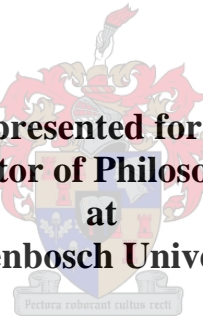


**MAINSTREAMING WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT?
A GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAMME IN SOUTH AFRICA**

TRUNETTE RIPPENAAR-JOSEPH

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December 2009

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

December 2009

Abstract

Gender Mainstreaming (GM) was popularised as an approach to advance gender equality at the United Nations (UN) World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Since then it has been adopted by the UN and international development organisations as *the approach* to integrate women and gender issues into development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), a major international development organisation, claims a strong policy commitment to GM. As such, it is an important organisation to study for its GM implementation to establish what lessons can be learnt from its practice. Because it is an international organisation, the study has implications for global GM as well as for SA.

This thesis examines mainstreaming women and gender in development in the UNDP Country Office in South Africa (UNDP/SA). It explores the gap between Gender Mainstreaming policy and practice, through discursive analysis of UNDP policy documents and reports, as well as an analysis of qualitative interview data and participatory approaches. The study focuses on the organisational challenges facing institutions trying to mainstream gender, particularly in the South African context. It puts forward a proposal for improving GM by combining organisational development and feminist theory. Through the proposal, which focuses on a broad transformation process within which to frame GM implementation, the thesis aims to contribute towards advancing gender equality through GM in South Africa and elsewhere.

Development was initially gender-blind until the early 1970s. Since then, development organisations have moved women and gender onto the development agenda through various approaches. The major approaches have been Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD) and Empowerment. The current approach, Gender Mainstreaming (GM), is about moving women and gender issues from the margin to the centre of development organisations and their practice. While being an improvement on the earlier approaches, GM still faces a number of challenges for successful implementation in development organisations such as the UNDP.

This qualitative study interrogates the GM policy discourse of the UNDP/SA, and finds a serious gap between its policy discourse and practice. This gap is evident not only in the UNDP/SA, but also in one of its funded projects, the Capacity Building Project for the Office on the Status of Women. GM fails to make an impact because of factors such as lack of training, absence of political will from senior managers in development organisations (and in government), and lack of resources. It is also clear that GM cannot occur in the absence of a broad organisational transformation process. To address the challenges facing GM, I propose a model for implementation with a special focus on the deep structure of organisations that exposes the masculinist roots of gender inequality. What is essential for this model to succeed is that GM implementation should be framed within a broader organisational transformation process, based on organisational development and feminist theory.

Abstrak

Geslagshoofstroming het geweldheid verwerf as 'n benadering om geslagsgelykheid te bevorder by die Verenigde Nasies (VN) se Wêreld Konferensie oor Vroue in Beijing in 1995. Daarna is dit deur die VN en internasionale ontwikkelingsorganisasies aanvaar as *die benadering* om vroue en geslagskwessies te integreer in ontwikkeling. Die Verenigde Nasies Ontwikkelings Program (VNOP), 'n vername internasionale ontwikkelingsorganisasie, maak aanspraak op 'n sterk toewyding aan Geslagshoofstroming as beleid. Die VNOP is dus 'n belangrike organisasie om te bestudeer vir sy Geslagshoofstroming implementering om vas te stel watter lesse ons kan leer. Die studie het implikasies nie net vir Suid-Afrika nie, maar ook globaal omdat die VNOP 'n internasionale organisasie is.

Die tesis ondersoek die hoofstroming van vroue en geslag in ontwikkeling in die VNOP Kantoor in Suid-Afrika (VNOP/SA). Dit verken die gaping tussen Geslagshoofstroming beleid en praktyk deur middel van 'n diskoers analise van VNOP beleids-dokumente en verslae, en 'n analise van data verkry deur kwalitatiewe onderhoude. Die studie fokus op die organisatoriese uitdagings vir die instellings wat Geslagshoofstroming probeer implementeer, veral in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. Dit stel 'n kombinasie van organisatoriese ontwikkeling en feministiese teorie voor om Geslagshoofstroming te bevorder. Die tesis streef daarna, deur die voorstel wat fokus op Geslagshoofstroming as deel van 'n breë transformasie proses, om by te dra tot die bevordering van geslagsgelykheid in Suid-Afrika en elders.

Ontwikkeling was aanvanklik geslagsblind tot met die vroeë 1970s. Sedertdien het ontwikkelingsorganisasies vroue en geslagskwessies op die agenda geplaas deur verskeie benaderings. Die vernaamste benaderings was Vroue in Ontwikkeling (WID), Geslag en Ontwikkeling (GAD), en Bemagtiging (Empowerment). Die huidige benadering, Geslagshoofstroming, het ten doel om vroue en geslagskwessies vanaf die kantlyn te beweeg tot in die kernpunt van ontwikkelings-organisasies en hulle praktyke. Alhoewel dit 'n verbetering op die vorige benaderings is, staan Geslagshoofstroming implementering nog 'n aantal uitdagings in die gesig in ontwikkelingsorganisasies soos die VNOP.

Die kwalitatiewe studie interrogeer die Geslagshoofstromings diskoers van die VNOP/SA en vind 'n ernstige gaping tussen sy beleidsdiskoers en praktyk. Hierdie gaping is sigbaar nie net in die VNOP/SA nie, maar ook in een van sy befondsde projekte, die Kapasiteitsbou Projek vir die Kantoor vir die Status van Vroue. Geslagshoofstroming maak nie impak nie as gevolg van faktore soos 'n gebrek aan opleiding, die afwesigheid van politieke wilskrag by senior bestuurders in ontwikkelingsorganisasies (en in die regering), en 'n gebrek aan hulpbronne. Dit is ook duidelik dat Geslagshoofstroming nie kan plaasvind in die afwesigheid van 'n breë organisatoriese transformasie proses nie. Om die uitdagings vir Geslagshoofstroming aan te spreek, stel ek 'n implementeringsmodel voor met 'n spesiale fokus op die diep struktuur van organisasies wat die maskulinistiese oorsprong van geslagsongelykheid blootlê. Noodsaaklik vir die sukses van die model, is die kontekstualisering van

Geslagshoofstroming in breë organisatoriese transformasie, gebaseer op 'n kombinasie van feministiese en organisatoriese ontwikkelingsteorie.

Dedication

To my mother and role model, Sophia Hector-Rippenaar, and the memory of my late father, William Robert Rippenaar. My parents inspired me to reach for the sky by creating a “light-filled place”¹ in our family home in Idas Valley, Stellenbosch, so that I could have the education and the opportunities they never had.

¹ The concept of a “light-filled place” is borrowed from Ogundipe-Leslie (1994).

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Abbreviations

CCF	Country Co-operation Framework
GAD	Gender and Development
GFU	Gender Focal Unit
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
NOSW	National Office on the Status of Women
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
POSW	Provincial Office on the Status of Women
SA	South Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDP/SA	United Nations Development Programme in South Africa
UNIFEM	UN Development Fund for Women
WID	Women in Development

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INTRODUCTION: THE PURPOSE AND FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

Mainstreaming women in development has become a mainstay of development discourse and practice. This is a positive move in a field that has been gender-blind to a large extent (Tshatsinde, 1992; Watson, 1999; Overholt *et al.*, 1985; Ostergaard, 1992). Indeed, until the landmark publication of Esther Boserup's book, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, women's issues were subsumed under *people's* development, and a willingness to consider women as a distinctive group evolved slowly and often reluctantly in the 1970s. The shift from a focus on Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD) in the late 1980s, to Empowerment in the 1990s, has expanded the field and developed new ways to think about, strategise and undertake projects to improve gender equality².

In the mid-1990s Gender Mainstreaming (GM) was adopted as the new approach to women in development.³ In the aftermath of the United Nations (UN) Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 this has become the new strategy for integrating gender equality and women into development (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002; Alston, 2006; De Waal, 2006). This approach promised to integrate/mainstream gender issues into organisations, attitudes and practices in societies around the world.

² I use the concept "gender equality" for the first time in the Abstract to the study. When I use the concept of gender equality, I mean both formal and substantive equality. Gender equality should address equality of opportunity, equality of access and equality of treatment in the sense of equal but different. By this I mean that gender equality does not imply that women always have to be treated exactly the same as men, as there are instances where this is impossible, where women's needs would be different from men's.

³ I discuss the concepts of WID, GAD, and Gender Mainstreaming more fully in Chapter 1.

This is a laudable goal, but one that has been easier to declare than to achieve. It has been framed in an optimistic, often uncritical manner, with limited acknowledgement of the profound obstacles facing such an ambitious undertaking – both theoretically at the level of policy and, most importantly, in practice.

Major development organisations, most non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and governments around the world have joined the bandwagon, declaring their support for Gender Mainstreaming (GM). The United Nations declared GM its official approach to integrate women and gender into development (Rees, 2005), even though at the time, in the late 1990s, GM was not well understood at the level of theory and practice. The UNDP, as the development wing of the UN, has been a particularly strong advocate of Gender Mainstreaming. The UNDP was a pioneer in this field quite early on by developing policy documents that placed GM at the centre of its development activities. Yet the degree to which GM can substantively advance women and gender, and bring them from the margin to the centre of development, remains an unanswered question. The thesis will explore this question in the context of the UNDP in South Africa (UNDP/SA), both in regard to mainstreaming gender within an international development organisation – namely the UNDP/SA – as well as externally with a funded partner in a capacity-building project with the Office on the Status of Women in South Africa.

The thesis explores the gap between policy and praxis, with a focus on discourse as well as organisational theory. It aims to critically evaluate GM practices in an international development organisation with a strong commitment to Gender Mainstreaming, in order

to develop strategies for reducing the gap between policy and practice in mainstreaming gender and to contribute to advancing gender equality through GM in South Africa by contributing to the knowledge and literature in this field.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The origin of my interest in Gender Mainstreaming

My interest in women and Gender Mainstreaming (GM) stems from my involvement in women's organisations during the South African liberation struggle. As a black woman, I was actively involved in women's organisations in the Western Cape, particularly the United Women's Organisation (UWO) founded in 1980 (later called the United Women's Congress, or UWCO). In turn, this organisation was affiliated to the United Democratic Front (UDF), an umbrella movement for various and diverse community-based organisations, with one common goal: their struggle to fight, resist and overthrow the apartheid government in SA. After the unbanning of organisations such as the ANC, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) in February 1990 by the then South African government, UWCO was disbanded and replaced by the ANCWL, where I continued my involvement in women's liberation issues.

Women's liberation issues were always part and parcel of the national democratic struggle for liberation in South Africa. In those days we spoke of 'women's issues'; the term 'gender' was never used. However, in the early 1990s, there was a shift from using the concept of 'women' to using 'gender', both to pay attention to socio-economic factors and to include men and masculinities in the struggle for 'gender' equality, a struggle that

was (and is) far from over. I continued to be involved in gender activism at my places of work, notably at Peninsula Technikon (1993-1999), a higher education institution in the Western Cape, and then in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC), from 1999-2001. In the PGWC I worked in the Corporate Services Department, a broad support services component of the PGWC that comprised Labour Relations, Human Resources Development and Training, and Human Resources Management. I was located in the Human Resources Management (HRM) Chief Directorate, where I was responsible for, among other things, the Departmental Gender Focal Unit. I moved from HRM to Human Resources Development and Training in 2001, where I was responsible for designing staff training courses, and engendering (adding a gender dimension to) them. From January 2003 to December 2005 I managed the transformation process of the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, Western Cape Region, where my work included addressing gender equality issues⁴. Currently I still work in government, as a manager in Human Resource Development, in the Department of the Premier in the Provincial Government Western Cape. Gender Mainstreaming is currently part of my work in terms of integrating it into curriculum development (the unit that I manage) for training programmes at the Provincial Training Academy.

It was in 1999, while working in the Provincial Government Western Cape, that I first encountered the concept of Gender Mainstreaming. The provincial Office on the Status of

⁴ In 2004, after the elections, the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry was assigned a new woman Minister, who initiated a move towards Gender Mainstreaming (which is a key focus area of transformation in the department). My job was managing transformation in the Western Cape region of the department. As such, Gender Mainstreaming was part of my work.

Women (OSW),⁵ which was responsible for addressing gender equality in the PGWC, advocated GM as an approach to institutionalising gender equality. However, it soon became obvious to me that the OSW was using GM too uncritically, without unpacking exactly what its implications were for the PGWC, its various departments and its approximately 67 000 staff members, or for the public that it served. On behalf of my department I attended the regular monthly meetings of the OSW with the departmental Gender Focal Units (GFUs). The GFU representatives repeatedly stated that they did not know what their role and responsibilities regarding GM were, and that they had not had any training on gender issues. These problems were exacerbated by the fact that only one woman at Deputy Director (middle management) level had staffed the provincial Office on the Status of Women for Gender Equality (OSW) since July 1999. She had the mammoth task of strategically managing GM for (at the time) nine departments in the PGWC, including guiding the GFUs and GFPs.⁶

As stated earlier, the knowledge and understanding of Gender Mainstreaming, how it had to be implemented in provincial departments and its integration into the strategic objectives of the PGWC, were sorely lacking, even at senior management level. Senior

⁵ The National Office on the Status of Women (NOSW) is part of the National Gender Machinery in South Africa. The NOSW is located in the Presidency in Pretoria. There is a provincial OSW in each of the nine provinces. The NOSW and the provincial OSW offices have as their core function mainstreaming gender within government.

⁶ Every department was supposed to have a Gender Focal Unit (GFU)/Gender Focal Point (GFP), depending on its size. A small department would have a GFP, which would be one staff member, and bigger ones would have GFUs, which would comprise at least two staff members. Most of the departments had GFUs which were elected democratically, with five or more members, representing sections in the departments. Some GFU members and GFPs were simply instructed to represent their departments. For all these staff, this was an “add-on” to their job.

managers, mostly men, did not support events arranged by the provincial OSW; indeed, they were conspicuous by their absence. It was the exception rather than the rule for a senior manager to be present at an OSW event or meeting. They would rather send someone more junior, who in turn would send someone below them, to the point that events for senior management became a meeting of very junior staff, who often neither knew why they were there, nor what they were supposed to do! Senior management basically disregarded their responsibility and role in GM. A vicious cycle developed: the GFUs and GFPs, together with the Deputy Director in the OSW, failed to make headway with the elusive concept of GM. Something was seriously wrong.

This failure highlighted for me the need to study Gender Mainstreaming as an approach to institutionalising gender equality in organisations, including bureaucracies, as “Institutions ... remain an important focus for analysis [including gender analysis], for they mediate and channel macro-level forces and people’s lives” (Staudt, 1998:2). I realised that women were still experiencing systemic discrimination, because most people in authority (including the few women who generally identified with them), making the decisions and passing legislation about women, were still men or women who identified with male agendas (Whitworth, 1994). At that time (1999-2001) only one woman was a Head of Department (HOD) out of nine in the province, and the Provincial and National Parliaments were male-dominated. These men (and the one woman HOD) demonstrated no genuine interest in mainstreaming gender in their departments. They failed to make gender mainstreaming a strategic objective and to develop a Gender Mainstreaming plan of action as part of a broader organisational transformation process. Clearly GM in this

context was never going to succeed in South Africa unless we could convince key men and women of its importance, and discover ways to learn from successful GM in the region and around the world.

Rationale for studying the UNDP/SA

I have chosen to examine the UNDP/SA as an international development organisation because of its strong commitment to Gender Mainstreaming. The UNDP (of which the UNDP/SA is the Country Office) has excellent Gender Mainstreaming policies. It played a pioneering role in the field by adopting Gender Mainstreaming (GM) quite early in the post-Beijing era (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002), as stated earlier. Thus this international development organisation is an excellent case study for my thesis.

This study explores both how the UNDP/SA has mainstreamed gender internally as well as externally with a South African partner, the Office on the Status of Women (OSW). The UNDP/SA has included GM in their Country Co-operation Framework (CCF) projects with the South African government since 1997.⁷ It has also funded a Capacity Building Project for the Office on the Status of Women in South Africa under the theme of Gender Mainstreaming. This is another major reason for choosing the UNDP/SA as a case study. However, questions remain whether the UNDP/SA has succeeded in translating policy into praxis in its development work. My study explores how women and gender have been integrated into the development field since the 1970s through

⁷ I discuss Country Co-operation Frameworks between the UNDP/SA and the South African Government in Chapter 2.

various approaches such as WID, GAD and Empowerment. These approaches each have their shortcomings and GM grew out of attempts to improve on them.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Gender Mainstreaming is a key concept in my study. According to Hafner-Burton and Pollack (2002), GM originated in the international development community after the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985. However, it was only adopted as an approach to gender equality by organisations such as the World Bank and the United Nations after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

What is Gender Mainstreaming? The concept of GM means different things to different people. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defines GM as follows:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (quoted in Moser, C. and Moser, A., 2005: 12).

This definition is useful insofar as it attempts to cover all spheres within an organisation. However, while very comprehensive and seeming to address every sphere of our daily lives, it equalises men and women. This definition seems to forget that in the action of ensuring that both women and men benefit equally, it has to be remembered that the two groups are currently not equal. Women would need a head start in the process if we want

to ensure both formal and substantive gender equality,⁸ instead of ‘general’ equality with men. Formal equality for women in South Africa is supported by a legislative framework comprising the Constitution, the Commission of Gender Equality Act, and the South African National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality. The mechanism that should drive and champion gender equality is the National Gender Machinery. Substantive equality entails translating formal equality into practice by ensuring that women not only have equality of opportunity and treatment, but also have access to these opportunities and treatments by removing the societal barriers that currently prevent them from doing so.

The UNDP provides a much shorter definition: Gender Mainstreaming is “Taking account of gender concerns in all policy, programmes, administrative and financial activities, and in organisational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organisational transformation” (UNDP Website, 1999). This definition also attempts to cover all aspects of the organisation (like ECOSOC), namely policies, programmes, administration, finance and organisational procedures. The question remains whether this shorter definition is any better than the more comprehensive ECOSOC one. What does it mean to “take account of gender concerns”? Does this discourse ensure that gender concerns are fully understood and addressed? This definition fails to locate the responsibility for GM as well as the person(s) and/or structure(s) accountable for its implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Macdonald’s definition has the same shortcoming; she does not mention who is to be responsible for Gender Mainstreaming

⁸ Formal gender equality means very little to women if substantive equality is lacking. To translate formal equality into substantive equality for women’s empowerment remains a crucial challenge in Gender Mainstreaming implementation.

implementation. She states that “[M]ainstreaming gender is about introducing women’s perspectives into all areas of development work and claiming both the private and public domains, individual and collective experience, as legitimate spheres for development action” (1994: 6).

Other scholars such as Deborah Stienstra (1994) define Gender Mainstreaming as the process of groups working for change within existing institutions and organisations. She argues that GM is merely an adaptation allowing for change. It fails to produce profound transformation because it is constrained by its own organisational parameters, making it difficult for those who work for change to move beyond what the organisations allow. However, she ignores the possibility that GM can be more than this if it is implemented correctly, with sufficient resources and commitment. I will return to this point in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

In South Africa Gender Mainstreaming has been the flavour of the month since the 1990s. There is a firm belief in many institutions and organisations that it is the right approach for institutionalising gender so that substantive gender equality can be attained. In an interview (2007) with a top woman manager and gender expert in the Department of Public Service and Administration, my informant expressed a firm belief that GM is the approach to use to achieve gender equality in government in line with the *South African National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality* (hereafter called the *National Gender Policy*). The *National Gender Policy* prepared by

the national OSW located in the South African Presidency, and officially launched at the *National Gender Summit*⁹ in 2001, has its own definition of GM, which:

... refers to a process that is goal orientated. It recognises that most institutions consciously and unconsciously serve the interests of men and encourages institutions to adopt a gender perspective in transforming themselves. It promotes the full participation of women in decision-making so that women's needs move from the margins to the centre of development planning and resource allocation (xviii).

The discourse of this definition is markedly different from the ones mentioned above. It unashamedly puts women at the centre of the Gender Mainstreaming process, stating explicitly that the playing fields are unequal, and that women need to be represented at decision-making levels if anything is to change. It disregards men completely, putting the focus on women. While I agree with the strong emphasis on women, it is not useful to exclude men from the process. They have a definite role to play in GM.

The way that Gender Mainstreaming is defined and framed is of crucial importance. Framing GM within an organisational theory context seems helpful. My contention is that GM cannot be an "add-on" in a development or any other organisation. GM should be implemented as one pillar of a broad, systemic transformation process permeating the entire organisation. I support the argument put forward by Rao *et al.* (1999) that we need a reconceptualisation and re-invention of the organisations within which GM policies are implemented. They propose combining feminist with organisational theory, a proposal that makes tremendous sense in the light of the challenges posed by GM implementation.

⁹ I attended the National Gender Summit in August 2001 as a member of the Provincial Government Western Cape delegation, where the National Gender Policy was launched after Cabinet had officially approved it.

Fundamental to their proposal is unpacking and undoing what they call the “deep structure” (also referred to as the gendered substructure) of an organisation committed to the transformation process required to implement Gender Mainstreaming¹⁰.

Thus the definition that I will use in my study is in a sense a combination of the ECOSOC and *National Gender Policy* definitions, and the approach adopted by Rao *et al.* mentioned above. ECOSOC fails to mention the unequal playing fields from which we are starting, while the *National Gender Policy* fails to include men in the process. These are fairly serious shortcomings. In an effort to correct these shortcomings, and to add an organisational theory approach, I have developed the following definition:

Mainstreaming gender is a process through which to establish both formal and substantive gender equality in an organisation. It recognises that this process happens in a masculinist society favouring men and their interests. Both women and men need to drive the process, which must encompass all spheres/levels of an organisation. Gender Mainstreaming should be integrated into a broad organisational transformation process, which reconceptualises and/or re-invents the entire organisation as it interrogates and undoes its deep structures. Accountability for the transformation process in which Gender Mainstreaming is embedded should lie at the most senior management level of the organisation.

¹⁰ I will discuss the proposal by Rao *et al.* to frame GM within a transformation process, as well as tackling the deep structure, in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Gender Mainstreaming, building on the Gender and Development (GAD) approach, moves away from a focus on women only. The use of the concept ‘gender’ instead of ‘women’ in GM signals a discursive shift towards recognising the social construction of gender, the gender relations between women and men (Moghadam, 1990), and the need to extend the focus more broadly than just merely on women (Albertyn, 1995; Staudt, 1998). The realisation that women’s issues generally, and more specifically in development, have to include men and masculinist power is thus a fundamental aspect of GM and development discourse, and a key concern of this study.

METHODOLOGY

The thesis will examine as a research question the extent to which the UNDP/SA has succeeded in implementing Gender Mainstreaming in its development praxis, and whether there is a gap between its GM policy and praxis. I will examine particularly the theoretical assumptions underpinning GM, and the key arguments of different schools of thought on it. The study will include a South African perspective, as well as a discursive analysis of GM documents and policies. I will be looking for evidence of successful GM implementation, and whether the UNDP has succeeded in closing the gap between GM policy and praxis.

I will examine UNDP and UNDP/SA official texts regarding Gender Mainstreaming, but will also look at a specific GM case study funded by the UNDP/SA¹¹ to see how effective the organisation's GM policy has been on the ground. I am hoping that my study will assist South Africa to move forward with gender equality by providing recommendations for using GM in an effective way that will result in a substantive difference in women's lives on the ground. The challenge for SA is to use its very enabling National Gender Machinery (NGM)¹² effectively to ensure successful GM implementation. Related to this challenge will be the tackling of what Rao *et al.* (1999) call the organisational deep structure.¹³ Other challenges are resistance to mainstreaming gender, the lack of resources, commitment and political will from senior management in development organisations – all of which need to be addressed.

Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned how little understanding and knowledge was displayed about Gender Mainstreaming as an approach in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC), an organisation with approximately 67 000 staff servicing the public. How can this huge public service organisation impact substantively on the lives of especially poor, grassroots women by improving its service delivery if there is no sound theoretical understanding of gender equality and GM? According to the South African National Gender Policy Framework, there has been a deepening of the feminisation of poverty in South Africa (2001: 11). Phalane also speaks of the feminisation of poverty,

¹¹ The Capacity Building Project for the Office on the Status of Women.

¹² I discuss the National Gender Machinery in Chapter 5.

¹³ I will discuss the organisational deep structure put forward Rao *et al.* (1999) in more detail later in the study.

saying that “The majority of the poor in South Africa are women” (2004: 163) . The feminisation of poverty is but one of the challenges concerning poor women that the PGWC has to address. Then there is the question of mainstreaming gender for the internal staff of the PGWC, the very people who have to ensure delivery to the masses on the ground. Clearly, there was a challenge for which the PGWC was ill equipped. By highlighting the gaps such as untrained Gender Focal Unit (GFU) members, as well as the lack of commitment and involvement of senior managers, and suggesting appropriate action, my study can advance gender equality through GM in public service delivery and thus impact substantively on women’s lives on the ground.

The aim of my study then is to examine the existing literature on Gender Mainstreaming in order to discover both the problems and the possibilities that have faced people seeking to operationalise GM around the world, particularly in international development organisations and projects. I will seek to compare this broader literature with South African experiences, taking the UNDP/SA as a particular example. I will examine the development discourse on GM in the UNDP/SA to determine if there is a gap between policy discourse and praxis regarding GM in its development work. This will require a careful assessment of the UNDP/SA discourse and practice regarding women’s development, empowerment and gender, as well as an analysis of some of its policies and projects. The UNDP generally, and the UNDP/SA specifically, state in their discourse¹⁴

¹⁴ UNDP documents such as policies, reports and their Country Co-operation Framework with SA repeatedly and emphatically state its commitment to Gender Mainstreaming.

that women and men should benefit equally from GM. Whether this indeed translates into practice remains to be seen.

If indeed there is a gap between discourse and practice, as well as competing discourses within the UNDP, the thesis will seek to discover steps that could be taken to overcome this gap in order to transform UNDP/SA gender policy and practice, and to empower women in the South African development context. Questions like these become increasingly important if one bears in mind that UN development assistance started in 1960, and that we are currently in the fifth development decade and yet gender inequality is still widespread. Gender Mainstreaming in development discourse and organisations is also not a new concept (Goetz, 1997; Staudt, 1998). It is a concept and set of practices that requires critical assessment about the progress (or failures) since its inception.

In order to answer my research question, I will use the following methodologies:

- An extensive literature survey will be conducted on the Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD), Empowerment, and Gender Mainstreaming approaches, and on the evolution of the UNDP/SA. I will draw on authors such as Esther Boserup, Caroline Moser, Jane Parpart, Andrea Cornwall, Kathy Staudt, Naila Kabeer, Janet Momsen, Amanda Gouws, Rao *et al.*, as well as articles from key journals.
- A discursive analysis of official UNDP/SA documents such as policies, statements and reports on mainstreaming women and gender will be done. The analysis aims to determine how the discourse frames the mainstreaming of

women and gender policies, how this has translated into project design, and what kind of progress is expected and reported. When doing the discourse analysis, I will draw on the work of authors such as Roxanne Doty, Aletta Norval, Jonathan Crush, Arturo Escobar and James Ferguson to a certain extent, without fully using their respective approaches. I discuss discourse analysis in more detail below.

- I will draw heavily on Doty and the key concepts that she employs in her book, *Imperial Encounters. The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations* (1996). I wish to state very clearly that I do not attempt to use Doty's approach fully; I will merely draw on the elements of her work that are useful to my study. Examples of such elements or key concepts are 'how' questions, the practice of representation, floating signifiers, nodal points, classificatory schemes, naturalisation and the control of space.
- Qualitative interviews with appropriate UNDP/SA and project partner (OSW) staff and beneficiaries (five Provincial Government Western Cape Departments) who were involved in the case study. I will be looking for evidence about the project goals, whether they have been achieved, and whether gender relations have been transformed through successful Gender Mainstreaming.
- Analysis of a case study, the UNDP/SA Capacity Building Project (CBP) with the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), nationally and provincially.
- Using a feminist methodological approach as part of qualitative research. A feminist methodology builds into research a rationale for change, which is central to Gender Mainstreaming, as it aims to substitute gender inequality with gender equality. Another important aspect of qualitative feminist research that I focus on

is self-reflexivity in one's research. I discuss these concepts in greater detail below.

- I will draw on my participant observation and experience of Gender Mainstreaming efforts, as employee and Gender Focal Point in the Provincial Government Western Cape from 1999 to 2002. I will also reflect on my employment in the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. I worked there from 2003 to 2005, managing transformation and change for the Western Cape region, and as such I was responsible for gender work as well.

In the following section, I explore theorising key concepts of my methodology, starting with discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis

A discursive analysis of texts and interviews is central to my study, particularly given the resistance of many organisations to attempts to evaluate organisational and individual gendered attitudes and practices. Kronsell (2006) suggests that narratives found in reports and documents provide a good alternative for deconstructing gender dynamics in organisations where masculinist tendencies silence discussions of gender, making research into organisational practices particularly difficult. A discursive analysis of UNDP reports will assist in problematising masculinities and male hegemony in institutions, and will go a long way towards finding solutions for the challenges we face in GM implementation. For this reason I provide a short overview of discourse theory and discourse analysis and then relate it to the development field, the context of my study.

Discourse, according to Scott in Parpart and Marchand, is “a historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs – the site where meanings are contested and power relations are determined” (1995: 2-3). It is affected by (and affects) the contexts within which it operates. Moreover, discourses often compete within particular contexts, increasing the difficulties of assessing meaning in both texts and silences.

Discourse analysis (DA) can be used to deconstruct social practices, to focus on social inequality and power relationships, among other things (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). It can assist in tracking how different forms of discourse, with its associated values and assumptions, are used in texts or documents, the rationale behind this and their effects (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999). This is sometimes referred to as the ‘forensic goals’ of discourse analysis: to probe text and discursive practices to discover hidden meanings and values (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 33). These ‘forensic goals’ have been particularly useful for tracking how Gender Mainstreaming discourse in the UNDP/SA is employed, and whether the UNDP’s hidden discursive meanings and values regarding Gender Mainstreaming are evident in its Capacity Building Project for the Office on the Status of Women in South Africa.

Discourse analysis interrogates who dominates, has power and control, and how this power and control are manifested in and through language (Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Discourse is not powerful in its own right; it gains power from how powerful people choose to make use of it (Wodak and Meyer, 2001) through powerful development

institutions such as the UNDP, for example. Development institutions, according to Crush (1995), have their own particular discourse that they use to create and justify a setting within which their development interventions can take place; their discourse is not neutral (Staudt, 1998). Doty (1996) argues that discourses are embedded in Western encounters with the Third World, in practices as well as in institutions. Tapscott (1997) concurs with Ferguson (1994), Escobar (1995) and Crush (1995) that development discourse not only has its own language, logic and internal coherence; it is also seldom politically neutral. Crush (1995) argues that development regimes consciously create what Doty (1996) calls representational practices of abstract binary opposites of developed/underdeveloped, first world/third world, modern/traditional in constructing a development discourse that justifies certain interventions and practices, while delegitimising others. It is therefore imperative to interrogate development texts for their silences, for what they suppress and the reasons for this. One aspect of this study will look at the UNDP/SA development discourse; exploring content as well as silences, shifts over time, and the relationship between changing discourse and changes in behaviour and practice regarding Gender Mainstreaming.

Discourse analysis, including the analysis of texts such as transcribed interviews and policy statements, can expose power structures and competing discourses (Wetherell *et al.*, 2001). According to Stienstra (1994), discourses are evident in international organisations such as the UNDP in documents that are prepared for meetings, in the resolutions that are adopted, in speeches given by organisational representatives, in the principles that underpin the organisation, and from external evaluations and assessments

of them. The dominant discourse could change over time, incrementally, or in qualitative terms.

My study will use UNDP/SA policies, reports and qualitative interviews to determine the hegemonic discourse in the institution and whether there are competing, silenced, marginalised discourses struggling to find a voice. I agree with Milliken (1999), who argues that when doing discourse analysis more than one text should be used; a set of texts emanating from different authorised writers/speakers is the ideal target. This provides more comprehensive insight into the discourse of the institution and indicates whether there are competing/marginalised/silenced discourses as well. This is why I have chosen to discursively analyse UNDP Gender Mainstreaming policies as well as reports.

A discursive analysis is also about what Doty (1996) calls the practice(s) of representation, namely how knowledge and truth are represented and produced in a particular context. She uses the example of the South being represented by the North as underdeveloped, third world and traditional. This practice of representation is one of the tools used to analyse the discourse of gender and power relations in the UNDP/SA and its funded project partner in my case study. I will seek to establish how women and gender issues are discursively represented in the UNDP/SA, its Gender Mainstreaming policies and reports, particularly whether binary oppositions are present in the framing of women, men and gender in discussions of Gender Mainstreaming.

Related to my discursive analysis, I will explore the gendered deep structure of the UNDP/SA through a focus on organisational change theory (Rao *et al.*, 1999). I agree

with these authors' argument that an organisation that is internally gender-biased cannot produce gender-equitable outcomes. In other words, an organisation in which gender equality has not been mainstreamed and institutionalised, and where organisational culture and practice are steeped in institutionalised hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987), cannot provide a hospitable home for GM. Tackling the genderedness of the UNDP/SA will require a broad transformation process in which Gender Mainstreaming is included. It will require interrogating how women and gender are viewed, how positional power is used to perpetuate gender inequality, what kind of power is needed for gender equality, and how new work practices can be developed (Rao *et al.*, 1999).

Qualitative research

I am adopting a qualitative approach, as it seems most appropriate for this study. It is thus appropriate to define what qualitative research is and to explain why I chose to use this research approach. Qualitative research is not merely about issues of gathering, analysing and reporting non-numerical data. It emphasises careful and detailed descriptions of social practices in attempting to understand how participants experience and explain their world (Jackson, 1995). Tesch (1990) defines qualitative research as a certain approach to knowledge production – any information gathered by the researcher that is not expressed in numbers. It can include information other than words, such as body movements, artistic productions and gossip. According to Miller (1997), qualitative research can be used to advance an understanding of how institutions work as well as the gendered practices embedded in them.

Some of the tools often used in qualitative research are participant observation, in-depth interviews and in-depth analysis of a single case (Jackson, 1995). My study focuses on an in-depth analysis of a single case (what Jackson calls the micro level), namely the Capacity Building Programme of the OSW in SA, funded by the UNDP/SA as part of its Gender Mainstreaming project. At the macro level (as opposed to Jackson's micro level mentioned above), I am looking at the UNDP/SA as an institution (Jackson, 1995).

One of the main reasons for using qualitative research in social sciences is that in this field, unlike the natural sciences, the focus of the researcher is not "exact science". Instead it is on interpretation (Holliday, 2002), meaning or understanding – what the Germans call "*Verstehen*" (Henwood & Pidgeon in Hammersley, 1993). It is information that is not expressed in numbers (Tesch, 1990). In my study of the UNDP/SA I am not interested in ascertaining how many successful cases of Gender Mainstreaming there have been, and how many people and/or funded partners have been involved. I am interested in how and why people do things related to GM within a particular context (the UNDP/SA/OSW partnership) with no wish to reduce people to variables (Winburg, 1997).

Participant observation

My study makes use of participant observation to a certain extent. At the time of conducting my research I was involved in the OSW at provincial government level as an employee of the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC). I was also responsible for Gender Mainstreaming work in a national government department for three years. My

participant observation was not planned as part of my research; when I started my study I was not working in government. Thus one could say that I became a participant observer *post hoc*.

In participant observation the “researcher is simultaneously a member of the group she or he is studying and a researcher doing the study” (Babbie *et al.*, 2006: 293). Fetterman refers to participant observation as “immersion in a culture” (1998: 35). One dilemma of participant observation is that of wearing two hats in being a member of the group and the (detached) researcher. The advantage of this method is that it highlights and emphasises the previously unnoticed. It is unobtrusive, allowing one to observe people and their actions, which can be more telling than their verbal accounts (Babbie *et al.*, 2006).

Reinharz (1992: 258) speaks of the “involvement of the researcher as person”. She argues that utilising the researcher’s personal experience is a characteristic of feminist research, and that many feminist researchers are ‘participants’ in their own study. She sees this as a positive element, a move away from pseudo-objectivity. In my case I have been working in the PGWC, which forms a large part of my study, while researching GM implementation in five of its departments. As researcher I could draw on my personal experience of having been a Gender Focal Point (GFP) in a PGWC department. In this sense I was a “researcher as person” (*ibid.*), a participant observer in my own study. I saw first hand that Gender Mainstreaming is a tremendously challenging and complex approach to implement outside of organisational transformation. I saw that a technocratic,

depoliticised GM approach as used by the PGWC was not working and that we were not moving forward. My role as participant observer enabled me to reflect on the challenges of GM in government departments from an informed, involved position. There was no need for me to pretend to be 'objective' or outside of my study. In fact, Reinharz's positive element of being a participant observer enabled me to understand the extent of the challenges, because I was constantly confronted with them as person and employee. In my reflexive processes as researcher I realised that GM had to be located within an organisational transformation process to succeed. As such, my participant observer role strengthened the authenticity of my research, moving it away from what Reinharz calls pseudo-objectivity.

Feminist methodology

In this study I locate myself as a researcher within a feminist epistemological framework. A feminist methodology and/or theory aims to produce valid knowledge of gender relations, mostly with the view to ending women's unequal position in society (Squires & Wickham-Jones, 2004; Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002; Tickner, 2001). My study is on Gender Mainstreaming and the extent to which this approach is advancing women's and gender equality in South Africa. As such, it makes sense to use a feminist methodological approach in my study that could hopefully contribute towards advancing equality for women locally by strengthening GM in South Africa.

A feminist methodology also foregrounds the issues, one of which is gendered power relations that are often ignored in institutions dominated by hegemonic masculinity.

According to Kronsell (2006: 108), certain institutions such as the military and the state, for example, are “institutions of hegemonic masculinity because male bodies dominate in them, and have done so historically, and a particular form of masculinity has become the norm”. This hegemonic masculinity gives men access to power and privilege over women and women’s issues; this hegemonic masculinity is one of the issues that need to be tackled when addressing the deep structure of organisations in GM implementation.

I also see myself as a black feminist interested in working for women’s equality: it is about taking a feminist standpoint in order to examine the connection between knowledge and power, and to make visible the hidden power relations of knowledge production as well as what underpins gender (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002). Lather (1991) argues that feminist research puts the social construction of gender at the very centre of one’s inquiry. By posing particular questions, and identifying certain absences, a feminist approach shows how central gender is to our consciousness, skills, institutions, and the distribution of power and privilege. Thus the ideological aim of the feminist approach is to correct women’s invisibility and the distortion of their experiences so as to end their unequal social position. It is also about making gender a fundamental category for understanding our world, the social order, “to see the world from women’s place in it” (Lather, 1991: 71-72). Tickner (2006) sums this up by saying that knowledge must be used by women to change the oppressive conditions (read ‘gender inequality’) that they face, and feminist researchers must ask what would be changed for women (and men) and their lives through their research. In my study of the UNDP/SA and the CBP as case

study I aim to highlight these issues through a feminist approach. An integral part of such an approach is self-reflexivity in the research process.

Self-reflexivity

What is self-reflexivity in research? According to Ackerly *et al.* (2006), reflexivity is a distinctive characteristic of feminist and qualitative research methodology. Reflexivity requires the researcher to interrogate her research, its context and the manner in which the research is conducted. She needs to reflect on the relationship between ontology and epistemology, by asking how her understanding of the world shapes and influences her understanding of knowledge. They continue that the researcher needs to ask what would be the best way to do her research ethically; research ethics have to be an integral part of the research process. Ethics “compel us to ask how our own subjectivities, that of our research subjects, and the power relations between us affect the research process” (Ackerly *et al.*, 2006: 7).

Harding (1991: 163) argues for strong reflexivity that results in strong objectivity. For her, strong reflexivity

... would require that the objects of inquiry be conceptualised as gazing back in all their cultural particularity and that the researcher, through theory and methods, stand behind them, gazing back at his own socially situated research project in all its cultural particularity and its relationships to other projects of his culture.

She is supported in her view by Tickner (2006), who states that the objectivity of research is increased if the researcher acknowledges the subjective element in her analysis, which is present in all social science research. Related to this notion of strong objectivity and

reflexivity is the need to inform one's research subjects about their options, as they should be participants in the account of their activities. This is important as the researcher needs to make the research situation as democratic as possible. She should also analyse her own beliefs and behaviours, which are shaped by the same social relations that she researches (*ibid.*). In this process she removes herself from the research context to obtain a critical distance from which she can interrogate her own standpoint.

Williams (1990) says that one of the dilemmas confronting the researcher is setting boundaries when engaging in reflexive practice. This ties up with the power relations between the researcher and the researched (Ackerly *et al.*, 2006), which are unequal by their very nature. Whose epistemology is valid in which context, and whose ontology prevails, that of the researcher or the researched? Williams (1990) also raises the question of what epistemological and methodological issues are thrown up in the reflexive process and what these issues mean for the researcher.

Applying self-reflexivity to my own position and power as researcher highlights my dual position of being participant and observer. I intend doing field work in the Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC) by conducting qualitative interviews with PGWC employees who are Gender Focal Points in various departments. I have also been a Gender Focal Point myself in the Department of the Premier.¹⁵ Thus I will have first-hand experience of all aspects of being a Gender Focal Point in a provincial government department. I know how difficult it is to have Gender Mainstreaming as an add-on

¹⁵ At the time (1999-2004) its name was the Department of the Provincial Administration Western Cape. Currently (in 2009) the name is the Department of the Premier.

without getting sufficient time and resources for implementing it, without having senior management supporting one's work in the field, and the constant battle to advance GM against all odds. I have first-hand knowledge of the subtle blockages that could be put up by senior managers to undermine GM practice, while simultaneously pretending to be politically correct. I am aware that this prior knowledge of the PGWC system gives me a particular power as researcher; I will be able to know if Gender Focal Points are untruthful, or misrepresenting their gender work, because we sit in the same provincial gender meetings giving progress reports on our departments. This power that I have as an insider could make it more difficult for my interviewees to be truthful as they might feel uncertain about how I will represent the information they share with me. I will therefore have to inform them at the time of the interview that the process is completely confidential, and that I will ensure that in writing up my data I will protect their anonymity so that the reader will not be able to identify them. Another important aspect is that I obtain their senior managers' approval for interviewing them, because this then means that they can officially share their experiences with me on being a GFP. This approval is extremely important, as government departments have a code of conduct that specifies that staff cannot speak to the media or anyone from outside government without prior permission from the respective senior manager. This would include researchers from outside.

Regarding the UNDP/SA, the situation is not quite the same as in the Provincial Government Western Cape, as I have never worked in the UNDP/SA. However, I am aware that even though I do not know anyone in the South African Country Office (CO),

this does not mean that these research subjects would see me as less powerful. The UNDP/SA staff could, because I am a manager working in a government department, see me as an extension of government, and as such as a powerful person with high-level connections. Of course, this is not the case, but they would not know this. My expectations of what I will find in the UNDP/SA are quite high; I have seen how committed they are on a policy level to gender Mainstreaming (GM). The UNDP/SA is also one component of the United Nations (UN), an international institution for which I have high regard. The UN seems to have more than enough resources and therefore I expect to see a few good examples of successful GM implementation that are sufficiently resourced in all aspects. Nevertheless, I still have to apply the same ethics to the UNDP/SA employees as for the PGWC. I will inform interviewees that the interview data will remain confidential, and that I will not name their position and level. I will come back to self-reflexivity in later chapters of the study. In the next section I explain why I have chosen a case study approach.

Why a case study?

For the purpose of my study I will analyse the UNDP/SA as an international development organisation and the UNDP/SA project – Capacity Building of the National Office on the Status of Women (OSW) – as case studies of Gender Mainstreaming (GM). My literature survey has indicated that GM as an approach to institutionalising gender equality remains a challenge across the world – in development organisations and in government. It is therefore appropriate to evaluate the progress and challenges regarding Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA by adopting a case study approach. This approach will

enable me to look in greater detail at the UNDP/SA and one of its projects with the OSW as funded partner. I hope to ascertain through my study whether there is a gap between the policies and practice of the UNDP/SA itself and its funded partner, the OSW, whose mandate is to mainstream gender in government in South Africa.

Analysing a South African Gender Mainstreaming case study against the backdrop of an international organisation like the UNDP enables us to see clearly the connection between the local and the international (or global) at a time when it is increasingly evident that South Africa is not an island unto itself. We are part and parcel of the global village. The UNDP/SA should have clear objectives and guidelines for gender mainstreaming as well as tangible internal support for this goal. For the OSW at provincial level, the Capacity Building Project should have an impact by changing women's lives on the ground through the service delivery of the various departments in the provincial government, for example, Education, Housing, Economic Affairs and Tourism, the Premier's Office and Community Safety.¹⁶

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

Introduction

The introduction explains the purpose and focus of my research, as well as the methodology used, namely a literature survey, discourse analysis of relevant UNDP/SA documents, and qualitative interviews with relevant role-players in the UNDP/SA and the OSW.

¹⁶ There are more departments in the Provincial Government than these five, but for the purpose of my study I have chosen to look at these five for implementation of Gender Mainstreaming, as they range from having some of the biggest budgets (Education) to one of the smallest departments (Community Safety).

Chapter 1: Theoretical Underpinnings and Debates– WID, GAD/Empowerment, and Gender Mainstreaming

Chapter One engages with the literature. It outlines how development started out in the 1950s being gender-blind, moved in the 1970s towards the WID approach, and gradually progressed to GAD and the Empowerment approaches, because of the realisation of the serious shortcomings of WID. I highlight the diverse thinking on Gender Mainstreaming and its possibilities for development before focusing on gender in international organisations as the context within which I am studying Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA and a funded partner, the Office on the Status of Women.

Chapter 2: The History of the UNDP Internationally and in South Africa

The UNDP is one of the most important development agencies in Southern Africa. My study will be incomplete without a historical overview of the organisation generally, and more specifically, its South African office. In this chapter I provide a short history of the UN and the UNDP generally as a development arm of the United Nations. I provide an overview of the South African context in which the UNDP/SA office was established after apartheid. A focus on how WID, GAD and Gender Mainstreaming were introduced into the UN's and UNDP's work is part of this chapter. The main focus is to provide the background to the UNDP/SA office, its Gender Mainstreaming and its development assistance to South African through Country Co-operation Frameworks (CCFs).

Chapter 3: Gender Mainstreaming Discourse in the Policies of the UNDP/SA

A discursive gender analysis of particular UNDP/SA policy documents will be carried out in this chapter. I have chosen to examine the following policy documents: *Direct Line 11* (dated November 1996) – a policy document that spells out the organisation’s GM priorities, the relationship between UNIFEM (UN Development Fund for Women) and UNDP, as well as minimum budgetary allocations. I also evaluate the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* (March 1997); *Gender Balance in Management Policy* (June 1998), and a document called *Gender Mainstreaming: A Men’s Perspective* (April 1999).

Chapter 4: Analysing Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA: A Case Study

This chapter aims to determine the extent to which the UNDP/SA is implementing its Gender Mainstreaming policies within the organisation, or whether there is a gap between policy and practice. For this purpose I use structured qualitative interviews with relevant UNDP/SA staff as well as examining relevant UNDP documents, which are an important additional source of information.

Chapter 5: A UNDP/SA Gender Mainstreaming Project: Building the Capacity of the Office on the Status of Women

Chapter Five analyses the gap between policy and practice in the Provincial Office on the Status of Women in the Western Cape (POSW), and in five departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC). I seek to establish whether the UNDP/SA Capacity Building Project for the POSW has had a substantive impact on internal staff regarding Gender Mainstreaming, as well as on the service delivery of five PGWC departments.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

Gender Mainstreaming as a policy and an approach to advance gender equality in South Africa sounds wonderful on paper. However, preliminary research shows that it remains a challenge to implement. Should my study uncover that there has been insufficient implementation of this approach in both the UNDP/SA and its funded partner, the national and provincial OSW, I shall make recommendations to bridge the gap between GM policy discourse and praxis by proposing a model for GM. I hope to add value to the field and debate in the South African context, as well as in the rest of the world, by using a combination of a feminist and organisational change theory approach for the GM model.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS AND DEBATES – WID, GAD, EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING

INTRODUCTION

Development started out in the late 1950s as a largely male-dominated field, operating on the assumption that development affected women and men in exactly the same way (Mosse, 1993), and the approach was therefore essentially gender-blind (Tshatsinde, 1992; Watson, 1999; Overholt *et al.*, 1985; Ostergaard, 1992; Karl, 1995: 94). However, this did not remain the case. Since the 1970s, when Esther Boserup first put the issue of women in development (WID) on the agenda with her book *Women's Role in Economic Development*, a lot of literature on the topic of women in development has been produced (Kandiyoti, 1988). The focus of the literature gradually progressed from WID to women and development (WAD), gender and development (GAD), and other approaches such as empowerment, postmodernism and Gender Mainstreaming. The following literature review aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the theoretical developments and debates in this field since the 1970s, and serves to frame my research question in terms of women, development and Gender Mainstreaming. I will focus on WID, GAD, empowerment and Gender Mainstreaming as approaches to addressing the women and gender question in development. My starting point will be the Women in Development or WID approach.

THE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

One of the first responses to addressing the problem of women's absence in development has been the Women in Development (WID) approach, which attempted to "add" women to development without fundamentally changing the field (Gallin and Ferguson, 1993; Jahan, 1995). The Women's Committee of the Washington D.C. Chapter of the Society for International Development coined the term "women in development", abbreviated as WID (Moser, 1993: 2).

WID is philosophically embedded in the Enlightenment and modernisation theory, the intellectual roots of which are grounded in a belief in science, rationality, individualism and the superiority of Western culture. In this context development is seen as a linear process (Charlton, 1997) according to which traditionally agrarian and subsistence farming societies change into industrialised economies and move towards market production and democratic governance. Western norms and values prevail, and the individual is the catalyst for social change (Chowdhry, 1995; Visvanathan, 1997).

The term WID did not denote a uniform approach. Moser (1993) and Momsen (1991) identified the following five sub-approaches:

(a) Welfare, called a social-policy approach by Ostergaard (1992), was used mainly from 1950-1970. It focused on women's reproductive role, which was perceived to be their main role in society at the time, and treated them as passive recipients of development (Moser, 1993; Mosse, 1993). Ostergaard (1992) argues that development agencies

considered the welfare approach safe, as it posed no threat to the status quo regarding women's traditional roles of housewife and mother.

According to Visvanathan (1997), the welfare approach focused more on women's practical needs, while their strategic needs were overlooked. Moser (1993) distinguishes between practical and strategic gender interests, and needs. She argues that a gender interest translates into a gender need during gender planning. For example, human survival can be a practical gender interest, while a practical gender need would be drinkable water. She also cites Molyneux, who uses the concepts of practical and strategic gender interests. "Strategic interests can be defined as those claims which seek to transform social relations so as to promote the equality of men and women, while practical interests may be seen as those which arise from women's gendered responsibilities within the family and community and which makes no explicit claims to challenge power relations" (Hassim and Gouws, 1998: 61).

(b) Equity, the original approach of WID, was influential during the Women's Decade, from 1975-1985. Moser (1993) describes this period as a time when women were regarded as active participants in the development process; their triple role was recognised and attempts were made to address their strategic needs. Unfortunately this approach was not very popular with development agencies and Third World governments, which felt that it necessitated "unacceptable interference with the country's traditions" (Moser, 1993: 65). Not only was there too heavy a focus on women's strategic needs, equality and power relations, but its methodology also required

gender disaggregated data, as well as clear standards against which progress could be measured. Consequently most agencies no longer use the equity approach (Ostergaard, 1992), as this would require a rather comprehensive overhaul of their praxis, something that they clearly were not ready for at the time.

(c) Anti-poverty, sometimes called a second WID approach. It attempted to increase poor women's productivity and saw poverty as being caused by underdevelopment, not subordination (Mosse, 1993). It is quite popular among NGOs seeking to enable women to earn an income through small-scale income-generating projects. Some see this as a "toned-down" version of the equity approach adopted by development organisations out of reluctance to interfere in gender relations between men and women, which were regarded as the 'cultural' domain in which they had no right to interfere. By providing greater employment opportunities for women, the anti-poverty approach met women's practical needs. However, it also places a greater work burden on women, who now have to cope with extra responsibilities besides their reproductive work (Mosse, 1993). It remains to be seen whether this approach also addresses strategic needs in terms of building women's capacity to take their destiny into their own hands (Ostergaard, 1992). This approach predominated in the 1970s, influenced by the dependency literature with its critiques of Northern underdevelopment of the South.

(d) Efficiency aimed at ensuring effectiveness in development projects. Its proponents believed that development could only be efficient if women were drawn into the development arena (Mosse, 1993). It recognised women's contribution to economic

growth and adjustment (cf. SAPs) and consequently aimed to make them more efficient managers of poverty. In the 1980s and early 1990s Moser (1993) argued that this approach was very popular and predominant in agencies working within a WID paradigm. It acknowledges the economic necessity of drawing women, who are half the world population, into development. According to Ostergaard (1992), the efficiency approach regards the development process as more important than women. Being seen simply as an *asset* for the sake of development, instead of the reverse, objectifies women. It also means that they have to work longer hours, unpaid, in the implementation of structural adjustment policies. This approach disregards women's strategic needs.

(e) Empowerment, strictly speaking, is not part of the WID paradigm. It was an approach coined largely by Third World feminists in the mid-1980s as a result of the changes in thinking about women and development. It is a response to Northern white feminist domination of development and to the weaknesses of the GAD approach, and aims to empower women through greater self-reliance. It is critical of prevailing notions that good development is economic growth and the efficient use of money (Mosse, 1993), and identifies masculinism, colonial and neo-colonial oppression as the root cause of women's oppression (Momsen, 1991). It argues that women "challenge oppressive structures and situations simultaneously at different levels" (Moser, 1993: 74). The empowerment approach steers clear of using a top-down method; instead the emphasis is on empowering women to challenge their status in society. It often uses practical needs as a means to meet strategic needs (Ostergaard, 1992). According to Snyder and Tadesse

(1995), *Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era*, or DAWN, which emerged in the 1980s, championed this approach.

While it is useful to categorise the various approaches in this way, it is important to keep in mind that this linear categorisation is not a realistic reflection of gendered assumptions and practices. Many of these approaches in fact appeared at more or less the same time. In addition, development organisations have often combined approaches, or aspects of more than one approach, to cater for diverse needs in different development contexts (Moser, 1993; Mosse, 1993; Ostergaard, 1993; Karl, 1995). What these categories do reflect is the ability of mainstream approaches to respond appropriately to various and growing critiques of top-down development (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994). For example, the anti-poverty approach emerged in response to the call for basic human needs and attention to issues of global poverty and dependence (Parpart, Connolly and Barriteau, 2000). These approaches reflect a belief in the pre-eminence of economic growth for development and a belief in the Western model as the solution for getting economic development to work in the South.

WID, as an over-arching concept, called for adding only a few specific measures, some staff and some women-oriented projects to existing development projects. According to Staudt (1998), a lot of WID work was nothing more than tokenism. In some cases it literally meant moving a desk into a room and staffing it with a woman to look after “women’s issues” in development. The thinking back then was that having an office would mean that women could be “integrated” into the multiple development policies,

singular missions or even the whole of government. However, this proved to be false, as these offices were not involved in the decision-making processes that took place in development agencies. Overholt *et al.* put it quite succinctly:

The need to redress the failure to consider systematically and coherently the different roles of women and men as they engage in and are affected by development activities requires more than ad hoc attention. Rather than a band-aid or add-on approach, we need to institutionalise successful initiatives in providing the necessary analytical and methodological skills for assessing the significance of gender differences in the development process (1985: x).

In addition, besides the ‘add-on’ approach, no attention was paid to the gender division of labour evident in societies across the world, and no link was made between women’s productive work in the public sphere, their reproductive work in the household, and development (Kandiyoti, 1988). Within WID, the focus clearly was on women’s practical gender needs – needs that arise because of women’s position in the existing division of labour – while ignoring their strategic needs, which arise out of women’s subordination in society (Ostergaard, 1992). Ignoring women’s strategic gender needs was a clear indication of the masculinist¹⁷ nature of the development scenario at the time. This masculinist discourse impeded understanding of women’s development issues at the time; the (mostly) male experts who had decision-making power assumed, using male norms, that they knew what women needed, instead of simply asking them. Weedon argues, “In patriarchal discourse the nature and social role of women are defined in relation to a norm which is male” (1987: 2).

¹⁷ I use the concepts ‘masculinism’ and ‘masculinist’ instead of ‘patriarchy’ and ‘patriarchal’ in this thesis. I explain on p. 83 of this chapter why I use ‘masculinism’ and ‘masculinist’ instead of ‘patriarchy’ and ‘patriarchal’.

This “add-on” approach, predictably, failed to make a substantive difference in women’s lives, constituting women as objects and not subjects of development, and failing to empower them (Meena, 1992; Overholt *et al.*, 1985; Marchand and Parpart, 1995; Jahan, 1995). One of the reasons for this failure could be that the WID approach looked at women in isolation from men; it defined the problems of women in terms of their biological sex and ignored gender, as well as gender and power relations between women and men. It paid no attention to the fact that for the most part men were the decision-makers and the people with the power, and that women were generally their subordinates (Moser, 1993). It also has had no real social transformative agenda and has not empowered women. I concur with Lennie, who argues that this is far from surprising and attributes it to “male dominance in the theories, standards, and ideologies used to guide [development] planners’ work – that is the internal culture of planners” (1999: 98; cf. also Charlton, 1997; Mosse, 1993). It has to be remembered that development started in the 1950s basically as a completely male-dominated field. The experts and those who made the decisions were male, and those few women involved did not consider women’s issues as development.

Despite the serious shortcomings in the WID approach to development, Staudt (1998) and Hirshman (1995) quite rightly maintain that WID is not necessarily negative; it is a step in the right direction. However, a move beyond focusing on women only, to a focus on gender and gender relations as advocated by the Gender and Development Approach, was seen by many in the field as an important step in progressing beyond WID.

THE GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach (emerging in the 1980s after the UN Nairobi Conference and advocated by many Third World feminists) attempts to move away from the linear, modernist WID approach, with its focus on integrating women into male-defined and male-dominated development structures. GAD focuses on both women and men seeking to address discrimination against and marginalisation of women in a gender context. It recognises that a solution without men is impossible (Elson, 1991). Ostergaard (1992: 6) says, “No study of women and development can start from the viewpoint that the problem is *women*, but rather *men and women*, and more specifically the *relations* between them”.

Like the Empowerment approach, GAD was in many ways a reaction by Third World women against the predominance of white women from the North in determining the content and discourse on development. Third World women wanted to make it clear that they could speak on their own behalf. According to Jahan (1995), who advocates an agenda-setting rather than an integrationist or add-on approach, the South needs a total transformation of the development agenda from a gender perspective. Women from the South do not simply want to be integrated or added on to the existing development paradigm. They want development practices that will empower them and transform gender relations. GAD challenges male power and privilege, as well as raising the issues of power and resources generally, by looking at not only women, but also at the social relations between men and women in the workplace and in other settings. GAD uses

gender relations rather than 'women' as a category of analysis and views men as the potential supporters of women (Visvanathan, 1997).

Elson (1991) argues strongly for a gender approach to development, saying that the problem of women in development cannot be solved in isolation from men and the issue of gender relations. The WID approach has the following limitations:

- It implies that it is sufficient to add women as a general category to existing approaches and that this will improve women's position;
- It implies that the women in development problem can be solved without drawing in men;
- It could put the emphasis on women being the problem instead of gender discrimination, and imply that women unreasonably want "special treatment" instead of the elimination of all gender discrimination;
- It could create the impression that women are a homogenous group across the world, overlooking the differences of race, class, caste, etc.

In contrast, the GAD approach seeks to explain women's subordination in relation to political, economic and ideological forces, drawing the issue of the sexual division of labour and global inequality into the debate (Parpart, 1995; Visvanathan, 1997; Sadie and Loots, 1998). It advocates a fundamental re-examination and rethinking of social structures and institutions, and focuses on both the practical and strategic needs of women (Rathgeber, 1989).

Young (1997) highlights the salient issues in the GAD approach in the following way: this approach is essentially about gender relations, namely the relations between women and men, and definitely not about women only. It sees women as active agents and not as passive recipients of development, even when women do not have a perfect or full understanding of their social context. GAD moves beyond the reproductive sphere of women's lives by using a holistic approach that focuses on the social, the economic and the political spheres of women's lives as well. It views development as a complex process that aims to improve the social, the economic, the political and the cultural at individual as well as societal levels. At the same time, it views the welfare, anti-poverty and equity approaches not as opposed alternatives, but as inter-related. In the final analysis GAD is cynical about "cash in hand" being a solution and stresses the need for women to self-organise to empower themselves within the economic sphere.

Not all institutions in development welcomed the shift from WID to GAD and the inclusion of men and gender relations by introducing the concept 'gender' instead of 'women'. In the World Bank there was a fear that "by expanding attention in projects to men as well as women, a shift to gender may inadvertently dilute investments designed to remove the barriers that specifically confront women" (Buvinic *et al.*, 1996: 22). Others saw GAD, despite being an improvement on WID, as still too attached to the modernist discourse which paints women as a Third World "other" dependent on the development expert from the North (Parpart, 1995). Rathgeber (1995) and Parpart (1995) both maintain that GAD has not been successful in grounding development in the experience and knowledge of indigenous women in the South. It emphasises technology as the

answer and assumes a Western definition of development that is much like WID and modernistic approaches, thus still requiring a level of expertise, which grassroots women generally do not have. They argue that there still remains a need to create a space where the previously silenced women from the South can enter the development arena, speaking from their localised experiences and life, and demystifying and interrogating development to transform their present reality. We have to move away from a discourse that paints women from the South as passive recipients to one that frames women as proactive actors who can join the development experts in mainstreaming women and gender in development. The Empowerment approach tries to do this.

THE EMPOWERMENT APPROACH

The Empowerment approach calls for an alternative development discourse, embedded in the context of women's lives in the South, and paying particular attention to issues of race, ethnicity and gender as well as general issues around empowerment (Parpart *et al.*, 2001; Sen & Grown, 1987). It refuses to accept that "non-Western" women are "backward and oppressed victims" (Scott, 1995: 4) without any power over their own destiny. In 1984 women from the South established the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, also known as DAWN. These women "consistently put forward a vision not simply of women's development but of an alternative model of development where gender equality goes hand in hand with equality between classes, races and nations" (Jahan, 1995: 27).

Of central importance in the Empowerment approach are issues such as: the nature of empowerment, who empowers whom, the specificities and different needs of different groups, and questions of politics, power, scarce resources and violence against women. While Snyder (1995) defines empowerment as the ability of women and men to take their destiny into their own hands with regard to economic and human development, including participation in decision-making processes, Parpart *et al.* (2001) emphasise the complexity of power, the need to pay attention to contexts and the importance of both process and outcomes.

Kabeer (1999) suggests that Empowerment is about choices, change and agency. Choices have to be categorised into strategic choices – those choices that are critical to people’s ability to live the lives they want, such as choosing whether to get married, or to have children – and second-order choices (less important than strategic choices, but impacting on our quality of life). Other important aspects of Empowerment are resources and agency, which together constitute “capabilities: the potential that people have for living the lives they want, of achieving valued ways of ‘being and doing’” (1999: 438). Empowerment, according to Kabeer, cannot be measured, as some would argue, because key aspects such as change, choices and agency are indeterminate and unpredictable. Those who wish to measure Empowerment want to prescribe the process, which turns it on its head by removing the crucial aspect of self-determination. I agree with Kabeer – why do we need to measure Empowerment for women? Who will decide the parameters of measurement and its underlying ideology, as no measurement is value-free, but value-

laden. True Empowerment will show up as substantive change in women's lives and that will be the evidence that it has taken place.

Taylor and Conradie (1997) emphasise culture and the environment, arguing that Empowerment gives women the space and the power to meet their own needs, and to decide for themselves how they wish to develop within their specific cultural and environmental context.

Afshar (1998) argues that the focus on Empowerment as a process and as something that cannot be done to or for women raises serious questions for development organisations. Is there a role for them as 'enablers' and for interventions in this process? And does Empowerment in one particular sphere automatically lead to empowerment in others? With regard to the first question, one could very well say that yes, there is a role for development organisations, as long as they realise that the development context is not an empty slate. They should acknowledge that the people or women with whom they will work have prior knowledge, experience and skills, and should allow them to be equal partners in the development process from the word go, in all areas and at all levels, including the decision-making level.

For Rowlands (1998) the concept of power is central to Empowerment. She distinguishes among different kinds of power, namely 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power from within'. WID and its discourse locate empowerment within a 'power over' framework. The development expert has 'power over' the poor Third World women

because only through her/his expertise and aid can they be brought into development and be “empowered” to participate economically and politically in society. The expert ‘bestows’ her/his power upon the women. I agree with Rowlands that this is problematic. Power so easily bestowed can just as easily be revoked. There is essentially no change in the structural power relations in this set-up. This kind of empowerment is an instrumentalist path to development; it is a controlling power that objectifies women as a means to an end, namely that of economic growth. It is the other forms of power that are crucial for Empowerment. ‘Power to’ is a generative, productive power that allows women to resist when necessary, while ‘power with’ is used by women as a group to tackle something collectively. The ‘power from within’ is a spiritual strength that everyone has and is the basis of self-respect and for accepting others as equals. According to Rowlands (1998), and I fully agree with her, Empowerment has to be more than ‘power over’. It has to include the other forms as well.

Parpart *et al.* (2001) propose a new approach to empowerment by focusing on four issues:

- (i) Analysing empowerment in global and local terms;
- (ii) Focusing on empowerment as the exercise of power rather than possessing power;
- (iii) Paying closer attention to discourse as well as the political, economic, cultural, human rights and legal practices which are the framework within which marginalised communities across the world live;
- (iv) Keeping in mind that empowerment is both a process and a goal/outcome that occurs over time and particular contexts.

An important question raised by Parpart *et al.* (2001) is how it is possible for empowerment to be used by such a diverse spectrum of people/organisations. On the one hand, intellectuals and activists use it to bring about social transformation, and on the other hand, business and personnel managers use it to increase productivity. They suggest that the answer lies in the fluidity of the term power. 'Power over' may bring about certain changes, but it is the more complex relational modes of power that promise to assist with change that can be more transformative. Therefore wherever there is a need for some kind of change, the concept empowerment (and power) is relevant.

According to Moser (1993), Empowerment is a fairly recent approach, articulated and supported mostly by Third World women. Its main aim is the empowerment of women through self-reliance. It recognises the triple oppression of women (gender, race and class), and tries to advance women's strategic needs through mobilisation around their practical needs. She says, "It is unpopular except with Third World women's NGOs and their supporters" (Moser, 1993). This statement is interesting: one can't help but wonder why this approach would be so "unpopular". Could it be because Third World women are assuming agency for their own lives and destinies, and reclaiming power and control from the Western/Northern 'development experts'? The discourse of Empowerment clearly appealed to Southern women for its ability to making a substantive impact on their lives for the better. However, development agencies did not entirely shy away from using the Empowerment approach. As Gender Mainstreaming became more popular, agencies started using Empowerment more and more, albeit within a rather technical

context with a much less articulated transformative agenda. In the next section I explain the Gender Mainstreaming approach in development.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING

The introduction provided an overview of the concept of Gender Mainstreaming as well as a number of definitions. My focus here will be on the origin and development of GM around the world and the different schools of thought on it. I then focus on GM in the South African context.

The origin and development of Gender Mainstreaming (GM)

The origin of Gender Mainstreaming, according to the literature, cannot be dated back to a specific year. Jahan (1995), who distinguishes between integrationist and agenda-setting mainstreaming, suggests that the origin of integrationist gender mainstreaming dates back to the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985). Tiessen (2007) argues that GM had already emerged at the First World Conference on Women held in Mexico City in 1975. Other scholars (Goetz, 1997; Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002; Gouws, 2005a) state that mainstreaming can be traced back to Nairobi,¹⁸ as the *Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies* refers to mainstreaming in paragraph 114 almost a decade before Beijing. According to True (2001), the concept developed further in the early 1990s. Yet another school of thought (Thege and Welpel, 2002; Squires and Wickham-Jones, 2004; Jain, 2005; Rees, 2005; Moser and Moser, 2005; Alston, 2006; Benschop and Verloo, 2006) maintains that it started with the *Fourth World Conference* in Beijing in 1995, when the *Beijing Platform for Action* officially identified it as the strategy to achieve

¹⁸ The UN Third World Conference on Women took place in 1985 in Nairobi.

gender equality and women's empowerment. The *Beijing Platform for Action Report* stated that governments and other actors should adopt a very visible commitment to GM in all their policies and programmes, and that all decisions had to be underpinned by a gender analysis to account for the effects such a shift would have on women and men respectively (BPFA Report, 1995).

While Gender Mainstreaming (GM) was hailed as a new approach to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment in development in the post-Beijing era (Porter and Sweetman, 2005), the question is *how* it has been used to advance gender equality and women's empowerment in development. Stienstra (1994) argues that GM can happen in different ways: it could happen within an organisation, which is limiting as the organisational parameters would determine the boundaries of this action. A different way would be to disengage with the organisation and lobby for GM from outside. Her preference is for the latter method, as she doubts that substantive gender transformation can occur within restrictive organisational parameters.

Benschop and Verloo (2006) launch a quite similar argument: Gender Mainstreaming does bring about certain changes within an organisation, but it does not succeed in changing its "genderedness". In their case study of the Human Resource Management section in the Ministry of the Flemish Community in Belgium, they discovered that power relations are a determining factor in the successful implementation of GM and that power relations, and the power differences between parties, really determined and hindered the impact of GM in the organisation.

The adoption of the concept of 'gender' instead of 'women' is quite significant in Gender Mainstreaming. Prügl and Meyer (1999) contend that gender emerged as a crucial concept as part of the women's movement, while Staudt (1998) argues that use of the concept 'gender' as a social construction instead of 'women' started with the interest in mainstreaming in development. Most importantly, the shift to gender signals that both women and men have to be responsible and involved in changing gender relations in an institutional context. It also implies a focus on concerns with masculinity and femininity. Eveline and Bacchi (2005) suggest that the issue of masculinity and men in GM can be a source of considerable tension. While bringing men into the equation should correct the almost automatic association of women with gender, there is the danger of 'depoliticising' gender in that the focus could be too strongly on how men can benefit from being involved. This focus, they argue, could lead people to overlook the crucial issue of gendered power relations.

Gender not only includes both women and men; it also "more easily accommodates race, class, ethnicity, and male-female power relationships" (Snyder and Tadesse, 1995: 14). According to Moser (1993) and others (Gianotten *et al.*, 1994; Meena, 1998), when we focus on gender, it becomes critical to look at not only women, as this would be only half the story; it is essential to look at women in relation to men. Pietila and Vickers (1994) express the same idea by saying that policies that target women only will never achieve the best results; the target should be gender equality and the inclusion of men and their roles in society, and in relation to women. Thus one important aspect regarding GM is that it emphasises the role and involvement of both sexes in driving the process,

something that is of crucial importance for advancing gender equality. It cannot be women's responsibility alone.

Gender Mainstreaming is a complex process – Thege and Welppe (2002) are of the opinion that it involves a gender perspective, gender knowledge and gender research, if substantive gender equality is to be achieved through this approach. It therefore stands to reason that it will be quite a challenge to successfully implement GM in any organisation. They argue further that GM does not occur automatically; specific interventions such as training to make people gender-aware and gender-sensitive are needed. People also have to be taught how to implement GM as part of a change process. Another important aspect is monitoring and assessment of gender policy implementation. A key aspect of GM is the buy-in of a critical mass (at least a third of the people) in a particular organisational context. Mainstreaming policies, Thege and Welppe (2002) argue, cannot succeed by being imposed from above, because those who have to implement them need a sound understanding of what the policies entail. There also needs to be clarity on who has to implement, as well as how to do it. This, I would argue, is the challenge for South Africa. To what extent can we rise to this challenge by successfully implementing GM?

Walby (2005) discusses GM from a different angle. She states that it is a contested concept and practice, because it combines two very different frames of reference, the one being gender equality and the other one the mainstream. There is frequently opposition and tension between the agenda of the mainstream policy world, and the feminist agenda of gender equality. She raises important issues that have to be taken into consideration

when mainstreaming gender. The different forms of Gender Mainstreaming and gender equality are one such issue. Another is the contestation and tension between the different agendas of the mainstream, and gender equality. I will come back to her arguments in the concluding chapter of the study. In the next section I discuss the origin and development of Gender Mainstreaming in South Africa.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN SOUTH AFRICA

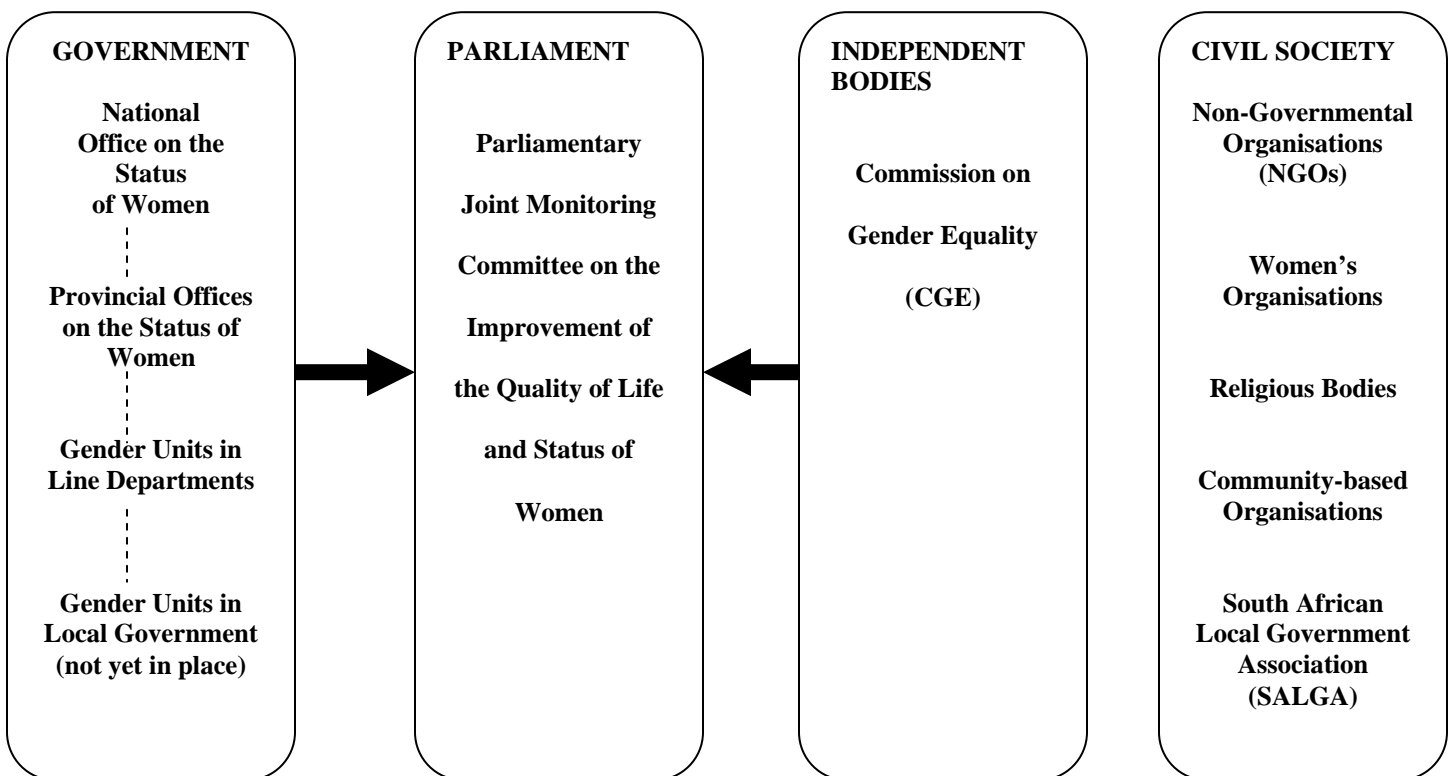
The struggle for gender equality is not new to South Africa. This country boasts a long and proud history of women's struggles for liberation and gender equality as part of the national democratic struggle for democracy in South Africa. As such, Gender Mainstreaming (GM) as an approach to achieving gender equality seems an almost 'natural' development for South Africa. International conferences and development literature on Third World countries have made GM part and parcel of the current discourse on gender equality (Gouws, 2005a). It has been regarded as *the approach* that will successfully enable the government to implement gender equality as enshrined in the South African Constitution since the late 1990s. According to Gouws, "The discursive framework within which women's interests are constituted within the state is 'Gender Mainstreaming'" (2005a: 8).

The mechanism through which Gender Mainstreaming should take place within government is the National Gender Machinery¹⁹ (see Figure 1), institutionalised since 1997 (Gouws, 2005a). The National Gender Machinery (NGM) consists of the following

¹⁹ The National Gender Machinery is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5 of this study.

structures: the national Office on the Status of Women (OSW) within the President’s Office; provincial OSW offices located in the Premier’s Office in all nine provinces; the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and the Status of Women (JMC) in parliament; the Women’s Caucus in parliament; the Women’s Empowerment Unit; and gender focal units or gender focal points in state departments nationally and provincially.

Figure 1: The National Gender Machinery



Adapted from the South African National Gender Policy Framework for Gender Equality (2001) and Gouws (2005c).

The independent Commission on Gender Equality, or CGE, for which provision is made in chapter nine of the South African Constitution (Gouws: 2005a), is the body that should

monitor gender equality progress and implementation in both the private and public sectors.

The framework within which GM is supposed to take place is South Africa's *National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality*, prepared by the national OSW and officially launched at the *National Gender Summit* held in Johannesburg in August 2001. "To achieve gender equality, government must embark on a rigorous GM strategy. To this end, much of the responsibility for planning and implementing effective and innovative strategies for the promotion of women's empowerment and gender equality will rest equally with key structures of the National Machinery and with individual government departments at the national, provincial and local levels" (SA National Gender Policy Framework, 2001: 40).

The *National Policy Framework* highlights three areas in which Gender Mainstreaming should take place in government, namely in service provision (external transformation), in public awareness raising about gender in private and community spheres (internal and external transformation), and in internal employment policies and practices (SA National Policy Framework). It recommends a tool called *The Project Life Cycle* for the implementation of GM through a *National Gender Programme*, elaborates extensively on processes and tools to use in GM implementation, mentions key activities and outputs

and talks about a gender management system, as well as the skills required for reaching the national goal of gender equality.²⁰

Gouws (2005a) is not taken in by the Gender Mainstreaming discourse of the *National Policy Framework*. She argues that at the same time as it aims to institutionalise gender, it not only depoliticizes the issue of gender, but it also decreases women's agency and activism because of its technocratic nature and its assumption that women are a homogenous group. Earlier in this study I mentioned that some scholars are critical of GM and its ability to transform unequal gender relations. After researching this study, I tend to agree with the sceptics.²¹

There seem to be some missing links in the GM agenda and as such there is probably a need to look beyond GM for possible alternatives. This is an important aspect of my study to which I will return in Chapter Six (the chapter providing the conclusion and recommendations). For now the question remains: is this detailed policy discourse on GM making a substantive difference in women's daily lives?

When I did my research in the Provincial Government Western Cape, none of the staff that I had interviewed at the time²² referred to this *National Policy Framework* or aspects of it, such as the *Project Life Cycle*, when talking about their role and responsibility for

²⁰ "The concept of Gender Mainstreaming (the practice of gender work) is embedded in the official national gender policy written by the Office on the Status of Women ... The Plan proposes an integrated coordination framework and process for Gender Mainstreaming" (Gouws, 2005: 9).

²¹ Currently, under the new Zuma government a Women's Ministry has been established and there is a possibility that the NGM might be dismantled.

²² I interviewed the Gender Focal Points of five departments.

gender. They clearly did not know about this document, nor did they refer to GM in the interview, which indicates how far removed the official government policy discourse was from the staff that was supposed to implement it on the ground. It should be borne in mind that this was in the period 2001 to 2002 – two to three years after the OSW in the PGWC had been established in July 1999. Furthermore, there had been regular meetings and events organised by the provincial OSW for all the PGWC departments, attended by staff from Gender Focal Units (GFUs) and Gender Focal Points (GFPs) since July 1999. I myself had been at these early meetings for the Corporate Services Department in the PGWC. Also, the Deputy Director in the provincial OSW had been attending the Capacity Building Project funded by the UNDP/SA office in partnership with the National OSW since its inception on 18 August 2000, and yet two years later there was no evidence that this capacity building was filtering down (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four). Clearly something was lacking. Why was Gender Mainstreaming implementation in South Africa so elusive when we have such an enabling legislative framework for formal gender equality? Evidently formal gender equality did not automatically lead to substantive gender equality, even with the National Gender Machinery in place. I will return to this question later in the study. But first I will investigate how gender is dealt with in international institutions like the UNDP.

GENDER IN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The UNDP, including the UNDP/SA, is an international institution. It is therefore necessary to focus on how gender is dealt with in the context of international organisations in general to determine how they perpetuate social constructions of women

and men, and to ascertain their gendered discourses and practices. It should also be borne in mind that “the attention to gender in international organisations is relatively new” (Prügl and Meyer, 1999: 4); the initial starting point was with WID, and it has taken a number of years for international development institutions to move from WID to a focus on gender.

What does gender mean in the context of international institutions? To speak about gender is to speak about social relations. Gender is not only a social relation; it is also constructed through social relations. Beyond the social relations between women and men and their related appropriate roles lies the domain of the state and international institutions, where gender is shaped and reproduced daily. How gender is understood then, depends partially “on the real, material, lived conditions of women and men in particular times and places” (Whitworth, 1994: 68); how they think about gender relations and about the institutions that they create. What is crucial, argues Whitworth, is to analyse how the concept of gender is taken up and expressed in institutions (such as the UNDP) because their policies “serve to legitimise, shape and reinforce prevailing understandings” of gender (1994: 71).

Kabeer (2003b) argues that talking about gender as social relations reminds us that gender is not the only inequality in women’s lives. Gender inequality is related to class, race and other social issues – all of which are interwoven. Connell (1995) states that gender is unavoidably connected to other social structures such as race and class. I agree with both Connell and Kabeer. In the South African context equality issues as defined in

the South African Constitution go far beyond gender and include, for example, race, able-bodiedness/disability, sexual preference and more. All equality issues are of central importance in building our young democracy. However, for the purpose of my study, I will not focus on the intersections of gender, race and class. My focus will be on gender issues as they unfold in Gender Mainstreaming within and through international development institutions, as well as the Office on the Status of Women and provincial government departments.

According to Stienstra (1994), international institutions reflect, stabilise and maintain social power relations, including gender relations. People create these institutions for particular reasons within particular contexts. Their policies and practices can either uphold or challenge and change existing gender relations and discourses. In the UN for a long time (stemming from the time of the League of Nations) gender has been associated with women, not men (Whitworth, 1994), thus encouraging researchers and policymakers to ignore the impact of masculinist practices on gender policies and programmes.

Staudt (1998) argues that institutions are important for analysis; they mediate and influence people's lives because they control significant resources. The UNDP is a good example of this. Women are often excluded from decision-making positions where policies and implementations are determined. This is because institutions are built on gendered societal assumptions that define power as a masculine concern. Institutions, for the most part, place women outside that realm, and pressurise those inside to adopt

masculine behaviour. These assumptions are present in organisational (read institutional) practices and policies (Stienstra, 1994).

Prügl (1996) uses feminist constructivism as an approach to gender in international organisations. She sees international life as social; it follows the rules and norms which constitute and construct people, societies and structures. Actors reproduce the rules of the structures within which they operate by drawing on these rules daily. This approach rejects the notion that gender is natural, arguing rather that it is a social construct. It recognises women's agency and the power they have to work for change. Prügl criticises Pietila and Vickers (1994) for merely describing *how* international organisations make women matter,²³ proposing that they go one step further and interrogate *why* women matter at a particular point in time. I agree with Prügl that the 'how' cannot be separated from the 'why' when we talk about women, gender and Gender Mainstreaming in institutions as well as daily life.

Staudt (1998) maintains that once international institutions have established their founding ideology, their staff, institutional cultures and structures, they do not change easily. This is reflected in how they understand gender. Despite this, however, women have succeeded in carving out a place for themselves and for gender in many international institutions. It is therefore important to establish how this has been done, through what contestations and within which discursive practices (Prügl and Meyer, 1999).

²³ She is referring to their book entitled *Making Women Matter. The Role of the United Nations*. See the bibliography for full details.

According to Whitworth (1994), when one looks for gender in policy statements, or at the history of an institution, it is as important to look for silences and absences as it is to search for very explicit statements concerning gender. The silence around gender can be intended or unintended. The perspective of Ashworth (in Macdonald, 1994), who argues that gender work is about making space for women to speak of the specific realities of gender inequalities that concern them, without being patronising and imposing one's own interpretations on them, ties in well with the views of Staudt (1998) and Whitworth (1994). In masculinist organisations, where there is silence on women's issues and gender inequality, women generally find it hard to speak about gender inequality. GM (read gender work) can create a space for women to exercise their agency in confronting the deeply institutionalised male norms, values and work practices prevailing in organisations.

I will draw on the above approaches for the purpose of my study, particularly the assumption that gender is a social construct and that international institutions such as the UNDP contribute towards constructing gender as social relations at the same time that they reinforce, maintain and are influenced by the existing notions of gender as social relations. It is also true that actors (women and men) can change the prevailing status quo at a particular point in time regarding gender and GM, because these are social constructs that have been created by people and thus can be changed by people. The fact that gender relations can be changed is crucial, because according to Tickner (2001), the UN has committed itself to mainstreaming gender. Yet, she argues, one needs to interrogate this

commitment. Whose perspectives are most likely to be represented in GM within the UN and the UNDP as international organisations?

Goetz (1997) takes another angle on Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in international development institutions/organisations.²⁴ She argues that organisations are often not ready for bringing women and gender into the equation. Thus it remains an open question (also a question seldom asked and answered) as to *what* (my emphasis) is needed to get organisations right for women and gender in development. She argues that one has to interrogate the genderedness of organisations as historically constructed, as well as their gendered outcomes in terms of its differential impact on women and men. She advocates a “gendered archaeological investigation” to unpack the genderedness of organisations which:

...involves disinterring and reinterpreting histories, and scrutinizing artefacts such as favoured concepts, terms of inclusion or exclusion, symbols of success or failure. It involves investigating the traces which gendered patterns of privilege leave in the organisation and architecture of space and time, and in behavioural patterns, which are tolerated or punished (1997: 16).

Goetz’s (1997) argument links up with the deep structure approach of Rao *et al.* (1999), which addresses the often-encountered resistances to gender transformation in organisations. I draw on both approaches to develop a GM model in the conclusion of the study.

²⁴ Goetz distinguishes conceptually between institutions and organisations. For my purposes I will use the term organisations only.

The issue of bringing women and gender into development in international institutions is not “about securing a small slice of the cake. ... Gender issues are not secondary or of ‘special interest’, [they] are central to sustainable development” (Macdonald, 1994: 6). If gender is central to sustainable development, and if we want to secure more than a slice of cake only, then maybe it is appropriate to look beyond the current debates on mainstreaming gender in organisations. It might be time to consider framing Gender Mainstreaming in a “different” organisational context, namely that of transformation.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS TRANSFORMATION

Gender Mainstreaming (GM) has not been easy to implement and many challenges remain for organisations struggling with it (Tiessen, 2007). One challenge, according to Benschop and Verloo (2006) as well as Tiessen (2007), seems to be the genderedness of organisations, which GM does not always address. Another challenge is insufficient resources, whether human or monetary. Thus the question can justifiably be asked if GM is possible. One possible solution seems to be to bring other perspectives, along with feminist theory, to bear on the investigation. Organisational change theory seems to offer some answers.

Rao *et al.* (1999) argue that one cannot achieve gender equality without unpacking the embedded masculinist values and practices of most organisations. The authors call for marrying insights from feminist theory with organisational change theory – which seems to be the missing link in GM implementation. In this section, drawing on Rao *et al.* (1999), I will argue for framing GM implementation within a broad transformation

process within an organisation to achieve gender equality. My contention is that Gender Mainstreaming cannot be expected to occur without fundamentally changing the organisation itself through a transformation process and without addressing its deep structure. In taking this position, I draw on my experience as Transformation Manager in the Western Cape region of the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (2003–2005).

In that organisation GM was framed within a transformation and change context at the time, making it much more palatable to male engineers and male technical staff, as well as to staff generally. Once we had obtained support for the broad transformation agenda driven from Ministerial level, support for GM initiatives and work was a given. Getting more women into the historically male-dominated field of engineering and water resources through giving preference to appointing women, and developing a Gender Policy, are examples of progress that was steadily made with Gender Mainstreaming. What helped tremendously was having the Minister as the champion of transformation and, by implication, of GM too. However, I also need to add that, in retrospect, had we at the time followed the approach advocated by Rao *et al.* (1999) and unpacked the deep structure of the Department, we would probably have made much more substantive gains.

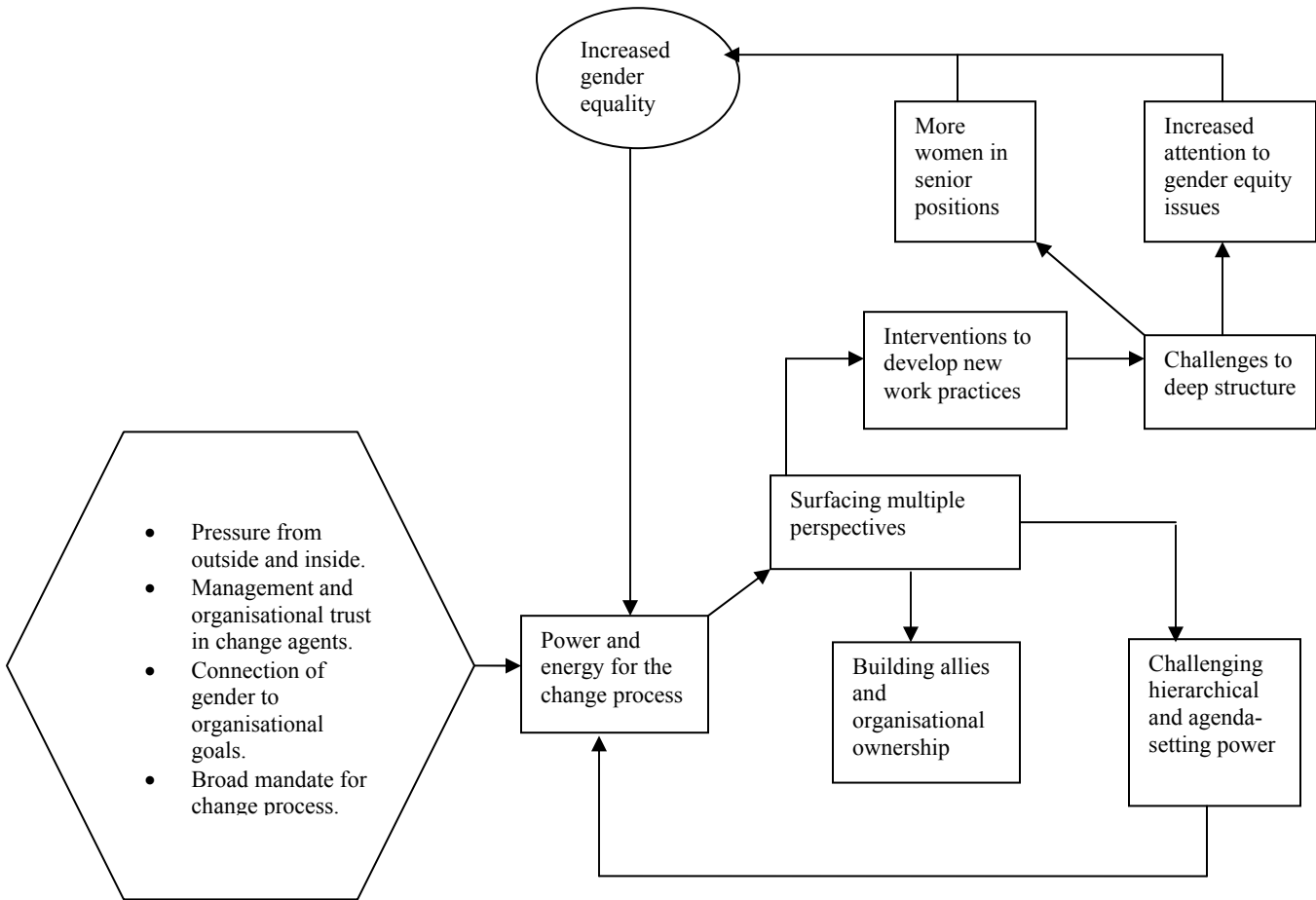
The deep structure (or gendered substructure) of the organisation

What exactly is the deep structure of organisations? The deep structure (or gendered substructure) is “...that collection of values, history, culture and practices that form the unquestioned, ‘normal’ way of working in organisations” (Rao *et al.*, 1999: 2). People

within organisations generally work in, and with, the deep structure unquestioningly, because it is so deeply embedded. It operates on a subconscious level. What is needed to address the deep structure for gender equality is to fundamentally change the way we do our business by bringing to the surface multiple perspectives and by working with power in support of dialogue and new work practices (Rao *et al.*, 1999). The diagram below (Figure 2) illustrates this point. On the left of the diagram key enabling factors that are necessary to drive the transformation process are shown. With these in place, the next step will be to elicit multiple perspectives on gender issues through, for example, multiple focus group discussions. Drawing on input from the focus groups, a roadmap should be drawn to start the “reconceptualisation” process and to design interventions to develop new work practices that will lead to a “re-invented” organisation. Rao *et al.* (1999) regards political knitting (which is ongoing contact, deliberation and resolving of issues) among the role players and stakeholders during the process, as the glue that will hold the process intact and in place. The final transformation process leads to increased gender equality, which is the goal of Gender Mainstreaming (GM).

I do not think for one moment that marrying feminist and organisational change theory will provide us with all the answers to the challenges facing GM in South Africa or the world. I do, however, think that this model addresses some of the missing links in the current manner in which GM is implemented. I will elaborate more on this model in subsequent chapters.

Figure 2: Challenging the Deep Structure for Gender Equality (Rao *et al.*, 1999: 26)



Among the issues that have to be brought to the surface as we challenge the deep structure of an organisation are masculinities, patriarchy and masculinism. It is important to discuss these concepts and their implications for GM as patriarchy and masculinities are rarely mentioned in gender policy documents in the development field.

PATRIARCHY, MASCULINISM AND MASCULINIST POWER

In this section I explore theorising on patriarchy, masculinities,²⁵ masculinism and masculinist power as key concepts for my study on Gender Mainstreaming. I start with a discussion on patriarchy before moving on to masculinity, masculinism, hegemonic masculinity and the South African context.

Patriarchy

According to Cranny-Francis *et al.* (2003: 15), “patriarchy is a social system in which structural differences in privilege, power and authority are invested in masculinity and the cultural, economic and/or social positions of men”. They argue that both the concept and its widespread use were a result of the feminist debates in the 1960s and 1970s, and that it replaced the concept of sexism. Patriarchy as a concept stressed institutional rather than individual gender oppression. Feminists used it as an analytical framework to explain power relations in society, by examining how systems favour men and disadvantage women.

Tiessen (2007) suggests that men who have most of the power in a patriarchal system dominate the public and private sphere, and are the decision-makers in both. More than this, the asymmetrical power relations in favour of men are strengthened over time, because those in power (men) are able to reinforce them. She differentiates between public and private patriarchy. Public patriarchy separates men and their jobs from women, while private patriarchy refers to the unequal power relations inside the home

²⁵ I use the two concepts of ‘masculinity’ and ‘masculinities’ in the same manner as the authors that I am discussing here. I am aware that current literature maintains that there is not only one masculinity or femininity, and I support the idea of multiple femininities and masculinities.

that favours men at the expense of women. Through the institution of marriage, women become 'unpaid labourers' in terms of the reproductive roles they fulfil in the private sphere, 'freeing' men up to focus on their jobs in the public sphere.

Others are more dubious about the utility of the term. Burris (1996), for example, argues that patriarchy as concept has been controversial; it has been defined in many different ways, with some feminists rejecting it completely. Other feminists have used the term but changed the meaning, and still others use it loosely as a general term for male dominance. I think the use of patriarchy as a general term for male dominance would need to take account of different contexts. In government where I work, for example, when gender equality and sexism are discussed (and this is not often), the term patriarchy is still used to refer to male dominance. Yet this term cannot explain the subtleties of masculinist power in bureaucracies and international development institutions. At the same time, many of my colleagues, and many friends and relatives I associate with regularly, know and use the term 'patriarchy', because terms such as masculinism (Hooper, 2001) have not yet gained a foothold outside of academia, it seems. Thus, in this light, I argue that both patriarchy and masculinism could be used in gender analysis, as long as their usage makes sense and contributes to taking the gender equality struggle forward.

Masculinities and masculinism

What is masculinity? Connell (1995) argues that the concept has not always been clearly defined, that there are many different definitions of it, and that one cannot define it without focusing on the relationships and processes through which women as well as men

live gendered lives. “‘Masculinity’, to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture” (Connell, 1995: 71). It exists in relational contrast to femininity (*ibid*).

Concepts such as men, masculinities and masculinism have become highly visible in the gender arena. Since the early 1990s a lot of literature on these topics has emerged (Connell, 1995, 2000; Morrell, 2002; Reid and Walker, 2005; Shefer *et al.*, 2007). Practitioners of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) ignore this literature at their peril. GM cannot advance without carefully interrogating this literature and its implications; this applies to the South African context as well. Hearn (2007) states that, while violence against women is a very visible and obvious gender challenge, less obvious is the power that men wield because of their positions of power in formal organisations. This means that GM practitioners could easily overlook the need to analyse it and its impact on maintaining the unequal, sexist status quo. Indeed, in my experience masculinist power and masculinism are rarely addressed when implementing GM in organisations.

Underpinning masculinities, and integrally linked to them, is masculinism. Hooper (2001) puts forward an argument for using the concept of ‘masculinism’ rather than ‘patriarchy’, stating that patriarchy refers to familial, father rule in the pre-industrial sense, and is not useful for a more nuanced gender analysis. She argues that it is too closely linked with universalising, ahistorical theories and vague generalisations.

Androcentrism, another term frequently used in gender analysis, means man-centred, privileging men over women in the gender order. While this men/women dichotomy still applies currently, she rejects this concept as it links male privilege and masculinist power too directly to male anatomy. This direct link obscures the multiple, finer nuances of masculinity, masculinist power and privilege. Men, she argues, have access to power through their cultural association with hegemonic masculinity and its qualities, and not because of their male anatomy. It is the qualities of hegemonic masculinity rather than men per se that are closely linked to power. For her masculinism highlights the crucial link between hegemonic masculinity, male privilege and masculinist power in a way which patriarchy and androcentrism fail to do. Masculinism, unlike patriarchy, includes the finer nuances of unequal gendered power relations and focuses on who wields power in society. However, it is also important to bear in mind that sometimes, women who identify with the naturalised link between hegemonic masculinity and power/authority, support masculinist power at the expense of women and gender equality.

I will use the terms masculinist and masculinism rather than patriarchy in my study, as I agree with Hooper's (2001) argument that masculinism and masculinist power are concepts that highlight the naturalised link between hegemonic masculinity, power relations and male privilege far better than patriarchy. Masculinism is also more grounded in the specificities of particular situations and more helpful for understanding the process of Gender Mainstreaming in an international development organisation, and its projects. In the following section I explore theorising on the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity

Implicit in masculinism, are the concepts of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities. Understanding these concepts and their implications, are crucial to Gender Mainstreaming and its implementation.

What is hegemony? According to Morrell (2001: 9), hegemony,

...borrowed by R. W. Connell from Gramsci, refers to a particular form of masculinity which is dominant in society, which exercises its power over other, rival masculinities, and which regulates male power over women and distributes this power differentially amongst men.

Ouzgane and Morrell (2005b) state that Carrigan, Connell and Lee introduced the concept of hegemonic masculinity in a landmark article in 1985. One definition of hegemonic masculinity suggests that it is the widespread domination of men in the social, cultural and economic arena (Cranny-Francis *et al.*, 2003). Ouzgane and Morrell (2005b) concur with Cranny-Francis *et al.* (2003), asserting that hegemonic masculinity establishes the cultural norms of the ideal man, silences other/subordinate masculinities, and does not allow for alternative visions of masculinity.

According to Connell (1987, and 1995), hegemonic masculinity refers to masculine practices as well as norms that are prominent in society and is associated with the most powerful men in civil society institutions (Kronsell, 2006); it is seen to be culturally superior (Cleaver, 2002). Connell continues that the other side of hegemonic masculinity is “lesser” models of masculinity. Hooper (2001) agrees with him that hegemonic

masculinity, which has no female equivalent, implies subordinate/lesser masculinities. She argues that masculinist practices work both to maintain the status of hegemonic masculinity and to ensure that it evolves to meet the requirements of retaining power and privilege for elite (usually white, middle- or upper-class, heterosexual) men under changing circumstances.

Not all men benefit equally from the masculinist power inherent in hegemonic masculinity. Gay men, for example, do not benefit from it, as they are thought to be part of the subordinate masculinities group (Connell, 1987; Hooper, 2001); they do not subscribe/live up to the cultural ideal of a 'real man'. Implicit in this theorising is that men are not a homogenous group, that there are different constructions of masculinity and, inherent in them, power inequalities (Ouzgane and Morrell, 2005b).

Hegemonic masculinity, as the ruling masculinity in society, does not use brute, visible force to exercise its power and to retain it. It is legitimated and propped up by a range of cultural, economic, social and political mechanisms. It controls society in all spheres and is mirrored in the deep structure of organisations. Gendered, unequal power relations are inherent in hegemonic masculinity; subordinate masculinities, women and femininities are always inferior to it.

Tiessen (2007) argues that there is a silence surrounding hegemonic masculinity and the deep structure of organisations in development. She proposes, and I agree with her, that a feminist methodology and critique are crucial to address this silence and the seeming

naturalness of hegemonic masculinity, as it foregrounds the unequal gendered power relations that hegemonic masculinity obscures. I argue that hegemonic masculinity with its deeply entrenched masculinist power, pervasive in all areas of society and the deep structure of organisations, is a key challenge in GM in South African and around the world. Those men who benefit from it are not going to give up their power and control willingly because we want to achieve gender equality through GM. In the next section I focus on masculinities in South Africa.

Masculinities in the South African context

According to Reid and Walker (2005), the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa since 1994 has had a significant impact on South African men. The new Constitution and key legislation meant better opportunities for women, greater visibility of sex and sexuality, gay and lesbian rights, as well as greater access to pornographic material because of less censorship, for example. Men could no longer feel comfortable, as entrenched masculinities were unseated from their base in apartheid, masculinist, authoritarian and violent society. These authors argue that men are in crisis as a result of changing power relations between men and women, as more and more women gain access to previously male-dominated areas of life and work.

Walker (2005) contends that at the level of perception there has been a shift in gender/power relations, and masculinities based on violence and authoritarianism are no longer acceptable. According to her, in South Africa we are in a period of competing masculinities between the old and the new. At the same time, over the last seven years

domestic and sexual violence against women, as well as rape, have been on the increase. Within this context of contestation regarding ‘old and new’ masculinities, I argue that Gender Mainstreaming (GM) practitioners face huge challenges as proponents of ‘new masculinities’ that require men to support gender equality. It would be naïve to expect of men to support GM automatically. In fact, resistance should be expected, as gender equality requires of men to turn their entire lives upside down for a change process in which women are perceived to be the beneficiaries.

Morrell (2002) lists three responses from men to the gender transition in South Africa: (1) some men try to protect their privilege; (2) some respond to what they see as a ‘crisis’ of masculinity; (3) some join the fight for gender justice. For GM practitioners it would be crucial to attract and maintain the support of those who are prepared to support the fight for gender justice. Simultaneously, they need to reflect on how to garner the support of the men in the other two categories for GM. To do this GM practitioners have to engage with masculinism by focusing on the deep structure of organisations (Rao *et al.*, 1999).

Terms like masculinism, masculinities and masculinism, are all contested. Nevertheless they are important in the GM context, because they are about the people who are the principal holders of power in society, namely men, and in this sense men are gatekeepers for reform (read transformation). Change among men, on quite a wide scale, is essential if we want to advance gender equality, according to Connell (in the Foreword to Shefer *et al.*, 2007). I agree whole-heartedly with Connell. I argue that, unless we look very

seriously at the role of men and masculinist power in the Gender Mainstreaming model that we use, we would not succeed with substantive implementation.

CONCLUSION

The different approaches used to integrate women and gender into development and its discourse have changed over time. WID, the starting point, was not perfect with its focus on women's practical needs, while their strategic needs were overlooked. While its discourse objectified women as a development category seemingly without agency (Thompson, 1997), it was not only negative. It was also a new beginning for women in development and it provided a foundation on which GAD could build subsequently.

The GAD approach clearly moved beyond WID by focusing on both the practical and the strategic needs of women, the sexual division of labour, and by recognising that women's inequality could not be addressed without the involvement of men. The Empowerment approach was created and driven by women from the South, who decided that they had enough of domination by white women from the North. It is grounded in the lived experiences of women from the South and led by them. Power relations and the different kinds of power play a key role in this approach.

Gender Mainstreaming as a GAD implementation strategy became entrenched especially after the Beijing World Conference on Women in 1995. It advocates moving women and gender issues from the margin into the centre or mainstream. This has not been an easy task; GM is finding the world and South Africa a hard place in which to do this and

successful GM implementation seems almost impossible. One possible reason for the difficulty in succeeding with GM is the deeply institutionalised hegemonic masculinity in organisations, be they developmental or governmental. GM cannot be ‘added on’ to an organisation where male norms and values predominate, and where there is no consciousness of women’s issues and gender inequalities. An organisation steeped in masculinist power and organisational culture cannot be a hospitable home for GM. This much is evident from the deep structure approach of Rao *et al.* (1999) that I discussed earlier. Framing GM in a transformative organisational context, where its implementation is embedded in organisational transformation, seems to provide a possible solution by transforming the organisation simultaneously with GM implementation, thus creating a hospitable home for gender equality and women’s empowerment.

Gender Mainstreaming is transformative and involves fundamental change to organisations and the mindsets of the people who inhabit them. As such, it will be extremely challenging. However, it has to be done if we want to move forward with gender equality and women’s empowerment.

CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME: INTERNATIONALLY AND IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

My study focuses on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the development arm of the United Nations (UN), and how it mainstreams gender in its South African office, the UNDP/SA. In order to understand the context within which the UNDP carries out development work, I start by providing a brief historical overview of the UN. Then I discuss the origin of the UNDP and the UNDP South African Country Office. In addition to this, I focus on the integration of women, gender issues and Gender Mainstreaming into the UN and the UNDP over time. Lastly, I discuss Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP South African Country Office. This will not be an in-depth discussion here, as this topic is dealt with extensively in Chapter Four.

THE UNITED NATIONS: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The United Nations was officially established just after World War II in 1945. It was designed to improve on its predecessor, the League of Nations and to avoid its mistakes. A key weakness of the League was its inability to ensure world security by failing to prevent the Second World War (*World Policy Journal*, 1994; History of the United Nations Website). Like the League of Nations, the aim of the UN is to promote international cooperation and to achieve peace and security in the world.

The UN is a huge organisation. Its organogram comprises almost ninety different entities such as departments and offices, specialised agencies such as UNESCO and the ILO, programmes and funds, institutes, commissions, and subsidiary bodies (Murphy, 2006). The post-war plans of the UN did not only look at peace and security. They also included issues closely related to war, peace and security, namely social and economic development (Mendez, 2002; Emmerij *et al.* in Jain, 2005).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNDP AS THE UN DEVELOPMENT ARM

According to Braidotti *et al.* (1994), discourse about development generally started in the aftermath of the Second World War. The US President, Harry Truman, stated in a speech before the US Congress in 1949 that “the larger part of the world ... was underdeveloped, thus framing the context within which the capitalist West could enter developing countries to provide development assistance to ‘lead’ the South into ‘modernity’” (Braidotti *et al.*, 1994: 21).

The aim of development was to create an alternative to Communism for developing countries in the South in the post-colonial period.²⁶ During this phase the aim was to prevent the South from identifying and building alliances with the Communist East Bloc. The capitalist West used technical assistance and/or development aid to lure the developing countries into their fold:

Technical assistance together with the introduction of Western-style institutions, most importantly the nation state as the prominent institution to administer development, were devised as strategies to overcome the suffering and destitution

²⁶ In the 1950s thirteen colonies around the world became independent, followed by another forty-one in the 1960s (Snyder, 1995: 10).

of the South's masses and, more importantly, to curb the Communist insurgency (Braidotti *et al.*, 1994: 20).

The communist East Bloc at the time was also trying to get the South into its pocket. Thus development discourse at this stage was necessarily framed within an ideological 'tug-of-war' between the East and West, with the developing countries caught in the middle.

The UNDP was set up in 1966 as the UN arm specifically responsible for social and economic development, with the aim of administering, financing, co-ordinating and controlling resources for technical co-operation or development within the United Nations (UN) (Klingebliel, 1999; Murphy, 2006). The UNDP, according to Murphy, sees itself as the

... UN's global network, an organization advocating for change and connecting countries to knowledge, experiences and resources to help people build a better life'. Its job is to confront poverty, give a voice to the voiceless, and to begin to reverse the growing global economic and political gaps (2006: 4-5).

At the head of the UNDP is an Administrator, who is, after the Secretary General and the Deputy Secretary General, the third highest-ranking official in the UN. The Secretary General appoints the Head of the UNDP, usually for a four-year term, and the General Assembly has to confirm such an appointment (UNDP Official Website, 2005).

A combination of two organisations gave birth to the UNDP, namely the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries (EPTA), and the United Nations Special Fund (Murphy, 2006). The EPTA was

founded by the General Assembly of the UN in 1948 to provide technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. Funds were made available to enable international experts to advise governments on economic development, to train experts and technicians, and to assist governments with organising their development projects. The UN Special Fund was a capital development fund, which financed surveys and feasibility studies to facilitate new capital investments. While the UNDP officially started in 1966, the work and discussions on merging the EPTA and the UN Special Fund started in 1962 already. The final report on the merger went to the General Assembly in 1965 and was passed in November of the same year. Officially, the UNDP came into being on 1 January 1966 (Murphy, 2006).

The UNDP publishes an annual global report called the *Human Development Report* (HDR). The HDR tracks development globally and nationally according to a set of indicators that reflect to what extent people across the world are capable of directing their own lives (Murphy, 2006).

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNDP/SA OFFICE AND ITS MISSION

After the 1994 elections in South Africa (SA) that heralded the new democracy, the Executive Board of the UNDP accepted SA as a programme country and established a country office in Pretoria. The UNDP in South Africa is part of the United Nations Country Office. The Head of the UN Country Office is the Resident Coordinator, who facilitates and co-ordinates the work of all UN Offices (see Figure 3 below for a list of the UN Offices and Agencies in South Africa, including the UNDP). The Resident

Coordinator Unit housed within UNDP, supports the Resident Coordinator in her/his duties and responsibilities (UNDP SA official website, 2007). The UNDP’s focus in South Africa is “to help government and civil society build and share solutions to the challenges of local governance; poverty reduction; energy and environment; and HIV/AIDS” (UNDP in SA Website, 2002: 1).

Figure 3: The UN Country Office in South Africa

The Different Programmes in the UN Office
Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator
International Labour Organisation (ILO)
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
World Food Programme (WFP)
United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)
United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)
International Organisation for Migration (IOM)
Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO)
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
United Nations Education, Scientific, Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)
United Nations High Commission for Human Rights (UNHCHR)
United Nations Information Centre (UNIC)
United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)
UNAIDS
World Health Organisation

There are a number of units in the UNDP/SA, shown in Figure 4 below:

Figure 4: The Units in the UNDP/SA Office

Governance and Regional Integration	Social Development and HIV/AIDS	Environmental Unit	Policy and Strategy	Operations	Finance
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Except for the Finance and the Policy and Strategy units, the others are headed by an Assistant Resident Representative. Of these managers, only one was a woman in 2005. In

this same year the UNDP/SA appointed its first female Resident Representative. Her Deputy Resident Representative, responsible for Programmes, was a man. Generally most of the management was male in 2005 (*Situational Analysis Report*, 2005: 34). The Gender Focal Point in 2005 was a woman Junior Professional Officer (JPO), although previously this post had been occupied by a Programme Officer and once by an Assistant Resident Representative, which is at the management level.

Country Co-operation Frameworks between the UNDP/SA and the South African government

The first comprehensive Country Co-operation Framework (CCF) between the UNDP South African Country Office and South Africa was finalised in 1997 for 5 years (1997-2001). The CCF is the framework within which the UNDP/SA frames its development work in SA. The aim of the first CCF was to reduce poverty and inequality in SA through two major programmes, namely (1) Creating Sustainable Livelihoods, and (2) Promoting Sound Governance. As part of the first CCF, the UNDP/SA office funded a Capacity Building Project (CBP) for the National Office on the Status of Women (NOSW). This CBP included the Provincial OSW (POSW) in all nine provinces. I discuss this CBP in detail in Chapter Five.

The second CCF (2002-2006), drafted by a joint working group comprising government and the UNDP (Second CCF for SA, 2002: 2), has different aims, namely to assist the government in translating some of its policies and strategies into practice to enhance greater social and economic change, especially in the poorest rural areas in SA. The role

of the UNDP within this country context is to bring together “diverse partners to share ideas, lessons, expertise and models for democratic governance and equitable development from all over the world” (UNDP in SA Website, 2002: 2) in order to assist SA in its development process.

In the second CCF there is a short paragraph on gender that refers to SA as being a global leader in the promotion of gender equality. The UNDP/SA juxtaposes two ‘worlds’ of women in SA in the second CCF: on the one hand, some women are entering senior government positions, while on the other hand, most of the poorest of the poor are women. Despite South Africa’s enabling gender legislation and its National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality launched in 2001, women are reported to be quite far from enjoying equality with men (Second CCF, 2002-2006: 5).

Under the heading of “Objectives, Programme Areas and Expected Results”, the CCF mentions that gender has been “mainstreamed” into all development initiatives, especially in the light of the feminisation of poverty (Second CCF, 2002-2006: 6). Further on in the document, under the heading “Expected Results”, the document cites the following as one of the expected results: “Gender-mainstreaming capacity developed in the provinces and gender focal points empowered to contribute to rural poverty-reduction efforts” (Second CCF, 2002-2006: 8). Clearly this is a reference to the Capacity Building Project with the OSW, which has as its aim the institutional capacity building of the OSW nationally and provincially, as well as promoting capacity building (Project

Document, 2000: 1). Besides referring to Gender Mainstreaming in the CCF, the UNDP/SA has to implement Gender Mainstreaming policies that come from the UNDP Headquarters in its Country Office. Examples of some of the Gender Mainstreaming policies are *Direct Line 11*, *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming*, and *Gender Balance in Management*. What is very clear from the CCF and the Gender Mainstreaming Policies is an indisputable UNDP/SA commitment to Gender Mainstreaming. The crucial question is whether this policy rhetoric translates into implementation on the ground in the South African Country Office for staff and in terms of organisational culture.

The CCF documents are central to the development assistance work of the UNDP/SA as they provide a framework for both the UNDP Country Office and the South African government, which provides the context for the UNDP, and outline and explain its development assistance for South Africa. It is therefore important for my study to interrogate its discourse and language use. On the second page of the second CCF with SA (2002-2006), in its introduction, the discourse of the UNDP sounds very participatory: developing the second CCF took 6 months; it was a “process” of “partners”. It spells out and names the partners that were involved, and makes it obvious that the UNDP did not ‘impose’ this second CCF on SA. The process was consultative and participatory. It is also very evident that the second CCF built on the work that went before in the first CCF (1997-2001).

It is when one reads the next heading, *Development Situation from a Sustainable Human Development Perspective* (Second CCF, 2002-2006: 2-3), that one recognises what Crush (1995) and Ferguson (1994) are saying about development agencies' need to create a "development context" that requires a developmental intervention. Kardam calls this the "gap between reality and the desired state" (Kardam in Goetz, 1997: 56). This section of the second CCF focuses heavily on "poverty" and "inequality"; it in fact says the following about South Africa:

... millions of citizens are plagued by continuous ill health, experience extraordinary levels of anxiety and stress (and the accompanying realities of violence and abuse vented mainly on women and children) and perform harsh and dangerous work for low incomes. There is pervasive demoralisation and fatalism. A sense of hopelessness and an inability to alter the conditions of life is a defining feature (Second CCF, 2002-2006: 3).

In this paragraph the UNDP/SA sets the geographical stage for its development intervention in SA. According to Crush (1995), development agencies create a discourse of need in order to justify their development interventions. There is no hope, there is an inability to change the conditions and therefore it becomes necessary for a development agency like the UNDP/SA to enter in order to 'rescue' these people from the hopelessness and despair prevailing in SA. The UNDP/SA uses what Doty (1996) calls nodal points such as "ill health", "anxiety and stress", "violence and abuse", "demoralisation and fatalism", "hopelessness" and "an inability to alter ... life" to justify its aid, which promises to create a better life free from all of these negatives. This discourse denies the agency of poor South African women to deal with the harshness of their daily lives, despite the fact that poor women were surviving poverty long before the establishment of the UNDP/SA.

Women and gender do not feature strongly in either CCF besides a brief mention. This absence demonstrates just how marginalised gender is in these development frameworks, despite the gender rhetoric from both the South African government and the UNDP/SA. My next section focuses on this very issue of women and gender in the development work of the UNDP/SA.

WOMEN AND GENDER IN THE UN

Women from national and international organisations actively lobbied for inclusion of the principle of equality between women and men in the UN Charter (Karl, 1995; Jain, 2005).²⁷ “Women at the UN were able to have a significant impact on the founding principles of the world body in its early years because of their decades of experience as activists in freedom struggles, peace movements, political forums, and trade unions” (Jain, 2005: 13).

Examples of such women are Bodil Begtrup, chairperson of the Sub-commission on the Status of Women in the UN. She worked with the League of Nations and was a member of the Danish Resistance in World War II. Another was Minerva Bernardino, from the Dominican Republic, who fought for women’s rights from her executive government position. She also served on the Inter-American Commission on Women (IACW).²⁸

²⁷ The focus on women in the UN obviously did not start at this time; according to Karl, “even before the birth of the UN, women mobilised to influence its predecessor, the League of Nations ... as early as 1919 ... [to ensure] that posts in the League would be open to women as well as men” (1995: 121).

²⁸ The IACW, established in 1928, was the first intergovernmental organisation focused on women’s issues. It developed the Lima Declaration in Favour of Women’s Rights in the 1930s. The work on this Declaration equipped the women for the role they would play in drafting the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (Jain, 2005: 15).

At the UN Charter Conference in San Francisco in 1945 there were only four women among signatories present. Three were from developing countries: Minerva Bernardino and Bertha Lutz from Brazil, along with Wu Yi-Fang from China. The fourth was Virginia Gildersleeve from the United States of America. Another two women who attended, one from Australia and one from Canada, were not signatories. The four signatories “were able to balloon this small presence and influence outcomes through their strategic use of power” (Jain, 2005: 12) and thus women’s issues were included in the text of the Charter. By inserting the word “women” at key points, equality between the sexes was present in the Charter right from the start (Jain, 2005).

Within a year of its establishment the UN brought into being the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) as a sub-commission of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The mandate of the CSW was to prepare reports and make recommendations to ECOSOC about women’s equality in the political, economic, social, civic and educational fields. The CSW played a key role in driving the UN campaign for full political suffrage for women world-wide from 1946-1955. Some of the UN member countries were still under colonial rule and in these countries the campaign could not be carried out. However, from the 1950s, when liberation struggles were overthrowing colonial rule, the campaign for women’s suffrage received fresh impetus.

By the 1960s the composition of the UN had changed markedly. Many new member states were admitted from the Third World, mainly newly liberated countries. Many of these countries sent to the UN women delegates who had participated in their countries’

liberation struggles. In many of these countries the women had used their liberation struggles to raise the issue of women's emancipation. One example is India, where Gandhi's leadership provided a window of opportunity for Indian women not only to participate in their freedom movement, but also to put their struggles for women's rights on the agenda. The women from the newly liberated countries highlighted their local issues at the UN and took the CSW "beyond the negotiating tables in New York and Geneva and into the fields and rice paddies of the developing world" (Jain, 2005: 25). Snyder (1995) agrees with Jain that the multiplication of UN member states in the 1950s and 60s resulted in the newly independent countries sending women delegates to the UN. These women brought with them first-hand accounts of seeing economic growth and societal progress "through women's eyes". "They told of women farmers, merchants and entrepreneurs, and spoke of women as the backbone of rural economies" (Snyder, 1995: 10).

These accounts influenced the UN agenda, including the CSW in the 1960s. They encouraged a shift in focus from legal, civil and political equality for women to equality of participation in nation building, and in social and economic development, for example. Other issues that received more prominence were the improvement of women's status overall and advances in addressing illiteracy, poor health and access to professional and vocational education (Jain, 2005).

One could very well ask how the women from the newly liberated countries were capable of making such a significant contribution, as many of the newly liberated countries were

very masculinist. It seems that it was the exposure to activism and struggles in their respective countries that empowered these women to take gender equality issues forward in international arenas. Examples of their struggles were the Palestinian women protesting British occupation of Palestine in the early 1900s, the Egyptian women marching in the streets of Cairo in 1919, in India it was the movement against colonialism in which women participated, and in the Philippines the first public debates about gender equality had started as early as 1904 (Jain, 2005).

In the later 1940s and the early 1950s the UN launched a number of surveys to gather data on women regarding issues such as women's legal status and treatment (1947), and opportunities for women in education and the professions (1949). At the request of the CSW, in 1950 the UN began to collect data on legal constraints to women's right to vote and to stand for public office in comparison to men's from seventy-four countries. The survey discovered that twenty-two countries did not give women equal political rights to men, while fifty-two did (Jain, 2005). While it seems impressive that the majority of countries in the survey had given women equal political rights at the time, one needs to bear in mind that formal equality does not necessarily translate into substantive equality. Having equal political rights does not always mean that women have equality of treatment, equality of opportunities, or equality of access to political office. It is important to interrogate the silences in these surveys and the data collection by asking: besides equal political rights in fifty-two countries, what did women *not have* at this time? What was not covered by the UN surveys? Did women have other rights in these countries, such as the right to choose to have an abortion should they so wish, or the right

to set up a child's passport, or even the access to take advantage of a right to vote? Jain (2005) unfortunately does not explain these aspects at length in her book.

Women representatives in the UN system used these times to move forward by producing two important documents focusing on women's rights. The Commission on the Status of Women in the UN developed the *Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (DEDAW)* in 1967, and in 1979, the *Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)*. CEDAW not only spelt out what discrimination against women means; it also outlined steps to address this (Jain, 2005). Documents such as these seem to have been instrumental in providing a discursive framework within which to start the process to fully integrate women into development, or at least to start discussions about it.

The UN World Conferences on Women

In the 1950s the women's movement in the North gained renewed momentum as some women took up the challenges posed by gendered systems and masculine authority that limited the opportunities available to women. Earlier in this chapter I alluded to the suffragette movement, the role of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in the UN regarding women's rights, and the women's issues that women delegates from developing countries brought to the UN. In addition to these, there were the feminist debates taking place in Europe and North America at the time. Rowan-Campbell (1999) argues that all of these factors moved women's equality onto the global stage and contributed to the call for the First World Conference on Women in Mexico in 1974.

Jain (2005) takes a somewhat different angle by suggesting that the Mexico World Conference on Women was called to give greater impact to the International Women's Year. The International Women's Year (IWY) was initiated by the *Women's International Democratic Federation*, which requested the CSW in 1972 to proclaim such a year for women. The CSW presented this request to ECOSOC, where it was approved in 1974. Out of the work done during the IWY, a report prepared by the Secretariat of the CSW on the *Integration of Women in the Development Process as Equal Partners with Men* was presented to ECOSOC during this year, on the basis of which ECOSOC called the Mexico Conference.

Murphy (2006) explains the IWY and the Mexico Conference differently. He suggests that it was not only the resurgent women's movement in Europe and North America that prompted the UN to call the IWY and the Mexico Conference. He explains that the UN Expert Group meeting in 1972 played a crucial role as well. This meeting was prompted by Boserup's book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (published in 1970), as well as the ECA's five-year plan for women in development. Margareth Snyder, who became UNIFEM's first Head, called this meeting the "first global meeting on women and development" (Murphy, 2006: 202). My view is that there is merit in all three opinions. External pressures and the UN Expert Group meeting are sure to have played a role in the call for the Mexico Conference. However, the global shift in discourse about women's rights also pressured leaders around the world, making it seem logical and necessary to organise an event where women could come together to discuss common challenges and how to address them at the time.

Delegates from more than 130 nations attended this Conference, of which 75% were women. According to Karl (1995), women representatives had the opportunity to discuss their diverse needs and concerns as a group. Although the conference was a success, “its impact was not immediately evident and women’s issues continued to be largely ignored in both national and international decision making” (Karl, 1995: 127). Clearly more concerted action and efforts were necessary to continue the integration of women and fortunately these did follow during the *Women’s Decade* from 1976-1985, formally called by the UN (Jain, 2005).

The *Decade for Women* spawned more UN bodies concerned with women’s issues. The UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women) legislation was passed in 1975 – the first UN Development Fund for Women was born with the mandate “to give special attention to rural and poor urban women” (Snyder, 1995: xv). UNIFEM was officially established in 1976 (Karl, 1995). Still within the UN in 1975, legislation was passed to establish the International Training and Research Institute for Women (INSTRAW). This was the first such UN initiative for women.

These positive women-centred developments in the 1960s and 1970s inspired a wave of global women’s conferences that started in the 80s and continued into the 90s. These conferences were called by the UN because of the increasing concern with women in global development institutions, and because of the pressure exerted by women’s movements in Europe, North America and the Third World. Thus in 1980 the second global Women’s Conference took place in Copenhagen. This was followed by the third

Women's World Conference in 1985 in Nairobi, and lastly in 1995 the fourth Women's Conference took place in Beijing.

These conferences provided an opportunity for the women of the world to put their issues onto the world agenda and to strengthen the advances that had been made thus far for women in development. They provided the impetus to firmly establish women as stakeholders in the development arena (Snyder, 1995; Karl, 1995). While women were being put on the agenda in the UN, other developments such as the formation of the UNDP to drive development assistance for the UN took place in parallel to this.

The difference between the UNDP and UNIFEM

It is appropriate to briefly clarify the difference between UNIFEM and the UNDP, as these two components of the UN both have a development focus. UNIFEM was moved administratively to the UNDP in 1984. To make UNIFEM more effective, UNDP country offices were used to assist them in reaching the poorest women to a greater extent than before. UNIFEM and UNDP joint programming assistance followed after this. The difference between what the two were doing is as follows: UNIFEM was an operational, specialised fund with the aim of providing financial and technical aid to developing countries. It was working as a catalyst for women in development not just with the UNDP, but with the entire UN system. Thus it cut across the entire UN. Gradually, by the end of the 1980s the co-operation between UNIFEM and UNDP staff became fully institutionalised (Snyder, 1995).

THE UNDP AND WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

The UN environment, in which the UNDP began, was not devoid of women. The institutional culture and discourse at the time, however, was one in which women and gender issues had not yet found their rightful place. In 1966, after all, it was still four years before Boserup's book on women in development would begin the process of 'adding' women to the development agenda.

As stated earlier in this chapter, developments such as the publication of Boserup's book *Women's Role in Economic Development* in 1970, the first regional UN Women's Programme in 1972 and the Percy Amendment in 1973 all contributed to creating an enabling environment in the UN in which programming for women could become a reality in the 1970s (Jain, 2005). This in turn impacted on the UNDP, encouraging it to integrate women into its development work during this time.

Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development

The UNDP focus on Women in Development (WID) started in 1975. In this year the UNDP published a WID checklist (Jahan, 1995). It is probably no coincidence that the UNDP initiated WID activities in the same year as the Mexico World Conference on Women took place in Mexico City, following on the International Year of Women in 1974. Events such as these very likely put pressure on development organisations to deliver on the rhetoric to integrate women into development.

In 1976 and 1977 the UNDP issued WID programming guidelines for the first time entitled *Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development*. The document was very general and did not provide an outline for staff on how to implement a WID policy. What the guidelines did specify was that the UNDP Administrator (who is the Head of the UNDP) wanted staff to examine all projects to make sure they included attention to women's role in development.

The following areas were identified in which women had to be included: agriculture, education, food production, handicrafts and health services (Kardam, 1991). These identified areas are typically related to women's practical needs and their reproductive role. What is ignored are public (as opposed to the private, in the home) areas such as business, politics and women's strategic needs, as well as the oppressive gendered power relations that confine women to the WID practical needs domain. These guidelines labelled women as "disadvantaged", a group that needed "special consideration", while simultaneously recognising that women's issues stretched across the "full spectrum of social activities" (Jahan, 1995: 24).

One serious shortcoming of the guidelines was that they were not very clear about the *how* – the process necessary to integrate women into development projects. Also, men, the issue of gender and power relations were completely left out, as if they did not exist and were not part of women's issues. There was no opportunity for women's agency; in short, these guidelines were a clear reflection of how uninformed and unaware male management (and some females') thinking was at the time in the UNDP. For staff who

wanted, and often needed, more information, sources such as an annotated list of references were provided. I fully agree with Kardam (1991: 19) when she says, “The vague nature of the UNDP’s directions to staff is an indication that no particular procedural or programmatic changes were planned to deal with gender issues in the agency’s development assistance activities”. This view is echoed by Prügl and Meyer (1999), who argue that WID policies at this time were very weak in the UNDP. It is clear that the UNDP at this stage was not very serious about integrating women into development. Seven years after Boserup’s landmark publication highlighting the importance of women and their role in development, the UNDP clearly was not succeeding in doing exactly this.

Programme Advisory Note on WID

Nine years later in 1986, possibly due to pressure after the Nairobi Women’s World Conference in 1985, the UNDP issued the *Programme Advisory Note* (PAN) on WID (Kardam, 1991). Now the UNDP was able to specify how women could be integrated into development. Issuing the PAN seems to reflect awareness within the UNDP that the original *Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development* were insufficient. Several measures were suggested through the PAN. Firstly, WID should be introduced in donor consultations or roundtables. This could be part of examining the priorities for development for a particular country. Secondly, at project identification and design stages, WID should be considered, as this was usually the stage where the type of interventions needed was discussed. It was at these stages when questions were normally raised about women in the country or region (Kardam, 1991).

The PAN not only included a framework analysis that looked at an activity and control profile on women. It also provided a detailed account of how women could be integrated in the identification, design, implementation, monitoring, review and evaluation stages in the following sectors and areas: development planning; education and training; agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries; forestry and energy; industry; small-scale enterprises in the informal sector; population, health and nutrition; water supply and sanitation; credit; and employment (Kardam, 1991; Jain, 2005).²⁹ Although the PAN was an improvement on the vague guidelines issued before, it is clear that the UNDP at this stage was still firmly located within the WID discursive paradigm in terms of the prescribed sectors and focus areas, and failed to consider women's strategic needs. According to Jain (2005), a later evaluation of WID during this period in the UNDP shows clearly that these women-focused projects were an add-on to existing programmes. In other words, the progress made in the UNDP was still very superficial in that it failed to address women's agency, gender and power relations. The focus was still narrowly on women only. There is no mention that women were consulted about the PAN; it seems to have been issued from above (meaning from male managers at the top of the UNDP).

The UNDP first WID policy and WID division

The UNDP issued its first WID policy in 1987, two years after the Nairobi World Conference on Women and the Forward-Looking Strategies of 1985. It was very brief, omitting any mention of gender equity or a feminist agenda. It focused instead on country-specific contexts, simply promising a 'larger role for women'. It did require

²⁹ According to Jain (2005), the UNDP launched sixty-five projects between 1978 and 1989 in which women were involved in the areas mentioned above.

however, that gender issues be integrated into project evaluation procedures (Jahan, 1995). At this stage the UNDP seems to have shifted discursively from speaking about 'women' to speaking about 'gender'. According to Jahan (2005: 52), "The UNDP's 1987 WID policy framework required the agency to integrate *gender* issues in its project evaluation procedures" [my emphasis]. Thus, it seems that the UNDP started using the concept 'gender' with its 1987 WID policy.

It is interesting that the UNDP discourse at this time uses the concept of gender interchangeably with women, and within a WID policy framework, without necessarily bringing gender relations into the equation. This suggests some possible confusion and/or ignorance within the UNDP regarding the differences between the WID and GAD approaches. This confusion and/or ignorance could be the reason why, during a desk review of fifty UNDP evaluations in 1987, there was hardly any mention of WID/GAD issues (Jahan, 1995).

A WID division was created in this same year³⁰ within the Bureau for Program and Policy Evaluation. It issued a comprehensive document, outlining that WID issues should be integrated into country programming, project cycles, monitoring and evaluation. It suggested that the resident representative, at country programming level, should indicate in the UNDP's position paper how women will be included in the country programme. Central to this document is the project review form that asks for the following information: how many men and women are active in the sector where a project will be

³⁰ "UNDP started regularly reporting on its WID activities after the establishment of its WID division in 1987, but discussion of gender issues remained generally restricted to the separate WID section and did not spill over to the other development issues discussed in the annual report" (Jahan, 1995: 93).

located; whether WID issues are reflected in the project objectives, outputs and activities; if women are beneficiaries of the project; the actual number of women and men engaged as project staff; and the number of women and men involved in training. The review form also allows for explanations, comments and suggestions to improve gender-responsiveness (Kardam, 1991).

A review of WID implementation in the UNDP

A 1989 review of the UNDP's WID policy implementation reflected very little use of the guidelines: in the 1987-1991 programme cycles only four out of all the field offices³¹ of the UNDP referred to gender issues (Jahan, 1995).

With the creation of the WID division, training became a focus. In 1989 a review showed that less than 15 percent of agency staff had been trained about WID/GAD. By 1990 the UNDP appointed a full-time WID training co-ordinator and started WID training systematically for trainers in the UNDP (Jahan, 1995). Whether this training had a huge impact is uncertain – it seems that the training increased the level of gender awareness more than creating gender expertise, and that more junior than senior staff attended (Jahan, 1995). This progress with regard to WID training could be ascribed to the fact that in 1990 the UN not only implemented its system-wide medium-term plan on women and development; it also did the first assessment of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies adopted in 1985 (Stienstra, 1994), which probably showed that training was a shortcoming.

³¹ Jahan does not mention how many field offices the UNDP had at this time – she seems to imply that four field offices were not the majority.

However, despite adopting a WID policy in 1987, the UNDP failed to actively promote and/or recruit women. From 1975 to 1993 (eighteen years), the proportion of women increased from 20 to 26 percent, while women in senior management increased from three to eight percent in the entire UNDP. In the 1990 report to its governing council the UNDP reported a focus on women's representation in the staff recruitment procedures. The report referred to a special effort to attract more women into management and senior management (Jahan, 1995). It was reported that retention of women was a problem and extra measures such as flexi-time, flexible maternity leave and spouse employment in the field were mentioned as much-needed gender-sensitive measures to get women into these positions and retain them (Jahan, 1995). I will discuss this issue in more detail in Chapter Four, where I analyse the Gender Mainstreaming progress of the UNDP, and more specifically in the UNDP South African Country Office.

From Women in Development to Gender and Development

The UNDP officially moved from a WID approach to GAD in 1992 by dismantling its WID division and creating a GAD programme (Jahan, 1995; Staudt, 2001). One of the reasons for this was that other development institutions such as the World Bank (Staudt, 2001) were making this change, so this influenced the UNDP to do the same.

In this same year a change in the development language took place within the UNDP, when it adopted the concept of *human development* in an attempt to change the face of the deteriorating development situation in many Southern countries. The focus shifted to an investment in people and human-centred development. While this was a move in the

right direction generally, it spelt out few positive changes for women in development or gender equality. Women still barely featured in the ‘new’ ‘human-centred’ discourse: human still seemed at this stage to mean men. What is positive, however, is that at this stage the UNDP no longer saw economic growth as an end in itself, but as a means to human development (Braidotti *et al.*, 1994). Although the UNDP development discourse was changing at this time, it still failed to clarify concretely “how [their] top-down approach is to be transformed into a bottom-up, people-centred one ... The inherent gender blindness is also eluded” (Braidotti *et al.*, 1994: 19).

Unlike Braidotti *et al.* (1994), Jahan (1995) sees the UNDP annual Human Development Report as consistently mainstreaming gender. She views the gender-disaggregated Human Development Index (HDI) and the gender-disaggregated data in the report as an “imaginative tool” to measure gender equality progress. I disagree with Jahan about the significance of this “imaginative tool”; while gender-disaggregated data are crucial in the Gender Mainstreaming process, the real test lies in whether this makes a difference in women’s lives on the ground beyond the reports. Indeed, according to Staudt (2001), although the manner in which the HDI disaggregates data helps to make gender inequality visible, which is obviously good, if nothing else happens after gender inequality has become visible, and if this does not translate into action to address the inequality, questions need to be raised.

Ironically the UNDP only refers to WID/GAD issues in their reports for 1975, 1980 and 1985 – in other words, the years when the UN Conferences on Women were held (Jahan,

1995). The 1990 HDR “barely touched on gender issues” (Kabeer, 2003a: 14). However, in 1995, the year of the Beijing World Conference on Women, the theme was *Gender and Human Development*. According to Murphy (2006: 249), the 1995 HDR “played a major role in the debates at the Beijing World Conference on Women and led to the regular preparation of national estimates of the previously unmeasured economic contributions of women as well as to tools for assessing the impact of macroeconomic policies on women”. Yet the intermittent nature of HDR interest in gender suggests that the UNDP responded in a knee-jerk manner to external pressures such as the World Conferences to take action on women and gender, without necessarily having a serious internal commitment to gender equality. At this time (in 1995) the HDR suggested a five-point agenda to advance gender equality. These points were legal equality, nationally and internationally; greater choices for both women and men at work including flexi-time, paternity and maternity leave; women to hold 30% of decision-making positions; programmes to ensure that there is not only universal education, but also improvement of reproductive health issues and increasing credit for women; greater access for especially women to economic and political opportunities in national and international programmes (Kabeer, 2003a).

The silences in between the conferences highlight how marginalised women and gender appeared to be in the UNDP in 1995, twenty years after the first World Conference on Women in Mexico City. Despite the progress reflected in the shift to GAD, and the accompanying discursive changes, substantive improvements for women in the UNDP had not yet kicked in. Rowan-Campbell (1999: 12) rightfully asks:

After four UN World Conferences and one year devoted to women, the world seems to agree that women should have equality and equity and that gender issues are of some importance. Why, then, are these changes so slow in coming? Why, all around the globe, are women still working longer hours and earning less than men? ... The third millennium approaches, yet practitioners still struggle to bring to development work a consciousness of gender issues that will change lives – and hearts – and bring about a world where women and men equally determine how to enhance their own lives and their communities and their societies.

The above quote shows that, while gender equality has been on everyone's lips, it remains a tremendous challenge to implement the rhetoric so that it makes a substantive impact, for the better, on women's lives.

The UNDP and Gender Mainstreaming

The UNDP discourse on mainstreaming started after Beijing; the UN General Assembly in 1996 officially endorsed Gender Mainstreaming as policy (True, 2001). What seems clear is that both the UN and the UNDP, pressurised by the Beijing Platform For Action, adopted Gender Mainstreaming as the strategy to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment (Jain, 2005). Whether the UNDP at this stage understood what was needed to implement Gender Mainstreaming is, of course, an open question.

In April 1999 a group of UNDP male staff members, who attended a programme organised by the Gender in Development Programme (GIDP) of the UN, produced a document called *Gender Mainstreaming: A Men's Perspective*. In it they expressed the following points: they wanted women and men to work together more on gender issues, not only at work, but across the world; they stressed their support for and commitment to GM as adopted by the UNDP; they acknowledged that there is a lot of gender work to do,

and that men do feel threatened by this, and continue to see gender as a women's issue; UNDP male staff are generally ignorant about gender and see themselves as having little if any experience of it; and lastly they noted that there were no incentives for staff to integrate gender into UNDP projects and programmes.³²

In June 2000 yet another document was published – *Looking Ahead/Looking Around: Dynamics of Gender Partnership in Africa*. The Gender Programme of the UNDP Africa spearheaded the report. One of the key reasons for this document was poverty eradication; in Sub-Saharan Africa three quarters of the poor are women and girls (p. 1). This focus has a 'hidden agenda': the primary concern is not women and girls and their needs, but poverty eradication; in this approach women and girls become a means towards an end, namely poverty eradication. This approach, labelled anti-poverty, focuses on women's practical needs and disregards their strategic needs. It is important to mention that obviously poverty eradication in itself is a noble goal; however, it is also crucial that gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming become goals in themselves, worthy to be pursued and resourced to give substance to women's strategic needs. Women are, after all, half the world (Jahan, 1995). The discourse closely associated women and gender with poverty, suggesting that African women are all poor, leaving no space to consider that women in Africa and elsewhere are not all poor or uneducated, nor are all of them vulnerable. It ignores the variations within women as a group and the fact that they are not a homogenous group (Manicom, 2005).

³² For a full discussion of this document see Chapter Three.

Be this as it may, in essence this document sets out to “promote capacity-building for the leadership of women in decision-making at all levels of society in every realm of life” (p. 1). Yet women are represented as the poorest of the poor rather than as existing throughout all levels of society, as well as being affected by race, age, ethnicity and other intersecting factors. The vehicles through which the document hopes the capacity building will occur are partnerships and networking. One could ask to what extent this document has influenced GM within the UNDP/SA, which is part of Africa, and therefore part of the target audience for this document. In the next section I focus on the UNDP/SA and its GM practice, the core focus of my study.

WOMEN, GENDER AND THE UNDP/SA

Earlier in this chapter I outlined how women have lobbied to make women’s issues an integral part of the UN since its inception, and how this impacted on the work of the UNDP as the UN’s development arm. In this section I trace only briefly how and where women and gender become part of the UNDP/SA, as this idea is further developed in Chapter Four.

At the time when the UNDP/SA Office opened in South Africa, Gender Mainstreaming as the official UNDP policy was already firmly established. Thus, it makes sense to expect that the South African Country Office would implement Gender Mainstreaming in its development work. Since its inception there has been a Gender Focal Point in the

UNDP/SA Office,³³ who has been responsible for co-ordinating Gender Mainstreaming, while at the same time ensuring “that Gender Mainstreaming becomes the responsibility of each programme officer. We do, however, recognise that there has to be a person directly assigned to follow up on specific gender aspects that may not be fully incorporated in our programmes. In that regard I am the Gender Focal Point” (Interview, UNDP/SA, Pretoria, 2002). It is interesting to note that all Gender Focal Points in the UNDP/SA since 1994 have been women. This seems to suggest that the UNDP/SA Office has perceived Gender Mainstreaming to be a woman’s responsibility.

When I interviewed the Gender Focal Point of the UNDP/SA in 2002, she stressed that a major part of Gender Mainstreaming was to ensure that gender is integrated into their programming and projects. However, three GM evaluation reports that were undertaken in 2005 by UNDP-hired external evaluators found major shortcomings in implementation.³⁴ The reports covered the whole of the UNDP, with the UNDP/SA one of the Country Offices that was evaluated. In Chapter Four I will discuss the data of the three reports in detail together with my interview data. While the evaluations raise concerns, it is a positive development that the UNDP/SA at least had a staff member to champion Gender Mainstreaming implementation.

³³ This has changed, according to the Head of the UNDP/SA office. Currently there is no Gender Focal Point, because gender has been mainstreamed and thus Gender Mainstreaming is the responsibility of every staff member in the UNDP/SA (Personal Communication, 2007).

³⁴ These Gender Mainstreaming evaluation reports are discussed in Chapter Four.

CONCLUSION

The policy discourse in development institutions such as the UNDP regarding women, gender and development has clearly changed over the years “from women’s advancement to gender equality and women’s empowerment; from integration to mainstreaming women in development” (Jahan, 1995: 33). It is evident from the policy rhetoric that the UNDP/SA had the intention to mainstream gender, especially in their programming and project work.

However, this chapter has shown that from the start there have been shortcomings regarding resources, training, implementation, commitment and accountability with the implementation of WID. These shortcomings persisted as the policy discourse changed from WID to GAD to Gender Mainstreaming (GM). The gap between policy and praxis, which is not something new, and which is a phenomenon that the UNDP should be aware of, was never addressed. *How* is it possible that an international development organisation is seemingly unable to address this policy gap?

One possible answer, according to Tiessen (2007), is a masculinist organisational culture. Related to this is the genderedness of organisations. To deal with constraints such as these, GM implementation has to start at a much deeper organisational level than merely adding a few resources, a few gender training courses, a few gender policies and a few female appointments. The organisations within which GM has to be implemented, in this case the UNDP and the UNDP/SA, cannot continue to conduct business as usual. In the same way that women could not just be added to development, GM cannot just be

“added” to a development organisation. The UNDP has to “re-invent” and “re-conceptualise” (Rao *et al.*, 1999) itself as a development organisation by tackling its deep structure, while simultaneously implementing GM. However, its discourse at the time does not suggest either an awareness or commitment to such a major step forward.

The discourse on women in the policy progression from WID to GAD to Gender Mainstreaming (GM) continued to associate women with poverty and vulnerability, and women with gender, setting up assumptions about them, without gender being disaggregated and without strengthening women’s agency so they can take responsibility for their own development. It is very clear that GM continues to remain a serious challenge when gender policies remain rhetoric and the UNDP remains weak on implementation.

Earlier in Chapter One I discussed gender in international development organisations, demonstrating that these organisations have their own prevailing ideologies, internal organisational cultures and power relations, including gender relations. These are deeply embedded and are not easily changed or uprooted through a technocratic GM process alone. The reason for weak gender mainstreaming implementation in the UNDP could very well be its failure and inability to situate GM implementation within a transformative reconceptualisation by dealing with the deep structure (Rao *et al.*, 1999) of the UNDP. Related to this would be an over-emphasis on technical solutions and/or procedures and superficial changes that do not challenge the status quo (Tiessen, 2007). In the next chapter I analyse the UNDP Gender Mainstreaming policies in detail in the

hope of understanding both the accomplishments and limitations of GM in the UNDP
South Africa office.

CHAPTER 3

GENDER MAINSTREAMING DISCOURSE IN THE POLICIES OF THE UNDP/SA

INTRODUCTION

A central feature of my study is a discursive gender analysis of UNDP/SA policies on Gender Mainstreaming (GM) and gender equality. Discourse is not neutral; contested meanings and power relations are embedded in it. This also applies to GM and development organisations such as the UNDP/SA. An analysis of GM policies will be the poorer if one does not analyse their discourse for its (often) hidden meanings, values and power relations. There is a need to establish both the meanings presented by the hegemonic discourse in the UNDP/SA as well as to ascertain whose voice is silent, what is suppressed and why. A discourse analysis can help to interrogate the silences in a policy by exploring what is said, what is repeated and what remains unsaid (the silences). The silences are often in the domain of those who do not have power to speak because someone else has power over them. Kronsell (2006) argues that silences in gender dynamics can be studied by analysing documents, and deconstructing texts and discourses by reading what is not written, in other words, the subtext. Unpacking the GM policies discursively can thus contribute to identifying resistances to the policies and subsequent constraints to GM implementation in the UNDP.

This chapter will analyse the Gender Mainstreaming policy discourse of the UNDP/SA; it will use “*how*” questions, among other things, to determine how discourse is used to produce meanings and language that speak about women, men and GM in particular ways

(Doty, 1996). Doty argues that, when doing discourse analysis of texts, *how* questions are what one should be asking instead of *why* questions:

Why questions generally take as unproblematic the *possibility* that particular policies and practices could happen. They presuppose the identities of social actors and a background of social meanings. In contrast, *how* questions examine how meanings are produced and attached to various social subjects and objects, thus constituting particular interpretive dispositions that create certain possibilities and preclude others (1996: 4). [italics added]

‘How’ questions also raise the issue of “power as productive”: how does power work in discourse to make, for example, certain meanings, policies, practices, subjectivities and interrelationships hegemonic (Doty, 1996; Tickner, 2001). These are some of the questions I will attempt to answer by discursively analysing the GM policies of the UNDP/SA, devoting particular attention to whether the policy discourse is largely rhetorical or whether there is indeed substantive implementation.

EXPLORING THE DISCOURSE OF UNDP/SA GENDER MAINSTREAMING POLICIES

To analyse the policy discourse of the UNDP/SA³⁵ on Gender Mainstreaming (GM), I will examine three key policy documents: *Direct Line 11* (dated November 1996); the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* (March 1997); and *Gender Balance in Management Policy* (June 1998).

³⁵ The UNDP/SA does not generate its own policies. The South African Country Office implements the policies that emanate from the UNDP Head Office in New York. When I refer to policies and documents of the UNDP/SA, I refer by implication to the UNDP as well.

Direct Line is a memorandum sent out by the Head Office of the UNDP at the time. It spells out the organisation's GM priorities, the relationship between UNIFEM and UNDP, as well as minimum budgetary allocations for GM and the advancement of women.

The *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* details the policy, programme and administrative implications of Gender Mainstreaming for the UNDP. It is informed by what happens in country offices on Gender Mainstreaming and gender. It stresses the importance of committed, consistent and systematic work on gender equality objectives throughout the programme cycle.

The *Gender Balance in Management* policy document (Phase II) explains the UNDP's plan to achieve gender equality in its staff profile, especially in senior management. Phase II (1998-2001) is an update of the 1995 *Gender Balance in Management* policy, called Phase I, with a time frame 1995-1997. The focus of this policy is recruitment targets, retention and promotion of female staff, the quality of the workplace, human resources management, as well as accountability.

I will include a document entitled *Gender Mainstreaming: A Men's Perspective* (dated April 1999). The latter is not a policy in the strict sense of the word, but deserves analysis as a relevant male perspective within the UNDP on Gender Mainstreaming. This is important if one bears in mind that women and gender issues often emphasise women, and it is currently not standard organisational practice that men voluntarily take an active

interest in these issues, let alone come up with a way forward to enhance men's involvement in this process.

My reason for focusing on the above-mentioned policies is that they were the policies on which the UNDP had built its Gender Mainstreaming work, internally as well as externally (with funded partners). These policies, despite not being very recent, were still presented in 2006 on the UNDP official website as the context for Gender Mainstreaming work in the UNDP. The *Gender Balance in Management* policy was updated, for example, on 9 September 2003. Its time span is 2003-2006. This later policy version falls outside the period of the late nineties (1996-1999) of the Gender Mainstreaming policies that I am reviewing for my study.³⁶ As such, it will not be included in my discursive analysis.

Another reason for choosing them is that these Gender Mainstreaming policy documents have different points of focus, namely GM (the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming*); gender equality (*Direct Line 11*); gender equity at management level (*Gender Balance in Management*), and lastly, a male perspective on Gender Mainstreaming efforts in the UNDP. As such, they should provide a good overview of GM policy and practice within the organisation, including the South African Country Office. However, before I start with the discursive analysis, I provide a brief overview of the *1995 Human Development Report*, because gender features so centrally in it.

³⁶ I worked on this chapter as a part-time student in the early 2000s. At that time (2001-2002) the GM policies available on the official UNDP website were the ones that I analysed in this chapter. Thus my choice of policies was determined by what was available at that specific time.

The 1995 Human Development Report

The UNDP *Human Development Report* (HDR) of 1995 provides crucial background material for my study. Human Development Reports are important policy documents for the UNDP;³⁷ the 1995 HDR, with *Gender and Human Development* as its theme, is important for my analysis because it is the one Report that states categorically its support for, and commitment to, gender equality in development. It precedes the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women (Murphy, 2006), but anticipates its gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming rhetoric.

The impetus of the 1995 Beijing World Conference on Women seems to have pressurised international development organisations such as the UNDP to get its house in order and adopt the Gender Mainstreaming agenda *advocated at the time*. This could be the reason why gender rhetoric is pervasive in the 1995 HDR. In its overview, on the first page of this report, the following statement is printed in bold: “Human development, if not engendered, is endangered” (HDR, 1995: 1). The rest of the overview is very strongly flavoured with statements on women’s empowerment and gender equality. In fact, the chapter headings in the report are a clear indication that the entire 1995 HDR is dedicated to gender equality: (a) The Overview: The revolution for gender equality; (b) Chapter 1: The state of human development; (c) Chapter 2: Still an unequal world; (d) Chapter 3: Measuring gender inequalities; (e) Chapter 4: Valuing women’s work; (f) Chapter 5: Towards equality; (g) Chapter 6: Human Development Debate. The reason for the strong

³⁷ I discuss Human Development Reports in Chapter Two.

focus on gender equality is obvious: the UNDP as an international development organisation had to show unequivocally in the post-Beijing climate where it stood with regard to gender equality.

It should be interesting to see if this strong discourse is carried over into its Gender Mainstreaming policies. For this purpose, one would need to look not only at how this dramatic statement contrasts with previous statements, and the internal consistency of the rest of this particular document with regard to gender; one would also need to juxtapose this statement with the policies (mentioned above) that were developed afterwards (from 1997 on).

The very powerful statement, “Human development, if not engendered, is endangered” (HDR, 1995: 1), using a metaphor from nature with its many endangered species on the brink of extinction, in the 1995 HDR is an apt introduction to examining the UNDP’s Gender Mainstreaming (GM) policies. This is very strong discourse, stating boldly the UNDP official view on gender and development, proclaiming a strong commitment to GM for the UNDP as an international organisation.

In the context of the UNDP/SA, ‘*how*’ questions, which are crucial to understand discourse (Doty, 1996), are useful for analysing the discourse of its Gender Mainstreaming policies and its construction of knowledge and truth – what Doty (1996) calls the practice of representation. If one looks back in UNDP history regarding its

approach to women in development, there can be no doubt that it began by using the Women in Development (or WID) approach, like everyone else in the development world generally. WID discourse framed women in the South as passive beings without agency, waiting for the development experts to arrive from the North to change their fate. Not even the finer nuances within the WID approach such as Welfare, Equity and others succeeded in addressing issues such as the sexual division of labour and power relations within gender relations. To examine more closely how the discourse regarding women and gender has changed over time, and its implications for altered meanings, the chapter starts by analysing *Direct Line*, the policy that spells out the UNDP's Gender Mainstreaming priorities.

Direct Line 11

Direct Line 11 is a memorandum, dated 22 November 1996, sent out by the UNDP Head Office at the time, to all the Resident Representatives³⁸ in the UNDP. It seems that sending out the Memo was largely prompted by pressure coming from the first anniversary of the Beijing Conference. The anniversary seems to be the dislocatory event that compelled the UNDP Head Office to take action on Gender Mainstreaming at a policy level. This document, merely a few pages long, spells out the organisation's Gender Mainstreaming priorities, the relationship between UNIFEM and UNDP, as well as minimum budgetary allocations for Gender Mainstreaming and the advancement of women.

³⁸ Resident Representatives head up UNDP Country Offices.

The policy starts out with what seems to be a very strong statement: “On the first anniversary of the Beijing Conference in 1996, [we are] seeking a strengthened commitment from the UNDP, with increased collaboration of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), to support gender equality and the advancement of women” (Direct Line, 1996: 1). Concepts such as “gender equality” and the “advancement of women” are used on an equal footing, which is good, as the one implies the other. This is followed by a juxtaposition of “gender equality” and “women” with the “eradication and feminization of poverty”. Concepts such as “women”, “gender” and “Gender Mainstreaming” are used interchangeably in the policy, so that on the surface the paragraph seems to be built around women and gender as a nodal point. However, this usage reveals a very underdeveloped notion of gender; it naturalises³⁹ gender as a concept, equating it with women, without mentioning that it is a social construct.

Yet the introduction of the word ‘gender’ into the document is still important. It is interesting to note that the anniversary of the Beijing Conference in 1996 elicited gender action on a policy level with the issuing of *Direct Line*. This event thus provided an excuse to push the UNDP as an organisation on its policy obligations regarding Gender Mainstreaming (GM). This is a positive development, as GM policies are at least potentially a first step towards implementation. In an interview with UNDP2, a former staff member who was based at the UNDP’s Head Office in New York, my informant indicated that it took a lot of very hard work to get the necessary gender policies in place. She regarded the successful gender policy development process as a major victory

³⁹ Doty, 1996.

“against all odds” (Interview, 2009). Her argument, which I support, was that once the policy mandate was in place, gender advocates within the UNDP could use the GM policies as leverage for implementation. Thus exploring the Direct Line’s discourse provides some insights into the possibilities for that implementation.

In the second paragraph of *Direct Line*, gender equality is framed as a means toward the attainment of equitable, sustainable human development (SHD), poverty eradication, environmental regeneration and good governance. There seems to be an unquestioned assumption that gender equality in itself cannot be the goal; it has to be a goal in relation to a “higher” goal of development, such as poverty eradication, and/or good governance. By defining gender equality as a floating signifier (Doty, 1996), a word whose meaning is not fixed within a dominant discourse, the UNDP ascribes a discursive meaning of their choice to it, namely as a means towards the end of Sustainable Human Development. This approach (no doubt supported by women as well as men), of course, does not take gender equality forward in a substantive way. It does not frame gender equality as part of women’s rights, as an inalienable human right and as such a worthwhile goal in itself that women and men should be striving towards in the policies of an international organisation such as the UNDP. However, when I reflect on how difficult it is to implement Gender Mainstreaming in government, and the cautions of UNDP2, this framing may have been the only approach that could have worked and for which there was buy-in at the time.

Two paragraphs further on in the policy document, it is stated that only 6.7 percent of the project resource allocation was used for “the advancement of women” in what seems to be an ‘add-on’ or WID approach at a time when the UNDP was already using the discourse of Gender Mainstreaming. As the policy states, “By and large, in the cases under review, gender was *superficially added* to the project background to pass the screening process, but rarely integrated into the operating assumptions of the development sector, and attempting a gender-focused SHD” (*Direct Line*, 1996: 2; my italics). This kind of progress, the UNDP admits, is “inadequate”. Yet it fails to see the binaries inherent in this admission. Women and gender are on the periphery (or margin), while poverty, the environment and governance are at the core (or centre), even though women and gender are present in all of these ‘core’ development areas. Then the UNDP quickly moves on to the next step by issuing a five-point challenge to all Resident Coordinators, asking them to (a) ensure that at least 20 percent of TRAC⁴⁰ resources are allocated to Gender Mainstreaming; (b) to use an inter-agency approach within the UN system to collectively advance women; (c) to work to review questions of reform pertaining to macro-economic frameworks and the collection and analysis of statistics so that they reflect the planning requirements of SHD; (d) to integrate gender equality as a goal in national budget allocations; and lastly, (e) to work in partnerships with NGOs, civil society organisations, the private sector and government on policy initiatives that will advance gender equality (*Direct Line*, 1996: 8).

The discourse of the five-point challenge is very technocratic and raises ‘how’ questions (Doty, 1996) that interrogate the unsaid. If one bears in mind that women and gender

⁴⁰ TRAC stands for Targeted for Resource Assignment from the Core.

issues permeate the entire development arena and that women are over half the world's population, then it is not justifiable to spend only 20 percent of TRAC resources on women in development. One year after Beijing, the UNDP seemed sceptical about a 'Women's Budget' approach⁴¹. Gender Mainstreaming implementation cannot take place with an insufficient budget. 'How' does the UNDP envisage GM policy implementation happening with insufficient resources? Its focus seems to be more on technical solutions and procedures, which tend to create superficial change without transforming societal gendered power structures (Tiessen, 2007). Thus, the UNDP manages to appear politically correct without engaging its deep structure and the crucial issues in GM such as unequal gendered power relations. This is one way of looking at the budget issue. From another angle, one could argue, as I have done earlier, that this was what the UNDP, at this time, was ready for. GM is a complex process to implement, requiring an organisation to re-invent itself within a transformation context. It challenges years of a particular kind of socialisation of staff and deeply held gendered attitudes and beliefs. Framed within this context, the 20 percent allocation could be seen as a step forward, albeit a small step.

However, having *Direct Line* in place and allocating some financial resources are not enough, and a lot more would be needed to build on this good start and to achieve the five-point challenge. Technocratic policy discourse is insufficient for meaningful GM implementation. The UNDP cannot assume that its staff, and the Country Office staff, for example in the UNDP/SA, would know how to implement the five-point challenge. The

⁴¹ The Women's Budget, also called a Gender Budget sometimes, is not a separate budget for women. It is a gender-sensitive analysis of a government budget examining all sectoral allocations of the budget for its differential impact on women, men, girls and boys (Budlender, 2000).

literature on GM attests to the importance of training for staff and the widespread inadequacies of knowledge about gender issues. My own experience in working on GM in government departments bears this out. When staff do not understand GM, and when they do not know how to implement it, there can be no progress.

In issuing this five-point challenge, there seem to be two unquestioned assumptions in the UNDP's policy discourse. The one assumption is that the challenge of Gender Mainstreaming will be met if the five steps are implemented, and that there is no need to review existing policies before issuing new ones. The policy-making machinery has to roll on. The discourse is silent on the lack of Gender Mainstreaming policy implementation (up to 1996). One could argue that, on the surface, the discourse of Gender Mainstreaming runs like a golden thread throughout this policy. Thus there seems to be no doubt that on policy rhetoric level, there is full commitment in the UNDP to Gender Mainstreaming for the purpose of gender equality. However, unfortunately there is very little analysis of the impediments to implementation, nor is there any attention to the consequences of the constant slippage between 'women' and 'gender'.

In the first six paragraphs of the Memo, the UNDP fails to mention men and their role in "gender equality", the "advancement of women" and "Gender Mainstreaming". It uses stereotypical classification to group women and gender issues together as if this is natural. According to Doty (1996: 37), "classificatory schemes often serve to naturalize and hierarchize by placing human beings into stereotypical categories presumably designated by nature". This representation of gender issues not only sees no role for men;

the UNDP seemingly is unaware of a number of gender issues, namely (a) the masculinist nature of gender oppression; (b) the unequal gendered power relations between men and women; and (c) that GM and the advancement of women cannot happen successfully without men's buy-in and active involvement. It seems that the UNDP's technocratic discourse is a partial discourse that could be hiding masculinist inability, or even resistance, to gender equality. To embrace GM in the full sense of the word would require the UNDP to interrogate its own views on women, men and gendered power relations, which it fails to do in this policy.

On a more positive note, the policy discourse does highlight the need for consultation. There was a consultation process in UNDP and UNIFEM on how to improve on Gender Mainstreaming, and this is applauded in the document. However, while consultation during policy-making is an excellent organisational practice, the document does not show to what extent women were involved in the process. Thus, it is virtually impossible to detect whether women were given sufficient voice in the consultation process. The "voice" that speaks in this policy comes across as a very male, technocratic voice, someone sitting high up in the organisation (as Head of the UNDP), issuing administrative instructions and thus setting the parameters with requirements on how to mainstream gender with only a partial understanding of GM. The UNDP's technical discourse and the authority of the policy emanating from Head Office create the space for the development intervention of GM to happen without attention to competing discourses on gender and development. Yet, despite the limits of possibilities of the *Direct Line* policy, there is a need for such strategic policy statements as they can provide a platform

for GM action, albeit a limited one. Finally, can this rather abstract, technocratic, administrative framing of Gender Mainstreaming succeed as a strategy to advance gender equality for women in development? Examining another policy, the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming*, might help answer this question.

The Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming (March 1997)

The *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming*, like *Direct Line 11*, was a direct result of the Beijing Platform for Action. This much is admitted on the official Policy Web Site of the UNDP. It covers the following issues: (a) the key points of Gender Mainstreaming; (b) the roles of staff in Gender Mainstreaming; (c) gender equality and the programming cycle; (d) gender equality and information communication; and (e) GIDP commitments. There are two appendixes – a Guideline or Checklist for mainstreaming gender into UNDP Country Office activities, and the Statement of the GFPs at the New York Consultation Review of GM. The document is rather lengthy, about thirteen pages long – much longer than *Direct Line 11* and the “Gender Balance in Management” policies. It was last updated in January 2000.

The *Guidance Note* starts with a concise, business-like summary of the document and then moves on to a full explanation of what is expected of senior management regarding mainstreaming gender. The Preamble frames GM, quite rightly, within a broader organisational context of transformation. It emphasises that GM is not simply aimed at programmes, policies and personnel, but that it should permeate the institutional culture as well. Its discourse advocates “caring”, “flexibility”, “empowerment” and a “care-

based” organisation (*Guidance Note*, 1997: 2), dismissing “fear” and “distrust” as having no place in a “care-based, empowering” organisation attempting to mainstream gender. In fact, the senior managers juxtapose “caring”, “care-based” and “empowerment” with “fearful behaviour”, “fear” and “distrust” in an effort to convince the reader that these binaries cannot both be present in Gender Mainstreaming. The discourse suggests that a “caring” UNDP will, by definition, get rid of “fears” or “fearful behaviour”.

The discourse of caring as used here by the senior managers is typically associated with women, not men. It seems as if classifying these words with GM (read women) could be meant to imply that managers (read mostly male) do not have these traits. The discourse of care is used here as a nodal point – a discursive point around which meanings get fixed and positions established (Doty, 1996) to construct GM in a traditional way, namely that of women as caring and nurturing. According to them,

A care-based, empowering organisation, which is a pre-condition for the mainstreaming of gender equality considerations, eliminates disempowering rules, fearful behaviour, and ensures for *all staff* the capacity to negotiate effectively and to contribute with full creativity to the dynamism of development (*Guidance Note Preamble*, 1997: 2, my italics).

It is interesting that there is no engagement with the deep structure of the UNDP in this policy document, despite the fact that GM is framed within a transformation context. The senior managers assume that GM can simply be added to the UNDP and everything will fall into place. It is important to note that there is no mention of masculinism and hegemonic masculinity; the discourse is devoid of an engagement with the issue of power relations. By being silent on masculinism, the senior managers contribute to what Doty (1996) would call the normalisation of masculinist power; the implication is that it is

unremarkable, not worth mentioning that men tend to dominate the UNDP, especially in management. This silence naturalises the link between authority and hegemonic masculinity, tending to exclude women, except those who do not challenge this naturalised link. The document discourse thus suggests that the current (largely male) leadership can be relied upon to determine and set the terms on which Gender Mainstreaming will take place in the UNDP.

A close look at the mainstreaming goals on page two of the document reveals very vague and general goals. In fact, of the five bullets mentioned, only bullet three is a true goal: “a strategy for bringing about gender equality and change in countries as well as within UNDP” (p.2). The rest are more explanations than goals. This allows the document to appear dedicated to gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming without having to set specific goals or consider the difficulty of achieving them.

Further on, under the heading *Key Points to Note*, the senior managers classify Gender Mainstreaming as “needing basic skills [that] do not require high levels of technical ability” (p.2). They argue that “simply looking at the human implications of any project can highlight the differences between women and men, and thus the potential differential impacts” (Guidance Note, 1997: 2). Yet on page 5, they identify a need for gender training for GFPs and UNDP staff, suggesting considerable training is required to understand and foster Gender Mainstreaming. This suggests that the senior managers have a rather limited and partial understanding of Gender Mainstreaming as a goal and a process.

The senior managers frame GM around certain nodal points. On page 3 they mention “gender balance” as a new management practice. They do not explain what “gender balance” means, although further down the same page they mention “50:50 participation in all decision-making bodies” in relation to “gender balance”. Why do they use the term “gender balance” and not gender equity? This suggests numbers rather than equality as the outcome.

On the same page the senior managers speak of developing “sensitivity to gender equality issues” among management and supervisory staff. This statement ignores what is really needed, namely a gender consciousness and understanding that will enable staff to implement GM instead of mere “gender sensitivity”. Thus the senior managers have deferred what is really required, replacing it with a watered-down version that will not challenge the prevailing largely male-dominated unequal status quo. At the bottom of page 3, in a similar tone, the managers speak of ensuring that “the change process leads to greater equality between women and men” without acknowledging the resistances to such change. These are more examples of the techno-speak that so often operates within organisations such as the UNDP. As Govender (2005: 26) points out, “patriarchal notions of power and leadership are deeply embedded” in most organisations. Information from interviews with two former UNDP employees (2009), as well as Rao and Kelleher’s (1999) notion of the deep structure of organisations in which masculinist power plays a major role, supports Govender’s argument. It is these notions of masculinist power and leadership, I argue, that underpin much of the technocratic Gender Mainstreaming discourse of the largely male and masculinist senior management in the UNDP.

The task of implementation is put squarely on the shoulders of senior managers. “*Senior management* is the first centre of responsibility to provide active leadership in implementing the UNDP commitment to gender equality” (Guidance Note, 1997: 4, my emphasis). The document then outlines exactly what is expected of senior management, with a very specific focus on the Resident Co-ordinator and the Resident Representative (the head of a UNDP country office). What is expected of these two senior managers reads like long laundry lists of “musts” and “shoulds” (Guidance Note, 1997: 4), all of which obscure the real issues. These lists ‘hang’ in the air, as if they can operate in a vacuum. Gender Mainstreaming (GM) responsibilities are not attached to the senior manager’s performance management cycle. There are no rewards for achieving GM goals and no penalties for failure.

The senior managers use their “power as productive” (Doty, 1996: 4) to produce their own meaning of gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming. Their silence on masculinism and sexism enables them to pursue a course of action that is technocratic and administrative, and that fails to challenge the ‘male-stream’ status quo, so that they can continue with business as usual. They outline in detail their expectations of GFPs without giving a thought to making the GFP a full-time position, with an adequate budget, the required seniority and sufficient staff to drive Gender Mainstreaming. The GFP work remains an “add-on”. The senior managers contradict themselves: on page 4 of the policy they admit that Gender Mainstreaming cannot take place if the GFPs and the GIDP (Gender in Development Programme) are seen as the only “responsibility centres”;

yet on page 5 of the *Guidance Note* they construct the GFPs as precisely such a “responsibility centre”, ironically without staff, budget, or decision-making powers. The policy concludes with an appendix of proposals put forward by Country Office Gender Focal Points (GFPs). The GFPs, who had attended the Senior Management Review Meeting from 5-7 February 1997 on Gender Mainstreaming, presented proposals on the topic to the meeting “based on their collective experience” (p.12). The discourse of the GFPs on the surface is very polite and carefully worded. They are “pleased” to get the opportunity to say something and “hope” that their suggestions will be accepted. Their proposals certainly do not come across as a competing discourse. They do not attempt to challenge the ‘male-stream’ technocratic thinking of the UNDP management, except for stating that the responsibility for Gender Mainstreaming cannot lie with an individual, it must be institutional, and that all UNDP staff has a role to play.

The GFPs are silent on the ‘add-on’ nature of Gender Mainstreaming and how difficult it must be to juggle their full-time work with the Gender Mainstreaming work they have to attend to as well, especially without a budget. They do not suggest that being a GFP is a full-time position that requires a dedicated budget for Gender Mainstreaming, nor do they request such a position. Generally their statement seems vague, and so an opportunity for advocacy and lobbying for more resources for Gender Mainstreaming is lost. The vagueness and lack of substance in the proposals could be an indicator of the junior level of GFPs and their lack of understanding of Gender Mainstreaming. The training needs that the GFPs raise show that they are ill-equipped to deal with Gender Mainstreaming. The training needs are gender analysis; public speaking; leadership skills; interagency

collaboration and negotiation skills. I do not think that one can blame the GFPs for the lack of training. In fact, they should be commended for taking this window of opportunity and putting these items on the agenda. It could very well be that within the UNDP at this time this was what staff were ready for, and for the GFPs to have taken a more radical standpoint, lobbying for greater changes, might not necessarily have led to greater buy-in and more commitment. Demands that are too radical could result in staff being alienated from gender issues, which would serve no purpose. The fact that the GFPs did put forward a position and suggestions on GM can be seen as an indicator of their commitment to making a difference within the UNDP, and for this they should be lauded. Can the same be said of the senior managers? It does not seem so.

In this policy document the senior managers are silent on gender oppression, the role of men and hegemonic masculinity, as well as on the role of gender analysis in Gender Mainstreaming, among other things. Their discourse does not reveal a profound and substantive knowledge and understanding of gender issues and Gender Mainstreaming. This silence about the central problems facing gender mainstreaming may be no accident. Smyth (2007: 582) argues that there is a fear in development organisations of using “feminist language and concepts”, adding that they tend to prefer “safer and less challenging discourses”. In other words, it seems “safer” to refrain from using terms such as masculinism and hegemonic masculinity, as this enables men to avoid the contestation and struggle that these concepts imply (Smyth, 2007). The preference for a ‘safe’ GM discourse that underplays resistance to gender mainstreaming and gender transformation suggests that much work still needed to be done with the UNDP senior managers, and

that a policy alone is not enough to guarantee knowledge, understanding and insight on how to move forward with substantive implementation. Whether another policy, *Gender Balance in Management*, will reveal a different story remains to be seen.

The Gender Balance in Management Policy (June 1998)

This policy document explains the UNDP's plan to achieve gender equality in its staff profile, especially in senior management, as part of its Gender Mainstreaming process. It was issued by the UNDP in June 1998 and sent to all UNDP staff. The first *Gender Balance in Management* policy (Phase I) was introduced in 1995 for a two-year period (1995-1997). Phase II (1998-2001) is an update, with a focus on recruitment targets, retention and promotion of female staff, the quality of the workplace, human resources management, as well as accountability, building on the impact evaluation of the 1995 document (1998: 1). It is not a very lengthy document, about four pages long.

The first page of the Memorandum provides a background to the policy, drawing on the lessons learnt from Phase 1. The first paragraph mentions the key players who have developed the policy, two of whom are an "Ad Hoc Gender Group" and an "Informal Senior Women's Group" that existed at the time. Both groups, despite their "ad hoc" and "informal" status, were consulted in the policy development process. One could very well ask why these two groups could not be formalised as part of the Gender Mainstreaming process in the UNDP. Seemingly, at the time, there was no 'space' for groups like these. Or one could argue that these two groups tactically used the limited 'space' that did exist

in the UNDP at the time to advance Gender Mainstreaming in their own way, which seemed to work well, as their inclusion in the formal process indicates.

One lesson learnt by the UNDP seems to be the need for a “gender sensitive and enabling work environment” in which to develop a “gender balance” in the staff profile. Another lesson is that the glass ceiling for women will not be removed without a commitment from senior management. This is followed by an honest admission that the desired progress in employing women has not been made. The overall gender ratio of 38:62 (women: men) did not materialise; “rather there was a decline in the overall ratio of women to men” (Gender Balance, 1998: 2). Yet the last point on the first page calls for continuing with the progress that has been made.

Discursively, this policy seems little different from *Direct Line II*. It does not argue for the need for a “gender balance” in the staff profile at management level in order to create a transformative context. Like *Direct Line II*, the need for a “gender balance” is linked to the broader objective of “sustainable human development” (p. 2). Thus it seems as if the rationale for gender equity in management is not a worthwhile goal in itself; a gender balance is merely pursued in order to serve the greater goal of sustainable human development.

When one analyses the discourse, the UNDP’s use of the word “gender balance” instead of ‘gender equity’, or ‘employment equity’ (p. 1), is immediately noticed. There seems to be no reason to speak of “gender balance” at a time when in the modern world of work the use of concepts such as gender equity and/or employment equity had become

common. The word “gender equity” is mentioned only twice, on page 2 in the second paragraph, and on the last page of the policy. In the first instance it is stated that “The Gender Balance Policy 1995 – 1997 led to important gains in the status of women in management in UNDP and demonstrated serious commitment of management, in particular, the senior management, to the principle of gender equity” (p. 2). In par. 11 on p. 4 “gender equity” is used for the second time; the policy states that existing policies, procedures and instruments should project “gender equity”. This use seems more like a ‘slip’, an incidental lapse, rather than a use of the term showing genuine understanding of its implications. My argument is that the UNDP consciously chose to use the term ‘gender balance’, which might have been seen as a ‘safer’ term.

In the second paragraph (p. 1), the adjective “gender sensitive” is used to describe the kind of work environment that the UNDP wants to build for its staff. Again one can interrogate the use of this adjective. What is needed for equitable employment is not a “gender sensitive” environment; what is needed is gender equality. It is not sufficient that staff in the workplace are “gender sensitive”. They need to understand and subscribe to gender equality and this concept should be reflected in the policy instead of calls for “gender sensitivity”, which does not alter unequal gender relations and does little to address masculinist work practices within the organisation.

Whether there is genuine commitment to gender equity for management levels is questionable if one considers the following: despite not reaching its overall gender target, the UNDP management not only allowed many women to leave when they downsized

staff, but they failed to replace these departures with equal numbers of women (Gender Balance, p.1: par. 4). ‘How’ is it possible for the UNDP to let so many women go, if their policy discourse states they want more women? Career paths for women are not developed in organisations that fail to create the working conditions that will enable women not only to stay, but also to flourish on equal terms with men (and women who adopt masculine practices). In this policy there is no mention of masculinist work practices, suggesting that such practices may be so deeply embedded in the UNDP that they do not need to be mentioned. They are invisible, because they are *the* norm. Or could it be that this policy discourse that fails to name masculinism, gender equality, and gendered power relations, had been consciously ‘chosen’ as a safe option, that does not require the UNDP to interrogate its deep structure? Cornwall *et al.* (2007) argue that policy writing is one of the areas in development organisations where there is suppression of substance. It seems that the rules of the game are determined by those who hold the power. In this scenario the implication is that unless the path of action is sanctioned by those in power, not much change can or will take place with regard to Gender Mainstreaming on a substantive level. It seems that what is implemented is the bare minimum so that the UNDP can pass the test of political correctness rather than demonstrate a genuine commitment to transformation.

For example, on page 1 the UNDP commits itself to special measures from 1998 to 2001 regarding recruitment. However, it juxtaposes equality between men and women in recruitment with the need to maintain the “highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity”. I would argue that this suggests some insecurity among the men about an

increased presence of women in management. Whether this is based on beliefs in female incapacity or on anxieties about dealing with professional women, the prospect of more women entering management levels clearly raises issues that can only be dealt with by publicly insisting that any women hired will not undermine (masculine) efficiency, competence and integrity. This argument shifts the focus away from male administrators' fears and their unacknowledged assumptions about women's incapacities.

Under the heading "Gender Balance Targets" (p. 2) a new ratio is given for gender balance: 4:6 (women: men). No explanation is given for the change from the Phase I policy, where the ratio was 38:62 (f: m), and the reason for that particular ratio. Also interesting is the silence about the actual staff profile figures (gender-disaggregated, of course). Nowhere in the policy does the UNDP provide staff figures, especially at management level. Where it claims to have increased the number of women (p. 1, par. 3 and 5), it fails to provide numbers. If the progress has been significant, the UNDP should be proud to publish the figures.

The UNDP commits itself to special measures to achieve its gender balance targets (p. 2). One of the measures is "a wider range of career options" that will be characterised by "considerable geographical mobility, more inter-agency movements" (p. 2, par. 6). Historically it has been men who move around geographically for work purposes, and their wives have moved with them, not the other way around. There is no evidence to suggest that this is what women would want. In fact, the UNDP admits that it does not yet understand the "causes of higher levels of attrition among mid-career women" (p. 3,

par. 8); it must still identify these reasons. The fact that no analysis of this pattern has been done suggests a lack of commitment to improving women's work conditions at UNDP.

The UNDP seems to contradict itself: on the one hand, it wants to recruit more women into management, yet on the other hand, it states openly that it will continue to appoint men (p. 3, par. 9). The policy then focuses on diversity measures under the heading of "Quality of the Workplace". Important measures are flexible working hours, family care and family leave. The employment of spouses is another measure that will be looked into, as well as freeing the workplace from harassment. These admissions suggest that the previous policy gave insufficient attention to the quality of the workplace, as the *Gender Balance in Management* policy admits that this area needs to, and will, receive "greater priority" in the second phase (p. 3, par. 10). The final issues to be dealt with in the policy are human resource management policies and practices that will be aligned with this policy, accountability (which lies with senior managers), and oversight and monitoring (which lie with the Executive Committee).

The *Gender Balance in Management* policy discourse does not rise to the challenge of gender equity in employment practice; this is because it fails to acknowledge that gender inequality in management is deeply affected by masculinist work practice and sexist work environments. The policy discourse is silent on the unequal power relations that must be addressed if the UNDP is going to get gender equity right at the management level. The UNDP *Evaluation Report on Gender Mainstreaming* (2006: vii) states: "Commitment to

gender balance is part of the organisation's commitment to gender equality and indicates sincerity to its partners, but it is not gender mainstreaming". I fully agree with this assessment. Another problem was the fact that senior managers were not held accountable for GM implementation. This lack of accountability is by its very nature a major constraint. The same report in its discussion of its findings regarding Human Resource policies indicates that "Resident Coordinators, Resident Representatives and their deputies are not held accountable for gender mainstreaming" (2006: vii).

The next document, *Gender Mainstreaming: A Men's Perspective*, offers some insights into the male perspectives (and concerns/fears) in the UNDP about Gender Mainstreaming, while also highlighting some of the possibilities and impediments to implementing GM policies in the organisation.

Gender Mainstreaming: A Men's Perspective (dated April 1999)

The document called *Gender Mainstreaming: A Men's Perspective* was prepared by men who participated in the Learning, Consultation and Briefing (LCB) Workshop (part of Gender Mainstreaming) organised by the Gender in Development Programme (GIDP) in New York from 1-4 February 1999. After the workshop a group of male UNDP staff started informal discussions on their role as "advocates for gender equality and the advancement of women" (*Men and Gender Equality* document, 1999: 1). They also organised an awareness-raising activity at the Commission on the Status of Women in the same year. Their *Statement* was disseminated to all UNDP staff. The group does not represent all men, but rather a small cross-section "of individuals who believe that their

concerns resonate with others in the UNDP” (*Womenwatch*: UN System Web Site on Gender, 1999: 1).

The document cites the UNDP 1995 Human Development Report statement, “Human development, if not engendered, is endangered”, to emphasise the importance of this goal. It locates the authors as male UNDP staff who “feel a strong concern about existing gender inequalities, and would like to promote collaboration between men and women to reduce current gender disparities in the workplace and the world” (*Men’s Statement*, 1999: 1). It is interesting to note that the authors’ discourse does not reject gender inequality; they merely “feel a strong concern” (p.1) about it and want to promote collaboration – not insist on it.

The authors of the *Men’s Statement* remind the reader of the endorsement of Gender Mainstreaming by all agencies in the United Nations, including the UNDP. They state that women not only remain the poorest of the poor (70 percent of the people living in poverty all over the world are women), but also that “in no society do women enjoy the same opportunities as men” (p. 1). They then outline the challenges that they see facing the UNDP. Men are fearful of the Gender Mainstreaming agenda; they do not have experience of gender issues; the UNDP’s organisational culture perpetuates “a partition between men and women” (p. 1); and there is a need for a zero tolerance policy on sexual harassment.

These male staff members then propose the following agenda for change in the UNDP: the need to talk and exchange information about all aspects of gender issues; to increase opportunities for formal learning on gender for men only; to allow men to be gender focal points in the UNDP; to establish a zero tolerance sexual harassment policy; to profile senior managers as gender advocates; and to provide incentives for those managers who successfully mainstream gender in their work (p. 2).

At first glance the *Men's Statement* demonstrates a genuine concern and a desire to contribute to advancing gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming within the UNDP. It is an encouraging sign that there are men in the UNDP who are prepared to work with women on Gender Mainstreaming. It is also commendable that the men do not simply state problems concerning Gender Mainstreaming. They present the UNDP with a number of possible actions to bring men into the gender arena.

Having said this, on a discursive level the document is at its core a carefully worded, technocratic, politically correct male construction of the authors' limited understanding of the issue of Gender Mainstreaming. In the opening paragraph, for example, the authors fail to frame gender inequality in a transformative context. They say: "We, a group of men within UNDP, feel a strong concern about existing gender inequalities, and would like to promote collaboration between men and women to reduce current gender disparities in the workplace and in the world" (p.1). Besides noting their concern, they do not refer to systemic gender oppression and discrimination. They demonstrate some defensiveness by making it plain that they do not want to "question the commendable

work already done”⁴² (par. 1). I think they are starting on the wrong foot if they do not want to ask that question. An important aspect of any change process, and Gender Mainstreaming is supposed to be a change process, is to question and push against existing boundaries. The authors’ reluctance to question does not bode well for the Gender Mainstreaming process. This paragraph is also overly cautious, often simply regurgitating official UNDP technocratic, gender discourse.

These male authors use their text to construct what Doty (1996) calls a discursive reality that will enable them to enter the Gender Mainstreaming (GM) arena in the UNDP on their own terms. They do not try to draw women in as equal partners in their proposed process. In fact, they use the discursive practice of exclusion: Doty (1996) explains how colonists used the practice of exclusion to keep the natives both ideologically and physically separate away in reserves. By excluding the natives and defining them as the “other”, the colonists did not have to deal with them as people with agency on an equal level as themselves. The authors of this document (like former colonists) use what Doty (1996) calls the systematic play of differences. They admit the differentiation and difference between men and women, while simultaneously deferring the encounter with the other (read women), or the missing presence.

They use “fear” (par. 4), “their lack of gender expertise” (par. 5), the “UNDP’s organizational culture” (par. 6), and “the lack of incentives” (par. 6) as the reason for issuing this document. In the fifth paragraph, the authors problematise the fact that mostly women are recruited to deal with gender issues, “regardless of their expertise”.

⁴² The authors are referring to work done on Gender Mainstreaming by the UNDP thus far.

The *Men's Statement* does not reflect an understanding of the fact that even when the concept “gender” is used, as in gender equality, the focus has to be on women’s empowerment because of systemic and historical gender oppression and discrimination stemming from our masculinist society, and the fact that the “gender” playing fields are not level. The UNDP’s *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* discussed earlier in this chapter states clearly that the UNDP was using two complementary approaches to achieve gender equality. The one was Gender Mainstreaming and the other one was the promotion of women’s empowerment; the latter cannot happen without a focus on women. It is reasonable to expect the men to be aware of this policy and the UNDP’s official approach. This complementary approach is confirmed in the UNDP *Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming Report*, which quotes from the above-mentioned policy (2006: p. 85-86).

Nowhere in this document do the authors mention masculinism, or their own role in perpetuating and maintaining it. Instead, they focus on their fear of losing their power-base (par. 4), their fear of ridicule should they champion gender equality (same par.), the UNDP organisational culture, and lack of incentives. In other words, the authors very conveniently shift the focus away from themselves as carriers and perpetrators of masculinist privilege, thus simultaneously (and perhaps unconsciously) suggesting masculinism is not a problem in achieving gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming.

It thus comes as no surprise that the authors’ recommendations, in paragraph seven, do not address the UNDP’s masculinist power structure, decision-making and organisational

culture, but focus instead on rather superficial changes. Examples of their proposals are: better communication so It might not be their fault that they could only focus on the superficial and their own concerns without framing the issue on a deeper level. The 2006 UNDP *Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming Report* states in its findings that “One of the most disappointing aspects of UNDP’s gender mainstreaming has been its limited attempts to build understanding among the staff” (p. vi). Had the men been exposed to more training, they might have been in a much better position to formulate a position on women, gender and their role in the UNDP. Men can learn about gender, more opportunities for formal learning, making men Gender Focal Points, and profiling senior men as gender advocates. It is encouraging that men in the UNDP have started engaging with the issue of gender equality and mainstreaming. What is necessary, however, is that they move beyond the superficial to address the substantive issue in a far more incisive way.

CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE UNDP GENDER MAINSTREAMING POLICIES⁴³

The UNDP policies on Gender Mainstreaming analysed above clearly demonstrate a commitment to GM. There is evidence that this international development organisation wants to implement its policies in its development work. It seems there can be hardly any doubt about this.

⁴³ Earlier in this chapter I explain why I have chosen the policies that I contextualise here. Please refer to pp. 122-124 for this explanation.

The policies were all developed in the aftermath of the Beijing World Conference on Women in 1995. Clearly this event provided an important impetus for Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in the UNDP. The monitoring of implementation after Beijing – for example, at the first anniversary, and the Beijing+5 Report five years afterwards – seems to have added to the urgency for the UNDP to show progress in this regard. Thus the development of these policies should be seen within the post-Beijing context, with its national and international pressures.

UNDP2 informed me that it was no easy job to get these policies developed (Interview, 2009). Getting them on the books required some very hard and persistent work from GM practitioners within the UNDP. It is important to recognise that some progress was made. At a corporate level gender indicators were developed to measure progress and performance of senior managers on a gender scorecard. She also pointed out that besides the policies, which were one gender indicator, another major indicator of commitment to GM was getting Gender Focal Points (GFPs) appointed throughout the UNDP system with its 165 offices all over the world. UNIFEM assisted with these appointments (Interview, 2009).

My informant indicated that one of the reasons why the GFPs were appointed was concern at a corporate level in the UNDP Head Office about the lack of GM progress in Country Offices. Once the GFPs were in place, not only was training developed for them, but 25 gender experts were appointed regionally to assist with Gender Mainstreaming implementation (Interview, 2009). Framed within this context, one has to agree that some

progress was indeed achieved. However, what happened after these gender indicators were in place? *How* did Head Office plan to proceed with more substantive implementation? A gap opened up in the period after the policy development and the GFP appointments. There was a lot of GM information made available for staff who had to work on it, but something was still missing it seems. What was missing in the official UNDP discourse and talk on gender?

“Talking of Gender: Words and Meanings in Development Organisations”⁴⁴

When one interrogates the progress in the UNDP on Gender Mainstreaming implementation, it is clear that there is a gap between policies and practice. Some authors suggest that GM implementation is failing, because its selective policy discourse, as used by development agencies, fails to name and include crucial concepts such as feminism, feminist and class, for example (Smyth: 2007). Cornwall and Brock (2005) talk of competing ideologies and discourses existing within development agencies, often obscured by the sweeping discourse of the Millennium Development Goals, and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. They argue that different actors invest in different key concepts or buzzwords, for example, poverty reduction and empowerment, to determine particular paths of action within development. Investment in certain buzzwords, while excluding others, determines what is implemented, and what is not. In this way, a particular kind of policy discourse is created. When this is applied to Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP, it means that a conscious choice is made not to invest in feminism and class, for example, but rather in “assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and

⁴⁴ This quote is from Smyth, 2007: 582.

at all levels”.⁴⁵ In the latter choice of ‘safe’ discourse, there is no mention made of the deeper issues underlying gender discrimination and sexism, including masculinism. By implication then, in the UNDP masculinism will not be included in the path of action for GM, because it does not feature in the policy discourse.

Cornwall *et al.* (2007) speak of new languages that were created by the gender and development machinery, one of which is the language of policy discourse. They argue that the “struggle for interpretive power – what languages and images, representations, narratives and stories, should be used to plan or mobilize for change” (2007: 3), is a key area of contestation. The language/discourse that is used in development to generate knowledge about, for example, Gender Mainstreaming, determines which interventions are seen as legitimate for implementation. Development policies are an area of contestation and so are GM policies. What is implemented is not accidental; implementation starts with a particular policy discourse that is chosen in order to lead to a particular path of action. Embedded in these processes are institutional and individual power relations. Ultimately, the lack of implementation of GM policies in the UNDP can be partially ascribed to policy discourse and language, which is never neutral. This also explains to a certain extent the gap between policy and practice, which I discuss in the next section of this chapter.

THE GAP BETWEEN POLICY AND PRACTICE

There is no lack of Gender Mainstreaming policies in the UNDP and the UNDP/SA. However, none of the policies analysed in this chapter have been successfully

⁴⁵ This is an extract of the ECOSOC definition of Gender Mainstreaming.

implemented, and none address the key issues of GM such as masculinism, gendered power relations, gender discrimination, and women's inequality in relation to men. On a superficial level the policy rhetoric seems fine until one starts reading the subtexts. Then the gap between policy and implementation becomes more obvious.

What explains the gap between policy and practice in the UNDP and UNDP/SA? According to Brynard, "The policy gap is what transpires in the implementation process between policy expectations and perceived policy results" (2007: 358). He argues that policy gaps are nothing new and cites reasons such as the complexity of the policy development process, lack of political commitment and policy makers having too ambitious targets as some of the reasons for policy gaps. It does not help that policies are often developed at a national or international level, far removed from the implementation level. This gap was affirmed by UNDP1, who admitted that the policy development took place in New York, "which is far from the local implementation level in South Africa. So where does the buy-in happen?" (Interview, 2009). She identified this as one of the reasons for the lack of GM policy implementation in the South African Country Office. Lack of financial and technical resources, and political will also affected implementation (Brynard, 2007). Again, this was affirmed by UNDP1, who said that "What [was] essential for GM to succeed is a budget, and yet the UNDP/SA did not budget for GM implementation. This made GM work very hard" (Interview, 2009).

An important matter that should not be overlooked is the issue of complexity. Very few people would argue that GM implementation is a simple, easy-to-implement matter, and the literature (that I cited in previous chapters) certainly testifies to its challenges. This,

coupled with the factors above, seems to explain why implementation remained elusive beyond policy level.

Another key factor is the deeply felt resistances to transformation of gendered practices and hierarchies. According to Longwe (1999), very ambitious GM policies have been developed since the 1985 Nairobi World Conference on Women. These policies are framed in what she calls a consensus discourse, “underpinned by an implicit assumption of good will, as if the international push for women’s advancement were like the eradication of polio – which nobody opposes, and no government is likely to subvert” (1999: 63-64). Longwe asserts that this consensus discourse fails to admit the extent of “masculinist opposition” that faces advocates of GM and women’s advancement. “We are up against a hidden agenda of masculinist opposition which needs to be seen, understood, and analysed, as the prerequisite for progress” (1999: 64). She develops a scenario that explains how gender policies “evaporate” into the “masculinist cooking pot”, a metaphor for development agencies. The masculinist bias in the “cooking pot” includes values, ideology, entire organisational systems, as well as procedures and practices. Policies evaporate under pressure from invisible, silent opposition to gender mainstreaming as well as technical and depoliticised language. In dealing with gender mainstreaming, development agencies use denial, inversion and policy dilution to defend themselves and their actions. Other tactics include paying lip service to gender issues and doing research studies that lead to gender reports that are often shelved with no action taken (Longwe, 1999).

The UNDP consultant (from SA), who worked on the UNDP/SA Gender Mainstreaming evaluation, supported Longwe's argument, admitting that she observed strong sexism in male managers in the South African Country Office (Interview, 2007). She felt so strongly about this that she stressed that I could even quote her name. She indicated that this strong sexism translated into minimal support for GM implementation, as the men did not regard it as a priority. I will not name her, because I do not think it will serve any purpose. However, I do need to mention this, because it supports what Longwe above calls "masculinist opposition" as well as reinforcing her warning that we will not make further progress simply because a policy mandate is in place. This does not negate the importance and need for GM policies, far from it. GM practitioners in all organisations who succeed in getting GM policies developed and officially adopted should be lauded for that and their contribution should be acknowledged. However, it is clear that this is but one step in the process, and that much more is needed after the policy development process has taken place.

Having worked in government departments on Gender Mainstreaming, I have seen behaviour that supports some of Longwe's arguments. The South African *National Gender Policy* for government departments was developed based on the assumption that it would be resourced and implemented. OSW offices were created in all provinces to implement this policy. In government departments Gender Focal Units and Points were created to assist the OSW offices. However, the gap between the policy and practice remained; successful implementation remained elusive. In my own department in the PGWC from 1999-2001 the senior manager paid lip service to the reports that I submitted

as Gender Focal Point; he never followed up on issues suggested by the reports. In another department a senior woman manager shelved the Gender Action Plan drawn up by the Gender Focal Unit in her department (PGWC GFP Interview, 2002), without the Head of Department knowing about it. These are telling examples of the resistance, from women and men, that GM advocates have faced (and continue to face) in implementation. They are reminders that opposition to gender equality and GM is not simply male, but more a defence of a status quo that rewards those (including women) who support existing power structures, which are generally based on a common-sense link between hegemonic masculinity and power.

Staudt (1998) picks up this argument, suggesting that there are other serious obstacles to GM policy implementation such as organisational demographics, organisational under-representation of women, and the institutionalisation of male interests (hegemonic masculinity) in bureaucracies and development organisations. Firstly, men still generally occupy the high-level decision-making posts in organisations, and with insufficient women at this level, women, gender and GM will not move from the margin to the centre. Secondly, the under-representation of women in male-dominated working environments puts tremendous pressure on them because of the prejudice they often encounter in the organisation. In response, women often either conform to the expectations of the male majority, or leave because they cannot cope with the pressure. If they stay, they have to work extra hard to prove themselves to the men in the organisation. Thirdly, the male majority have over the years institutionalised their ideologies, views and material realities, making it a very difficult environment for women

to enter and work in, let alone mainstream gender. Male privilege is located in the deep core of the organisation and it will require re-socialisation, new staff and organisational transformation to address this challenge. This kind of change can only happen when we start engaging with the deep structure of organisations (Rao *et al.*, 1999).

It is clear that there are multiple explanations for the gap between GM policy and practice. The factors mentioned above only scratch the surface. Yet they will have to be addressed (after a very thorough analysis of the challenges) to overcome the policy gap. A very clear plan of action has to be developed which locates Gender Mainstreaming within a broader organisational transformation process that will address the deep structure of the organisation (Rao *et al.*, 1999). Hopefully, with this approach one can achieve greater success with implementation.

CONCLUSION

The discourse of Gender Mainstreaming policies in the UNDP and the UNDP/SA reflects a commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment. About this there can be no doubt. However, the policy discourse does not guarantee implementation, as GM is a complex and difficult process. The policy gap indicates that it takes more than a policy to advance gender equality; it points to a missing link, which is the failure to engage with the deeply institutionalised masculinism of organisations, along with other resistances to gender transformation and their implications for GM.

This masculinism is reflected in the 'safe' policy language and discourse that is chosen by those in power, which in turn determines a 'safe' path of action to be taken (Cornwall *et al.*, 2007). This path enables development organisations to look politically correct as they have GM policies in place, while simultaneously maintaining the status quo regarding gendered power relations and failing to change anything on a substantive level. The 'safe' discourse also depoliticises Gender Mainstreaming, turning it into a technocratic approach of monitoring tools and management systems (Smyth, 2007). As Cornwall *et al.* (2007) argue, the depoliticised version of GM is barely recognisable by feminists, because development organisations and bureaucracies have stripped it bare of its transformational power.

If we want to succeed with Gender Mainstreaming implementation, the discourse and practice of development institutions such as the UNDP/SA, and of GM, have to not only be carefully interrogated, but they also have to change to address the substantive issues. This will ensure that key issues such as masculinism, gendered power relations and other resistances are uncovered, addressed and dealt with in a way that will not subvert GM implementation and the quest for gender equality. By addressing the substantive issues, and by moving away from 'safe' policy language and discourse, we might just begin to close the gap between GM policy discourse and practice. This will require choosing the 'unsafe' path of transformative action and engagement with the deep structure of development organisations such as the UNDP.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER MAINSTREAMING WITHIN THE UNDP/SA: A CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses a case study of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in the UNDP South African Country Office (UNDP/SA). My aim is to explore to what extent GM policies have been successfully implemented in the UNDP/SA, and to ascertain whether there is a gap between internal policy rhetoric and organisational praxis regarding GM within this particular international organisation. For this purpose a case study should be useful, as it “can open up a world” (Holliday, 2002: 51), namely the world of GM policy construction and implementation within an international development institution.

The information for the case study is drawn from interview data as well as official UNDP GM reports, from 2002 to 2009. The case study involves qualitative interviews with UNDP/SA staff (2002), as well as with a South African consultant for the UNDP/SA (2007). Two more interviews were conducted in 2009.⁴⁶ One interview was with a former UNDP/SA employee (UNDP1) and the other was with a former UNDP Head Office senior manager (UNDP2), who worked in New York during her tenure.

⁴⁶ It was very hard to get interviews with UNDP/SA staff, as I explain below. In 2002 I succeeded in getting one interview only. I continued my attempts to increase my data with more interviews, and succeeded to do so in 2007, and 2009.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

When I started my doctoral study I certainly did not expect to struggle so much to gain access to an international development organisation such as the UNDP South African Office. However, towards the end of the study I realised that my positionality as a government manager may have affected the UNDP/SA's response to me. I have come to understand how contested and complex Gender Mainstreaming (GM) is. My research has taught me that there are many different interpretations of GM, which makes it a rather difficult topic to work on. Yet at the same time I am convinced that GM as an approach to gender equality remains an extremely important research area. I hope to build on this study by engaging in the future in some of the research areas that I propose in the concluding chapter. In the section below I describe the effort it took to get permission for interviews with UNDP/SA staff.

A first attempt: initiating the research process

I had hoped to gather most of my data through qualitative interviews with UNDP/SA staff. Information gained thus would then be supplemented with official UNDP documents, particularly Gender Mainstreaming (GM) reports. When I first approached the UNDP South African Country Office for interviews in 1999 by writing a letter to the Resident Representative, I was informed by the Gender Focal Point⁴⁷, that they were too busy to accommodate me. She suggested that I focus on 'another topic' for my studies instead of the UNDP/SA. She seemed to be trying to divert my interest in the UNDP/SA

⁴⁷ I will use the term "Gender Focal Point" when referring to the lead person responsible for Gender Mainstreaming in an organisation. However, it needs to be said that the term "Gender Focal Point" can also refer to a structure responsible for Gender Mainstreaming. In the Provincial Government Western Cape, from 1999 to 2002, and in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry where I worked from 2003 to 2005, we commonly used two terms: Gender Focal Point and Gender Focal Unit.

to another South African organisation. I could see no reason to do this, as GM is a current preoccupation of many global organisations, and both GM policy and praxis call for good critical analysis. Moreover, the UNDP has been at the forefront of the GM process and thus seems eminently appropriate for a case study of GM policies and practices in international development organisations. Indeed, this attempt to divert my focus very early in my study suggested that something might be amiss with GM within UNDP/SA. Why else would a UNDP/SA staff member try to focus my interest on another development organisation? With hindsight I realise that my known involvement in South African government gender mainstreaming efforts may have affected the staff's willingness to discuss their GM challenges openly.

A second attempt to get interviews with UNDP/SA staff

Hoping that I could find a more receptive audience at a later date, I did not allow the Gender Focal Point's suggestion to deter me. In 2002 I tried again to get interviews with UNDP/SA staff members by writing to the Resident Representative. I again got no response. I succeeded eventually in arranging interviews with the Gender Focal Point and other relevant staff members, but only because one of my professors knew the Resident Representative of the UNDP/SA at the time (2002) very well. He contacted the Resident Representative, explained my study and requested him to allow me to interview some of his staff. His email elicited a positive response. I gained entry to the Country Office. The Resident Representative instructed his Deputy (a woman) to arrange interviews for me with relevant staff. She in turn instructed the Gender Focal Point to meet with me and to arrange for a date and time that would suit us both. I suspect that the Resident

Representative never received my earlier requests. I could find no evidence in the e-mails that the previous Gender Focal Point sent me that she had, for example, spoken to the Resident Representative about my request to interview UNDP/SA staff. She would have needed to consult the Resident Representative as the Head of the Office, if she had wanted to support my study by allowing me to interview her. Fortunately by 2002 she had been replaced. The new Gender Focal Point agreed to meet with me in July 2002.

However, when I arrived in Pretoria on 1 July 2002, I received a telephone call from a secretary of the UNDP/SA. She informed me that no one in the Bureau for Policy Development (BPD) at the UNDP/SA Office could speak to me. One staff member was on maternity leave and the Gender Focal Point who was supposed to meet with me was on training in Johannesburg for the week, even though she knew I was coming. There was a consultant in the office who worked in the BPD, but she could not speak to me without authorisation from the staff member on maternity leave. No attempt was made to reach the staff member on leave telephonically to get her approval. In my experience, having worked in large organisations, it seemed indeed rather unusual that the Resident Representative or his Deputy could not grant permission for an interview with the consultant. Surely it is impractical for an international development organisation to be unable to make decisions because a staff member is on maternity leave?

I then asked the secretary if I could still come to the office, as there might be some documentation that would help my study. She agreed. When I arrived at the office, I waited for two and a half hours for someone to see me and was told eventually that

everyone was in meetings and too busy to meet with me. Thus the first and only staff member I met was a secretary at the Country Office, who gave me some reports to look at in the absence of the Gender Focal Point. However, when I asked if I could copy some of the documents for my research, she became alarmed, said the reports were confidential and took them away from me. She was fairly new at the UNDP/SA Office, having been there only since the beginning of the year (February 2002) and said she was unsure if she should allow me to photocopy documentation. A senior manager indicated belatedly that she could meet with me for about half an hour the following day. Unfortunately I had to leave on the day she was available, because of an unexpected personal crisis at home in Cape Town. I left with a heavy heart, with no information about Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA.

Upon reflection on the whole process, I realised I had effectively been stonewalled by the Country Office staff. I had not anticipated this level of resistance from an international development organisation and thus did not have an immediate strategy to overcome this obstruction. However, I was learning fast that one should not assume that institutions will share their internal practices, challenges and success stories (if any) with postgraduate students. At a later stage of the study I learnt that the UNDP had done an evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in 1998. Another evaluation process followed this one in 2005, with the report published in 2006.⁴⁸ These evaluations suggest that there were internal concerns in the UNDP regarding GM in Country Offices. At the time when I started my study in 1999 the UNDP had already published the 1998 evaluation report.

⁴⁸ I discuss these evaluation reports in Chapters Three and Four.

One could therefore conclude that it must have known that there were serious challenges to GM implementation which they might not have wanted to share with an external researcher at the time.

A third attempt to interview the UNDP/SA staff

I realised that I had to get some interviews with UNDP/SA if I wanted to complete my study. In August 2002 I re-started the process again by requesting interviews on Gender Mainstreaming with relevant UNDP/SA staff for October 2002. The Gender Focal Point agreed to meet with me. My request to meet with the Resident Representative or his deputy was not granted. The senior managers were “too busy” to meet with me, even for half an hour. At that point I did not insist on interviewing a senior manager: I was only too glad that I had managed to get one interview. I also hoped that once I arrived at their office I would be allowed to interview more staff.

This unfortunately did not materialise. I only met with the Gender Focal Point for about one hour. She explained to me that senior staff members, such as the Resident Representative, were too busy to see me. Thus she was the only UNDP/SA staff member I interviewed at length, besides two female volunteer workers I spoke to briefly. One worked on HIV/AIDS and the other on Violence against Women (VAW). The volunteer on VAW informed me that all volunteers recruited by the UNDP had to have a measure of gender awareness and that the UNDP encouraged a gender balance in the volunteers they take in. Other than this, they provided no substantive GM information.

A fourth attempt at interviews with UNDP/SA staff

I tried a fourth time to get permission to interview UNDP/SA staff towards the end of 2005. Again I was stonewalled. The staff was too busy, according to one of the employees I spoke to. She suggested that I should visit them early in 2006, when the UNDP/SA would have done more work on Gender Mainstreaming (personal communication, 2005). This statement suggests that some of the staff in the UNDP/SA did not feel up to par on GM at that time. It also suggests that despite official support for GM, there might have been a lack of capacity and implementation at that point in time. I explained that it was impossible for me to come early in 2006, as I could not get leave at that time because of my work schedule. Thus this intended research visit did not materialise.

With hindsight, I realised that 2005 was the year in which the evaluation work for the 2006 UNDP *Evaluation Report on Gender Mainstreaming* was done. Since this report included an evaluation report on GM in the Country Office in South Africa, I believe that this may have contributed to their reluctance to speak to me at the time. Also, UNDP1 told me that “The UNDP/SA infrastructure and system was not enabling for GM implementation and success, and the fact that some of the men were very sexist did not help” (Interview, 2009). I came to understand some of the forces at play at this time in the UNDP/SA Office. The UNDP/SA was probably also afraid of bad publicity should the lack of GM progress become public, as this could affect its funding from Head Office.

However, I succeeded in getting copies of the latest UNDP Gender Mainstreaming (GM) Evaluation reports. These three documents, dated 2005, were all official UNDP evaluation reports of GM progress in the organisation, carried out by experienced researchers with full access to personnel and documents. These reports proved very helpful and informative; they were combined and published in the official UNDP *GM Evaluation Report* in 2006 to reflect progress (or lack thereof) in the UNDP/SA. I discuss them later in the chapter.

Reflecting upon my interaction with the UNDP/SA Office in Pretoria, a clear pattern emerges of a general reluctance from the UNDP/SA Office to co-operate and assist me with advancing the theory of GM practice in South Africa. The Country Office obviously did not see any benefit in supporting me and felt no obligation towards assisting a postgraduate student with her research. My contention is that if there were success stories on GM implementation in the UNDP/SA, one would expect a willingness to share them. The reluctance of the UNDP/SA Office to discuss GM with me raised questions in my mind, particularly about their knowledge of GM and/or implementation, and perhaps even some embarrassment about this issue. Another interpretation could be that my position as an established practitioner in the South African government may have raised concerns about my critical knowledge base and capacity to understand the limitations of UNDP/SA GM implementation. They could have perceived me as an expert on a topic that they had not really engaged with, despite their official GM policy mandate. The fact that I was a manager in a provincial government department could have added to what they perceived to be a rather powerful position relative to theirs. They might also have

had rather heavy workloads, with little time to spend on interviews with a student researcher. In the next section, I focus on a few themes from my data.

RESEARCH THEMES

In analysing my research data on the UNDP/SA various themes emerged, which I will discuss in this section. One of the themes relates to my personal experience as a student researcher, while the others focus on accessibility to space and controlling it, silence on gender, the knowledge of (or lack thereof) Gender Mainstreaming, and finally Gender Mainstreaming implementation in the UNDP/SA.

Theme 1: Experiencing research: a personal narrative

On a personal level the difficulty in trying to gain access to UNDP/SA staff was a bruising experience. The repeated rebuffs were difficult to deal with. I had no power to influence the UNDP/SA staff; the power was in their hands, they had power over me, and the power relations were very unequal. Because UNDP/SA staff had power over me in this context, they succeeded in keeping me away from key people. Holliday (2002) speaks of the difficulty of gaining access to research settings and how “gatekeepers” can keep one from meeting with key people.

This was exactly my experience with the UNDP/SA Office. I did not get to see key people such as the Resident Representative or his Deputy. This gate-keeping limited my

exposure to different viewpoints on Gender Mainstreaming implementation in the UNDP/SA. Fortunately, I succeeded in securing interviews with two former UNDP staff members.⁴⁹ I became aware that the UNDP/SA had restructured and that some of its staff had left. I called one of those who had left and requested an interview with her, to which she agreed. The second interview I secured through a friend, who knew a former UNDP senior manager very well. My friend explained the difficulties I had in the past to get UNDP staff to speak to me about GM implementation. She succeeded in getting the former staff member to speak to me.

Theme 2: Accessibility versus resistance: gaining entry to and controlling space in the UNDP/SA

The extreme difficulty in gaining entry into an international development organisation such as the UNDP/SA for research purposes demonstrates its resistance to sharing its Gender Mainstreaming policies and praxis with outsiders and, as such, this experience is part of my research data. I refer briefly to this aspect under theme one in this chapter, where I narrate my research experience. In this section I expand on the issue of gaining entry to, and controlling of space, by the UNDP/SA.

Doty (1996) argues that when one analyses the construction of practices and policies, it is useful to ask unconventional questions. This means asking *how* instead of *why* questions.

⁴⁹ These two interviews were secured only in 2009, while I was working on revising the thesis for final submission.

Why questions do not problematise policies and practices, while *how* questions do. They also highlight the issue of power that *why* questions neglect. For example, when asking *how* it was possible for the UNDP/SA to stonewall a postgraduate student studying GM, if its staff were successfully implementing the UNDP's excellent GM policies, the question exposes the unequal power relations between a student researcher and an international development organisation like the UNDP. The latter has *power over* the student, and can therefore decide that it will keep the student out of its space. However, I have realised that it is easier to talk to former staff members when discussing sensitive material and have succeeded in getting two interviews with former staff members. It seems as if it is easier for people to talk about their experiences in an organisation when they have left it. Once they are outside of their formal work environment, they are no longer bound by its policies and procedures, and can thus speak about their work experience far more freely. Despite being an experienced government GM practitioner, I no longer pose the same kind of threat to them.

Theme 3: Silence on gender

It is not always easy to gain access to institutions or organisations and their employees for research purposes, as my experience with the UNDP/SA has shown. This is even more the case with institutions such as the military, where hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987) dominates, and where women and gender issues are virtually invisible (Kronsell, 2006). Kronsell argues that "Silence on gender is a determining characteristic of institutions of hegemonic masculinity" (2006: 109). In such organisations masculine norms, which are affirmed daily, are never named or discussed. The one act that is most

forbidden is to name men as a political category. If men are not named as a political category in gender relations because they, their power and their masculinity are the norm, then there is silence on gender. How does one study this silence, for example, in the case of the UNDP/SA?

Kronsell (2006) suggests that we study what is not said; that we need to deconstruct the silence, as she had done with the Swedish Military when she researched Swedish conscription practice. She found that there is silence about women and gender in conscription; there is no need to discuss it, to talk about it, because conscription represented those who constitute, reproduce and daily affirm hegemonic masculinity, whether supported by men or women. The researcher has to deconstruct what is not in the texts, what is between the lines. This requires a thorough and meticulous reading of the texts, as deconstruction is crucial to feminist research. Kronsell's argument can be applied to the UNDP/SA. While there was not the same kind of silence in the UNDP/SA on women and gender as in the Swedish military, the same resistance to gender transformation is present. Therefore Kronsell's approach will be useful for analysing UNDP and UNDP/SA Gender Mainstreaming documents.

In a similar vein Whitworth (1994) argues that when one looks for gender issues in policy statements or in the history of an institution (read UNDP/SA), it is as important to look for silences and absences as it is to search for very explicit statements concerning gender.

“The construction of assumptions around gender is produced as much by what *is not* said

as what *is* said” (Whitworth, 1994: 75). She adds that the silence around gender can be an intended or unintended consequence – but whether intended or unintended, the silence fosters unequal gender relations between the sexes (Whitworth, 1994). In the case of the UNDP/SA, the silence (read resistance) which I experienced was not the silence that Kronsell (2006) speaks about, the silence that keeps women and gender out of documents because of hegemonic masculinity. The silence on gender in the UNDP/SA was constituted by the refusal of its staff to speak to me about their Gender Mainstreaming implementation by hiding behind busy schedules and making no time available for research interviews. Their choice for ‘silence’ seems to suggest that either there was no success story that could be shared, or that GM is something that an international development organisation does not discuss with a student researcher. The silence could also be part of a strategy to neutralise GM by talking about it as policy, but ignoring it at the implementation level. Alternatively, it could be that this was a sensitive period regarding GM for the UNDP. I have already explained that at Head Office in New York, concern had begun to emerge regarding the lack of GM progress, as UNDP2 had indicated (Interview, 2009). The UNDP/SA might have seen me as someone who could tell influential government staff about my findings, and that this could damage its image not only in the country, but also at Head Office.

Senior managers were extremely reluctant to meet with me, claiming a busy schedule. Once more I was met with ‘silence’ on Gender Mainstreaming implementation. The very same senior manager (the Resident Representative) who, according to the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* policy (1997), was supposed not only to play a leading role in

ensuring support for GM, but who was also finally accountable for implementation, had ‘no time’ to share his experiences with me. Clearly something was seriously amiss if a senior manager (the Resident Representative) was so reluctant to speak to me. One can only assume there were some problems with the Gender Mainstreaming efforts within the UNDP/SA office. My UNDP informants provided another possible explanation. UNDP2 said that if the Resident Representative as Head of the Country Office did not commit to GM, nothing would happen. UNDP1 said that the men (and the Resident Representative was a man at this time) were very sexist in the UNDP/SA and that there was not an enabling environment for GM implementation (Interviews, 2009). Perhaps masculinist resistance (discussed in Chapter Three), a subconscious fear or unwillingness to deal with gender equality, may have been a factor as well. According to Moser and Moser (2005), the issue of resistance, which usually comes from men, is a constraint on efforts to implement GM. They point out that “at the UNDP, gender focal points recognised both active and passive forms of resistance” (2005: 17). This suggests a need for transforming attitudes of staff members, including top managers. That this was indeed a matter to be addressed was one of the findings of the 2006 *Evaluation Report*.

As a student researcher, I experienced an “enclosure of space or control of physical space” (Doty, 1996: 58-59). The UNDP/SA ‘controlled’ its physical office space by firstly attempting to divert my focus to another organisation (Personal communication with a UNDP/SA staff member, 26 October 2000). Secondly, another staff member did not keep her appointment with me in July 2002, as already described earlier in this chapter. The secretary called me on the day we were supposed to meet, when I had

already travelled from Cape Town to Pretoria, to tell me this person was unavailable. Thirdly, none of the other staff could meet with me, because “they were too busy” (Personal communication with the UNDP/SA Office, 2002). This suggests that the UNDP/SA Office attempted to ‘control’ and ‘protect’ their discursive space on GM policy and praxis. Not only did the UNDP/SA control its physical space, it simultaneously used “the practice of exclusion” to prevent me from entering their development domain. Doty (1996) states that the practice of controlling space and simultaneously excluding “difficult intruders” was used by white colonists during colonialism to exclude the blacks/the colonised in order to create a “perfect white world.” In the very same way the UNDP/SA Office tried to exclude me from their ‘perfect development world’ in which no one asked uncomfortable questions about their GM implementation. These actions of the UNDP/SA Office suggest a discomfort with enquiries about its GM policy and praxis, and reinforce the suspicion that the Country Office realised there was still much to be done to move from rhetoric on Gender Mainstreaming to praxis. No doubt this concern was fuelled by the ongoing evaluation of GM in UNDP offices around the world, including South Africa, and my own access to government personnel concerned with development and GM.

Theme 4: Knowledge of gender mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA

An understanding of Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA requires an investigation of the knowledge base of its staff about GM. To do this, I first draw on my interviews with UNDP staff (including recent discussions with former staff). Then I will discuss the findings on GM knowledge in three official UNDP GM evaluation reports.

I had three interviews with UNDP staff: one was with the Gender Focal Point of the UNDP/SA in 2002, and two interviews were with ex-UNDP staff in 2009. The one ex-staff member (UNDP1) was based at the South African Country Office, while the other one (UNDP2) was based at the Head Office in New York during her tenure. A fourth interview was with a South African woman consultant in 2007. She was part of the UNDP team who did the Gender Mainstreaming (GM) evaluation of the South African Country Office. All my informants were women; this was completely coincidental. It might not be coincidental that the UNDP seems to have chosen women mostly to work on GM. It is interesting to note that the Gender Focal Point was always a woman, from 1999 to 2005, although the organisational levels did not remain the same. It seems as if the thinking in the UNDP/SA as organisation at this time was that only women could work on gender issues. Nevertheless, it was extremely useful to speak to these women.

Kronsell (2006) argues that women's voices within institutions of hegemonic masculinity can be an important source of knowledge on gender. "it is the knowledge generated when they engage in the activities of an institution of hegemonic masculinity which is in focus here. By women's very interaction with the institutional practise, the gendered norms of such institutions become visible and hegemonic masculinity becomes 'real'" (2006: 121). She argues that it is a highly relevant research method to talk to women like these to gain access to knowledge which has been generated through struggle with resistances to gender transformation, especially when framed in masculinist terms.

One of the questions that I asked right at the beginning of my interview with the Gender Focal Point (GFP) was how she would define Gender Mainstreaming. She responded that:

From my perspective as a professional and also as UNDP I see Gender Mainstreaming ... well (sic) at a programme level we ensure that in all our activities the extent to which we are able to get to a point where there is not so much equality, but we reflect the extent to which the empowerment of women goes along with the advances we make in the economy. And when I talk about the empowerment of women, we need to take into account that currently in the target group we are focusing on women who are the most disadvantaged. So then the component of empowerment is very critical, but at the same time that empowerment has to happen in a context where the male counterpart becomes versatile, so that they are supported so that the empowerment of women becomes supported at that level. So my understanding broadly would be that we (read UNDP/SA) are able to work with our key partners at a local level even within communities such that we understand that the activities we engage in show what the context is [for] gender and power relations (Interview, 2002).

While the GFP's link between GM and empowerment is a good one, she does not mention moving women and gender from the margin to the centre, and how women and gender should be integrated into all aspects of organisational work as part of GM. She also fails to mention that there are various GM definitions besides that of the UNDP. As demonstrated in the literature review, it is clear that GM is defined in many different ways. Indeed, there are also different schools of thought on the subject. None of this is reflected in her statement. But when I asked her what training she had been offered as UNDP/SA Gender Focal Point, she did indicate that in fact she had only done an online Gender Mainstreaming training course:

Personally ... well ... I can't say training hard-core. I've received packages that I do online especially within UNDP itself. We have several modules that I have

been introduced to just as a way of making sure that we have a working knowledge of what it is about (Interview, 2002).

It is surprising that the UNDP/SA seems to believe that the Gender Focal Point could carry out her mandate without offering her sufficient training. *How* would someone be able to work on a complex matter like Gender Mainstreaming without a deep knowledge of it? Indeed, the lack of training might explain her narrow definition of GM. The nuanced and complex nature of gender concepts is difficult to grasp without extended discussions with facilitators during training. After 2002 not much changed regarding GM training in the UNDP/SA. From 2004 to 2007 there was some training for staff in the South African Country Office, sponsored by the UNDP Head Office. However, the senior managers, despite most of them being female, did not attend. “They did not make time for the training”, UNDP1 told me (Interview, 2009). This experience mirrors that of the senior managers in the PGWC during the time that I was a GFP; they too did not make time for GM training. It seems as if they think that only those below their level need to know and understand what Gender Mainstreaming is. This behaviour indicates a lack of commitment to GM implementation in government as well as in the UNDP/SA.

Upon reflection, I realise that the GFP I spoke with had experienced many of the same problems I had encountered in government. I had also not been trained as Gender Focal Point in the Provincial Government Western Cape when allocated this responsibility in 1999. What saved me was my prior knowledge of women’s and gender issues, acquired

in study groups and discussions with fellow comrades⁵⁰ while studying as an undergraduate student at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville, South Africa (1979-1983), and in the women's movement of the South African liberation struggle (1980-1990). It would have been very hard to be a Gender Focal Point without this prior knowledge, so the UNDP GFP's limited knowledge of the range of theories about GM is not surprising.

Indeed, in defining her responsibility for Gender Mainstreaming, the Gender Focal Point admitted to a rather fragmented approach to her position as the employee who had to champion GM. As she pointed out:

Organisationally, and also in terms of our programming, we make sure that Gender Mainstreaming becomes the responsibility of each programme officer. We do, however, recognise that there has to be a person directly assigned to follow up on specific gender aspects that may not be fully incorporated in our programmes. In that regard I am the Gender Focal Point (Interview, 2002).

This framing of her responsibility as Gender Focal Point (GFP) suggests a partial understanding of what she is supposed to do. She fails to say that the UNDP/SA is mainstreaming gender within the organisation under her co-ordination and guidance; she makes GM the work of every programme officer. I am not arguing that the programme officers do not have a role to play, but surely the responsibility for implementation cannot be theirs alone. There is no reference to the role of managers, including the Resident Representative, who, as Head of the Office, is *the* senior manager *accountable* for

⁵⁰ The word "comrade" was commonly used among activists in the South African liberation struggle to address one another.

implementation of UNDP GM policies. There is no indication that one of her responsibilities is to ensure that the UNDP/SA has a GM strategy based on their policies. This is one way to interpret the GFP's statement, but not the only way. In my interview with UNDP2 (Interview, 2009), she stressed that an important aspect of GM implementation at Country Office level was the role of the Head of such office. She emphasised the corporate responsibility of the Resident Representative with regard to Gender Mainstreaming, and said that Heads of Country Offices were supposed to be monitored through a corporate gender scorecard for GM implementation. In the light of this, it would be unfair to expect the GFP to ensure that there is a GM strategy in place; this responsibility resides at a higher level. From my own experience as GFP, I knew it would also be very difficult for her to instruct other managers to take co-responsibility for GM implementation; again, this was an area where the Resident Representative had to step up to the plate to ensure management knowledge of, and support for, a GM strategy. It is commendable that she was trying so hard to make a difference with very little support from the Head of the UNDP/SA.

The Gender Focal (GFP) Point did not mention the various Gender Mainstreaming policies discussed in Chapter Three, focusing instead on how GM was being applied to external UNDP/SA projects, namely a women's savings group. These women, once they had saved enough, started a construction project building houses, including making and laying bricks. According to the GFP, the women brought their male counterparts on board and:

...power relations changed. There was an appreciation of what an individual can do and even their relationship at a household level changed because they could relate to each other as husband and wife. As a community and as a group, they really started dealing with how men and women are relating to one another. And I think in that respect, you know, Gender Mainstreaming became a reality. Along the line they started working together as women and men. And the construction then it was clear it's not only an area for men. Anybody can do it – you just need the skills (Interview, 2002).

While the above example demonstrates a change in traditional gender roles, with the women taking charge instead of the men, and while it does focus on power relations between men and women, which are very important, it is curious that the Gender Focal Point did not mention UNDP/SA's Gender Mainstreaming policies. In fact, she did not fully explain how gender was being mainstreamed in the above example, which seems to be more of a women's project than a GM one. As she was a relatively senior employee, I would have expected more discussion of the GM policies of the UNDP, which applied to the UNDP South African Office. These policies make it very clear that GM should be reflected *within* the UNDP as well as in its work with funded partners.

At the same time, it is important to remember that her lack of knowledge of the UNDP policies on GM could have been because they were not locally developed in the South African Country Office, but rather at Head Office in New York. The geographical distance seems to have created a symbolic distance. This much was said by UNDP1 who told me that because the GM policies are developed at Head Office in New York, there was not much buy-in from the local staff:

Policy direction for GM came from the New York UNDP headquarters; the UNDP/SA Office had to implement these. You know, the policy development process in New York is far removed from the local implementation level in South

Africa. So where does the buy-in happen? I mean, for GM to succeed, staff needs to have a mindset change, they have to buy into Gender Mainstreaming (Interview, 2009).

It could also be that these policies were never workshopped with UNDP/SA staff, which is an important step in the policy implementation process to ensure knowledge transmission and obtain staff buy-in. Schalkwyk's report⁵¹ indeed supports this; it states that "Many gender focal points ... had limited knowledge about matters significant to job performance such as official policy on gender mainstreaming and other UNDP priority areas" (1998: 26). The *UNDP Evaluation Report on Gender Mainstreaming* (2006) supports Schalkwyk's findings: "UNDP has missed many opportunities for learning, and there is little institutional memory or exchange of information" (p. ix). It would be unfair to blame the GFP for a management responsibility, namely to ensure that GM policies are disseminated among staff by workshopping them. It is not right that a head of an international development organisation can get away with assigning such a huge responsibility to the GFP, while failing to ensure that the required training, support and resources are in place. The *UNDP Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming Report* (2006) indicates in its findings that "Gender Focal Points (GFPs) have no clear job description, are often junior-level staff and have other responsibilities" (p. vi). It is also problematic that organisations too often assign the duty of the Gender Focal Point to women who have little or no knowledge of gender, on the assumption that a woman, any woman, can address women's issues.

⁵¹ Johanna Schalkwyk did a mid-point review for the UNDP in December 1998, called *Building Capacity for Gender Mainstreaming: UNDP's Experience*. The report focused especially on impact and success of the Learning, Consultation, Briefing (LCBs) workshops as a capacity-building tool, aimed at Gender Focal Points in Country Offices.

The Gender Focal Point (GFP) took great care in answering my questions during our interview; she formulated her answers very cautiously. When I asked her whether the UNDP/SA had the same understanding of Gender Mainstreaming as the OSW, she guardedly stated that:

I think not related to the OSW, but I think generally the understanding of Gender Mainstreaming differs from institution to institution really and much as we all have the same intentions, the differences have been in approaches. I think we all agree that gender needs to be mainstreamed. Where there perhaps is not concurrence is on the approach (Interview, 2002).

She then explained her issue with the name ‘Office on the Status of Women’. She said:

I remember I took issue with someone in the national OSW.⁵² I said to her why are you still calling it the OSW? Because it is far more than OSW. So in principle the OSW in itself should reflect the broad intention; if they leave it at OSW it is still narrow, the intention. You can tell people what those intentions are, but the institution, what it represents, does not reflect the broader intentions of gender; it’s only Office on the Status of Women (Interview, 2002).

I think that, while being sympathetic to the need to publicise the focus on gender, the OSW – even though it has the word “women” in its title – still focuses on gender and thus includes men. Nevertheless, even when we do use the concept of “gender”, there is still a need to emphasise women and their needs. As long as the playing fields are unequal because of gender hierarchies and masculinist practices, it will be women who need redress, not men. Awareness of the need to focus on gender imbalances and inequalities remains an important aspect to understand in GM.

⁵² The Gender Focal Point is referring to a staff member in the national OSW.

The carefully constructed discourse of the GFP suggests some concerns with implementation of GM policies. During the interview the GFP repeatedly linked GM to external programmes and projects funded by the UNDP/SA:

We don't, I mean at UNDP we don't necessarily fund, we don't have one specific programme that we say we have to fund it along Gender Mainstreaming concepts. I think the assumption is, actually our position is that gender, understanding gender relations and power imbalances have to be reflected in all of our programmes. So by definition all our programmes need to have that component (Interview, 2002).

Nothing was said about links with GM internally, despite the fact that at the time the UNDP had GM policies, which were applicable to the UNDP/SA. It could very well be that at the time in the UNDP/SA the emphasis was far stronger on integrating gender into programmatic issues instead of internal mainstreaming with staff. UNDP2 indicated that senior managers were monitored for integrating GM in programmes through a corporate scorecard that was related to performance (Interview, 2009). It seems as if there was a greater focus on the programmatic side of business, which is more external, than on an internal GM focus. The only point where the GFP spoke of an internal GM example during my interview was when she discussed the UNDP/SA balancing gender in management by pointing out the following:

And I truly think the organisation is trying. The UNDP is always in the spotlight and we are aware that they have to be seen walking the talk. And currently when I think of what has happened in the past two years there has been positive movement really making sure that we reflect our values and principles also in the leadership of the organisation. So there is a move of a gender balancing, not to be politically correct but to reflect the value system. Because I always tell people it is one thing to put me there, but is it a value you hold dearly? What motivates you having a woman? Is it because it is politically correct or is it because it is something that you know makes sense in terms of what human development is

about? I think we actually have colleagues that are clear about gender and that embrace it as a service system, you know, and as a principle that needs to be adhered to in our everyday way of living. And there is also a strong move to make sure that our programmes really reflect that too. So that it goes out of the organisation because inside, remember it is only the matter of representivity. You know management, they're always worried, even you can look at our planning tools, they are so concerned about the gender aspect and making sure we walk the talk.

This example does indeed show her knowledge of the *Gender Balance in Management* policy, even though she does not mention the policy by name. It also demonstrates her concern with appearances and the UNDP/SA's public profile. The above quote shows that the UNDP was making an effort to balance its gender profile by appointing more women. Although this might not look like giant steps forward, it is indeed a positive indicator that *some* progress was being made. I am reminded here of what UNDP2 said to me, namely that it was quite hard to work on GM in the UNDP. Just getting the policies developed and appointing GFPs were "major steps forward against all odds" (Interview, 2009). Seen within this context, some implementation of one policy can indeed be regarded as progress, albeit slight.

The Gender Focal Point's body language was careful, on guard during the interview; it seemed to me that she wanted to ensure that she said and did the right thing. She ended many of her answers by asking at the end: "Right?" I felt I had to echo that and I would say "Right". The question is whether her manner and carefully constructed discourse on Gender Mainstreaming during the interview was compliance with what Norval (1996) calls the "horizon of intelligibility". Norval used this concept, among others, to analyse

the discursive construction of apartheid in South Africa. She defines the horizon of intelligibility as “a framework delineating what is possible, what can be said and done, what positions may legitimately be taken, and what actions may be engaged in” (Norval, 1996: 4). When I analyse the discourse of the GFP (both verbal and her body language), it seems as if the UNDP/SA had a certain framework, a “horizon of intelligibility”, regarding what can be said and what discourse can be used, what position can be taken by a staff member, what action can be engaged in regarding GM. This is quite understandable as most organisations have a protocol regarding communication with external people such as researchers like me and the media, for example.

Interestingly, UNDP2 was extremely confident, not guarded like the UNDP/SA GFP (Interview, 2009). Because the interview was telephonic, I could not observe her body language; however, I could hear from her tone of voice that she sounded very confident and powerful. It was very clear that she was extremely knowledgeable about Gender Mainstreaming and confident in her discussions. In her responses to my questions she spoke authoritatively and it was very evident that she had worked in the corporate environment in the UNDP Head Office in New York. In fact, I felt energised and inspired after my interview with her and thought that she was extremely dynamic. I thought that it would be great if we could have a few senior managers like her in provincial government to drive GM implementation. At the same time it is important to remember that she was driving the evaluation process of the 1998 and 2006 reports, so had less to worry about at the time. She is also a well-known international gender expert with considerable training (Interview notes, 2009).

During the 2002 interview I noticed that when talking about GM, the GFP used words such as equality, empowerment and power relations without discussing how they translate into practice within the UNDP/SA. She did not refer to internal challenges such as not having a budget for GM and gender being an ‘add-on’. Yet both raise serious issues for implementation. How could the GFP mainstream gender internally without a dedicated GM budget? Staudt (1998) argues that the political dynamics of institutions are often obscured by technical discourse. The power relations over budgets, authority and ideology are not evident in technical discourse. This may have been the case here: by focusing externally, she successfully (albeit unconsciously) deflected attention from the UNDP/SA’s lack of internal GM. Upon reflection, I definitely do not think that she did this intentionally. I think the GFP focused on the external because this was the area that the UNDP/SA was emphasising at the time. I also think that she did not mention the constraints out of loyalty to the organisation. In my own experience, when one speaks about one’s profession with the approval of senior management, it is expected that one does not focus on the negative side of things, so her silence in this regard is understandable.

The Gender Focal Point indicated that it was a policy requirement that Gender Mainstreaming be integrated into UNDP/SA development work. This would require sound GM knowledge. Yet her slippage between women and gender suggests some limits to her understanding of gender issues. It seemed that there was some mismatch between the GM policy discourse of official UNDP documents and the knowledge base in the UNDP/SA office. This is not surprising, given the lack of

resources (read budget) and the institutionalisation of hegemonic masculinity in the UNDP/SA. Under these conditions it must have indeed been very hard for one staff member to shoulder so much responsibility for GM policy implementation without sufficient institutional support, commitment and possibly even recognition. Indeed UNDP1 admitted that the training provided to the GFPs in the post-policy development period was insufficient; after all, training for Gender Mainstreaming cannot be a once-off session. For GFPs to be effective, they would need regular training to stay abreast with developments in the field. However, as UNDP1 also stated, if there is no budget for GM generally, there is very little that can be done (Interview, 2009), and clearly training would be neglected if there is no budget for it.

Theme 5: Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming policies in the UNDP/SA

My interview data have raised a number of key points about implementation of Gender Mainstreaming policies within UNDP/SA as well. They are: (a) the lack of a budget and a programme for internal GM; (b) GM work being an ‘add-on’ to the core work of the Gender Focal Point; (c) the lack of organised, structured training for the Gender Focal Point as well as other UNDP/SA staff; (d) the seniority level of the Gender Focal Point; and the (e) GM approach. These issues are all barriers to successful implementation of GM. Kardam (1991) mentions a few other factors that make gender policy implementation difficult in development organisations, namely the ingrained attitudes, values and perceptions among development personnel that do not correspond to reality, a

lack of information and data on women, and a shortfall in resources allocated to women. It is clear that GM implementation is a huge and complex challenge. For it to succeed it is important to unpack the impediments to see how they can be addressed.

Budgets and Gender Mainstreaming

The Gender Focal Point admitted in 2002 that there was no budget for internal GM, and that UNDP/SA had no internal programme for GM implementation. How can the Resident Representative as Head of the Office expect one person (the Gender Focal Point) to implement GM if, firstly, there is no budget for this, and secondly, there is no programme with measurable objectives, timeframes and sufficient staff? Could this suggest that GM, on a subconscious level, was set up by the Senior Manager to fail right from the start? According to Rowlands (1998: 30),

Several women I have talked with who work for development agencies as gender specialists have told me that their organisations systematically marginalise the work of the gender specialists whilst ostensibly having a commitment to women's development and even specifically to women's empowerment.

The lack of resources suggests management may have either deliberately or subconsciously wanted to thwart implementation. Development agencies have a long history of either ignoring or undermining gender, despite rhetoric to the contrary, stemming from masculinist resistance to Gender Mainstreaming and gender equality (no doubt supported by some women in the organisation as well). This would not be surprising. Indeed, Staudt has discovered that development institutions usually allocate

less than 5% of their funding towards women and gender (Staudt, 1991). Expecting GM implementation with no budget at all, or without sufficient resources, is a contradiction in terms.

When I interviewed UNDP1, she admitted that the UNDP/SA still did not have a Gender Mainstreaming budget in 2004 when her tenure started in the South African Country Office. She said this was a huge constraint and that the lack of money for GM made it difficult to do anything substantive (Interview notes, 2009). There was clearly no progress regarding resource allocation over time in the UNDP/SA office, despite the fact that the face of the management had changed from being male-dominated earlier on to being predominantly female during her tenure. This shows that one cannot assume that women will support gender equality issues more than men; it is not only about the actual biological sex of the people in charge, but whether they understand and support gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming not only within the development context, but generally as well. Moreover, there are many rewards for fitting in with established systems at the management level.

Gender Mainstreaming as ‘add-on’

The responsibility for Gender Mainstreaming was an ‘add-on’ to a core job for the Gender Focal Point in the UNDP/SA, despite official policy commitment to the discourse of GM (*UNDP Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming Report*, 2006: vi). By implication, then, GM was still very marginalised in the UNDP/SA. According to Staudt, “Some

rhetoric is not designed to be implemented” (1991: 151). She argues that chief executives use a certain rhetoric and discourse to create or present a particular organisational image to be politically correct and not because they necessarily want to implement the rhetoric. I agree with Staudt’s warning. It certainly applies to the UNDP/SA. On the surface, given that many organisations do not have a Gender Focal Point, it looks politically correct that the UNDP/SA indeed does have such a person. However, if this individual has to juggle GM with all her other main responsibilities, and she has no other staff to assist her, how can she be successful with implementation?

From my own experience being a Gender Focal Point in government from 1999 to 2002, I can attest to the challenge and difficulty of driving GM as an individual. I was very marginalised all the time, and as such posed no challenge or threat to the institutional hegemonic masculinity that prevails in government. Senior male managers could continue to work in a comfort zone of non-implementation, while speaking the politically correct language of gender transformation. GM was an add-on; I had no budget and no human resources to assist me as Gender Focal Point. If we are serious about gender equality, GM cannot remain an ‘add-on’.

In 2007, five years after my interview with the UNDP/SA Gender Focal Point (GFP), the South African Country Office still did not have a full-time GFP. Gender Mainstreaming was still an add-on to a core job and the GFP still had to juggle two jobs with hardly any organisational support, according to UNDP1 (Interview notes, 2009). There was still a deafening silence on the role and responsibility of the Head of the Country Office, who

was designated by policy to ensure GM implementation and, by implication, resourcing it as well. UNDP1 told me that “The UNDP/SA infrastructure and system was not enabling for GM implementation and success, and the fact that some of the men were very sexist did not help” (Interview notes, 2009). It was rather depressing to interview her, as I believe in gender equality and I hold the hope that Gender Mainstreaming can assist to make gender equality a reality. However, listening to her was not an uplifting experience as my interview with UNDP2 had been, and it struck me how differently staff experienced the UNDP as organisation, depending on where they were located and their personal charisma and connections. The GFP and UNDP1 seemed to have little power to change things for the better, while UNDP2, because she was at corporate management level, had so much more leverage and power. This underlines how crucial power is in gender equality work and how practitioners cannot ignore this aspect if they want to ensure substantive implementation. At the same time power without a gender consciousness is not enough, and it is a rare person, even among management, who can resist the pressures of corporate culture.

The lack of training for the Gender Focal Point and other staff

In the previous section, where I discuss the knowledge of Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA, I quote the Gender Focal Point admitting that she had only taken an online gender training course. ‘How’ (Doty, 1996) can GM be implemented without sufficient knowledge and capacity, which is a result of regular, ongoing training and development? According to Fitzgerald (2002), capacity building (which could be specialised training,

staff secondments and detailed, widely distributed guidance notes or toolkits) is a precondition for GM.

I stated earlier that Gender Mainstreaming is a complex and challenging process at the best of times. This means that whoever has to implement it needs to know what GM is, where it has been successfully implemented, and how to overcome obstacles and barriers such as overt and covert resistance, for example. This person needs to know how to advocate and lobby in the organisation and how to build strategic partnerships and support for GM. For implementation more than just financial resources are needed. Advocates and champions driving GM are essential. Kardam (1991) argues that in the absence of advocates who champion it, an issue such as women and gender will not automatically be included in development agencies' work and activities, despite official policies on gender.

In my experience as a Gender Focal Point, many of my colleagues in government departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape, who served as Gender Focal Points without having had any training, repeatedly stated that they did not know how to do mainstreaming gender in their departments and could not do anything until they had some training. Although there was no budget for regular, ongoing training, the little that was provided, certainly made a difference.

Ironically, the very reason for the Capacity Building Project (CBP) that the UNDP/SA initiated and funded for the OSW staff was training and building capacity, so that the OSW staff could implement their core function, namely Gender Mainstreaming towards gender equality. Yet the very same funding organisation assumes that its staff will be able to do the same thing, without training and capacity building. This seems to be a serious contradiction.

The Gender Focal Point reported that she was happy with the online, in-house training package (Interview, 2002). However, if one has only experienced online training, against what does one benchmark? In contrast, continuous formal and online training on gender issues and Gender Mainstreaming would enable personnel to evaluate which training is effective and good, and which is not. That ‘some’ training was provided, cannot be disputed; this was echoed by UNDP1. However, the money for the training, which was not electronic/online, in this instance came from the Head Office in New York (Interview, 2009) and not from the UNDP/SA budget. In fact, there was no budget for GM at all during her tenure, according to UNDP1 (Interview, 2009). The *UNDP Evaluation Report on Gender Mainstreaming* (2006: vi) states that there was some training and support:

“...there is an internet forum and country-based knowledge management networks. Guidance is also available in person from a variety of sources. However, staff have no incentive to use these resources or take opportunities for training ... UNDP offers no centralised training, although there has been some quite effective training at the regional and country level. Many countries now have national gender experts, but they are often overlooked and under-utilized”.

It is unfortunate that at country level the UNDP/SA seems to have disregarded the support networks that were available. This is not strange if one bears in mind that there was no co-ordinated GM implementation strategy or plan in place at the UNDP/SA.

Moser and Moser (2005) argue in their study on Gender Mainstreaming success since Beijing that the importance of training should not be underestimated. Training should not be a once-off event, but needs to be ongoing and consistently reviewed. I agree with Moser and Moser. Without a good training programme for the main role players, GM implementation cannot take place. Moreover, the absence of such training raises questions about the degree of commitment among senior staff to gender issues and programmes.

The seniority level of the Gender Focal Point

What level of seniority does the Gender Focal Point need to be? I believe that the Gender Focal Point needs to be a senior manager, like the Resident Representative, as the UNDP policies on Gender Mainstreaming indeed prescribe. The Resident Representative heads up a country office and has the most authority to ensure that gender is mainstreamed because s/he can instruct staff to implement. S/he has the power to allocate a budget and to ensure that whatever other resources are needed are provided. If the accountability for GM implementation lies at a senior level, it will make a difference.

In my experience as a Gender Focal Point in the Provincial Government Western Cape, if you are not senior enough, you can only *request*, not instruct, when it comes to GM issues. Colleagues who are more senior can simply ignore the request, or move it to the backburner, where it eventually falls off the agenda completely. As GFP I was not taken seriously and my reports were never followed up. A too junior GFP does not have sufficient seniority to ensure GM policy compliance. One cannot discipline or call to account any staff member who fails to implement. I was in effect ‘toothless’ and powerless. I had the responsibility for GM implementation without the authority. The *UNDP Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming Report* (2006) supports my thinking that a GFP needs to be more senior, by stating that the junior status of the GFPs was a serious constraint. This is further supported by Schalkwyk’s Report (1998). She states that “it was recognised that gender mainstreaming was an organisational responsibility requiring leadership by management and the involvement of all staff” (p. 4.). Furthermore, it was found that the UNDP has “a hierarchical organisation culture that does not encourage initiative from junior staff” (1998: 4). This finding underlines that junior GFPs would have found it very difficult to champion GM.

When I was responsible for GM in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, it helped me tremendously that departmental transformation within which GM was framed was a Ministerial directive.⁵³ Thus, when managers more senior than I refused to support GM, I could use the Ministerial directive reminding them of it, which never failed to have the desired effect. The staff in the Transformation Forum were more junior than I was

⁵³ A directive in this sense is equal to a mandate from the Minister. Within government, directives from Ministerial level cannot be ignored.

and even they could invoke the Ministerial directive when their managers were uncooperative. Having GM framed within departmental transformation as a Ministerial directive helped tremendously in its implementation. I saw what difference it makes when one can call on the seniority and authority of the Minister, who is right at the top of a government department. Therefore I argue that unless the Gender Focal Point has the authority which comes with a senior management position, or has the support of the highest office in the form of a directive, GM would not be taken seriously.

WID instead of GAD

When I interviewed the Gender Focal Point, she did not make a clear distinction between WID and GAD; instead she used women and gender interchangeably. She also did not explain the importance of the difference between the concepts of ‘women’ and ‘gender’, and the implications of this for Gender Mainstreaming work. In the project example that she cited, namely the “Women’s Savings Group”, the focus was on women, not gender, i.e. the assumptions and practices shaping relations between men and women. Thus the UNDP/SA was in fact using a WID approach for implementation, despite the adoption of gender discourse. This is supported by the *UNDP Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming Report* (2006: vii): “While there have been some isolated efforts to address broader gender issues, the tendency is to seek small, women-focused activities ... The evaluation found that attention to gender tends to emphasise women-focused rather than gender activities”. The fact that its policies and staff were using WID and GM discourse interchangeably suggests a gap between policy discourse and implementation. It suggests

a confusion that may have affected policy implementation. I will refer to this aspect again when I discuss UNDP GM documents later in the chapter.

