The above analysis indicates that much needs to be done to promote gender equality and in the following chapter concluding remarks and recommendations are provided to deal with the obstacles to gender equality promotion in the PAWC.
Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

1. Concluding commentary

Gender equality promotion in the PAWC seems to be progressing especially when considering developments since the establishment of the WCOSW in 1999. The WCOSW itself has been in the forefront in training and guidance for the Gender Focal Units (GFU’s) in the provincial administration as well as through creating partnerships with civil society. Furthermore through its gender audit it has contributed to knowledge on progress on the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC. A significant development by the WCOSW was the planning of a gender policy for the Western Cape in the absence of a national policy. A national policy has been released however in a popularised version but not yet one that has been approved by cabinet.

The GFU’s have shown their ability in some instances to promote gender equality within time and budgetary constraints and in some cases human resource constraints as well when considering that the numerical composition of the GFU’s vary between one and five people. This is a very small number of people to deal with gender equality promotion and more specifically gender mainstreaming, where this is not their line function and within a whole department of which one department can be a combination of more than two departments. Furthermore within the context of a lack of clarity on expectations related to gender equality promotion the achievements of some GFU’s are made quite significant.

In the context of constraints and institutional interests that clearly override gender equality interests, I find that adequate space is not being created for the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC. Some of the significant reasons being that people cannot commit full time to gender work and are being overburdened by two workloads, most gender focal persons are selected without prior knowledge or interest in gender and have to work within financial and time constraints.
When looking at the developments in light of the constraints one can only imagine the kind of progress that could take place if these obstacles were removed. Therefore limited progress has taken place in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape but with more commitment from upper management in terms of resources much more can be done.

2. Recommendations

It is with increased future progress in mind that the following recommendations are made. Firstly, broad scale gender awareness training is required for the personnel of the PAWC. This must be done with the aim of gaining broad-based support for the promotion of gender equality from both colleagues of gender focal persons, from upper management, middle management and administration. Once this has been done people who reflect interest in promoting gender equality should be approached to serve as gender focal persons. This should further involve some kind of incentive to promote commitment to the project.

Secondly, it is essential that a job description be developed for gender work. An alternative would be to, if reasonable within the limits of time and other duties, to integrate gender work into the line functions of gender focal persons. In the event that the activities associated are unreasonable because of line function responsibilities, a new position will have to be created for the promotion of gender equality. This would be a more realistic option in light of the fact that gender mainstreaming is a very intense process requiring full attention. This would, however, not mean that the current gender focal persons become unnecessary but their valued contributions as part of the GFU should continue.

Thirdly, findings indicate that most GFU's do not have a specific budget for gender-related work but that money for projects can be drawn from alternative sources. This is not the ideal situation and all GFU's should have their own budgets because if gender work shares a budget with other items and it may receive last priority if a request for finance is made. Furthermore, projects cannot be planned in advance in the absence of the availability of a fixed and regular amount of money being available.
Finally, it is essential that gender focal persons receive further training especially on gender mainstreaming and how to translate the goals of gender mainstreaming into action in the respective departments. These actions, however, have to be considered within the context of each GFU as their situations differ with regard to staff, financial resources and capacity.

Gender equality promotion requires commitment from those who are obligated to implement this policy. This may sound strange but in the context of national versus provincial government this is often the situation within which many policies have to be implemented due to obligation and commitment needs to be manufactured. This is the situation also with the promotion of gender equality in the PAWC and it is possible to address this task if those assigned show interest and the necessary resources are supplied.

The commitment of those involved in gender equality promotion is of extreme importance for the success of such a project. Therefore someone as committed to the project as the previous head of the WCOSW is a step backward which is likely to seriously hamper if not halt the promotion of gender equality in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape.
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Appendix 1

Gender equality promotion interview schedule

Demographic information
- Gender
- Age
- Highest education qualification
- Department
- Occupation

Identifying Constraints

- How much time do you spend on work relating to promoting gender equality?

- Do you feel that this is sufficient?

- Do you have a budget for work related to gender equality promotion?

- Do you find support for your work regarding the promotion of gender equality from colleagues and seniors? From whom does this support come and what is the rank of this person?

- Are you aware of any mechanisms your department that prohibits discrimination against women (example: sexual harassment policy)? Please provide examples

- Are there any mechanisms in your department that facilitates the promotion of women to upper management positions?

- What is your understanding of "Gender mainstreaming"?
• Have you had any successful projects in the department with regard to mainstreaing gender?

Presence of the Femocrat phenomena

*Institutional interests versus gender equality promotion interests*

• Is gender part of your line function?

• How did you become involved in the work of the gender desk or unit?

• Do you have a job description for your gender portfolio?

• Have you had any training in gender related work?

• Do you have a history of gender activism (example as part of a women's movement)

• What role do you see yourself playing to promote gender equality promotion in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape?

*Awareness of gender inequalities - feminist consciousness*

• Do you identify yourself as feminist?

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0   50  100
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0= not feminist at all
50= feminist some of the time
100= all of the time
Appendix 2

Interview schedule for OSW

What gender structures exist within the provincial administration that the OSW has assisted to establish?

Are there any guidelines or policies on gender equality promotion to guide the work of the OSW and gender focal points?

Has any recent research been done to assess the extent to which gender equality promotion is taking place in the Administration?

What is the relationship between the OSW and civil society organisation in the Western Cape with a focus on gender? Can you give some examples of interaction?

Has the OSW initiated a training and education programmes in PAWC? If not what are the constraints that you face?

Does the PAWC training academy have a training programme to promote gender sensitive and gender analysis and planning?

Have you developed a gender awareness campaign in PAWC?

Have you been involved or facilitated any implementation of programmes that are gender related?

What would you list as the main constraints in your work to promote gender equality in PAWC?

What is the state of affairs with the National Gender Policy?

How will it guide your work in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape?