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Revised topic: The Bureaucratisation of Gender Mainstreaming, a case study of State capacity to mainstream gender.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is in honour of the matriarch of our family, Jeannie Moodly, whose lessons have taught me what a true feminist is. You have shown me how to stand up in a world where so often our voices, as women are silenced so as not to upset the status quo. The completion of this thesis is largely due to your unwavering belief in my success. May the Lord bless you with many years, so that I may learn enough to teach my son that which can only be learnt from one's mother.

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Lastly, I would like to thank the National School of Government (NSG) for funding the completion of this thesis and the Department of Public Service and Administration for your participation in documenting such an important case study.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Affirmative Action (AA)

African National Congress (ANC)

African Union (AU)

Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA)

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ&CD)

Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME),

Department of Public Service and Administration (Department)

Deutsche Geselleschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

Director-General (DG)

Employment Equity (EE)

European Union (EU

Forum of South African Directors-General (FOSAD)

Gender and Development (GAD)

Gender Focal Point (GFP)

Gender Mainstreaming (GM)

Gender Management System (GMS)

Gender Policy Framework (GPF),

Heads of Department (HOD)

Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JMC)

Management Performance and Assessment Tool (MPAT)

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs),

Mpumalanga Civil Society Forum (MCSF)

National Assembly (NA)

National Council of Provinces (NCOP)

National Gender Machinery (NGM)

National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (NPF)

National School of Government (NSG)

National Council of Provinces (NCOP)

New Management Paradigm (NPM)

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Office on the Status of Women (OSW)

Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy (PALAMA)

Parliamentary Women's Group (PWG)

Prosecutor-Guided Investigations (PGI)

Public Finance Management Act (PFMA)

Public Service Commission (PSC)

Public Services SETA (PSETA)

Sector Education Training Authority (SETA)

Southern African Development Community (SADC)

South African Police Service (SAPS)

South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA)

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

Women in Development (WID)

Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU)

Human Rights Commission (HRC),

Women's National Service (SERNAM)

UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

United States (US)

Women's National Coalition (WNC)

World Trade Organisation (WTO)

CONTENTS

DEDICATION	1
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	2
ABSTRACT	3
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	5
INTRODUCTION	8
PROBLEMATISING GENDER (IN)EQUALITY IN THE DEPARTMENT	1
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	4
RATIONALE FOR RESEARCHING THE DEPARTMENT	4
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	4
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	5
RESEARCH LIMITATIONS	5
INTRODUCTION	11
CHAPTER ONE: INTERROGATING STATE STRUCTURES	**21**
1.1 ANALYSING THE ROLES OF KEY PUBLIC SERVICE STRUCTURES	21
1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY	25
1.3 DEFINING GENDER MAINSTREAMING AT THE DEPARTMENT	27
1.4 REFLECTING ON INTERNATIONAL CASES FOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING	30
CHAPTER TWO: SOUTH AFRICA'S LEGISLATIVE COMMITMENTS TO GENDER EQUALITY	**34**
2.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE'S INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL GENDER COMMITMENTS	34
2.2 GROUNDING GENDER COMMITMENTS IN LEGISLATION AT NATIONAL LEVEL	40
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	**50**
3.1 WHY A CASE STUDY?	51
3.2 QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS	56
3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN	57
3.3.1 Study Participants	57
3.3.2 Data Sources	60
3.3.2.1 Interviews	60
3.3.2.2 Data collection and analysis	61

3.3.2.3 Validating the study 61

3.4 ETHICAL CONSENT 62

3.5. CONCLUSION 63

CHAPTER FOUR: THE EVOLUTION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING 63

4.1 DEFINING GENDER POLICY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT 63

4.2 HISTORY OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT 64

4.2.1 Key Concepts 69

4.2.2 “WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT” and “GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT” 74

4.3 OBSTACLES FACING GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A STRATEGY FOR GENDER EQUALITY 76

4.4 CONCLUSION 78

CHAPTER FIVE: PROFILING THE GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROJECTS 78

5.1 UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF THE DEPARTMENT 78

5.2 REFLECTING ON THE DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT UNIT 79

5.3 UNDERSTANDING THE GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROJECTS AT THE DEPARTMENT 82

CHAPTER SIX: REVIEWING DEPARTMENTAL COLLABORATIONS 103

6.1 COLLABORATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT 103

6.2 COLLABORATIONS WITH THE DEPARTMENT FOR WOMEN 104

6.3 COLLABORATIONS WITH CGE 109

6.4 COLLABORATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY 113

6.5 CONCLUSION 115

CHAPTER SEVEN: ASSESSING POLITICAL WILL IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROJECT AND 8-POINT PRINCIPLE PLAN 116

7.1 SENIOR MANAGEMENT SERVICES ROUNDTABLE FOR WOMEN 116

7.2 SUPPORT AVAILED TO THE PROJECTS 119

7.3 CONCLUSION 132

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ROLE OF RESOURCES AS A CRITICAL FACTOR TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING 133

8.1 CONTEXTUALISING THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES FOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING AT THE DEPARTMENT 133

8.2 RESOURCE ALLOCATION TO THE GENDER MAINSTREAMING PROJECT 137

8.3 THE ALLOCATION AND AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES TO THE 8-POINT PRINCIPLE PLAN 141

8.4 EXTERNAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT 143

8.5 PROVINCIAL VERSUS NATIONAL GENDER MAINSTREAMING EXPERIENCES 152

8.6 CONCLUSION 152

CHAPTER NINE: ASSESSING THE ROLE OF AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT IN THE MAINSTREAMING OF GENDER 154

9.1 DEFINING THE TERM "ENABLING ENVIRONMENT" 154

9.2 PRIORITISATION AND PARTICIPATION OF SENIOR MANAGEMENT SERVICES IN DRIVING THEGENDER AGENDA 161

9.3 THE AVAILING OF HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN BUILDING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT 165

9.4 EXTERNAL STRUCTURES 169

9.5 SUPPORT FROM THE NSG SECTOR IN CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT 172

9.6 CONCLUSION 175

CHAPTER TEN: REVIEWING THE EXPERIENCE OF IMPLEMENTING THE NPF USING GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A STRATEGY 177

10.1 ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL WILL RESOURCING AND CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT 177

10.2 CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING INITIATIVES BY THE DEPARTMENT 196

10.3 CONCLUSION 204

REFERENCES 210

ANNEXURE A 228

LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1: List of National and Provincial Departments that submitted statistical information 89

Table 5.2: National and Provincial Departments with Gender Units 89

Table 5.3: Policy development in departments 90

Table 5.4: Gender-specific training programmes 91

INTRODUCTION

This study is situated in the field of Gender Studies. The study investigates the South African State's (in) ability to effectively mainstream gender as a strategy for gender equality. Despite having ratified several pieces of local, regional and international legislation, the gender agenda seems to be elusive when assessing the implementation of policy for gender equality. This research project posits that political will is the key driver for the success of gender projects in the South African State. Political will is argued to influence the allocation of resources and the development of an enabling environment and therefore is the overriding factor that ensures the effective mainstreaming of gender projects in the State. The study puts forward that political will is the most critical factor for the mainstreaming of gender in the South African State.

The Department of Service and Administration (DPSA) (hereafter referred to as the Department) was selected, as the Ministry responsible for the implementation of gender projects within the State, has the mandate and portfolio for the implementation of policy in State departments in South Africa. Despite the official support expressed by the State in its ratification of major legislation, Dunker (2005) believes that the "gender wave has passed." This study builds on the work of authors such as Hassim, Moser, Cornwall, Gouws, Kabeer, and Rao *et al*. This larger body of research does not drill down into the barriers faced by the State but provides generalised findings in this area. This study unpacks the role of political will be internal and external actors in the successful rollout of gender projects. The individual will of actors is a major factor influencing the availing of resources and the development of an enabling environment. This study adds the wider body of knowledge by providing an insightful look into the role of political will and its influence on the success of gender projects in the South African State.

This study, offers unique insight into the barriers faced in the South African State's implementation of gender equality legislation, by assessing the roles of political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment as key factors in successful Gender Mainstreaming (hereunder referred to as GM). The study analyses the bureaucratisation of GM at the Department and reveals how this allows for the disruption of initiatives and masks the failings of the principle driver for gender equality, namely political will. The bureaucratisation of GM is explained through the various structures put in place to ironically assist the rollout of gender projects aimed at mainstreaming gender in the State. The study provides a close analysis of these key structures as well as role-players outside of the government system that have a major influence on the success of gender projects in the State. The study reveals that without political will from both outside and within the

Department, the success of policy aimed at mainstreaming gender for the achievement of gender equality is, by and large, likely to fail. Political will is therefore highlighted as the most significant element in the progress of GM initiatives for equality with regards to in the South African State.

PROBLEMATISING GENDER (IN) EQUALITY IN THE DEPARTMENT

The South African State has attempted to address the overall goal of gender equality through the ratification of key international, regional and local commitments. The study focuses on the mainstreaming of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (NPF). The NPF defines GM as a goal-oriented process. The framework recognises that most organisations, either willingly or unwillingly serve the interests of males. The framework encourages organisations to incorporate a gender interests towards transformation. GM advocates for equal participation and inclusion of females in the rollout of plans and projects in order for women's interests to become central. The NPF is of particular interest as a research area, since the policy has national application. The extent to which the policy takes into account and/or responds to regional and international ratified legislation for gender equality is also explored. The Department is an appointed policy ministry, which must construct benchmarks and general guidelines and must ensure that State structures are functioning at optimal level. The Department must ensure compliance by State Departments. The role of the Department is to create and enforce interventions to ensure compliance to legislation and thus a functioning public service amongst other functions. Given the mandate of the Department, this study critically evaluates the Department's efforts through the analytical assessment of the following actors and systems at the Department:

1. The efforts of the Department's Diversity Management Unit in the rollout of the Employment Equity Act in the operations of the South African State;
2. The Diversity Management Unit's efforts in the implementation of the 8 principle action plan for promoting women's empowerment and gender equality within the public service workplace (hereafter referred to as the 8-Point Principle Plan) and
3. The Diversity Management Unit's collaboration(s) with key role-players such as the NSG (which falls under the Department), National Gender Machinery (NGM), Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), Women's Ministry and key civil society organisations (CSOs) selected for this study.

The hypothesis of this thesis is that despite all the positive gains made in the last 23 years, the Department, as the policy implementation arm of government, is still failing in relation to implementing GM Projects in the South African State. The gaps in implementation are multi-

faceted and are not unique to gender policy. For the purpose of this research, the following major elements were assessed:

1. Political will;
2. Resourcing; and
3. Enabling environment.

The research revealed the notable interplay between political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment. It also revealed that the most important enabling factor for the implementation of GM initiatives, is in fact, political will.

Although relevant structures are guided by the Constitution, the NPF and other relevant Acts in implementing GM, there appears to be an absence of common understanding within structures as to what GM entails. As a result, there is an inconsistent approach and lack of accountability. These gaps in implementation have occurred despite the conscious effort made by the activists who conceptualised and set up the NGM system after the 1994 elections, not to create ineffective and non-functional systems (Hassim, 2003:508-510). She further notes that these gender machineries are:

> "…. often imposed through donor intervention upon otherwise conservative and even undemocratic political elites rather than won as a political victory by women's organisations."

The author further argues that other factors that contribute to the ineffectiveness of GFPs are the *laissez faire* attitude of officials within departments in terms of taking the focal points seriously, the appointment of "career bureaucrats" who have no interest or knowledge in GM, a lack of resources, "failure" by the Office on the Status of Women (OSW) to lead with strategic direction with regard to developing "a broad framework within which specific policy demands could be politically legitimised, and against which internal government advocacy could take place", and that the public service places more emphasis on getting the number of women right, rather than on entrenching GM…".(Hassim, 2003:508–510).

Research conducted by Meer (2005:42-43) concludes that institutions aimed at supporting the government to entrench gender equality are poorly resourced; there is an absence senior management support; and also absence of clarity in terms of gender goals. Rao and Kelleher (2005:57–58) support Meer's findings, and State that a lot has not changed in terms of institutionalising GM, whether it be: "… trade unions, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), women's organisations, State bureaucracies, or corporate structures."

Both Rao and Kelleher emphasise institutional challenges faced by those who need to implement GM. In institutions, these challenges include challenges of clarity, challenges of organisational change, as well as challenges of measurement.

To assess if this hypothesis is valid, this research project looked at the Department's role as the policy implementation arm of government. Two key projects undertaken by the Ministry informed the research, namely the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. It is important to note that the GM Project seeks to enable the 8-Point Principle Plan and was a well-resourced project both from a financial and human resources perspective. The GM Project effectively attempts to mainstream the 8-Point Principle Plan in that the goal of the project is to address the areas identified in the plan amongst others. The core output of the GM Project is the delivery of a training course that seeks to ensure the development of gender action plans for a department amongst other goals of gender awareness and sensitisation, to name a few. Notably, the case presented shows overwhelming evidence that in fact even with a well-resourced project, the critical factor for success is that of political will.

This assertion provides insight into how the absence of political will can essentially cripple an otherwise successful project rollout. The overwhelming assumption regarding the failure of projects in government, as is evident from the interviews conducted, is the absence of resources, both human and financial and the absence of an enabling environment. The case presents a unique presentation of gender projects in the South African State by providing evidence that supports the important role of political as the crucial enabling factor for the rollout of gender projects.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of this study was to provide a critical review of the manner in which the Department implements gender projects as a strategy for the mainstreaming of the NPF, also known as the Gender Policy Framework (GPF), as well as the obstacles to implementation faced by those government officials whose responsibility it is to implement GM. Specific focus was made on the roles of political will, resourcing and constructing an enabling environment in enabling/constraining the implementation of gender equality using GM as a strategy. The research project was premised on the hypothesis that even with the existence of gender structures, many face numerous barriers in implementing GM Projects towards the fulfilment of the GPF. Furthermore, the significance of GM in structures is not fully understood or consistently implemented. The latter is of utmost significance as it reflects the need for collaborations with the relevant gender structures and highlights the importance of resourcing these structures in the fulfilment of their functions. The study also analyses the role of actors outside of the system namely, the South African Women's Movement and questions the roles of both Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Faith Based Organisations (FBOs). While the research project focused on the GM Project and the implementation of the 8-Point Principle Plan, it highlights the importance of political will as the major enabling factor in the rollout of these projects.

RATIONALE FOR RESEARCHING THE DEPARTMENT

The Department was chosen for the study because of its responsibility as the policy implementation arm of government. The Department, as mentioned earlier, is responsible for the mainstreaming of the NPF, now known as the GPF. The Department played a leading role by encompassing GM quite early after the inception of the Beijing Platform for Action (Goetz, 1997 and Gouws, 2005, see also Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002). This is evidenced by the development and sustenance of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Thus, this department provided an excellent case for the testing of the hypothesis. The interface of the Department with the key structures outlined above enabled the research focus to be both inwardly and outwardly focused.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research study used a case study approach to the NPF, now known as the GPF. As a broad research question, the study focused on answering the following: What are the factors that enable and/or restrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal? The study looked for evidence of GM initiatives as identified in the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. This evidence was used to measure whether the gap between policy and practice was, in fact, being closed by the Department in its commitment to the GPF. The study looked at the roles and responsibilities of the CGE, the NGM and the civil society organisation, in assisting and/or hindering the mainstreaming of gender.

To answer the research question, the following methodologies were used:

- A vast literature review was undertaken on GM and the Women in Development (WID) and the Gender and Development Network (GAD) approaches that form the historical context. The study drew on authors such as Moser, Cornwall, Kabeer, Hassim, Gouws, and Rao *et al*., and key journal articles.
- Qualitative interviews with relevant Department and project partner NSG staff, who delivered the projects were included in the case study. The study looked for evidence regarding project goals, analysing whether these had been accomplished, and assessed if gender relations were changes through the gender projects at the Department.
- The case study approach was employed, although key players in the South African gender landscape were included to ensure a broader perspective on the GM initiatives by the Department. The case study approach is an appropriate methodology, given that literature on GM as a strategy indicates that this is a failing in many countries.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The key research question was “What are the factors that enable and/or constrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal?” The following sub-questions were addressed:

1. Who, within the State, is responsible for the mainstreaming of the NPF?

2. How do these role-players understand their mandate?

3. What resources are available to the structures and partners in the implementation of the NPF?

4. What (if any) is the role of political will in the implementation of the NPF?

5. What (if any) is the role of an enabling environment in the implementation of the NPF?

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

GM, as illustrated earlier, has many facets for further exploration. This research project did not assess all the gaps in implementation facing the NGM, but rather focused on its relationship with the Department. Firstly, the research project was limited to a discussion on key documents emanating from the Department's Portfolio Committee and Ministerial reports but did not assess the obstacles faced by these offices. Secondly, utilising interviews as a method of collecting information poses challenges, particularly when it comes to scientific validation, since the subjects who are interviewed have their own beliefs, approaches and dynamics that might influence the answers provided.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Introduction

This Chapter frames the focus of the thesis, which is to critically review the Department's mechanisms that enable the implementation of the NPF in the operations of the South African State. The key research question is "What are the factors that enable and/or constrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal?"

Chapter One: Interrogating the State

This Chapter discusses the State structures produced by the South African State to mainstream gender into its operations. The interface of these structures with the Department is explored in later Chapters; however, relationships with these structures are alluded to. The Chapter provides discusses the NPF. The Chapter also discusses the CGE, as a Chapter Nine Institution outside of State structures, in influencing political will; the availing of resources; and the creation of an enabling environment. The Chapter also provides details of how the Department defines GM in its operations and gives a brief introduction to the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan of Action for Promoting Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality within the Public service (hereafter referred to as the 8-Point Principle Plan) Workplace as key mainstreaming interventions undertaken by the Department.

Chapter Two: South Africa's Legislative Commitments to Gender Equality

This Chapter discusses the South African State's international, regional and local commitments to gender equality. It unpacks the State structures put in place to implement GM Projects within the public service. The Chapter focuses on the major legislative commitments undertaken by the State.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This Chapter discusses the methodology used in the completion of this study. The case study method was chosen, as the research involved an in-depth study of the Department and its relationship with the State structures responsible for the mainstreaming of the NPF. Two main projects undertaken by the Department, namely the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project was the focus of the study. The profile of a bureaucrat was included to gain information to inform new research, which may not necessarily lie in any formal report or existing literature.

Chapter Four: The Evolution of Mainstreaming

This Chapter discusses the theory of policy-making for gender equality mainstreaming in the South African State. South African feminist literature on the gaps between policy-making and successful implementation is discussed. The literature review presents the theory on which the study is based. The Chapter traces the history of the development of GM, the evolution of GM and the principles underlying the implementation of GM. The Chapter also includes a focus on the barriers to the rollout of GM. Finally, the role of discourse analysis as a school of thought is also discussed given its importance in achieving the goals of this research project.

Chapter Five: Profiling the Department

This Chapter profiles the Department, indicating its mandate, changes in reporting lines and influence on the prioritisation of the mainstreaming of the NPF. The role of the Diversity Management Unit and the subsequent structure and functions is mapped out. The Chapter also profiles a bureaucrat, whose work focuses on the implementation of GM and relates this to the barriers and/or enablers of GFPs. Collaborations with internal and external partners for the mainstreaming of gender in the achievement of the NPF are unpacked. Additional collaborations with the NSG as the sister department under this Ministry are explored. The Chapter interrogates the Department's efforts in enabling/impeding the mainstreaming of the

NPF. The focus is on the mainstreaming of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project as the two main projects for the mainstreaming of gender into the operations of the public service.

Chapter Six: Assessing the Inter-connectedness of the Department

This Chapter assesses the collaborations of the Department with internal and external role-players in the rollout of the GM Projects. Collaborations with the NSG; the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); the CGE; and the Department for Women (DoW) are discussed. The validity of the inter-connectedness of the Department is limited to the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project. These collaborations are further unpacked when analysing the factors of political will, resourcing and the creation of an enabling environment in later Chapters.

Chapter Seven: Assessing Political Will in the Implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan

This Chapter defines political will and analyses the role of political will in pushing the gender agenda at the Department. The Chapter unpacks the role of political will in enabling and/or creating barriers to the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The Chapter documents the lived experience of key staff at the Department as well as that of a key gender activist relating to the role of political will in the implementation of GM Projects. The Chapter also offers some tentative conclusions on the role of political will in the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

Chapter Eight: The Role of Resources as a Critical Factor in Mainstreaming of Gender

This Chapter hones in on the use and allocation of resources in furthering the gender project goals at the Department. The Chapter looks at the resources allocated to the Diversity Management Unit in the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the resources allocated to the GM Project in the rollout of the GM Course. For the purposes of this research project, resources are defined as human and financial resources allocated to the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. An analysis of budgetary and human resource constraints is presented, as solicited through interviews with relevant staff in the units concerned as well as key people in the civil society sector and other key role-players.

Chapter Nine: Assessing the Role of an Enabling Environment in the Mainstreaming of Gender

This Chapter analyses the role of an enabling environment as a factor in the successful mainstreaming of gender for gender equality at the Department. Gumede (2008:10) claims that in post-Apartheid South Africa, significant challenge is rebuilding the institutional mechanisms and initiating and implementing legislation. Ultimately Gamete's assessment of the South African post-Apartheid public service is a summation of the existing State of GM policy implementation problems. The major focus of the Chapter is on the enabling environment in ensuring the successful rollout of the two key projects rolled out by the Department namely, the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The enabling environment is assessed in terms of the prioritisation and participation by Senior Management Services (SMS) in driving the gender agenda at the Department; the availing of resources (both human and financial); and the support from external structures to the operations of the Department in mainstreaming gender. These criteria are measured through an analysis of reports generated for both projects as well as through testimonies from relevant staff at the Department. In addition, experts were consulted for their opinions on the importance of an enabling environment in terms gaining external support such as from the NGM, DoW and the CGE.

Chapter Ten: Reviewing the Department Experience of Implementing the NPF using GM as a Strategy

This Chapter reviews the conclusions of the research study and reviews the role of political will, availing of financial and human resources (HR) and the development of an enabling environment in the mainstreaming of the NPF through the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The analysis of the findings of the research informs possible considerations for the successful execution of commitments to gender equality at the Department.

CHAPTER ONE: INTERROGATING STATE STRUCTURES

State structures, which were developed by the South African public service to mainstream gender into its operations, are discussed in this Chapter. The interface of these structures with the Department is explored in greater depth in later Chapters; however, relationships with these structures are alluded to.

The Chapter presents the NPF, which is now known as the GPF. It also covers the influence on political will of the CGE, as a Chapter Nine Institution outside of State structures; the availing of resources and the development of an enabling environment. The bureaucratisation of gender project implementation is analysed in terms of how State structures ultimately create confusion over mandates, resulting in political will being the major driver in the success of GM Projects. This Chapter also provides details of how the Department defines GM in its operations and provides a brief introduction to the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan as key mainstreaming interventions implemented as key "gender equality" projects by the department.

1.1 ANALYSING THE ROLES OF KEY PUBLIC SERVICE STRUCTURES

The South African State is described as:

> "The set of structures and processes (including the public service, the nature of governmental-social relationships and internal organisational dynamics) which evolve over time as a permanent part of the dynamics of government."
>
> (Picard, 2005:13).

The development and launch of the NGM was led by the then OSW in the Presidency, which was responsible for the support of GM initiatives in the South African public service. The African Development Bank (2009:21) describes the NGM, until May 2009, as follows:

> "The OSW is located in the Office of the Presidency at the national level and in the Office of the Premiers at the provincial level. The Gender Focal Units or Points in government departments also exist at both national and provincial level and are coordinated by OSW.
>
> "The CGE is an independent body and also has provincial offices."

> "The Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JMC) comprises members from the National Assembly (NA) and members from the National Council of Provinces (NCOP).
>
> "Finally, gender focused NGOs are also seen as forming part of the NGM."

The final point speaks to a subtle shift in the South African women's movement. This meant that women's organisations were amalgamated as part of the NGM and were not seen as outside of the State operations. The latter is tested in later Chapters as to the efficacy of this claim. While the Women's National Coalition (WNC) was active prior to democracy, now gender-focused organisations were also included. The decline of the WNC was clearly evident. The activism of the women's movement allowed for much progress for South African women in the early 1990s. An example is:

> "… the "Women's Charter process", in which women, with the WNC 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)

The decline is evident in the slow retraction of the women's movement in lobbying government, as well as in active citizenship. Many women activists had been absorbed into government and this had a major impact on their effectiveness. (Fester, 1998). The decline, however, was preceded by many critical actions to ensure GM occurred within the State. Gouws (2005: 113) expands on the acceptance of the NGM, "The acceptance of an NGM followed on a long and hard struggle by South African women to put gender on the agenda."

The JMC was constructed to monitor the implementation of GM initiatives. It undertook an analysis of the progress of the NGM from its inception in 1996 until 2008. In May 2009, following intensive lobbying, and built on the work of the South African Women's Movement in placing gender on the agenda. The development and launch of the Ministry of Women, Children, Youth and the Disabled was a major step forward. The Mandela-led ratified the highest of international women's rights available at the time, by enabling constitutional equality. The NGM was founded on a long tradition of struggle therefore the establishment thereof was not easy. Women's issues and women's struggles featured in the national liberation struggle in the 1980s (see Walker, 1982; Fester, 1998; Fester, 2000; and Geisler, 2004).

The time period 1994–1996 was critical with regards to public participation. Walsh (2006:86) claims that:

> "… new attention was paid to gender equality in the economy, and new institutional reforms were established to ensure government accountability on gender issues… Never before had all of South people been invited to exercise their freedom of speech, to convey their ideas to regional and national Parliaments, or parade in the streets celebrating the ideals of their nation."

This inclusivity was, however, short lived. Walsh explains that, by 1997, the African National Congress (ANC) moved to marginalise feminists. The changes in politics have a direct relationship with public administration (see also Fester, 2005; Gouws, 2005; and Hassim, 2006). Public administration has its roots in politics; without meaningful political will, administration cannot implement sound policies and legislation (Du Toit & Van der Walt, 1999). Notably, political will is required in order to provide access to resources and thereby create an enabling environment. This is demonstrated in greater detail in later Chapters, however it is important here to acknowledge that political will is the overriding element in the achievement of GM Projects.

Given the delay in the adoption of the NPF, each member of the machinery assumed roles and responsibilities, which in practice resulted in many portfolio overlaps. Initially the CGE, viewed as being part of civil society (see Gouws, 2006). The NGM was under staffed and under financed. In 1997, the OSW was populated with two staff members. The CGE had a budget of ZAR 2 million, the budget could not cover salaries and therefore money for projects was lacking. The Human Rights Commission, however had a budget of ZAR 27 million (Geisler, 2004:139). This point is notable as it speaks to the lack of prioritisation of gender on the national agenda.

The new Ministry was tasked with advocating women's rights and was formed to ensure that gender equality was achieved in the public service. A major strategy of the Ministry was to co-ordinate the NGM and provide a mainstreaming function for issues of gender, youth and disability. The previous organogram indicated an entire Chief Directorate has been appointed to the area of GM (see www.wcpd.gov.za). The Ministry was subsumed under the Department of Social Development (DSD) in 2014 due to poor performance and lack of political will and subsequently elevated to Ministerial status once again in 2015, as the DoW. The latter is explored more thoroughly in Chapter Three.

The interface between the Ministry and the Department is explored in this study under the theme of collaborations. This theme is critical to contributing to the wider body of knowledge

as the interface of the Department with important role-players, for example, the Women's Ministry, the driver of the NGM, is essential to the overall aim of mainstreaming gender equality. Notably, the Department is inwardly focused on policy development and implementation. Resources, political will and an enabling environment relate to policy development and implementation within the Department but they are also critically linked to the DoW, the CGE, and the NSG, amongst others.

Structures for gender equality also existed at Parliamentary level. The South African women's non-partisan Parliamentary caucuses were the Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU) and Parliamentary Women's Group (PWG), which had multi-party affiliations (Britton, 2005; Vetten, *et al*., 2013). These caucuses functioned as spaces for the deliberation of issues affecting to women in South Africa. The WEU supported women Parliamentarians in gaining technical capacity to advance a gender equality agenda.

However, the WEU and PWG were not institutionalised within Parliament and did not receive support from institutional resources (Vetten, *et al*., 2013). Furthermore, "… some MPs also commented that the idea of a caucus that was not subject to the authority of party whips was increasingly seen as problematic to party hierarchies." (Vetten, *et al*., 2012:11). By 2002, both caucuses had largely fizzled out. Hassim (2006b:195) notes that the failure of women political elites within Parliament to sustain multi-party women's caucuses "… was a strong indication of the shallowness of common interest among women from different parties."

During negotiations in the early 1990s, a major issue was the preservation of the foundational principles upon which the CGE was built (Meintjes, 2005). Chapter Nine of the Constitution addresses this by stating amongst others, the CGE. In terms of the Constitution, Chapter Nine Institutions are independent. These institutions are only subjected to the Constitution and the law. Whilst South Africa has progressive policies and a Constitution that propagates gender equality, the realising of these rights is achieved in a very limited manner (Fester, 2007; Salo, 2001; Salo, 2007; Hassim, 1999; and Govender, 2002).

The GM Project (GMP) was proposed in order to build capacity within the former Public Administration Leadership and Management Academy (PALAMA). The intention was to develop a project that could be delivered to South African public servants. It was envisaged that the GMP would develop State capacity to integrate gender considerations into public service delivery. PALAMA is now known as the NSG and is essentially a government department in its own right, with its own Director-General. However, both its Director-General and the Director-General of the Department report to the same Minister, namely the Minister of Public service and Administration. Each "Department" operates autonomously and is managed independently.

In this study, the extent to which this can be viewed as a mechanism by the Department is examined, drawing on interviews with relevant staff based at the Department and the NSG.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY

South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2002), then known as the NPF and now known as the GPF, reflects the State's goal to attain gender equality. The policy details GM strategy imperatives outlines long-term and short-term goals for the attainment of equal rights regardless of gender. Gender equity refers to the achievement of results that comply with the needs of both men and women. Gender equity strategies are employed to attain gender equality. Equality is achieved through using equity as a means. (Marshall, 1996).

The GPF details tools for the achievement of gender equality. The review of existing policies and implementation of departmental action plans are squarely placed in the hands of provincial and national "GFPs". The policy assumes that each Gender Focal Point (GFP) is placed at a level that allows for impact and access to resources and also possesses the requisite skills for the development of departmental action plans. Key partners include Premiers, Ministers, Members of the Executive Council (MECs), Directors-General, the then OSW, and several Sector-Specific Organisations (CSOs) (NPF, 2002:8). There is a notable reliance on senior political officials to push the "gender agenda". It can be deduced that the GPF, through the naming of key partners, acknowledges the significance of political heads and administrative heads in the implementation of gender projects. The document speaks broadly of "women's organisations and sector specific civil society" but clearly notes the link of the public service to other sectors. Again, it is noted that without the political will of role-players, both internally and externally, the success of initiatives cannot be realised.

The then OSW, based in the Presidency, was tasked with the Development of the GPF and was meant to support GFPs and most notably also, with the crafting of frameworks for implementation. The partners identified for these tasks were; MECs; Directors-General; Cabinet; Premiers; Ministers, GFPs at national, municipal and provincial government levels; CGE; and Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement and Quality of Life and Status of Women (NPF, 2002:8). Here again, it is noted that political and administrative Heads are named as key partners in the success of gender projects.

The Cabinet Committee was responsible for the adoption of the GPF for the application thereof to parliamentary documentation and processes. (NPF, 2002:8). The Presidency, the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement and Quality of Life and Status of Women,

Office on the Status of Women and GFPs were noted as partners to support the Cabinet Committee. Here there is a heavy reliance on the Presidency for the adoption of the GPF and to ensure ministerial commitment. These are viewed as vital elements in the adoption of the framework.

The progress of the women empowerment and monitoring thereof were the responsibility of the OSW, GFPs, CGE and other independent statutory bodies (NPF, 2002:8). The policy document is vague on naming the "other independent statutory bodies". The partners for these tasks were identified as the Parliamentary committees, women in civil society, OSW and line departments. The policy Statement regarding the inclusion of these partners is seemingly absent from the operations of both the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

The implementation of the GPF however, has been limited and reduced to equity compliance for employment. (Public service Commission (PSC) Report, 2006). This is in line with Employment Equity Act.[1] The Act does not, however, make specific reference to the inclusion of gender desks as targets, this being at the discretion of each department. Since 2006, reports on the issue of representation as a strategy for gender equality, have revealed that the average performance of departments against this principle has been poor.

The lack of Employment Equity (EE) plans and EE progress reporting created a barrier to the attainment of national representation targets and the rollout of strategies diversity management. 23 (77%) of the 30 departments had more than the required 75% Black persons at senior management level only 28 (93%) of the 30 departments were unable to reach the 50% target for women at all senior management levels by 31 March 2009. In addition, 25 (83%) of the departments could not achieve the 2% target for people with disability by 31 March 2010 (See Seventh Consolidated Public service Monitoring and Evaluation Report: Evaluation Cycle 2009/2010).

The GPF outlines a broad guideline and suggests "an annual national reporting mechanism" to ensure regular follow-up and review of progress in implementation. In ensuring progress, the GPF States a clear move from policy formulation to effective implementation. The framework recognises the need for concerted effort from all sectors, however it clearly emphasises the following:

- Leadership from senior management and support thereof;
- Conducive networking;

[1] See www.labour.gov.za

• Revolution in behaviour.

(NPF for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, 2000:58).

The above elements are considered in this study through an analysis of the Department's mechanisms for the implementation of the GPF. Whilst various gains were made using the framework as a basis, in 2013 there was a firm move towards the legislation of gender equality. As Stated in the Bill itself, this was designed "… to establish a legislative framework for the empowerment of women; to align all aspects of laws and implementation of laws relating to women empowerment, and the appointment and representation of women in decision making positions and structures; and to provide for matters connected therewith." The Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill of 2013, however, did not come to fruition and is considered legislation that was never passed and/or implemented.

1.3 DEFINING GENDER MAINSTERAMING AT THE DEPARTMENT

The key drivers, as identified by the then Director-General of the Department, were PALAMA (now known as the NSG), the Department, the Office of the PSC and the NGM (see speech delivered by Prof. Richard Levin, Director-General for Public service and Administration, at the 1st Gender Indaba 2008, held from 18 to 19 August 2008, Birchwood). This is, however, too limited in scope and must include the CGE as well as civil society organisations. This thesis interrogates whether these key pieces of the NGM need to be mobilised in order for gender to be mainstreamed in an effective manner, with specific reference to the interface with the Department's Diversity Management Unit.

The NSG was formerly a unit of the Department The "school" was elevated to a department in 2000 under the name "South African Management and Development Institute" and allocated its own Director-General. However, this department still falls under the Department Ministry, i.e. it reports to the same Minister. The Department prioritised the formalisation of GM in a formal launch in 2008. Notably, in the same year, the South African Management and Development Institute was reconstituted as the PALAMA and subsequently re-launched as the NSG in 2010.

Prior to the development of the GM Programme, the South African Management and Development Institute (formerly PALAMA and thus also the NSG) commissioned a needs analysis, which was conducted by Truida Prekel in June 2003 (GM Final Report, 2013).

> The needs analysis showed that although affirmative action and employment equity legislation existed, in 2001 White males held 93% of the top management positions, showing slow progress from 1998. Black females possessed less than 10% of the leadership positions, and only 6.6% of the directorships in that period. Men were still

> predominant in the economy and in the trade union movement in South Africa. In 2005, men filled 70.4% of management positions in the public service compared to 29.55% by women. In 2003, Cabinet set a target for 30% of senior management positions to be held by women by 2005 and this was revised to 50% by March 2009. Representation by women increased from 17% in 1999 to 29% in March 2005 and 30% in March 2006
>
> (PSC Report, 2007:26).

It is noteworthy that while progress was made in female representation in higher management echelons in national departments, the achievement of the set targets varied across both national departments and provinces, with some departments and provinces reaching or exceeding targets and others showing very little or no progress at all. Furthermore, although progress was apparent, the majority of women in the State service were employed at lower levels, i.e., below level 13. The highest percentages of women in senior positions, both nationally and provincially, were in departments such as Health and Social Development (PSC Report 2007, see also Beijing +15, 2009:15). This is perhaps a skewed reflection of GM, as both these departments are associated with care giving and stereotypically employ more women and are women-led in terms of operations. The statistics reflected, are also indicative of the discrepancy between women at senior levels and at lower levels. The representation of women seems to be approached without a secure target for women in senior management.

In 2008, the launch of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project were defined as the key initiatives to be driven by the Department (First Inaugural Gender Indaba, 2008). GM was defined in a very limited manner by the Department. The major constraints on the two projects were resourcing, political will and an enabling environment. As will be seen in later Chapters, interviewees claim that support from senior management for the implementation of the GM Project was lacking. Attendees were sent for training; however, implementation of gender action plans was poor due to poor buy-in from senior management who had "implementation power" (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013).

The GM Project presented several drawbacks to a sustainable mainstreaming strategy. The aim of the project was to create minimum capacity in public service departments at national and provincial level so as to ensure the mainstreaming of gender (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013). Notably, the accredited status of the training programme resulted in a low rate of submission of the portfolio required for successful completion of the course. While attendance of the programme was high, it is questionable as to whether it resulted in fully equipped trainees. Following the initial years of the course being rolled out on a funded basis

through the CIDA, a bold move was made by the NSG to roll out the training project as a one-day workshop in order to increase uptake of the course (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013).

The training programme also presented several problems to implementers. GFPs stated that the gender action plans developed in the course could not be implemented due to the absence of resources and the inability to elevate gender projects to a departmental priority (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013). This is also noted in later Chapters by interviewees at the Department. The training programme provided no room for impact assessment. GFPs were therefore required to attend a programme but were not provided with any support by the Department in implementing an action plan. This barrier to implementation is of particular importance as it alludes to how GM is defined at the Department. Training is essentially undertaken in a vacuum without any follow up support to departments. The latter is discussed at further in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine of the thesis.

The 8-Point Principle Plan, as mentioned earlier, is the second project featured in this study and employed by the Department to mainstream gender in the public service. Noteworthy are the efforts by the Diversity Management Unit in this regard. Provincial and national departments are provided with workshops on how to implement the 8-Point Principle Plan (Department Annual Report, 2009/2010). These efforts are however lacking from the NSG as this is viewed as the responsibility of departments (GM Evaluation Report, 2013). The concrete results of the workshops are in fact limited to the compliance reporting enforced by the Department. Within the Department itself, forums are run for Women in Management and themed events for Women's Month, however sustainable gender forums were only instituted in 2015 (Interview with Anna, NSG).

Of particular importance is the silence from both civil society and the CGE on the workings of the Department as the key policy Ministry. This omission is noteworthy as it speaks to the disjointedness of the NGM in the rollout of gender projects in the South African public service. The role of other public service departments in this regard, such as the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME), is not within the scope of this study, but remains an important debate to be engaged in by other scholars. GM efforts at the Department are reduced to training and compliance reporting. As a policy implementation Ministry, efforts to provide GM support to the departments in their efforts towards implementation must be at a larger scale. The Department must take the lead in the implementation of the two projects aimed at gender equality in the South African State in order to fulfil the intentions of the GPF. The role of political leadership and buy-in is the main factor in the success of GM as a strategy for the achievement of equal gendered rights.

1.4 REFLECTING ON INTERNATIONAL CASES FOR GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Rathgeber (2006:14) argues "…some agencies have regarded GM as a goal that can be achieved through the provision of appropriate training materials, guidelines and checklists for their staff. However, experience has shown that GM cannot be achieved without active involvement by senior managers." Rathgeber's experience is echoed in the South African experience and is showcased in later Chapters.

Globally, other governments have noted that institutional mechanisms must be developed in order for gender to be effectively mainstreamed. This shift is largely due to pressure from the United Nations (UN). Rai (2008:75) States that:

> 'States" acceptance of the outcome of the world conferences on women, particularly the BPFA and the outcome document of the twenty-third special session of the Gender Assembly on Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century, has resulted in commitment to some form of institutional change."

Madrid (2009) adds to the debate by arguing that though much attention has been paid to gender equity, this issue has not been adequately addressed by countries seeming to be in compliance with the requirements of international treaties. Madrid therefore supports the notion that countries are complying with legalistic requirements for GM in a very limited manner thus rendering GM efforts ineffectual. Compliance is highlighted in this study as a major element in limiting GM initiatives by the Department and is explained thoroughly through further analysis in later Chapters.

> Gender equity has become a public issue since the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985). Several countries have provided different emphasis to this problem. Other countries have developed broad gender policies and mechanisms others have partial and sometimes incoherent actions. (Madrid, 2009:1).

This points to the disjointed nature of State implementation of gender projects towards gender equality as the overall goal. Madrid (2009) notes that the implementation of policies advocated by the Women's National Service (SERNAM) does not interface with the policies of the Chilean Department of Education, rendering Chile's educational policies insensitive to gender. Without this close synergy, other role-players such as the Chilean Catholic Church regulate a more conservative policy, especially in the area of sexual health (Madrid, 2009:9). That said, Chile has had notable success in the mainstreaming of gender in other areas. The establishment of the Council of Ministers on Equal Opportunity and the inclusion of gender as a focus in the Ministry for Finance signify progress, particularly in the former where "equal

opportunity" is informed by the Equal Opportunity Plan for Women and Men (Report on Implementation of the BPFA presented by the Government of Chile to the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 2004:25). Similarly, at the Department, employment equity features as a major move towards equality but is, at the same time, limiting when one looks at compliance. The latter is explained in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, when interrogating political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment as factors for the mainstreaming of gender.

Programmes in Uganda were affected by factors such as insensitivity, poorly rendered gender disaggregated data and limited financial resources, amongst others. These factors result in poor gender responsiveness and poor gender-sensitive development practice (Tanzarn, 2003:6). Similar cultural problems are faced in South Africa (Ratele, 2007). Once again, the need for institutional mechanisms for the effective mainstreaming of gender is emphasised, because social and cultural stereotypes still treat GM as a women's issue. There is a glaring failure to implement seemingly progressive legislation.

Mexico faces similar barriers to the mainstreaming of gender in its energy sector, particularly in the Department of Technical Co-operation. Like Uganda, this male dominated sector struggles to mainstream gender due to a lack of institutional mechanisms. Rathgeber (2006) explains that in the Department of Technical Co-operation there are glaring problems with the recruitment of female scientists.

> Often women and girls are steered away from careers in science. It is therefore necessary to build a base of female scientists to counterbalance this.
>
> (Rathgeber, 2006:35).

Rathgeber (2006) claims that women are deliberately excluded from the recruitment process, based on ideas as to what "qualified" means. She advocates the need for a clear understanding of what "qualified" is defined as and maintains that the area of management experience needs to be revised in order to provide equal opportunities. In the case of Mexico, women were delayed in achieving their management experience in the field of nuclear energy and this must not be recognised as a short-coming for such candidates in the recruitment process.

Rathgeber (2006) advocates that the Department of Technical Co-operation must work closely with the national women's machinery and provide support for GM to be effective. The author States that:

> "… national machineries are given the necessary support to enable them to provide input into the projects of national counterparts, e.g. budget provision should be made for a local gender consultant" (Rathgeber, 2006:36).

Furthermore, Rathgeber (2006) recommends the need for a gender action plan that is institutionalised at all levels of the Department of Technical Co-operation in order for the mainstreaming of gender to be effective. Mexico's recommendations resonate with those proposed by both Chile and Uganda. Seemingly, although there is a commitment to GM on paper, these paper rights are not being translated into reality. Patriarchy still dominates the daily operations of government departments (Gouws, 1999; Lewis, 1999; Prinsloo, 1999; and Watson, 1997).

In the case of the Caribbean, a study was done on 10 countries namely; Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Barbados, Belize, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago by Harris, Kambon and Clarke in 2000, funded by the CIDA.

> "None of the machineries were originally constituted with a primary mandate as an advocacy unit to influence the planning processes across development sectors. Despite the rhetoric of GM, the machineries remain distant from the ministries of planning" (Harris, Kambon and Clarke 2000:14).

This implies that with the inability to influence planning in ministries, GM continues to be ineffectual because institutional mechanisms are absent from the process. Harris, Kambon and Clarke (2000:15) further explain that although co-ordinators in the national machineries understand their functions and implementation responsibilities, their core responsibilities are hindered by the "absence of clear powers to reject inappropriate policies emanating from other sectors of government bureaucracy." They argue the need for the Caribbean to have a Gender Bureau instead of a Women's Bureau in order to mainstream issues of gender rather than those concerning women only, the latter having outlived its utility value as it faced too many barriers to implementation. Many of these barriers are shared by the South African State. The obstacles cited in the case above included:

- Uncertainty about the role of the bureau;
- Poor access to human and financial resources;
- Poor administrative capability within the public service bureaucracy;

- Lack of co-operation of administrators in instrumental sectors of the economy;
- Poor monitoring mechanisms

(Harris, Kambon and Clarke, 2000:17).

These barriers resonate with the experience of GFPs in the South African State at the Department. The barriers are explored in greater detail in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine. Notably, other countries face similar obstacles in the mainstreaming of gender.

Mehra and Gupta (2006:3) argue, however, that it is too soon to assess effectiveness of gender projects, since much of the mainstreaming has not been supported to be realised. Many elements such as staffing and indicators are precursors to success. This thesis argues that while indeed the precursors to the mainstreaming of gender need to be developed order for mainstreaming to occur, there are further institutional mechanisms that need to develop such as political will; resourcing; and an enabling environment.

This thesis therefore posits that initiatives such as training, indicators etc. are but smaller aspects of a larger picture that speaks to the goals of the public service as a whole and to working collaboratively with other departments, Chapter Nine Institutions and civil society. Mehra and Gupta (2006) noted an important point in the global debates of countries in the developing world, namely the issue of operationalising GM. At the Fourth World Conference for Women in 1995, GM was adopted as a major strategy for gender equality; however, this is not an end in itself. Mainstreaming of gender at an operational level needs to take into account key drivers both within and outside government. This, in effect, means that governments need to mainstream gender into their work and a paradigm shift is needed to achieve this. From the cases discussed, it is noted that GM is mostly adequately addressed at policy level and that glaring failings are evident at implementation level. This can be seen especially in previously male dominated arenas where patriarchal ideology prevails.

The experience of the Department reflects similar problems in implementation of the GPF when examined through the focus on the two projects identified for this study. The State structures in place in South Africa, which ultimately form the bureaucracy surrounding gender projects, have been highlighted in this Chapter. The bureaucratisation of GM prevents successful implementation, but lack of political will and accountability hide behind State structures. Bureaucracy can only be overcome through the political will of actors both within and outside each department. An overriding political will is needed to provide access to resources and create an enabling environment. This argument is demonstrated in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. The following Chapter addresses South Africa's legislative commitments to gender equality.

CHAPTER TWO: SOUTH AFRICA'S LEGISLATIVE COMMITMENTS TO GENDER EQUALITY

Chapter One unpacked State structures put in place to implement GM initiatives within the public service. This Chapter investigates the State's international, regional and local commitments to gender equality. It focuses on the major legislative commitments undertaken by the State. Notably, the discussion below is not exhaustive and focuses on major gender equality implications and how these relate to the Department. Despite all the positive gains made in the last 23 years, the Department, as policy implementation arm of government, still faces obstacles in relation to gender projects. The State's commitment to gender equality reflects political will on paper (see Section 2.1 and 2.2 below). However, without meaningful political will to ensure implementation, legislative commitments remain at an abstract level. The latter will be unpacked in this Chapter. Furthermore, elements that enable and/or constrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal are addressed.

2.1 THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE'S INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL GENDER COMMITMENTS

The State has made various advances towards gender equality beyond the NPF. Roux (2002:421) describes South Africa's re-entry into the global arena post -1994 and the subsequent compliance mechanisms that are associated with this as follows: These organisations, provide the standards against which others are benchmarked. The White Paper on Foreign Policy, tabled in 2011, is clear about the role the Department of International Relations and Cooperation should play in mediating the State's foreign policy. This Department, formerly known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, was renamed in 2009 to reflect:

> "…the Department's role in building deeper and more expansive relations and using these partnerships to advance South Africa's national interests. This approach promotes foreign policy alignment with South Africa's domestic and developmental needs, particularly to create a better life for all South Africans" (White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy, 2011:7)

The White Paper (2002:10) further States:

> "Foreign policy, is an extension of national policy… and encapsulates and conceptualises a South African foreign policy that enables the country to be a good international citizen. As the country engages with its region, continent and the

> international community, it seeks to build an environment in which it can realise its national socio-economic agenda as well as its political and security interests."

Notably, the White Paper (2002:11) admits the shortcomings of South Africa's policy commitments in pursuing a global presence, by stating that:

> "At times, South Africa faces the challenge of balancing its national interests against global realities in a rapidly changing world. Our foreign policy imperatives will need to be able to address and manage these dynamics."

This admission echoes Roux's (2002) sentiments that international standards set for policy "adherence" can become a burning issue when assessing compliance standards. This once again reflects the broader question of this thesis: "Who sets the global agenda?" In pursuit of the global positioning of South Africa as a nation, several local, regional and international commitments were endorsed. These commitments considered several trends, such as "demographics; realignment of new economic powers; new media and social networks; innovation; environmental change; heightened demand for scarce resources; and changing nature of conflict and insecurity" (White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy, 2011:12).

The UN is by and large seen as the key driver of global agendas. Article 1 of the UN Founding Charter makes the following commitment: "To achieve international co-operation … in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." The Economic and Social Council established its Commission on the Status of Women within the first year. The Commission ensured that gender-neutral language featured in the draft Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The feminist movement gained momentum during the 1970s. At its 27th Session, the UN General Assembly declared 1975 as International Women's Year. The UN coordinated and delivered the first World Conference on Women in Mexico City, Mexico. This initiative put women's issues on the agenda. The subsequent UN Decade for Women (1976-1985) became a worldwide campaign to address the concerns of women.

During the UN Decade for Women, key conventions and strategies were adopted. In 1979, the General Assembly drafted and approved the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Convention came into effect in the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women were drafted and accepted by the UN, with the aim to be implemented by the year 2000.

Many organisations focusing on the advancement of women were created at a national, regional and international level. The International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), and the Committee to Monitor the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, were launched, to name a few. Other countries have established national mechanisms to plan such as the National Gender Machineries.

The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, attempted to accelerate the process that formally began in 1975. During the Conference, member States signed the BPFA. With a focus on women's advancement, its aim is to accelerate the "implementation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, and at removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making" (see www.un.org). The Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995:120) highlights the following key areas:

> "To ensure effective implementation of the Platform for Action and to enhance the work for the advancement of women at the national, sub-regional/regional and international levels, governments, the UN system and all other relevant organisations should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective, inter alia, in the monitoring and evaluation of all policies and programmes. Notably at national level, signatories agreed to government commitment to the advancement of the BPFA. Governments have the primary responsibility for implementing the BPFA. Commitment at the highest political level is essential to its implementation, and governments should take a leading role in coordinating, monitoring and assessing progress in the advancement of women."

Although the BPFA acknowledges progress in achieving gender equality, it emphasises the following: The burden of poverty on women; inequalities and inadequacies in education and training amongst others. (Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995:16)

Subsequent to formalising the BPFA, many countries implemented legislation to advance gender equality relations and established machineries to ensure gendered perspectives in all sectors of society. In addition, international agencies have also increased their focused on women's status and roles.

South Africa's Democratic Government was part of the Beijing Conference and ratified the BPFA in 1995. Subsequent organisational arrangements were created to ensure the

implementation thereof. To this end, the extent to which the Department implements its international agenda is interrogated in this study.

In addition, South Africa is signatory to CEDAW, which Pietilä (2007:27-29) describes as the "single most important international legal instrument adopted by the UN". By becoming signatories to this agreement, countries pledge their allegiance to eliminating gender discrimination. Signatory countries are expected to:

> "…incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system; abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women; establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organisations or enterprises" (UN CEDAW).

Notably, signatory countries are bound to implement their commitment. Signatories must submit national reports, every four years (as a minimum standard), on activities they have undertaken to comply with the treaty. Whilst obligatory reporting can be seen as a policing mechanism to ensure social change, States are entitled to their right to autonomy. Given the cultural, political, economic and social barriers (to name a few); as a signatory; this approach to reporting can be viewed as a compliance exercise. Setting the global agenda and the standards against which progress can be measured can, in fact, skew a member State's perceived progress.

The South African State is also a signatory to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (hereafter referred to as the African Charter), which underscores the significant role of women in the protection of African values. The Charter further seeks to address key areas such as healthcare, housing and marriage; to name a few themes. Aligned with this, Article 2 of the Charter States:

> "Parties shall combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures. In this regard they shall amongst others: include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments, if not already done, the principle of equality between women and men and ensure its effective application. (The African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 2002; Article 2:5)

South Africa's commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which the State ratified in 2000, also plays a major role in developing the country's gender agenda. These

agreed-upon world targets aim to “reduce poverty, hunger, disease, exclusion, lack of infrastructure and shelter; while promoting gender equality, education, health and sustainable development.”

The policy commitments discussed above do not stand alone but overlap in relevance and practice. The MDGs, BPFA, CEDAW intersect in their applicability and relevance. MDG Goal 1, “Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger”, is supported by BPFA, Sections A2, A2, A4, F1, F2, F2, F4, F5 and F6. The latter advocates for the revision of laws and administrative practices. CEDAW further reiterates the overall MDG Goal 1, as well as BPFA, Articles 11, 14, 15 and 16, with specific reference to ensuring equal access to employment by removing discriminating practices. The African Charter also supports these themes under “Right to food security”, where there is a call to “provide women with access to clean drinking water, sources of domestic fuel, land and the means of producing nutritious food”.

The MDG Goal 2 “Achieve universal primary education” also intersects with the BBFA, Sections B1, B4, B5, L4 and L7 by ensuring that access to education is equal for girls and promoting the elimination of discrimination experienced by girls in the area of education and skills training. CEDAW also speaks to the BFFA and MDG Goal 2, Article 10, looks at ensuring equal access to the achievement of certificates at all levels of education in despite being based in rural or urban areas; access to the same standard of education; and the eradication of stereotypes in the field of education. The African Charter further overlaps in its scope in Article 12 by highlighting the right to education and training. MDG Goal 2 is to “Promote gender equality and empower women.” The BFFA strategic objective 1.2; H1, H2 and H2 support this goal. CEDAW also overlaps in scope and application in article 2 and General Recommendation 6. The African Charter further promotes the eradication of discrimination against women in article 2. MDG Goal 4 and 5 to “Reduce child mortality” and “Improve maternal health” are closely linked. The BFFA addresses this in C1-C4 and L5. In addition, CEDAW’s Articles 12 and 14 specifically refer to prenatal and maternal health, as well as child mortality. The African Charter overlaps in article 4 with various sub-sections on heath and reproductive rights. Finally, MDG Goal 6 to “Combat HIV/AIDS and communicable diseases, is also supported by the BFFA, Sections C1, C2, D1, F1, G1 and L2. CEDAW reiterates this commitment in Articles 5, 7, 11, 12 and 19.

The CGE Report to the CEDAW Committee (2010:28) reflects a subtle shift in South Africa’s ideas around compliance:

> “South Africa’s failure to report regularly to the CEDAW Committee is a concern. The fact that the current country report does not comply with most of the 2002 Reporting Guidelines of the Committee which relate to; time-frame for reporting; the length of

> the report; resolving concerns of the initial report's concluding comments of the Committee; and considering the general recommendations of the Convention, is a serious concern for the CGE. It is therefore recommended that future government reports be critically examined to assess compliance with the reporting format of CEDAW, and to further assess the extent to which the gaps and challenges are addressed and reported on."

The Shadow Report to the CEDAW Committee, compiled by the NGO sector provides supplementary information to the official reporting by the State on CEDAW and interestingly also provides an analysis of compliance to the protocol. The report, however cites "unique barriers" for implementation (2011:56) alluding to the fact that as a developing nation such as South Africa, perhaps the standards set forth are not easily attainable as when compared to resourced, developed nations who do not face such barriers for example, vast rural areas; cultural barriers; religious and customary marriages; etc.

Regionally, South Africa ratified the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development. This was ratified by the Heads of State in SADC on 8 September 1997. The Declaration States that "gender equality is a fundamental human right and that integration and mainstreaming of gender issues into the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative is key to the sustainable development of the SADC region" (SADC Declaration, 1997). The Protocol seeks to enshrine gender equality in the areas of: Constitutional Rights; Affirmative Action (AA); Marriage and Family Rights; Economic Empowerment; and Domestic Violence, amongst others. Söderbaum (2002:182) comments: "even if there would be achievements in this direction, the multi-dimensionality and heterogeneity of a region like Southern Africa is likely to persist and may eventually increase." SADC has opened itself up to the global economy as a firm attempt to gain assistance. However, Laakso (2002:8) summarises:

> "This requires more than merely the opening up to the global economy. More so, it would have to re-visit matters of regional economic collaboration and seek involvement of the majority of the African population in these countries. The current initiatives by the European Union (EU) and the United States (US) under the World Trade Organisation (WTO) offer little to no promise to contribute to such a desirable tendency, neither in SADC nor elsewhere."

Again, it is suggested that, although there are firm attempts to place international agreements high on the agenda, the extent to which the South African State sets its own agenda in its pursuit of success, must be realised for true development to be undertaken successfully. This is reiterated by Melber (2004:4), who States: "A development strategy

would therefore have to operate in a zone where both internal as well as external integration reinforce rather than undermine each other."

This sub-section dealt with South Africa's international and regional ratifications of gender equality legislation. The discussion now turns to how these commitments are grounded at national level.

2.2 GROUNDING GENDER COMMITMENTS IN LEGISLATION AT NATIONAL LEVEL

Chapter One explained the structures developed by the South African State to address gender equality measures within the State. The South African State has also attempted to ground these international and regional commitments through efforts at a local level through legislation. Various barriers however are encountered as reflected in the South African Beijing +20 Report. Major gaps are experienced between policy and practice. Specific reference is made to "inadequate policy implementation of institutional mechanisms and GM". In the analysis of South Africa's commitments to GM, an observation is made in the report that,

> "…at times there was very little attention paid to the international compliance framework on women's human rights" (Beijing +20 Report, 2014:11).

In line with this, Chukwuemeka (2012:1) notes that:

> "… the need for enhancing the development process in the developing nations is ever becoming more critical and urgent. The pace at which this can be realised is hinged essentially on the ability of the government to formulate appropriate policies and, very importantly, on the capability of the public bureaucracy to effectively implement the formulated policies."

In her case study on Nigeria, Chukwuemeka goes further to State: "The pattern and nature of policy implementation is the major explanation for the failure or success of any given policy."

Nwankwo and Apeh (2008) reflect that implementation phase of a policy development is the important phase in the policy process as this determines the success of failure. As Stated earlier, criteria for the success of international and regional policy has been set by outside role-players for example, the African Union (AU), the UN. Laswell (1958) attributes the failure of achievement of the strategic objectives of key legislation to the multi-actor context. Furthermore, Laswell (1958) States that role players view problems and solutions differently often trying to influence the process. This therefore requires an openness towards

rationalities and lines of argument. Unfortunately, the open evaluation frameworks advocated by Laswell does not find a home in the success criteria outlined earlier in this Chapter.

The South African State has developed a very progressive Constitution to respond to issues of equality, given the political history of the country. Further to this, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is based on human rights values. Chapter 2, Sections 9 and 10 guarantees human dignity. Section 9 (2-4) States that:

> "Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken" (Constitution, 1996:7).

As Stated in Chapter One, The CGE is an independent institution which was launched in 1997 to act as a watchdog for gender policies and to ensure that women's equality is promoted (Meer, 2005: 42- 42). Chapter 9, of the Constitution, 186 (1- 2) reflects that the functions of the CGE are to "promote respect for gender equality and the protection, development and attainment of gender equality". The CGE also has the "power, as regulated by national legislation, necessary to perform its functions, including the power to monitor, investigate, research, educate, lobby, advise and report on issues concerning gender equality". The CGE has the "additional powers and functions prescribed by national legislation".

The legislation applicable to the CGE is the CGE Act 29 (1996), which outlines the functions of the organisation. Its functions are to monitor and evaluate gender equality implementation strategies and projects of government. In its current configuration, the CGE does not have a good working relationship with the former Office on the Status of Women. The JMC on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and the Status of Women was established in 1996 to:

> "… monitor and evaluate progress with regard to the improvement in the quality of life and status of women in South Africa, with specific reference to the Government's commitments to the BPFA, the implementation of CEDAW, as well as any other applicable international instrument" (Meer, 2005:42-42).

The JMC "may make recommendations to both or either of the Houses, or any joint or House Committee, on any matter related to the matters raised above" (NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, 2000: 29-20). (The Department's Diversity Management Unit interface with these structures is explored in later Chapters.)

Stone (2001:24) believes engagement on the 'soft" transfer of ideas, norms and information is easier. The transfer of thoughts can have major impact on the formulation of an agenda and thus will have an impact. The South African State undertook to develop a plethora of legislation to support the implementation of strategies for gender equality. From 1995 to 2005, many gains were made in that area of legislation. The Constitution (Sections 211, 15(b) and 29(2)), include the equality clause, which has served as the basis for laws advancing women and gender equality. There is also an additional constitutional inclusion addressing the development of domestic law taking into account areas as such as customary law.

The Employment Equity Act of 1998 is an example of law reform seeking gender equality. This Act seeks to bring about equality in the workplace and is featured in later Chapters as a means of mainstreaming gender initiatives. Gender equality is explicitly stated in Section 2 as being achieved through the following:

> "Promoting equal opportunity and fair treatment in employment through the elimination of unfair discrimination and;
>
> "Implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce.

In addition, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 was passed into law and protects women, as reflected in Section 2. The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2004 also seeks to achieve the objective of gender equality under Section 2 and specific mention is made of ownership concerning women, participation of women in business etc. The Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act of 2000 aims to implement reforms in the area of procurement. The Act addresses the area of gender equality in Section 2:(d)(i):

> "The specific goals may include: contracting with persons, or categories of persons, historically disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the basis of race, gender or disability."

The Act specifies targets for women and people with disabilities. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 is another piece of legislation attempting to address gender equality and advance social and economic justice. The Maintenance Act of 1998 is applied under Section 2 in terms of the following:

> "The provisions of this Act shall apply in respect of the legal duty of any person to maintain any other person, irrespective of the nature of the relationship between those persons giving rise to that duty.
>
> "This Act shall not be interpreted so as to derogate from the law relating to the liability of persons to maintain other persons."

Essentially the Maintenance Act seeks to address the adequate financial management of children born of any relationship under South African law. The Promotion of Administrative Justice Act of 2000 promotes administrative action that is lawful and procedurally fair. As Stated in the preamble, the Act was developed in order to: promote an efficient administration and good governance; and to create a culture of accountability, openness and transparency in the public administration or in the exercise of a public power or the performance of a public function, by giving effect to the right to just administrative action. (See Promotion of Administrative Justice Act, 2000, Preamble)

The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000 outlines the framework for the implementation of Section 9 of the Constitution. It promotes the achievement of equality. This Equality Act also broadly defines discrimination. Section 8 of the Equality Act outlines prohibited practices on the basis of gender. Furthermore, the Human Rights Commission is mandated under Section 25, Chapter 2 of the Equality Act to investigate allegations of abuse and report on the allegations timeously.

The Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act 92 of 1996 outlines for the circumstances under which pregnancy may be terminated.

> "This Act therefore repeals the restrictive and inaccessible provisions of the Abortion and Sterilisation Act, 1975 (Act No. 2 of 1975), and promotes reproductive rights and extends freedom of choice by affording every woman the right to choose whether to have an early, safe and legal termination of pregnancy according to her individual beliefs" (Act 92 of 1996, Preamble, page 2).

The Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998 seeks to provide maximum protection to the victims of domestic violence. As Stated in the preamble, the Act recognises that domestic violence is a serious social evil. The purpose of the Act is to afford the victims of domestic violence the maximum protection from domestic abuse. The Act seeks to introduce measures to ensure that the relevant organs of State give full effect to the provisions of the Act. (Preamble, page 1 of Act 116)

The Children's Act 28 of addresses the rights of children and is inextricably linked to gender equality by virtue of the implications of the Act for mothers. Finally, the National Policy Framework on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, 2000; this GPF outlines the South African State's vision for gender equality. This document is not intended to be prescriptive but provides overarching principles. The framework details integration with all sectors.

The Beijing +20 Report 2014 States that despite the South African State's progressive local legislative commitments to gender, women continue to be discriminated against. The Report, (2014:11) goes further to explain:

> 'some of the laws also remain ambivalent or are inadequate to tackle systemic and structural discrimination and inequality such as in gender based violence, proprietary rights in marriage, particularly in respect of customary marriages concluded prior to 15 November 2000, hidden employment discrimination, land rights and access and economic inequalities. There is also some resistance to aspects of women's leadership, participation and representation. The factors affecting this will be assessed for the Department in terms of projects and key collaborations attempting to address these shortcomings."

Major obstacles as reported to the UN in the Beijing +20 Report show that there are several areas reflecting elements affecting gender equality including violence against women and girls. Ineffectiveness in mobilising around this social evil was attributed to poor access to resources (both human and financial). Gender-based violence against LGBTI communities was also viewed as a major obstacle in the South African State, answered by the establishment of a task team to address Hate Crime Legislation. The report also includes challenges around inadequate socio-economic empowerment for women.

> "Policies and programmatic measures have also been introduced, however the poor implementation of these in some areas, or the lack of monitoring of these measures, or poor local governance have resulted in anomalies between different municipalities and delivery of basic services" (Beijing +20 Report, 2014:12).

Poverty specifically affecting women, and poor implementation of policy and institutional mechanisms have also been cited as major problems. Young African women attending the Beijing +10 Review claim that an "inclusive" approach was not adhered to. "However, we found that not only was the space of the Beijing +10 process not necessarily defined by the feminist and women's movements – the space was facilitated by the UN" Wilson (2005:64)

.The latter speaks to the dichotomy of being player and referee in the global gender equality struggle.

In the National Gender Survey conducted by the CGE in South Africa, Julien and Majake (2005:78) believe that the findings reflect a reaffirmation that a gap exists between policy and implementation. They recommend that, "... more vigorous intervention is needed for repositioning feminist knowledge and development." This is supported by Moletsane (2005) in her assessment of South Africa's progress towards equality in Education and Grant (2005) in her analysis of women in the South African workplace. Van der Westhuizen (2005:102) adds to the gender equality debate, by affirming that "… at the bottom of gender inequality lies power - who has it, but most decisively, how it is exercised."

Based on the aforementioned, the following question springs to mind: Is the South African State, held hostage to unattainable targets and interventions that are not sensitive to the needs of its people? How is power negotiated between the need to have a global presence and to set a South African gender agenda? Sewpaul (2005) and Rotmann (2005) support the view that the South African State should critically analyse approaches put forward by international and regional bodies before implementing them. The ability of the Department to negotiate this element is investigated.

The Beijing +20 report is also supported by the Towards a 15 Year Review (2009), arguing that:

> "While these institutional arrangements for driving the issues of gender equality tend to be acknowledged internationally as best practice, closer to home one finds challenges in their operation. Chief among these is the matter of entrenched negative attitudes towards gender equality, lack of understanding and accountability to address this coherently, and inadequate mechanisms and resourcing, financially and in terms of human capacity, for effective implementation. Related to this is a problem of policy frameworks without legal status that are therefore not legally binding."

Chukwuemeka (2012), in her discussion on the Nigerian case, States that policy implementation has become the focus, after realising that effective implementation is not an automatic. This is comparative to the case of South Africa, given the major challenges experienced in implementing key legislative commitments discussed this far. Roux (2002:245), in her analysis of policy formulation and implementation, looks at how South Africa is held accountable to a set of standards set by international agreements. "…Government is obliged to constantly measure its national policies and programmes against international, or global, best practices and requirements."

Ultimately, policies formulated by the South African State and the main international legislative commitments, is aimed at change. However, several elements need to be in place to effect this. To this end, Roux (2002:419) claims:

> "Real transformation can only successfully occur when the majority of individuals in political and executive institutions change their mindsets, behaviour and corporate culture. Everything is involved, from structures and systems, management styles, core competencies and worker profiles, to core outputs required."

Roux speaks directly to the factors that form the focus of the study. Political will is a major influence in the implementation of gender projects. Notably the individuals in political institutions have a major influence in the rollout of key projects at the Department as will be explored in later Chapters. The structures and systems at the Department, reflect a heavy dependence on political buy-in for the availing of resources and the creation of an enabling environment (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2012). "Mindsets" as Roux claims, is a very important factor in the mainstreaming of gender at the Department. This sentiment is echoed by Stone (2001:21), who adds an additional element to policy diffusion:

> "The centrality of knowledge in much of the international political economy and emerging forms of global governance suggest new manifestations for the mobilisation of knowledge through networks."

Therefore, in achieving the overall goals of local, regional and international legislation as it relates to gender equality, perhaps a more integrated approach needs to be employed. This is supported by McAdam & Rucht (1992), and Stone (2000). "Knowledge networks" as referred to by Stone, is an important factor in the mainstreaming plans employed at the Department. As mentioned in Chapter One, the lack of support for GFPs is a major stumbling block in the achievement of GM initiatives through training. Knowledge networks is an essential element that can be considered by the Department as a possible support strategy for the mainstreaming of the NPF.

Further legislation in the area of gender equality is the Sexual Offences Act of 2007. The Act intensifies efforts to fight sexual crimes, especially sexual offences committed against vulnerable groups. Of importance is the repealing of previous thinking around this issue. The Act expands application to include sexual violence regardless of gender meaning that violence can be perpetrated by persons of the same sex. The Act enables prosecutors to prosecute a wider range of sexual offences, in collaboration the South African Police Service (SAPS). The Prosecutor-Guided Investigations (PGI) guideline enhances this legislation, as it includes matters by all role-players. This Act also interfaces with the Trafficking Act and

seeks to protect vulnerable groups such as children and the disabled from being trafficked and exploited. The Trafficking Act of 2012 States in Chapter 1 that the objects of the Act are to combat the trafficking of persons in a holistic manner. South Africa, up until this time; did not have any trafficking legislation.

In 2006, the Official State Strategic Framework for Gender Equality in the Public service was launched. The Strategic Framework cites alignment to the NPF. Of note is the inclusion of a Statement regarding compliance to international obligations. “In addition, they are premised on the compliance to agreements contained in sub-regional, regional and international gender instruments to which South Africa is a party” (A Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public service, 2006:12).

In 2005, a Draft National Programme of Action on Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality was proposed by the then OSW. The historical context of the OSW was mapped out earlier in this Chapter. The National Programme of Action was to ensure amongst others, a localised strategy towards ensuring compliance with the South African National Policy Framework on Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality. Public service Commission, gender projects in the Public service Report, 2006:19 clearly reflects South Africa’s progress at local level however the “measurement of success” is still compared to criteria set out in international and regional legislation.

A specific challenge, to the achievement of the goals of the international and regional instruments is that of culture in the civil service.

> ”Participants at senior management level argued that the predominantly male culture has made it difficult for their voices to be heard.” (Public service Commission, GM Initiatives in the Public service Report, 2006:48)

Key conclusions drawn by the PSC indicate the level of success for gender projects in the South African State, stating clearly that leadership support for such initiatives is critical for South Africa. These barriers will require unique intervention at local level in order to be achieve the overall international and regional instruments.

Ntlama (2010:ii) suggests that

> “… gender equality is a gradual process that should not be undertaken overnight but on a continuous basis”.

She goes further to State that law alone is therefore limited in application. The promotion of the right to gender equality is inhibited by many obstacles. These include, but are not limited

to, socio-cultural factors; lack of legal information; lack of access to justice; and most notably poor resources to implement gender legislation. In achieving the criteria for success as set by international and regional instruments, South Africa must acknowledge the role of customary practices. Legal reform must not be cast aside instead, the South African State has to look at addressing the factors affecting the successful implementation of legal reform, specifically looking at the critical factors outlined above. The study therefore builds on Ntlama's argument, by focusing on the translation of policy into implementation:

> "The effectiveness of the law depends on the understanding of the dynamics which are the subject of gender equality. For a deeper understanding of the significance of the law to deal with specific problems relating to inequalities and non-discrimination, it is of utmost importance to take into account the factors that may undermine its significance. The importance of both national and international legal instruments remains constrained in their ability to improve the lives of women. The legal framework is good but its translation to substantive and practical realities remain unclear" (Ntlama, 2010:240).

Mannell (2012) offers another perspective on strategies the South African State. In her pilot study around the "actors" of GM in South Africa, Mannell (2012:61) claims:

> "… GM policy had failed to be implemented in their organisation, including interpersonal disputes, changes in job positions, a lack of support from management, the prioritisation of diversity policy over gender policy, and fatigue with the administrative bureaucracy GM seemed to require."

This observation speaks to the barriers faced by the Department in achieving the standards set by external organisations. Eyben (2008) suggests that, in order for policy to be effective, it cannot be viewed as something handed down by international institutions or Government. Mosse and Lewis (2005) further State that at each stage of policy "production" actors shape the implementation thereof to suit their needs. More "shaping" is needed for the Department, in translating international and regional instruments into practice. The current criteria therefore would also need this influence in order for the Department to be fairly assessed in the international and regional arenas.

The South African State also undertook to establish the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill in 2012. The latter however was influenced by lobbying and by the various portfolios responsible for gender. This began with the OSW then led and managed by the DoW, Children and Persons with Disabilities (DWCPD). As Stated in the preamble, the Act sought to give effect to Section 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, as

far as the empowerment of women and gender equality is concerned, to establish a legislative framework for the empowerment of women; to align all aspects of laws and implementation of laws relating to women empowerment; and the appointment and representation of women in decision making positions and structures. The Bill however has become redundant as this was never implemented. (Gender Equality Billy, 2012, Preamble)

Notably over two decades of democracy, several key pieces of legislation were developed to address gender equality within and outside the Public service. In Chapter One, the structures of Government were discussed at length. However, the persistent problem with the mainstreaming of gender is the lack of policy implementation. In this study, with the focus on the NPF, it is noted that not much progress is being achieved. The progressive legislation and structures seem to provide a proverbial smoke screen. In the analysis of the barriers to mainstreaming, the study zooms in on the role of political will, resourcing and an enabling environment in essentially assisting the gender "agenda". These factors will be discussed in later Chapters. However, they are crucial to the policy implementation debate and unlocking the reasons for the poor success rate for GM implementation within the Department. The bureaucratisation of GM, explained in Chapter One, further complicates the major factor of political will. The additional barrier of multiple legislation and compliance reporting to international and regional bodies, influences the State's ability to make meaningful interventions for gender equality.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This Chapter outlines the methodology used in the pursuit of this study. The case study method was utilised as the research involved an in-depth study of the Department and its relationship with the State structures mandated for the mainstreaming of the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, examined through the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

Chapter Four unpacks GM as an approach to operationalizing and therefore institutionalising gender equality. Chapters One and Two have highlighted that this remains a challenge for governments across the world. It is therefore applicable to assess the progress and obstacles regarding GM in the Department by utilising a case study approach. The study ascertains the factors that influence the gap between gender policy implementation at the Department and the NSG. The study assesses the roles of political will, resourcing and the construction of an enabling environment in influencing the success of gender projects aimed at achieving equality in the State. The study shows that the overriding factor for the success of GM as a strategy for gender equality, is indeed political will.

The study examines the factors that influence the gap between the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality and the implementation thereof. The study unpacks the assumptions underpinning GM and presents the main arguments from different schools of thought. This will be explained further in Chapter Four. The study includes the perspectives of several South African public servants in implementing gender projects aimed at achieving gender equality. The study seeks evidence of the factors contributing towards and/or inhibiting the effective implementation of the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, through a focus on the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The factors that are explored include the role of political will, the role of resource availability and the role of an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender for gender equality.

In order to answer the research question, the following methodologies were used:

- An expansive literature survey on WID and GAD, as discussed in Chapter Five, and the evolution of this in the Department were drawn upon.
- Qualitative interviews with the former Head of the Diversity Management Unit, the GFP at the NSG; relevant project staff implementing the GM Project, and a former commissioner at the CGE.

The following sub-section explains the utilisation of the case study method and its appropriateness of this for the study.

3.1 WHY A CASE STUDY?

Johansson (2003:6), in his description of the case study methodology, elucidates that a "first generation" appeared in 1900. From early accounts participant observation dominated the development of case studies in terms of a data collection method. Descriptions by individuals within the medical fields, often called "case work" or "case history". The initial case studies was used in the Chicago School of Sociology, in which the anthropologists' practised this field of study on society. (Platt, 1992; Van Maanen, 1988).

Patton (1990:39) amongst other advocates the following regarding case studies as a methodology:

> "Rather than believing that one must choose to align with one paradigm or the other, I advocate a paradigm of choices. A paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy in favour of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality."

Case study methodology, as developed within the Social Sciences, now circumvents the methodological gap in the Social Sciences. The focus on contemporary events was a requisite element for the development of case study methodology of the Social Sciences. This is demonstrated within the field of architecture. An artefact often serves as the focus of attention. An artefact is a carrier of its history. This is what the philosopher Collingwood (1939, 1978:97), called his "… first principle of a philosophy of history: that the past which an historian studies is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present." The contexts of design and of use are often equally important to the understanding of the case of an artefact. Therefore case studies often become more or less historical case studies (Johansson 2000a).

In this study, the history of GM is explored in great depth when unpacking the evolution of GM at the Department, to address the "context" to which Johansson refers.

> All case study research starts from the same compelling feature: the desire to derive a (n) (up-) close or otherwise in-depth understanding of a single or small number of "cases" set in their real-world contexts (Bromley, 1986:1).

Shavelson and Towne (2001) claim that case studies are a pertinent method when answering a descriptive and/or explanatory process. This is appropriate to the key research question addressed in this study, namely "What are the factors that enable and/or constrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal?"

Zainal (2007:1) explains that case studies are favoured in government. Examples include studies conducted to determine the efficiency with which government programme goals were attained. The case study has also been used to assess the effectiveness of educational programmes. In evaluative studies, limiting the strategy to a quantitative analysis means that important data can be lost. The detailed qualitative accounts offered by case studies allows for a greater complexity of information to be gathered thus giving a clearer picture of the case in point which would have been lost through surveys.

A reading strategies case study can provide information that includes numerical details but also can identify the reasons for the use of the strategy and how these influence users on a cognitive level. Reading behaviours can therefore emanate more fluidly from the case as opposed to focusing on numbers. (Zaidah, 2003). This example resonates with this study as several interpretations of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality are shared in the rollout of the GM Project and 8-Point Principle Plan, respectively and analyses experiences as well as statistics.

Johansson (2003:2) claims that the case study is a meta-method, meaning that several research methods are combined. A case may be chosen due to being information-rich, critical or extreme amongst other criteria. This is opposed to how cases are selected for a representational sample. (Stake, 1995, Patton, 1990). A case is generally selected as there is a vested interest in the findings that may emerge. The case study method is therefore applicable to this study as the research presents an in-depth understanding of the Department and its commitment to the goal of gender equality, through an analysis of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan, as well as its relationship to key role-players outside of the public service.

Many authors have published on qualitative studies, including Gummesson 1988; Cassell and Symon 1993; Miles and Huberman, 1993; Creswell, 1998; Flick, 1998; Rossman and Rallis, 1998; Bryman and Burgess, 1999; Marshall and Rossman, 1999; and Denzin and Lincoln, 2000. The approach followed in undertaking this study, however, is based on Yin (1989).

Organisational studies favour the case study method. This appears in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology and industrial relations. (Hartley, 1993). The studies are made up of detailed investigations. It can include one or more organisation, or groups within organisations. The case study has no specific requirements as opposed to other research strategies such as grounded theory. (See Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981.

Yin (1989) and Eisenhardt (1989) provide reflections on employing the case study as a research strategy. The case study's strength lies in its ability to address real-life contexts. This approach assessed the key question of the overall study. In echoing the sentiments of Shavelson and Towne (2002), Hartley (1993) believes that case studies are uniquely applied for exploring new processes or behaviours. This is of particular significance in the assessment of the success of the GM Projects at the Department. The success of which is largely dependent on political will and thus behaviour dependent rather than resource dependent as will be demonstrated in later chapters. Gummesson (1988:76) believes that it necessary to have a holistic view of the process:

> "The detailed observations entailed in the case study method enable us to study many different aspects, examine them in relation to each other, view the process within its total environment and also use the researchers" capacity for "verstehen"."
>
> Gummesson (1988:76)

The latter is of particular importance as this study analyses the role of three key influencing factors in impacting the ability of the Department to deliver on the mandate of gender equality, namely resource availability, political will and an enabling environment. The study then proceeds to investigate the Department's relationship with the CGE, the 'sister" department, the NSG and by extension the NGM, as well as its relationship with civil society through an assessment of civil society involvement assessed through interviews.

Schell (1992) believes that the researcher is able to retain characteristics of real-life events through the case study method. Schell reiterates that the case study is one of several methods in understanding human beings in a social context. The case study allows for the interpretation of actions as an individual or group of individuals. Schell's explanation also resonates with the study as in the unearthing of empirical events hindering or allowing for the successful implementation of gender projects, many experiences will be documented allowing for the interpretation of human actions at the Department.

Gillham (2000a:1) explains that a case study is an investigation to answer research questions from the unique the case settings. Yin (2003) explains that a case study is an empirical inquiry to assess phenomenon within its real-life context. In the case of the Department the boundaries between the case and its external dependents such as the NGM and CGE are not clearly defined. The case study approach is therefore useful in providing information that can only be solicited from the specific context, in this case, the barriers and enablers for the operationalising of gender projects. The researcher more specifically has

not control over how the events unfold as opposed to scientific experiments for instance, conducted in a laboratory.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) view the major feature of a case study including a plethora of perspectives. Stake (1998) puts forward that a case study is mainly defined by an interest in a particular case and not by the method. The latter aligns with the study as the individual case of the Department barriers and enablers as a policy Ministry will inform how other States' can operationalize gender projects, given that many States face the same barriers to implementation.

For the purposes of this study, a multiplicity of perspectives emerges from within the Department, the main Ministry and the NSG. In addition, perspectives also emerge from the CGE as a key role player in the NGM. Attempts were made to ascertain formal input from the DoW. However, public servants working in the implicated unit declined interviews for the study.

A definitive form of case study development as suggested by McDonough and McDonough (1997) is interpretive case study. Through this method, the researcher interprets data through the development of conceptual categories. The interpretive case study method was considered the most appropriate approach in the development of this study. This method is a systematic way to collect data and analyse information. More specifically, it:

(i) Elucidates a variety of perspectives; and

(ii) Utilises several data collection techniques.

The case study is investigative in nature and therefor does not employ any formal data collection method however a feminist lens is applied to the data availed. (Merriam, 1998:28). A variety of data collection methods were employed for this study in anticipation of providing a more complete picture and allowed for the use of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. The use of both resulted in the presentation of a more coherent picture of a unique case in a State department.

Multiple methods of data collection are used in a case study approach. I have used interviews, State reports, internal reports and subsequently "thick descriptions" of the phenomena under study (Yin, 2003). This allowed for the issue of policy implementation and the successes and barriers to the gender projects to be brought to the fore. Case studies are not representative, but the emphasis, according to Tellis, is on what can be learned from a single case (Tellis, 1997). Other authors claim that case studies advance fundamental knowledge in a knowledge domain. (Stufflebeam, Madaus, and Kellaghan, 2000:283). This

case seeks to advance understanding on the mainstreaming of policy on gender equality, namely the GPF in the South African civil service, and provides a unique in-depth profile on the barriers and/or enablers facing bureaucrats. The case study approach was the most relevant research method for this study. This method reveals unique perceptions in a real-world situation.

There are several shortcomings to the use of the case study as a method of research. The main criticism is that this method is highly labour-intensive. Miles (1979) suggests that the much more stress is added to the researcher as the main gatherer of information. He likens this to a lone field-worker. Three aspects were identified by Harvey, Smith and Wilkinson (1983) in their case study on managers and corporate policy. The access to information was a problem as was access to the various relevant actors. The actors displayed conflicting values and inter-organisational politics had to be circumvented. The latter aspects, specifically access to information in the public service, was evident in the research in this study and were finally overcome through formal approval for access to key documentation in pursuit of the study.

Finally, it is important to note that there are potential ethical issues in the completion of the study. The practical issues regarding the joint role of researcher and team member. An example of this dilemma can be seen in Lupton (1963) where the investigator is placed as an industrial worker and is subjected to the possibility of bias and personal idiosyncrasy.

The latter played a role in this research, with the researcher being a staff member at the Department. This was overcome due to the following:

- Distancing of the researcher as an academic scholar;
- Primary operations were not directly related to the implementation projects selected for the study;
- Through the triangulation of interviewee testimonies, government reports and scholarly critiques, researcher bias towards the study was successfully circumvented.

Analysis in later Chapters testifies to the overcoming of any bias and to critical engagement with the operations of the GM Project and 8-Point Principle Plan, as they relate to the factors of political will, resourcing and a the creation of an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender at the Department.

The two projects selected for this study are both inward facing and outward facing from the perspective of the Department. Whilst the impact of the projects is considered within the Department's operations, the projects have a direct link to other public service departments, which link is also touched on. The project on the 8-Point Principle Plan is focused on compliance reporting whilst the GM Project is focused on developing minimum capacity in terms of skills for GM and also has a compliance element in its statistical information reporting. The points are valid in the evaluation of the projects, as it speaks to the methodology that was employed. Staff members on both projects were interviewed, however the reports generated by each project tends to lean towards the impact of these projects on other public servant departments and provide minimal information on the activities of the Department itself. This element is addressed through interviews with staff which provide a detailed picture of the influence of political will, resourcing and an enabling environment on the success of GM.

The next sub-section looks at qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.2 QUALITATIVE VERSUS QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS

In selecting the case study method, a discussion on qualitative and quantitative methods is necessary. Quantitative research methods began its journey in the study of natural sciences. Social Science however gave birth to qualitative research methods to study social and cultural issues. Both methods are used in policy studies. Neither are favoured over the other. The suitability is influenced by the context and purpose of the study. Sometimes one can be used as an alternative to the other. This however depends on the study being undertaken. This allows researchers exploit both and combine these two in a single research project, depending on the kind of study and its methodological foundation (Brysman and Burgess, 1999:35).

Qualitative research attempts to unearth information on everyday life for various communities in a natural setting. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) explain that, "…qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter; it attempts to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them." According to Domegan and Fleming (2007:23), "Qualitative research aims to explore and to discover issues about the problem on hand, because very little is known about the problem. There is usually uncertainty about dimensions and characteristics of the problem. It uses 'soft" data and gets "rich" data."

Myers (2009) argues that qualitative research assist with unearthing how people and social contexts operate. Qualitative studies allow the complexities of real-life to be explored and

represented. Qualitative data sources include the researcher's impressions, observation and participant observation (fieldwork), interviews and questionnaires, documents and texts.

Data emanated from direct observation of behaviours, interviews, written opinions, or from public documents (Sprinthall, Schmutte, and Surois, 1991:101). Combinations of written descriptions of people, events, opinions, attitudes and environments, can also be sources of data. For the purposes of this study, the qualitative traits are applicable as the study relies heavily on a combination of interviews, and analyses of key reports and texts.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000:3) advocate that the distinction between research collection is the form of data collection, presentation and analysis. Quantitative research, as discussed earlier, presents statistical results and qualitative research presents data as descriptive narration. This study focuses on understanding the phenomenon of GM by the Department into the operations of government.

> Quantitative research makes use of questionnaires, surveys and experiments to gather data that is revised and tabulated in numbers, which allows the data to be characterised by the use of statistical analysis.
>
> (Hittleman and Simon, 1997:31)

The qualitative method, as described by Maxwell (1998:66), provides research purposes for this method:

> "Understanding the meaning that participants in a study give to the events, situations and actions that they are involved with, and of the accounts they give of their lives and experiences; Understanding the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence this context has on their actions; Identifying unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new, grounded theories about them; Understanding the process by which events and actions take place; and developing causal relationships."

In the design of the research study, a bureaucrat will be profiled to provide her unique experiences in understanding the barriers and/or enablers to the mainstreaming of gender in the South African civil service. The qualitative method will assist in drawing this experience (amongst interviews with additional participants as mentioned earlier) into the outcomes of the research in answering the broader research question. The quantitative method therefore, is not appropriate for the study.

Three major differences between qualitative and quantitative data are identified by Stake (1995:37) These are “explanation and understanding as the purpose of the inquiry; the personal and impersonal role of the researcher; and knowledge discovered and knowledge constructed.” Given the above, there are several further risks which the researcher must acknowledge in the completion of this study having elected to use qualitative research methodology.

Lincoln and Guba (1985:290) caution that qualitative research requires that the “biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer” are identified and made explicit throughout the study. Some of the risks are that:

- The researcher’s bias can influence the design of a study;
- The researcher’s bias can enter into data collection at the Department;
- Sources or subjects may not all be equally credible given that not all share the same values;
- Some subjects may be previously influenced and affect the overall outcome of the study;
- Background information may be missing/ absent or withheld.

The last point is particularly pertinent in the case of this study, given the political nature of the Ministry. These points are useful to the researcher in trying to minimise their effects in the pursuit of the study.

Merriam (1998), in her defence of qualitative methodology suggests that the focus should be on whether the research is “credible and confirmable” rather than generalising through statistics in quantitative studies. In selecting a choosing methodology, Guba (1981:76) suggests that: "It is proper to select that paradigm whose assumptions are best met by phenomenon being investigated”. This validates the choice of methodology given that this study set out to explore political will, resourcing and an enabling environment as factors impacting on the ability of the Department to mainstream gender through the delivery of the two key projects named earlier.

It is generally accepted that qualitative researchers focus on processes, as opposed to outcomes or products. Qualitative research focus a on the design of the research tool to provide participant insights. The study seeks to assess the resources, political will and enabling environment for mainstreaming gender at the Department and in the Public service. The focus will also be on key staff and their perceptions and self-derived meanings associated with the rollout of GM as a strategy. The qualitative description of the 8-Point

Principle Plan and the GM Project is most appropriate for the purpose of this research, as this method enhances the possibility for objectivity.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

A descriptive and interpretive case study is analysed largely through qualitative methods. This study therefore employs this research design. Qualitative researchers notably analyse their data inductively. In this descriptive and interpretive case study, the researcher analyses, interprets and theorises about the phenomenon of operationalizing the gender projects at the Department against the backdrop of a theoretical framework. The literature on GM is applied as it emerged through WID and GAD in the next Chapter.

3.3.1 Study Participants

A non-random method of sampling is referred to as purposeful sampling, the researcher selects “information-rich” cases for in-depth study (Patton, 2002). Purposeful sampling is undertaken when a sample is taken from a group where the most can be learnt. (Merriam, 1998). This is the most common sampling strategy in qualitative research as it will provide the greatest detail to the overall research. The benefit [of purposeful sampling] is that, as Patton (2002:18) puts it,

> “Any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experience and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon”.

The subjects in this research study were purposefully sampled and include key staff at the Department in the Diversity Management Unit, the GM Project and among those responsible for the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan. In addition, key interviews were conducted with an ex-commissioner from the CGE and the previous Head of the Diversity Management Unit, a post which has not been filled since 2009.

3.3.2 Data Sources

The main data sources used for this research study were interviews, literature reviews, and in-depth reviews of reports, and archives.

3.3.2.1 Interviews

The use of Interviews is popular as it provides for an oral quiz using a set of predertmined core questions which relate to the overall aim of the research. Schneiderman and Plaisant (2005) point out that interviews are very productive. The interviewer can explore specific

areas of concern that can lead to richer suggestions for the overall research goals. The main advantages of the interview method of data collection according to Genise (2002) and Schneiderman and Plaisant (2005) are that:

- Direct interaction with the users;
- Obtains detailed information; and
- Few interviewees are needed to inform rich and detailed data.

Interviews can be unstructured, structured, and semi-structured with individuals, or may be focus-group interviews depending on the need and design. For the purposes of this study, interviews were structured with key individuals at the Department and relevant partner organisations. In structured interviews, the interviewer utilises a set of predetermined questions which are short and clearly worded usually, these are presented to the interviewee prior to the interview. The standardised use of questions makes the interviewing process easier. Similar questions were asked to interviewees in this study however subtle differences are noted in Annexure A. According to Preece, Rogers and Sharp (2002), structured interviews are most relevant to ensure that the goals of the study are met. As already indicated, this type of interviewing was employed in the pursuit of this study. Examples of the interview questionnaires are attached as Annexure A.

3.3.2.2 Data collection and analysis

Bogdan and Biklen (2003) describe qualitative data analysis as: "… working with the data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesising them, and searching for patterns". Patterns emerge in qualitative data, this is the main aim of using this methodology as the patterns will inform the barriers to enablers to the elements of political will, resources and the creation of an enabling environment.

Yin (2003) focuses on the need for searching for "patterns" which may explain causal links. Categorisation and organisation of data must be done in order to search for patterns. Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe open coding, where the researcher names their observations. This method of analysis is of significance to this study as it aimed to search for patterns emerging with regard to the allocation of resources, by unearthing information in archival documents and current reports. Further patterns emerged through the interviewing process, reflecting attitudes toward the roles of political will, resourcing, and an enabling environment.

3.3.2.3 Validating the study

Reliability, objectivity and validity are used in experimental studies. This is due the use of standardised instruments and can be assessed in a more direct manner. Qualitative studies use non-random samples and are usually not based upon standardised instruments. “Trustworthiness” is the only extent to which the data and data analysis are believable and trustworthy. Guba and Lincoln (1981), Krefting (1991) and Creswell (1998) suggest that “The trustworthiness of qualitative research can be established by using four strategies: credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability, and are constructed parallel to the analogous quantitative criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and neutrality.” In order to circumvent this issue, the researcher employed the use of triangulation to validate the data gathered.

Triangulation was developed through the need to confirm the validity of a process in a case study. The verification therefore can be done using a variety of sources (Yin, 2003). This approach that employs a plethora of data for example observation, report checking etc. Multiple perspectives can verify or refute claims... According to Creswell (2003) and Patton (2002), triangulation is used to compare data to decide if it is valid. (See also Blaikie, 2000; Scandura and Williams, 2000).

Triangulation validates results of a study to unearth any biases if they do exist. Triangulation incorporates multiple data sources. (Painter and Rigsby, 2005). Richie and Lewis (2003:33) State that: “The security” that triangulation provides is through giving a fuller picture of phenomena, not necessarily a more certain one.” Duneier (1999:337) believes that one should constantly check and re-check the consistency of the findings, from different as well as the same sources.

Triangulation is therefore the major approach used when verifying the research emanating from this case study on the Department. Several interviews, as explained previously, were undertaken with Department staff and interviewees from the CGE; reports from the Department were consulted; and expert reports provided by broader bodies such as the United Nations were examined to verify and/or refute claims made by interviewees.

3.4 ETHICAL CONSENT

The researcher had to interact deeply with participants in the interviews, given the highly politicised nature of decision making in the South African State. The researcher also had to analyse reports, although in the public domain, with a sensitive eye as a scholar. Silverman

(2000:201) advises that researchers must take cognisance of the private nature of the space they are entering.

Notably this raises several ethical issues and must be addressed both before, during and after the research is conducted. Participants were briefed prior to the interviews and were provided with ethical consent forms attached as Annexure A. Creswell (2003) believes that interviewees must be respected and their rights adhered to as a matter of obligation. Miles and Huberman (1993) add to the debate and indicate that an awareness of informed consent and confidentiality must be instilled. Cultural sensitivity must be considered as part of the issues relating ethical consent. Silverman (2000) argues that the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee must be considered in terms of culture before the interview is conducted. In the case being studied, the Department's culture is a pertinent issue. Access to the interviewees was difficult to obtain and circumvented through the ethical approval process and lobbying for access to documents and people who have informed the development of this research.

The latter key aspect was addressed through an awareness of the protocol culture of the Department and the various rules that needed to be in adhered to. In terms of the other aspects, the researcher informed participants regarding the need for consent and explained that participation was voluntary. Anonymity, as was explained in the consent forms, could not be guaranteed however, since access to the contents of interviews would be availed to the supervisor of the study. The protocol culture of the Department is not unexpected in a government setting however the long process of access was not anticipated as the researcher is based within the State.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This Chapter has discussed the research paradigm and methodologies for the completion of the study. The strategies and design used in the study was also discussed, including procedures, participants, data collection and analysis methods. The issue of data credibility was circumvented with the inclusion of triangulation. The research design for this study was a descriptive and interpretive case study. The study was analysed largely through qualitative methods. The employment of the latter has provided a richness to the data that would not have been achieved through a desktop review of available documentation and reports. The case study approach unearthed evidence that political will is the overriding element necessary to ensure the success of gender projects in the South African State.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE EVOLUTION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Chapter Four explores the theory of policy-making for gender project implementation in the South African State. South African feminist literature discussing the gaps in policy-making and implementation is featured. The literature review presents the theory on which the study is based. The Chapter traces the history of GM, the evolution of GM and the principles underlying the implementation of GM, as well as the obstacles related to the implementation of GM.

4.1 DEFINING GENDER POLICY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

As a point of departure, "policy" as a concept must be unpacked. Dye (1995:4) claims that "public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do". Fox and Meyer (1995:107) explain that policy is "authoritative Statements made by legitimate public institutions about the way in which they propose to deal with policy problems". Anderson (1997:9), defines policy as:

> "… a proposed course of action of a person, group, or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilise and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realise an objective."

Roux (2002) claims that policy cannot be stagnant. In South Africa, as a newly defined democracy; policy must take into account various factors. Roux (2002:425) suggests that international relations and global trends must be taken into account when formulating policy. Roux (2002), goes further to explain that policy exists on various echelons: political party policy; governmental level, or cabinet level; departmental level; and operational or administrative level. For the purposes of this thesis, policy will be assumed to be governmental policy. In assessing the South African State's various commitments to gender equality, policy analysis is employed. There is, however, no single definition of policy analysis as a discipline. Roux's suggestion regarding the consideration of factors is taken up in this study, with a focus on political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment in the successful mainstreaming of gender as a strategy for gender equality.

Dunn (1981:35) explains policy analysis as:

> "Policy analysis is an applied social science discipline, which uses multiple methods of inquiry and argument to produce and transform policy relevant information that may be utilised in political settings to resolve policy problems."

Hanekom (1987:65) describes policy with the following definition:

> "Policy analysis is an attempt to measure the costs and benefits of various policy alternatives or to evaluate the efficacy of existing policies; in other words, to produce and transform information relevant to particular policies into a form that could be used to resolve problems pertaining to those policies."

The thesis essentially questions the responsibility of the Department in realising the international goals of the BPFA through its actions at local level through the Public service; and goes further to analyse who sets the agenda in the implementation thereof. Roux (2002) describes the South African State's re-entry into the global arena post 1994 and the subsequent compliance mechanisms that are associated with this. "International organisations set the standards against which national policy formulation can be "benchmarked" Roux (2002:431).

The dominant view on policy development is rooted in the New Management Paradigm (NPM). This school of thought emphasises policy as a "purposive" course of action followed by an actor or set of actors" (Anderson, 1975). It can be argued (Gruening, 1998) that there are certain "unequivocal characteristics" of the NPM. This includes the concept of the customer and contracting. The South African policy discourse features all of these characteristics. For example, *Batho Pele* "People First", the White Paper on Transforming Public service Delivery (1997), emphasises a "culture of customer care" and the adoption of the tools of the "new public service management". NPM is identified with a technicist approach. The main criticism of the technicisit approach is that it loses the humanity of policy implementation and does not identify the actual citizen in a democracy. (Edigheji, 2005).

(Boyte, 2004:4) advises that, "when politics becomes the property of professional elites, bureaucrats and consultants, most people are marginalised in the serious work of public affairs. Citizens are reduced to, at most, secondary roles as demanding consumers or altruistic volunteers". White emphasise that "democratic citizenship is undermined if there is too great a contradiction between the egalitarian norms of a democratic polity and the inequalities of individuals and groups in civil society". (White, 1998:28) How then does South Africa circumvent the shortcomings associated with the NPM approach? The study looks at how the Department policy implementation takes cognisance of the resources needed, the period over which the policy is to be delivered and the quality of the desired. (Government of United Kingdom, 2001) Simultaneously, the skills of the implementing staff must be systematically developed and information technology systems adapted to support effective implementation. The latter will be explored through an analysis of the GM Project.

As Stated in Chapter One, whilst South Africa has progressive policy and a Constitution that propagates gender equality; the realising of these paper rights is achieved in a very limited manner (Fester, 2007; Salo, 2001; Salo 2007; Hassim, 1999; and Govender, 2002). In trying to answer the question of the gap between policy and practice, Brynard (2007:358) States:

> "The policy gap is what transpires in the implementation process between policy expectations and perceived policy results".

He argues that policy gaps are attributed to the absence of political commitment and policy-makers having too ambitious targets. In addition, and as is the case with the South African State, many international and regional obligations are drafted by other countries and are far removed from the operational level at which implementers are placed.

The extent to which the role of resources, political will and an enabling environment are explored in the development of policy. To reiterate the case of the Netherlands in Chapter One, "there must be enough money and enough manpower for policy-making and implementation." (Government of the Netherlands, 2002). When reflecting on the structures and legislation discussed in Chapters One and Two, the unintended consequence of developing the gender structures for the implementation of GM ultimately resulted in the bureaucracy thereof being a major barrier to the success of initiatives. Notably, the study shows the role of political will as being the major factor in the evolution of mainstreaming in the South African public service.

Torjman (2005:3) refers to the proactive and reactive policy-making. "Policy can also be categorised as reactive or proactive. Reactive policy emerges in response to a concern or crisis…Proactive policies, by contrast, are introduced and pursued through deliberate choice." The NPF, referred to as the GPF, was introduced through lobbying various activists. As explained in Chapter One, the process of placing gender into the political realm was not a seamless one. In order for gender struggles to be included in the politics of the day; gender struggles had to be fought within the ANC and the South African Women's National Coalition (See Waylen, 2007). The ANC Women's League was a major role-player behind the establishment of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) in 1992. Hassim (2005:181) claims that this process was "perhaps the closest that South Africa has come to having a strong women's movement, defined against the criterion of transformatory feminist content and relative autonomy in the context of an alliance". Hassim explains that the WNC highlighted the issue of gender equality in the national public discourse through the lobbying of members in the various political parties. Women who belonged to the WNC were in fact from different parties united in their exclusion from decision-making processes. The WNC and the

South African Women's Movement assisted in the shaping of the NGM. Whilst movement building and proposals for an NGM are linked; it must be noted that these bodies are distinct. Notably, political will plays a key role ensuring that structures for mainstreaming are in place. However, actors both internal and external to a Department help ensure implementation.

Gumede (2008:11) explains:

> "…the national legislative authority in South Africa is vested in the NA and the NCOP. The NA is elected to represent the people and to ensure governance by the people. The NA must ensure that all executive organs of State in the national sphere of government are accountable to it, including the implementation of legislation, as well as that of any organ of State. The NA is also mandated to facilitate public involvement in its legislative processes and its committees. The NA must conduct its business in an open manner, and hold its sittings and those of its committees in public."

He goes further to espouse that policy-making is a multi-faceted in the South African State. The Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services (Policy Unit) in the State presidency is another key organisation outside of parliament. It leads to medium- to long-range planning as well as government-wide monitoring and evaluation.

The Policy Unit meters our strategic support to the Presidency and government departments on issues of socio-economic development but is not limited to these topics. The Policy Unit services five main policy sectors: economic, social, justice, crime prevention and security, international relations, and governance and administration. In addition, units exist that address monitoring and evaluation; planning; and special programme. A youth desk, which manages youth issues is also present. The Policy Unit is integrally linked to FOSAD and cabinet committees.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the GPF was prepared and the development led by the then Office on the Status of Women. This structure existed under the Presidency at the time the policy was developed. The GPF outlines the South African State's vision for gender equality. (NPF, 2002:2)

The policy recognises the women's empowerment approach, which it defines as placing basic needs ahead of strategic needs. In achieving this laudable task, Section 2.15.1 notes:

> "The institutional mechanisms to promote gender equality, commonly referred to as the National Machinery, are well developed in South Africa. The South African model is a comprehensive one composed of a variety of structures which are all dedicated towards advancing gender equality. These structures are located in the executive

> branch, in Parliament, in provincial government, in independent bodies like courts and various commissions and in civil society… Since the entire National Machinery is in its embryonic phase of development, it is essential that it be empowered with a clear co-ordination role enabling it to advance gender equality in our nation."

This Statement however, does not absolve the Department of its responsibilities as the policy arm of government but recognises that the structures need support. The policy goes further to note the importance of resources under Section 1.8. Chapter 8 of the document makes specific provision for "carrying the process forward". This section notably incorporates the need for support and leadership under Section 8.1 and emphasises the need for coordination, networking and monitoring. The Gender Management System (GMS) described under 5.8.1 below resonates with this study as the proposed system includes the relationship between political will and an enabling environment.

> "5.8.1…The goal of a GMS is to mainstream gender into all government policies, programmes and activities in keeping with the constitutional imperative of gender equality.
>
> 5.8.2 The GMS is composed of four pillars. These are: (a) Enabling Environment; (b) GMS Structures; (c) GMS Mechanisms; and (d) GMS Processes as depicted under Figure 3; titled The Gender Management System."

These sub-sections resonate with the hypothesis of this thesis, that despite all the positive gains made in the last 23 years, the Department as the policy implementation arm of government is still facing serious obstacles in relation to implementing GM as a tool to achieving gender equality. In assessing the barriers of the Department's ability to implement a GM solution for government, the study also examines the process of policy implementation in the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan, as outlined in Chapter One. The GPF was the result of a long and intensive lobbying process and must be acknowledged as collective action and not just as emanating from an office in the Presidency.

Maseng (2014:1) describes public policy as being developed as part of political decisions of government. This, he claims is evident in-post- Apartheid South Africa, where an inclusive process is favoured. Since 1994, the public policy-making arena has seen the evolution of public policy-making. This suggests that the State, non-State actors and the general public have the opportunity to make inputs into public policy-making. Rasool (2006:1) echoes these sentiments in her analysis of the role of the women's movement in putting women on the policy agenda.

4.2 HISTORY OF GM AS A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

4.2.1 Key Concepts

"Gender refers to the economic, social and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female" (United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2009:1). The UNFPA notes that biological characteristics are associated with societal roles and expectations, but they differ from society to society and evolve over a period. The position of women has changed dramatically since the first formal initiatives towards equality, the South African Women's March in 1954. Gender equity can be described as the process of ensuring fairness and equal distribution of resources among men and women. "Equity leads to equality and where gender inequality exists it is the women who are excluded in relation to decision-making and access to economic and social resources" (UNFPA 2009:2). In the 1970s, it was envisaged that in order to achieve gender equality separate interventions specifically aimed at women were needed. In the run-up to the 1985 UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace Gathering in Nairobi, it was realised that a more streamlined approach was needed (Reeves and Bayden, 2000:12).

By allowing women-specific activities to be separate, efforts at equality were essentially marginalised. It was therefore envisaged that a mainstreaming strategy for gender would assist in embedding gender concerns in all areas and sectors. In 1987, the UN Commission on the Status of Women took the lead role in coordinating and promoting social and economic issues for women's empowerment.

The UN Commission on the Status of Women focused on women's issues as part of the mainstream. (See Short History of the Commission on the Status of Women). The UN Commission on the Status of Women as the coordinating body, then convened a further conference in 1995 where 189 countries were represented and became signatory to the BPFA which advocated that equality for women with men be achieved in law and practice and not as a separate "women's issue".

The BPFA was not, however, conceptualised in a vacuum and stipulated various criteria to ensure the implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality:

> "The General Assembly in Resolution 52/100 (December 1997) requested all bodies within the UN system that deal with programme and budgetary matters to ensure that all programmes, medium-term plans and programmes" budgets visibly mainstream a gender perspective." (The Development of the GM Strategy; Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women, UN, August 2001:2)

The mainstreaming strategy of the UN Commission on the Status of Women therefore advocates that responsibility for mainstreaming rests at the highest levels echelons of governance and development organisations within the UN to develop an accountability and monitoring system for the mainstreaming of gender. (UN/DAW 1998 :4) describes GM as:

> "…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 way to mainstream gender in an effective manner is linking gender equality to the relevant sector. However, this cannot be undertaken in an *ad hoc* manner. The Office of the Special Advisor Report (2001) argues that for institutional development to be effective one must intend on "developing guidelines, utilising gender specialists, providing competence development for all personnel, etc., is also required to support GM". A key factor that needs to be in place is buy-in from senior management. As described earlier; the UN Commission on the Status of Women advocates that responsibility for mainstreaming rests at the highest managerial levels. Therefore, without political will or support in governments, mainstreaming essentially would be ineffective, as reflected in the cases described in Chapter One. Why then is the process of GM an important one? "Throughout the world, women suffer disadvantage. There are differences from country to country and region to region, because disadvantage is caused by cultural, historical and social factors." (Institutional and Organisational Change, Government of Netherlands 2002:1).

Institutionalising GM is emerging as the key to meaningful mainstreaming of gender. GM highlights the inclusion of gender instead of women. The latter is a major difference in how reports would come to be presented. Prügl and Meyer (1999) suggest that gender emerged as a crucial concept. Staudt (1998) also argues that the term gender became part of mainstreaming in development. This shift signalled that both men and women have the responsibility of changing gender relations in institutions. The term also implies an inclusive focus on masculinity and femininity. Eveline and Bacchi (2005) posit that placing masculinity in the GM arena may cause tension. They advise on the depoliticising of gender with a focus on how men can benefit. This could lead to the overlooking of gendered relations and its link to power. The latter would essentially undo what GM is in fact setting out to achieve, a move towards equality and not the furtherance of patriarchal practices.

GM process that involves many complexities. Thege and Welpe (2002) advise that it involves a gender perspective, knowledge and research. They argue that if these elements are in fact precursors to effective GM, then it may not ever be realised in any organisation due to institutionalised patriarchal practices. They go on to suggest that GM is not automatic. Training interventions must be undertaken to ensure gender awareness and gender sensitivity. They argue that people need to be provided with the tools to ensure the change process.

Monitoring and assessment is another important aspect of gender policy implementation. An important consideration is the buy-in of at least a third of people in an institution Thege and Welpe (2002) argue that mainstreaming policies cannot succeed by being forced from the higher ranking officials, this is because those who implement need to have the tools and knowledge of what the policies encompass before being able to effectively implement the policy. This study argues that the South African policy arm, the Department has certain enablers and barriers to implementation which are influenced by political will. The GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan, which are selected as projects for the study, address the argument made by Thege and Welpe (2002). The authors highlight the impact (if any) of training projects and the importance of issues, such as resourcing, political will and ultimately accountability.

However, there are a wealth of views on GM Theory. The Council of Europe (1998:19-20) provides several reasons that necessitate GM. Firstly, GM "puts people at the heart of policy-making". In effect, this means that once policymakers get used to GM, it will ensure that the practice and evaluation of policies will be people-centred, rather than based on "economic and ideological indicators". Secondly, GM will lead to "better informed policy-making and therefore better government". Thirdly, instead of a small group of women, the practice and inclusion of GM will ensure that both women and men participate. Fourthly, GM will provide "a clear idea of the consequences and impact of political initiatives on both men and women and of the balance between women and men in the area concerned".

Jahan (1995), outlines the difference between integrationist and agenda-setting mainstreaming. She suggests that the origin of integrationist GM dates back to the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985). Tiessen (2007) believes that GM 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) claim that mainstreaming can be traced back to Nairobi 18 as the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies. The Strategies refer to mainstreaming in paragraph 114 almost a decade before Beijing. True (2001) believes that the concept developed further in the early 1990s. in yet another school of thought (Thege

and Welpe, 2002; Squires and Wickham-Jones, 2004; Rees, 2005; Moser and Moser, 2005: Alston, 2006; Benschop and Verloo, 2006) posit that GM started with the Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995, when the BPFA officially identified it as the strategy to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. The BPFA Report stated that States and other actors must adopt visible commitment to GM (BPFA Report, 1995). According to Gouws, "The discursive framework within which women's interests are constituted within the State is "GM"" (2005a:8).

As outlined in Chapter One, the Department is responsible for government's policy implementation. As such, the Department is an instrumental member of the NGM. The extent to which the Department is able to drive the GM agenda of government will emerge in Chapters Four to Six. The NGM has been institutionalised since 1997 (Gouws 2005a). Its aim is "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). This clause, however, does not absolve the Department of its responsibility as the policy arm of government. The measures put in place by the Department through the GM Project and the 8- Point Principle Plan, will reflect the barriers and/or enablers for the rollout of such projects.

Gouws (2005a) offers an opposing view and argues that while GM aims at operationalising and therefore institutionalising gender, it decreases women's agency and activism because of its technocratic nature. She argues that the overriding incorrect assumption attached to GM as a strategy is that women are a homogenous group. Scholars are critical of GM, as mentioned earlier in this Chapter. Alternatives to GM as a strategy for gender equality are explored through an analysis of the enablers and/or constraints placed on resources, political will and an enabling environment in the rollout of the gender projects at the Department.

The role of patriarchy in the South African State context must be included to fully understand the context for GM. According to Reid and Walker (2005), the change from Apartheid to democracy has had a major impact on the men of South Africa. Morrell (2002) lists three responses from men to the gender equality move in South Africa: (1) some men attempt the protection of their privilege; (2) some view this as a masculinity crisis; (3) some support for gender justice. Morrell's findings are relevant to this study as ideally the Department should move towards joining the fight for gender justice. In addition the Department needs to reflect

on how to rally supportive men the other two categories for GM. GM practitioners must engage with masculinism and have to focus on the deep structure of organisations (Rao *et al*., 1999). Whilst the analysis will examine the importance and weight given to the Diversity Management Unit at the Department, the study will not delve into the deep structure of the Department. Masculinity most notably must be addressed as Connell (2007) claims, "Change among men, on quite a wide scale, is essential if we want to advance gender equality…" This sentiment will be echoed in the implementation of the study.

Williams (2004:2) States that one of the key problems with regard to GM is that it has lost its principal and fundamental elements. The author argues that GM should be seen as an equity process. Equality and gender justice must be placed in all of the critical areas for women and men, rather viewing this as an end goal for governments to aspire to. She further argues that GM must be the foundation for development and democratic processes. Furthermore, she argues that there is a need to return to the fundamental basis of GM, since there are indications that the international community has lost the urgency of gender as a major category of analysis. There needs to be a focus on the relationship of power between women and men in terms of access to resources and power dynamics (Williams, 2004:2).

Moreover, GM now faces issues related to conflict, and dilemmas tied up in different interpretations and expectations at the organisational, policy-making and operational levels. She claims there is a lack of focus on strengthening analytical and policy-oriented initiatives to improve the different categories of GM policies; there is an increasing gap and a lack of consultation and coordination on GM at all policy-making levels, leading to a disjointed approach to GM issues.

Moser (2007: xx-xxi) provides another perspective to GM, arguing that an analytical approach should be adopted in order to work towards the eradication of gender inequalities. This approach "assumes that societies, their social relations, economies and power structures contain deeply etched gender divisions, in the same way that they reflect class, ethnic and racial divisions". She further argues that, for example, markets re not always scrutinised with a gender analysis, there is a false assumption that these aspects are gender-neutral.

For Mehra and Gupta (2006: 2-3) GM includes all aspects of implementation and includes monitoring of all and any socio-political or economic activities. This means that there would be changes in both the manner in which organisations function internally and externally. Internal change refers to a situation where organisations adopt a change management process to include the goals and values of GM and to change systems to meet these overall goals. The external aspect relates to the steps needed to mainstream gender into

development operations such implementation and evaluation. The study resonates with Mehra and Gupta's research, in that the study assesses the internal and external manner in which the Department implements the GPF.

4.2.2 Women and Development and Gender and Development

Reeves and Baden (2000) explain that in North America, the Women in Development (WID) particularly influential in the 1970's. It was a response to women being viewed as passive beneficiaries of industrial development. Women's "issues" were viewed as insufficient participation, through an oversight of policymakers. Reeves and Baden (2000:33) This view is supported by Gallin and Ferguson, 1993; Jahan, 1995; and Moser, 1993) The WID approach, however, is not as clearly defined as implied by Reeves and Baden (2000). Moser (1993) and Momsen (1991) argue that the WID approach has 5 sub-approaches including equity, welfare, anti-poverty, empowerment and efficiency. The welfare approach viewed reproduction to be women's main role and identified them as passive recipients of development (Moser, 1993; Mosse, 1993).

Visvanathan (1997), argues that the welfare approach focused women's practical needs, whilst their strategic needs were ignored. Hassim and Gouws (1998: 61) State that, "…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"

The equity approach, adopted in the Decade for Women 1975-1985, unpopular with third-world States and development agencies, which felt that it necessitated "unacceptable interference with a country 's traditions" (Moser, 1993: 65). This is because the equity approach focused on the triple oppression of women and included strategic interests. The anti-poverty approach is often identified as the second WID approach (Mosse, 1993). This approach seeks to empower women to attain an income through small-scale income-generating projects. Some see this as a "toned-down" version of the equity approach. (Mosse, 1993) It remains to be seen whether this approach also addresses strategic needs in terms of building women's capacity through their own means. (Ostergaard, 1992). The latter again is particularly problematic in the developing world and for cultures that are non-Western by design as the power dynamics of cultures often create barriers to the success of women.

The efficiency approach recognises women's economic participation towards economic growth. In the 1980s and early 1990s Moser (1993) argues that this predominant in agencies working within a WID outlook. WID looks at including women in economic development.

Ostergaard (1992) posits that the efficiency approach highlights the development process as more important than women. She argues that this objectifies women and allows for compliance development rather than true development. She argues that this approach also effectively disregards women's strategic interests as they that they have to work longer hours and have the burden of unpaid labour in the private space.

Finally, in the 1980's the women empowerment approach was developed by third-world feminists. It is a reaction to Northern white feminist domination of development with a disregard for third world issues. The women empowerment approach also highlighted the weaknesses of the GAD approach to developing women. (Mosse, 1993), and identifies masculinism, colonial and neo-colonial oppression as the root cause of women's oppression (Momsen, 1991).

These categories are not a realistic refection of gender relations in practice. This is especially true for the South African State context. Several approaches are applied in the South African State by the State structures and the Women's Movement. Many of these approaches appeared simultaneously and often conflicted with each other. In addition, development organisations have combined approaches, to cater for diversity in needs in various development contexts (Moser, 1993; Mosse, 1993; Ostergaard, 1993; Karl, 1995).

These categories reflect a top-down approach and is not inclusive in the development and/ or application thereof. The ability to mainstream was therefore affected by power relations (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994). The latter can still be seen in the Department experience which will be unpacked in later chapters. Notwithstanding these shortcomings to the WID approach to development, Staudt (1998) and Hirshman (1995) maintain that WID is not necessarily negative. They believe it is a step towards equality. However, a focus on gender and gender relations as espoused by the Gender and Development Approach, was seen by many in the field as an important step in progressing beyond WID.

Elson (1991) argues that the WID approach has the following limitations:

- It assumes that women can be added as a gender category and that is sufficient to improve women's position in society;
- It assumed that development is dependent on men;
- It could possibly place an emphasis on women being the problem instead of gender discrimination; and
- It could make the assumption that women are a homogenous group.

De Waal (2006: 210-211) adds that GM developed over several decades, and has its roots in the WID approach, which called for more focus on the WID policy in practice and emphasised the urgency for the development process to integrate women. The second approach is GAD, which focused on men and women and the need to challenge the social differences between them (Reeves and Baden, 2002, as quoted in De Waal, 2006). GAD used political, economic and ideological forces, to explain women's subordination. It also draws on the sexual division of labour. (Parpart, 1995; Visvanathan, 1997; Sadie and Loots, 1998). It focuses on both the strategic and practical needs of women (Rathgeber, 1989).

Reeves and Baden (2000) explain that the GAD approach to policy and practice focuses on the socially constructed differences between men and women. They underscore the need to challenge existing gender stereotypes. GAD emerged absence of progress of WID policy, in changing women's lives in a meaningful manner and attempted to influence the broader development agenda. GAD challenged the WID focus on women as a homogenous group with similar interests. GAD saw women's "real" problem as the unfair balance of power in favour of men. Ostergaard (1992:6) claims, "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". According to Jahan (1995), the global South requires transformation of the development agenda and must include a gender perspective. Women hailing from the global South are seen as added on after the fact and this late inclusion is incorrect. They want development practices that transform their contexts. Notably, GAD uses gender relations rather than "women" as a category (Visvanathan, 1997). GM therefore emerged from the GAD approach. The introduction provided an overview of the concept of GM as well as a number of definitions. The next subsection will focus on the origin of GM and the different schools of thought.

4.3 OBSTACLES FACING GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A STRATEGY FOR GENDER EQUALITY

The shortcomings of GM must also be discussed to provide a balanced view on this school of thought as a strategy for gender equality. Johnsson-Latham (2004: 5) lists elements that have generally been noted as problems. Most relevant to the study is the conclusion that due to the absence of commitment, funding and human resources, GM has been reduced to a technique rather than an important integral process. Alston (2006:123) claims that some evidence suggests that GM is poorly understood by many in higher positions of power. As a result, women, particularly at grassroots level, do not always benefit from GM. Hannan (2000: 1 - 14) States that since 1995, a number of serious misconceptions around GM have

developed, hampering the effective implementation of the strategy. These are sometimes linked to the lack of knowledge of concepts such as “gender” and “gender equality”.

Gasa (2003) States that there are key issues that influence the functioning of gender machineries in general. They are often under-resourced, with complex budget lines that impact on their functioning, and their location has been a matter of debate. These debates however were identified in the earlier years of democracy. See also Hassim (2003) and Gouws (2006). The point raised by Gasa is important because the location of gender machineries sometimes makes a difference on whether they are given the leverage and resources to fully discharge their mandates.

The location of the South African NGM was outlined in Chapter One but will be unpacked into greater detail in later Chapters. Notably, the development of GM did not take into account the functioning and location of key role-players. The political will from within a department and external to a department is needed for GM to be effective. The under-resourcing and complications of accountable machineries as discussed by Hassim and Gasa ignores the overriding factor of political will in realising the goals of mainstreaming. The political will was indeed evidenced by the development of the machineries, however, and perhaps ironically so, in creating the bureaucracy and essentially, lack of accountability by multi-sectorial role-players, the political will is lost.

Leyenaar (2004: 210) raises an issue that relates to the attitude adopted towards engendering policies. She highlights that the political will to achieve greater equality by incorporating a gender perspective in policies is not a matter of routine. Wendoh and Wallace (2005: 70-73) in their analysis of African countries” attention to GM, note that officials au higher management echelons give priority to their own activities and consider gender issues to have less value. Lyons (2004: 64), argues that gender as a specific cultural construct, varies from culture to culture.

In effect, this means that those whose responsibility it is to mainstream gender must be cautious of using a one-size fits all approach, as every situation has its unique opportunities and challenges. The cultural aspect of the Department is analysed in terms of its adherence to the White Paper on Transformation and the *Batho Pele* Principles. A similar study undertaken by the Department of Water Affairs in implementing GM into operations (2006-2010) revealed that there is a marginalisation of gender.

GM is viewed as a non-core function for government departments. As a result, officials working on GM struggle to make sure that issues related to GM are taken seriously. Moser (2005: 576-590) posits that the ultimate test of whether GM has either succeeded or failed lies in the rigorous monitoring and evaluation tools. For Moser, the biggest challenge lies in

identifying correct indicators, which would require four interrelated indicators measuring inputs, outputs, effects and impacts.

An IDASA paper (2004: 22-23) also highlights that National Gender Machineries face financial challenges as they are often under-resourced and unable to operate on the inadequate budget allocated to them. As Clisby (2005: 23) points out, much still needs to be addressed to ensure that GM is translated into tangible results on the ground. She cautions that unless this is done, GM become semantics co-opted by politicians and policy-makers. Riley (2004: 111) also States that experience in organisations has indicated that changing from GM as a policy to implementing or practising GM has been challenging. Riley notes amongst others, the need for practical training on GM. The latter is concretely explored in the study through the selection of the GM Project and the 8- Point Principle Plan.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This Chapter discussed the theory of policy-making for GM in the South African State. The Chapter discussed the NPF on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality as the key policy and focus of this study. South African feminist literature on the gaps in policy-making and implementation were also discussed. The literature review presented the theory on which the research is based. The Chapter traced the history of GM, the evolution of GM and the principles underlying the implementation of GM, as well as the obstacles related to the implementation of GM. Notably, political will emerges as the key driver for the success of mainstreaming as echoed by the authors cited earlier. The study reflects that political will in the development of gender projects is a major factor in the creation of an enabling environment and the availing of resources for implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE: PROFILING THE GM PROJECTS AT THE DEPARTMENT

Chapter Five profiles the Department indicating their mandate, the changing reporting lines and the influence thereof on the prioritisation of the mainstreaming of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. The role of the Diversity Management Unit and the subsequent structure and functions are mapped out. The Chapter also profiles bureaucratic barriers in the implementation of GM and measures this experience at the Department against the influencing factors of political will, resourcing and an enabling environment. The Chapter presented here, interrogates the mainstreaming of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project as the two main projects for the mainstreaming of gender into the operation of the public service.

5.1 UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE OF THE DEPARTMENT

According to the Public service Act (PSA) of 1994 as amended, the Minister of Public service and Administration is responsible for establishing norms and standards relating to:

> "(a) The functions of the public service;
>
> (b) The organisational structures and establishment of departments and other organisational and governance arrangements in the public service;
>
> (c) The conditions of service and other employment practices for employees;
>
> (d Labour relations in the public service;
>
> (e) Health and wellness of employees;
>
> (f) Information management in the public service;
>
> (g) Electronic government (i.e. the use of information and communication technologies in the public service to improve its internal functioning and to render services to the public);
>
> (h) Integrity, ethics, conduct and anti-corruption in the public service; and
>
> (i) Transformation, reform, innovation and any other matter to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the public service and its service delivery to the public."

The ability of the Department to give effect to their mandate in the area of equality with gender relations in the State, is highly questionable. The validity of the policy implementation ministry is to provide guidance on the effective mainstreaming of gender. The latter will be assessed in the Chapters discussing resourcing, political will and the development of an enabling environment.

The vision of the Department is to create an efficient, effective and development-oriented public service. The mission of the Department is to ensure an empowered fair and inclusive citizenship; support the Ministry in leading public service transformation; and provide professional advice and support to ensure public service excellence and good governance. (Annual Report, 2010/2011) To a large extent, these roles are unfulfilled due to poor political buy-in, poor availability of resources and a disabling environment. These factors will be critically assessed in later Chapters as reports produced for public consumption are often commissioned by consultants and are often uncritical of government processes and procedures due to the nature of their work being "neutral". The latter has been the researcher's own lived experience in the Public service over the last 10 years.

5.2 REFLECTING ON THE DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT UNIT

The Diversity Management Unit resides under the Human Resource Management and Development in Government branch at the Department. This branch is headed by a Deputy Director-General. The branch encompasses several Chief Directorates including Human Resource Planning, Practices and Performance; Integrated Financial Management Systems; Human Resources Development (HRD); SMS; Employee Health and Wellness; and Diversity Management. (Department Annual Report, 2010/2011:11)

The overall role of this branch is to "Develop and implement an integrated strategy to monitor employment practices. Conduct human resource planning and diversity management and improve the health and wellbeing of public service employees." The Diversity Management Unit is currently made up of a Director and Deputy Director. The Chief Director and administrator posts have been vacant for four years. (Interview with Unit staff held 16 December 2017) The purpose of the Diversity Management Unit as defined by the Department Annual Report, 2010/2011: 21 "Develops policy and guidelines on employment equity in the public service to remove barriers of access into and within the workplace for targeted groups and to prevent direct and indirect discrimination against designated groups through targeted strategies."

This Unit, although responsible for the mainstreaming of gender, notably also has additional projects in the Unit portfolio addressing marginalised issues. The Diversity Management Unit

is unable to effectively manage projects aimed at developing and implementing projects that create equality in the workplace because of the vast portfolio meted out to the under-resourced unit, in terms of both human and financial resources (See interview held 16 December 2017).

In 2007, the PSC released a report titled, *GM Initiatives in the Public Service*. This was one of the few reports that provided information on efforts towards gender equality in the South African State. The work aimed at changing the historically patriarchal work environment to one that reflected gender equality. (Department GM Report, 2013:1) The 2007 report was the result of a survey that was electronically conducted with no face-to-face contact with departments. This therefore implies that a lot of qualitative information may have been lost due to the survey questions perhaps being constrained and not allowing for too many open-ended responses.

In instances where departments had to report on certain policies and frameworks, departments were not asked to include evidence of such documents. The latter is noteworthy as this means that departments were afforded the opportunity to provide unsubstantiated information. The scope of the electronically distributed survey included all national and provincial departments. Of the 141 departments, 66 responded which gave a sample of 47%. (PSC Report, 2007) The sample size was also solicited on a voluntary basis and therefore may also provide a skewed picture of the reality. As noted earlier, many government reports are solicited on a tender basis from consultants who write these for whatever reason, in a very neutral tone.

Nevertheless, a key outcome of the report was that there was no common understanding of the term GM in the South African State and recommended amongst others that:

> The Department must create a national framework to effect a more enabling environment that recognises the importance of providing social benefits to families and must ensure compliance from all departments and be more rigorous in the monitoring thereof. The NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality did not cater for this element in any large manner and focused more on equal opportunities for women in the workplace. (PSC Report, 2007:18)

This is noteworthy, as the findings point to the need to expand the existing framework. Also noted as an important finding for this study, was that Managers at a senior level must have the necessary skills and knowledge to provide leadership and support to the GFP. These recommendations were made by GFPs in the final evaluation of the GM Project. Staff working in the area of GM and whose job was specifically GFPs expressed that Senior

Management skills in this area were lacking and hence the political will for the implementation of gender projects was also not forthcoming. (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013)

Both recommendations above point to the need for the Department to widen its scope of influence when implementing projects aimed at GM. It is evident that the framework may be too limiting when put into practice and that the political will for effective implementation has a direct link to the understanding of senior management. The latter as is articulated above, must be mandated to understand GM especially when senior managers are in fact in control of resource availability and have a major influence on the development of an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender.

The PSC Report (2007) also noted that accountability for GM must be driven by Heads of Department (HODs) and that South African Management Development Institute (SAMDI) (now known as the NSG) must develop the necessary training programmes to equip Senior Management Service (SMS), GFP and other relevant role-players with the requisite knowledge and practical tools to effectively implement GM (PSC Report, 2007).

In response to some of the report's recommendations, the Department developed tools to improve the mainstreaming of gender. These included: Heads of Department's 8-Point Principle Plan for Promoting Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality within the Public service Workplace which was launched in 2007 and the Gender Equality Strategic Framework for the Public service that became operational in 2009. These projects are directly linked to the National Policy Framework in terms of meeting key long-term performance indicators. (NPF, 2000:52) The NSG developed a GM Course which was rolled out in 2008 to date. The 8-Point Principle Plan has since been developed into a Management Performance and Assessment Tool (MPAT) project to ensure that departments are monitored for implementation (Department GM Report 2013:6)

Moser (2007) argues for an analytical approach to GM. For Mehra and Gupta (2006:2-3), GM includes all aspects of planning, implementing and monitoring of any social, political or economic actions. This means that there would be changes in both the manner in which organisations function internally and externally. Internal change refers to a situation where organisations adopt a change management process meet these goals. The external aspect is related to the processes and buy-in needed to mainstreaming gender into development operations such as implementation and evaluation. The projects selected for this study resonate with the theoretical arguments by Moser (2007), Mehra and Gupta (2006) and others. The implementation of gender projects at the Department will be unpacked in later

Chapters and assessed in terms of political will, resourcing and the creation of an enabling environment for GM.

5.3 UNDERSTANDING THE GM PROJECTS AT THE DEPARTMENT

The Department developed and attempted to institutionalise the HODs' 8-Point Principle Plan, which was launched in 2007, and the Gender Equality Strategic Framework for the Public service, which became operational in 2009. The NSG, with the support from CIDA, developed a GM Course which was rolled out in 2008. (Department GM Report 2013:21)

The Department hosted the first Inaugural Public service Gender Indaba in 2008. The Indaba created a platform for the advocacy around assessing the implementation of the HOD's 8-Point Principle Plan and ensuring that all sectors of government were on board regarding the implementation thereof. The indaba aimed at sharing approaches and sharing skills on how to successfully mainstream gender into projects. The Gender Strategic Framework for the Public service which was developed, consulted on and reviewed in 2007 was launched at the first Inaugural Gender Indaba, 2008 (Gender Indaba Report 2008:6).

The then Director-General of the Department, Professor Richard Levin, delivered an address on the initiatives taken to promote Gender Equality and women empowerment initiative in the Public service.

> In his introduction, the Director-General extended his gratitude to be part of a legacy within the current term of office of the Minister for Public service. He asserted to departments that they must hold their Heads of Department accountable on the 8-Point Principle Plan, extending it so that the establishment of the Women Management Forums should be in place to ensure implementation of the 8 Principles. He commended the role of the Office of the PSC of monitoring and reporting on progress made by the Public service in the implementation of gender policies and GM training provided. The OSW in the Presidency was also acknowledged as a provider of strategic direction in their over-arching role in coordinating gender issues nationally and internationally.
>
> (Gender Indaba Report, 2008:14)

This is of particular significance as it reflects the Department's buy-in from senior management and attempts to create buy-in on the 8-Point Principle Plan on a public platform.

He elaborated that:

> "While the Department is at the forefront of GM at the public policy level, the baton for driving the action learning to ensure capacity development of all women within the Public service will be carried by PALAMA (now the NSG). He continued that the HRD strategic framework expects capacity development programmes to be designed within a supportive enabling environment at organisational level."
>
> (Gender Indaba Report, 2008:13)

This comment is of particular importance as it stresses the role of the GM Project. The ideal of senior management buy-in is not evident at the Department as will be explored through testimonies from staff in later Chapters. The question of "window dressing" must be looked into and the politicking that goes on in government.

In her summation of the Inaugural Gender Indaba, Ms Marks from the then Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) (now known as the Department of International Relations and Co-operation); noted the following challenges, as expressed at the conference:

- Poor availability of financial and human resources;
- Poorly located responsibility and authority for the driving of GM;
- Implementation of policy;
- Administrative and Political will;
- Deadlines; and
- Repercussions of non-compliance
  (Gender Indaba Report, 2008: 42)

These challenges are of particular interest, as they inform some of the factors of the study and recognise that in fact the barriers to mainstreaming were identified historically in Chapters One and Two and are further reiterated many years later pointing to the role of resourcing, political will and the development of an enabling environment as critical to ensuring the mainstreaming of gender.

Marks also noted in her summation:

> "…that the HOD's 8-Point Principle Plan was a critical success factor, she noted that an action plan must be developed in order to ensure compliance. The principles, she suggested, must be aligned to all policies, norms and standards. Amongst the

actions recommended for the workshop, the Department was called upon to drive a political and administrative mandate for the Public service to institutionalise GM to support departments with mainstreaming strategies."

(Gender Indaba Report, 2008:43).

The latter is indeed the overall focus of the study. This will be assessed through the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project, as related to political will, resourcing and the creation of an enabling environment.

State launches are questionable as many sweeping Statements are often made and therefore cannot be construed as fact. It is, however, noteworthy that specific responsibilities were also meted out to GFPs. As explained in earlier Chapters, these posts are critical to the success of the NGM. In the final summation, it was noted that GFPs would be expected "To intensify and expand existing strategies; to build political alliances and internal constituencies; Insist on policy compliance; and to lobby for gender to be mainstreamed in their respective departments" (Gender Indaba Report 2008:44). Intensifying efforts and insisting on compliance from departments is directly dependent on the position of the GFP and their ability to influence compliance and resourcing. The latter is a critical element which will be discussed in later Chapters however, this is of particular importance as the Gender Indaba, as the first forum of its kind, attempted to mete out responsibilities to all attendees.

In 2008, the 8-Point Principle Plan was launched following the First Inaugural Gender Indaba as described above. The "plan" was punted by the Minister of Public service and Administration. In the foreword of the plan it States that the Minister of Public service and Administration encourages all HODs to mainstream the following 8 principles in their Annual Performance Plans towards achieving women's empowerment and gender equality within the South African State's workplace. As Stated in the plan, the principles are:

1. "Transformation for non-sexism: Promoting and protecting human dignity and human rights of women, including the rights of women with disabilities.
2. Establishing a policy environment. The full implementation of national policies and implementation guidelines on women's empowerment and gender equality through the development of departmental and sector-specific guidelines and standard operating procedures should be effected.
3. Meeting equity targets: Ensuring women's full participation in decision-making through the employment of 50% women at all levels of the SMS.

4. Creating an enabling environment: Putting in place departmental and sector Gender Management Systems, adequate institutional mechanisms and dedicated Gender Units.
5. GM: Incorporating gender perspectives into all work of the Department
6. Empowerment: Capacity development for women's advancement and gender equality
7. Providing adequate resources: Availing of adequate human, physical and financial resources for advancing gender equality.
8. Accountability, monitoring and evaluation: Ensuring full responsibility, ownership for, and reporting on advancing gender equality within the Public service."

In order to institutionalise the 8-Point Principle Plan, amongst other initiatives, the Department launched the Gender Equality Strategic Framework for the Public service. The objective of the Strategic Framework is:

> "…to facilitate the development of strategies, mechanisms and interventions by government departments and provincial administrations for the creation of an enabling environment, equality of opportunities, mainstreaming of gender equality and creating of a barrier-free workplace, illustrative of a transformed public service. Notably the Gender Equality Strategic Framework (2008:15) claims that "underpinning the broad guidelines outlined…is the full compliance, by government departments, to the imperatives contained in the South African National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality which was adopted by cabinet in 2000. In addition, they are premised on the compliance to agreements contained in the sub-regional, regional and international gender instruments of which South Africa is a party" (Gender Equality Strategic Framework for the Public service, 20048).

This reflects the Department's commitment to global and regional commitments to gender equality at a policy level. This commitment was to some extent, confirmed by the Department's Diversity Management staff, who indicated that "Commitment to gender equality is not purely based on local commitments and initiatives. Although we had a strong push from the birth of democracy and in the period termed the turbulent 1980s, a large part of South Africa's commitment to gender equality is also seated in the regional and global commitments including the BPFA, CEDAW and the SADC Protocol for Gender Equality." (Interview held 16 December 2017)

Section 4.2 of the Gender Equality Strategic Framework makes specific reference to the 8-Point Principle Plan. “A commitment to these 8 principles is a Statement of serious intent towards achieving gender equality within the public service.” (Gender Equality Strategic Framework, 2008:45) Here again, efforts by the Department are being implemented in attempts to ensure the mainstreaming of gender equality in the public service. The broad guidelines proposed by the Gender Strategic Framework were meant to concretise gender equality and proposed amongst others, “Efficient gender networks are set up at national, provincial and local levels to monitor implementation and hold public officials accountable for service delivery. Adequate structures and resources must be set aside to guarantee the implementation of programmes.” The document is, however, very scant on the factors that need to be developed in order to give effect to the guidelines. Implementation is greatly affected by political will, resourcing and the creation of an enabling environment. These factors do not feature as prominently as they should in ensuring implementation.

The main areas identified for implementation of the Gender Strategic Framework, as noted on page 50 of the document, include a generic implementation plan. It is assumed that the reader will have the necessary skill to ensure that the implementation is given the necessary clout in public service departments. It is suggested that the generic implementation plan, attached as Annexure C in the learner guide, is the most directed in guiding departments in the operationalising of GM in their strategic objectives.

This implementation has strong links with the GM Project’s implementation however, the latter is more operational in focus whereas the Gender Strategic Framework provides a more strategic focus. Both are useful in guiding public service officials towards meaningful implementation, however the actual know-how of giving life to the implementation plan is absent and therein lies the gap and is the focus of the study.

Johnsson-Latham (2004:5) list elements that have generally been identified as problems. Most relevant to the study is the conclusion that due to the absence of meaningful commitment, funding and human resources, GM has been reduced to a technique rather than an important integral process. This will be explored in later Chapters when discussing the role of resourcing. Funding and the availability of HR were identified as major gaps through interviews with staff at the Department. The resourcing factor plays a role in the success of GM Projects at the Department. Commitment also featured as a major factor of success and will be discussed in the Chapter assessing political will.

Alston (2006:123) States that there is some evidence that GM is poorly understood by many in senior positions at national level. As a result, women, particularly at grassroots level, do not always benefit from GM. The validity of this claim is evident in the Department’s GM

Report (2013). This gap will be assessed in the rollout of the GM Project which focuses on building capacity in government departments to mainstream gender. Leyenaar (2004) makes the point about the relationship of attitudes to the success of GM. Her argument is supported by Wendoh and Wallace (2005). As is evidenced in the report, attitudes play a major role in the prioritisation of GM efforts and the success of efforts by those who develop an enabling environment. The role of an enabling environment will be explored in later Chapters.

Lyons (2004) makes the argument for the cultural barriers to GM. This element will be explored when looking closely at the factors of resourcing, political will and the development of an enabling environment for the rollout of GM Projects. Organisational culture is an important aspect of this study as this culture influences the development of an enabling or disabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender. Moser (2005: 576-590) posits another view, that the ultimate test of whether GM has either succeeded or failed lies in the rigorous monitoring and evaluation tools. The Department has attempted the latter in the development of the first comprehensive public service research report on GM activities at the national and provincial levels. Tools were developed and training often provided by the Department, see Annual Reports 2008/2009 and 2009/2010. The latter, however, is often undertaken as a compliance measure and will be further discussed when looking at the role of political will in later Chapters.

The Department GM Report (2013); is the most comprehensive research document to emanate from the Inaugural Gender Indaba and the Gender Strategic Framework. This report was undertaken in an effort to create a status report for the Public service on compliance to key legislation. The report is the most recent national government research on the status of GM the South African State.

Lack of disaggregated data in questions that asked for beneficiaries of certain programmes made conclusions difficult. (Department GM Report, 2013:11) Despite this shortcoming, the report is useful in its “real life” account of experiences by Departments. Out of the 141 departments both nationally and provincially, a total of sixty-six reports were received. What was also disappointing was that reports from Offices of Premier were submitted by only the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the North West. Offices of Premier are expected to coordinate gender programmes in their provinces and this requires them to lead by example. (Department GM Report, 2013:11)

The Department GM Report (2013) reveals that in general, departments have developed gender policies/strategic frameworks and those that do not already have policies are in the process of drafting or finalising them. In addressing institutional mechanisms, there were very few departments nationally and provincially that had made provision for Gender Units.

Overall, gender programmes were handled along with other priorities such as youth development, disability, HIV/AIDS and the Employee Assistance Programme, and so forth. The location of gender units differs from one department to another; it appeared that Corporate Services was the most preferred location. (Department GM Report, 2013:6)

Table 5.1: List of National and Provincial Departments that submitted statistical information

Province & National Departments	**Total number of Departments**	**Number Received**	**Report from Office of the Premier**
National Departments	40	20	
Western Cape	13	6	Yes
Eastern Cape	13	4	No
Free State	12	3	No
Gauteng	12	2	No
KwaZulu-Natal	15	10	Yes
Limpopo	13	3	No
Mpumalanga	12	9	No
North West	13	5	Yes
Northern Cape	13	4	No

NB: KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga provinces submitted the highest responses.

Source: (Department GM Report, 2013:11)

The reasons for non-compliance by provincial departments reflected in the above list cannot be speculated about. However, these statistics must be noted as they reflect the commitment to reporting prior to reporting as an institutional mechanism enforced by the Department. Factors that were solicited through the research included amongst others, the Gender Equality Policies/Strategic Frameworks at the departments who responded to the Department call for information. Most departments had developed guiding documents on GM. 11 national and 19 provincial departments had approved gender strategic frameworks/policies, some were approved as early as 1998 with the latest in 2011. A total of 2 national and 7 provincial departments had draft gender strategic frameworks/policies. A total of 7 national and 19 provincial departments did not have gender strategic frameworks/policies in place. In terms of the departmental alignment with Department's Gender Equality Framework for the Public service, 5 national and 17 provincial departments had policies that were aligned with the Gender Equality Strategic Framework for the Public

service. However, looking at the date of approval of some, it was unlikely that they had been aligned as they were developed long before the Gender Equality Strategic Framework of the Public service came into existence. (Department GM Report, 2013:13) The efficacy of frameworks for each Department, whether aligned to the Gender Equality Strategic Framework or not, is not measurable from the data received as qualitative interviews were not held for the development of the GM Report.

The report went further to investigate the institutional mechanisms available in departments. This is of particular interest as the Department's influence on mainstreaming in departments is largely impacted upon by the institutional mechanisms available to departmental gender focal desks and/or those responsible for GM. The departments' experience of the institutional mechanisms available, reflect a notable silence on the involvement of the NGM. The latter is noted as a key observation and will be discussed further when assessing the factors of political will, resourcing and the creation of an enabling environment.

Table 5.2: National and Provincial Departments with Gender Units

Gender Units	**Departments**
Existence	• 13 National and 31 Provincial Departments had Gender Units. • Five National and 31 Provincial Departments did not have Gender Units.
Location	• Some departments with no Gender Units, had incorporated these functions in the job descriptions of other employees, especially Special Programmes Officers and HR Practitioners. • For departments that reported having Chief Directorates or Directorates, they did not exclusively focus on gender. • They handled additional programmes such as youth development, disability, children's rights, older person's rights, HIV/Aids *Batho Pele*, EE, Employee Health and Wellness, HRM, and so forth.
Levels of people responsible for units	• Staffing levels (including support staff) in components dealing with gender were not the same across all departments. • A large number of people identified as having responsibility for gender issues were Assistant Directors and Deputy Directors. In a few instances, Directors and Chief Directors are identified as being responsible.
Location	• One National and six Provincial Departments reported that the Gender Units are located in the Office of the HoD. • Other units were located in Offices of the MEC (e.g. two departments: Eastern Cape and North West Province.)

	• Although some Units were located in offices the HODs, they did not exclusively focus on gender and some of them were only identified as sub-directorates. A large number of departments reported that Gender Units are located in Corporate Services **Comment:** • The implication for offices that are doing all the other things is that one of these programmes suffers. The location at corporate services results in gender programmes being restricted to HR issues in relation to training and recruitment while all other line programmes do not mainstream issues of gender.

Source: (Department GM Report, 2013:13)

The location and staffing levels of Gender Units is noted in the table above and is directly related to the department's ability to mainstream gender. As noted earlier, policy commitments abound by provincial and national departments (where reports were solicited). The focus of Gender Units is largely on HR issues of recruitment and selection as noted in Chapter One, this matter becomes a quota issue (See Hassim, 2006). This point is of relevance, as it implies that the efforts in most departments around GM do not filter into the operations of that particular department and thus cause a barrier to mainstreaming. This is a particular barrier to the creation of an enabling environment, which will be discussed in more detail in later Chapters. A focus of the Department's report was that of policy development. One can see from the table below that workplace policies had been developed to reasonably accommodate the needs of men and women. The extent which these policies are effective in practice cannot be determined as the desktop survey undertaken for the research did not take into account qualitative data.

Table 5.3: Policy development in departments

Policies (women friendly workplaces)	**Departments**
Flexi-time policy	• 10 National and nine Provincial Departments had flexi-time policies • Some provinces such as Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Free State, Limpopo and North West, had no flexi-time policies. • Western Cape recorded the highest number of departments with flexi-time policies. • However, most departments referred to the working-time provincial policy developed by the Office of the Premier. • In Gauteng and Mpumalanga, one department from each province reported they had a flexi-time policy.

	Comment: • The existence of flexi-time policies is important for support of women and men with children who still require care.
Childcare facilities	• No department had childcare facilities on site • One department, the Department of Trade and Industry (dti) had made alternative childcare facilities off site. • One Northern Cape department (Treasury) had a childcare facility on site • Two departments (KZN Health and Western Cape Health) had childcare facilities on selected sites • Mpumalanga, North West, Limpopo, Gauteng, Free State and the Eastern Cape: no department had childcare facilities on site **Comment:** • It is hoped that the work of the Employee Health and Wellness Component in the Department regarding policy on childcare will address this challenge
Sexual harassment policy	• 14 National and 34 Provincial Departments had the policy • This policy contributes towards ensuring a safe Public service workplace by prohibiting sexual harassment and providing guidelines and proper procedures in managing sexual harassment incidents prescribing appropriate sanctions **Comment:** • At this stage there is no government-wide sexual harassment policy • Lack of this policy may result in departments handling issues of sexual harassment in an *ad hoc* manner that may end up exposing government to litigations where victims feel they have not been properly protected.
Travel policies	• Four departments had travel policies that took into consideration the need for reasonable accommodation for men and women with small children (three National and one Provincial). These policies provided for child minders to accompany staff members with small children at the department's cost
Support of women with disabilities	• Five national and eight provincial departments provided support • Information on the provision of support to personal assistants and care givers

Source: (Department GM Report, 2013:14)

Whilst the existence of policies is commended, the efficacy of such policies will be looked at later in this study when assessing political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment.

Capacity building interventions in the field of GM revealed a high uptake by departments as is reflected in the Table below. This, however, again points to the question of how effective the incorporation of ender into induction programmes and 'sensitisation" of programme attendees. Training is not an end in itself and must be coupled with several other enabling conditions to have an impact. The impact of training will be unpacked when assessing the factors of political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment through the GM Project.

Table 5.4: Gender-specific training programmes

Induction Programmes	**Departments**
Gender-specific capacity development initiatives	• Seven National and 20 Provincial Departments had gender incorporated into their Induction Programmes. • North West: No department had done so.
Gender sensitivity training	• Ten National and 30 Provincial Departments: SMS members had gender sensitisation/training sessions done with them. • 16 National and 35 Provincial departments: DGs and HODs had been sensitised on the HODs Gender Equality Action Plan Principles. **Comment:** This is not a high percentage, but it shows that there are departments that are trying to do the right thing.
General capacity-building initiatives	• Ten National and 16 Provincial Departments had capacity development programmes specifically targeting women. • Mpumalanga: No department had capacity building initiatives for women.
Programmes	• Programmes were meant for staff only and some were meant for service recipients. • For programmes designed for staff, departments catered for women in Middle Management with programmes aimed at preparing them for Senior Management positions and the Accelerated Development Programme was cited frequently. • There were some programmes designed for women who were already in Senior Management positions.

	• Bursaries and learnerships/mentorships also featured as examples of programmes used to empower women. • In relation to programmes targeted at service recipients, programmes indicated initiatives taken by departments to reach women in rural areas. Identified women were provided with skills to enable them to effectively participate in economic activities. These programmes were also aiming at poverty eradication
Mentorship/coaching programmes for the empowerment of women	• Three National and Nine provincial departments had mentorship/coaching programmes. • None of the departments in Limpopo, Gauteng, Mpumalanga and North West had any such programmes • Mentorship programmes were used as the transfer of wisdom, knowledge and skills from a more experienced individual to those who hold junior or less experienced positions in business and this was specifically important for women as part of the empowerment programme. • They targeted the acquisition of appropriate skills and insights to develop, enhance the individual's knowledge, values and attitudes in a selected career path in a world of work that has always been male-dominated.

Source: (Department GM Report, 2013:14)

The report reflects the commitment per department as well as the subsequent problems experienced by most. These problems are cross cutting, when looking at the reports from respondents. Only 16 national and 35 provincial departments: DGs and HODs had been sensitised on the HODs Gender Equality Action Plan Principles. Again, as noted in Table 5.4 above, only ten national and 16 provincial departments had capacity development programmes specifically targeting women. This reflects a large gap in the reach of the Department in trying to fulfil its mandate.

Notably, on the point of financial resource allocation, the report notes "From the responses received it was difficult to work out the exact budgeting patterns because most departments did not provide amounts. Also, some budget amounts provided were based on the allocations for Gender Units. Departments with fully-fledged Gender Units seemed able to provide the amounts more precisely. Despite all the challenges experienced in deciphering inputs on budget allocation, it was evident that departmental budgets were not disaggregated by gender, disability and age. Some departments had admitted that their budgets were not disaggregated. (Department GM Report, 2013:15)

Key recommendations for the Department emanating from the GM Report (2013:41) indicate that Department should advise departments on structures to deal with gender issues, but with the understanding that departmental mandates should determine the level of the person who heads the unit. The report notes that findings will also be shared with the then DoW Children and Persons with Disabilities for their role in the implementation of the NPF for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment regarding the rank and location of GFPs.

In addition, the recommendations also advise on the attendance of the PALAMA GM course as a compulsory course before the probation of all newly appointed employees can be confirmed. These recommendations are of particular importance to the study as it reflects accountability by the Department, as well as attempts to institutionalise thinking around gender issues at Senior Management level. See Rao and Kelleher (2005) in their discussion on challenges with institutionalisation.

Clisby (2005: 23) points out

> "…that more work still needs to be done to ensure that GM is translated into tangible results on the ground. She cautions that unless this is done, GM will turn into nothing more semantics co-opted by politicians and policy-makers."

The extent to which Clisby's argument is valid is explored through a closer reading of political will, resourcing and the creation of enabling environment at the Department. Riley (2004:111) also States that experience in organisations has indicated that changing from GM as a policy to implementing or practising GM has been challenging. This has been undertaken in a very limited manner with many departments using the Employment Equity Act as a compliance measure for gender equality. (PSC Report, 2006) The findings of the PSC Report 2006 are echoed by the statistics provided in the 2013 Department GM report.

The GM Project proposed to build capacity within PALAMA, now the NSG, to research a GM intervention that will be administered to Public service employees. This will lay the foundation for systemic integration into the State's service delivery.

> The GM programme was implemented over a four-year period and targeted both senior and middle managers in national, provincial and local government departments. Most of the first year was characterised by consultations with key stakeholders, research, development of an accredited training programme and creating awareness of the project. During the second year of the project, GM training material was finalised and accredited, where after training roll out commenced. GM in

> PALAMA, now the NSG, also commenced with the development of an integrated gender action plan and associated products and services
>
> (GM Project Workplan 2009:2).

The rationale for the project is notably related to the President's State of the Nation Address of 2006 that prioritised the advancement of women.

> In developing the Government's Programme of Action on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality 2005–2015, the then OSW in the Presidency identified the implementation of GM Projects for Public Sector employees as being of high priority. The OSW developed a GM manual and PALAMA (now NSG) as the training arm of Government, would be responsible for using the manual as a basis for developing an accredited GM Project
>
> (GM Workplan 2009:2)

The project resided in PALAMA, (now NSG). However, this Department falls under the same ministry as the Department and is considered the national training arm of Government. The legislative mandate is derived from Section 4 of the Public service Act as follows:

> "There shall be a training institution listed as a national department (in Schedule 1).
>
> "The management and administration of such institution shall be under the control of the Minister.
>
> "Such institution shall provide such training or cause such training to be provided or conduct such examinations or tests or cause such examinations or tests to be conducted as the Head of the institute may with the approval of the Minister decide or as may be prescribed as a qualification for the appointment or transfer of persons in or to the public service; may issue diplomas or certificates or cause diplomas or certificates to be issued to persons who have passed such examinations."

The NSG aims to contribute to establishing a capable, professional and responsive public sector that is committed to, and has institutionalised, the values and policies of a developmental State. This would be a public sector that delivers services that are able to address the challenges of poverty and inequality. The NSG is responsible for learning and development programmes in a uniform public sector with the objective of developing a professional, responsive and capable public sector, driven by the imperative of a developmental State. A culture and ethos of service will be imbued throughout the public

sector, meeting the expectations of stakeholders and communities, and based on policy commitments of government.[2]

The overall GM Project objective was

> "To enhance gender equality in the Public Sector, in line with Sections 9.1 to 9.4 of the Bill of Rights in the South African Constitution and make government services responsive to the needs of women and men."
>
> (GM Workplan 2009:5)

The purpose of the project was to strengthen management and leadership capability of Public Sector Managers to mainstream gender issues into their planning and programming. The three major intended outcomes as Stated in the GM Project Workplan (2009: 5) were:

- "A mechanism that exists within the public service to provide gender equality training services to government departments.
- Increase the skills capacity of the public service to design and implement plans, programmes and projects that support gender equality.
- Increased compliance to gender equality policy and legislative frameworks."

These outcomes assigned to this capacity building project assumed a number of factors. According to the GM Project Workplan (2009:5),

> "…sufficient capacity exists in PALAMA to manage the GMP; Departments will request training from SAMDI/The Academy; Departments that have received capacity building will begin the process of mainstreaming gender issues into the departmental plans, programmes and projects; The GM programme is communicated sufficiently within the public service; and all departments that have received capacity building will begin to comply with government GM requirements." These factors, as will be discussed in later Chapters were not in place and many enabling conditions had to be developed by the project team in order to ensure that the project rolled out successfully."

The GM Project rollout began with a focus on the 4 day accredited training programme. This programme was based on a unit standard that required development. A comparative analysis of existing unit standards that address gender issues was undertaken. In addition, an analysis of the envisaged GM unit standard for knowledge, skills, practice and values was

[2] www.thensg.gov.za

required. This also included a learner profile analysis and an analysis of specific outcomes of a GM Project.

The development of a unit standard and registration thereof with the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) was a broadly consultative process. The unit standard is titled: Manage the mainstreaming of gender in programmes and projects: NQF Level 5, 10 credits (GM Bi-Annual Report, October 2010:12) The development of the course content could only begin once the unit standard was registered with SAQA, this in line with the relevant curriculum development rules and regulations by the overseeing Sector Education Training Authority (SETA), the Public Services SETA, known as PSETA.[3] This is of particular note as the rollout of the course as an accredited training programme became a barrier to the success of the capacity building programme. The GM Evaluation Report (2013) notes that the submission of portfolios of evidence was slow and thus the successful completion of the course was low. The course was offered as a funded programme and thus attendance was high due to the costs associated being limited to travel and accommodation for some learners when needed, though provincial training sessions were also held.

The design framework was developed in order to present a framework for the content and this again, was based firstly on the unit standard as mentioned above. Development of the design framework included a review of relevant GM material to inform course content. The framework was based on the unit standard and reviewed course content, a course design framework was developed, which formed the “blue print‟ for the development of the course. A broad consultation with field experts on the framework and incorporated experts‟ input was conducted. The framework included the design of formative and summative assessment instruments as well as post-course support modes. (Hanna and Dettmer, 2004).

The development and use of the GMP formative assessment tool, facilitator instructions, post-course support procedures and other forms that culminated from the GM Project experiences has informed best practice within PALAMA (now NSG). Furthermore, the GM Project Framework for materials development has informed best practice for curriculum development and forms part of the new Quality Management System templates (GM Project Bi-Annual Report, October 2010:14). However, the rollout of an accredited programme at the NSG not conducted with ease (Interview with Project Staff 15 December 2017).

> “The then PALAMA was not set up to rollout accredited programmes. Several pre- and post- course systems had to be set up. It was fortunate to have donor funding to assist with setting up these systems, however, it is with regret that an offer to

[3] www.pseta.org.za

> implement a new training management and evaluation system was not taken up. The latter could have informed the manner in which additional accredited programmes are approached and would have eased the administrative burden on the organisation" (See Rathgeber, 2006); Raj, 2008; and Madrid 2009) in their discussions about the practical and strategic needs of women.

Here, it is noted that the training intervention was meant to inform both the practical needs of women in the State through attendance of the course, however, the strategic needs, although provided for with tools for implementation needed a much broader solution. This is explored in later Chapters when looking at the role of resourcing, an enabling environment and political will.

It is only when funding ended in 2013 after an extension of funding provided by the CIDA that the NSG realised that a new mode of delivery would perhaps be more relevant and affordable. (Interview with NSG GM Project Staff) "The current uptake of the accredited course remains low as the portfolio submission and affordability of the course impacts departments who are already on cost-cutting measures. Instead, the course is offered at a cheaper rate as a non-accredited workshop. This can be tailored to be a one-day or two-day workshop intervention in order to build capacity in departments. The target for the course has also changed to be more inclusive of personnel at all levels rather than only targeting senior managers. We have seen great success with this new mode of delivery."

Notably there are intersections between the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project. The Department of Health shared that they have established a women's forum, as part of implementing the Department's HODs' 8-Point Principle Plan. Similarly, some participants have shared how they have drawn implementation plans and allocated roles within their departments to implement the Department's 8 Principles.

Increasingly participants recognise and talk about the concern that often Women's month celebrations are conducted and perceived such that they have become entertainment events, rather than opportunities to address relevant gender inequality issues and various suggestions on how to confront this concern have been shared. Participants share experiences that indicate gradual change; not only in practices in the work place, but also at a personal level, for instance, the way in which they relate to their spouses or boy and girl children as well as their colleagues of both sexes (GM Bi-Annual Report, October 2010:24)

The report goes further to cite additional examples of intersections between the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. While PALAMA does not have the mandate to enforce implementation in departments after providing training, some indication of institutional

capacity for GM can be deduced from information shared between participants in the VSDF. Some of the participants' feedback and comments indicate that the course has improved some participants'" capacity to act in one way or another, to influence change in organisational culture and practices, by raising awareness and soliciting buy-in within their departments. Where the work environment is favourable, participants are able to advise the leadership on issues of mainstreaming. This is indicated by a situation in the North West Province, where a participant was allowed to draw a work plan for the department to implement the Department Heads of Departments' 8 Principles Action Plan for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (GM Bi-Annual Report, October 2010:26)

The GM Final Evaluation Report (2013) elaborates on additional barriers facing the rollout of the course. The research was conducted by independent researchers who found that PALAMA (NSG) GMP made substantial progress towards realising its intended outcomes; that it provides an excellent introduction to gender for participants and has had a strong personal impact on learners. It created an environment which encouraged personal reflection and sharing. The challenge of the programme was translating this personal change into institutional change. The evaluation found that the PALAMA GMP failed to fully achieve its contribution towards the goal of improving gender equality in the South African public service and rendering government services more responsive to the needs of men and women. Three key reasons for this are a) the context of gender inequality and a culture of patriarchy which present a hostile environment; b) training often occurred in a vacuum rather than as one pillar in a larger more systematic GM strategy by the South African Government; and c) the programme failed to adequately attract senior managers (only about 25% of participants) with the power to effect the change needed (GM Final Evaluation Report 2013:2) These findings are of particular value to the study as they point towards elements that influence the factors of political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment.

Noteworthy are the implications for the Department and the "sister" department, the NSG. The researchers recommend that the Department positions itself to lead the processes in ensuring the requisite government machinery is effectively mainstreaming gender. It is recommended that the Department: Ensures gender focal point jobs are senior and strategically located; and ensures adequate accountability mechanisms for mainstreaming gender (GM Final Evaluation Report 2013:5). The implications for the NSG are very telling in that they point to the operationalising of GM through the GM Project. The recommendations for the NSG include:

> "Harness the cohort of GMP trainees, to develop a community of practice; Develop supplementary training to deepen work; develop a refresher course; co-ordinate a package of further GM training (which might be offered by other departments); Work with other departments to develop training as one component of a broader programme around GM; Improve marketing for the course, and build momentum amongst senior personnel prior to the course; identify and target 'champions' within senior staff who will promote the GM Project; Develop differentiated products to meet different target groups' needs; Track/map the impacts of the course; and maintain the pool of trainers" (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013:5).

The GM Evaluation Report (2013) notes the drawbacks associated with the sustainability on the DCS. The initiatives implemented following the GM Project have not all been sustained. The DCS stated that because of changes at the directorate, there is a lack of stability and continuity, and a poor hand over. Therefore, new management may not continue the same policy. Since 2010, there has been no reference to GM initiatives, goals or targets in the DCS's Annual Report. The current Director of Equity and Recreation was not aware that a GM programme had taken place. This highlights the very real impact of personnel changes in departments and the importance of embedding any initiatives in the organisational systems and culture to ensure they are not reliant on an individual (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013:37)

Similar trends are noted with the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education. Of the 114 people from KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education (DoE) who participated in the course prior to 2011, only two were on the senior management structure organogram. An interviewee from KwaZulu-Natal Stated that senior management was not involved and therefore did not give buy in – to be successful those attending should be deputy director or above, and there were no managers at the course; their schedules were too tight (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013:40). Notably, there is no continuation of agreed upon strategies as evident with the case of the DCS. In addition, the case of KwaZulu-Natal, the DoE presents a problem noted earlier, that of lack of senior management buy-in and support for the programme.

The report notes similar barriers across other provinces, Intransigent attitudes also obstruct implementation of the GMP. A Western Cape interviewee stated that there was no enabling environment for her to facilitate change. In Limpopo's Provincial Department, an interviewee identified the prevailing attitude amongst employees that one unit is responsible for mainstreaming gender, that it is their job and not a departmental goal: "We have a unit in the department that deals with it [GM], which is responsible for making sure that GM is implemented." The Deputy Director for Transformation Services expressed frustration with

this notion that her unit alone is responsible for mainstreaming gender: as gender focal point she finds herself implementing programmes rather than just monitoring and co-ordinating initiatives because of this misconception and because of resistance to GM and lack of budget in other branches. Limpopo DoE personnel did not grasp what the gender focal point entails, the DD Stated. Resistance was also encountered because people were not taking the process of GM seriously enough, and even because "you are a woman" (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013:41).

When discussing the positive outcomes that can be drawn from the experiences in rolling out the GM Project and subsequently the links with the 8-Point Principle Plan, the following was raised by project staff.

> "The first step in any change process is individual awareness. The training course is a powerful tool to effect personal change and has been repeatedly described as 'eye opening'. GM is a process of change and not a project or once-off event. The challenge comes at the point of moving from the individual to the institution and implementing ideas within departments. Attendance of a course is in and of itself not sufficient to galvanise change. Any training programme needs to be embedded in a broader programme of support which ensures the institutional conditions for change are created. Institutions which are more stable – both politically and in terms of personnel - have a greater chance of supporting change processes. As demonstrated by the DoE case study, where institutional health is poor, there are seldom resources or energy for change" (Interview held 14 December 2017).

An existing trainer and former Commissioner at the CGE supported the notion of "champions" in driving the gender agenda:

> "The importance of champions committed to driving GM is necessary. Many of the achievements are as a result of the work of such champions acting in an open or supportive environment. Building a cohort of champions within departments who could motivate others to attend courses, support programmes and drive change, is the key. When a champion leaves, the negative impacts are also acutely highlighted. Therefore, while champions are an important catalyst, in order to be sustained, work needs to be institutionalised beyond those champions."

It is not possible to mainstream gender without the support of leadership at every level, which requires not only leadership awareness and commitment but also leadership's development of an enabling environment for gender to be mainstreamed" (Interview held 10 December 2017). This opinion was reiterated by project staff at the NSG, who claim that

gender awareness, political will, an enabling environment and careful resource management are the key to enabling the effective mainstreaming of gender.

> "The NSG reports that the case studies and interviews all reflect that leadership is unlikely to free up four days for a course unless they see it as part of their performance requirements. Therefore, for GM to work, it either needs to be included in SMS performance contracts or a different approach needs to be adopted towards raising leadership awareness and commitment. Additional barriers to success are the financial constraints affecting departments. Notably, evidence from portfolios submitted at the completion of the course reflect that officials are resistant to change and are influenced by the politics of the department" (Interview held 16 December 2017).

This Chapter profiled the Department indicating its mandate, the changing reporting lines and the influence thereof on the prioritisation of the mainstreaming of the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. The role of the Diversity Management Unit and the subsequent structure and functions were mapped out. The Chapter also profiled bureaucratic barriers in the implementation of GM and relates this experience at the Department to the barriers and/or enablers for GM in the public service. The Chapter presented here, interrogates the mainstreaming of the 8- Point Principle Plan and the GM Project as the two main projects for the mainstreaming of gender into the operations of the public service.

CHAPTER SIX REVIEWING DEPARTMENTAL COLLABORATIONS

This Chapter assesses the collaborations of the Department with internal and external role-players in the South African landscape. Collaborations with the NSG; the CIDA; the CGE; and the DoW are discussed. The scope of the collaborations of the Department is limited to the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project. These collaborations will be further unpacked when analysing the factors of political will, resourcing and the creation of an enabling environment in later Chapters, however this Chapter foregrounds the importance of political will as the overriding element in the success of gender projects.

6.1 COLLABORATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

As explained in previous Chapters, the NSG is a "sister" department which falls under the Ministry for Public service and Administration. The NSG works collaboratively with the Department although, this Department has a different DG. The latter is of significance as this relationship has seen the development and effective rollout of the GM Project. In the initial phases of the project the Department played an active role in the development of the training programme which formed the core deliverable of the GM Project (See Department Annual Report 2005/2006 and 2006/2007).

Notably the input to the GM Project from the Department was not only limited to a policy level. The Department worked closely with the NSG in the conceptualisation of the course content of the course which informs the key offering of the skills project. The Department was part of the curriculum review committee that vetted the training materials and was also part of the panel that registered the certificate programme for credits with the Public services Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA). The Public services SETA also reports to the Ministry for Public service and Administration and therefore the intra-departmental collaboration suggests that the development of the GM Project was aided by the involvement of all relevant parties (GM Project Bi-Annual Report 2008/2009).

The NSG also gained access to the funding from the CIDA through submitting funding proposals via the Department to the Department of Treasury. Without the political buy-in from the Department, the funding may have been delayed indefinitely (Interview with Project Staff 16 December 2017)

It is also noted that the NSG was a major part of .the launch of the 8-Point Principle Plan with the then DG indicating that the NSG would play a major role in enabling its realisation. The 8-Point Principle Plan also features in the content of the GM training materials and therefore is a conduit for the implementation thereof by "teaching" learners how to

operationalise the plan through the Gender Action Plan developed in the portfolio of assessment.

It can be deduced that the collaborative relationship between the NSG and the Department is a major influencing relationship in the successful development and rollout of the GM Project. The interview held with project staff is a key indicator that political will was a major factor in the success of accessing financial resources for the project. This indicates the powerful relationship between political will and the availing of resources.

6.2 COLLABORATIONS WITH THE DEPARTMENT FOR WOMEN

The Department has always worked closely with the former OSW. As the policy arm of government, this relationship was very important in the launch of the First Inaugural Gender Indaba (See Department Gender Indaba Report, 2008). The OSW has undergone several transformational processes which have in many ways ironically impeded its progress in fulfilling its mandate although the intention of the transformation was in fact to increase the political clout of this office. This was discussed in an interview held with Department staff regarding the collaborative relationship with the former OSW (Interview with Department staff held 22 December 2017). From the outset, the OSW was placed under “special Programmes”.

In 2003, the Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services Branch added in a sixth chief directorate, namely the Chief Directorate: Programmes to provide professional and administrative leadership and management to the Office on the Rights of the Child (ORC), Office on the Status of Disabled Persons (OSDP) and OSW. The central function of this was to ensure that issues of gender, disability and child rights were operationalised throughout government operations. (Presidency Annual Report 2003:39) As mentioned earlier, in the profiling of the Diversity Management Unit and in the GM Final Evaluation Report, the trend of reducing these functions to a directorate status negatively impacts the ability of such important offices to fulfil their mandate. It must be noted that the changes to the office were instituted by Parliament and gazetted at the time. Notably, the external political influence is a major factor in the constitution and reconstitution of the DoW.

According to the Annual Report (2003:40):

> “While these offices have distinct mandates, they share certain common core functions, which include policy analysis, mainstreaming, co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation, capacity building, networking and advocacy. Performed collectively, these functions should over time ensure the integration of gender, disability and child rights issues into all of Government’s structures, processes, methods and strategies.

> They should also assist the programmes to bring about positive key functions to directorate level that are often replicated across government."

Again, the expectations on the part of each directorate which had an approximate staff of 12 in total, was extremely high. When asked about the role of the OSW from the outset of both the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Projects, responses pointed towards the disjointed nature of the former OSW and the impact of this on the development and maintenance of the NGM.

Between 2004 and 2008, the OSW facilitated the work of the Presidential Working Group on Women and participated in a range of training, advocacy and awareness-raising activities particularly in Women's Month and in the period for 16 Days of Activism for Violence Against Women and Children (See Presidency Annual Report 2004/2005; 2005/2006; 2006/2007; 2007/2008). Notably, the OSW participated in the signing of the SADC Protocol on GAD. In line with this agreement, the OSW also co-hosted a joint meeting on the status of women. Reporting for CEDAW was also submitted in line with international obligations (See Presidency Annual Report 2007/2008:11).

The work of the OSW, although commendable in the ratification of key legislation, does not reflect strong links with the Department or with the former PALAMA (now NSG). The external commitment to regional legislation at the time of re-constitution also points to the role of political will to reflect commitment on paper, however, in the implementation thereof the bureaucratic structures facing the Department create obstacles as political buy-in are a major factor in the availing of resources and ultimately the development of an enabling environment as evidenced from the lack of close collaboration with the transformed OSW apart from the 2008 Inaugural Gender Indaba.

In an interview with NSG GM Project Staff, the following was noted:

> "The OSW has been fragmented in their approach to GM in the South African public service. They have tried to drive the gender agenda in the public service through the convening of the NGM however, my experience has been that the OSW was understaffed and under resourced. In addition to this, the OSW lacked clear leadership. For example, CSOs were selected for inclusion in the NGM based on criteria that were never shared with the broader forum. It also felt like there was only a drive to complete and produce reports when submitting to United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). There would often also be arguments as

> to who would travel to the United States for the annual International Women's Day celebration which would also be added into the conference programme for country reporting on gender equality."

When staff from the GM Project staff were interviewed and engaged on the input of the former OSW, some deferred to others who had been with the project for longer than three years as no input from the former office or the current "Department for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities" could be recalled. This is a telling observation as it speaks to the absence of the OSW into a key mainstreaming project within government. Department's Annual Report 2010/2011 mentions the Presidency only with reference to international relations, monitoring and evaluation for "customer satisfaction", anti-corruption. There is special mention of the Department Women in Management Week however, there is no direct link to partnering with the Department for Women, Children or Persons with Disabilities.

The researcher was a member of the NGM, 2008-2011 and found the former OSW to be an ineffective Directorate. The NGM meetings convened would bear the same agenda and often the OSW would look to the NSG for information on the GM Project to report on. Although a request was made from the former OSW for the development of a training initiative, the proverbial 'spade work" was undertaken by the Department, PSETA, expert reviews and the NSG respectively. See Hassim (2003) in her discussion on the role of resources in influencing internal mainstreaming. The success of the development of the GM Project largely rested on the commitment and political will from the Department, NSG and PSETA. This political will which was driven by the then Director-General of the Department, Professor Levin, ensured that gender was placed on the proverbial agenda.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the OSW was given Ministerial status in 2009 and became known as "The DoW, Children and Persons with Disabilities". The DWCPD is mentioned in the Department Annual Report 2011/12: 14, "The review of the Policy on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality by the DoW, Children and people with Disabilities and the Employment Equity Act will also have an impact on the work of the department and in particular, its human resource capacity to absorb additional responsibilities."

There are no clearly defined links between the two departments in terms of operationalising GM in the public service. The Department's own success in the same year cannot be attributed to any interventions by the DWCPD:

> "The representation of women in the SMS has improved from 34% to 37.9% and from 0.20% to 0.32% for people with disabilities by December 2011. This increase was facilitated by the Department's interventions which included departments that

> are not complying being required to submit remedial action plans to meet the targets. It is expected that if this increase is sustained it will contribute towards Cabinet's target to achieve equity in the representation of women at SMS at 50 per cent by 2014, and two per cent for people with disabilities across all levels by 2013" (Department Annual Report 2011/2012:25).

Notably, there was a major focus by the Department on the issue of equity as this was placed as the major indicator of GM success at the time. The fragmented nature of the newly established Ministry as noted, had no influence in the success of the Department in increasing women's participation in senior management and no mention is made of the newly established Ministry being an obstacle to operations either. It can be speculated, that this absence led to the further reconfiguration of the Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities at the time. The DWCPD was then demoted to a branch of the DSD due to poor performance and also poor support through political will (See interview with ex-Commissioner from the CGE). The Ministry was seen as ineffectual and in 2014 was separated from the other categories formerly associated with the Ministry and became the DoW. This Department, as discussed in Chapter Two, focuses now solely on the "advancement of women's socio-economic empowerment and the promotion of gender equality."[4]

The 2012/2013 Department Annual Report provides details of more independent strides made by the Department albeit in consultation with some stakeholders. Conspicuous in its absence, is the lack of reporting on the role of DWCPD in the development of key policies in the area of gender equality. The Diversity Management Unit reports "The Policy on Reasonable Accommodation, Assistive Devices and other Measures for the Public service was finalised and submitted to Cabinet. A draft Sexual Harassment Policy was developed and approved. Reports on Public service Affirmative Action and Employment Equity (2011-2012); Youth Development in the Public service; and GM in the Public service (2011) were produced (Department Annual Report 2011/2012:132).

Notably, the Department reported on the development of several policy support documents to facilitate the operationalising of Employee Health and Wellness policies provided for by the Employee Health and Wellness Strategic Framework. These include the Gender Sensitive Rights Based HIV/Aids Mainstreaming Guidelines for the Public service. This report, amongst others, notes the success of PALAMA and then later the NSG through the

[4] www.women.gov.za accessed 10 May 2018, 14:49

GM Project (See Annual Reports 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2012/2013, 2013/2014). There is no mention of the DWCPD as a key partner in the rollout of any of these interventions.

The Department 2013/2014 Annual Report, page 54 shows the first decline on gender reporting, citing the approval of the Department gender policy amongst others. This reflects not only an outward focus but also an inward focus on mainstreaming initiatives. In addition, the report reflects gender disaggregated data with regard to performance rewards and other thematic areas. The DWCPD is absent from this report as has been the trend with previous reports. This is also the trend for the 2014/2015 Annual Report.

Notably the Department policy on Sexual Harassment came into effect 1 April 2014. This was accompanied by a circular 28/1/P2 to ensure that departments provided relevant reports on this critical area. A key circular emanating from the Department in 2008 was the institutionalising of a Public service Women in Management Week. The circular aimed to spearhead this as an annual event, to be observed by Departments. It was envisaged that a forum of this nature would assist women managers in sharing obstacles and best practices. This circular aimed to institutionalise the 8-Point Principle Plan by ensuring that women could formally articulate their needs. The circular aimed at ensuring that strategic policies and plans of the department "reflect the 8 Principles espoused to institutionalise GM" (See Department Circular, 16 July 2008).

The Women in Management Week has become known at the NSG as the "SMS Roundtable". The researcher's experience of being in this forum is that it is a compliance exercise. The NSG aims to integrate gender concerns into its policies and procedures, however this tends to be a paper exercise. For example, curriculum guidelines have been developed for the mainstreaming of "human rights" issues such as gender and disability. The actual experience, as a woman in management is that spaces for "consultation" are often exploited for reporting purposes rather than operationalising purposes. In the 2016/2017 financial year 32 cases of sexual harassment were heard at our Department of approximately 220 in a total staff complement. In addition, the researcher felt that the SMS Roundtable, as a forum, was only convened during Women's Month as a compliance measure as "activities" conducted for the NSG during the themed period. In addition to the convening of the meeting, the agenda for these "roundtables" is only circulated a day before the session and very little notice given to the relevant SMS Members whose calendars are already under immense pressure.

Currently, departments are requested to report on the SMS Roundtables during Women's Month as part of their formal reporting to the Department (See Department Annual Report 2014/105). Again, there is an exclusion of the DWCPD and the Department does not

mention this as a compliance measure, the reports are part of the Department's mainstreaming efforts and of holding departments accountable. The NPF aims to provide generic guidelines, which the various sectors will use to issue more detailed policy documents that are sector specific.

According to the PSC, various sectors will be enabled to integrate the Gender Policy Framework into their policy and strategic documents such as their Annual Performance Plans. It further proposes "an annual national reporting mechanism to ensure that there is regular follow-up and review of progress in the implementation of the NPF. In ensuring progress, the NPF States that the moves towards implementation as this is the major obstacle facing policy development. Without implementation, women's empowerment and gender equality will not be addressed in any meaningful way.

The Department, albeit in a limited manner, is attempting to provide an annual reporting mechanism for departments. The latter is notably driven by the political will of departments and their respective political heads. It can be deduced that the collaboration between the DoW and the Department is no longer present. Efforts in supporting the launch of the First Inaugural Gender Indaba and the conceptualisation of the GM Project are noted, however the collaborative efforts have somewhat come to end as is evidenced in the annual reports and from interviews with key role-players. The latter reiterates the powerful role of political will in building towards the success of GM initiatives in the South African State.

6.3 COLLABORATIONS WITH CGE

The CGE is established in terms of Chapter Nine, Section 187 of the Constitution of South Africa. The CGE is identified as an independent body. (Report to the CEDAW Committee on South Africa's Implementation of CEDAW, 1998-2008:2). The CGE has a broad mandate with regard to the promotion of gender equality and the protection of gender equality in South Africa. The latter extends beyond the South African civil service. Part of its mandate, is to monitor State compliance with international conventions and legislation acceded to or ratified specifically relating to gender equality.

> "The legislation includes, amongst others, CEDAW and BPFA. The CGE is also tasked with the preparation of reports that must be submitted to parliament indicating compliance to the conventions and protocols."
>
> (Report to the CEDAW Committee on South Africa's Implementation of CEDAW, 1998-2008:8)

Interviews with the GM Project Staff and Department Diversity Management unit staff indicate that the CGE is limited from the workings of government and interacts at the NGM forum sporadically. “I am uncertain as to what the role of the CGE is in the actual workings of the mainstreaming activities by the Department. We have requested them (CGE) to assist Departments in forming indicators to operationalise GM on request.” The onus is notably on Departments to engage the CGE and therefore is notably driven by the political will of a department and the departmental head.

The CGE is hailed as a key driver of gender equality efforts in the country, however they remain separate from assisting government to operationalise GM in projects. This point is also noted in the GM Project Bi-Annual Narrative Report (2010:27), where the NSG indicates that they had solicited advice from the CGE for themselves. “…some such as PALAMA (now NSG) have requested assistance to report on gender indicators to the CGE and the Department.” It is noteworthy that the Department was also included as a body from which to seek advice.

This suggests that the Department is seen to be a leading Ministry in the area of GM initiatives for the public service. It was also noted in Interviews with ex-CGE Commissioners and previous members of the NGM, that “…the NGM is in actual fact not a functioning body and has not been convened in over 12 months. The activities of the NGM remain isolated to the work of the DWCPD in its current form.” (Interview conducted 16 November 2017)

The NGM is poorly funded by government and therefore this creates a major stumbling block towards the achievement of gender equality in the civil service and the larger South African society. Notably, the CGE is poorly funded and this fact also creates a barrier for implementation. The monitoring of compliance to international and regional conventions, charters and protocols is severely impacted upon. Gender Equality reports therefore are poorly generated and poor compliance is allowed to continue largely unchecked.

Since the launch of the CGE, the organisation has only received annual inflationary adjustments to its budget. In addition, the CGE has been delivering its mandate (albeit in a limited manner) without adequate human resource capacity. Notably there has also been a high staff turnover which has contributed to the overall poor performance of the organisation.

> “The CGE could not access State assistance given the legal status of this organisation as independent however the absence of many GFPs employed for the mainstreaming of gender in government also had a major impact on the work of the CGE.”

(Report to the CEDAW Committee on South Africa's Implementation of CEDAW: 1998 – 2008. Compiled by the CGE, July 2010:10).

Also featured in the CEDAW Committee report is the constraining budget facing the CGE. The Minister of Finance has not prioritised measures to allocate adequate funds for the achievement of the performance plans assigned to the CGE. Likewise, departments have been left unchecked regarding the allocation of gender sensitive budgets for GM Projects. Further to this, insufficient funds are also a hindrance to the NGM. (Report to the CEDAW Committee on South Africa's Implementation of CEDAW: 1998-2008). Compiled by the CGE, July 2010:15) Notably the issue of resourcing also affects the CGE in the fulfilment of its mandate as has been seen with other government departments cited earlier in this Chapter.

The CGE notes departmental compliance to Public service Regulations in Article 4 of the CEDAW Report. Another major obstacle facing CGE compliance reporting is the poor adherence to employment equity. The recruitment practices must be aligned to Employment Equity (EE). Recruitment of women is only prioritised when meeting employment equity targets and also viewed as gender equality measures. Notably GM Projects are not included in departmental budgeting processes. This is reduced to ensuring that employment equity targets are met. The Public Service Report States that, for gender equality to be achieved, a mainstreaming strategy must be developed. The policy however is not enough, the report indicates the need for planning and implementation to be emphasised in the achievement of gender equality in the civil service.

In order to successfully plan and implement gender equality at the departmental level, the costs involved must be drawn from departmental budgets. Article 4 clearly reflects that the CGE is in fact attempting to uphold their role as a Chapter Nine Institution however the direct links with the Department as well as offering assistance to departments instead of Departments requesting assistance remains an obstacle to the success of GM initiatives (See also Fester, 2007; Salo, 2001; Salo, 2007; Hassim, 1999; and Govender, 2002).

The CGE is implicated as part of the recommendations by the GM Project, PALAMA (NSG) and may not enforce in departments the implementation of skills gained in the GMP training. To maximise outcomes of the training, the assistance of relevant entities; such as the Department, CGE, PSC and the Ministry for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities, which are mandated to monitor the implementation of gender projects, is required. In recognition of the on-going GMP training, these entities need to strengthen accountability mechanisms in departments for the mainstreaming of gender. (GM Bi-Annual Report,

2010:40) This point speaks to the need for the CGE to work more collaboratively with the NSG.

From the evidence above, it can be argued that the CGE's focus is outwardly focused on compliance to international and regional obligations. Although many efforts are noted in "policing" public service departments, it must also be noted that the CGE is under resourced and notably, so is the NGM. Given the resource constraints on this important Chapter Nine Institution, it begs the question as to how mainstreaming will be monitored and supported beyond the reporting enforced by the Department. This will be further unpacked in later Chapters when assessing the role of resources and an enabling environment. (See also, Meintjes (2005) in her discussion of the long-term protection of the CGE as a body).

A former Commissioner from the CGE also noted that "As a former Commissioner, there is a big problem in how the Act was written. The CGE is accountable to Parliament but is also meant to have oversight of government. Any interaction with civil society was dismissed in favour of Parliament…The CGE has no 'teeth' when a department does not want to implement something. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it comes to implementation." This critique is significant when assessing the collaborative nature of the CGE with the Department.

Another argument for the poor collaboration with the CGE is around the adoption of the NPF to provide clear oversight roles and responsibilities to the area of gender equality. Given the delay with the adoption of the NPF framework, each member of the machinery assumed roles and responsibilities and in practice this meant many portfolio overlaps. In the beginning, CGE was identified as being part of civil society. (See Gouws, 2006) Gouws' analysis points to an underlying problem with perceptions around the role of the CGE and suggests that this role needs clarification in order for this body to receive the proper recognition as a formal Chapter Nine Institution.

Notably, the collaboration with the CGE with the Department is poor. It can be deduced that in fact, this relationship may have enjoyed a better trajectory if elements such as political instability of the Commission was addressed and if reporting lines were made clear within the CGE itself. As is evidenced, the CGE was concerned with setting up its international broad base of compliance and could not implement change at home. The resourcing of the CGE will be unpacked in later Chapters.

6.4 COLLABORATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

Notably the Department's Annual Reports reflect links with CSOs albeit to a limited extent. At the First Inaugural Gender Indaba, the South African Women in Dialogue non-governmental organisation was invited to be part of the programme. (Department Gender Indaba Report 2008)There is a distinct lull with the inclusion of civil society into further key projects with the Department with civil society only being referenced again in the 2011/2012 Annual Report. Here, civil society is included: "A guideline for Gender Sensitive and Rights Based HIV/Aids Mainstreaming in the Public service was developed. This was an initiative from the SADC meeting of Focal Persons" Department Annual Report, 2011/2012:83).

The Department developed the guideline in partnership with *Deutsche Geselleschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)* and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). After consultation at various levels including external role-players like the South African National AIDS Council, National and Provincial Departments, CSOs, and so forth and later the Governance and Administration Cluster (G&A), the guide was released for implementation in the Public service. Notably, partnerships with global funders and distinctly the United Nations, receives partnership status in reporting, however civil society is included for consultation. No specific mention is made of any particular organisation playing a major role.

Civil society links are broadly acknowledged once again in the Department Annual Report (2012/2013:12), with reference to the Open Government Partnership made in 2011. The latter can be perceived as an effort by the Department to be more inclusive with the civil society sector. The link with civil society is reiterated with reference to this programme: "Roundtable Dialogues with business chambers, press clubs, labour unions, and civil society organisation representatives" (Department Annual Report 2012/2013:12).

The 2014/2015 Department Annual Report makes broad reference to "civil society". Section 4.2 makes reference to the need for collaborations with civil society in order to confirm service delivery challenges. Civil society is referred with the need for consultation on the African Peer Review Mechanism in the 2015/2016 Department Annual Report. Interviews with the staff at the GM Project indicate that the Department's relationship with civil society remains consultative, however interviewees could not name organisations whom have participated in the rollout of the work of the Ministry. Criteria for the selection of organisations still remains an outstanding yet critical piece of information.

As Stated earlier in Chapter Three, the NPF recognises the “Women’s Empowerment” approach which it defines as placing basic needs ahead of strategic needs. In achieving this laudable task, Section 2.15.1 notes:

> “The institutional mechanisms to promote gender equality, commonly referred to as the National Machinery, are well developed in South Africa. The South African model is a comprehensive one composed of a variety of structures which are all dedicated towards advancing gender equality.”

These units are located in Parliament, in Provincial Government, and within independent bodies such as commissions and courts. The entire National Machinery is ineffective and defunct at the moment. It is important that the NGM is assisted in playing the lead coordination role in the advancement of gender equality not only in the South African State but within the society at large. The extent to which the NGM used to operate was focused more on consultation and less on operations. The latter is evidenced through the researcher’s own experience of the NGM for a 2008-2011.

Civil society is somewhat excluded from the workings of government if the Department Annual Reports are noted for their reference to consultations. As Stated earlier in Chapter Three, White notes that “democratic citizenship is undermined if there is too great a contradiction between the egalitarian norms of a democratic polity and the inequalities of individuals and groups in civil society”. (White, 1998: 28) This is supported by Williams (2004: 2) who States that one of the key problems with regard to GM is that it has lost its principal and fundamental elements. The political will of civil society to engage the State as well as the Department’s political will to engage civil society therefore comes into question. Given the limited interaction with CSOs as reflected in the various annual reports and key documents produced with respect to GM in the civil service, it can be deduced that the Department has not adequately engaged CSOs in their mainstreaming efforts in the public service.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This Chapter assessed the collaborations of the Department with internal and external role-players in the South African landscape. Collaborations with the NSG; the CGE; Civil society and the DoW were discussed. The extent of the inter-connectedness of the Department is limited to the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Projects. These collaborations will be further unpacked when analysing the factors of political will, resourcing and the development of an enabling environment in later Chapters. However, the Chapter foregrounds the evidence that confirms that the overriding factor for the success of GM Projects is in fact that of political will in enabling successful collaborations with the various role-players.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ASSESSING POLITICAL WILL IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GM PROJECT AND 8-POINT PRINCIPLE PLAN

This Chapter defines political will and analyses the role of political will in pushing the gender agenda at the Department. The Chapter unpacks the role of political will in enabling and/or creating barriers to the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The Chapter also documents the lived experience of key staff at the Department as well as from a key gender activist in experiencing the role of political will in the implementation of GM Projects. The Chapter also offers some tentative conclusions on the role of political will in the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The Chapter suggests that this factor is the most important element in the rollout of gender projects at the Department as it influences the availing of resources and the development of an enabling environment.

Post *et al.* (2010) claims that political will is an ambiguous term. They go further to posit that the manner in which the term "political will" is used is a reflection of its centrality in achieving policy change. In this study, political will is linked to the other factors of resource availability and the creation of an enabling environment (Brinkerhoff 2000; Brinkerhoff and Kulibaba 1999; Hammergren 1998; Kpundeh 1998). Post *et al.* (2010:7) provide a definition that resonates with the focus of this study: "Plainly speaking, political will is the extent of committed support among key decision-makers for a particular policy solution to a particular problem." The commitment of both internal and external actors is assessed in the rollout of gender projects at the Department.

The extent to which decision-makers are committed to ensuring the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan as initiatives for the overall goal of gender equality is assessed. The extent to which decision-makers are committed can only be assessed when looking at the factors that influence that political will at the Department. The latter is explored through an analysis of key documentation and through interviewing key staff and former members of the CGE to provide perspectives on what they feel are drivers for the presence and/or absence of political will in driving the gender agenda. The commitment of officials is also explored through the testimonies of those whom have consented to inclusion on the study.

Post *et al.* (2010) argue that the factors affecting the presence and/or absence of political will is directly dependent on whether adequate decision-makers exist and whether these decision-makers have an informed understanding of a particular problem adopted on a formal agenda. Notably they also argue that these decision-makers must be committed to supporting the agenda and there must be an effective policy solution. The commitment of decision-makers is the overriding factor in the success of gender projects. Notably, the

absence of this commitment, here referred to as political will, ultimately affects the rollout of the gender projects at the Department. The decision-makers have the main influence in the availing of resources and the development of an enabling environment. These elements are addressed in assessing political will at the Department in the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

Kapoutsis *et al.* (2015), in their multi-study of political will, conclude that political will is the primary motivator for mobilising personal and organisational resources to achieve political goals. They further identify that there are two major political motivators namely the self-serving and the benevolent. These factors are related to the elements as posited by Post *et al.* (2010), in that decision-makers must be committed to supporting and agenda however the motivator for that commitment is influenced by other factors. The role of the self-serving and benevolent actions by an individual cannot be assessed in this study. However, the presence of these factors must be noted as influencing elements in the decisions of those whom have power at the Department.

Abazovic and Mujkic (2015:1) State that:

> "Political will is usually mentioned in reference to the centre of power, and to political decision-makers as the key actors in good governance. But the system of representative democracy, in its ideal form, is built upon the premise, and the promise, that those actors, i.e. the political elites, represent voters' interests and implement their collective will."

In the context of this study, the actors being assessed are the departmental implementers and the supporting structures, namely the NGM, the CGE and the DoW. Smigoc (2015:8) States that the "majority of contemporary authors observe political will through the prism of functioning of political systems and public policies and through the analysis of institutional mechanisms and their human potential to implement political will." There is, however, an interplay between political will and political behaviour.

Political will is expressed as political behaviour but behaviour is influenced by various factors Post et al (2010). Many studies confirm that in the life of an individual, values and value systems represent the main influences in political behaviour (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1996; Knafo and Schwartz, 2001). Values possess the most influence on views and behaviours (Eysenck,1954; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992, 1996; Rohan, 2000; Rohan, Zanna, 2001, as cited by Franc *et al*., 2002) These are used as the criteria for evaluating people and events. Values are central in politics and political judgements as well as preferences (Feldman, 2013). Schwartz (1992:4) defines political will as "ideas or beliefs

related to desirable goals or behaviours that go beyond specific situations, guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events and which are hierarchically ordered by relative importance to an individual." The behaviour of individuals ultimately influences the outcome of the gender projects at the Department. This is evident from the testimonies of officials featured later in this Chapter.

Former Minister Essop Pahad (2007) identifies obstacles that hamper the effective implementation of GM in Government. Firstly, he questions whether senior management, such as DGs, Deputy DGs and Chief Directors are made accountable for their employment practices. Secondly, the lack of an enabling environment and an organisational culture hampers the effective implementation of GM. Thirdly, within the Public service, there is poor will and compliance with the spirit of the NPF for Women Empowerment and Gender Equality. These observations resonate with the focus of this study as was an astute observation reflecting the political climate towards gender equality at the time... The political buy-in from Ministers for particular programmes is a major element in the success of policy implementation. The latter will emerge later in this Chapter through interviews with key staff at the Department.

7.1 SENIOR MANAGEMENT SERVICES ROUNDTABLE FOR WOMEN

The SMS Roundtable for Women is a key initiative developed and implemented by the Department. As explained in earlier Chapters, the 8-Point Principle Plan was developed as policy initiative by the Department to enforce mainstreaming at departmental level by placing these principles squarely as the responsibility of the HOD. Initially, as has been reported in the Department GM Report (2013), the Department was receiving poor reporting on the 8-Point Principle Plan in the years preceding and during the initial stages of the GM Project. The Department instituted a formal measure for departments in this regard, known as the SMS Roundtable or "SMS Roundtable for Women". Since 2014, all departments at provincial and national level. The SMS Roundtable for Women is an annual forum hosted for all women at senior management in which the DG and/or HOD interrogates the 8-Point Principle Plan (Department GM Report, 2013) The purpose of this forum is to solicit input from women at senior management level with regard to gender equality at the Department. The SMS Roundtable, predictably does not include women at lower management levels or at lower echelons at the Department. The input provided at this forum therefore is skewed to represent the interests of women at Senior Management levels.

The researcher's experience of this forum is that the SMS Roundtable is convened as a compliance measure during South Africa's "Women's Month" in order to reflect activities undertaken for GM in the Department. In order to elevate this exercise from merely

compliance into a meaningful contribution, operational projects and criteria for the mainstreaming of gender must be developed and implemented. This opinion is reiterated through the interview processes undertaken for this study.

> "The department remains largely patriarchal in practices such as meeting chairing and elevation of projects. The GM Project, although internationally renowned, receives very little recognition internally" (Interview with GM Project Staff, 16 November 2017).

The opinion of the staff member coupled with my own experience of the SMS roundtable, reflects the focus on compliance by the Department and not necessarily meaningful implementation. To return to the criteria discussed by Post *et al.* (2010) above, a collective understanding and a commitment to the implementation of projects aligned to the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality is absent. The latter therefore is directly related to the need for political will to be fostered in order for decision-makers to drive projects towards success.

7.2 SUPPORT AVAILED TO THE PROJECTS

This sub-section reflects on political will in providing support to staff, in the form of buy-in as argued by Post *et al.* (2010). The experience of the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project reflects the importance of political will for the rollout of GM Projects at the Department.

An interviewee at the Department was engaged on describing the factors that will and have enabled gender to be mainstreamed effectively. [5]Roanne explained that:

> "The Minister at the time, Honourable Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was the driver of this (gender) agenda. Her openness to champion the gender work assisted in making the gender initiatives happen. The former Minister would discuss this with the cabinet colleagues and hence create buy-in at a very senior level. This meant that at cabinet level GM was discussed."

The above testimony reveals that support for GM was driven by the former Minister for Public service and Administration and assisted in popularising the practise of actively implementing GM. This was highlighted by the interviewee as an influencing factor in the

[5] Pseudonym

success of GM Projects at the Department. The interviewee, Roanne, went further to discuss the link of political will to the availing of resources:

> "In terms of resources, funding was not made available; HR were not readily availed either, the Diversity Management Unit was expected to make this happen on our own. The political buy-in however made it easier to rollout projects through the Diversity Management unit and the then, PALAMA through the GM Project. Currently, due to what I feel is competing priorities, GM is now shelved."

The availing of resources is a necessary factor in the implementation of any project. The interplay between political will and the availing of resources is therefore noteworthy. The term of the Minister ended in 2009, with the former Minister being transferred to the United Nations to serve in a different role.[6] The absence of the Ministerial prioritisation of GM has led to poor support for GM initiatives. It is observed that GM has been 'shelved".

Roanne, when engaged on the role of the Department in the mainstreaming of gender:

> "The 8-Point Principle Plan emanated from the strategic framework, the Department rolled this out through enforcing reporting. This was reinforced through conscientising departments through the rollout of advocacy workshops and then monitoring thereof through reports from departments. Here the Department is looking at challenges and an analysis of departments challenges. This effort is ongoing until now, the unit supports the departments."

The above testimony suggests that political will does not only reside outside of the Department to ensure the success of the GM Projects. The actors within the Department also have a key role to play in the success of the GM Projects. The Council of Europe (1998:21) States that, "Political will, where the State defines gender equality as one of its main objectives and sets out clear criteria for GM." This points to the need for the State drivers namely the Public service, to ensure that criteria are set and formally adhered to therefore implying that no matter who is the political head, the actors within the related Department will continue to be enabled to mainstream gender. When engaged on what the Department needs to enable gender to be mainstreamed, as Roanne explained:

> "Political will is awkward to address, the talk does not necessarily translate to change. There is a male dominated cohort being appointed at a senior level, the Ministers must take into consideration the achievement of equity targets. Political will must be addressed in order to address the gender parity in senior appointments. The

[6] www.undp.org.za

> role of cabinet must also be questioned for political will. When only males are recommended for appointment, there does not seem to be consideration of transformation. Have they thought about what the Women's Ministry is supposed to achieve?"

The above observation by Roanne points to the barrier of patriarchy in the success of GM initiatives at the Department. (See also Leyenaar (2004) in her discussion on her discussion around getting men to engage on GM issues). Joseph (2009:300) also notes the importance of political will in mobilising GM in the United Nations Development Project (UNDP). "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." Rao *et al.* refer to this as "organisational deep structure". This notion is supported by Brynard (2007), who claims that lack of political will affected implementation. As discussed in Chapter One, Benschop and Verloo (2006) in their comparison of GM, feminist interventions and equality policies, deduced that political will must be present in order for the intended goals to be met. They also put forward that senior management buy-in and the availing of resources is critical to the success of GM Projects.

Some progress has been achieved in terms of representation of women in the civil service however there is also stagnation in political will and gender policy implementation (Gouws, 2005a; Hassim, 2005; Meintjes, 2005; Holland-Muter, 2008).Gouws (2005b) also claims that feminists have disengaged with the State due to their lack of political commitment to GM, those whom have engaged the State have done so based on the history of civil society. The "trickle-down" approach implemented by the State prior to the introduction of the GM Project and 8-Point Principle Plan attracted much criticism from scholars, such as Kabeer (1994) and Moser (1995). Radical feminists criticise the State for its role in sustaining patriarchy (Kenway, 1990). The State is seeing as not having political will to effect change.

Respondents in the GM Project evaluation spoke about their frustrations with the delay in operationalising the organisation's GM Strategy. Respondents noted that the first priority was to establish a Gender Focal Point and a GM Advisory and Compliance Committee (GENMACC). Anna[7], an interviewee at the Department, explained her barriers to the mainstreaming of gender at the Department. She was only appointed in 2015, three years after the GM strategy was approved and although she worked with higher offices in the

[7] Pseudonym

rollout of GM initiatives, she indicated the difficulty with being able to influence matters for gender equality in the workplace.

> "I am at Assistant Director Level and lobbied for 2 years to establish the GENMACC. This was constituted again, of staff members who are not at senior management level thus making the impact of the GENMACC difficult to achieve. I am often invited to meetings where my items for discussion such as equity issues, diversity reports, organisational development reports etc. need to be discussed but I am not privileged to attend the entire meeting and am summoned only for my actual agenda item. This limits my ability to influence the SMS members as often, agenda items are linked in theme and purpose."

The testimony of Anna reflects the barriers facing actors within the Department. The political will of SMS is therefore a major factor in determining the successful implementation of the GM strategy developed by the Department. The drivers for the success of GM Projects therefore does not only lie within the specific portfolio allocated to that function.

Anna went further to discuss how she addresses the mainstreaming dilemma:

> "The events that are hosted are often themed according to Cabinet national themes and only run in the month that it is designated. My portfolio as Gender Focal Point is collapsed with my current functions in organisational development. Other key issues such as disability, youth, HIV, Employee Health and Wellness are also in my portfolio thus causing a varied focus according to the urgency of event for the month. For example, August is dedicated for women events due to 'Women's month' in South Africa however initiatives can be carried out throughout the year but due to time and resource constraints these cannot be implemented with any great impact."

The GM Evaluation Report (2013) reveals that the political will of the DG and Senior Management echelon at the NSG is an influencing element in the success of the GM Project.

> "…several reasons were cited for the lack of senior management participation including a lack of political will, pressures on senior managers' diaries, a lack of buy-in from managers, the way the course is marketed, PALAMA's reputation amongst senior managers and a reluctance to participate in a course with more junior staff. These issues were picked up early on in the programme's delivery and various initiatives taken to mobilise senior managers. In the main, however, these were unsuccessful" (GM Report 2013:27).

The report reiterates the role of leadership in the public service as a key driver of the success of GM. Coupled with the testimony above, it can be deduced that programmes that receive support from higher offices and senior officials are often successful. Anna goes further to explain the lack of support from senior management: "…senior managers are often unavailable to attend key meetings and have been invited to join GENMACC at the NSG."

The GM Project does not only focus inwardly but also has an outward focus. "As part of mobilising the right people to attend the course, the NSG needs to engage departments in a process prior to their registration on the course. There are many ways in which this could happen. The NSG has tried making presentations to departments, at the Gender Indaba, in round table dialogues and to the Portfolio Committee. However, more is needed. In particular the NSG needs to find a way to identify champions at a senior enough level and use these to build momentum in departments" (GM Evaluation Report 2013:45). This political lobbying to departments would thus ensure the correct and meaningful uptake of the course as the correct participant will be identified. As mentioned in Chapter Seven, the course is now offered as a one-day workshop and has no credits attached meaning that the accredited status of the programme has been adapted to suit a shorter intervention.

The need for broader political buy-in was also highlighted in interviews with Princess, a project team member:

> "The Department, the NGM and the DoW must play a more active role in summoning political will for the mainstreaming of gender in the public service. The Department as the policy ministry must move departments beyond compliance and towards a culture of buy-in. The NGM must be reconvened in order to build the gender machinery that government has already established as momentum by the NGM is being lost by its absence. The DoW must drive this agenda, I feel that this body had more clout as a chief directorate operating under the former OSW. These roles are critical in creating a sustained commitment to GM."

This testimony reflects the need for political will from role-players outside of the Department and particularly points to the lack of leadership from the NGM and the DoW, whose core mandate it is to mainstream gender within the South African State. The need for the development of political will is also recognised by the GM Evaluation Report (2013:46)

> "Gender training is important but it cannot be offered in a vacuum, and GM is also a process that takes place over time. The training needs to be conceptualised as part of a broader an organisational intervention. This is recognised by NSG who has worked closely with the DoW, the CGE and others and linked the training to other

> initiatives. It has also reported regularly to the Governance and Administration Cluster. However, with personnel and political changes this has not been sufficient to galvanise a broader programme. While the primary responsibility for this lies outside the NSG, as one of the key players with capacity, the NSG needs to be more proactive and work with a cluster of other departments to locate the training in a broader and more comprehensive programme around GM."

Again, the GM Evaluation Report (2013) reiterates the need for political will from outside the NSG to enable the successful uptake of the GM Project as a strategy for GM Projects in the South African State.

There are many external assessments of the South African State. Notably, the African Development Bank's Country Strategy Paper (CSP) included a focus on the Office of the Status of Women in South Africa 2007. The South African NGM for the Advancement of Women met in October 2007 as a result of this research to reflect on immediate research needs. A review of the effectiveness of the NGM was included as a major theme, which is relevant to this study. The need for political will was identified as a critical factor for the success of GM in South Africa.

> "The Government machinery is not sufficiently determined in turning political will into action. Gender equality concerns end up having low priority due to institutional hierarchies and a range of systemic blockages. It is very important that sufficient thought is invested in placing the new ministry and in defining its relationships to the other elements of the NGM and the other ministries. The moment of renewal should also embrace the Joint Monitoring Committee and the CGE" (African Development Bank, 2009:5).

This was an astute observation as the Ministry, following poor performance and lack of accountability, was then subsumed under the DSD as a branch. The elevation and then subsequent demotion of this key function had a major impact on an already ineffective NGM. Due to the recommendations of the ANC led debate, in May 2009, the Ministry for Women, Children, Youth and People with Disabilities was established. This Ministry would essentially replace the OSW in the Presidency however the elevation of this office into a Ministry was then reversed in 2011. The role of political will is also acknowledged by the DoW. The Department was reconfigured in 2015/2016 to become fall under the Presidency and the previously associated roles for children and persons with disabilities were subsumed under the DSD. Notably, the Annual Report (2015/2016:24): "The location of the DOW in the Presidency reflects the political will to accelerate socio-economic transformation for women's empowerment and the advancement of gender equality." The DoW understands the value of

political will. The location in what is perceived to be the most important Ministry will essentially assist in the promotion of the work of the Ministry. The importance of political will at an operational level is also emphasised in interviews with GM Project staff. In the interviewee's response she noted that the main obstacle in her opinion, facing the public service in the rollout of gender equality measures. "The resistance to change that by officials, and the politics that exists in Government." This testimony further reiterates the emphasis on the role of political will in the fulfilment of gender equality as a goal.

The report by the African Development Bank is quite critical of the NGM in assessing the role-players and the shortcomings emanating from each.

> "NGM partners, particularly NGOs, feel that OSW did not sufficiently inform and consult them. Communication with both NGOs and GFPs has remained ad hoc, lacking institutionalization that would allow partners to approach OSW. By comparison the provincial OSWs were shown to have closer links to stakeholders and the relatively larger number of implementing officers."

This Statement is supported by the GM Evaluation Report (2013) where it is noted that GFPs do not receive adequate communication and/or support from the NGM. Thus, political will from outside of the Department is also politicised in its operations. It can be deduced that the now DoW, was in a constant State of flux from 2008 and these internal dynamics have had an impact on its ability to fulfil its function.

The African Development Bank Report (2009) goes further in its assessment of the CGE:

> "It (the CGE) has been argued that "the CGE vacillated between a mobilising role and a representative role, neither of which in fact accurately captured the remit of its constitutional mandate to act as an oversight and accountability mechanism in relation to progress towards gender equality".

This role of the CGE was at least partly confirmed by the African Development Bank Report. Some participants indicated that the CGE wants to be an NGO running workshops rather than holding government accountable for gender policy implementation. The participants also indicated that workshops are important to inform and mobilize communities and represents part of the CGE's mandate to educate and inform the public, but the commission has a skewed focus.

The inability of the CGE to fulfil its mandate around awareness-raising has a direct impact on the political will afforded to GM activities. The CGE's absence is a notable point that allows the public service to continue acting without a formal "watchdog" as claimed by the African

Development Bank. See also, Gouws (2006) and Hassim (2005) in their discussions on the CGE. The role of the CGE has been explained in previous Chapters, this body has a vital role to play in lobbying for political will in the implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality. In an interview with a former Commissioner, Gina,[8] she explained:

> "The CGE has no "teeth" when a department does not want to implement. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it came to implementation. One of the four pillars to their mandate is to build the CGE."

As noted, the NSG experience of mainstreaming gender internally, the programmes were associated with two individuals who took the programme forward. (GM Evaluation Report, 2013). Notably, a similar experience is discussed in the African Development Bank Report (2009) in their assessment of the Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee:

> "This committee was established as an ad hoc committee in August 1996. The committee is constituted jointly by both members of the NA and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and is mandated to monitor and evaluate progress with regard to the implementation of the BPFA, CEDAW and any other applicable international instruments. In the past under the leadership of Pregs Govender, an experienced and outspoken feminist, the Committee interpreted this role widely to include consultations with civil society about key legislation and policies (such as domestic violence, customary law, termination of pregnancy and HIV/AIDS). Under her leadership, the JMC played an important role in engendering legislation passed through Parliament and fast-tracking bills that were crucial for the empowerment of women. The input given by the JMC in the drafting of the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act of 1998 has been considered crucial. Under Govender the JMC also initiated the gender budgeting initiative with a number of NGOs" (African Development Bank report, 2009:70). (See also Gouws (2006) in her assessment of the Joint Monitoring Committee.)

These external role-players to the Department have a large impact on the ability of the Department to mainstream gender effectively in the Public service.

When engaged on the experience of the Gender Focal Point at the NSG as to the input from the CGE and NGM into the work of the department, the respondent, Anna explained:

> "These two structures (the CGE and NGM) are intended to support and complement the work of GFPs in departments. Departments however, are not utilizing these two

[8] Pseudonym

> institutions. It could be because GM is not key in departments or because there is not enough capacity to engage with the institutions. From our side specifically, we have not utilized them because we are barely scraping the surface due to work overload."

This testimony also reveals the departmental barriers to the rollout of GM Projects. Departments are unable to access or seek support (assuming that this is readily available) due to competing priorities, again pointing to the need for political will at all levels to create the demand for a more holistic approach to GM for gender equality.

Historically, political will has been forthcoming from the Department at a very senior level. As explained in Chapter Six, the Department hosted the First Inaugural Gender Indaba. The achievement of this event was no easy feat and also acted as a platform for the launch of the 8-Point Principle Plan. (Department Gender Indaba Report, 2008:42) Notably the Gender Indaba reported that political and administrative will was a grave challenge to the implementation of GM strategies in the public service. The report also notes the inter-relationship of political will with gender budgeting.

> "It was reported in this regard that: Gender equality, political and policy commitment were critical factors; that there needed to be inter-ministerial commitment and cooperation, well-resourced and well-positioned women's national machinery need to be in place, and that able and effective financial arrangements for GM needed to be made available" (Department Gender Indaba Report, 2008:43).

The role of financial resources will be discussed in Chapter Eight. The conference recommended that Department drives the political will in government departments. The report notes that "The Department: To drive political and administrative mandate for the Public service to institutionalise GM. To support departments with mainstreaming strategies" (Department Gender Indaba Report 2008:44). In the analysis of this mandate and subsequent Annual Reports, post 2009; there is a marked shift away from prioritising GM as a key project for the Department. The removal of this project as a key initiative notably coincided with the exit of the former Minister for Public service and Administration, Ms Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi who was the ultimate political driver of the project.

Political will, however, was not only isolated to the highest political office. GFPs were also called upon to increase and build upon existing strategies; to build alliances and insist on policy compliance internally; and to lobby for the mainstreaming of in their departments (Department Gender Indaba Report 2008:44). This point is very important to note as the conference did not lay responsibility solely at the door of the Department but called on Departments to implement their own mainstreaming initiatives, to be led by GFPs. Given the

experiences noted in the interviews earlier in this Chapter, GFPs face a number of challenges which create barriers for implementation. It can be deduced that had these barriers been removed, perhaps GFPs would have been more successful in their mainstreaming initiatives.

The PSC Report (2011:17) also notes the role of political commitment to the success of GM in the public service:

> "There did not appear to be a great deal of senior management support for the role of the GFP in any of the departments surveyed, resulting in the compromising of the GFP's position in departments and the seriousness with which their work and processes were taken more broadly. Although immediate managers generally tried to be supportive, there was not a clear understanding of, or commitment to gender issues more broadly. The supervisors of the GFP were often inappropriate and did not hold a position in the departments that sent a clear message about gender and its importance in the departments."

This is noteworthy, as it points to the problems underlined by GFPs in the execution of their duties. Political will plays a significant role in the implementation of GM initiatives.

When engaged on how projects originate at the Department, Roanne, formerly from the Diversity Management Unit, explained that Ministerial Directives are effective for the furtherance of any new policy initiative:

> "If a Ministerial Directive is issued to Departments, the contents of the Directive are operationalised in the department. I saw this for example, in the implementation of the Induction programme. This programme used to be an optional programme for public service officials, the Directive issued by the Department institutionalised induction as a compulsory programme. Departments were mandated to ensure that all new employees were given a formal induction in order for their probation to be confirmed. This process worked well in that the Department saw many departments complying with this Directive in order to confirm the appointment of staff. The 8-Point Principle Plan however has not been treated in this fashion. The 8-Point Principle Plan was not institutionalised at a high level, the implementation was only realised in 2013 through the Department requesting departments to formally report on activities related to the 8-Point Principle Plan through a government circular. The circular however does not have the same level of seriousness as the formal directive and thus many departments default on reporting or report very little activities as related to the 8-Point Principle Plan. Department's projects on GM are also directly related to

> the priorities identified by the DG, the focus and access to resources has a strong relationship with whomever holds this office. I have seen this in the past 10 years and in my term of office."

The observations and experiences of the Diversity Management Unit provides unique insight into the rollout of GM initiatives by the Department. It is noted that Ministerial Directives are effective in influencing the institutionalisation of projects and/or priorities. It is also clear that the person holding the Office of the DG has a big influence on the implementation of projects for GM. As noted in the Department Annual Report (2011/2012) the Department made great strides in the area of gender equality under the leadership of Mr Diphofa.

> "The gender sensitive rights based HIV and AIDS Mainstreaming Guidelines were developed and issued for implementation in the public service. The guidelines were used by departments to develop their operational plans on HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and tuberculosis (TB), which in turn informed the national operational plan on HIV and AIDS STIs and TB" (Department Annual Report, 2011/2012:4).

In the year under review it was reported:

> "The department provided training and support to 85 departments in the implementation of the HR Connect Project, Employee Health and Wellness, Gender and Disability Mainstreaming, as well as HRD Matters. The department also provided support to the DPME to develop and pilot the draft Management Performance Assessment Tool (MPAT) to measure organisational performance."
>
> (Department Annual Report, 2011/2012:11)

Projects initiated in the 2011/2012 financial year, were taken further in the Annual Report of 2012/2013. A major highlight noted in the report is the approval of the Employment Equity and Gender policies by Department's Executive Committee. Also noted under highlights, was the reporting on the Public service Affirmative Action and Employment Equity Report for 2011-2012, Youth Development in the Public service and notably GM in the Public service (2011), were produced and submitted to the Minister for approval. The formal indicator for gender equality is also noted in the report "Increase in the % of Government departments with approved Gender Sensitive Rights Based HIV/Aids, STI and TB mainstreamed operational plans" (Department Annual Report 2012/2013:51).

The Department Annual Report 2014/2015 notes a 100% compliance rate was achieved in both National and Provincial Departments with regards to the implementation of competency

assessments for senior managers. The gender distribution had also improved between 2014 and 2015, as the percentage for females assessed increased by 2%. The extent to which this achievement is relatable to the work of the DoW is speculative. However, the efforts of the Department in creating competency assessments for departments does provide support towards creating compliance for equity. The extent to which this is seen in other areas of work is unclear.

When engaged on the obstacles to mainstreaming gender, Anna Stated:

> "GM should be one of the key projects within departments and should be reflected in departments' Strategic and Annual Performance Plans but it is not yet happening. The primary focus in departments is the achievement of EE targets. GM is much more than numbers."

Hassim, in her analysis of quotas, claims that a focus on numerical representation can evade more important issues of accountability.) In her case study on "Globalisation, Marginalisation and New Social Movements in post-Apartheid South Africa, Hassim (2004:11) explains that: "The demand for quotas was supported because it was seen as an instrument to facilitate women's access to decision-making and to create a political space to articulate a transformatory ideal of citizenship. Representation, then, was not conceived as an end in itself, but as part of a broader agenda of redistribution of social and economic power." Therefore, the focus on EE targets, as mentioned by the respondent, must be reviewed in order to make a sustainable move towards meaningful gender equality in the public service.

Political will is not however just limited to the actions of the State or lack thereof. Hassim (2003:2) argues that new relationships can be built between the State and civil society:

> "The quota campaigns and the emphasis on representation are undoubtedly part of an important renewal of feminist activism on the continent." She goes further to State that "Representation was not conceived of as an end in itself, but as part of a broader agenda of redistribution of social and economic power." (Hassim, 2003:3)

Interviews with project staff at the Department and the NSG reveal a separation from civil society. No mention was made of any support from the civil society sector in the furtherance of the objectives of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Princess, when engaged on the role of civil society, Stated:

> "No formal interactions were undertaken with civil society except in the development of the GM Unit standard. The Unit Standard was published in the *Government*

Gazette with input invited from all sectors. Formal participation in the rollout of the project has been absent. Civil society relations with the Department are very limited. I am uncertain if other units have much formal interaction. A recent call for interest in working with the NSG has been undertaken, allowing individuals and companies to apply to formally work with the NSG, the response to this was mainly from private companies and individuals. With less than 2 % from the civil society sector."

Hassim (2003:4) notes the fragmentation of the women's movement in South Africa post-1994. She attributes this to, amongst other factors, the breakdown of the Women's National Coalition (WNC). "The political centre of the WNC did not survive, as the top layer of the leadership of women's organisations shifted into positions within the State and bureaucracy." She does, however, acknowledge that some areas in the civil society sector were strengthened.

> "There has undoubtedly been a strengthening of NGOs that act as advocacy agents and which are tied into State policy processes (for example, the Gender Advocacy Programme in Cape Town, the Nisaa Institute for Women's Development in Lenasia, Johannesburg, and the Gender Research Project at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand). These organisations have the expertise, and in a relative sense, the funding, to intervene in legal and policy debates and public consultations. They remain extremely active in public debate and have found spaces in the new governance system. Their primary role is to ensure the implementation and elaboration of the rights-based democratic framework, in itself an important political task, given the advanced formal rights that were secured in the new South African Constitution of 1996" (Hassim, 2003:4).

These activities cannot however be traced in the operationalising of the GM Project or the 8-Point Principle Plan. This does not mean to suggest that work from these organisations is not taking place, it is merely an observation that there is a distinct silence from civil society in the rollout of these two critical projects aimed at addressing the NPF on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, now known as the Gender Equality Framework.

Mattes (2002:23) offers the following explanation as to the possible low demonstration of political will from the civil society sector:

> "The country's numerous and diverse civil society organisations range from community grassroots groups to national trade unions and nongovernmental organisations. Yet citizens are not particularly supportive of democratic rule and now display low levels of community and political participation. Economically,

> macroeconomic stability, fiscal discipline, and low inflation sit alongside weak business confidence, low growth, massive unemployment, and rising intraracial inequality. Politically, an internationally praised constitution designed to promote multiparty competition and individual rights is overshadowed by one-party dominance and limited governmental accountability."

The lack of public participation in civil society, falls outside of the scope of this study however the observations by Mattes is critical when trying to assess the possible cause of silence from the civil society sector. Mattes (2002:34) offers the following solution:

> "South Africans need to shift the focus onto problems of citizenship, representation, and participation. In the next decade, they need to put as much emphasis on building a grassroots culture of citizenship as they have already put on building a culture of elite accommodation. This requires renewed emphasis on civic education by schools and civil society organisations, in order to teach citizens the intrinsic value of democracy and equip them with the resources necessary to participate more fully in the political process."

7.3 CONCLUSION

From the responses received through the interview process, as well as from documentation provided by project staff, it can be concluded that political will plays a major role on the institutionalising of GM. This Chapter defined political will and analysed the role of political will in driving the gender agenda at the Department. The Chapter unpacked the role of political will in enabling and/or creating barriers to the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The Chapter also documented the lived experiences of key staff at the Department, as well as key gender activists' experiences of the role of political will in the implementation of GM Projects. The testimonies speak to the role of bureaucracy in defining the gender agenda. The structures put in place to advance GM, hinder the progress of GM as a strategy for gender equality as there are no clear accountability lines. Furthermore, as was noted in the previous Chapter, the divided nature of the structures also influences the ability of such bodies to effectively collaborate, however this seems to be circumvented if there is political will from all role-players. The Chapter also offered some tentative conclusions on the role of political will in the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The relationship of political will to resourcing is foregrounded in this Chapter however the next Chapter will unpack the role of resources in the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan in greater detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ROLE OF RESOURCES AS A CRITICAL FACTOR TO GM

This Chapter focuses on the importance of resources in furthering GM Projects at the Department. The Chapter analyses the resources allocated to the Diversity Management Unit in the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the resources allocated to the GM Project in the rollout of the GM course. For the purposes of this study, resources are defined as human and financial resources allocated to the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Political will and an enabling environment however, can also be viewed as resources for the successful enablement of gender projects. An analysis of budgetary and human resource constraints is solicited from interviews with relevant staff in the units concerned as well as from key people in the civil society sector and key role-players. The Chapter highlights the relationship of the overriding factor of political will to resourcing.

8.1 CONTEXTUALISING THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES FOR GM AT THE DEPARTMENT

It is important to contextualise the allocation of resources at the Department. In order to assess what resources are, Brynard (2005) offers an explanation:

Brynard (2005:19):

> "… intuitively obvious that a minimum condition for successful implementation is to have the requisite administrative and other abilities to do the job … that is, the resources ... that is, the capacity to implement." He goes further to explain that this simple articulation of this "capacity problem" is not deceptive. He notes "…it is political rather than logistic."

Brynard's argument resonates with the focus of this Chapter, as he claims that resource allocation is highly politicised. The allocation of resources is influenced by the political will of internal and external actors as will be evident later in this Chapter. A closer look at interviews with key staff members at the Department, as well as key role-players provides this analysis. These interviews also echo the sentiments of Chapter Seven in highlighting the link between resource availability and political will. The Chapter concerns itself not only with the identification of the resources required but also with the factors that influence the allocation of the said resources.

The focus of this study is on the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. These projects are, however, complex and are rolled out in a dynamic policy environment. The fluidity of the

policy environment makes the implementation of these projects very difficult as there is a constant interplay between political will and the availability and allocation of resources. (See GM Evaluation Report, 2013). Brynard (2005:22) points to the role of actors in influencing the availability and access to resources and emphasises the fluidity of the policy environment.

> "Frequently, the goal of the actors will be in direct conflict with each other and the outcome of this conflict and consequently, of who gets what, will be determined by the strategies, resources, and power positions of each of the actors involved. What is implemented may thus be the result of a political calculus of interests and groups competing for scarce resources, the response of implementing officials, and the actions of political elites, all interacting within given institutional contexts."

The actors at the Department, as well as actors that lie outside the Department, namely the policy of the ANC are critical factors in influencing the availability and allocation resources to the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The GM Projects featured in the Government Plan of Action in 2008 has not been featured since. This is such a highly supported implementation document and could be used as a major influencer of the outcome of the gender projects.

Brynard (2005) puts forward what he calls the "5 C Protocol" for effective policy implementation. He identifies this as content, capacity, context, and clients and coalitions. Content he suggests, mediates the choice of end and means. Context refers to the "Institutional Context", which is influenced by the larger context of social, economic, political and realities of the system. Commitment is interlinked to the other "C" variables. "Commitment is important not only at the "street-level" (Brynard, 2005:18). He refers to capacity as including the intangible requirements of leadership, motivation, commitment, and other intangible attributes needed to bring people to action. The environment within which action is taken must also be conducive to successful implementation (See also, Grindle 1980). The content of the NPF clearly defines the ends and means for the implementation thereof. The context notably highlights the relevant role players and ensures the necessary functions of the role players, one element being the allocation of resources.

The institutional context highlighted by the Brynard is perhaps the most contentious element of the NPF. The context for each of the role players identified in the NPF is unclear around how these specific contexts will work collaboratively to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in the State. Notably, these links are in fact the downfall of the gender system that is espoused by the NPF.

Clients and coalitions are also identified as important elements for the successful implementation of policy. Brynard (2005:21) States: “It is important, then, to underscore the saliency of consciously seeking to identify key relevant stakeholders …” Finally, he notes the importance of communication as a cross-cutting variable, “It could be argued that communication is an integral part of all the above-mentioned variables but is also worthy to single out because of the importance of communication.” The clients and coalitions is a major element of this policy as it implicates the recipients of the gender projects as well as the collaborations that are needed. The 5 C Protocol resonates with the focus of the study particularly as these variables play a role in the allocation of resources. This model is effective in the analysis of resource allocation at the Department in the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

The NPF for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality emphasises the need for the provision of resources and details the complexities involved in the rollout of GM Projects. Section 1.8 of the document States:

> “The allocation of resources by various executive and legislative structures is crucial to ensuring that the policy on gender equality is implemented… Regular technical advisory services need to be made available to the national, provincial and local structures for the mainstreaming of gender equality; and adequate staffing, institutional infrastructure, monitoring and evaluation, disseminating information, maintaining active partnerships and capacity building all require strategic interventions to enable the machinery to work effectively towards the goal of women’s empowerment and gender equality.”

Notably, institutional support mechanisms are mentioned in the policy but are not detailed in terms of implementation guidelines. In addition, it is noted that adequate staffing is needed amongst other factors for the effectiveness of the projects however the latter remains a serious obstacle at the Department. It is suggested that these elements are to be developed in order to assist in the realisation of these strategic goals. “The policy framework that needs to proceed with proper resourcing of the national machinery is affirmed by the findings of the National Audit.” For the first time, the document notes the importance of the findings of the external national audit conducted by the Auditor-General of South Africa. The highlighting of the allocation of resources in the actual National Policy Framework for Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality is crucial to the focus of this Chapter, as it recognises the importance of resource allocation in the implementation of the NPF. The GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan are essentially two key projects that attempt to give life to the NPF.

Joseph, Gouws and Parpart (2016:9) argue that issue of entrenched opposition to GM is rarely discussed. They refer to this barrier as "the deep structure" of organisations. Their observation resonates with the experience of the Diversity Management Unit. According to Rao *et al.* (1992:2) the deep structure or gendered sub-culture is:

> "… that collection of values, history, culture and practices that form the unquestioned "normal" way of working in organisations. Operating on a sub-conscious level, people work with and in the deep structure unquestioningly, because its values are very deeply embedded."

Rao *et al.* (1999:21) suggest that, in order to address this, we need bring to the surface, multiple perspectives of how the deep structure can be changed, and work with those in power in support of dialogue and new workplace practices." (Rao *et al.* 1999:21). Parpart (2010:14) asserts that: "Power in support of dialogue and new work practices is a positive, non-coercive power which is participatory and consultative and advances dialogue." A dialogue on the allocation of resources amongst other key issues is currently missing from the gender system advocated by the NPF. Notably, the dialogue is a key piece of the proverbial puzzle as this allows for cross pollination of resources where agreements can be reached. The ideal, therefore, would move the Department towards a consultative and participatory approach, however, even with the current initiatives of focused GM, there is currently no formal support for the implementation of GM Projects.

With the absence of formal support for the availing of resources, it can be noted that success of the projects will ultimately be elusive. The projects need the political support of decision-makers in order to successfully implement the gender projects at the Department. The interplay of political will and the availing of resources must be addressed as a critical element.

In looking at the role of resourcing in effective mainstreaming of gender, Joseph (2009) interrogates the role of resourcing in her assessment of the requirements for successful mainstreaming of gender. She claims that research has shown that poor allocation of staff, particularly with the right credentials is a serious shortcoming. Joseph suggests that a Transformation Unit must be established and the GM Unit must feature within this structure and be made up of approximately one third of the staff. In her discussion around the staffing requirements, she suggests that the convenor of the Transformation Unit must be a senior manager. As mentioned in Chapter Three, GM emanated from the GAD approach:

> "In developing countries GM has come to be viewed as a more radical strategy to ensure gender equality rather than the earlier approach as described by WID on creating specific policies for women. (True, 2001:31-33)

Resourcing is a critical factor to the success of GM Projects towards the achievement of the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality and has been noted earlier. True (2001:369) argues that:

> "…(gender) mainstreaming initiatives balance the goal of gender equality with the need to recognise gender difference to bring transformation of masculine-as-norm institutional practices in State and global governance."

The observation of "masculine-as-norm" was expressed by the *[9]Roanne, when engaged on what she suggests is needed for GM to be successful in the public service. Furthermore, Roanne noted the lack of transformation in human resourcing: "When only males are recommended for appointment, there does not seem to be consideration of transformation."

8.2 RESOURCE ALLOCATION TO THE GM PROJECT

The GM Project was allocated 3.84 million Canadian dollars between 2006 and 2012. These funds were allocated through National Treasury to the NSG for the rollout of the GM Project. The budget allocation was used to pay for the appointment of a Project Team. The Project team was made up of a Project Manager at R632 000, a Manager R380 000 and two administrators (using a labour broker firm at approximately R150 000 per Administrator. The total wage bill per annum was [10]R1, 161, 000 000. Funds allocated to the development of the training programme were estimated at R2.3 million. The latter was developed over a period of three years and involved in the allocation of funds for actual course write up, training of trainers, piloting, accreditation, revision, national and international peer review. The balance of funding was allocated to the rollout of the training programme which included the procurement of venues, catering, payment to trainers and printing services (See GM Evaluation Report, 2013). The project team was initially located under the branch "Curriculum Design" with oversight from the Director for GM.

Notably, the HR allocated to the unit did not remain consistent during the implementation of the project. The Manager for GM who was initially on contract was absorbed by the NSG as a Deputy-Director under the branch Curriculum Design. Given that the branch allocation was the same, an informal arrangement was made in which the former manager would continue

[9] Pseudonym
[10] This estimate does not take into account any additional benefits

responsibilities for the GM Project even though this post was paid from a different budget. In 2009, the Project Manager was re-allocated to the International Relations Branch although she was still paid from the GM Project funds and thus created a gap for overall Project Management. The latter was due to a breakdown in the relationship between the Project Manager and the Director: Curriculum Design. (Interview with Bertha, December 2017)

Bertha's testimony provides insight into the gaps experienced in the overall project management. The breakdown of relationships and the subsequent re-allocation of staff has a major influence on the success of the project outcomes. The staffing, therefore the human resources allocated to a project are critical to the success of the gender projects at the Department.

In addition, a Consultant was appointed in 2009 to manage the Virtual Discussion Forum with an annual salary of R860 000, the contract for this consultant was terminated in 2009. The latter was approved by the CIDA. The project was moved to the International Relations branch in 2009 and then subsequently moved back to the Curriculum Design branch in the same year due to internal arrangements. Two administrators were also allocated on the NSG's budget therefore allowing for the remaining budget to be dedicated to the rollout of the training course, with no funds allocated to salaries.

The fluid nature of the administrative staffing arrangements within the department had an impact on the rollout of the project. The relationships between the project staff members broke down and eventually necessitated the dissolution of the team in 2010 with the new structure proposed by the then DG, Professor Molo. The new structure saw the "Manager" of the GM Project being moved to the Induction team and an Induction Manager being deployed to fulfil the management of the GM Project.

The latter is detailed in the NSG Annual Report (2010/2011). The Director: Curriculum Design was also allocated to a new portfolio, Director: Good Governance. The project, however, remained under the Director: Good Governance. The new manager allocated to the GM Project, however, was subsequently moved back to the Induction team in 2011 thus leaving two administrators and the Director: Good Governance to roll out the project. In 2013, the Director: Good Governance allocated an Assistant Director on a permanent basis, this post was also paid from the National School of Government's budget. (GM Evaluation Report, 2013)

Given the funded nature of the project, the marketing of the course was undertaken with a non-revenue generating focus. Participants on the course were allowed to attend the course for free and were only responsible for their travel and accommodation. Notably, the GM

Project had to allocate a significant amount of the budget to the procurement of materials as at the time of rollout, there was no proper printing system to respond to the amount needed. The latter was undertaken on a three-quote system in line with the procurement processes within the State. In addition, promotional bags were procured that were paired with the training materials and given to participants. The latter was also procured in the absence of specific branded marketing materials from the National School of Government. (See interview with *Bertha, when engaged on the deployment of funds)

The allocation of financial resources was a major asset to the project implementation as ere the arrangements with the administration thereof. Notably though, even with the allocation of resources at such a large scale and the subsequent filling of posts for the rollout of the gender project, the success of the project remained at a mediocre level as much of the control for the implementation of GM Project is dependent on political will. The political will of internal and external actors including the contexts of the recipients of a project was outside the control of the Department.

Funds were also deployed for travel to the provinces to market the course and to undertake monitoring visits. The latter was undertaken due to the absence of a comprehensive marketing strategy from the National School of Government. The training of trainers and the deployment of trainers was managed by the GM Project and was paid from the donor funds. The lack of trainers for the delivery of the GM Project necessitated the contracting and up skilling of trainers to deliver the GM course. (See interview with Bertha when engaged on the obstacles to the rollout of the project).

Notably, the GM Project has been run on a cost-recovery basis from 2013. The uptake and participation in the course have dwindled and may be related to available budgets for the attendance of a four- day accredited course. When critically looking at the success of the GM Project, *Roanne provided the following explanation:

> “The main challenge experienced (in my opinion) was the accredited status of the programme; this created a barrier for some learners. People are reluctant to submit a portfolio. An informal strategy could go a long way in addressing this, in making the course more accessible. The course could be reframed to target different groups such as the GFPs separate to those working outside of this space.”

The latter is the current trend in uptake of the course. Departments are currently requesting the course as a non-accredited workshop and are not invested in the accredited status of the course. (NSG Training Management System Data, 2013-2017)

Roanne's testimony speaks to the need for a revision of resources in the GMP. She points to the need for a different course offering to be formalised. The current rollout of the project utilises the same training materials for both an accredited and non-accredited version of the course. The latter must be addressed in order to accommodate the needs of those recipients of training that may not necessarily meet the training requirements for a course.

When assessing the efficacy of efforts internally, access to resources was highlighted by *Anna at the NSG when engaged on the obstacles to gender equality at the NSG.

> "The biggest challenge is resources; both human and financial. Gender programmes are the last to receive activity-specific budgets because they are usually incorporated in the general HR budget. Even then, when there are budget cuts, gender projects are the first to go."

Anna's testimony reflects the internal barriers to GM efforts at the Department. The allocation of finances is directly related to the political will of officials. Other projects receive priority over the GM initiatives. Anna goes further to explain

> "In terms of human resources, there needs to be an office dedicated to gender activities. Unfortunately, that rarely happens and departments would include this and other special projects in the work agreement of one individual. As a GFP, my work also includes being a Disability Focal Point, Youth Focal Point, Change and Employee Wellness Manager. I have one administrator, and between the two of us, we are able to perform enough functions to be able to submit good reports. The problem is that we are not doing as well as we potentially could because we have fingers in too many pies."

Resourcing therefore is extended beyond just financial resources, as highlighted by Anna, this also includes access to human resources. The triple portfolio experienced at the NSG has also been echoed by the Department GM Report (2013: 17): "Functions related to gender had been assigned to officials who dealt with Employee Health and Wellness Programmes or Human Resources."

The report goes further to explain the focus on gender issues:

> "… there were additional programmes such as Youth Development, Disability, Employee Health and Wellness, Children's Rights, Elder Persons, HIV/Aids, Employment Equity, Race Relations and HRM and Development" GM Report (2013:17).

This evidence reaffirms the need to have a dedicated unit as described by Joseph (2003) earlier in this Chapter. Notably, the GM Report (2013:14) also reflects that:

> "Principle seven of the HODs Gender Action Plan Principles recommends that financial resources be made available to drive GM, however reports showed that progress towards the provision of resources was low. Gender Units often cited lack of funds as a major challenge towards the implementation of policies."

Through interviews with a local gender expert, when engaged on the barriers to successful GM in the South African State, she noted "The problem with GM is that often officials appointed in this function have no experience and training. This makes gender desks ineffectual." She went on to State that:

> "Many do not have a training in gender analysis. There is an understanding that anyone can do it. People do not understand the feminist approach to policy and reduce implementation to numbers. People do not understand the implications of policy for men and women. There is also a lack of understanding of gender budgeting. All policies have to be costed. This was going strong during the first five years under Mandela, then fizzled out."

These observations speak to the Gender Focal Point experience of gender policy implementation when engaged on the obstacles to implementation of GM Projects, "The primary focus in departments is the achievement of EE targets. GM is much more than numbers."

Hassim (2004:10) puts forward "The demand for quotas was supported because it was seen as an instrument to facilitate women's access to decision-making and to create a political space to articulate a transformatory ideal of citizenship. Representation, then, was not conceived as an end in itself, but as part of a broader agenda of redistribution of social and economic power." Through the testimonies solicited through interviews, it can be deduced that the quota system has been reduced to a compliance measure. Notably there is a strong relationship between political will and the availing of resources, both human and financial, for the GM Project.

8.3 THE ALLOCATION AND AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES TO THE 8-POINT PRINCIPLE PLAN

The Diversity Management Unit is responsible for the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan at the Department for Public service and Administration. This project was launched at the First Inaugural Gender Indaba and emanated from the NPF for Women's Empowerment and

Gender Equality (First Inaugural Gender Indaba Report, 2008). At the time of the launch, the Diversity Management Unit was headed by a Chief Director and was populated by a Director and Assistant Director. In 2009, the Unit Head was deployed to another branch and a new Chief Director allocated to head the Unit. The Chief Director subsequently retired in 2012 and the post remained unfilled (Interview with Roanne, December 2017). Notably, the implementation of this project is not donor funded and is led directly from the official budget of the Department. The salaries paid to the unit amounted to approximately [11]R1, 9 million from the inception of the project until the end of 2012. With the exit of the Chief Director, the salary output from the Department was reduced significantly.

In order to embed the 8-Point Principle Plan, a series of Departmental workshops were hosted with GFPs and continue to be part of the core business of the Unit. These workshops, however, are run on demand. The latter indicates that under the Public service Act. The Department cannot directly influence the operations of national, provincial or local public service departments (Public service Act, 1999) Workshop costs therefore differed per department and are considered as GM initiatives. The budget allocation for travel and accommodation for each visit was estimated at R12 000 per person. The workshops are undertaken by the Director and Assistant-Director. Visits to departments are estimated at approximately three per quarter, R72 000 per quarter is therefore allocated to raising awareness around the implementation of the 8-Point Principle Plan. The latter is built into a Gender Action Plan for the department requesting assistance (See interview with Roanne).

The workshops therefore serve as ongoing support to departments although this cannot be enforced and is currently undertaken upon request. The Department therefore provides a resource to departments in the form of skills by assisting departments to develop Gender Action Plans and incorporating key elements such as the 8-Point Principle Plan and initiatives around GM such as meeting employment equity targets.

The only available measure of the 8-Point Principle Plan is the current reporting by departments to the Department on its implementation. The latter is a compliance measure to monitor departments. The efficacy of these reports has not been measured and again is linked to the political will of a department to ensure that compliance reporting is undertaken in an effective manner. The role of political will features strongly in the availing of human and financial resources for the 8- Point Principle Plan.

[11] The estimate does not take into account any additional benefits

8.4 EXTERNAL SOURCES OF SUPPORT

As explained in Chapter Two, there are institutions that are meant to act as resources to government departments and whose mandate it is to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in the South African State and the broader South African society. The PSC Final Report (2007:19) indicates that the mechanisms for transforming gender relations is the "National Gender Machinery". The NGM, it notes, has structures at different levels in national government, the legislature and statutory bodies. The current status of the machinery is unknown. When interviewees were engaged on the role of the NGM, most indicated that they were unaware of any activities being undertaken by the NGM. One interviewee, [12]Roanne commented:

> "The status of the NGM is unknown at this time. The agreement was that the Department spearheads implementation, the NGM would be responsible for looking broader throughout the country beyond just the public service. The Department took into consideration issues raised in the NGM, however they (the NGM) are required to set the tone for GM in all sectors."

Whilst another, Ardrie,[13] indicated: "No idea as to the status of this. This body is led by an ineffectual Ministry. This, (the NGM) was closed by the President."

These comments and observations reflect the interrelationships between political will and resource availability. The NGM itself, as a body is meant to be a resource for government departments in terms of skills, human resource support and financial support, however without the political will to drive and/or resuscitate this structure, GM continues to be optional for departments.

The DoW has been cited as a possible resource for the implementation of GM. Interviewees have noted that the DoW, through restructuring and changing mandates, still has an obligation to deliver on its current mandate.

> "Department derives its mandate from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (the Constitution). The Constitution champions the achievement of equality,

[12] Pseudonym
[13] Pseudonym

> including gender equality, throughout its provisions, and particularly Section 9 thereof. Section 9 of the Constitution creates the basis for the obligation of the public sector, the private sector and civil society to eliminate and remedy gender, race and social inequalities. Section 9(2) of the Constitution guarantees the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms by people of all genders. It furthermore provides that legislative and other measures, designed to protect or advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination, may be taken to promote the achievement of equality" (DoW, Annual Report, 2015/2016:14).

An interviewee, Ardrie, was very critical of the Women's Ministry, indicating:

> "There was an elevation of this office (former OSW) to a ministry, there does not seem to be political will to advance the Ministry. The difference between advocacy and implementation cannot be seen. All programmes must be gender mainstreamed in order to address this goal. Reforming the department (Women's Ministry) has not yielded any benefits. The push to establish the Ministry was more window dressing. What is currently being undertaken by the Ministry is not different from how the former OSW used to operate. This indicates gaps between political will and implementation."

Again, the interrelationship between resource availability and political will is affirmed. The DoW must gain momentum in how it fulfils its mandate, progress reported on its activities is reduced to reports with many noted as "not formulated", constituting a deviation from the expectations of the DoW (See DoW, Annual Report, 2015/2016:45).

Ardrie went further to explain:

> "The plan of the OSW was poorly formulated, responsibility is meted out too widely and invariably no one took responsibility. There is incompetence in the Ministry (Women's Ministry). No champion of GM in government. Department should organise and implement training just as any other public training."

It must be noted that the need for a more active Women's Ministry to address the gap of championing GM is a recurring theme from respondents. Without a clear champion for the gender "agenda", resourcing will continue to remain a problem and therefore a major obstacle to the successful mainstreaming of gender in the South African State.

An important institution that is meant to offer support and resources for the mainstreaming of gender is the CGE. The CGE, as Stated in Chapter One, is a State institution seized with the task of developing constitutional democracy in the Republic of South Africa (Section 181(1)

(d) of the Constitution). In terms of Section 181(2) of the Constitution, read with Section 10(1) (a) of the Commission for Gender Equality Act, 1996 (No. 39 of 1996), the CGE is independent, but it must be impartial and must exercise its powers without prejudice.

The relationship between the Minister in the Presidency Responsible for Women and the CGE is administrative in nature, due to the fact that CGE's budget is provided under the budget vote of the Department, therefore the Department must transfer the CGE funds in accordance with Section 38(1) of the Public Finance Management Act (PFMA), 1999. Section 38(1) (j) of the C expressly excludes constitutional institutions from providing the accounting officer of the transferring department with written assurances that the institution implements effective financial management and internal control systems.

A strict interpretation of this section therefore implies that the department of the Presidency serves as a conduit for the transfer of the allocated budget, in terms of the Appropriations Act, to the CGE. The Minister in the Presidency Responsible for Women plays a facilitation role in the appointment of commissioners by inviting interested parties through the media to apply and, by notice in the Government Gazette, proposing candidates for consideration for appointment as commissioners. The Commission on Gender Equality Act 39 of 1996 (CGEA) provides for a process of nomination from a list of names proposed by a Joint Parliamentary Committee and approval by the NA before appointment by the President. The Ministry, through its Department, facilitates this process and no provision is made for a decision or discretion on the part of the Minister in this regard. Lastly, the Minister in the Presidency Responsible for Women is the custodian of the CGEA therefore any legislative amendments thereto must be introduced in Cabinet by the Minister as a member of the national executive. It follows, therefore, that the DoW is responsible for the legislative processes necessary to amend this Act. (DoW, Annual Report 2015/2016:17). This fact points towards the bureaucratisation of GM and the need to recognise political will as the major factor in unlocking support for the mainstreaming of gender for gender equality.

The CGE is an independent institution which was established in 1997 to monitor and review legislation and the gender policies of public funded bodies to ensure that women's equality is promoted (Meer, 2005: 42-43). At the time of its drafting, it was envisaged that the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality would "represent a significant step in the struggle for gender equality and justice by enhancing the visibility and influence of the NGM, strengthening the voices of women in civil society and Parliament, enhancing the work undertaken by the CGE, and guiding the development of the National Gender Action Plan" (National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, 2000: 4- 5).

Roanne at the Department, when engaged in the role of the CGE in assisting departments to mainstream gender, responded that

> "The CGE is like the public protector in the gender space. They must protect the rights of women in the workplace. Their focus must be in all sectors but they could be the watchdog for GM in the public service for example requesting reports on gender programmes, achievements, challenges, looking at offenders for sexual harassment/ areas of concern that need to be flagged in the public service. The CGE could play a more direct role in an evaluation role in producing knowledge, impact studies and advising departments on trends emerging from the evaluation reports. This could assist the Department in policy revision for implementation."

Notably, the Department identifies the role that the CGE could play in its operations and specifically in assisting the Department in undertaking evaluative reporting. In the current arrangement, the Department is unable to evaluate the Gender Action Plans formulated with Departments and rely on "good faith" reporting on the 8- Point Principle Plan.

Ardrie went further to discuss the possible role of the CGE:

> "As a former Commissioner, there is big problem in how the Act was written. The CGE is accountable to Parliament but has oversight of government. Any interaction with civil society was dismissed in favour of Parliament. Public hearings were held on gender discrimination and such issues with private and public sector, the problem was with the departments in the public sector. The CGE has no "teeth" when a department does not want to implement. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it comes to implementation. One of the four pillars to their mandate is to build the CGE. A lot of energies went into this and making policies on dealing with the organisation rather than to focus on the projects."

This interviewee confirms the important role of the CGE in providing resources for the mobilisation of GM in government and further stresses the importance of the CGE in holding departments accountable for implementation. Informants rolling out the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan, have indicated that no resources were availed from the CGE and no support offered for the implementation of both projects.

Joseph (2009), in her discussion on the availability of resources at the UNDP (and government) in the Western Cape, recognises the lack of resources as a hindrance to GM. She links the issue of resource availability to the role of political will. Stienstra (1994), in her assessment of the barriers to mainstreaming gender, claims that GM does not result in

transformation as it is constrained by the organisational variables. The Department, however, is constrained by resource availability and experiences reflected by staff at the Department reflect the availability of resources as directly enabled or hindered by political will.

Nkosi (2015) highlights the importance of resources in his assessment of local municipality in the province of Mpumalanga. Inadequate financial resources remain the most noteworthy barrier in strategy implementation. This was also influenced by weak organisational structure and resistance to change; respectively. Nkosi (2015:34) This is noteworthy as similar trends are found in the case of the Department rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project as has been reiterated through interviews and reports on both projects.

Walters (2005:123) adds to the debate in his assessment of HR in facilitating change in organisations. HR can improve effectiveness and efficiencies by identifying existing problems, creating detailed solutions and reinventing HR structure. This was observed in the Department staffing structure dilemmas expressed by the GFP at the NSG claiming that the overburden of responsibilities meant that GM did not receive enough focus and attention. The triple portfolios assigned to GFPs as mentioned earlier, also resonates with Walters' findings. HR play a critical role in the successful implementation of projects in organisations. Ntlama (2010), in her discussion on poor resource allocation to implement gender-related laws, indicates: "One of the basic problems, facing the courts, especially the magistrates' courts as first time contacts with justice, is the lack of adequate resources, both human and financial, provided for the courts generally." (Ntlama, 2010:27) Her observation of the administration of law is aligned to the findings of Walters and Nkosi. Availability of resources is a key element in the pursuit of implementing any processes or projects in organisations.

The 2006 PSC Report on gender equality in public service departments found that

> "Although it appeared that there are adequate resources, support and encouragement for staff development and training, these opportunities were 'gender neutral' and did not promote women in any meaningful way. In some departments there was a focus to promote women in the external programmes activities. For example, in the National Department of Science and Technology, there was an understanding that in order to advance women they are given preference in the issuing of bursaries. Another example refers to the National Treasury where specific targets were set to either award bursaries or recruit women into external programmes."(PSC Report, 2006:36)

The PSC Report points to the availability of resources but interestingly points to the politics of resource allocation. In some departments, women are prioritised for bursary allocation highlighting the prioritisation of women in some instances. The latter is, however, an uncommon occurrence with many opportunities for development remaining gender neutral.

Manitoba (2003) suggests that in order for policy to be sustained, (the organisation) must provide staff with the necessary resources for implementation. He goes further to explain that a critical aspect is assigning the right resources. (Manitoba, 2003:4) Linked to this, he explains that leaders/ managers should be clear on expertise and knowledge of their staff; and assemble the resources. From the experiences noted by the staff at the Department in the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project, large chunks of these critical elements are missing. Staff are basically expected to rollout the projects with very little support, there is a lack of skills and a triple portfolio imposed on those who are implementing the projects.

Manitoba (2003:6) also suggests that increasing resources does not necessarily mean increasing staff or finances. Policy staff need access to resources and to expand their skills. These essential elements as identified by Manitoba are absent in the Department experience. Interviewees explained that appropriate infrastructure and opportunities for skills application (as emerging from the GM Project) was lacking. Participants who attended the accredited training project were unable to apply much their learning due to the lack of resources being afforded to them (GM Evaluation Report, 2013).

Sedibelwana (2008: i) reiterates the need for the availability of resources for the effective implementation of GM at Departmental level. In her study she focuses on two cases, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ&CD) and the DFA. She claims that GFPs still face challenges in effectively implementing GM. This is due to a lack of accountability, an understanding of the concept of GM, as well as a lack of resources.

Major challenges noted by Sedibelwana (2008:91) are: “The lack of clear goals and objectives; a non-responsive and outdated policy; too many areas of focus; as well as inadequate human and financial resources are but some of the challenges facing the Gender Directorate.” She goes further to conclude that the key barriers to GM are information, knowledge, resources and a clear steer on priorities. (Sedibelwana, 2008:93-94) These findings echo the sentiments expressed by the interviewees noted above. The barriers experienced in the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development along with the then Department of Foreign Affairs, now known as the Department of International Relations and Co-operation is also experienced at the Department.

Sedibelwana (2008:107) also links the resourcing of the NGM as a critical element in the success of resourcing the South African State for gender equality initiatives and particularly for the use of GM as a strategy. She advises that the OSW (now DoW) must in fact, be resourced in order to support mainstreaming initiatives in the Public service. In her assessment of the role of the NGM in support of the two case departments, she notes that the NGM has systemic weaknesses that continue to exacerbate weaknesses experienced by GFPs. As discussed earlier in this Chapter, the NGM is a key element in the success of mainstreaming gender in the South African State.

As alluded to earlier, to institutionalise GM, the Government set up the NGM. This point is emphasised by Hassim (2003:506-509), who States that the government created a detailed institutional framework to ensure that gender equality concerns are included in policy formulation. In designing the NGM system, the OSW, Joint Monitoring Committee for Improving the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JMC), as well as the CGE were created, with distinct but complimentary mandates, to ensure that the government fulfils its obligation of ensuring gender equality.

Hassim further attests that the creation of the NGM was also driven by an increase in the number of women elected to Parliament in the 1994 and 1999 elections. Notably, the resourcing of the Machinery was assumed as well as a clear strategy for the effectiveness of the NGM. The latter has been noted by interviewees earlier in this Chapter who expressed that the NGM has become a defunct body. Hassim, (2003: 508 - 510) further notes that these gender machineries are “often imposed through donor intervention upon otherwise conservative and even undemocratic political elites rather than won as a political victory by women’s organisations”.

Hassim also notes the ineffectiveness of the entire NGM system, by pointing out that although the OSW is located within the presidency, it lacks access to Cabinet; that GFPs lack authority; and that the appointment of staff in these units is often at a junior level, rendering the unit incapable of authority, influence and access. These barriers affect the resources available for GM Projects.

In order to access resources, a school of thought is put forward by Olgiati and Shapiro (2002:10) claim that the importance of internal and external factors, such as institutional and policy environment, and commitment of senior management, who are the custodians of financial and human resources for the implementation of programmes, as well as agreements of all the structures and formations within an organisation, cannot be overemphasised. All these are essential elements of an effective equality programme. These

factors have been reiterated by interviewees whom have expressed the importance of senior management commitment in accessing resources, both human and financial.

A key mechanism for the effective implementation of policy is the role of networks. Functional networks between private and public actors can allow for the mobilisation of resources. (See Börzel, 1998). Stone (2001) adds her analysis of the role of networks. Networks, she claims, are an organisational form with extraordinary capacities for innovation and institutional barriers.

Only with an active networks, does this allow for the potential influence on policy implementation. Given the discussion on the role of political will in previous Chapters, it is notable that in the South African context, the role of political will plays a significant part in the implementation of gender policies at the Department. These networks in turn, have a major influence on the resources availed to the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

Parmar (2001) claims that the relationship between networks and availability of financial resources, is critical to the success of any policy initiative.

> "Within global policy networks, foundations provide key financial resources for think tanks and universities to conduct research and investigate the viability of transmitting policies developed elsewhere. They are essential to the development of international knowledge networks that feed into and help sustain global public policy networks. An international knowledge network is 'a system of coordinated research, study (and often graduate-level teaching), results' dissemination and publication, intellectual exchange, and financing, across national boundaries."

These role-players are essentially non-State actors in the implementation of policy. Stone (2001:33) argues that non-State actors are dependent on governments and international organisations for policy implementation as they cannot act alone. However, the above examples demonstrate the close interaction between the "research community" and official actors in the spread of ideas. Notably, these organisations an *ad hoc* or more permanent partnership with government departments and agencies, international organisations and thus are part of networks.

Maseng (2014), deduces that because Parliament is dominated by the ruling ANC, it is preoccupied with ruling party interests. Some interest groups that have a large membership and financial resources have more influence over policy. This theory is confirmed through interviewees at the Department and discussed at length in Chapter Nine on the role of

political will. Notably, these factors, political will and the availability of resources are interrelated. Political will is a major factor influencing the availability of resources.

A self-reflection by the Department, notes access to and control over resources as a key factor for the implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality (GM Report (2013:9). The report also cites the overburden on existing human resources as a key factor in the successful implementation of GM: “They handled additional programmes such as youth development, disability, children’s rights, older person’s rights, HIV/Aids, *Batho Pele*, EE, Employee Health and Wellness, HRM, and so forth” (GM Report, 2013:13).

This finding reiterates the testimony of interviewees rolling out the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan cited earlier in this Chapter. Findings from the African Development Bank (2009) State that confusion over the mandates of provincial and national offices of the OSW and the CGE’s role in the NGM meant that implementation was slow. Moreover, the CGE had been included in the constitution at the last minute and with little prior consultation. Initially the CGE was, for example, interpreted as being part of civil society (See also, Albertyn, 1996; and Gouws, 1996).

The evidence provided in this sub-section clearly highlights the link between the overriding factor of political will and the in the availing of resources for the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

8.5 PROVINCIAL VERSUS NATIONAL GM EXPERIENCES

There are significant differences in the provincial and national approach to GM as a strategy for gender equality. The OSW in Mpumalanga was staffed with six people in May 2008:

> "One Deputy Director, three Assistant Directors, one Chief Community Liaison officer and one Senior Administrator. The office was working with mainstreaming gender in policies and programmes, as well as with gender equality in human resources within provincial departments. The Assistant Director responsible for monitoring and evaluation identified activities that would benefit from a gender approach and requested provincial departments to report quarterly. As was the case at national level, reports were often not submitted in a timely manner and much energy was spent to press the issue."
>
> (See African Development Bank Report, 2009:17).

The African Development Bank Report (2009) further States that members of the Mpumalanga Provincial OSW were not included in training plans. The Mpumalanga Civil Society Forum (MCSF), however, reported a very good relationship with the provincial OSW. Its members were invited to workshops and OSW was seen to be sharing information. Resourcing for the rollout of GM Projects is therefore affected strongly by the political agenda of a province and/or national department. Whereas the GM Project reported on training initiatives on a funded basis, access to the training cannot be assumed to be the same for provincial level as there are cost implications for travel to Gauteng (See African Development Bank Report, 2009:17). It must be noted that this case was successful with operational and functional provincial offices on the Status of Women which has since been elevated to a Ministerial status and has resulted in less impact, as has been discussed earlier in this Chapter and in Chapters Six and Seven.

The NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality recommends that GFPs should be in the Office of the DG. Hames *et al.* (2006) claim that very few GFPs have been appointed at that level and therefore this impacts on their access to resources for the mainstreaming of gender for gender equality. Moreover, most GFPs are situated in the HR Directorate. This suggests that they are expected to focus on internal employment equality issues only. This further detracts from GM policies and programmes (African Development Bank, 2009:20). These findings reiterate the testimonies expressed by interviewees rolling out the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Notably, the bureaucratisation of GM is evidenced through the main actors for implementation, GFPs.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This Chapter featured the importance of resources in furthering GM as a strategy for gender equality by the Department. The Chapter analysed at the resources allocated to the Diversity Management Unit in the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project, in the rollout of the GM course. An analysis of budgetary and human resource constraints was solicited from interviews with relevant staff in the units concerned as well as from key role-players. Notably, the strong link between political will and resource allocation is evident. This will be explained in greater detail in Chapter Ten when discussing overall conclusions.

CHAPTER NINE: ASSESSING THE ROLE OF AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT IN THE MAINSTREAMING OF GENDER

This Chapter will analyse the role of an enabling environment as a factor in the successful mainstreaming of gender for gender equality at the Department. Gumede (2008:10) claims that in post-Apartheid South Africa, "Significant challenges facing the democratic government included rebuilding the institutional mechanisms and initiating and implementing legislation and policies that are in line with the Constitution to usher in a new era of a developmental State."

Ultimately Gumede's assessment of the South African post-Apartheid civil service is a summation of the existing State of GM policy implementation problems. The major focus of the Chapter is on the role of an enabling environment in ensuring the successful rollout of the two key projects at the Department namely, the GM Project and the 8- Point Principle Plan. The enabling environment is assessed in terms of the prioritisation and participation of SMS in driving the gender agenda at the Department; the availing of resources (both human and financial); and the support from external structures to the operations of the Department in mainstreaming gender. These criteria will be measured through an analysis of reports generated for both projects as well as through testimonies of relevant staff at the Department. In addition, experts will be consulted as to the creation of an enabling environment as it relates to external support such as the NGM, the DoW and the CGE.

9.1 DEFINING THE TERM "ENABLING ENVIRONMENT"

The enabling environment is inextricably linked to the overriding factor of political will. Without the political will and buy-in from key role-players both internal and external to the Department, the success of the gender projects is ultimately unachievable. Brynard (2009), in his assessment of the various factors that influence policy development, claims that the institutional environment plays a critical role in the implementation of policy. Here the institutional environment is assessed through the demonstrated commitment from Senior Management, the availing of resources (both human and financial) by senior management and the support from external structures to the mainstreaming of gender at the Department through the successful implementation of the GM Project and 8- Point Principle Plan. The institutional environment at the Department is also in a State of flux at the Department with constant re-structuring and re-allocation of political heads, namely the Minister for Public Service and Administration and the Head of the Department, the Director-General.

The fluid nature of the political environment has a major role to play in the construction of an enabling environment. As is evident by testimonies that will be discussed in this Chapter, the

appointment of a progressive Minister is critical to the success of the gender projects at the Department and in the opinion of the researcher, is a major influencing factor for the rollout and implementation of any policy put forward in government. The political will of internal actors also plays a major role in the success of projects as the operational staff must possess the political will to ensure the success of their projects. The latter, as is evident from the testimonies featured, is a critical success factor as the commitment from project staff ensures that at least some if not all objectives of gender projects are met to some extent. Without this, and with only a reliance on political heads, the project will be ineffectual.

Giacchino and Kakabadse (2003:150) have identified two dimensions of location. The one dimension is regarding the individual who is to assume the responsibility for the policy initiative. The other dimension is institutional and concerns decisions regarding the organisation. These two dimensions are critical in the implementation of policy as the analysis reflects the important role of the implementer within an institution. These two dimensions are evident in the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan as there is a distinct connection between the individual and the institution in the implementation of policy initiatives. The individual and the organisation have strong interplay in terms of the responsibility for the rollout of the gender projects. Both are inter-dependent and must be viewed as instrumental in achieving mutual success.

In the case of the implementation of the Tanzanian Community Health Fund Policy (Kamuzora and Gilson, 2007:95),

> "…it was clear that the implementers influence how policies are experienced and how their impact is achieved. The apparently powerless implementers, at the interface between bureaucracy and citizenry, are difficult to control because they have a high margin of discretion and consequently re-interpret and reshape policy in unexpected ways. In some instances, implementers may react against efforts to impose policy change on them. The support of the implementers is therefore critical to the success of a specific policy, or its lack of success."

The latter is evidenced through testimonies cited in Chapter Seven and Eight, regarding the implementation of gender policy from the desks of Gender Focal Points who do not possess the implementation "power". Political will has a strong role to play with the availing of tools to ensure the successful mainstreaming of gender. The power dynamics at the Department and in the culture of the South African State create barriers for implementation as the Departmental staff is bound by the bureaucracy of the system. The staff cannot circumvent their barriers without the approval from seniors. This becomes more complex when one considers the need to work with actors outside the Department in the implementation of the

gender projects. Notably then, power is ultimately regulated by bureaucracy as “titles” enable to disable the success of gender projects and projects generally, at State departments.

Dror (1975) offers some thoughts on policy implementation and the role of an enabling environment. Dror claims that public policy tends to be precedent-based rather than goal-oriented.

> However, goal-opaqueness can reduce conflict and promote consensus by enabling the public participants to adjust and interpret the objectives to suit themselves, hence ascertaining the acceptability of policy
>
> (Dror 1975:60).

(Dror 1975:80) goes further to discuss the critical role of policy-makers: “Policy-makers may prefer not to compromise themselves and may avoid explicit policy on controversial questions. Decisions are vague and are taken on an *ad-hoc* basis. Although this affects long-term planning, yet it facilitates intellectual and political tension in the system.” There is often a resistance to change as has been described by interviewees above. Dror 1975:80) claims that:

> “…this is because policy actors tend to cling to common ways and to resist change, since the outcomes of new public policies are not always predictable. Also, there are vested interests in the *status quo* which involve a compromise between participants.” (Dror 1975:75).

Despite all these deficiencies and weaknesses of the policy-making system in public participation, it is possible to improve some of them, the extent to which this can be realised will be explored in the next Chapter. Dror’s assessment of resistance to change is evident from the testimonies cited in Chapter Seven regarding political will. Notably, transformation initiatives are at the mercy of those in senior management and thus true transformation cannot be effected without the political buy-in required.

Mannell (2012:52), in her discussion on the barriers to implementing gender policy, puts forward an argument that resistance to social change is a major stumbling block in the plethora of barriers that face GM. She argues that because of a masculinist culture, as has been echoed by interviewees in this Chapter, gender is not prioritised in organisations. This perception shapes gender projects within the organisation. Notably, this point speaks to the broader focus of this Chapter in the creation of an enabling environment. With prevailing patriarchy, an enabling environment for GM cannot be achieved. Mannell (2012:52) goes

further to State “This ultimately impacts on the distribution of resources to those individuals or communities the organisation is trying to help.”

A huge failing, as is emerging from this study is the assumption that an organisation is a gender neutral space. Rao and Kelleher (2003) claim that gender inequalities are ignored in development work. They argue that development practitioners incorrectly perceive organisations as gender-neutral spaces. Gender work is viewed as something separate and not embedded. (Tiessen 2007). The projects being delivered by the Department in the rollout of the 8- Point Principle Plan and the GM Project essentially seek to challenge the gender stereotypes and patriarchal notions in government and, as is evident from Roanne and Anna’s testimonies cited in Chapter Seven and Eight.

Transformation is met with resistance from departments attempting to implement. Resistance, however, can be overcome through the influence of politicians as can be seen with the experience of the Department in 2008, as shared by Roanne. The presence of a progressive Minister who pushed the gender agenda, was notable in the implementation of the project in the same year. With the change of Minister, political will became poor at departmental head level as well as within the Department.

Mannell (2012:53) claims that staff training was identified as the major method to ensure that GM would be effected. This, however, is not the lived experiences of Gender Focal Points and the Department staff. Rao and Keller (2009:59) argue: “All approaches to bringing about gender equality must have a political component. This is because gender relations exist within a force field of power relations, and power is used to maintain existing privilege.” Their assessment looks at the role of power relations in (dis)abling the environment for GM and therefore creating a major stumbling block for the effective mainstreaming of gender projects.

These sentiments are echoed by Goetz (1997:28), who says: The social relations embedded in social institutions and development organisations cannot be changed just by getting a structural blueprint right – in the end, it is a matter of political struggle.” Thus, social relations in an organisation cannot simply be circumvented by training. Training is therefore only one element that may or may not bring about a mind shift and therefore a possible change in the environment in which practitioners operate.

The GM Project attempted to provide training to close the skills gap identified in 2006. Notably, the Final Evaluation Report (2013) reflects that training can only be one aspect to address in the large context of GM initiatives in public service departments. A large part of the Report’s findings centres on the need for political will to access resources both internal

and external to a Department; as well as the need for an enabling environment where initiatives are developed yet not well received (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013).

Mannell (2012) in her study on gender practitioners and the conflict over GM in South Africa claims that respondents in her study expressed that gender is "invisible" in organisations: "The backlash against GM policy by organisations working on gender issues in South Africa has led in some cases to a rejection of gender policies for organisations. These organisations reject gender because of the way it has been adopted by other organisations in South Africa without critical reflection" (Mannell, 2012:148). These observations echo the experiences of the Department staff in the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project. Efforts to participate in these projects are often undertaken as compliance when addressing the 8-Point Principle Plan.

As explained in the interview with Roanne, the 8-Point Principle Plan is not largely supported by the Department and enforced through reporting compliance:

> "The 8- Point Principle Plan emanated from the strategic framework, the Department rolled this out through enforcing reporting. This was reinforced through conscientising departments through the rollout of advocacy workshops and then monitoring them through reports from departments. Here, the Department is looking at challenges and an analysis of departments' challenges. This effort is ongoing until now, the unit supports the departments."

The compliance element attached to reporting is worth noting, as this speaks to an environment that may not necessarily be receptive or conducive to the mainstreaming of gender. Ongoing support is still provided to departments ten years from inception. This observation speaks to the need for a more active leadership in departments in being able to take the 8-Point Principle Plan forward. With regard to the GM Project, a large part of the enabling environment was influenced by the funded nature of the project. Therefore, practitioners and departments had minimal investment in the skills course in terms of monetary outlay. The only requirement was to complete the relevant portfolio to attain the accredited certificate as explained in Chapter Two.

The role of donors in creating enabling environments is, however, a highly politicised area that must be looked at in order to close the critique of the (dis)enabling actors in the operationalising of GM at the Department. Eyben (2008) claims that: "The relationship between international development donors and the organisations they fund is a 'gift relationship' meaning that it is far easier for donors to promote policies that may have little relevance to the context for which they are intended." This is an astute observation and is

conspicuous by its absence in the GM Final Evaluation Report (2013). Mannell (2012:37) argues that:

> "The relationship between funding organisations and gender practice in South Africa needs to be interpreted through this dynamic. Bilateral donors may design policies that have more appeal to the national population to which they are accountable than for the recipient population. Power in the relationship is largely in the hands of the donor organisation to determine what the intervention should look like and how it should be carried out. Larger sums of money give donors even greater ability to influence organisational priorities and implementation practices. While funding structures do not provide the entire picture of the dynamics affecting the gender and development field in South Africa, they do offer a portion of the picture about which types of interventions are put into practice."

Notably, the final evaluation report is written by NB Ideas and Associates for CIDA. This observation clearly points out the blurred lines in being the proverbial player and referee. Recommendations made by the donor were sweeping and reflect no cognisance of the scope of work needed to implement the recommendations made and the extent to which each recommendation is by and large out of the control of the existing project staff and the Department as a whole.

As part of the broad recommendations, the Department was advised to ensure "…the requisite government machinery is in place to effect GM" (PALAMA- GM Final Evaluation Report 2013:5). This recommendation as discussed by project staff is out of the scope of control of the Department and is largely dependent on the actions of a completely separate Ministry, namely the DoW as the key driver of the NGM. Notably, a key recommendation by the final evaluation report points to the need for closer engagement with CIDA as the funding agency. "More intensive donor engagement drawing on the lessons from other contexts and encouraging more holistic project logics, programmatic approaches and monitoring of impacts as part of the project monitoring process" (PALAMA – GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013:5). These recommendations echo the sentiments of Mannell (2013) in her assessment of the relationship between funders and a recipient organisation. To a large extent, PALAMA (now the NSG,) kept their autonomy in the rollout of the GM Project, however many reporting restrictions and scope creep affected the management of the project and is evident from the final evaluation report.

In the development of an enabling environment, Leftwich (1995) emphasises the role of politics. Political dynamics significantly impacts on public policy. After all, the agenda of the public sector is set largely by politicians. In fact, Dror (2006:81) alludes to this when he

argues that policy and politics “closely interact, often overlap, and in part cannot be separated even analytically”. Other scholars, such as Stone (2001) and Persson and Tabellini (2000, 2006), have dealt with this issue, in different contexts. These views are evidenced by the testimony presented by Roanne.

When engaged on the factors that enable gender to be mainstreamed at the Department, interviewee Roanne said:

> “The Minister at the time, Honourable Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was the driver of this (gender) agenda. Her openness to champion the gender work assisted in making the gender initiatives happen. The former Minister would discuss this with the cabinet colleagues and hence create buy-in at a very senior level. This meant that at cabinet level GM was discussed. In terms of resources, funding was not made available; human resources were not readily availed either, the Diversity Management Unit was expected to make this happen on our own. The political buy-in however made it easier to rollout projects through the Diversity Management unit and the then, PALAMA through the GM Project. Currently, due to what I feel are competing priorities, GM is now shelved.”

Thus, it is noted that political will plays a major role in creating an enabling environment and buy-in from senior management for the mainstreaming of gender for gender equality.

9.2 PRIORITISATION AND PARTICIPATION OF SENIOR MANAGEMENT SERVICES IN DRIVING THE GENDER AGENDA

As noted in Chapter Seven, the role of political will is a great influence in the uptake of the projects implementing GM as a strategy for gender equality. Interviews with project staff rolling out the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan indicate the need for an enabling environment to ensure implementation.

Interviewee Anna indicated: "The biggest obstacle is management. Until such a time that the management of a department recognises GM as the key, we will not be able to make as good a progress as we should. It is noted that management has been identified as one of the key drivers of implementation in a department and therefore has a major influence on the development of an enabling environment. Interviewee Roanne commented:

> "Despite having implemented GM training in departments over the years, there are managers who still regard GM as a 'nice to have' issue. GM should be one of the key projects within departments and should be reflected in departments' Strategic and Annual Performance Plans but it is not yet happening. The primary focus in departments is the achievement of EE targets. GM is much more than numbers."

Roanne's testimony speaks to the lack of prioritisation and support for the GM Projects at the Department. Brynard (2009) claims that although commitment as a factor is critical, it is not always clear what determines commitment. Studies into the performance of policy implementation indicate the complex and dynamic nature of the subject matter. Investigations have constantly been plagued by the problem of too many variables (Goggin, 1986:329). According to Goggin (1986:329),

> "…three clusters of independent variables can be identified. The first is the form and content of the policy itself. The second cluster is the capacity of the organisations responsible for making the policy work. The third cluster refers to the qualifications of the people in charge of policy operations."

These categories are, however, not an end in itself. Again, the recognition of political will as a major influence on creating an enabling environment must be acknowledged.

Interviewee Ardrie commented: "…responsibility is metered out too widely and invariably no one took responsibility (for GM). Incompetence in the Ministry means that there is no champion of GM in government." These astute observations speak to the role of additional key players in the gender landscape and the lack of a key driver for the gender agenda in creating an enabling environment for the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle

Plan. This comment also speaks to Goggin's wider debate on responsibility. Here it is noted that responsibility is in fact meted out too widely resulting in no responsibility being taken up in any significant manner by State structures or government departments.

> Implementation involves different behaviours in both the administrative and the political dimensions. The exact manner or style of implementation is a result of certain implementing decisions that shape implementation behaviour. The success or failure of implementation is due to behaviour during the course of implementation (Goggin, 1986:330).

Interestingly, Goggin (1986:330) remarked that the process should be divorced from the product. Thus, a distinction should be made between performance and the consequence. This is noted in the experience of the trainees in the GM Project. Essentially attendance of the programme does not necessarily translate to successful performance. Each trainee faces barriers to implementation which are not within the control of the Department. According to the PALAMA-GM Final Report, (2013:40) attendance of the GMP by officials in the DOE in and by itself was insufficient to galvanise change due to barriers in their line department. This speaks to the needs of attendees of the programme to have an enabling environment to allow for implementation beyond a course.

The PALAMA – GM Final Evaluation Report (2013:5) also reiterates the views of the Gender Expert cited earlier. The report most notably points to the wider machinery and the then DWCPD, now known as the DoW. The report notes

> "The GM Project should be located within a broader GM strategy and programme, and as the DoW, Children and People with Disabilities holds the mandate around gender, it needs to create an enabling environment for gender to be mainstreamed. It is recommended that this should include: Locating the training in a broader gender mainstream programme; Coordinating all the stakeholders involved in gender work; and supporting the establishment of a community of practice" (PALAMA – GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013:5).

The PALAMA- GM Project Evaluation Report (2013) calls for institutional reform, which has been echoed by interviewees. The institutional reform being called for, points to the need for an enabling environment and the need for gender champions at departmental level who are at a senior level. The PALAMA- GM Project Evaluation Report (2013) also points to the role of the then DWCPD as being a major role-player in creating an enabling environment for the successful mainstreaming of gender:

> "For the full impact of the course to be realised, the course needed to be an integral part of a much larger GM intervention. The scope of this falls outside of PALAMA's mandate. The DWCPD is the obvious lead for the broader initiative." (PALAMA- GM Project Evaluation report, 2013:24)

The evaluation also noted the importance of senior management attendance in developing an enabling environment for the sustaining of GM initiatives. The role of senior managers is highlighted as a key element in the effective implementation of GM initiatives in a department.

> "The Deputy Director for Social Cohesion and Equity in Education who said the course was very useful was careful to outline a 'disclaimer': 'At the level where I am, the course is ok to get the information, but we do not influence key decisions therefore it becomes frustrating… It would be really useful if we were attending with senior people' namely Chief Director, Deputy DG and DG." (PALAMA GM Project Evaluation report, 2013:27)

The report goes further to explain the absence of senior managers from the process:

> "Several reasons were cited for the lack of senior management participation including a lack of political will, pressures on senior managers' diaries, a lack of buy-in from managers, the way the course is marketed, PALAMA's reputation amongst senior managers and a reluctance to participate in a course with more junior staff. These issues were picked up early on in the programme's delivery and various initiatives taken to mobilise senior managers. In the main, however, these were unsuccessful." (PALAMA GM Project Evaluation report, 2013:27)

Again, the recurring theme of political will emerges. Political will is therefore a critical factor in creating an enabling environment. Notably, an enabling environment is greatly influenced by the need for the necessary structures within a department. In the analysis the barriers to a department is discussed by the PALAMA GM Evaluation Report (2013:33):

> "Respondents spoke about their frustrations with the delay in operationalising the organisation's GM Strategy. Respondents noted that the first priority is to establish a Gender Focal Point and a GM Advisory and Compliance Committee. This recognition of the need for leadership and accountability is clearly set out in the GM strategy of the department…In the absence of these structures the strategic push on gender is shared between the HR Department and the GM Project staff. Overall reflections on the lack of movement on setting up the internal gender structures give rise to strong

> feelings and perceptions that work on gender in the Department and are not that important."

The need for internal structures has been a recurring theme from those working in the gender arena within the public service. Mikkola and Miles (2007:37) claim that

> ".. the exact characteristics of hierarchical gender valuations differ across countries, but there is no doubt that hierarchy itself exists to different degrees in most (one might argue, to some extent, in all) cultures. Its existence can be more vividly seen when looking at cultures in which practices differ from our own."

This argument is also reiterated by Kandiyoti,

> "The appearance of patriarchy differs in Africa from the form of patriarchy in Muslim countries or Asia"
>
> (Kandiyoti, 2002:17).

Generally, gender hierarchy is not necessarily implied by gender specific specialisation, but rather by the restricted opportunities and restricted perspectives for the future that this specialisation typically carries with it. This specialisation or role might be culturally prescribed or taken on by individuals freely. Roanne, when engaged on how to approach GM, Stated:

> "Political will is awkward to address, the talk does not necessarily translate to change. There is a male-dominated cohort being appointed at a senior level, the Ministers must take into consideration the achievement of equity targets. Political will must be addressed in order to address the gender parity in senior appointments. The role of cabinet must also be questioned for political will. When only males are recommended for appointment, there does not seem to be consideration of transformation. Have they thought about what the Women's Ministry is supposed to achieve, the Bill for gender equality is not publicised?"

The response is noteworthy as it reiterates the link between an enabling environment and political will. It is also important to reflect on the role of patriarchy in creating the "male dominated cohort" as described above. This is a critical factor to the implementation of GM for gender equality.

9.3 THE AVAILING OF HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES IN BUILDING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

The availing of both human and financial resources is important when assessing the creation of an enabling environment. Major gaps are discerned between policy and practice in the South African Beijing +20 Report. The report highlights the need for strengthening of the enforcement of laws and policies in the country.

> "There is a clear gap between compliance requirements and measures implemented. Although the law prohibits gender and related forms of discrimination, women continue to experience systemic gender discrimination and inequality in all aspects of life and during all phases of their lifecycle, the worst being as girl children and elderly women."
>
> (South African Beijing +20 Report, 2014:11).

A major challenge identified in the report notes:

> "Overall there is mostly an implementation of a combination of human rights and a basic needs approach to gender transformation in the country with most of its policies and programmes pointing to a leaning towards a basic needs approach. This meant that at times there was very little attention paid to the international compliance framework on women's human rights"
>
> (South African Beijing +20 Report 2014:14).

Here again, there is a direct analysis of the inability of the South African public service to adequately enforce the laws and policies on gender into its operations. Compliance requirements are not met and also attributed to the fact that attention is being paid to basic needs. The report forthrightly notes:

> "At the implementation level, there is a general failure to systematically implement both GM and women empowerment. In general, decision-makers and implementers appear to be more comfortable with equity aspects of gender equality, as it relates to the "numbers issue", where success sometimes is judged on a numbers only basis. Sometimes the agenda is narrowed to the issue of placing women in decision-making positions and occupational categories where they were historically excluded" (South African Beijing +20 Report, 2014:14).

Further to this, the Towards a 15 Year Review (2009) explains in its analysis of the barriers for the mainstreaming of gender policy and claims that:

> "… while these institutional arrangements for driving the issues of gender equality tend to be acknowledged internationally as best practice, closer to home one finds challenges in their operation. Chief among these is the matter of entrenched negative attitudes towards gender equality, lack of understanding and accountability to address this coherently, and inadequate mechanisms and resourcing, financially and in terms of human capacity, for effective implementation."

Resourcing is thus clearly affected by a lack of accountability and sustainable leadership. This point links to Chapter Six, and the role of political will in driving an agenda for policy implementation. It is also noted that the analysis of the South African Beijing +20 Report (2014) equates the disparity with allocation of resources to the disparity in levels of appointment and location– and therefore authority – of gender focal persons, impacting on the extent to which they can effect GM in government processes. (South African Beijing +20 Report, 2014:14) Therefore, the authority level of a Gender Focal Point has a major role to play in the creation of an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender.

The availability and access to resources for the use of GM for gender equality, is also attributed to the lack of institutional mechanisms. The South African Beijing +20 Report (2014) praises public service interventions for the issue of quotas, the establishment of an NGM and the subsequent elevation of the then OSW to the DoW, Children and Persons with Disability:

> "The DoW, Children and People with Disabilities encountered challenges of inadequate resources - financial and human - resulting in failure to meet the expectation of women in the country. In this regard, following the National Election in May 2014, His Excellency President Zuma announced that this Ministry will become the Ministry for Women located in the Presidency. The Women's Ministry will champion the achievement of women's socio-economic empowerment and women's rights. This is a clear indication that the mandate on women empowerment and gender equality will receive better attention and support when it is located in the highest office in the land and be more authoritative over accountability by stakeholders in meeting the empowerment of women and the achievement of gender equality in the country"(South African Beijing +30 Report 2014:41).

The creation of an enabling environment is therefore absent from the key role-players identified by this report. The claims made herein are refuted by the lived experiences of gender focal points and the various experiences cited by interviewees in their interactions with both the NGM and the DoW. Anna, at the NSG, when engaged on her major challenges in implementing GM Project rollout commented:

> "The biggest obstacle is management. Until such a time that the management of a department recognises GM as key, we will not be able to make as good a progress as we should. Despite having implemented GM training in departments over the years, there are managers who still regard GM as a 'nice to have' issue. GM should be one of the key projects within departments and should be reflected in departments' Strategic and Annual Performance Plans but it is not yet happening. The primary focus in departments is the achievement of EE targets. GM is much more than numbers."

As has been discussed earlier, the funded nature of the GM Project was a noteworthy factor in the success of the project rollout. The enabling environment for the uptake of the course was therefore influenced by resource availability. The Department has taken a strong stance in creating a receptive environment for the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan. The former Chief Director of the Diversity Management Unit when engaged on the role of the Department in creating an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender, commented:

> "The 8-Point Principle Plan emanated from the strategic framework, the Department rolled this out through enforcing reporting. This was reinforced through conscientising departments through the rollout of advocacy workshops and then monitoring them through reports from departments. Here the Department is looking at challenges and an analysis of departments' challenges. This effort is ongoing until now, the unit supports the departments."

These efforts are to be commended as it reflects the role of the Department in developing an enabling environment through availing resources for the implementation of the 8-Point Principle Plan. Roanne counters the availing of resources for the delivery of training on the GM Project and 8-Point Principle Plan with her assessment of the rollout:

> "Critical involvement by the former PALAMA, now NSG, in the imparting of skills is very important in creating a common understanding of GM in the public service. The main challenge experienced (in my opinion) was the accredited status of the programme; this created a barrier for some learners. People are reluctant to submit a portfolio. An informal strategy could go a long way in addressing this, in making the course more accessible. The course could be reframed to target different groups such as the Gender Focal Points separate to those working outside of this space."

These inputs are of value, as they speak to the lived experiences of Gender Focal Points in developing an enabling environment for not only implementation but access to the tools for implementation. Therefore, resource availing for training is but one element for the successful creation of an enabling environment.

9.4 EXTERNAL STRUCTURES

The role of external structures in the construction of an enabling environment at the Department is necessary to provide a complete picture of the support provided to the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The Department cannot achieve the success with the rollout of the gender projects without the assistance and support of the external structures responsible for the mainstreaming of gender in the South African State. The First Inaugural Gender Indaba Report (2008) highlighted the need for an enabling environment before the formal rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. A major obstacle identified at the Indaba, was the need for an enabling environment. One of the key solutions was: "All Departments should create an enabling environment for individuals to report harassment."(First Inaugural Gender Indaba Report, 2008:25)

Notably, a major challenge with female managers was "Female managers do not take responsibility for their own enabling environment." The report, however, is silent on how these barriers would be overcome. The report appears to suggest that female managers are responsible for the development of their environment and fails to acknowledge the role of patriarchy and the macho culture of the State. An overarching suggestion that an enabling environment must be created was not useful to implementing departments as it did not provide the concrete details as to how this would be undertaken and importantly, who would lead this. The report must be clearer on the major role players and how the appointment of women to senior management is only the beginning of a change. For change to be sustained, systemic change must be addressed and all processes within departments addressed to incorporate a gender lens.

The South African Beijing +20 Report (2014:7) clearly notes the importance of this factor in the successful mainstreaming of gender for gender equality:

> "There is a particular highlight with regard to *de jure* equality or equality in the eyes of the law, where law reform has seen to the removal of various discriminatory laws and enactment of laws that foster an enabling environment for the advancement of women and the achievement of gender equality. With regard to *de facto* equality, significant progress has been made but there is still much to be done especially with the full and effective implementation of laws, policies and strategies."

The report notes a move beyond policy and a focus on implementation.' An enabling environment is highlighted as a major factor in enabling gender to be effectively mainstreamed. Interestingly, the South African Beijing +20 Report is hailed as a national review. The report, whilst commenting on an enabling environment, goes further to note

> "One of the key successes on women empowerment and gender equality has been the creation of an enabling environment through favourable laws, policies and encouraging informal policy pronouncements. One of the key policy instruments in this regard is the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2000) adopted by the South African Government. This Gender Policy Framework sets the tone in the country for GM across all sectors of society while at the same adopting an approach for women's empowerment and gender equality. It furthermore outlines an NGM to support gender transformation as well as priorities and structural arrangements towards women's empowerment and gender equality in the country."
>
> (South African Beijing +20 Report, 2015:23)

This inclusion provides loaded Statements as is evidenced through interviewees and implementation reports at the Department. The barriers to effective implementation are related to various factors one of which, as has been noted before, is the inability of the NGM to support gender transformation in the Public service. The currently defunct NGM creates an implementation void. Many partners are affected by the absence of the NGM and the lack of accountability by the DoW in ensuring that the NGM is led and managed well.

As mentioned earlier, the PALAMA- GM Project Evaluation indicated that the DoW, Children and Persons with Disabilities, now known as the DoW is the obvious lead to create institutional reform. In the absence of resources being availed by the relevant Ministry, PALAMA, now the NSG, has availed resources for the GM Project. In this case the staff, trainers and gender experts made these available through donor funding. The 8- Point Principle Plan has a greater reliance on political will in order to drive its agenda. As explained earlier, this has not been institutionalised into DGs performance agreements as and as such time, the Department efforts are limited to the SMS Women's Round Table hosted once a year in August under the theme of Women's Month. Resource allocation/availability in terms of finance and/or other factors are therefore inextricably linked to the political will of an organisation which again, as we have seen in Chapter Seven is also a great influence to create an enabling environment:

> "Mainstreaming gender requires change at every level of an organisation; a transformation which requires dedicated capacity and time to drive the change

> agenda. Developing policies, strategies and other resources are important but only really effective if they are tools in a larger process of change that tackles the organisational culture, individual behaviour, and programme and project outcomes. Where participants were able to galvanise a broader support base which included leadership, more change was possible" (PALAMA- GM Project Evaluation, 2013:43-44).

Thus, most significantly it is noted that there is a distinct interplay between resource availability and support from external structures in creating an enabling environment. Resource allocation is not the only answer to the complexity of gender projects in the South African State. The evaluation report points to the need for a change in behaviour which will in effect lead to a change in organisational culture and will enable more support for the rollout of gender projects. The availing of resources must therefore be tied to these elements to be successful. In this study, it is revealed that all elements are in fact influenced by political will and that this overarching factor is indeed the key to the success of gender projects in the South African State.

Ardrie, when engaged on the role of the NGM in creating an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender for gender equality, commented:

> "A big problem in how the Act was written was that the CGE is accountable to Parliament but has oversight of government. Any interaction with civil society was dismissed in favour of Parliament. Public hearings were held on gender discrimination and such issues with the private and public sector, the problem was, however, with the departments. The CGE has no "teeth" when a department does not want to implement. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it comes to implementation. One of the four pillars to their mandate is to build the CGE. A lot of energies went into this and making policies on dealing with the organisation than a focus on the projects."

The internal management issues, therefore, have also created a barrier to the effective functioning of the NGM. The CGE, being a key element of the NGM, needs to be well functioning to also play its significant role in the mainstreaming of gender within the public service. The CGE, as a major player in the gender landscape must therefore fulfil its role in the creation of an enabling environment. The CGE is well-positioned as a Chapter 9 institution outside of government to enable the mainstreaming of gender through "neutral" interventions which would lead to holding the State accountable for the rollout of gender projects. The neutrality of the CGE must be protected in order for this body to be effective.

The interviewee went further to comment on the need for the CGE to play a leading role in the work of the Department:

> "The CGE is like the public protector in the gender space. They must protect the rights of women in the workplace. Their focus must be in all sectors but they could be the watchdog for GM in the public service for example requesting reports on gender programmes, achievements, challenges, looking at offenders for sexual harassment/ areas of concern that need to be flagged in the public service. The CGE could play a more direct role in an evaluation role in producing knowledge, impact studies and advising departments on trends emerging from the evaluation reports. This could assist the Department in policy revision for implementation."

Here, it is noted that other role-players must take the lead in contributing to the creation of an enabling environment. External role-players are crucial to the success of the gender projects at the Department as political will and buy-in is a central element. The Department, as the policy Ministry can be successful to a point however the onus is on other departments to implement gender considerations into their operations.