GM Monitoring

The GFP did not explain or refer to how Gender Mainstreaming (GM) implementation was monitored and reported on internally. She only mentioned that the UNDP/SA usually assigns a full-time staff member to external projects to keep them informed on project progress and implementation (Interview, 2002). I could not get information on this from the senior manager accountable for implementation as mandated by policy, as he did not have time to speak to me.

However, in 2009 my interview with UNDP2 revealed a corporate scorecard with gender indicators according to which the Heads of Country Offices were monitored. This scorecard, I would assume, should have been applied to the South African Country Office as well. However, it seems that the scorecard failed to ensure GM implementation beyond policy formulation and training. Indeed, UNDP1 told me that “During my time there not much happened in the UNDP/SA regarding Gender Mainstreaming” (Interview notes, 2009). She worked at the UNDP/SA for four years. If the monitoring was done properly, the UNDP Head Office should have picked up the lack of implementation at Country Office level.

Self-reflexivity on the UNDP/SA research process

Upon reflection on the research process, I realise that I had unrealistic, excessively high expectations of the UNDP/SA Office. I expected a lot more Gender Mainstreaming implementation from an international development organisation, definitely more than what I was seeing in government. This caused me to be overly critical of the Gender Focal Point when I analysed the data from the interview with her. I realised that I had been unfair to expect so much from her, when in fact I could see that the same organisational challenges applied to the UNDP/SA as to government departments. In my experience the work of a GFP, besides being unsupported by senior management, is most of the time not even recognised when it comes to performance management. I know it can be lonely and frustrating to work on gender in an unsupportive environment and in retrospect I sympathise with the struggles of the GFP – a feeling I did not experience at the time of the interview.

An additional factor that played a role in my increased understanding of the challenges that the GFP must have experienced was my interviews with two former UNDP staff members, UNDP1 and UNDP2. They both attested to the difficulty of doing GM in the UNDP (Interviews, 2009). UNDP1 was at a higher level organisationally than the GFP I had interviewed in 2002, but this made it no easier for her to implement GM as the Gender Focal Point (GFP) at the time. It was still an add-on to her work and she said that having no budget and other resources were a serious constraint. And even though most of the management team comprised women during her tenure, they (the women management team) did not show greater

commitment to GM (Interview notes, 2009). UNDP2 had more luck, as she reported to the Executive Committee at Head Office, and this committee expected to see results. She mentioned that this was a great help to move forward, and progress (Interview notes, 2009).

It is clear that the UNDP/SA was struggling to implement Gender Mainstreaming for a number of reasons discussed above. In the following section I examine UNDP Gender Mainstreaming documents, two of which are evaluations, to see if they tell a different story.

AN ANALYSIS OF UNDP GENDER MAINSTREAMING DOCUMENTS

Besides qualitative interviews with UNDP/SA and UNDP staff, as well as analysis of UNDP policy documents, the analysis of UNDP Gender Mainstreaming documents such as evaluation reports are central to my study. This section interrogates three UNDP Gender Mainstreaming documents: (a) *Gender Mainstreaming in UNDP in South Africa. Country Study Evaluation: Gender Mainstreaming at the request of UNDP Evaluation Office. Final Draft, 4 June 2005*; (b) *Draft UNDP Gender Mainstreaming Project Situational Analysis, July – December 2005*; (c) *Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming in UNDP Report, January 2006*, in order to explore the degree to which official UNDP/SA commitments to Gender Mainstreaming were or were not translating into praxis..

The *Gender Mainstreaming in UNDP Country Study Evaluation* aimed to take stock of where the UNDP/SA was with regard to Gender Mainstreaming in 2005. It was initiated as part of a global evaluation by the Executive Board of the UNDP because of their

concern regarding the uneven progress of Gender Mainstreaming and the empowerment of women in the UNDP. It is not simply an assessment of past progress and results. It is also forward-looking, trying to determine lessons to be learnt for future implementation (2005: 4).

The *Draft UNDP Gender Mainstreaming Project Situational Analysis* is part of a Gender Mainstreaming Project (GMP) undertaken by the UNDP/SA from July to December 2005. The situational analysis is the first phase of the GMP. The intention was to use it as a core discussion document for a policy and strategy workshop on Gender Mainstreaming in the second phase, during which an extensive programme would be undertaken to mainstream gender in the UNDP/SA Office. Aspects of this extensive GMP would be a gender needs assessment, various gender workshops on policy and strategy, integrating gender into performance agreements, capacity building for staff, and setting up a gender management system.

The *UNDP Evaluation Report* was undertaken after the UNDP/UNFPA Executive Board decided in 2002 to sponsor a global evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming within the UNDP. This was management's response to the publication *Transforming the Mainstream: Gender in the UNDP*⁵⁴, which "sets out key issues in Gender Mainstreaming, learning from the efforts of UNDP and its partners" (2004: 1). It addresses questions such as why women's empowerment and GM are important in development, how we "do" GM, and whether gender is being mainstreamed right out of existence; it also looks at the current gaps and how these can be bridged (2004: 1). The

⁵⁴ The report *Transforming the Mainstream: Gender in the UNDP* was published in 2004.

Evaluation Office of the UNDP appointed independent evaluators to do this evaluation. South Africa was one of fourteen countries selected for evaluation.

These documents shed considerable light on Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP generally, but also specifically on the UNDP/SA. The South African Country Office is *the* focus of the *Country Study* and the *Situational Analysis*, and was one of the evaluated countries in the *UNDP Evaluation Report*. In the section below I discuss the importance of these three documents for GM in the UNDP/SA.

Themes emerging from the UNDP Gender Mainstreaming documents

It is no accident that there was a flurry of activity on Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA in 2005; all the GM documents mentioned above were produced in this year. The increased focus on GM in 2005 stemmed from a concern of the Executive Board of UNDP at Headquarters in New York in 2002 about lack of GM progress, as I mentioned earlier. It was this concern, as well as the Board's initiative, that resulted in action not only at the UNDP Headquarters, but also in the UNDP/SA Country Office. What this clearly shows is that if there is concern from the top management of the organisation, action follows.

In South Africa the GM evaluation process did not start smoothly. The dates for the evaluation were determined by Head Office in New York. The Head Office did not seem to keep in mind that the UNDP/SA had its own cycle and programmes. When the UNDP/SA told New York that there was a problem with the dates provided, the South

African Country Office was ignored. The subsequent resistance from the UNDP/SA was minimised by the fact that the Office knew the South African consultant and gender expert from her work with them in their Capacity Building Project for the OSW (Interview, 2007).

The *Gender Mainstreaming in UNDP Country Study*, the *Draft UNDP Gender Mainstreaming Project Situational Analysis* and the *UNDP Evaluation Report* all have different objectives, as I mentioned earlier. The one golden thread running through all of them is Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP. Below I discuss themes emerging from these documents as they relate to Gender Mainstreaming. It is important to keep in mind that it is difficult to separate the themes completely. There will be a degree of overlap between some of them.

Gender Mainstreaming knowledge, training and capacity building in the UNDP/SA

In all three documents the lack of Gender Mainstreaming knowledge, as well as the serious lack of Gender Mainstreaming training and capacity building, is evident right from the start. This in turn is reflected in a lack of common understanding of Gender Mainstreaming within the UNDP generally, including the UNDP/SA.

Some staff did not know basic gender terminology, for example, the difference between the concepts ‘women’ and ‘gender’:

The evaluation found widespread confusion within UNDP about what ‘gender’ means and how to make it part of the operations of the organisation. Some equated ‘Gender Mainstreaming for human development’ with gender equality in human resources management; for others, ‘gender’ was merely another way of

saying 'women' – adding an activity for women to a project, or counting how many women have benefited (*UNDP Evaluation Report, 2006: 4*).

This finding supports my interview data. It is further evidence of the extent of the confusion in the UNDP/SA concerning terminology and concepts such as WID, GAD, empowerment and Gender Mainstreaming, no doubt exacerbated by lack of gender training and capacity building. One of the ways in which knowledge concerning gender concepts and GM is developed among staff is through training and capacity building. This would include awareness-raising and gender-sensitising workshops for all staff, but especially the Gender Focal Point who has to drive and champion GM. After all, this person would need to have a clear mandate for GM implementation and s/he would have to be trained sufficiently and regularly to ensure s/he has the skills and knowledge needed. Yet the UNDP/SA failed to do exactly this. According to the *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006: 15), lack of training was indeed a problem:

One of the most disappointing aspects of UNDP Gender Mainstreaming has been its limited attempts to build understanding among the staff through formal training, mentoring or evaluation. A targeted initiative was terminated in 2001 for budgetary reasons and no centrally run training has been offered since. An online training module has been partially successful, and a new initiative will be launched at the end of 2005. There has been some effective training at the regional and country levels, though many of the programmes are too general and lack focused expertise on mainstreaming gender in different practice areas.

The lack of Gender Mainstreaming training and capacity building in the UNDP/SA would explain why the *Situational Analysis* discovered that ten out of forty respondents, including a manager, did not think gender issues were important for their work. Quite a high proportion of administrative staff said that gender is not

spoken about in their place of work, and echoed other staff who said gender is unimportant in their work, labelling what they do as “purely administrative” and, by implication, excluding gender (2005: 3).

The *Country Study Evaluation* found that since 1999, when the UNDP/SA offered its last gender-related training, no training or capacity building had been provided. Some staff consulted the UNDP Regional Gender Advisor when they needed advice, and some went outside the UNDP. Most of the male staff did not think that gender-sensitisation workshops would be useful, while other staff wanted training on how to mainstream gender into their projects, for example, gender in HIV/AIDS work (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 15). This is ironic, because this is one of the frequently discussed aspects of Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP policies, namely integration into programmatic work. The *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006: 18) found that because of a lack of knowledge and training, the UNDP had failed to integrate gender into its programmatic work:

UNDP has not fully succeeded in using a gender-analytical lens in its programmatic work at the country level. Few of the practice areas have a clear Gender Mainstreaming strategy, and there seems to be *a lack of knowledge and conceptual clarity* on how to apply a Gender Mainstreaming perspective among programme and project staff (my emphasis).

According to the *Country Study Evaluation*, most staff demonstrated a basic understanding of gender and of the need to integrate it into the UNDP/SA and its activities. Yet these same staff members could not do the actual integration into their programmatic work. Clearly something was missing. Some staff knew Gender Mainstreaming was “mandatory” and that there had to be a gender balance in the staff

profile. Others referred to the “gender sensitive employment policies” of the UNDP. This evaluation found that gender knowledge was not consistent in the UNDP/SA; it varied greatly (2005: 14-15). These findings support my interview data that GM knowledge, training and capacity building were lacking in the UNDP/SA. GM knowledge is the starting point for implementation; in its absence, the GM process is undermined from the very beginning.

Gender Mainstreaming an ‘add-on’ with lack of seniority

UNDP Gender Mainstreaming policies identify the Gender Focal Point person as an extremely important staff member. At country offices and at headquarters the UNDP has adopted the Gender Focal Point system. It is the Gender Focal Point⁵⁵ who has to champion and drive Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP/SA, a very important mandate.

Or is it? The *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006: 14) found that:

Too often, GFPs are junior, paid through ‘soft’, temporary funding, with the gender portfolio added on to their other responsibilities. The role of GFPs tends to be ambiguous and ill-defined. In the country offices they are variously expected to be sources of expertise, contact persons for headquarters, collectors of gender- and women-related information, and internal advocates. They often lack a clear job description, and colleagues have little understanding of their role ... All this notwithstanding, there are a few countries where the capacity of the GFP has been scaled up successfully.⁵⁶

From the above quote it is clear that the Gender Focal Point system has not been working in the UNDP to ensure Gender Mainstreaming implementation. But then one could very well argue that no one can expect this system to work without resources, a clear job description and expertise. These are key resources that the Gender Focal Point would

⁵⁵ I am using the term ‘Gender Focal Point’ to refer to the staff member responsible for Gender Mainstreaming; I am not referring to a structure.

⁵⁶ Unfortunately South Africa was not one of the countries being referred to here.

need to implement GM. If these resources are unavailable, this person is set up to fail right from the start.

The *Situational Analysis* confirms the junior status of the Gender Focal Point and notes that units in the UNDP/SA do not have their own Gender Focal Point (2005: 3). To have additional Focal points throughout the organisation would be an obvious resource for the main Gender Focal Point, and it is difficult to understand why this could not have been done. However, this is not the only challenge regarding the Gender Focal Point.

The *Country Study Evaluation* discovered a lack of continuity in Gender Mainstreaming work. There has been a high turnover rate of the Gender Focal Points in the UNDP/SA. In the period 2000–2005 three different people were responsible for GM. The first Gender Focal Point was a “national gender expert”, the second one a UN volunteer and the third one a Junior Programme Officer (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 14). In a portfolio such as GM one could reasonably expect that there would be greater continuity to ensure that Gender Mainstreaming starts on a sound foundation and that substantive work can be done. This is complex work; the Gender Focal Point has to deal with entrenched mindsets and years of socialisation in gender roles and identities. Within this context, not only is continuity crucial for successful implementation; the Gender Focal Point should also be a gender expert. In fact, not only did the last Gender Focal Point not consider herself a “gender expert”, being an HIV/AIDS specialist, the evaluators discovered that:

There are no Terms of Reference for the Gender Focal Point and she can only spend 15-20% of her time on gender. In practice she has been handling the specific projects that contribute to Gender Mainstreaming, and served as the

contact person for gender outside the CO. Internally she does not play a special role in Gender Mainstreaming in all programme areas. Her rank also does not enable her to influence decisions and push an issue like Gender Mainstreaming. [Her position] is per definition temporary ... two to three years (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 14).

This discovery of the evaluators supports my own findings in every aspect, both in the UNDP/SA and in five government departments in the Western Cape at the time. Gender Focal Points were expected to deliver on GM (as an ‘add-on’) without resources, support and the necessary authority. This reinforces my argument that the UNDP was not serious about implementation its GM policy rhetoric.

The *Situational Analysis Report* recommended that “The UNDP SA should form a Gender Task Team (GTT) comprising Gender Focal Points (GFP) in each unit; appointed at senior level, with clear Terms of Reference, and due acknowledgement of these tasks in their job descriptions and performance agreements” (2005: 30). This recommendation is a step in the right direction.

UNDP/SA Organisational Culture

One of the key areas where Gender Mainstreaming would reflect, if successfully implemented, would be in organisational culture. There would be evident commitment to GM. This was not the case in the UNDP/SA. While the policy rhetoric was in place, the organisational *culture* to support and advance GM was lacking. One example of the masculinist organisational culture in the UNDP was the profile of the GM evaluation team for the South African evaluation. Initially the team consisted of men only.

According to the UNDP consultant, one of the UNDP/SA woman managers intervened, however, and appointed the woman consultant, thus ensuring that there was a woman's voice on the team (Interview, 2007). This is important; while men can be helpful allies, they should not speak on behalf of women. They can also not represent women's interests. Women should represent and speak for themselves.

The *Country Study Evaluation* indicated that sexual harassment was a problem in the UNDP/SA. This is reported in the *Situational Analysis* (p. 21) as well. The staff knew about the *UN Corporate Sexual Harassment Policy*, but most of them did not know how to either handle or report sexual harassment. Some staff reported having observed "cases of what they would call sexual harassment" (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 18). Yet no one has reported any incidents during the last four years; it seems that "despite having a corporate sexual harassment policy, the issue is not well defined or understood in the work place; that men apparently believe that they can get away with such behaviour and that the environment is not one in which the matter is openly discussed" (*Situational Analysis*, 2005: 21). The *Country Study Evaluation* (2005: 18) states furthermore that a task team on values and ethics failed to address the issues of sexual harassment.

Policies such as the *UN Corporate Sexual Harassment Policy* are tools that help develop the desired organisational culture. A policy is useless if it is not implemented. One way in which a policy could be explained to staff is through a workshop. One could reasonably expect an international development organisation to know that developing and adopting a sexual harassment policy is not enough. One could expect them to know that the staff has

to be officially informed of the policy and that a senior manager should be appointed to whom sexual harassment could be reported. If one argues, like the UNDP, that Gender Mainstreaming is a tool to ensure gender equality, then sexual harassment should not go unchallenged and unchecked. An international development organisation of the UNDP/SA's stature should not accept an organisational culture that tolerates sexual harassment and at the same time speak of women's empowerment, GM and gender equality. This finding of the *Country Study Evaluation* supports my own findings regarding GM in the UNDP/SA. While it is commendable that the UNDP has a policy on sexual harassment, it is not enough. Gender equality and women's empowerment through GM cannot be established in an organisation if its culture allows women's inalienable human rights to be infringed through unchecked sexual harassment.

In addition to the *Sexual Harassment* policy, the UNDP has a *Corporate Work/Life Policy* regarding flexible working hours, part-time work and telecommuting, all of which facilitate women's work-life balance. Yet staff did not have access to this, even though it would help, for example, women with young children, who were resigning "because they could not combine work at the office with their private life" (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 18). This is another serious indictment of an organisational culture which works against achieving gender equality. Historically, women have been held back in their careers because of carrying the burden of the reproductive role, such as taking primary responsibility for child care and care of the elderly, among other things. The UNDP/SA cannot claim to be mainstreaming gender if, again, like the Sexual Harassment Policy, there is yet another policy that could support gender equality but which has not been

implemented. *'How'* does this happen? It suggests some serious, perhaps unconscious masculinist resistance to gender equality and Gender Mainstreaming within the organisation. An example of resistance to GM was reported to me by the UNDP consultant: "Senior managers did not want to talk about GM. The Head of the UNDP/SA did not have a choice. However, as the Head had started on the same day in the South African Country Office as the Evaluation Team, she could not be interviewed, as she was new, and did not know the context" (Interview, 2007). It is interesting that senior managers who were supposed to fully support Gender Mainstreaming did not want to discuss it with the Evaluation Team. The UNDP consultant continued to explain that in the UN system generally only a certain percentage of staff can be local. The rest of the staff are foreigners in order to achieve a sufficient level of objectivity in a Country Office. The South African staff, according to her, had been exposed to a lot of gender awareness since 1994. This included South African men. However, foreign men at the Head of the Country Office and foreign staff did not necessarily have the same gender conscientisation and exposure in their countries of origin. Some of these foreign staff were extremely sexist, according to her. She mentioned that the UNDP/SA Office was not a reflection of South Africa. "Some of the blatant sexism was frightening", she said. While South African men would comprehend Gender Mainstreaming at a theoretical and policy level, top UNDP/SA men might not even believe in gender equality, according to her. She added that the South Africans wanted to implement GM, but found it extremely difficult to do so. "UNDP men had no grasp of GM" (Interview, 2007). This information underscores the point that that GM practitioners cannot expect miracles simply because policy is in place. A lot more than policy is needed to address the different levels of

gender awareness and knowledge about GM, and to break down masculinist resistance within the UNDP/SA; this cannot be done without transforming institutional culture, and unpacking the deep structure of the organisation.

The UNDP *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* (1997: 1) policy states that:

The mainstreaming of gender equality goals into all of UNDP activities presupposes transformation of the organisation. Transformation means recognizing that gender is not just about programmes, policies and personnel balance, but also about institutional culture.

Thus, this document assumes that institutional transformation is the framework within which Gender Mainstreaming is supposed to happen. It calls for an organisational culture where gender equality will flourish. Yet this very framework has rarely been implemented, as the examples of the *Sexual Harassment*, and the *Corporate Work/Life Policies* demonstrate. Porter and Sweetman (2005) suggest that while policies on gender are important, they are not enough to ensure transformation of organisational practices, procedures and structures. People can perceive policies to be imposed on them from above or outside, which often intensifies resistance and results in non-implementation. By implication, then, this can lead to a gap between policy and praxis.

Gender Mainstreaming implementation in the UNDP/SA

The UNDP Gender Mainstreaming evaluation documents demonstrate the failure of UNDP/SA to implement GM, both internally and externally. This has happened despite a rhetorical commitment to GM. The one area where the UNDP is consistent, without doubt, is in its steady production of Gender Mainstreaming rhetoric. On its website a

recent two-page *Gender Mainstreaming* (2006: 1) document states unequivocally that “Gender equality is a core UNDP commitment” and that “UNDP promotes gender equality through Gender Mainstreaming” (*Gender Mainstreaming*, 2006: 2). Yet according to Budlender and Mbere (2000: 8),

Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming has encountered many difficulties. Within [development] agencies there is often a lack of integration of gender into sectoral programmes, even where gender is a special interest. Sometimes gender is missing even from project documents in sectors where there are clearly gender issues. In other cases project documents from both the South African and donor sides include gender as a matter of course (or requirement) from the outset but do not necessarily flow through in implementation.

It seems very clear from the evaluation documents that, while it is relatively easy to develop GM policies, it is much more challenging to implement them. Again the evaluation documents support my research findings regarding the UNDP/SA and some government departments in the Western Cape. Successful GM implementation remains a challenge.

Planning and programming:

These were two of the main focus areas where Gender Mainstreaming had to be implemented. According to the *UNDP/SA Situational Analysis*, the UNDP/SA had no clear and coherent strategy on how gender as a cross-cutting theme should be mainstreamed in programming. Gender was mentioned under every programme area, but in a very general way: “A specific gender strategy or policy document for UN(DP) to guide programming in South Africa does not exist” (2005: 10). One staff member, when interviewed, stated that gender had not been mainstreamed in programming because the

“magnitude of the epidemic had forced the UNDP to deal with HIV/AIDS. Gender was not perceived as urgent” (*UNDP/SA Situational Analysis*, 2005: 10). However, there are three examples of women/gender-specific projects, namely one that focused on violence against women, another one built the capacity of women in political leadership positions, and the last one was aimed at building the capacity of the National Gender Machinery through training for the OSW at national and provincial level (*UNDP/SA Situational Analysis*, 2005: 12). This finding supports my data that there were very few success stories in the UNDP/SA where GM was successfully integrated into programmes after the planning stage.

Resourcing Gender Mainstreaming:

The *Country Study Evaluation* found that since its inception the UNDP/SA Office has not had sufficient personnel to champion Gender Mainstreaming, except for the short period when the Gender Focal Point was a national gender expert. There has been no special focus on Gender Mainstreaming promotion through adequate staffing over the last four to five years, and “Gender Mainstreaming does not seem to have been a high priority within the CO work, possibly also because of lack of funds” (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 10). This is evidence of a serious lack of commitment to Gender Mainstreaming.

The *UNDP Evaluation Report* found that it was impossible to make firm estimates of UNDP resource allocation to gender issues, because of insufficient information and records. Country office programmes had no information available on gender allocations. Strangely enough, “UNDP methodologies preclude estimating the expenditures on

programmes that include attention to Gender Mainstreaming” (*UNDP Evaluation Report*, 2006: 16). The *Situational Analysis* (2005: 25) states that the UNDP/SA Office did not make use of the cutting-edge knowledge regarding gender budget initiatives that was available in South Africa; “the UNDP budget has not been subjected to gender analysis, a key management tool for ensuring that gender mainstreaming is taking place”.

A review of staff resources expenditure seems to indicate that the UNDP has in fact reduced support for Gender Mainstreaming. The budget allocated to the global gender programme from 2000-2004 was \$1.5 million, which is only one fifth of the earlier budget of \$7.7 million (*UNDP Evaluation Report*, 2006: 12). The gender unit, which has to have five staff members, was seriously understaffed, did not have an operational budget and had to raise funds for operational programmes (*UNDP Evaluation Report*, 2005: 16). The Gender Focal Point complained of the difficulty of not having a special budget dedicated to Gender Mainstreaming work; it was a struggle to access funds to attend gender workshops and to do field visits:

Lack of financial resources and limited capacity to do resource mobilisation, as well as the perceived lack of support in the CO, were mentioned as limitations to start new projects specifically aiming at Gender Mainstreaming and/or women’s empowerment (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 14).

The above quote underlines what goes before, namely how hard it is to implement GM with insufficient resources.

Gender Balance in Management:

One of the areas that Gender Mainstreaming has to address in the UNDP is the issue of the gender balance among the management staff. The Gender Balance in Management policy (First Phase 1995–1997; Second Phase 1998–2001) failed to improve the management gender profile. After ten years the *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006:17) discovered that:

UNDP has invested resources, promoted policies and monitored progress towards gender equality within the organization. Despite some improvement, women constitute only 26 percent of Resident Representatives and roughly 33 percent of senior management. The findings suggest that UNDP should explore the reasons for failure to hire, retain and promote women professionals.

In 2005 there were 21 women and 19 men on the UNDP/SA staff. Thus the gender balance seems quite good. The management in the Country Office consisted of two women and one man. This is in stark contrast to previous years, when “Previous management, including Unit Heads, was mainly male” (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 18). However, the *Situational Analysis* (2005: 19) reports that when the staff total is disaggregated, the picture looks less rosy:

There is, however, less of a balance at other levels of the organisation, with only one female programme head (Social Development and HIV/AIDS), and the bulk of female staff being clustered in the support/clerical category. Women are particularly underrepresented in the professional and middle management categories.

The Country Office (CO) has adopted an affirmative action policy and, in the case of equally qualified candidates, preference was given to women. The fact that an employee could not sit on a panel for a post higher than her/his own level was mentioned as a barrier to get recruitment panels gender balanced. This would obviously be but one barrier in an organisation where affirmative action is introduced in the absence of a broad

organisational transformation process that addresses the deep structure (Rao *et al.*, 1999) of the UNDP.

In the final analysis it is important to remember that while gender balance is important in a staff profile, it is not GM (*UNDP Evaluation Report*, 2006: vii). This report suggests that the UNDP should try harder to appoint not only more women, but also to retain them. The *Gender and Diversity Scorecard* that is in place has failed to influence the recruitment process to ensure that more women are appointed, as there is no process in place to monitor this scorecard. Nor has more care been taken to ensure that male employees are supportive of GM and gender equality.

Evidence of Gender Mainstreaming implementation:

The *Country Study Evaluation* (2005: 10) found that the Capacity Building Project for the provincial OSWs was the most concrete Gender Mainstreaming objective: “The objective of ‘*Capacity building in provincial administrations, including measures to increase the involvement of women*’ was the most concrete Gender Mainstreaming objective mentioned by staff in the UNDP/SA Country Office. There was no *evidence*, when the consultants studied project documents and progress reports, that gender has been mainstreamed in four important poverty reduction and governance projects, namely in capacity building in the area of child/youth justice; capacity building for local governance; sustainable livelihoods for poverty reduction; and support to integrated sustainable rural development” (my emphasis).

Regarding the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming, Staudt (1991: 151) is of the opinion that:

Once cannot assume consistent beliefs in development ideologies within or across international development agencies. Also, the bureaucratic players and staff who act on these beliefs are as important for affecting policy and performance as they are in national governments. Staff do not necessarily practice or implement policy and implementation also comes from the function of chief executives as public spokespersons designed to maintain or protect organisational images and ward off criticism. Some rhetoric is not designed to be implemented.

An international development organisation such as the UNDP/SA cannot assume that staff with diverse backgrounds will automatically implement GM. Thus this is one of the challenges the UNDP/SA has to address to ensure GM implementation.

Lack of monitoring and evaluation:

Gender Mainstreaming implementation is a complex process and its implementation cannot be taken for granted. As such, monitoring and evaluation (M&E) become crucial to track the strengths and weaknesses of implementation. M&E is a helpful tool to check whether different role-players are doing their job in line with timeframes and budgets, for example. In their absence, how does the UNDP know if its GM policies are being implemented? The evaluation reports showed that very little data were available on M&E in the South African Country Office:

...probably because it has not been an integral part of reporting and monitoring. Monitoring reports reviewed were weak in content, analysis and data were not consistently disaggregated according to sex. Achievements in Gender Mainstreaming are not cited in the annual reports as results (*Country Study Evaluation*, 2005: 16).

Monitoring and evaluation are closely linked to implementation as they track the GM process. The *Situational Analysis* lists six ways in which monitoring and evaluation could be implemented, namely:

- In the overall organisational scorecard;
- In the detailed indicators that are developed in programme work plans;
- As part of the gender balance score card launched by the Office of Human Resources in 2004;
- As part of the performance appraisal system;
- As part of the budget;
- As part of the gender scorecard established by the Corporate Gender Strategy (2005: 22).

The UNDP/SA cannot hope to succeed with GM if this important tool is absent and its importance is not understood.

Accountability for GM Implementation:

Mainstreaming gender in the UNDP/SA cannot happen if no one is accountable for implementation or lack thereof, as the *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006:17) found:

Resident Coordinators, Resident Representatives and their deputies are not held accountable for Gender Mainstreaming, and Resident Coordinators' competency assessments and annual performance reviews (RCAs) do not mention it. One Resident Representative reported that while he was judged on 'gender sensitivity' in the screening process, there was no follow-up thereafter.

This finding is evidence of flagrant disregard of policy. In the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming Policy* (1997: 1), senior management is cited as “the first centre of responsibility to provide active leadership in implementing the UNDP commitment to gender equality”. This policy continues to name the Resident Co-ordinator and the Resident Representative specifically for the roles that they have to play in mainstreaming gender, namely taking the lead and ensuring advocacy and support for Gender Mainstreaming implementation. Further on the policy stresses that “*senior management* (my emphasis) is the first centre of responsibility to provide active leadership in implementing the UNDP commitment to gender equality”, and that Resident Representatives will be held accountable for implementation (1997: 3). The policy statements are very clear on the role of senior managers in Gender Mainstreaming, yet the UNDP fails to hold these managers accountable. According to Staudt (1998:), institutional accountability is essential to mainstream gender and improve women’s lives. She argues that accountability has two dimensions:

First it refers to an ability to document program results and outcomes, frequently known as evaluation ... Second, accountability has a financial dimension, in which institutions can document spending. We would expect accountable ... institutions to measure and account for their performance through evaluations and financial statements.

She goes on to say that too often the focus is on “moving money” instead of on accountability. I cannot help but agree with her. In the case of the UNDP/SA, money certainly is moved in accordance with policies, but substantive Gender Mainstreaming implementation remains elusive. While the Resident Representative is officially

accountable for GM policy implementation, the evaluation reports show no mechanisms calling him to account for lack of it.

In the *Situational Analysis Report* (2005: 3) the following statement is made: “Several respondents cited having a new Resident Representative who is committed to Gender Mainstreaming an important strength to build on”. UNDP/SA staff in the South African Country Office, by making this statement, are admitting by implication that the previous Resident Representative, who was a man, was not committed to GM. I would argue that a male Resident Representative could get away with such an attitude to GM because he was not held accountable for implementation. Accountability at the highest level has to be in place for GM to succeed. The *Situational Analysis Report* recommended that GM be included not only in the job descriptions of all senior managers, but also in their performance agreements. Added to this was that GM should be a “standing item” on all management meeting agendas. This recommendation suggests that neither was in place before (2005: 30).

The gap between policy and practice

The *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006: 27) concludes that there was a serious gap between Gender Mainstreaming policy and praxis. The UNDP Consultant concurred with this by saying that “There was a policy hole, not a gap”; it seems as if she thought that it was far worse than just a gap. She was adamant that nothing much had happened regarding GM in the UNDP/SA; things might have been better if the UNDP/SA had a GFP who was a gender specialist (Interview, 2007). The *Evaluation Report* stated that the UNDP lacked both the capacity and the institutional framework for a systematic, effective Gender

Mainstreaming approach. This gap was made worse by the organisation's inability to hold senior managers like the Resident Representative accountable for implementation and other factors mentioned above.

Key shortcomings noted were:

- Gender Mainstreaming has not been visible or explicit;
- There is no corporate strategic plan for putting the Gender Mainstreaming policy into effect;
- Steps have been simplistic and mechanistic; and
- UNDP has not acted on previous assessments identifying similar shortcomings, and has sent mixed signals about its commitment and expectations.

Indeed, it comes as no surprise that this report concluded that the UNDP/SA still has a long way to go to achieve successful implementation. Thege and Welpé (2002: 17) argue that “Gender Mainstreaming does not simply happen. It requires specific forms of interventions to make people gender aware and gender sensitive and to teach people how to implement change. Gender Mainstreaming also requires monitoring and assessment to ensure successful implementation of gender policies (Staudt, 1998).

What accounts for the gap between policy and practice? Besides the factors that I mentioned in Chapter Three, I would argue that one explanation seems to be that GM policies are often added to masculinist organisations in the absence of a broad organisational transformation process in which GM is embedded. Staudt's (1998) proposal that gender policy advocates should diagnose institutional cultures and after that formulate a strategy to assimilate women and gender into the institution, is not enough. In organisations with masculinist cultures (Kronsell, 2006) – such as the UNDP/SA in my period of study – this approach alone will not close the gap between GM policy and practice, because it does not address deep structures. It is extremely difficult to add GM to organisations whose values and norms are masculinist, entrenched throughout history. These masculine norms and values cannot be eroded overnight through technocratic, add-on GM implementation. A process that works at a deeper organisational level is required to deal with hegemonic masculinity and its challenges to GM implementation. This has to be a political process. The *UNDP Evaluation Report* (2006: 2) found that the political dimensions of GM such as the challenge of discrimination, exclusion, oppression and subordination were the contested areas. These concepts do not readily find their way (if they do at all) into the UNDP GM policies, because they do not fall within the ambit of 'safe' policy discourse that will lead to a 'safe' path of action. To challenge discrimination, oppression and subordination goes to the heart of the problem and is an integral part of unpacking the deep structure of an organisation as advocated by Rao *et al.* (1999). This is the path of action that has to be taken to advance GM beyond policy rhetoric.

CONCLUSION

The data from the three UNDP Gender Mainstreaming evaluation reports strongly support my interview data. It is relatively easy to develop GM policies – the challenge is to translate the policy rhetoric into praxis so that organisational culture changes substantively where gender equality is concerned. Within the UNDP/SA this has not happened for reasons mentioned above, such as lack of GM knowledge, training and capacity building, financial and human resources, commitment from senior managers and monitoring and evaluation, as well as lack of accountability from senior managers. The list is almost endless.

Why has it been so difficult to implement Gender Mainstreaming (GM) successfully when the UNDP has had an enabling policy framework since the Beijing Women's World Conference in 1995? One reason could be that the UNDP has under-estimated how difficult it is to change masculinist organisational practice developed over many years. Another could be insufficient funding, as there are competing priorities in any organisation, the more so in an international development organisation. There might have been (what were perceived as) more 'deserving' priorities than GM such as providing funding to combat HIV/AIDS, for example. It could also be the result of the newness of GM and the time needed for this new policy agenda to take root, as well as a lack of qualified staff to do GM in the UNDP.

Different beliefs and ideologies in an international development organisation such as the UNDP/SA would also play a role in the extent to which there is (or is not) an openness and readiness not only to implement the organisation's gender policies, but also to embrace them as an integral part of development praxis (Staudt, 1991). The UNDP consultant who did the Gender Mainstreaming evaluation of the UNDP/SA stated that "The men in the UNDP/SA were extremely sexist. One should not assume that they would be gender sensitive and implement Gender Mainstreaming policies" (Interview, 2007). Clearly one of the issues to be addressed is masculinist organisational culture, which would require a broad organisational transformation process in which GM is embedded (Rao *et al.*, 1999). I will discuss this suggestion in detail in the Conclusion to the study.

Besides these factors, resistance from both male and some female managers in the UNDP/SA who support masculinist organisational cultures has to be highlighted as a serious obstacle to GM implementation as well. It cannot be a coincidence that international development organisations like the UNDP have policies designed to ensure that GM takes place and then they are simply not implemented, without anyone asking why. It cannot be a coincidence that UNDP/SA staff said to the evaluators that having a woman as Resident Representative almost immediately made a difference regarding GM implementation (*Country Study Report*, 2005). The fear and insecurities of men in an international development organisation such as the UNDP/SA – which links up with what Tiessen (2007) calls masculinist

organisational cultures and Kronsell (2006) hegemonic masculinity – will have to be interrogated in future research on GM. Strategies to address these challenges will have to be developed to take Gender Mainstreaming forward.

If it is so difficult for an international development organisation to implement its Gender Mainstreaming policies,⁵⁷ will one of its funded partners, namely the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), be able to rise to the challenge and do better? Examining a local project in the next chapter, the *Capacity Building Project of the UNDP/SA for the OSW in the Provincial Government Western Cape*, will hopefully provide us with the answer to this question.

⁵⁷ I established in 2007, through personal communication with the UNDP/SA, that it no longer has a Gender Focal Point, because gender is now fully “mainstreamed” (according to the Resident Co-ordinator), and as such, it has become everyone’s responsibility.

CHAPTER 5

A UNDP/SA GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROJECT: BUILDING THE CAPACITY OF THE OFFICE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Four I discussed internal Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP South African Office. This is, however, not the only level where Gender Mainstreaming takes place. UNDP policies express clearly the need to integrate Gender Mainstreaming into its programmes and projects. In this chapter I focus on a UNDP/SA Capacity Building Project (CBP) for the National and Provincial Offices on the Status of Women (OSW).

This project aimed to promote and build capacity in the national and provincial OSW to enable the OSW staff to implement Gender Mainstreaming towards achieving gender equality in government. For the purpose of my study I will focus on how the CBP impacted on the OSW in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC) and on the service delivery of five of its departments. In this chapter I will also continue the exploration of the relationship/gap between GM policy and practice. The timeframe for this case study, as mentioned in Chapter Four, is 2000–2005. Before I focus on the UNDP/SA-funded CBP, however, it is necessary to briefly explain not only the OSW and its mandate, but also the National Gender Machinery in South Africa, of which the OSW is the major role player.

THE NATIONAL GENDER MACHINERY IN SOUTH AFRICA

My discussion of the Capacity Building Project (CBP) of the UNDP/SA for the OSW would be incomplete without a focus on the National Gender Machinery (NGM) in South Africa, as the OSW is a key member of the NGM. I will explain the formation, structure and functions of the National Gender Machinery in this section.

The NGM was not created in a vacuum in post-apartheid South Africa. Establishing it built on a long tradition of struggle. Women's issues and women's struggles for gender equality were an integral part of the national liberation struggle in the Western Cape and nationally in the early 1980s. Organisations such as the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), the ANC Women's League, the United Women's Organisation, which was the forerunner of the United Women's Congress in the Western Cape, and others carried the flame for women's issues to be incorporated into the struggle for freedom (Walker, 1982; Fester, 1998; Fester, 2000; Geisler, 2004; Fester, 2005; Gouws, 2005a; Hassim, 2006).⁵⁸

This was a crucial aspect of the struggle; women could not assume that the male leaders would ensure that women's issues were incorporated into the agenda of the day, as very few men involved in the struggle understood the need for women's liberation and supported women's issues. In fact, a lot of women activists attested to the fact that the dismantling of the apartheid state would not "automatically mean that women are

⁵⁸ Gertrude Fester gives an excellent portrayal of the role that women's organisations played in the Western Cape Province in the liberation struggle in her article called "Merely Mothers Perpetuating Masculinism? Women's Grassroots organisations in the Western Cape 1980 to 1990" (In Gouws, 2005b).

adequately represented at decision-making levels, or that women's rights are fully achieved" (Frene Ginwala quoted in Geisler, 2004: 65).⁵⁹ One needs to bear in mind that the liberation struggle took place within a South Africa dominated by masculinism; achieving freedom would not automatically rid South African society of its pervasive masculinist tendencies. However, the presence of women comrades fighting alongside men in the struggle, and women's organisations such as the Federation of South African Women, the United Women's Congress and the Natal Organisation of Women, to name but a few examples, not only ensured that a very strong and vocal women's movement flourished in the country, but also that women's issues were incorporated into the broader struggle for national liberation. According to Gouws, "The acceptance of an NGM followed on a long and hard struggle by South African women to put gender on the agenda" (2005a: 113).

The activism of the women's movement⁶⁰ resulted in gender equality being built into the new democratic dispensation in the early 1990s. One example is "the 'Women's Charter process', in which women, with the Women's National Coalition playing a major role ... drew up the Charter for Effective Equality and handed it to President Nelson Mandela in 1994" (Fester, 1998: 236; Gouws, 2005: 113).⁶¹ The Women's National Coalition, launched on 25 April 1992, comprised national women's organisations, with three hundred and fifty delegates from organisations as diverse as the African National

⁵⁹ Other South African women activists who shared Ginwala's view and also cited in Geisler are Mamphela Ramphele, Jenny Schreiner, Ruth Mompati, Cheryl Carolus and Getrude Fester, among others.

⁶⁰ I use the word "movement" here to refer to a number of different women's organisations that were active in the liberation struggle in apartheid South Africa.

⁶¹ The Preamble to the Women's Charter for Effective Equality states: "As women, citizens of South Africa, we are here to claim our rights" (Manicom, 2005: 21).

Congress Women's League, the Girl Guides Association and the Rural Women's movement, to name a few examples. By 1994 it had national organisations belonging to it, and regional coalitions (Geisler, 2004).

The Women's National Coalition covered most political parties, rural women's organisations, religious and professional organisations (Geisler, 2004). It aimed not only to mobilise and educate women, but also to influence the new South African Constitution being written at that time. According to Geisler (2004: 81),

The approach was participatory, engaging South African women in defining their concerns and experiences to be distilled into a *Women's Charter for Effective Equality*, which in turn was to inform the Bill of Rights. The focus on women's rights was an "important political resource, which allowed women to mobilize..." and was part of a "feminist project to develop a substantive understanding of equality in the constitution and the law.

Although the final South African Constitution did not make the *Women's Charter* part of the Bill of Rights, it did enshrine gender equality and made provision for a Commission for Gender Equality (Geisler, 2004). Thus was the role of the Women's National Coalition established in national politics during the transitional period, enabling women's organisations to articulate successfully the need for gender machinery (Hassim, 2006).

Discussions in the women's movement on the future institutions that would drive the process towards gender equality in the new democracy started in 1990. According to Geisler (2004), South African women had learnt from Namibian women that a gender-sensitive constitution alone would not be enough to change the situation of women, because of the degree of resistance to women's advancement. South African women

activists were in favour of a number of structures, a package spread out through the legislature, national and provincial government, independent bodies and civil society (Geisler, 2004; Hassim, 2006).

The need for National Gender Machinery had also been advocated in the documents emerging from the UN World Conferences on Women – for example, as early as 1975 at the International Women’s Year Conference in Mexico City (Rowan-Campbell, 1995), in the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies of 1985, in the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995, and in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). These international documents intensified pressures on the South African government to include gender equality as a cornerstone of the new democracy. Indeed the new government signed and ratified CEDAW in December 1994 (Hassim, 2006).

The combination of local pressures and international developments led to the formation of a National Gender Machinery (Hassim, 2006).⁶² According to Britton (2005), women parliamentarians played a key role in the creation of the National Gender Machinery (NGM). Its mandate is to give effect to the constitutional and international commitments of the South African government to gender equality through GM. According to Gouws (2005b: 8), “The discursive framework within which women’s interests are constituted within the state is ‘Gender Mainstreaming’. This implies the integration of equality concerns into analyses and formulation of all policies, programmes and projects”. Hassim

⁶² Refer to Chapter One for a structure of the NGM and its members.

(2006) says that GM was the approach taken to integrate gender issues into government policies through the NGM.

The NGM has not quite succeeded in integrating gender equality, as noted by Gouws above. As discussed earlier, Gender Mainstreaming has to be seen as a process towards gender equality rather than an easily achieved goal. Gouws (2005c) suggests that some of the reasons for this failure are leadership problems, inadequate resources, lack of a common feminist vision for a structure with so many members, and overlapping mandates because the structure is so comprehensive, among other things. Other scholars state that a lack of resources remains a major obstacle (Geisler, 2004). They add other factors such as little recognition for work well done (Rowan-Campbell 1995), inadequate access to power and decision-making levels, and policy issues (Hassim, 2006). Hence the NGM is facing huge challenges. One of these is how to advance gender equality through GM in South Africa in a meaningful and substantive way that will impact positively on poor women's lives on the ground. Another major challenge is male and female resistance to gender equality; this resistance is not always overt, but often indirect and even subconscious, as documented in Chapter Four

The Office on the Status of Women (OSW) as the leading member of the NGM is supposed to co-ordinate the implementation of the National Gender Programme in government. As such, it is crucial that the national and provincial OSW has sufficient capacity to fulfil its mandate to lead the Gender Mainstreaming process in government. In the next section I explain the mandate of the OSW both nationally and provincially.

THE NATIONAL OFFICE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (NOSW)

The National Office on the Status of Women (NOSW) is the main arm of the National Gender Machinery (NGM). It was established in 1997 after a Cabinet decision and is located within the Presidency in Pretoria to give it the necessary authority and influence to drive gender equality through Gender Mainstreaming. Its role is defined in *South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality* that was officially launched in 2001 (Hassim, 2006) as being the following: to develop, maintain and monitor a national gender programme and implementation plan (National Gender Policy, 2001: 27).⁶³

The mission statement of the NOSW reads as follows: “The OSW was created to establish mechanisms and procedures that will advance government towards gender equality” (OSW Website).⁶⁴ This mission statement is not captured in the National Gender Policy, but is referred to in the Capacity Building Project (CBP) document (2000: 2). The NOSW is the principal co-ordinating structure for the NGM and develops frameworks, national gender plans, programmes and strategies, as well as monitoring their implementation (National Gender Policy, 2001: 27). One of its main tasks was to develop a national gender policy (Britton, 2005), which was launched in 2001, as stated earlier.

⁶³ I will use the abbreviated name: National Gender Policy when I refer to South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality.

⁶⁴ The National OSW and the Provincial OSWs were established after a Cabinet decision.

The NOSW is a rather small office. Since its inception it has included a Chief Executive Officer (CEO), a secretary and an administrator.⁶⁵ The Office does not seem to be easily accessible to a member of the public. I e-mailed the NOSW to establish what its staff complement was in 2006. The NOSW never got back to me by e-mail. Then I called the NOSW and the secretary was initially unhelpful. She wanted to know why I wanted the information. I explained to her that I had e-mailed the Presidency, whose staff referred me to the CEO of the NOSW, but the CEO never got back to me. Only then did she give me the information that I requested. According to this information, the staff complement had increased to six: a Chief Executive Officer (CEO), a researcher, an administrative assistant, and three Deputy Directors responsible for three areas namely *Co-ordination, Monitoring and Evaluation, and Gender Mainstreaming*.

The NOSW has the following functions: (a) to develop policies relevant to gender equality and mainstreaming, and to do related research; (b) to play an advisory role regarding gender to the President, the Deputy President and the Minister in the Presidency; (c) to liaise with relevant NGOs and international bodies like the UN; (d) to work with Ministries, government and departments (national and provincial), and publicly funded bodies on gender; (e) to monitor and measure national progress on gender; (f) to provide training on gender analysis and gender awareness; (g) to promote work on issues like the girl-child, violence against women and HIV/AIDS; (h) to co-ordinate effective implementation of the gender programme at national, provincial and local levels; (i) to liaise with civil society and with Parliament (National Gender

⁶⁵ This was the staff complement when I conducted interviews with the NOSW staff in 2002.

Policy).⁶⁶ All of the above functions are designed to enable government to create a non-sexist society.

These functions cover so many issues and areas that it is hard to imagine how such a small staff complement of the NOSW could achieve all of this. My impression from interviewing a staff member was that the NOSW found it hard to cope with all its tasks when it was so clearly understaffed. Thus, it is a positive development that the staff complement had grown from three to six in seven years. In 2002 my interview with a NOSW staff member was almost cancelled because she had to finish a report for the President and was very pressed for time. She asked me if we could not postpone the interview that I had scheduled well in advance. I explained to her that I had travelled from Cape Town to Pretoria especially for my research interviews, and that it would be impossible to postpone. She could not delegate the report-writing task to anyone else, because the NOSW had only three staff members at the time. Fortunately she only shortened the interview a bit.

The NOSW had provided very little training and guidance to the provincial OSWs and failed to co-ordinate the national gender programme as outlined in the National Gender Policy. One obvious reason for this is their lack of capacity and person-power to work with nine provinces, along with their other responsibilities. The NOSW does hold bi-monthly meetings with all provincial OSWs, but these meetings primarily focus only on report from the provinces. It is fair to say that the NOSW has not been playing an active

⁶⁶ The National Gender Policy, prepared by the NOSW and adopted by national Cabinet, provides a common vision and strategy to facilitate co-operation between government and civil society on Gender Mainstreaming for gender equality (Gender Policy, Foreword).

role in provinces regarding Gender Mainstreaming (GM). Their approach has been rather technocratic in nature. At the end of 2005 it still had no official website where the public could access information. One reason for this could be that the second CEO of the NOSW, in contrast to the first one, is far younger and seems to have had less management experience at the time that she took office.

Another example of the NOSW having difficulties fulfilling its mandate is that provincial OSWs, GFUs and GFPs received no communication or guidance regarding a National Gender Programme that we had to implement as government departments, yet this is one of the key NOSW functions. At the time I was working in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (1999 to 2002). I was the Gender Focal Point for the Corporate Services Department, which was a support services department in the Provincial Administration. My core work area was Human Resources Policy and Strategy, and gender work was an 'add-on' and not part of my job description or performance evaluation.

The same applies to the period from 2003 to 2005, when I was working in the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry as Transformation Manager, who was also responsible for GM. I was the Gender Focal Point for the Western Cape Region of this national department. Even then, Gender Focal Points and Units received no guidance or training or strategic support from the NOSW regarding a National Gender Programme. Clearly, the NOSW had been struggling to deliver on its mandate and one reason for this is its inadequate resources. However, Hassim (2006: 225) argues that lack of resources

was not the only problem. She suggests that lack of access to power and decision-making levels was another serious constraint:

Although the Office on the Status of Women is located in the Office of the President and would seem to be at the locus of government power, its powers to influence policy agendas are relatively weak as it has no direct access to the cabinet or to interministerial committees. The gender focal points, strategic nodes within government departments whose task is to integrate gender equity concerns into policy frameworks and implementation strategies, also lack authority. All appointments of gender focal points are at the level of deputy director or below, post levels that carry no authority to force directors general of government departments (those officially charged with implementing policy), let alone ministers, to take account of gender concerns. Gender focal points are not automatically part of any process of policy formulation or critical review.

I agree entirely with Hassim's analysis. Besides resources being a serious constraint, the NOSW (and the provincial OSWs) and the gender focal points have been toothless from the day of their inception, as I explained earlier in terms of my own experience as a Gender Focal Point in government departments. The NOSW, the POSW and the Gender Focal Points never had the authority to make any policy directives and regulations regarding GM a compliance matter. One example is the structure of the Gender Focal Point. The National Gender Policy states that government departments should have a Gender Focal Unit or Point, but compliance is not enforced.

It is ironic that the NOSW was set up in the Presidency to give it power and influence, and yet it seems as if these were the very things that were lacking. The NOSW informant told me that its office had not had a senior manager to advise and support them for a long time. The senior manager position, at Deputy Director General level, had been vacant for quite some time. While the post was vacant the NOSW staff could send work to the Minister (who was a man) in the Presidency on highly strategic matters only. They could

not go to the Minister with administrative matters. Thus it seems the Minister was not readily accessible for the NOSW staff.

My informant also indicated that the Presidency was not very welcoming of women. These were her words: “particularly in the passages here (referring to the Presidency) there is a tendency to see a person or an individual as really male, in this area the system is created to service men” (Interview, 2002). It must have been hard for her as a young woman to make an impact on those who wield power in the Presidency so that GM work could be taken forward. She did not seem to have sufficient power to perform what she was required to do.

This lack of access to power and decision-making has never been challenged publicly, neither by women parliamentarians, nor by the staff in the OSWs. The result is that beyond the formulation and official adoption of the National Gender Policy, and the NOSW coordinating national Women’s Day on 9 August annually, nothing else has been forthcoming to advance gender equality in government. The increased number of women in government management posts traditionally occupied by men cannot be ascribed to the NOSW, but rather to compliance with the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and a national Cabinet decision that women should comprise 50% of staff at management level in government. Having greater women representation in government and in parliament did not bring about a positive shift in GM and support for the NOSW.

It is important to reflect on what could be expected from the NOSW with the resources that it had at its disposal. With three full-time staff members, *'how'* could they give guidance and drive GM nationally within all spheres of government? There are three spheres of government, namely national government departments, provincial government departments, and municipalities at local government level. It is mind-boggling that this extremely small office had to work at so many levels. If I think how hard it was to do Gender Focal Point work in one department without resources, then for the NOSW staff it must have been extremely frustrating and difficult to cope with their work load with very few resources. One could ask legitimately whether there was serious commitment from the Presidency to Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in government, when the allocated resources were clearly inadequate. Three people, one in an administrative support post, cannot drive a national GM programme in government. Whether the provincial OSW in the Western Cape was doing any better when the NOSW was clearly struggling is the next issue to be considered.

THE PROVINCIAL OFFICE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE WESTERN CAPE

The Western Cape Provincial OSW (POSW) was one of the participants in the Capacity Building Project (CBP) that the UNDP/SA funded for the National OSW. It thus serves as my case study focus to determine the impact of the CBP and the extent to which capacity building filtered down from the POSW into departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape. However, before I do this, it is necessary to explain the POSW as a structure, its staff and its purpose.

All nine provinces in South Africa are supposed to have established a provincial Office on the Status of Women (POSW), which is located in the Office of the Premier, its function being to co-ordinate, facilitate and provide strategic support and direction to provincial departments with regard to the mainstreaming of gender equality in their day-to-day operations (Cape Gateway, Official Website of the Provincial Government Western Cape). The POSW is supposed to work closely with the NOSW, because it has to implement policy, activities and events (like the celebration of National Women's Day) that emanate from the NOSW. The Provincial OSWs meet on a bi-monthly basis with the NOSW, during which time they focus on province-specific concerns, strategic direction by the NOSW as well as information sharing (Cape Gateway, Official Website of the Provincial Government Western Cape). These meetings take place at the NOSW headquarters in Pretoria and are supposed to advance the synchronisation between the work on Gender Mainstreaming done by both. However, this synchronisation of work is hampered by the lack of staff nationally and provincially.

In the Western Cape Province, as in most provinces, the POSW has only one full-time permanent staff member, a woman at Deputy Director level. She occasionally has a contract staff member, for 6 months to perhaps a year, to help with administrative work.⁶⁷ Besides the Deputy Director, there are Gender Focal Units (GFUs) or Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in every department of the Western Cape Provincial Government.⁶⁸ The GFUs and the GFPs are supposed to co-ordinate gender equality work in a department:

⁶⁷ This was the case when I conducted interviews with the POSW Deputy Director in 2001 and in 2004.

⁶⁸ A big department such as Education would have a GFU with three or more members. A small department such as Community Safety would have a GFP, which would be one staff member.

At the operational level, the main responsibility for ensuring the effective implementation of the National Gender Policy Framework and the Provincial Gender Equality Implementation Strategy rests with each line function department. Gender Equality is an add-on (in addition to their existing work) for most Gender Focal Persons (Cape Gateway, Official Website of the Provincial Government Western Cape: 2006).

In essence, then, the POSW has one staff member at Deputy Director level whose mandate is to co-ordinate, facilitate and provide strategic support and direction to all provincial departments within the Provincial Government Western Cape with regard to the mainstreaming of gender equality in their day-to-day operations. Because the POSW does not have the human resources capacity to be a service delivery office, it relies heavily on the GFUs and GFPS to carry GM implementation out in provincial departments. However, because there are capacity problems with the staff in these structures, the POSW has to cope as best it can.

According to the Cape Gateway Website, the POSW uses an integrated and coordinated work method. It works closely with the GFUs and GFPS in all provincial departments to give effect to relevant legislative priorities. It also works with external gender stakeholders in the field such as NGOs to raise awareness and educate the public on gender issues including, for example, violence against women and children.

The POSW has adopted a GM strategy in line with the NOSW to give practical effect to women's empowerment and gender equality issues in all provincial government departments, and it uses the following Gender Mainstreaming definition:

Mainstreaming in this context refers to the organisation or re-organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, practices, procedures, programmes and budgets so that an equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making (Cape Gateway Official Website of the Provincial Government Western Cape: 2006).

Among the challenges for the POSW have been the lack of human resources and an inadequate budget with which to strategically co-ordinate the Gender Mainstreaming process in the provincial government. This is not a common problem for government departments or their components. This lack of human and financial resources is unique to the POSW. Despite these constraints, the POSW managed to develop a Provincial Gender Equality and Women's Implementation Strategy. This strategy was drawn up by external consultants in conjunction with the POSW, the GFUs and GFPs in provincial departments, and was completed in 2005 (Interview, 2005).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, both the NOSW and the POSW in the Provincial Government Western Cape have capacity problems as a result of their very small staff complements. The GFUs and GFPs in departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape have capacity problems as well. Like the GFPs in the UNDP and the UNDP/SA, very often the staff members comprising these structures are rather junior personnel who not only have no decision-making power, but also do not always know what they are supposed to do, to the point of being unable to define gender as a construct or concept within a gender equality and mainstreaming context. Thus, capacity for Gender Mainstreaming has been an issue both nationally and provincially. The

UNDP/SA Capacity Building Project SAF/00/007/A/01/99, in partnership with the NOSW, was created to address this very challenge in the OSW at both national and provincial levels by promoting and building institutional capacity.

THE CAPACITY BUILDING PROJECT OF THE UNDP/SA FOR THE NATIONAL OFFICE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The focus of this section is a Gender Mainstreaming capacity-building project funded by the UNDP/SA for the national OSW. The information used here comes primarily from the UNDP/SA Project Document, as well as documentation from one of the participants. These were mainly training reports written by the course consultants. The reports did not have a standard format; for example, the first one is quite extensive, including training content material and a full programme of the first training session, while the second one is much more concise. I could only get copies of reports one and two. Both the national OSW and the UNDP/SA said they did not have documents on the CBP to give me when I interviewed their staff. My last attempt to get information from both the national OSW (in 2006) and the UNDP/SA (in 2005) concerning the CBP failed. A third source of information on the CBP is an interview with the Deputy Director who heads up the Western Cape Provincial OSW.

In order to understand the Capacity Building Project (CBP)⁶⁹ it is necessary to explain the development relationship between the UNDP/SA and the South African government, which is referred to as the Country Co-operation Framework. This frames the

⁶⁹ Project Number SAF/00/007/A/01/99.

development assistance given to South Africa in a number of areas. I start this section by focusing on the first and second Country Co-operation Framework (CCF) between the two parties, as they are relevant to the CBP.

The first and second Country Co-operation Frameworks between the UNDP/SA and the South African government

The UNDP/SA negotiated the first five-year (1997–2001) Country Co-operation Framework (CCF) with the South African government after the demise of apartheid, when it opened a country office in Pretoria, South Africa in 1994. “The first CCF ... aimed at reducing poverty and inequality in South Africa through two major programmes: *Creating sustainable livelihoods*, and *Promoting sound governance* (UNDP in South Africa Website Document: 2004). The CBP is framed by the broad programme of the Promotion of Sound Governance in the first CCF.

The first CCF includes the promotion of gender equality in government as defined in the South African Constitution. The instrument (as part of the National Gender Machinery) that had to promote gender equality, as enshrined in the Constitution in both provincial and national government, was the OSW, the national office of which is based in the President’s Office. The provincial OSW is based in the Premier’s Office.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ The OSW no longer exists in the Western Cape Province. In 2005 the Premier of the Western Cape Province re-engineered the Department in the Office of the Premier. The OSW was located in the Human Rights Directorate in this department. The re-engineering resulted in the abolition of the OSW and placing responsibility for Gender Mainstreaming in a Directorate called Human Rights and Social Dialogue. The

The period of the CBP runs across the first (1997–2001) and second CCF (2002–2006); it started in 2000 and ended in 2003. In the second CCF there is a short paragraph on gender in South Africa, highlighting the major gender work that still had to be done:

The Government is described as a global leader in promoting gender equality and has made great strides in ensuring that women are appointed to senior positions in the Government and elsewhere. Yet, it is women formerly disadvantaged under the apartheid regime who remain the poorest and most vulnerable in South Africa: 42 per cent of economically active women are unemployed compared to 27 per cent of men, women earn 76 per cent of what their male counterparts earn, 21 per cent of females have no schooling compared to 17 per cent of men, and many more women than men are illiterate (UNDP Website: 2004).

The discourse of the second CCF juxtaposes two worlds of women in South Africa: on the one hand, some women are entering senior government positions, earning very high salaries, while on the other hand, women make up most of the poorest of the poor. Despite South Africa's enabling gender legislation and the launching of a National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality in 2001, women are reported to be quite far from enjoying substantive equality with men.

It is in this context that the role of the national and provincial OSWs becomes increasingly crucial for mainstreaming gender in government so that government service delivery can enhance gender equality in poor women's lives. The role of the CBP in this scenario is to enhance the ability of the OSW and the Gender Focal Units (GFUs) or Gender Focal Points (GFPs) in departments to deliver on Gender Mainstreaming (GM)

Deputy Director, who was the Head of the OSW, is now responsible for Gender Mainstreaming, Youth, and Disability work within the new Directorate of Structures and Forums (Personal communication, 2007).

towards achieving gender equality for poor women. Some examples of how this could be done would be through government department projects on poverty alleviation, as poverty has a feminine face; through providing low-cost housing to poor women; having gender-responsive budgeting;⁷¹ and by addressing the high incidence of violence against women.

Under the heading *Objectives, Programme Areas and Expected Results*, the second CCF mentions that the UNDP/SA's role will be that of catalyst and facilitator to assist the South African government. It states that "Gender has been mainstreamed into all the initiatives, particularly with a view to addressing the feminization of poverty" (2002: 6). It cited as one of the expected results of the second CCF: "Gender-mainstreaming capacity developed in the provinces and gender focal points empowered to contribute to rural poverty-reduction efforts" (2002: 8). Clearly this statement speaks about the Capacity Building Project of the UNDP/SA with the OSW, which I describe below.

The Capacity Building Project of the UNDP/SA for the National OSW

The Capacity Building Project (CBP) of the UNDP/SA was designed to build the capacity of the OSW to enable it to fulfil its mandate to mainstream and achieve gender equality in government in all its policies, programmes and operations. According to the NOSW interviewee, the CBP originated out of the findings of a national gender audit

⁷¹ A Gender Budget, sometimes called a Women's budget, does not refer to a separate budget for women. It refers to government budgets that address women's and gender needs, and provide for more equitable spending on women and gender needs.

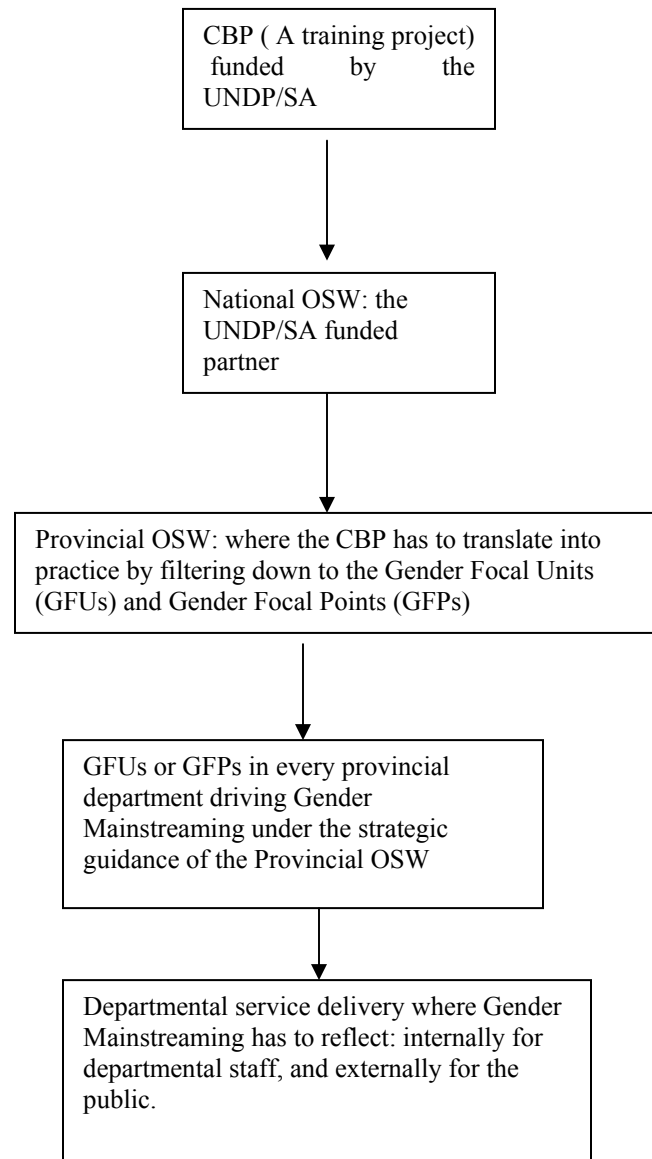
carried out by the NOSW in 1997. The gender audit indicated that there was insufficient capacity to support Gender Mainstreaming implementation in government departments. The CBP in partnership with the UNDP/SA was designed to fill this gap (Interview, 2002). The purpose of the CBP is described as follows in the UNDP/SA Project Document:

This project is intended to support the Office on the Status of Women (OSW) in two respects: INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING – focusing on long-term measures needed to increase the number of staff; to enhance the capabilities of staff to manage internal operations and programme delivery; to rationalise the structure and operating systems of the OSW; and to secure commitments for long-term financing of the OSW. PROMOTING CAPACITY BUILDING – addressing mainly short-term measures to improve the technical capacity of the OSW to develop and implement programmes, as well as to initiate and/or strengthen linkages with institutions that share the goals of the OSW (2000: 1)

The UNDP consultant who worked on the UNDP GM evaluation informed me that she worked on the CBP too. One of her duties was to travel to all the provinces and get buy-in from the provincial governments to release OSW staff for the training. Out of the nine, the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal were the only two provinces that chose not to participate. However, the Western Cape did join the CBP training later. She did not say why the Western Cape did not participate from the start, and I did not ask her (Interview, 2007).

The CBP was supposed to start on 18 August 2000. However, it only started with the first training session in May 2001 in Johannesburg after the funding grant had been signed in September 2000. The UNDP/SA funded amount was \$300,000. The end date specified in the UNDP/SA Project Document was 31 August 2003. The final outcomes of the CBP were envisaged to be competent staff in the provincial OSW and a clear information management system (Project Document, 2000: 9).

Figure 5: The Capacity Building Project Beneficiaries



According to the implementation arrangements for the Capacity Building Project (CBP), the Chief Executive Officer of the National OSW (NOSW) would lead the project on behalf of the NOSW. For the UNDP/SA it was a Programme Officer from the South African Country Office responsible for gender issues at the time.

A co-ordinating committee consisting of UNDP/SA and OSW staff would oversee and implement the project. Besides the UNDP/SA, the NOSW and the POSW, civil society and Gender Focal Points were represented on the co-ordinating committee as well. This committee was tasked to produce one final project report. The UNDP/SA was responsible for funding national and international consultants, travel and accommodation for consultants and OSW staff, equipment, supplies, technical skills and communication systems, as well as the training workshops and venues. The NOSW had to provide office space for national gender experts and technical advisors who would work on the CBP. This project was subjected to a tripartite project review committee on which the OSW, the UNDP/SA and government officials served. Participants would be OSW staff, national and provincial, and the senior managers to whom the OSW reported in every province.⁷²

The Capacity Building Project comprised three phases, namely the planning and preparatory phase; the training sessions; and an assessment and reporting phase.⁷³ The first training session was from 21-25 May 2001 in Johannesburg; provincial OSW staff from seven of the nine provinces attended (First Core Report, 2001: 67-73). Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces did not attend the first training session.

⁷² The national OSW at the time had three staff members, all women. The nine provinces had one woman Deputy Director in the OSW. Together with the senior manager who had to attend too, the number of participants were 21 in total. The senior managers were either at Director, or Chief Director level. For the Western Cape, the Deputy Director (DD) in the OSW attended, the Chief Director (CD) to whom this DD reported, and an Assistant Director: Poverty Alleviation. The latter attended to provide continuity. She attended alone when the DD and the CD could not go.

⁷³ All sessions took place at the Mercure Hotel in Johannesburg.

The facilitators were well-qualified women with extensive experience in gender and development. Participants included national OSW staff, provincial OSW staff and one UNDP/SA representative, the Gender Focal Point at the time. Some of the key themes were deconstructing gender, approaches to gender transformation, gender and the link to poverty eradication, the gender policy implication of the South African Constitution, the National Gender Policy Framework, and international gender instruments. A research visit to the University of Pretoria Library, was included in the training.

According to the Core Report on the First Training Session,

The sequencing of training will progress from concepts to skills to application. It must be emphasised, however, that the training programme design is not linear. With the in-service field structure of the programme, trainees attend training sessions followed by an extended period of application and assessment. Hence, each sequence of training is both interdependent and cumulative (2001: 14-15).

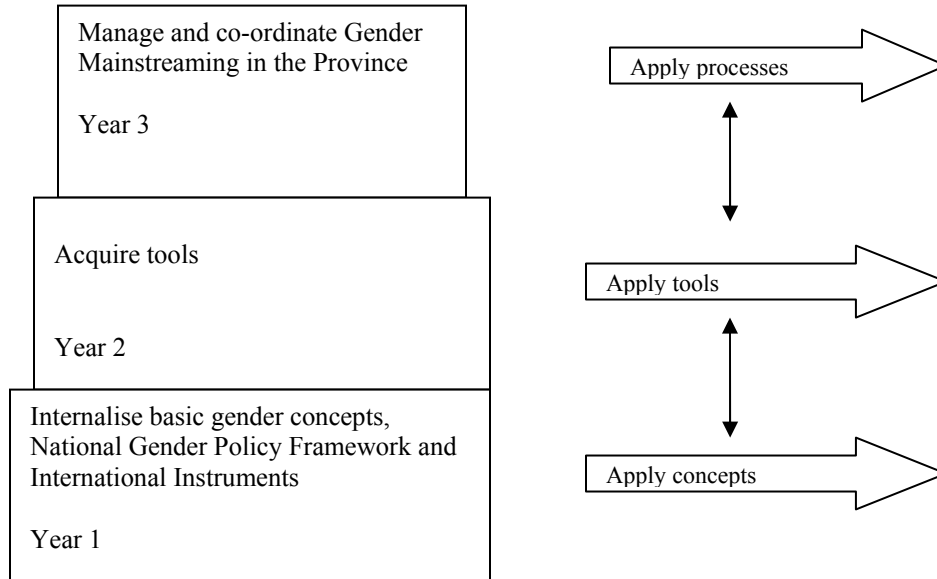
The second training session was from 10-14 September 2001. At this training session a staff member from the University of Pretoria explained to participants the requirements for certification of the Gender Mainstreaming training course. Participants had to complete the full three years of attendance (which meant 600 course hours); they had to participate during the sessions and had to complete a scientifically written short dissertation. The 600 hours were split into 200 hours for each year over the three years. A woman staff member from the University was assigned to provide support to participants, when needed. At the end of the training course those who had completed the full course and met all the requirements would receive a certificate issued by the University of

Pretoria, the UNDP/SA and the national OSW. From May to September 2001 participants had already accumulated 160 hours and still needed another 40 to make up their hours for the first year. Other topics covered at this session were policy analysis, Gender Mainstreaming theory and practice, and using international instruments in Gender Mainstreaming (Report on the Second Training Session, 10-14 September 2001).

From 18-23 November 2001 there was another 3-day training session on Research Methodology and Methods using a Gender Lens. This session aimed to enable the participants to use gender as an analytical variable in conducting their own research in their provinces. Other than this, there was a focus on personal development (presentation and negotiation skills). The supervisors of provincial OSW staff accompanied them to this session, as they had requested to be included in the research methodology session.

Figure Six shows the training content and the incremental approach that was supposed to culminate in Gender Mainstreaming capacity for provincial staff, so that they would be able to apply concepts, tools and processes in an integrated manner in mainstreaming gender into their departmental service delivery.

Figure 6 : Capacity Building Project (CBP) for the Office on the Status of Women



(Core Report on the First Training Session, 2001: 11)

I was unable to obtain reports on the second (2002) and third (2003) year's training sessions. However, according to a participant, the training largely went according to plan, with a few exceptions. One was that the senior managers gradually stopped coming, which is not surprising, as drops in attendance at the senior management level are a common phenomenon in gender training (Tiessen, 2007). Senior managers in the public service work in a highly pressurised environment, with numerous demands on their time. In their daily prioritising of demands on their time, gender training could fall by the wayside.

Another exception was that participants who had completed the entire training course did not receive a certificate issued by the University of Pretoria, as promised at the beginning of the training course. The alleged reason for this is that the national OSW failed to organise this. Participants followed up with the national OSW to no avail and were understandably very disappointed that not even a certificate of attendance was issued, especially for those who had completed the entire capacity-building course (Interview, 2004). In the next section I explain the national gender machinery of South Africa and the context within which the OSW operates nationally and provincially.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN CAPE: FIVE DEPARTMENTS

As explained earlier in this chapter, the Provincial OSW (POSW) works closely with Gender Focal Units and Gender Focal Points in the various departments of the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC). These departments are managed by Heads of Department (HODs), who are predominantly men. In this section I discuss my findings from interviews with the Gender Focal Units, the Gender Focal Points, as well as with the Heads of five departments in the PGWC. These departments are Community Safety, Education, Local Government and Housing, Economic Affairs and Tourism, and the Department of the Premier.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The names of departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape as used here are the ones used officially in 2003, when I conducted my interviews. Some of the names could have changed slightly in the meantime.

I have chosen Education because it is one of the three biggest departments in the PGWC, while Community Safety and Economic Affairs and Tourism are two of the smallest. These departments are also key departments in the sense that if they successfully mainstream gender, it would make a huge impact on women's and girls' lives: in education girls still lag behind in science and technology, while at the schools most principals are still men. Community Safety could play a role in reducing violence against women, while Local Government and Housing could decrease the backlog in housing for the poor, the majority of whom are black women. Economic Affairs and Tourism could increase economic development opportunities for poor black women through small and medium-size economic enterprises, as well as through crafts and the hospitality industry. I chose the Department of the Premier because it is the department that houses the Office of the Premier and the Director-General, the powerhouse of the provincial government, as well as the provincial OSW (POSW), and as such can be expected to lead by example in implementing government policies such as the National Gender Policy and Gender Mainstreaming.

THEMES EMERGING FROM THE CASE STUDY

A lot of resources and good intentions went into the Capacity Building Project (CBP) for the OSW. It is therefore important to determine if the goals set for this project were achieved. I will try to do this by discussing the major themes that emerge from my findings on this case study. An important focus will obviously be clarifying what capacity

building entails. Klingebiel defines it as “concerned with a broader set of activities, involving support for human resource development, organisational strengthening and the emergence of an overall policy environment that is conducive to development” (1999: 38). This definition sums up very succinctly what the CBP tried to achieve for the OSW regarding Gender Mainstreaming. Did the CBP indeed create an environment conducive to the development of Gender Mainstreaming by building substantive capacity in the Western Cape Provincial OSW? If yes, did the capacity filter into provincial departments through the Gender Focal Units and Points and into service delivery as well?

Impact of the Capacity Building Project on the Western Cape OSW: benefits and limitations

The Capacity Building Project (CBP) aimed to develop the capacity of the provincial OSWs, among other things. Thus, this is the area where the impact had to be the strongest. It is therefore crucial to note what the Head of the OSW in the Western Cape had to say about the CBP. According to her,

It was a good course. The presenters were good. The course was empowerment building in that we learnt about theory, and we applied it. One drawback was that there was no monitoring of participants’ attendance or their implementation from the national OSW, or the UNDP or the presenters. There was no monitoring of how the training filtered down to provinces, and how the theory learnt, was applied. There was no follow-through on the training received (Interview, 2002).

While she clearly felt she had benefited from the course, because she had no background in gender before she started working in the OSW, she worried about the lack of monitoring. When I asked her to be more specific about the course content, she said that:

It was theory and application exercises. The goals of the training were done in 2001, at the beginning, and I cannot remember them clearly. A main goal was to understand national policy and how to make it our own provincially, for example the Provincial Gender Machinery. Another goal was to provide a theoretical underpinning in terms of gender to practitioners who might not have a background in gender. Lastly, it was to understand the history regarding gender equality in South Africa (Interview, 2002).

She complained that participants from some provinces did not attend all sessions regularly, and that some came midway into the training and then did not understand what was going on. The lack of continuity in attendance meant that the level of training knowledge amongst participants differed, and that some had to be brought on board at every training session, delaying the progress of the group. Homework was also handed out at every session, about which she had the following concerns:

Yes, lots of reading. We also have a mini-thesis that we are working on; we need to hand in a 10-page outline by July 2002. We could choose our own topic on any real problem that we have in our province. For example, I am doing an analysis of the budget of the Health Department in the Provincial Government Western Cape to see if they are addressing gender issues. A major concern for me is that time is a problem, to attend to everything. Other urgent work issues swamp the training issues and priorities as soon as I get back to the office. I find there is too much work for one person. I am fully committed to implementation of the training, but a serious obstacle is the lack of human resources. There is no follow-through by the partnership: neither the UNDP, nor the national OSW is following up on attendance and implementation. There is also a lack of support from them for the provinces (Interview, 2002).

When I asked her if there would be goals that they would not reach, she said:

I have a clear understanding of what needs to be done with regard to the Provincial Gender Machinery, and I am working on this currently. I am also working on a proposed model, and had workshops on it with the Youth Desk, departmental Gender Focal Units in the Provincial Government Western Cape and the Disability desk, as well as with civil society. I know how this process has to evolve. I also know what the issues are that have to be taken forward regarding the Provincial Gender Action Plan. Then there is the mainstreaming training package that I am working on too (Interview, 2002).

The provincial OSW Head was clear on the impact of the training: “It has assisted me in the evolving of the Provincial Gender Machinery, which is a tool for Gender Mainstreaming”. She expressed the opinion that the Gender Focal Units and Points were not directly benefiting from the CBP, but indirectly through her, because of her increased capacity in co-ordinating and driving Gender Mainstreaming in the province. This meant that she could provide better leadership and guidance to the Gender Focal Units and Points.

At the time that I interviewed her, the Provincial Government Western Cape was drawing up a Gender Action Plan under her guidance. She mentioned another spin-off:

The Provincial Gender Action Plan is a partnership. The training has sensitised me and it has helped me to see what is missing, and what should be there, for example, regarding the Gender Action Plan. I have put together a Reference Group to assist me in finalising this with the consultant who is developing the Plan. The training has empowered me in terms of my job: I have acquired a lot of knowledge and have consequently greater confidence in gender and work issues (Interview, 2002).

The Gender Action Plan eventually became the Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment Implementation Strategy (GEWEIS) for the Provincial Government Western Cape. While the Head of the Western Cape OSW had clearly learnt a lot from the CBP, she admitted that there were shortcomings and gaps as well. One of them was the lack of monitoring of attendance, while a more serious one was, I would say, the lack of monitoring in whether the training was filtering down in the provinces. Another shortcoming was that the OSWs did not get assistance in terms of additional staff during the training when their workload increased because of course homework. This posed an

extra challenge to the one-person OSW, and could have led to some participants dropping out. Despite the challenges, she managed to implement what she was learning.

Returning to the goals of the CBP, it is clear that not all of them were met. The short-term goal, which was to improve the technical Gender Mainstreaming capacity of the provincial OSWs, was clearly achieved in the case of the Western Cape OSW, according to its Head. The long-term goal, which aimed at providing more human and financial resources, was not achieved. In the Western Cape OSW the Head remained the only staff member and her budget did not increase (Interview, 2004). On the contrary, not only did the OSW lose its independence by being moved from the Premier's Office to a Directorate called Human Rights and Social Dialogue, but in the Provincial Government Western Cape the OSW actually no longer exists.

In 2005 the Premier of the Provincial Government Western Cape 're-engineered' his Office. This re-engineering moved the Head of the OSW into a sub-directorate called Structures and Forums within the Directorate Human Rights and Social Dialogue. This sub-directorate is one of four sub-directorates within Human Rights and Social Dialogue. The other three are Public Education and Awareness, Rights-based Cultures, and Social Dialogue. As earlier stated, an office called the OSW no longer exists in the Western Cape. The senior male managers in the Premier's Office, who initiated these changes, argue that gender is supposed to be mainstreamed in all four sub-directorates. In reality, according to a staff member in this Directorate, this does not happen (Personal

communication, 2007). All gender issues and work still go to the previous OSW Head, who is now responsible for Structures and Forums. It is ironic that instead of the institutional capacity building envisaged for the OSW by the UNDP/SA project, the Western Cape OSW was in fact ‘eliminated’.

At the same time one has to reflect on the implications of such a development concerning the Western Cape OSW. This Office was one of the most successful OSWs in South Africa and one of the few that succeeded in developing a Provincial Gender Equality and Women’s Implementation Strategy (GEWEIS), with Gender Mainstreaming as the approach for implementation. ‘How’ is it possible that the Office of the Premier can take this action in a democracy where the Constitution guarantees gender equality, and where there is an entire National Gender Machinery that should be ensuring that we achieve gender equality through GM? One possible answer to this question lies in the OSW’s lack of access to senior and top management⁷⁵ in the provincial government, and its inability to put GM on the top management agenda. I have already quoted Hassim (2006) on this matter in relation to the national OSW. The same constraint applies to the POSW. It too had no power to influence policy agendas in the Provincial Government Western Cape because it operated on the margins right from the start. In this setting Staudt’s question on democracies and women is very relevant: “Are seemingly democratic countries really democracies for women?” (1998: 179). It seems not, because with one decision years of

⁷⁵ Senior managers are directors, chief directors and deputy director-generals/heads of branches within a department/heads of departments. Top management are Heads of Departments, and the Director-General, who is the Head of the Department of the Premier. Top managers are accountable to the Director-General and the Premier.

dedicated work by the Western Cape OSW was undone and Gender Mainstreaming took many steps backwards.

It seems fair to conclude that the Capacity Building Project (CPB) had not achieved what it set out to do for the POSW. One could also argue that the elimination of the POSW is to a certain extent an indicator of how entrenched hegemonic masculinity is in the provincial government, and how it was virtually impossible for GM to gain a foothold.

Leadership, Commitment and Resistance

Under this theme I will discuss how leadership, commitment and resistance emerged in my research during interviews with the Head of the POSW, the Heads of five departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape, and the Gender Focal Points in the same departments. The issue of leadership will include knowledge of Gender Mainstreaming, as leadership and knowledge are inter-related.

The Head of the POSW provided excellent leadership and commitment by succeeding in developing a provincial Gender and Women's Empowerment Implementation Strategy, despite all the constraints. She succeeded in keeping the GFUs and GFPs going by providing gender awareness training and strategic support to all of them. This did not necessarily meet all the needs of the GFUs and GFPs at the time, but was what was

possible given the very limited resources. There is no comparison with what the Head of the POSW had achieved and what the HODs and their departments had failed to do.

Of all the departments of the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC), the Department of the Premier was the only one that did not have a Gender Focal Unit (GFU) or Point (GFP) in 2003. In fact, this department never had a GFU or GFP, since the POSW had been established in July 1999. In 2002 I asked the Director-General at a work function⁷⁶ why the Department of the Premier had no GFU or GFP. Smiling, he told me that the Deputy Director in the OSW was their GFP. “She wears two hats”, he said to me. Of course, this was not the case officially. This answer shows how easily senior managers in the PGWC could brush gender issues aside without thinking it necessary to account to their staff (I was one of his staff at the time) for their lack of leadership and commitment to implementing government policy on Gender Mainstreaming.

This lack of commitment could be the reason why I failed to get an interview with the Director-General in 2003. I wanted to interview him on Gender Mainstreaming as Head of the Department of the Premier, and as the most senior civil servant by virtue of being the administrative and public service head of provincial government. All HODs report to him besides reporting to their political principals. As was the case with the other four departments mentioned earlier, I wanted to determine if the CBP of the POSW was filtering down into his department as well. His senior male managers stonewalled me

⁷⁶ As stated earlier, I worked in the PGWC from 1999 to 2002.

three times. Whether my written request for an interview ever got to the Director-General I cannot say, because I never received a written answer from his office. In fact, there was no response whatsoever.

I would call his office, get no reply, and every time his secretary would say that the senior manager who could approve my research request was unavailable. I never got past this secretary. The refusals from these male senior managers suggest possible embarrassment, given that they knew there was nothing to share with me. They were aware that I had been working in the Provincial Government for some time and thus knew how little GM implementation was taking place. This could also be an example of unconscious male resistance to GM, which could be an area for further research. Their lack of concern about implementing and publicising gender mainstreaming and gender equality raises serious questions about the degree of their commitment to this programme, despite the lip service paid to Gender Mainstreaming and gender equality. One has to wonder whether discomfort with gender transformation could be a factor. Porter and Sweetman (2005) argue, and I fully agree with them, that male support is critically important in GM. Men, they say, “can either make or break the success of Gender Mainstreaming” (2005: 8). In this case senior and even junior male support was rarely evident. It also needs to be said that there was as little support from women in the department at the time. It is not always only men who fail to support GM; often women are equally unsupportive.

One of the senior male managers who stonewalled my interview request was someone I had worked with closely during some of my tenure in the PGWC. He appointed me at the time as the Gender Focal Point for the Corporate Services Branch, as mentioned earlier. Thus he could not claim that he did not know what Gender Mainstreaming was about. Even then, his rhetoric had no substance. He did not follow up on my gender reports at the time and in the end my gender work was reduced to nothing more than attending meetings and activities organised by the POSW. It is my belief that he wanted to be seen as politically correct by having a Gender Focal Point in the organisation, yet had no genuine commitment to implementation. This is another example of the lack of leadership and commitment to GM at senior management level and the possibility of male resistance.

This is not the only such example. The Head of another department agreed to meet with me and spoke supportively about Gender Mainstreaming and gender equality. On the surface he seemed committed to GM, as his department had a Gender Focal Unit (GFU). Yet the reports from the GFU co-ordinator never served on the agendas of departmental senior management meetings. His co-ordinator complained of a heavy workload:

Gender is seen to be a women's issue, [but] men need to come to the party too. The workload is heavy, because gender is an add-on. I have scheduled four meetings of representatives across the entire department for the year. It is now the third quarter and I have only had one meeting, because I do not have time for everything (Interview, 2004).

She maintained that the department was not succeeding in mainstreaming gender, because “there was no budget, my work is not sustained by any follow-up from any other quarter, and there is not enough person power” (Interview, 2004). When she had an extra staff member temporarily seconded to her section to assist with Gender Mainstreaming work with one component in the department, “it made a huge difference to this component where we worked in terms of raising gender awareness” (Interview, 2004).

This GFU co-ordinator reported to a woman senior manager, who dealt with GM as a compliance matter, but without implementing any substantive gender issues. She had the organisational power and authority to elevate the GM work to a higher level, for example, to the Head of Department meetings with his senior managers, but she failed to do this. The problem is that she could get away with shelving GM work at her level, because she ensured that she complied with the minimum requirements, for example, sending the GFU co-ordinator to provincial gender activities and meetings, and including GM reporting in her own reports upwards. Yet she failed to mainstream gender work into departmental strategic objectives to ensure that substantive progress was made and which would have ensured some measure of resourcing GM (Interview, 2004). It is fair to claim that she showed a serious lack of knowledge, commitment and leadership to GM through her lack of support and of facilitating appropriate paths of action. She seems to have preferred to support the rather masculine organisational culture that reduced GM to lip service rather than an issue for action. She chose not to rock the boat, which is understandable to a certain degree, as there were few senior women managers in the department at the time. To come out strongly in support for gender equality issues

without being part of a critical mass is not easy and few women would do this, in my experience.

I interviewed a woman Head of Department (HOD), who stated that certain critical success factors were needed for Gender Mainstreaming:

...one of them is the attitude of the HOD. And commitment. Not just on paper, and the management practice. A second one is the gender budget. A third one is accessible training and focused kind of, yeah, not just the sitting around swapping anecdotes sort of training, but putting people through real exercises which then they can see how it relates to their work and their own personal lives. Because one of the things about gender more than any other kind of training we would do, it impacts on personal relationships and that is a very threatening thing for men (Interview, 2003).

This woman HOD had a very different view from the male HODs I interviewed. None of the men mentioned feeling threatened by gender issues. Yet this woman HOD could identify this, quite correctly, as a constraint.

The failure of many men senior managers (and some women) to walk the talk of Gender Mainstreaming is evidence of their inability to shed their entrenched masculinist norms and values regarding women and gender in the organisations that they manage. On the surface they actively create a politically correct organisational image of being fully supportive of GM and gender equality. Yet at the coalface where it really matters, implementation remains elusive. The woman HOD whom I quoted earlier said that “Some departments pay lip service to gender. Unless the Director-General and provincial senior management understand and commit to gender nothing will happen” (Interview,

2003). This powerful masculinist resistance is what the POSW, the Gender Focal Units and Points were up against, operating with limited resources from the margins of provincial government, while its deep structure remained untouched and business could continue as usual. In addition, the ignorance and lack of knowledge of senior male managers prevented them from playing a leadership role in implementing Gender Mainstreaming. According to the woman HOD:

They [male senior managers] don't understand enough of the issues and don't see them as important to them. Maybe if it came from Cabinet... They talk a lot about transformation in this province but gender is not a priority as far as transformation is concerned. Maybe Cabinet has to be challenged (Interview, 2003).

Why do the senior managers lack understanding and knowledge of Gender Mainstreaming? One reason is that they never went to the training that the provincial OSW organised for them. Del Rosario (1997) states that senior managers in the Department of Labour and Employment in the Philippines, where she did a study on WID and GM, attended gender-sensitivity training very poorly, and when a few did come, the level of interest in the training was extremely low. Junior staff would attend on their behalf. Senior managers prefer to attend the meetings on provincial economic growth and development, for example, as these were seen as the really important issues.

Tiessen (2007) discusses how hegemonic masculine norms, a set of masculine practices, become 'natural' and widespread in organisations where men predominate. She argues

that these masculine norms and practices need to be critiqued and challenged by those implementing GM (cf. also del Rosario, 1997). These masculine norms and practices apply in the case of the provincial government, where men dominate senior management and the decision-making processes – men determine what is important, and what will be resourced and prioritised. The few women in senior management find it difficult to challenge such a culture. I agree with Tiessen (2007) that masculine norms and practices, what Del Rosario calls state masculinism (1997), need to be critiqued and challenged in the Gender Mainstreaming process in the South African government, if we want to make substantive progress.

Lack of resources and power

No organisation can function without resources, power and authority. Within big organisations such as government departments there are many units, components and sections that have different mandates and goals. It is standard organisational practice that such units, components and sections would have budgets to enable them to implement their mandates and achieve their goals. Yet ironically the provincial OSW, Gender Focal Units (GFUs) and Gender Focal Points (GFPs) had to make do with no budget for Gender Mainstreaming implementation. ‘*How*’ and why does this happen? Is it coincidence or oversight?

In my interviews with Heads of Departments in Provincial Government, it was evident that they had not deemed it necessary for the Gender Focal Points (GFPs) to have a budget for Gender Mainstreaming. They said that the GFPs did not have their own budgets and that they would be supported by the Directorate in which they are located.

For example, if the GFP were housed in the Directorate for Human Resources, it would have to request resources for activities from this directorate head. One woman HOD mentioned in the interview that she thought the GFP should have its own budget. In her department the GFP had a very small budget, which came from the training budget. This is the only department that had its own budget for gender, albeit small.

Power is shaped and resources distributed within a specific organisational context because of certain norms and behaviours that emanate from broader work cultures embedded in organisational systems, according to Tiessen (2007). It was not an accident that the Provincial OSW (POSW), Gender Focal Units (GFUs) and Gender Focal Points (GFPs) lacked resources and power. This refusal to fund or empower the GFUs and GFPs reflects masculinist organisational norms and values represented by the senior male managers and their allies (sometimes female). Within this male genderedness of government departments there was no vision for Gender Mainstreaming and consequently no resources. Del Rosario (1997: 77) found that GM structures “constantly face the problems of insufficient funds, understaffing, and marginality to the mainstream work of the institutions concerned”. Clearly then, the lack of resources is not only a South African problem.

For the Head of the POSW a lack of resources had been a serious obstacle. Because of this, she had been unable to provide much needed support to departmental Gender Focal Units (GFUs). The GFU co-ordinator of one department complained bitterly about the lack of support from the POSW:

There is no support whatsoever. All that happens is meetings where we report back on what was done in our departments. The staff attending the meetings is too junior to make decisions and take Gender Mainstreaming forward. There is nothing I can take from the meetings to use in my department (Interview, 2004).

It was not only the lack of support and resources that was a problem. The lack of power and authority was another serious constraint for both the POSW, and the GFUs. If the Head of the POSW had been more senior, a Director for example, she would have had more power. By implication she would have had more authority to do something about the lack of resources. The greater seniority would have enabled her to help the GFUs far more. However, she was not the only powerless party in this scenario. The GFUs were in the same boat.

In one department months of work that the Gender Focal Unit co-ordinator had done to develop a Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Implementation Strategy (GEWEIS) was undone by her senior manager.⁷⁷ The GEWEIS was to be the tool to implement Gender Mainstreaming. Thus every department had to develop a GEWEIS that would in turn feed into the provincial one. When the departmental GEWEIS was completed, the Gender Focal Unit co-ordinator's senior manager (a female director) simply decided, without presenting the plan to the senior management team of the department, to shelve the plan (Interview, 2004). The director's reasoning was that the senior management of the department, a structure dominated by men, would never agree

⁷⁷ I have earlier referred to this example under the heading of Leadership, Resistance and Commitment; however, it applies within the context of Lack of Resources and Power as well.

with the plan and therefore would not endorse it. This action by the woman senior manager shows that many women are resistant to GM as well. Nothing stopped this woman senior manager from using her position and power to lobby for GM implementation by taking the report to the senior management team and convincing them to adopt it officially. Instead she chose to side with the male senior managers in her department by undermining the GM work that was done.

The director herself probably did not understand gender and Gender Mainstreaming, including the advocacy and lobbying role that she had to play at senior management level. The Head of Department (HOD), according to the Gender Focal Unit co-ordinator, did not even know that one of his directors had taken it upon herself to shelve his Department's GEWEIS, because she was not held accountable for this as part of her performance management. The GFU co-ordinator did not report the shelving of the GEWEIS as she was too scared to by-pass her Director and go straight to her HOD (Interview, 2004). If she had not been so junior in rank, and if she had more power, she would have been able to prevent her senior manager from doing this. This example shows how crucial it is for the Gender Mainstreaming champions to have sufficient power and authority. Having the responsibility for Gender Mainstreaming without the authority and power is meaningless.

Monitoring, evaluation and reporting

I have discussed various challenges facing the Head of the POSW and the GFUs and GFPs. One such challenge has been the lack of monitoring and evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming work at an operational level (PGWC Interviews with GFUs and GFPs).

Heads of Departments (HODs) did not have such a mechanism in place for GM. The convenor of the GFU reported on GM to her/his immediate supervisor. This report usually did not reach the HOD, as this was not a standard agenda item at senior management meetings. The latter could have served quite effectively as a monitoring point. However, as discussed earlier, senior managers were for the most part ignorant of GM and thus would not be in a position to see their management meetings as a monitoring and evaluation opportunity for GM.

The staff who were more informed about GM, namely the GFU convenor and the GFP, were too junior to recommend that senior management meetings be used as monitoring points, and with the inadequate training that they had had, would most likely also not be in a position to do the actual monitoring.

According to my informant in the NOSW, even they did not monitor Gender Mainstreaming implementation progress because of lack of resources (Interview, 2002). The lack of official monitoring of GM in the Provincial Government Western Cape meant that both the POSW and the GFUs and GFPs did not know if they were having any impact on the organisational culture internally and on the external service delivery of the provincial departments with their GM work.

Gender mainstreaming as add-on

South Africa has very enabling gender equality legislation and one of the best National Gender Machineries in the world. Despite this progress, Gender Mainstreaming work remains an add-on. The fact that GM was an add-on meant that there was often no continuity with gender work done within departments.

One example of this was a junior clerk in a department who had returned from maternity leave. While on maternity leave, her work was delegated to another staff member. When she returned, the supervisor did not return her to her position. Representing the department at GM meetings and activities became one of her “new” tasks. She had no choice in the matter, of course. She reported her experience to a meeting organised by the POSW. She was totally bewildered by what was discussed and had no idea what gender issues and GM was. Of course, this lack of continuity because GM was an add-on, would impact negatively on whatever GM work had been done before, if any.

Gender Focal Points (GFPs) all agreed that gender work had to stop being an add-on (Interviews, 2002). The one said that “GFPs need to be freed up, and gender must stop being an add-on. It has to be included in our job descriptions and our work plans” (Interview, 2004). One of the Heads of Department admitted that the blame for the lack of Gender Mainstreaming progress lay at his door. He said that “a full-time, strong gender activist is necessary to take this issue [read gender] forward” (Interview, 2003). This was one of two departments where a work-study evaluation was in progress to determine appropriate levels for a gender post, with a full-time person, within a Special

Programmes/Human Rights component. Thus, in two out of the five departments where I conducted interviews there was an awareness that the add-on status of gender work had to change and that a full-time staff member had to be appointed to do this work.

However, at the time of the interview Gender Mainstreaming was still an add-on in both departments. In the one, GM resorted under Special Programmes, and in the other under Human Rights. Under Special Programmes, GM was one focus. Other focal points were Disability, HIV/AIDS, Youth, and Employee Assistance. In this instance the convenor of the GFU had three staff members who were assigned to work with her on GM. For these three it was also an add-on (Interview, 2004).

From 2000 to 2005 not one department in the Provincial Government Western Cape had a full-time staff member for GM work. It remained an add-on. It thus came as no surprise that finally even the OSW ‘disappeared’ and became an add-on in a sub-directorate called Structures and Forums, within a Directorate called Social Dialogue and Human Rights.

Accountability

Where does accountability for Gender Mainstreaming lie in an organisation? In the South African context GM is a directive from the Presidency where the national OSW is situated in terms of the National Gender Policy Framework. Thus senior managers such as Heads of Department, have to accept accountability for GM implementation. They should ensure that in their departments there is a staff member who can serve as GFP, or a number of staff who can serve as the GFU in the case of big departments like Education

and Social Development. If they accept their accountability for GM, they would and could ensure that there is staff to work with the POSW on implementation. This is the ideal.

The situation on the ground in government departments looks very different. The lack of accountability from senior managers regarding Gender Mainstreaming is a serious constraint. GM is not a key performance area in senior managers' performance agreements as is, for example, financial management of their budgets. When a department gets an unqualified audit from the Auditor-General for a financial year, the Head of Department is rewarded by getting an extra payment (a bonus). When s/he gets a qualified audit, s/he does not get a bonus. This monetary incentive motivates Heads of Department to strive for unqualified audits. This is not the case with GM. There is no reward for those senior managers who implement it and no punishment for those who do not. No one holds them accountable at any level in government⁷⁸ (Interviews with POSW, GFUs, GFPs). '*How*' can the South African government develop a National Gender Policy advocating GM as the tool to achieve gender equality in all spheres of government, when no one is held accountable for its implementation?

Moser and Moser (2005) argue for specific mechanisms of accountability, including incentives for success and sanctions for failure when mainstreaming gender. They refer to a gender assessment framework that can be used by organisations that look at the

⁷⁸ My own experience of this was echoed by GFU co-ordinators and GFPs.

following areas to assess Gender Mainstreaming, namely mission and goal, strategy, products, structure, operations, decision making, planning, monitoring and evaluation, communication, personnel, resources, and the organisational and external context. This framework could easily be adapted to serve as a framework against which senior managers can be assessed for GM implementation in government.

ANALYSING THE GAP BETWEEN POLICY AND PRAXIS IN THE PROVINCIAL OSW/PGWC

In South Africa the National Gender Policy Framework has been in existence since 2001. This policy uses Gender Mainstreaming as an approach. It was launched at the National Gender Summit in August 2001, with the Western Cape Provincial OSW (POSW) in attendance. Yet the provincial OSW has failed to implement the National Gender Policy since 2001 and gender equality has not been mainstreamed in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC). What accounts for the Gender Mainstreaming policy gap? To answer this question I will draw on certain authors such as Kardam (1991), Kingdon (2003), and Benschop and Verloo (2006).

According to Kardam (1991), some of the factors that inhibit gender policy implementation are ingrained attitudes, values and perceptions among development personnel; a lack of information and data on women, and a shortfall in resources allocated to women. Many of these issues correspond with my research findings on the gap between policy and praxis, which I will discuss below.

In the UNDP/SA, in the national OSW (NOSW) and in the provincial OSW (POSW), a lack of resources has been a serious obstacle to the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming. Staudt (1997: 197) argues that “Bureaucratic transformation cannot occur from an enclave office with a few staff and limited resources”. The lack of resources includes, but is not confined to, an adequate budget and sufficient human resources to implement a Gender Mainstreaming programme. In any organisation, be it governmental, non-governmental, private or public, nothing can be achieved without an adequate budget and sufficient human resources. In 2001, when I started my research, inadequate resources were a constraint in the UNDP/SA, in the NOSW and in the POSW. In 2005, as the UNDP reports show, this constraint continued. The same constraint applied to the POSW in 2005 before it was scrapped. There seems to have been no progress on this issue. Del Rosario (1997) suggests that Gender Mainstreaming structures are often put in place having insufficient funds, being understaffed and marginal to mainstream work. It is hard to understand why senior management in the Provincial Government Western Cape would think that gender change management can take place without these key resources. It is not as if there is no money whatsoever to resource the POSW. On the surface there seems to be no reason that can justify a lack of resources for compliance with the National Gender Policy Framework.

Some argue that GM cannot be implemented because people do not know how to do so. This is closely related to one of the factors that Kardam (1991) cites, namely a lack of information and data on women. This also relates to training on GM, or lack thereof.

Could this be the reason why GM is failing? The UNDP publication, *Transforming the Mainstream. Gender in UNDP* (2004: 3), makes the following statement:

Clearly, development impacts women differently than men. And yet, even today, it is difficult to find a succinct, widely shared definition of the term “gender”, or to find a group of development practitioners other than “gender experts” with a shared understanding of what Gender Mainstreaming actually is and how it is done. The conceptual confusion does not stop these words from appearing in every policy or programme that development organizations produce. The result: uncertainty that serves as an excuse to do nothing, conceptual catch-alls that have no real meaning, and words that mask inaction.

The argument that Gender Mainstreaming is failing because of inadequate knowledge about how to apply it is echoed by a gender specialist (Personal communication, 2006) with extensive working and academic knowledge of gender issues and GM in the South African context. This certainly seems to be the case; in both the UNDP/SA and in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape there is large-scale ignorance among men and even women managers of what gender means, what Gender Mainstreaming is, and how we will achieve gender equality as a human right. This was evident in the interviews I had with senior male managers in the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape, as well as in UNDP reports used and cited in this study. This is nothing new, according to Rowan-Campbell (1999). In the Caribbean in the early 1980s permanent secretaries – who are senior managers – had a serious lack of understanding of Gender Mainstreaming and the role of Gender Focal Units. She says that “In preparation for Beijing 15 years later, the same questions were asked, and senior policy makers *still* did not understand the role of focal units or appreciate the need for mainstreaming” (Rowan-Campbell,

1999:21). Thus it seems that ignorance about GM was not only a South African phenomenon.

Insufficient training on gender and feminism for staff in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC) accounts for some of the policy gap, I would argue. But then again, 'how' does a huge organisation like the PGWC introduce Gender Mainstreaming into its work place without providing a comprehensive training plan for all staff, especially senior managers? Rowan-Campbell (1995) underscores the importance of training by saying that National Gender Machineries will be unable to successfully mainstream gender in the absence of adequate training. Yet senior male managers 'boycotted' the little training that was offered by the POSW because they failed to understand its importance for GM compliance. And they got away with this, because their Heads of Department (HODs) did not keep them accountable for GM. One way in which the HODs could do this is through performance management. They could include GM as a key result area in the performance agreement of a senior manager. Performance appraisals are done quarterly and at such times managers have to report on progress for their key result areas. Little or no progress would result in a low rating, which no one wants. A high rating could earn a manager a cash performance bonus. In this way an incentive is provided to achieve. This would be one way in which an HOD could track and monitor GM implementation. Thus if senior managers did not attend GM training designed and offered especially for them, this would reflect in their performance appraisal.

The UNDP publication, *Transforming the Mainstream. Gender in UNDP* (2004: 6), mentions lack of capacity as one of the critical reasons for Gender Mainstreaming failure. It argues that the gender training provided to civil servants, for example, is too general and that there is insufficient unpacking and interrogation of the spectrum of gender, gender issues and GM, including stereotypes and prejudices. Kardam (1991) agrees that a lack of information (of the kind that training can provide) is problematic. Her view is supported by Staudt (1998), who argues that gender training is essential to change attitudes and skills. This is true; I have seen this in the Provincial Government Western Cape and in the Department of Water Affairs, when I worked there (1999-2005). Staff generally, including the very few managers who had attended training, understood the challenges involved in GM implementation.

The ignorance on how to deal with gender and where to locate it in an organisation leads to institutions such as the UNDP dealing with gender as a cross-cutting issue. This effectively renders Gender Mainstreaming institutionally homeless. It is no one's job and no one's responsibility. It is nowhere a line item on a budget and no manager is held accountable for it (*Transforming the Mainstream. Gender in UNDP*, 2004: 7). Tiessen refers to this aspect of GM being *everywhere and nowhere* at the same time:

The term “gender mainstreaming” assumes the integration of gender considerations in all aspects of an organization's work ... As such, gender mainstreaming is meant to be happening *everywhere* within the organization ... As the responsibility of all staff members, gender mainstreaming runs the risk of being spread too thin – decentralized to the point of disappearing completely, or being *nowhere* at all (2007: 17-18).

Mainstreaming gender cannot be everyone's business; GM needs an institutional home, a structure with budget and staff that can champion it within a broad organisational transformation process. At least this much one can expect senior managers and the POSW to know, regardless of whether they have had training or not.

The question that should be asked is how much training do we need to do before we can implement? My argument is that training is important, but we can also learn the lessons along the path of implementation, through trial and error. We do not need to complete a long training process before we can implement. Once there has been a first thorough training course on Gender Mainstreaming, implementation should begin.

One of the reasons why the gap between Gender Mainstreaming policy and praxis remains a challenge in the PGWC is a lack of commitment and political will from senior managers to support and implement Gender Mainstreaming. Benschop and Verloo (2006) compared GM, feminist interventions and equality policies, and concluded that intended goals will not be met if there is no political will, if those who should implement have weak institutional positions, and if support from senior management and resources are lacking. The legislation and policies regarding GM and gender equality have been available long enough. The South African Constitution has demanded gender equality since 1996, the National Gender Machinery has been in place since 1997, and the National Gender Policy was launched in 2001. 'How' then is it possible that so little progress has been made and implementation remains elusive? McEwan (2005: 178) argues that "the struggle for women lies in the (im)possibilities of translating *de jure*

equality into *de facto* equality, and of translating state [read also senior management] commitment to gender equality [at least discursively] into tangible outcomes at the local and individual levels”.

‘How’ do these predominantly male managers think and *‘how’* do they view the world, given that they have failed consistently since the advent of our new democracy in 1994 to support gender equality and GM? One possible reason for this is based on the fact that men have access to power across the social system and consequently they have access to a great range of organisational resources that be can mobilised to maintain and reinforce gender inequality. Examples of these are symbols and meanings, authority and recognition, and objects and services that span the political, economic and familial domains (Kabeer, 2003b). This hegemonic masculinity enables men to subvert GM because of its implications for them. After all, GM does aim to de-institutionalise hegemonic masculinity (Staudt, 1998) and it can be expected that many men (and some women) will not readily support this. Hegemonic masculinity seems to offer some explanation for men’s failure to resource GM and thus, simultaneously subvert it.

Scrapping the provincial OSW (POSW) in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC) is a good example of how men can use organisational resources for their own political purposes in government. The Premier of the PGWC re-engineered the Department of the Premier at the end of 2005 primarily to align the departmental staff profile to employment equity requirements as outlined in the Employment Equity Act

(EEA) of 1998.⁷⁹ His department obviously had to comply with the EEA and at the time most of his top and senior management were white males. He therefore had to bring in more black people, more women and more people with disabilities; these three groups are the EEA target groups for redress. However, the scrapping of the POSW during the re-engineering process cannot be justified. In fact, it could be argued that the POSW could have assisted in ensuring greater female representivity, which is an EEA requirement. The argument of top management that by 2005 gender had been mainstreamed in the PGWC, and thus they no longer needed an OSW, also does not hold water, as this was far from being the case.

The fact that the POSW could be scrapped so easily demonstrates a lack of compliance with the National Gender Policy Framework from the highest office in the provincial government. I argue that it also shows a lack of commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment. While scrapping the POSW was not the primary aim of the re-engineering process, the fact that it became a casualty during the re-engineering is a clear indicator of how marginalised Gender Mainstreaming still was six years after the POSW was established. It also underlines how top male managers and politicians at the time did not understand gender equality as an essential aspect of broader organisational transformation embodied by Employment Equity. By scrapping the POSW, gender inequality was indirectly reinforced and gender equality undermined as the POSW could have assisted with getting gender targets right to comply with Employment Equity.

⁷⁹ I have referred to the re-engineering of the Department of the Premier earlier in this chapter. However, this issue is relevant here as well.

Scrapping the POSW pushed back all the progress that had been made during its time, setting GM and gender equality back many steps.

Gender Mainstreaming for gender equality implies systemic change, including challenging and changing power relations. Rowan-Campbell (1999: 21) argues that “Mainstreaming poses a challenge to the operation of masculinism, its intent being that women’s perspectives, knowledge, capacity, and difference become part of the mainstreaming of development options and national life, thus changing both”. One implication is that the people in decision-making positions will no longer be men only, or predominantly men. Thus, GM for gender equality is a fundamental challenge to the way that men are used to doing business. It requires from them a fundamental mind shift, a move away from ingrained attitudes, values and perceptions (Kardam, 1991) regarding gender. The question is whether men (and some women) are ready for this and whether they are prepared to share power with women as their equals. Change is never readily embraced. People resist change if they are unable to deal and cope with the change; this is the only way out for them. This seems to apply to the senior male managers (and some females) in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC), and could be one of the reasons for the GM policy gap.

When working in the area of gender equality, unequal gender and power relations that favour men and masculine cultures remain a huge challenge. Men who are in senior management positions, who have power over women, and who do not understand gender equality issues, let alone Gender Mainstreaming, *will feel threatened by Gender Mainstreaming* and will not readily work with women on this issue. It needs to be said

that women can resist GM change as well, as my example earlier has shown, where a senior woman manager shelved the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Implementation Strategy (GEWEIS) in one of the government departments in the PGWC. In instances like these, senior women managers of course need to be included in a gender conscientisation strategy. This strategy could be part of a broader organisational transformation process in which GM is located, as I argued earlier, using the deep structure model of Rao *et al.* (1999).

Built into a conscientisation and GM strategy should be the way that we use international instruments such as CEDAW and BPFA to advocate, lobby and also build alliances to address the policy gap. Rowan Campbell (1995) cites alliances and the use of the language of the international instruments such as CEDAW and BPFA as crucial for GM implementation. States that have ratified CEDAW are required to meet certain minimum standards on equal rights for women and have to report regularly on legislative, judicial, administrative and other measures taken toward achieving gender equality (True, 2001). South Africa is one such state. Thus the POSW and the Gender Focal Units can hold the government accountable to CEDAW and the BPFA, and use this to promote commitment and support for GM.

“How does an idea's time come” (Kingdon, 2003)? How does the time of a Gender Mainstreaming (GM) policy come so that it is put on the agenda and implemented? Kingdon's research shows that political appointees are far more successful than civil servants in putting issues on the agenda in government (Kingdon, 2003). If one took this angle to explain the gap between the National Gender Policy and its implementation, then

the answer would be that civil servants such as the Deputy Director in the provincial OSW did not have enough influence or power to put GM on the agenda of the PGWC. On one level this probably is true, since the Deputy Director did not attend the top management meetings of the PGWC, where provincial issues were put on the provincial agenda, as she was too junior. These meetings were only attended by predominantly male Heads of Departments and the Premier of the PGWC. Thus, she had no access to the provincial power-house where policy agendas were determined and could not put GM on the provincial agenda. However, perhaps if she had linked the idea of GM implementation to international instruments that the South African government had ratified, she might have created a window of opportunity to make the time come for GM to become a top management policy agenda item.

CONCLUSION

The Capacity Building Project (CBP) that the UNDP/SA had funded for the OSWs did not, as far as the Western Cape OSW is concerned, achieve its intended outcomes in the true sense of the word. The reasons for the failure are many.

One reason is that GM implementation needs sufficient resources, gender training, a strategy or plan, monitoring and evaluation, political will, sufficient seniority for staff who have to drive it, as well as commitment and accountability from senior management. It also has to be integrated into all aspects of the organisation. Unless these things are in place, Gender Mainstreaming will remain an up-hill battle with little, if any, progress to show.

Another reason is that GM is a complex process. It requires people to critically examine their attitudes, beliefs and values regarding men and women, and their roles and responsibilities in life. Men as the privileged group under masculinism – a group often fearful of losing that privilege – are required to give up much more than women who stand to benefit from gender equality. Why would they relinquish their power and privilege to share it with women if there is nothing in it for them, when GM in fact seeks to de-institutionalise masculine preference (Staudt, 1998)? Clearly men (and women) have to buy into GM if we want their support, and if we want to avoid male (and female) resistance.

The complexity of Gender Mainstreaming also requires an excellent training programme for all staff, including senior and top management. The training process should be closely monitored and senior management should not be allowed to skip the training, or send junior staff in their place. In fact, GM training could be a key performance area in the performance agreement of one of the senior managers to ensure that it takes place.

Tiessen (2007) argues that the gendered nature of organisations, as well as the ways in which gender inequality is produced and reproduced daily in them, is another reason for limited success in GM. She proposes the re-thinking of the mainstream to evaluate how it perpetuates gender inequality. I agree with her; I stated earlier that there is a need to

frame GM within a broad transformation process in which the entire organisation is re-invented and transformed.

Gender Mainstreaming remains a challenge; it seems almost impossible to implement it successfully. It is clear that having GM policies in place in organisations is far from enough when they remain words on paper. Is GM possible, one might ask? If GM is impossible, what else does one have at this stage as a tool for achieving gender equality and women's empowerment? I think Gender Mainstreaming is possible, but not as a stand-alone policy process that we import into organisations without taking on the deep, gendered sub-structure affecting broad transformation processes. In the concluding chapter of this study I propose a model for GM within a broad organisational transformation process.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: RE-THINKING GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS TRANSFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

This study explored Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in an international development organisation as an approach to advancing gender equality in the post-Beijing era. It analysed the discourse of GM and organisational practice in the UNDP, the UNDP/SA and the Western Cape OSW as funded partner to establish how women and gender are represented in policies on GM. It investigated GM implementation in the UNDP/SA, the Western Cape OSW and the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC) to determine if policy rhetoric translated into praxis, and whether there was a gap between promises and performance. The study focused on the obstacles to GM implementation to identify barriers and develop strategies for overcoming them so that gender equality can be advanced in an effective manner in order to make a substantive difference in the lives of all women, but especially poor women at grassroots level.

Gender Mainstreaming is a complex process that has been adopted as policy by the UN and development organisations such as the UNDP/SA as a result of external dislocatory events such as the UN World Conferences on Women and the women's movement in the North. It has been perceived as a vast improvement on other approaches to women in development such as WID, GAD and Empowerment. When the WID approach was introduced as an answer to the absence of women in development, it was seen as a step in

the right direction. However, over the years its shortcomings emerged clearly. One major shortcoming of WID was the “add women and stir” or “band-aid approach”. Women were *added* to development through different sub-approaches such as Welfare, Equity, Anti-Poverty, Efficiency and Empowerment. WID did not challenge existing development paradigms in terms of gendered power relations, and women remained marginalised. While WID did address women’s practical gender needs, it failed to address their strategic gender needs.

GAD was seen as an improvement on WID. It focused on women and men, women’s practical *and* strategic gender needs were brought into the equation, and it addressed gender relations as well as the sexual division of labour. One fear regarding GAD that emerged at the time was that it might dilute the focus on women by broadening the issue from women to gender. This was not the only problem regarding GAD.

For some women from the South GAD was not the answer. They were looking for an approach that would acknowledge the context and voice of women from the South. For them the Empowerment approach – with its alternative development discourse and its recognition of the triple oppression of women – was a solution. It was grounded in the reality of women from the South and addressed the various forms of power relations. However, the Empowerment approach, like previous approaches, did not stand the test of time. But every approach, despite its shortcomings, has had something to offer and has been a training ground for building the next approach. In this fashion the matter of women and gender in development was taken forward, and we could move from a

development world where women were completely absent to one where women are beginning to find their rightful place as equals of men across the development spectrum.

In the aftermath of the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, women and the development world moved to operationalise GAD and Empowerment by advocating Gender Mainstreaming. This strategy (within GAD) became the new buzzword for institutionalising women and gender in development organisations and praxis. Yet despite often being presented as almost a technical “fix” for gender equality, GM has turned out to be no easier to implement than the other approaches. My findings, which I discuss below, attest to this.

FINDINGS

It is important to state that the findings of my study have certain shortcomings. The major shortcoming is the small number of interviews that were conducted as part of the case study of the UNDP/SA, as well as the small number of UNDP policies and evaluation reports that were analysed. The implication of my small interview sample and limited number of documents is that I cannot generalise these findings beyond the UNDP/SA Country Office. Secondly, with regard to the fieldwork done in the Provincial Government Western Cape (PGWC) in five departments, I cannot generalise the findings beyond the PGWC to other provincial governments, or national government departments in South Africa. The study did not set out to cover such a broad spectrum. However, despite the shortcomings, the one fact that does emerge very clearly from the study is that Gender Mainstreaming is a complex, extremely challenging change process to implement

within a Country Office of an international development organisation like the UNDP, as well as in government departments in a provincial government, even with the help of national and provincial gender machinery such as the OSW. It is very clear that having an enabling Gender Mainstreaming policy framework such as the UNDP, and having enabling legislation as well as a National Gender Machinery in the case of South African government departments, do not guarantee substantive implementation and progress. GM seems almost impossible to achieve.

The UNDP/SA, as well as its funded partner, the provincial OSW, has faced major constraints in the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming (GM). These constraints apply to the five departments in the Provincial Government as well. They have made it very difficult to implement GM successfully and to close the gap between GM policy and praxis. Some of the constraints are technocratic in nature, relating to procedural and superficial efforts to address gender inequality (Tiessen, 2007). Examples are a lack of resources (both money and people) and training.

It is interesting to note that the technocratic constraints are as much of a challenge to address as more deep-seated constraints such as unequal power relations and the deep structure of organisations (Rao *et al.*, 1999). One could reasonably expect a development organisation to give money, staff and training to implement its GM policies. Yet this has not happened in the UNDP, because it failed to engage with the following question: what are the roots of gender inequality in organisations? Engagement with this question leads one to the issue of the deep structure (Rao *et al.*, 1999).

As discussed above, this deep structure is embedded in organisations and shot through with gendered assumptions and practices, including resistance to GM from women and men; masculinist organisational culture; the continuous gap between policy and praxis; and a discourse that fails to name masculinism and gendered unequal power relations as challenges to be addressed in GM. It is thus the deep structure that we have to challenge and engage with, if we want to advance with GM and narrow the gap between policy and praxis. In engaging the deep structure, and through building a transformed work place with transformed work practices, the other issues inhibiting the realisation of Gender Mainstreaming praxis, such as lack of resources and training, for example, could be addressed simultaneously.

Gender Mainstreaming (GM) is clearly not an easy task. Earlier in my study I make the point that despite formal gender equality in South Africa, substantive gender equality remains elusive. My case study of the UNDP/SA and the Western Cape OSW within the PGWC context attests to this. One could therefore ask if GM is *the strategy* to take gender equality forward. The earlier approaches to women and gender in development, such as WID, had shortcomings too. However, despite the shortcomings, these approaches have succeeded in pushing the boundaries forward for women in development. Most of my interviewees, including those I interviewed in 2009, believe that GM can work. UNDP1 made the point that unless Gender Mainstreaming is fully resourced and implemented, one cannot say that it does not work (Interview, 2009). UNDP2 contends that the great strides that were made by creating a sound GM policy mandate in the UNDP were massive advances. For her, the fact that the policies could be

developed despite the odds is major progress, albeit only the starting point (Interview, 2009). The question then arises: what should be the next step once we have well-crafted GM policies in place? The UNDP had the policies and the OSW developed the policy for the South African government. Yet why are these policies not being implemented and why does the gap between policy and practice remain?

One possibility could be that we under-estimate the degree of tension and contestation between the differing agendas of the mainstream and gender equality (Walby, 2005). Another possibility, which links up with Walby's argument, could be an organisational disjuncture between policy and practice:

What is problematic is the discontinuity, even contradiction, between organizational realities obviously structured around gender and ways of thinking and talking about these same realities as though they were gender neutral. What activities or practices produce the face of gender neutrality and maintain this disjuncture between organizational life and theory? (Burriss, 1996: 61).

Are we interrogating the ideology of gender neutrality and the mainstream of the organisations we want to engender sufficiently? Alternatively, is it a matter of taking a too strongly technocratic approach to Gender Mainstreaming, completely depoliticising it in the process? What is the language and discourse we are using in the GM process? Smyth quotes Rao as saying that "While the intention of gender mainstreaming is transformation, it has been chewed up and spit out by development bureaucracies in forms that feminists would barely recognise" (Smyth, 2007: 586). In practice, the transformation discourse as it relates to GM often has disappeared completely by the time the policy is implemented.

My contention is that if we develop a GM implementation strategy with our starting point the interrogation of the deep structure of organisations, we could make sufficient progress for GM to impact substantively on an organisation. Engaging with the deep structure requires more than just a GM approach; it requires a broad organisational transformation process with GM an integral part of the process. The assumption is that GM cannot be added to an organisation which is not ready to transform, as GM implies gender transformation. Doing GM in the absence of organisational transformation is in a sense a repeat of the earlier ‘add-women-and-stir’ phenomenon; we ‘add’ GM to the organisation in a technocratic, superficial manner and assume that gender equality and women’s empowerment will follow. My findings suggest otherwise. Successful GM implementation remains elusive and the policy gap seems impossible to overcome. To address this challenge I propose a GM model embedded in an organisational transformation process. This model re-thinks the GM process with a focus on the organisational deep structure, thus combining feminist and organisational theory.

A GENDER MAINSTREAMING MODEL

The master’s house (gender inequality) cannot be dismantled with the master’s tools.⁸⁰ It can also not be touched up with a few additions and become a completely new house. The superficial, technocratic, depoliticised approach used by the UNDP/SA, the OSW and the PGWC is insufficient. My findings suggest that having a GM policy is not enough, and that lack of resources, inadequate knowledge and training, ineffective leadership, weak commitment and failure of political will from senior managers are serious impediments to implementation. They show that the gap between policy and

⁸⁰ Lorde quoted in Staudt (1998: 11).

implementation has not been bridged. To build a new house requires new tools, so that Gender Mainstreaming can find a hospitable home.

My research set out to study GM around the world, and to discover the problems and possibilities that have confronted practitioners in operationalising this approach to achieve substantive gender equality for women, especially poor women. The study hopes to provide solutions to overcome the gap between GM policy and practice to empower South African women. To do this, we need a new tool, a Gender Mainstreaming (GM) model that will overcome the policy gap. This new model should bring about positive changes for women in development – these changes should not be symbolic or rhetorical. It should engage the deep institutionalisation of masculinist values, norms and privilege within organisations through an organisational transformation process in which GM is embedded.

Gender Mainstreaming as transformation

Gender Mainstreaming as transformation re-thinks the mainstream, as suggested by Tiessen (2007). It argues for transforming the organisational structures of the mainstream/organisation in which we want to house GM. The approach of Rao *et al.* (1999) to challenge the deep structure of the organisation has to be integrated into the transformation process, namely changing the way the organisation works so that Gender Mainstreaming can find a hospitable home. The following steps are necessary to start the process.

Three necessary steps

My findings suggest that a technocratic GM policy that comes from above, be it from the UNDP Head Office in New York, or the *National Gender Policy* from the South African Presidential Office, does not work. As we have seen, a top-down approach is generally characterised by an absence of consultation and buy-in. Moreover, these policies are not even workshopped with staff to ensure that they know that these policies exist, as well as what the policies say. My model therefore suggests an alternative approach.

The first step involves getting an organisational mandate for GM, so that there is broad support and buy-in for this process. To obtain such a mandate the CEO's Office would have to initiate a process of surfacing multiple perspectives (Rao *et al.*, 1999). This can be done through focus group discussions organised across the organisation to give staff a voice, especially those who are usually marginalised such as women, people with disabilities, certain race groups and lower-level staff. Questions that need to be discussed are what the issues are, how they operate at work, where change starts and at what level, which strategies would work, and what should be negotiated with the staff. Where will blockages come and how should they be handled? Rao *et al.* (1999) mention holding up a mirror as a useful tool to generate knowledge about the organisation and feeding this information back to the staff. This will not be a friction-free process; there will be heated debates about some of the topics that emerge, but this is to be expected and engaged with. Out of these debates it should be possible to develop some consensus on the transformation and Gender Mainstreaming mandate.

The second step is to ensure sufficient human resources for GM, as my findings have shown that a lack of staff is a serious shortcoming. A Transformation Unit (TU), in which a Gender Mainstreaming Unit (GMU) will be located, has to be established. The convenor of the TU should be a senior manager who reports to the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the organisation, the Resident Representative (in the case of the UNDP Country Offices), or the Head of Department (the term used in government). The TU should be representative, particularly along lines of race, gender and disability. A third of the TU members will form the GMU. The GMU members will work throughout the transformation process within the TU. However, the focus of the GMU will be GM only and ensuring that GM is integrated into the broad transformation process. My contention is that creating a special task team for GM will ensure that it does not “evaporate” within the transformation process.

The third step will be rolling out the transformation process. The TU will work with the organisational mandate received earlier, and its convenor will report directly to the most senior manager in the organisation.⁸¹ This implies that the TU will have sufficient authority to drive the change process. The TU will report monthly to the CEO on progress, achievements and challenges. This monthly reporting is extremely important and is non-negotiable, as my findings have shown that lack of accountability is one of the challenges in GM implementation. Within the transformation process and the TU, the GMU will do its work on GM, and integrate its reports into the TU reports to the CEO.

⁸¹ Different organisations have different titles for their most senior managers. I use the term Chief Executive Officer, or CEO, as a generic term for the top manager in the organization.

The GMU will use the gendered archaeological investigation (GAI)⁸² of Goetz (1997) to deal with Gender Mainstreaming.

Central to the transformation and the Gender Mainstreaming processes, will be the use of mental models (Senge *et al.*, 2000). Mental models refer to deeply held beliefs and assumptions about how things work, for example, how an organisation functions. Talking about mental models in relation to the workplace is intended to bring “tacit assumptions and attitudes to the surface so people can explore and talk about their differences and misunderstandings with minimal defensiveness” (Senge *et al.*, 2000: 67). Reflection and enquiry are central to working with mental models, so asking questions and thinking about how people look at transformation and GM will form a central part of this process. Out of the transformation challenge to the deep structure should flow positive developments such as the power for change, multiple perspectives on transformation and gender issues, new work and organisational practices. In other words, both women and men in the organisation have to understand gendered power relations and masculinism, their gendered roles, how cultural practices reinforce unequal power relations and what needs to be done to change this. Men should be willing to work with women to change unequal gendered power relations into power for change in the transformation process. This can be done through focus group discussions and workshops with all staff, with an experienced, professional facilitator in a non-threatening environment. In these forums the multiple perspectives that emerge should be channelled into developing new work and organisational practices in which transformation and gender equality can thrive. Again, it needs to be said that this will not be smooth sailing; there will be resistance

⁸² I explain the GAI later in this chapter.

from both women and men. However, this can be managed. Change is never easy. This aspect of the GM model is crucial for its success. My findings have shown that in GM implementation there is often insufficient engagement with the organisational ideology, beliefs and norms; there is an unquestioned assumption that GM can be imported into a deeply gendered organisation and succeed, or alternatively that an organisation is gender neutral.

Accountability for the transformation and Gender Mainstreaming processes

The final accountability for progress with the transformation and the GM process lies with the CEO, and this will be a key performance area of her/his performance agreement for which s/he will be assessed quarterly. The budget for this process will be a line item in the CEO's budget and should be sufficient for full implementation of the transformation process. The CEO's Office will monitor and evaluate the transformation and GM work as the TU and GMU cannot be both referee and player. The importance of building GM and transformation into a senior manager's performance agreement, financial resources and monitoring cannot be over-estimated, as my findings have shown. When GM is not monitored, when it is not linked to a senior manager's performance and when there is no budget, very little implementation, if any, can take place. Thus these steps are key to this new GM model.

Challenges for the transformation process

During the transformation process challenges will be thrown up by the complexities of power, and the fact that women might not speak with one voice on women and gender issues (Rao *et al.*, 1999). This is to be expected, as the staff and specifically the women in any given organisation are not homogenous, so there will be conflict of interests and competing identities and power struggles. These aspects have to be managed and the energy directed into positive power for change, so that the transformation and GM processes are not derailed or undermined by powerful insiders.

To deal with all of the challenges Rao *et al.* (1999) propose that we work with the heart, hands and heads of people; that the process be both systemic and personal; that we start from where people are and, importantly, deal with psychological resistance as it surfaces. In all of this, dialogue will be a key tool as there will be resistances that will be hard to deal with. When I was managing transformation and Gender Mainstreaming at Water Affairs and Forestry, I achieved success with a similar approach of getting buy-in from staff and using participatory dialogue to ensure that I did not lose people during the transformation process. When conflict and resistance were quite severe, it helped to bring in an outside facilitator to move the process along. My optimism about the model is based on a real case at Water Affairs and Forestry (2003-2005), where I experienced first hand that GM can be advanced as part of a broad organisational transformation process.

A gendered archaeological investigation

Goetz (1997) proposes a gendered archaeological investigation (GAI) to deal with the gendered nature of organisations. The GAI comprises eight elements, which can be used

in the Gender Mainstreaming process, as I have proposed in the model below. The eight elements are: (1) institutional and organisational history; (2) the gendered cognitive context; (3) the gendered organisational culture; (4) gendered participants; (5) gendered space and time; (6) the sexuality of organisations; (7) gendered authority structures; and (8) gendered incentive and accountability systems.

Organisations are not neutral. Over time, according to Goetz (1997), they have been shaped by certain gender interests, which determine how they think about certain issues because male dominance has been deeply embedded in them. The hegemonic masculinity of organisations has led to certain participants being privileged over others, some being superior (men) and others being inferior (women). The dominance of men has resulted in the physical and social structure of organisations being created to favour them to women's detriment. This includes sexuality, for example, sexual harassment or 'teasing' of women by men, and expression of female sexuality, for example, maternity leave and menstruation. One of the greatest challenges to women in the workplace is by far the issue of sexual harassment, which can affect the effectiveness of women if it is not addressed and dealt with. Very often in organisations, the sanctions for sexual harassment (if any), are indeed inadequate, even when there is a sexual harassment policy. This was one of the issues, for example, that came up in the UNDP/SA GM Evaluation and is an important matter which can easily be overlooked.

The gendered ideology and disciplinary structures of organisations can prove problematic for women in terms of competing with men on an equal footing; the playing fields are not

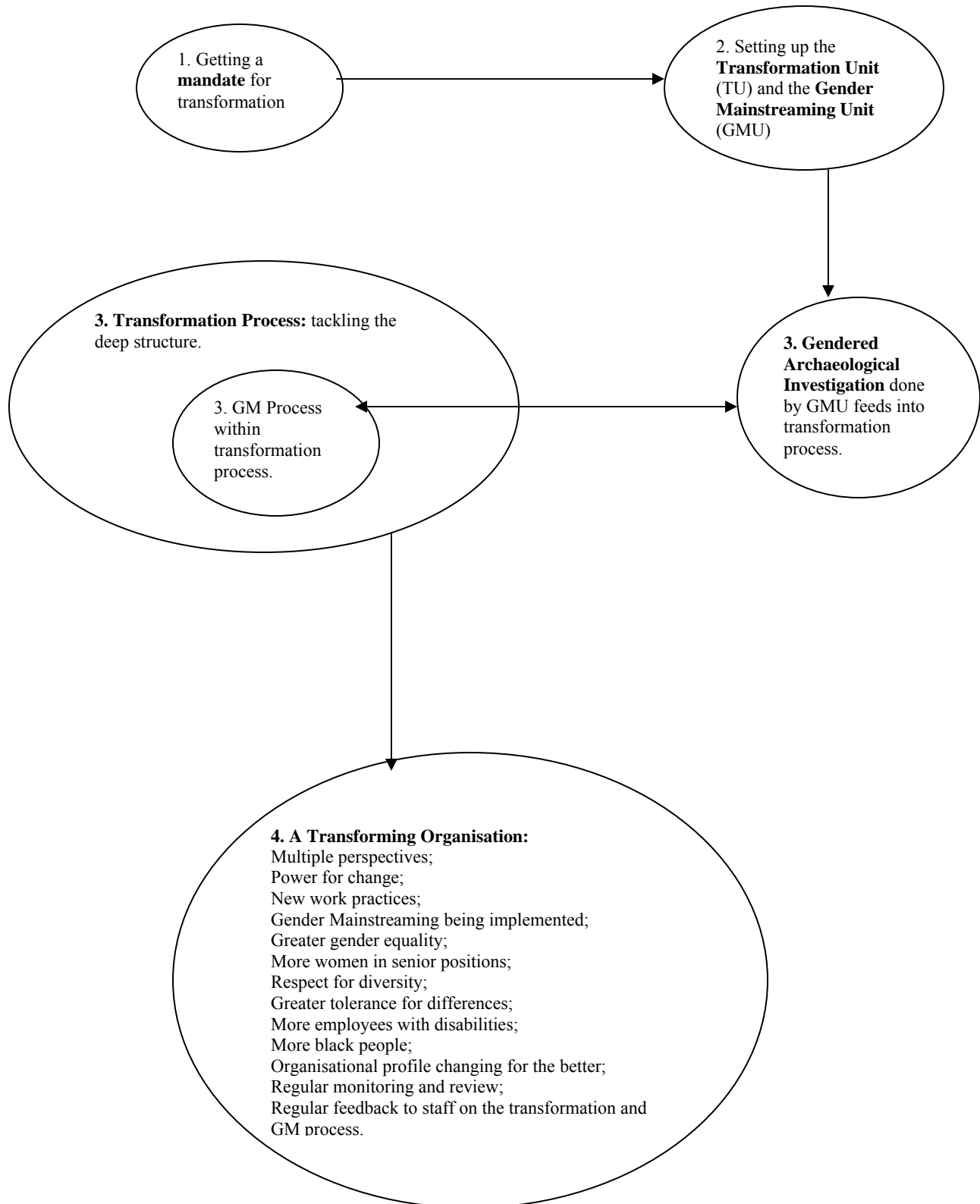
level, making it more difficult for women to achieve success. Lastly, there are incentive and accountability systems; these are often geared towards men and their constituencies, ignoring the values that many women bring to the workplace (Goetz, 1997). Again, my findings suggest that incentives and accountability are essential ingredients for GM to succeed.

All eight elements of the GAI have to be addressed when the GMU works towards Gender Mainstreaming, which will not be easy. However, using similar approaches as the TU such as surfacing multiple perspectives and holding up the mirror should enable the GMU to tackle the gendered deep structure as it relates to gender issues.

A transforming organisation

The aim of the transformation and Gender Mainstreaming processes is to create a transforming organisation. I am using the adjective ‘transforming’ as a present participle to indicate the progressive nature of this process. The final product should be an organisation where there is greater gender equality, more women in senior decision-making positions, a majority of men favouring gender equality, support for a culture of change, and very important, new work practices. All of these will be part of the new organisational culture of the transforming organisation, where GM becomes a reality and its implementation a success.

Figure 7: A Transformative Gender Mainstreaming Model



Goetz captures this well when she says that there are many different ways to intervene in organisations regarding women and gender; the important point is that “in the end, it is a matter of political struggle” (1997: 28). The politics of change is never easy; it comes with the territory and has to be managed. It also exists at many levels and has to be understood in that context.

The GM model does not set out to be a blueprint for government departments, or development organisations, as this was not the aim of the study. The model aims to narrow the gap between GM policy and implementation, and to bring us closer to achieving substantive gender equality for women on the ground. Implementation of the model will need further research.

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The model I propose for locating Gender Mainstreaming in a broad transformation process is a combination of feminist and organisational theory drawing on authors such as Rao *et al.* (1999) and Goetz (1997), as well as my practical work experience in GM and transformation in government departments over a period of nine years. This model has not been tried and tested. Therefore, it will need further research and experimentation.

Another recommendation for further research is the role of a strong civil society women’s movement in advancing GM. The literature that I have perused for this study clearly indicates that a strong women’s movement can be a major catalyst for putting pressure on

governments and development organisations to adopt an issue at a particular point in time. This happened not just in the North, but in South Africa as well with the advent of democracy in the 1990s. The National Gender Machinery and enabling gender legislation such as the Constitution and the Commission on Gender Equality Act are results of the advocacy and lobbying of the South African women's movement.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Some might argue that this GM model is rather idealistic. To those sceptics I say that GM within an organisational transformation process can be achieved. My findings suggest that GM is not impossible; all my informants stated that they believe that GM holds the possibility to achieve gender equality. The inequalities that transformation and GM set out to address are social constructs created by people and therefore people can change them. My model is not a quick-fix, easy solution. It will require an arduous political struggle and sufficient champions and advocates to drive it. If we could overcome apartheid in South Africa, I don't see why we cannot overcome gender oppression and inequality. Change starts with idealism and a dream of a better world.

I hope that the GM model outlined above, which is my small, original contribution, and the suggestions for further research and action, will contribute in a small way to a new beginning⁸³ for gender equality in South Africa. Gender Mainstreaming does not have to be an empty phrase. It is a very challenging, complex, political process which *can* lead to genuine transformation in gendered practices and beliefs in South Africa.

⁸³ The idea of 'a new beginning' is borrowed from P. Smit (2006).

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Please note: Where possible, I do not mention the position of the interviewees, as this can compromise their anonymity. However, interviewing the Gender Focal Points was central to my study, as Gender Focal Points are central to Gender Mainstreaming. I have no choice therefore but to use this term. There is also no way in which I can “hide” the position of a Head of Department: I cannot call this interviewee a senior manager, as there are many senior managers in any given department, and there are also four levels within senior management, the Head of Department being the most senior of all. For the purpose of my study it was important to interview the most senior manager of government departments to establish the official standpoint on Gender Mainstreaming. However, by not naming their departments in the thesis when I cite the HODs, I increase their anonymity.

Interviews	Venue	Number of Interviews	Gender of Interviewee
1. An interview with a senior staff member of the National OSW. At the time (2002) the national OSW was located, and still is, in the Presidency.	Pretoria	1	Female
2. An interview with a staff member from the Provincial OSW (2002) in the Provincial Government Western Cape.	Cape Town	1	Female
3. Interviews with the Heads of Five Departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape were requested. One department did not respond to my request at all. In two cases, the Head was not available, but authorised another staff member to speak to me. In total I interviewed one Head, one Acting Head, and two substitutes for the Head, from four different departments within the PGWC (2002).	Cape Town	4	Three were male, and one was female.
4. Interviews with the Gender Focal Points/a representative from a Gender Focal Unit from the same five departments mentioned above, were requested. The same department did not respond to my request. In total, I interviewed four staff	Cape Town	4	Two were male, and two were female.

from Gender Focal Points/Units from four different departments within the PGWC (2002).			
5. An interview with a staff member (the Gender Focal Point) from the UNDP South African Country Office (2002)	Pretoria	1	Female
6. An interview with a consultant who was part of the group of consultants who worked in 2005 on the official Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP South African Country Office (2007). In the thesis, I refer to her as the UNDP consultant.	Pretoria	1	Female
7. An interview with an ex-staff member from the UNDP South African Country Office (2009). In the thesis I refer to her as UNDP1.	Telephonic interview	1	Female
8. An interview with an ex-Head of the UNDP Gender Division in New York (2009). In the thesis I refer to her as UNDP2.	Telephonic Interview	1	Female
TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS		14	5 males, and 9 female interviewees.

Appendix B: Interview Schedule for Interview with UNDP/SA staff

(**Note:** I explained at the beginning of every interview that interviewees would remain anonymous (I would not use their names or their ranks), but would quote and use my interview data in my thesis).

1. Are you from Pretoria? If not, from where are you?
2. How long have you worked for the UNDP?
3. What is your official designation/rank?
4. What is your involvement in Gender Mainstreaming in the UNDP?
5. What do you understand by Gender Mainstreaming?
6. What are your formal qualifications in Gender Mainstreaming?
7. What training have you undergone regarding Gender Mainstreaming?
8. How much working experience do you have in gender work generally and Gender Mainstreaming specifically?
9. When did the capacity-building project of the UNDP with the national OSW start, and when will it be terminated?
10. Could you describe the capacity-building project of the UNDP with the national OSW? (For example: Who is the service provider for the training? Why did you choose this particular service provider?)

11. How often do you have training, and how long are the sessions? What is the nature of the training, and what are its goals?
12. Where are you at right now in terms of this particular project? What has been achieved?
13. What are some of the problems that you are experiencing regarding the project?
14. Are there goals that might not be reached? Could you illustrate with concrete national and provincial examples?
15. Is the understanding that the national OSW has of Gender Mainstreaming, the same as that of the UNDP?
16. How do you monitor and evaluate this project while running? Who is responsible for this?
17. What is the discourse regarding Gender Mainstreaming in:
 - The national OSW;
 - The provincial OSWs;
 - The UNDP/SA?

Appendix C: Interview Schedule for Interview with an Ex-UNDP/SA Staff Member

1. For what period did you work at UNDP/SA, and what was your designation?
2. What was your core function (job description)?
3. Were you introduced to UNDP Gender Mainstreaming (GM) policies as a new staff member
4. If no to 3, when did you learn about the UNDP's GM policies?
5. Did you implement GM in your work? If yes, how? If no, why not?
6. How did GM implementation happen in the UNDP/SA?
7. Was GM implementation regularly monitored? If yes, by whom? If no, why not?
8. Were all employees exposed to GM training?
9. Did GM reflect in the language and discourse of the UNDP/SA?
11. Was gender taken into account when recruiting staff, and did the staff and management reflect a gender balance?
12. The UNDP does not lack GM policies. Do you think there was a GM policy gap in the UNDP/SA? In other words, while there were GM policies, is it true to say that there was no/insufficient implementation? Please explain your answer, and the role of the Resident Representative in GM implementation, or lack thereof.

Appendix D: Interview Schedule for Interview with an ex-Head Office UNDP Staff Member

1. For how long did you work on Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in the UNDP, in what capacity and in which office (Head Office, or a Country Office)?
2. Was there resistance in the UNDP to GM, and did it differ by sex?
3. If there were resistance, what would explain it?
4. What were the challenges facing the UNDP regarding GM implementation at the time?
5. Why did the UNDP initiate the 1998 and 2006 GM evaluations? Did you play a role in this process, and what was the role?
6. What were the major GM constraints emerging from the evaluation reports?
7. Can GM as approach succeed in advancing gender equality substantively for women? Or should we move beyond GM to another approach?

Appendix E: Interview Schedule for an Interview with a South African Consultant who worked on the UNDP/SA Gender Mainstreaming Evaluation

1. How did you get contracted to be part of the team working on the Gender Mainstreaming Evaluation of the UNDP/SA?
2. Did you have any difficulties in accessing the UNDP/SA to gather your data?
3. What were your experiences in working with the UNDP/SA staff?
4. Do you know if the UNDP/SA ever had a budget for gender mainstreaming?
5. What are the main challenges facing the UNDP/SA in implementing gender mainstreaming successfully?
6. Some scholars are critical about gender mainstreaming as a strategy to advance gender equality in organisations. Do you think gender mainstreaming can work? Do you think people know how to do it? Do you think it will work for SA?

Appendix F: Interview Schedule for Interview with a National OSW Staff Member

1. Where are you from? Have you always worked in Pretoria?
2. How long have you worked for the OSW?
3. What is your official designation?
4. Whom do you report to in senior management?
5. What is your understanding of Gender Mainstreaming?
6. What is your job description?
7. Some men are asking why we call it the Office on the Status of Women and not Gender? What would you say to them?
8. Have you had training in GM?
9. Do you think that your understanding of GM is the same as that of the UNDP/SA?
10. Could you explain the background of the Capacity Building Project that the UNDP/SA is funding for the OSW? What is its purpose, and what do you hope to achieve?
11. Would you say that the current Capacity Building Project that you are engaged in with the UNDP/SA, also with the provincial OSWs, is helping you with GM implementation?
12. What are your constraints in working in the OSW?
13. Is there anything you want to add, that I did not ask, that will be helpful for my study?

Appendix G: Interview Schedule for Interview with a Provincial OSW Staff Member

1. How long have you worked for the Provincial Government Western Cape?
2. How long have you been working in the provincial OWS?
3. Since when have you been involved in the UNDP-funded capacity-building training for OSWs?
4. In what capacity have you been attending the training?
5. In what capacity are you attending the training now?
6. How many staff from the PGWC is attending the training?
7. Could you describe the capacity-building project of the national OSW with the UNDP?
8. When did the project start, and when will it be terminated?
9. Who is the service provider for the training?
10. How often do you have training, and how long are the sessions?
11. What is the nature of the training, and what are its goals?
12. Have you missed any of the sessions? If yes, how has it impacted on your learning?
13. Do you get homework between sessions?

14. Where are you at right now? What has been achieved?
15. Are there goals that might not be reached? Could you illustrate with concrete national and provincial examples?
16. Do you experience it as beneficial to get the training together with the other provinces? Please explain.
17. What are some of the problems that you are experiencing regarding the training?
18. What do you understand by Gender Mainstreaming?
19. Is the understanding that the W/C OSW has of Gender Mainstreaming, the same as that of the UNDP?
20. What impact has your training had on advancing Gender Mainstreaming in the province?
21. Would you say the departments in the PGWC are benefiting from your training? Please explain.
22. How do you intend linking your training to the provincial gender action plan that is currently being drawn up?
23. What is the discourse regarding Gender Mainstreaming in:
 - The national OSW;
 - The provincial OSW;
 - The UNDP/SA?

Appendix H: Interview Schedule for Interview with Gender Focal Points/Units in the Provincial Government Western Cape

1. What is your official designation?
2. What does your work as Gender Focal Point (GFP) entail?
3. Is your work as GFP a full-time position, or is it an add-on?
4. Can you explain what is required of you as GFP?
5. To whom do you report regarding Gender Mainstreaming (GM) work?
6. Have you had training for the gender work you are doing?
7. What is the relationship between your GM work, and that of the Provincial OSW?
8. How much of your time is spent on gender work, and how much on your core job function?
9. Are you appraised for the gender work you are doing when your performance appraisal is done quarterly and annually?
10. What are the challenges in the GM work you are doing?
11. Is there sufficient support and resources for the GM work?
12. Do you know about the Capacity Building Project that the UNDP/SA has funded for the OSW? If yes, what do you know about this project? Has it made an impact on the GM work that you are doing in your department?
13. Is there anything you would like to add, or ask?

Appendix I: Interview Schedule for Interviews with Heads of Five Departments in the Provincial Government Western Cape.

1. What is your designation? (I asked this question because some of the Heads were represented by a substitute, who would have a different designation, for example Chief Director).
2. How long have you been in this position?
3. What are your core functions?
4. In what capacity do you represent the Head of Department (HOD)? (This question was asked when the HOD was represented by one of her/his staff).
5. Does your department have a Gender Focal Unit/Point, and how does your department see Gender Mainstreaming?
6. What is your department's relationship with the provincial OSW?
7. Are you aware of the CBP that the provincial OSW is involved in?
8. If you are aware of this project, how is the CBP assisting Gender Mainstreaming in your department?
9. Does your department have a Gender Mainstreaming policy? And a gender action plan?
10. Where do you see your department with regard to Gender Mainstreaming in the next 3-4 years?
11. Could I interview the employee responsible for Gender Mainstreaming in your department?

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