As has been alluded to earlier, the gender components of the South African Constitution of 1996 represented a major accomplishment for those involved in the women's movement. The Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) guarantees equal and inalienable rights to men and women and instructs the government and civil society to uphold the values of equality. The Constitution specifically stipulates the creation of the CGE "to promote respect for gender equality' and its 'protection, development and attainment" (1996, ss.187). While the Commission on Gender Equality and government machinery for gender in South Africa represent a major change by the actors involved in fighting for women's rights, today the movement in South Africa is fragmented with little coordination between women's organisations. The blame for this is often put on the absorption of talented women activists into government positions with the launch of the ANC into power in 1994 (111 women became Parliamentarians in 1994), thus creating a 'vacuum' at the grassroots level (Geisler, 2000: 624).

In its current State, the women's movement is therefore not a clear network of organisations, but rather a few scattered organisations. The transfer of women activists to official government cannot only be seen as a loss to the South African Women's Movement. More questions need to be asked around the impact of these women leaders 24 years after democracy and their role in creating an enabling environment.

9.5 SUPPORT FROM THE NSG SECTOR IN CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

The Africa Regional NGO Shadow Report (2009:38) notes that women are largely under-represented in decision-making in the public service and from leadership positions even within tribal and/or traditional settings. The report also goes further to address the lack of internal democracy within political parties. The NGO sector has historically had a large role to play in the gender agenda in South Africa. The South African Shadow Report on the Implementation of CEDAW (2011) reflects a strong emphasis on the need for the State to create enabling structural and societal conditions necessary to ensure that women can fully participate and exercise their relevant rights in the political, social, economic and cultural fields. The support from structures is critical for developing the necessary societal conditions for the implementation of gender projects. These structures as explained in earlier chapters are tasked with developing the necessary conditions which include the availing of resources, the development and sustenance of political which contribute to the development of an enabling environment.

Mannell (2012) discusses the role of "actors" and notably extends this to include various organisations and individuals with mandates that relate to gender and development policy issues. She claims that in South Africa this is defined as practitioners and non-practitioners. The latter is referred to as the NGO sector. (Mannell, 2012:32) As explained in earlier Chapters, a key element of the NGM is membership by non-governmental organisations. The criteria for which selection and "membership" is allowed are, however, not forthcoming although repeated attempts have been made to ascertain this information from the DoW. The criteria for membership, once availed, will explain how membership from the NGO sector is vetted. The inclusion of Faith Based Organisations (FBO) is also of interest as much work is undertaken by these organisations to enable the effective implementation of gender projects.

In South Africa, the NGO sector is made up of Trusts, and Section 21 organisations (not-for-profit companies or associations that do report budgets publicly). In 2010/11, there were 76 175 registered non-profit organisations (NPOs) in South Africa, 95% of which were voluntary organisations under the government's categories. Notably Mannell (2012:32) notes the overburden on NGOs:

> "Gender is not an area of NPO practice according to the South African DSD categorisation scheme. Rather, gender is taken up within other areas of NPO practice including law, social services, development and housing, and health, making the actual number of organisations carrying out gender-related interventions in South Africa at one particular moment in time difficult to measure."

This experience is echoed by Gender Focal Points within the public service, as discussed earlier in this Chapter and previous Chapters. The burden of care, therefore, places a restriction on resources available for influence to GM alone whilst there are conflicting priorities. This observation may explain the lack of sufficient pressure from the NGO sector on the Department to implement the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project. It is assumed that the absence of voices from the NGO and FBO sectors in the reports availed for this study, is indicative of the absence of collaborations with these sectors.

According to an independent database for development organisations in South Africa [14]there are approximately 78 organisations (including NGOs, community-based organisations and faith-based organisations) in South Africa currently listing gender as one of their programme areas, 2% of the total organisations registered in the database. Gender-focused organisations therefore appear to make up only a small number of the organisations working in development in South Africa. They exist within a field where advocacy and politics, environment, and religion are the dominant development sectors. Mannell (2012) puts forward that the resource restrictions on NGOs in South Africa further constrain NGO ability to influence the public service operations and thus also has an effect on NGOs' ability to create an enabling environment.

> NGOs often receive funds in order to carry out their work from a variety of sources. This includes multilateral and bilateral Official Development Assistance (ODA) and funding from multinational NGOs. The amount of funding provided to gender interventions in South Africa from multilateral ODA is limited. In the first instance because the majority of multilateral development assistance is allocated to 'low-income' States while South Africa is considered by the World Bank to be a 'middle-income' State. Secondly, there is no UNIFEM presence in South Africa, meaning that gender-related funding is primarily managed under the UNDP and largely restricted to achieving the MDGs outlined previously. (i.e. funding from national development aid organisations and institutions).
>
> (Mannell, 2012:33-34)

In the remainder of this section I summarise the two other types of funding sources most relevant for gender and development practice in South Africa: multinational NGOs and bilateral donors. In addition to the funding availed to the public service, routed through the

[14] See www.prodder.org.za

Department of Treasury; there is a substantial amount of aid coming into South Africa and being routed to the NGO sector:

> "Large multinational NGOs, CARE International and Oxfam in particular, provide large amounts of money to local organisational partners to carry out gender interventions in South Africa. CARE International reported spending USD263 million on programme activities across the African continent in 2010. Broadly, CARE focuses on providing support for community development projects. Gender-related funding provided by CARE in South Africa has focused on empowering women through 'local economic development' and 'voluntary savings and loans projects'; and strengthening civil society 'to deal with gender and rights issues."
>
> (Development Partnerships Survey, 2014)

Oxfam is an international advocacy and humanitarian organisation that provided USD275.1 million to charitable projects in 2010/11. Ten per cent of this amount (USD27.5 million) was allocated to 'equity' projects under which much of Oxfam's gender activities resort. Oxfam emphasis in funding gender interventions in South Africa is on gender-based violence and women's political and economic leadership, whereas for CARE economic development for women and women's rights represent key priorities. There is some overlap between these strategic priorities.

Broadly, much of the funding for gender interventions from these multinational donor organisations is targeted at addressing women's economic empowerment, women's political leadership, and gender-based violence" (see www.care.org). The substantial funding being ploughed into NGOs, however, does not translate to a loud enough voice within the public service realms. Interviews with Department staff indicate that the only interactions experienced are to a limited extent with the NGM, DoW and the CGE. The voice of the NGO sector is conspicuous by absence and must also be held accountable for the creation of an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender into public service operations.

The cohesiveness of the Women's Movement post-democracy has had a great influence on its ability to adequately fulfil the role of public service watchdog for gender equality. Cheryl McEwan (2000) explains that gender was brought to the forefront in the 1990s in South Africa as a result of: women of the ANC through the 1980s and the influence this had on intellectual discussions about the differential impact of Apartheid on men and women; two, the potential a new constitution held for bringing women's concerns to the table and the activities of ANC women's activists.

These factors contributed to a commitment from South African women activists to ensuring that gender equality was established as part of the new constitution and that 'mechanisms for mainstreaming gender equality' were put in place (Meer, 2005). The Women's Movement is also conspicuous by its absence from official reports by the Department. No formal interactions have been documented in any of the literature in the public domain. This critical element of the South African gender landscape must be reignited in some way in order to influence the current *status quo.*

The work of the Women's Movement in South Africa seems to have slowed to the extent to which its clout can only be felt through marches. The everyday impact of the Movement is absent from the operations of government. The inclusion of voices from the Movement is absent in the reports availed for this study indicating a lack of influence by the Movement on the Department's operations. Ideally, the Women's Movement should, holding the State accountable for the implementation of gender projects.

9.6 CONCLUSION

Gumede (2008:10) claims that in post-Apartheid South Africa, "Significant challenges facing the democratic government included rebuilding the institutional mechanisms and initiating and implementing legislation and policies that are in line with the Constitution to usher in a new era of a developmental State." Ultimately, Gumede's assessment of the South African post-Apartheid public service is a summation of the existing State of GM policy implementation problems.

This Chapter analysed the role of an enabling environment as a factor in the successful mainstreaming of gender for gender equality at the Department. The major focus of the Chapter was on the role of an enabling environment in ensuring the successful rollout of the two key projects being rolled out at the Department namely, the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The enabling environment was assessed in terms of the prioritisation and participation of SMS in driving the gender agenda at the Department; the availing of resources (both human and financial); and the support from external structures to the operations of the Department in mainstreaming gender. This criteria were measured through an analysis of reports generated for both projects, as well as through testimonies of relevant staff at the Department. In addition, experts were consulted as to the creation of an enabling environment as it related to external support such as the NGM, DoW and the CGE.

The Chapter reveals the major influence of political will in the bureaucratisation of GM. Several elements and role-players need to possess the political will to ensure an enabling environment is created. Notably, the actions of an individual have an impact on the

institutional reforms developed and created and thus *vice versa* as was discussed earlier in this Chapter. Political will is thus the overriding factor in the development of an enabling environment by being a major element in the availing of resources, both human and financial, and therefore creates the enabling environment through political buy-in.

CHAPTER TEN: REVIEWING THE EXPERIENCE OF IMPLEMENTING THE NPF USING GM AS A STRATEGY

The final Chapter discusses the role of bureaucratisation as evidenced in this study and notes the importance of political will as the major factor in the success of GM as a strategy at the Department. The Chapter reviews the role of political will and its relationship to the availing of financial and human resources as well as its relationship to the creation of an enabling environment in the mainstreaming of the NPF for Women Empowerment and Gender Equality through the implementation of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The analysis informs the possible considerations for the Department in the successful execution of commitments to the rollout of the 8- Point Principle Plan and the GM Project.

10.1 ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL WILL RESOURCING AND CREATING AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

The role of political will is highlighted in the study as the key factor to the success of the GM Projects at the Department. The political will of actors within the Department has been confirmed as an important element in the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. The actors within the Department were highlighted as the core unit responsible for mainstreaming but also pointed directly to the role of senior management in availing resources and the creation of an enabling environment. The actors are also seen as those who may influence the process of enablement, namely in human resources. Thus the "actors" were not necessarily limited to the staff directly responsible for the rollout of the gender projects. In addition, external actors, such as the NGM, the DoW and the CGE were also identified as key structures that are meant to support the Department in the fulfilling of its mandate. The external actors also include those who sit completely outside government and government structures, namely the civil society sector. Notably, this sector is conspicuous by absence in the various testimonies and reports reviewed for this study. The conflation of responsibilities points to the fact that the bureaucratisation of GM creates the major barrier to the implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality and can only be overcome by the political will of key role-players both within and outside of the Department.

Political will was evident as the major element influencing the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan in the initial rollout of both projects. The availing of resources for the rollout of the projects was mainly funded by the donor project provided by the CIDA. The availing of funding was a major factor in the creation of political will for the rollout of the projects. It can be argued that the availability of funded skills courses was a key element in the success of the project. Testimonies from staff at the Department also indicated the role of the Minister in creating political will and buy-in for GM. Notably with these elements in

place, many gains were experienced at the Department in the earlier years of the project. The lack of political will in later years had direct bearing on the success of the project and again was influenced by the bureaucracy facing implementation. The political will was directly responsible for the availing of human and financial resources and thus also linked to the development of an enabling environment.

Findings in the PALAMA GM Evaluation Report indicate that the GM Project led to the development of the new GM strategy for the department. The course made an impact and led to an appreciation that PALAMA (NSG) needed to be doing more on gender and an internal Gender Indaba was hosted at PALAMA (NSG) as a result of employees attending the course. Emanating from the Gender Indaba was the development of a GM strategy for the department (GM Evaluation Report, 2013). Notably, with the exit of the Minister and the subsequent end of the donor-funded project, support and implementation measures began to dwindle thus indicating a direct relationship between the role of political will and the availing of resources. This point speaks to the role of political will at the highest office (the Minister). The absence of a progressive Minister influenced the further rollout of the gender projects at the Department. The Minister had a major influence on the senior management services at the Department and thus increased the prioritisation of the gender agenda. Without this push, these projects began to lose momentum as is evidenced from reports and testimonies solicited in the study.

Respondents in the PALAMA – GM Final Evaluation Report (2013) spoke about their frustrations with the delay in operationalising the organisation's GM Strategy. Respondents noted that the first priority was to establish a Gender Focal Point and a GM Advisory and Compliance Committee (GENMACC). The Gender Focal Point was, however, only appointed in 2015, three years after the strategy was approved. Although it worked with higher offices in the rollout of GM initiatives, indicated the difficulty with being able to influence matters for gender equality in the workplace. The absence of a dedicated Gender Focal Point and notably, when one was appointed, at middle management level meant that the Department could not adequately mainstream gender projects as there was is no significant influence of this post on the rollout of the gender projects. The GFP is still dependent on senior management who are unwilling to perhaps unsensitised to prioritise the gender projects.

The political will of the DG and Senior Management echelon also plays a large role in the success of mainstreaming initiatives. These issues were raised in the PALAMA – GM Final Evaluation Report (2013) as barriers to the success of mainstreaming initiatives in Departments. The role of leadership in the public service is a key driver of the success of

GM. Programmes that receive support from higher offices and senior officials are often successful and are the lived experience in the history of the implementation of the two projects. Here, leadership is defined as that emanating from the Minister's office as well as from senior management in the Department. The leadership of the projects however seems to have emanated from those at lower management echelons in attempting to rollout the gender projects.

The need for broader political buy-in from external actors was also highlighted in interviews with the GM Project Staff:

> "The Department, the NGM and DWCPD must play a more active role in summoning political will for the mainstreaming of gender in the public service. The Department as the policy ministry must move departments beyond compliance and towards a culture of buy-in. The NGM must be reconvened in order to build the gender machinery that government has already established as momentum by the NGM is being lost by its absence. The DWCPD must be revitalised and find its purpose, I feel that this body had more clout as a chief directorate operating under the former OSW. These roles are critical in creating a sustained commitment to GM."

The political buy-in from external stakeholders is highlighted as of utmost importance as the absence of a strong NGM had a major impact on the implementation of the gender projects. Whilst support was rallied from the NGM in the initial rollout, the NGM became defunct in nature and thus could not assist the Department in pushing the gender agenda.

When engaged on the experience of the Gender Focal Point as to the input from the CGE and NGM into the work of the department, the respondent explained:

> "These two structures (the CGE and NGM) are intended to support and complement the work of GFPs in departments. However, departments are not utilising these two institutions. It could be because GM is not a key function in departments or because there is not enough capacity to engage with the institutions. From our side specifically, we have not utilised them because we are barely scraping the surface due to work overload."

This testimony also reveals the departmental barriers to the rollout of GM as a strategy for gender equality in the public service. Departments are unable to access or seek support (assuming that this is readily available) due to competing priorities, again pointing to the need for political will to create the demand for a more holistic approach to GM for gender equality. It is evident that support from the relevant structures is needed, however the

unavailability of the structures due to under-resourcing and dismantling means that the Department does not have access to adequate gender networks in order to rollout the gender projects.

Political will was evident for GM in the former years of implementation. The Department hosted the First Inaugural Gender Indaba. The achievement of this event was no easy feat and also acted as a platform for the launch of the 8-Point Principle Plan (Department Gender Indaba Report, 2008:42). Notably the Gender Indaba reported that political and administrative will was a grave challenge to the implementation of GM strategies in the public service. The report also notes the interrelationship of political will with gender budgeting:

> "It was reported in this regard that: Gender equality, political and policy commitment were critical factors; that there needed to be inter-ministerial commitment and cooperation, well-resourced and well-positioned women's national machinery need to be in place, and that able and effective financial arrangements for GM needed to be made available" (Department Gender Indaba Report, 2008:43).

The role of financial and human resources was highlighted in earlier Chapters. Notably, the availing of resources from the donor-funded project assisted with the rollout and uptake of both the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. It was noted in interviews with Roanne that momentum for the rollout has since been "shelved". The latter seems to be directly linked to the affordability of the implementation of the skills project, the latter has been reconfigured into a shorter non-accredited version. The 8-Point Principle Plan has also been reduced to compliance reporting with workshops around the implementation of gender action plans only being solicited on an *ad hoc* basis. In the former years of rollout, workshops were requested frequently, as is evidenced in the Annual Report 2008/2009 and 2009/2010.

The PSC Report, (2011:17) also notes the role of political commitment to the success of GM in the public service:

> "There did not appear to be a great deal of senior management support for the role of the GFP in any of the departments surveyed, resulting in the compromising of the GFP's position in departments and the seriousness with which their work and processes were taken more broadly. Although immediate managers generally tried to be supportive, there was not a clear understanding of, or commitment to gender issues more broadly. The supervisors of the GFP were often inappropriate and did not hold a position in the departments that sent a clear message about gender and its importance in the departments."

This is noteworthy as it points to the problems underlined by GFPs in the execution of their duties. Roanne went on to explain that Ministerial Directives are taken to be effective for the furtherance of any new policy initiative. “If a Ministerial Directive is issued to Departments, the contents of the Directive are operationalised in the department. The observations and experiences of the Diversity Management Unit provides unique insight into the rollout of GM initiatives by the Department.” It is noted that Ministerial Directives are effective in influencing the institutionalisation of projects and/or priorities. It is also clear that the person holding the Office of the DG has a great influence on the implementation of projects for GM. The latter is noted in the Department Annual Report 2011/2012, under the leadership of Mr Diphofa, the Department made great strides in the area of gender equality:

> “The gender-sensitive rights based HIV and AIDS Mainstreaming Guidelines were developed and issued for implementation in the Public service. The guidelines were used by departments to develop their operational plans on HIV and AIDS, STIs and TB, which in turn informed the national operational plan on HIV and AIDS STIs and TB” (Department Annual Report, 2011/2012:4) .

In the 2011/2012 review, the department provided training, technical and advisory support to 85 departments in the implementation of the HR Connect Project, Employee Health and Wellness, Gender and Disability Mainstreaming, as well as HRD Matters. The department also provided support to the DPME to develop and pilot the draft Management Performance Assessment Tool (MPAT) to measure organisational performance. (Department Annual Report, 2011/2012:11)

Projects initiated in the 2011/2012 financial year, were taken further in the Annual Report of 2012/2013. A major highlight noted in the report is the approval of the EE and Gender Policies by Department’s Executive Committee. Also noted under highlights, was the reporting on the Public service Affirmative Action and Employment Equity Report (2011-2012), Youth Development in the Public Service and GM in the Public Service (2011), were produced and submitted to the Minister for approval. The formal indicator for gender equality is also noted in the report “Increase in the percentage of government departments with approved Gender Sensitive Rights Based HIV/AIDS, STI and TB mainstreamed operational plans” (Department Annual Report 2012/2013:51)

The activities of the Department reflect the commitment needed to drive the gender agenda as identified by the PSC Report highlighted earlier. Activities in the rollout of these initiatives have since dwindled when reflecting on subsequent Annual Reports.

As alluded to earlier, the role of political will is also acknowledged as a major factor that also resorts outside the Department and is directed at the DoW as the appointed leader and convener of the NGM. The Department was reconfigured in 2015/2016 to fall under the Presidency and the previously associated roles for children and persons with disabilities were subsumed under the DSD. Notably, the DoW Annual Report (2015/2016:24) States: "The location of the DoW in the Presidency reflects the political will to accelerate socio-economic transformation for women's empowerment and the advancement of gender equality."

The DoW understands the value of political will. The location in what is perceived to be the most important Ministry will essentially assist in the promotion of the work of the Ministry. The importance of political will at an operational level is also emphasised in interviews with GM Project staff. In the interviewee's response she noted that the main obstacle in her opinion, facing the public service in the rollout of gender equality measures was: "The resistance to change that on the part of officials, and the politics that exist in government." This testimony further reiterates the emphasis on the role of political will in the fulfilment of gender equality as a goal.

Political will is not, however, just limited to the actions of the State or lack thereof. Hassim (2003) argues that new relationships can be built between the State and civil society:

> "The quota campaigns and the emphasis on representation are undoubtedly part of an important renewal of feminist activism on the continent." She goes further to State that "Representation was not conceived of as an end in itself, but as part of a broader agenda of redistribution of social and economic power" (Hassim, 2003:3).

Interviews with project staff at the Department and the NSG reveal a separation from civil society. No mention was made of any support from the civil society sector in the furtherance of the objectives of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Project staff from the GM Project, when engaged on the role of civil society Stated

> "No formal interactions were undertaken with civil society except in the development of the GM Unit standard. The Unit Standard was published in the *Government Gazette* with input invited from all sectors. Formal participation in the rollout of the project has been absent. Civil society relations with the Department are very limited. I am uncertain if other units have much formal interaction. A recent call for interest in working with the NSG has been undertaken, allowing individuals and companies to apply to formally work with the NSG, the response to this was mainly from private companies and individuals. With less than two per cent from the civil society sector."

Hassim (2003:4) notes the fragmentation of the Women's Movement in South Africa post-1994. She attributes this to, amongst other factors, the breakdown of WNC. "The political centre of the WNC did not survive, as the top layer of the leadership of women's organisations shifted into positions within the State and bureaucracy." She does, however, acknowledge that some areas in the civil society sector were strengthened.

> "There has undoubtedly been a strengthening of NGOs that act as advocacy agents and which are tied into State policy processes (for example, the Gender Advocacy Programme in Cape Town, the Nisaa Institute for Women's Development in Lenasia, Johannesburg, and the Gender Research Project at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand). These organisations have the expertise, and in a relative sense, the funding, to intervene in legal and policy debates and public consultations. They remain extremely active in public debate and have found spaces in the new governance system. Their primary role is to ensure the implementation and elaboration of the rights-based democratic framework, in itself an important political task, given the advanced formal rights that were secured in the new South African Constitution of 1996" (Hassim, 2003:4)

These activities cannot, however, be traced in the operationalising of the GM Project or the 8- Point Principle Plan. This does not mean to suggest that work from these organisations is not taking place it is merely an observation that there is a distinct silence from civil society in the rollout of these two critical projects aimed at addressing the NPF on Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. This Policy emphasises the need for the provision of resources and details the complexities involved in the rollout of GM as a strategy for gender equality. Section 1.8 of the document States: "The allocation of resources by various executive and legislative structures is crucial to ensuring that the policy on gender equality is implemented."

Section 1.8 goes further to State:

> "Regular technical advisory services need to be made available to the national, provincial and local structures for the mainstreaming of gender equality; and Adequate staffing, institutional infrastructure, monitoring and evaluation, disseminating information, maintaining active partnerships and capacity building all require strategic interventions to enable the machinery to work effectively towards the goal of women's empowerment and gender equality."

Notably, institutional support mechanisms are mentioned in the policy. These are suggested to be put in place in order to assist in realising these strategic goals: "The policy framework

needs to proceed with proper resourcing of the national machinery and is affirmed by the findings of the National Audit."

The policy notes the importance of the findings of the external national audit conducted by the AG of South Africa. The highlighting of the allocation of resources is crucial to the focus of this Chapter as it recognises the importance of resource allocation in the implementation of the NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality and ultimately to the two projects being rolled out at the Department.

In looking at the role of resourcing in effective mainstreaming of gender, Joseph (2009) interrogates the role of resourcing in her assessment of the requirements for successful mainstreaming of gender. She claims that research has shown that lack of staff, particularly with the right credentials is a serious shortcoming. Joseph suggests that a Transformation Unit must be established and the GM Unit must feature within this structure and be made up of approximately one third of the staff. In her discussion around the staffing requirements, she suggests that the convenor of the Transformation Unit must be a senior manager.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, GM emanated from the GAD approach: "In developing countries GM has come to be viewed as a more radical strategy to ensure gender equality rather than the earlier approach as described by WID on creating specific policies for women. (True and Mintrom, 2001:31-33)

Through the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan, GM has been implemented as a strategy for gender equality at the Department. Access to resources was also highlighted by the Anna amongst other interviewees when engaged on the obstacles to gender equality at the NSG.

> "The biggest challenge is resources; both human and financial. Gender programmes are the last to receive activity-specific budgets because they are usually incorporated in the general HR budget. Even then, when there are budget cuts, gender projects are the first to go. In terms of human resources, there needs to be an office dedicated to gender activities. Unfortunately, that rarely happens and departments would include this and other special projects in the work agreement of one individual. As a GFP, my work also includes being a Disability Focal Point, Youth Focal Point, Change and Employee Wellness manager. I have one administrator, and between the two of us, we are able to perform enough functions to be able to submit good reports. The problem is that we are not doing as well as we potentially could because we have fingers in too many pies."

Resourcing, therefore, is extended beyond just financial resources, as highlighted by the Gender Focal Point, this also includes access to human resources. The triple portfolio experienced at the NSG has also been echoed by the Department GM Report (2013: 17):

> "Functions related to gender had been assigned to officials who dealt with Employee Health and Wellness Programmes or Human Resources." The report goes further to explain the focus on gender issues "…there were additional programmes such as Youth Development, Disability, Employee Health and Wellness, Children's Rights, Elder Persons, HIV/Aids, Employment Equity, Race Relations and HR Management and Development" (GM Report (2013:17).

This evidence reaffirms the need to have a dedicated unit as described by Joseph (2003) earlier in this Chapter. Notably, the GM Report (2013:14) also reflects that:

> "Principle seven of the HODs Gender Action Plan Principles recommends that financial resources be made available to drive GM, however reports showed that progress towards the provision of resources was low. Gender Units often cited lack of funds as a major challenge towards the implementation of policies."

When engaged on the barriers to successful GM in the South African public service, local gender expert, Ardrie, noted:

> "The problem with the GM is that often officials appointed in this function have no experience and training. This makes gender desks ineffectual… Many do not have a training in gender analysis. There is an understanding that anyone can do it. People do not understand the feminist approach to policy and reduce implementation to numbers. People do not understand the implications of policy for men and women. There is also a lack of understanding gender budgeting. All policies have to be costed. This was going strong for the first five years under Mandela, then fizzled out."

These observations relate to Anna's experience of gender policy implementation when engaged on the obstacles to implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality: "The primary focus in departments is the achievement of EE targets. GM is much more than numbers." To this end, Hassim (2004:10) States:

> "The demand for quotas was supported because it was seen as an instrument to facilitate women's access to decision-making and to create a political space to articulate a transformatory ideal of citizenship. Representation, then, was not conceived as an end in itself, but as part of a broader agenda of redistribution of social and economic power."

Through the information solicited through interviews, it can be deduced that the quota system has been reduced to a compliance measure and ultimately financial and human resources are influenced by the role of political will by both internal and external actors.

There are, however, institutions that are meant to act as resources to government departments and whose mandate it is to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in the public service and the broader South African society. The PSC Final Report (2007:19) States that the mechanisms for transforming gender relations in South Africa are collectively known within government and civil society as the NGM. Together, these mechanisms aim to promote and protect gender equality, both by mainstreaming it and by dealing with it separately. The NGM has structures at different levels in national government, the legislature and statutory bodies.

When interviewees were engaged on the role of the NGM, most indicated that they were unaware of any activities being undertaken by the NGM. An interviewee, Princess, indicated: "No idea as to the status of this. This body is led by an ineffectual Ministry. This, (the NGM) was closed by the President." Another interviewee commented:

> "The status of the NGM is unknown at this time. The agreement was that the Department spearheads the implementation, the NGM would be responsible for looking broader throughout the country beyond just the public service. The Department took into consideration issues raised in the NGM, however they (the NGM) are required to set the tone for GM in all sectors."

These comments and observations reflect the interrelationships between political will and resource availability. The NGM as a body is meant to be a resource for government departments, however, without the political will to drive and/or resuscitate this structure, GM continues to be an option for departments.

The DoW has been cited as a possible resource for the implementation of GM. Interviewees have noted that the DoW, through restructuring and changing mandates, still has an obligation to deliver on its current mandate:

> "Department derives its mandate from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (the Constitution). The Constitution champions the achievement of equality, including gender equality, throughout its provisions, and particularly Section 9 thereof. Section 9 of the Constitution creates the basis for the obligation of the public sector, the private sector and civil society to eliminate and remedy gender, race and social inequalities. Section 9(2) of the Constitution guarantees the full and equal

> enjoyment of all rights and freedoms by people of all genders. It furthermore provides that legislative and other measures, designed to protect or advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination, may be taken to promote the achievement of equality" (DoW, Annual Report, 2015/2016:14)

Interviewees have been very critical of the Women's Ministry:

> "There was an elevation of this office (former OSW) to become a Ministry, there does not seem to be political will to advance the Ministry. The difference between advocacy and implementation cannot be seen. All programmes must be gender mainstreamed in order to address this goal. Reforming the department (Women's Ministry) has not yielded any benefits. The push to establish the Ministry was more window dressing. What is currently being undertaken by the ministry is not different from how the former OSW used to operate. This indicates gaps between political will and implementation."

Again, the interrelationship between resource availability and political will is affirmed. The DoW must gain momentum in how it fulfils its mandate, progress reported on its activities are reduced to reports with many noted as "not formulated", constituting a deviation (See DoW, Annual Report, 2015/2016:45). Interviewee Ardrie noted that:

> "The plan of the OSW was poorly formulated, responsibility is meted out too widely and invariably no one took responsibility. There is incompetence in the Ministry (Women's Ministry). No champion of GM in government. Department should organise and implement training just as any other public training."

It must be noted that the need for a more active Women's Ministry and political will from this Ministry to address the gap of championing GM is a recurring theme from respondents. Without a clear champion for the gender "agenda", resourcing will continue to remain a problem and therefore a major obstacle to the successful mainstreaming of gender in the South African public service. Efforts to address the issue of training was encompassed in the GM Project through the rollout of an accredited training programme as explained in earlier Chapters. The main concern as noted by an informant at the Department is that the sponsored course offering was credit bearing:

> "The main challenge experienced (in my opinion) was the accredited status of the programme; this created a barrier for some learners. People are reluctant to submit a portfolio. An informal strategy could go a long way in addressing this, in making the course more accessible. The course could be reframed to target different groups

such as the GFPs separate to those working outside of this space. Also noted by the staff at the GM Project is the move towards a non-accredited version of the course once the funding from the CIDA was exhausted" (GM Final Evaluation Report, 2013).

The latter is largely attributed to the affordability of the course by departments. As mentioned earlier, financial constraints on departments warranted a new approach to the rollout of the GM Project.

An important institution that is meant to offer support and resources for the mainstreaming of gender is the CGE. The CGE, as Stated in Chapter One, is a State institution seized with the task of strengthening constitutional democracy in the Republic of South Africa (Section 181(1)(d) of the Constitution). In terms of Section 181(2) of the Constitution, read with Section 10(1) (a) of the Commission for Gender Equality Act, 1996 (No. 39 of 1996), the CGE is independent and subject only to the Constitution and the law, and it must be impartial and must exercise its powers without fear, favour or prejudice. The relationship between the Minister in the Presidency Responsible for Women and the CGE is administrative in nature, due to the fact that CGE's budget falls under the budget vote of the Department, therefore the Department must transfer the CGE funds in accordance with Section 38(1) of the PFMA, 1999. Section 38(1) (j) of the PFMA expressly excludes constitutional institutions from providing the accounting officer of the transferring Department with written assurances that the institution implements effective, efficient and transparent financial management and internal control systems.

A strict interpretation of this Section therefore implies that the Department serves as a conduit for the transfer of the allocated budget, in terms of the Appropriations Act, to the CGE. The Minister in the Presidency Responsible for Women plays a facilitation role in the appointment of commissioners by inviting interested parties through the media to apply and, by notice in the *Government Gazette*, proposing candidates for consideration for appointment as commissioners. The CGEA (Act 39 of 1996) provides for a process of nomination from a list of names proposed by a Joint Parliamentary Committee and approval by the NA before appointment by the President. The Ministry, through its Department, facilitates this process and no provision is made for a decision or discretion on the part of the Minister in this regard. Lastly, the Minister in the Presidency Responsible for Women is the custodian of the Commission for Gender Equality Act therefore any legislative amendments thereto must be introduced in Cabinet by the Minister as a member of the national executive. It follows, therefore, that the DoW is responsible for the legislative processes necessary to amend this Act (DoW, Annual Report 2015/2016:17).

The CGE is an independent institution which was established in 1997 to monitor and review legislation and the gender policies of public funded bodies to ensure that women's equality is promoted (Meer, 2005: 42-43). At the time of its drafting, it was envisaged that the NPF would:

> "…represent a significant step in the struggle for gender equality and justice by enhancing the visibility and influence of the NGM, strengthening the voices of women in civil society and Parliament, enhancing the work undertaken by the CGE, and guide the development of the National Gender Action Plan" (NPF for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality, 2000: 4-5).

Roanne, when engaged on the role of the CGE in assisting departments to mainstream gender, Stated:

> "The CGE is like the public protector in the gender space. They must protect the rights of women in the workplace. Their focus must be in all sectors but they could be the watchdog for GM in the public service for example requesting reports on gender programmes, achievements, challenges, looking at offenders for sexual harassment/ areas of concern that need to be flagged in the public service. The CGE could play a more direct role in an evaluation role in producing knowledge, impact studies and advising departments on trends emerging from the evaluation reports. This could assist the Department in policy revision for implementation."

Ardrie stated the following when commenting on the role of the CGE:

> "As a former Commissioner, there is big problem in how the Act was written. The CGE is accountable to Parliament but have oversight of government. Any interaction with civil society was dismissed in favour of Parliament. Public hearings were held on gender discrimination and such issues with private and public sector, the problem was with the departments in the public sector. The CGE has no "teeth" when a department does not want to implement. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it comes to implementation. One of the four pillars to their mandate is to build the CGE. A lot of energies went into this and making policies on dealing with the organisation rather than a focus on the projects."

This interviewee confirms the important role of the CGE in providing resources for the mobilisation of GM in government and further stresses the importance of the CGE in holding departments accountable for implementation. Informants rolling out the GM Project and the

8-Point Principle Plan, have indicated that no resources were availed from the CGE and no support offered for the implementation of both projects.

A key mechanism for the effective implementation of policy is the role of networks. There is a functional interdependence between public and private actors whereby networks allow resources to be mobilised towards common policy objectives in domains outside the hierarchical control of governments (see Börzel, 1998). Stone (2001) adds to the debate with her analysis of the role of networks. Networks are an organisational form with extraordinary capacities for innovation, managing risk, building trust, facilitating joint action and gathering information in a manner that flows around and between geographical, legal and institutional barriers. When networks include the active participation and involvement of decision-makers they have the potential to influence policy. Even without such political involvement, the norms, values and aspirations of networks can have significant impact on the climate of elite opinion and culture of public debate. Given the discussion on the role of political will in previous Chapters, it is notable that in the South African context, the role of political will plays a significant part in the implementation of gender policies at the Department. These networks in turn, have a major influence on the resources availed to the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan.

The factors affecting resourcing were identified by the Department in the GM Report (2013:9). This report notes access to and control over resources as a key factor for the implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality. The report also cites the overburden on existing human resources as a key factor in the successful implementation of GM.

> "They handled additional programmes such as youth development, disability, children's rights, older person's rights, HIV/Aids Batho Pele, Employment Equity, Employee Health and Wellness, HRM, etc." (GM Report, 2013:13)

This finding reiterates the testimony of interviewees rolling out the GM Project and the 8-point Principle Plan cited earlier in this Chapter. Findings from the African Development Bank (2009) in their report,

> "The NGM, GM and the fight against gender-based violence claim that confusion over the mandates of provincial and national offices of the OSW and the CGE existed initially because the Gender Policy Framework which defined the roles of the arms of the NGM, was adopted only five years later. Moreover, the CGE had been included in the constitution in the last minute and with little prior consultation. Initially the CGE was, for example, interpreted as being part of civil society (See also, Albertyn, 1996; and Gouws, 1996).

Resourcing therefore is not a stand-alone factor in the implementation of GM for gender equality. Resourcing is a highly politicized exercise, with the need for senior management buy-in and as is evidenced by interviewees, political clout from the Minister's office in order for the allocation of both human and financial resources to be availed. Notably, the bureaucratisation of the gender machinery creates a major obstacle for the rollout of GM as a strategy for gender equality. The evidence gathered reflects the critical role of political will in influencing the success of GM given the bureaucratic structures.

The study also measured the role of an enabling environment in the success of GM Projects at the Department in terms of the prioritisation and participation of SMS in driving the gender agenda at the Department; the availing of resources (both human and financial); and the support from external structures to the operations of the Department in mainstreaming gender. Emerging as a key theme is the role of political will from both internal and external actors in availing resources, prioritisation and participation by Senior Management at the Department and support from external structures.

Brynard (2009), in his assessment of the various factors that influence policy development, claims that the institutional environment plays a critical role in the implementation of policy. Giacchino and Kakabadse (2003:150) have identified two dimensions of location that co-exist simultaneously. The one dimension is personal and concerns decisions regarding the individual who is to assume the responsibility for the policy initiative. The other dimension is institutional and concerns decisions regarding the organisation that is responsible for the policy initiative. These two dimensions are critical in the implementation of policy as the analysis reflects the important role of the implementer within an institution. These two dimensions were explored in terms of influencing an enabling environment at the Department. What emerged is that the two dimensions are present at the Department.

When engaged on the factors affecting the implementation of GM as a strategy for gender equality, Ardrie commented that, "…responsibility is meted out too widely and invariably no one took responsibility (for GM). Incompetence in the Ministry means that there is no champion of GM in government." These astute observations speak to the role of additional key players in the gender landscape in creating an enabling environment for the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. This comment also speaks to Goggin's wider debate on responsibility, as explained in this Chapter. Here, it is noted that responsibility is in fact metered out too widely resulting in no responsibility being taken up in any significant manner by departments.

Roanne, when engaged on the factors that contributed to the successful mainstreaming of gender indicated that

> "The Minister at the time, Honourable Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was the driver of this (gender) agenda. Her openness to champion the gender work assisted in making the gender initiatives happen. The former Minister would discuss this with the cabinet colleagues and hence create buy-in at a very senior level. This meant that at cabinet level GM was discussed. In terms of resources, funding was not made available; human resources were not readily availed either, the Diversity Management Unit was expected to make this happen on our own. The political buy-in however made it easier to rollout projects through the Diversity Management unit and the then, PALAMA through the GM Project."

The GM Project Evaluation Report also points to the role of the then DWCPD as being a major role-player in creating an enabling environment for the successful mainstreaming of gender.

> "For the full impact of the course to be realised, the course needed to be an integral part of a much larger GM intervention. The scope of this falls outside of PALAMA's mandate. The DWCPD is the obvious lead for the broader initiative." (PALAMA- GM Project Evaluation report, 2013:24)

The evaluation also noted the importance of senior management attendance in creating an enabling environment for the sustaining of GM initiatives. The role of senior managers is highlighted as a key element in the effective implementation of GM initiatives in a Department.

> "The Deputy Director for Social Cohesion and Equity in Education (DD) said the course was very useful was careful to outline a 'disclaimer': 'At the level where I am, the course is ok to get the information, but we do not influence key decisions therefore it becomes frustrating… It would be really useful if we were attending with senior people' namely Chief Director, Deputy DG and DG" (PALAMA GM Project Evaluation Report, 2013:27).

The report goes further to explain the absence of senior managers from the process:

> "…several reasons were cited for the lack of senior management participation including a lack of political will, pressures on senior managers' diaries, a lack of buy-in from managers, the way the course is marketed, PALAMA's reputation amongst senior managers and a reluctance to participate in a course with more junior staff. These issues were picked up early on in the programme's delivery and various

> initiatives taken to mobilise senior managers. In the main, however, these were unsuccessful" (PALAMA GM Project Evaluation Report, 2013:27).

Again, the recurring theme of political will emerges. Political will is therefore a critical factor in creating an enabling environment.

Notably, an enabling environment is greatly influenced by the need for the necessary structures within a Department. In the analysis of the barriers to a department as is discussed by the PALAMA GM Evaluation Report (2013:33):

> "Respondents spoke about their frustrations with the delay in operationalising the organisation's GM Strategy. Respondents noted that the first priority is to establish a Gender Focal Point and a GM Advisory and Compliance Committee. This recognition of the need for leadership and accountability is clearly set out in the GM strategy of the Department…In the absence of these structures the strategic push on gender is shared between the HR Department and the GM Project staff. Overall reflections on the lack of movement on setting up the internal gender structures give rise to strong feelings and perceptions that work on gender in the Department is not that important."

The need for internal structures has been a recurring theme from those working in the gender arena within the public service. The First Inaugural Gender Indaba Report (2008) highlighted the need for an enabling environment before the formal rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. A major obstacle identified at the Indaba, was the need for an enabling environment. One of the key solutions was that: "All Departments should create an enabling environment for individuals to report harassment."(First Inaugural Gender Indaba Report, 2008:25)

Notably, a major challenge with female managers was "Female managers do not take responsibility for their own enabling environment." The report, however, is silent on how these barriers would be overcome. An overarching suggestion that an enabling environment must be created was not useful to implementing Departments. The South African Beijing +20 Report (2014:7) clearly notes the importance of this factor in the successful mainstreaming of gender for gender equality:

> "There is a particular highlight with regard to de jure equality or equality in the eyes of the law, where law reform has seen to the removal of various discriminatory laws and enactment of laws that foster an enabling environment for the advancement of women and the achievement of gender equality. With regard to de facto equality,

> significant progress has been made but there is still much to be done especially with the full and effective implementation of laws, policies and strategies."

The report notes a move beyond policy and a focus on implementation. An enabling environment is highlighted as a major factor in enabling gender to be effectively mainstreamed. The testimonies above, reiterate the discussion in Chapter Nine, highlighting the need for political will to be present in order circumvent the bureaucracy of GM.

Ardrie, when engaged on the role of the NGM in creating an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender for gender equality, commented:

> "A big problem in how the Act was written was that the CGE is accountable to Parliament but have oversight of government. Any interaction with civil society was dismissed in favour of Parliament. Public hearings were held on gender discrimination and such issues with private and public sector, the problem was however with the departments. The CGE has no "teeth" when a department does not want to implement. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it came to implementation. One of the four pillars to their mandate is to build the CGE. A lot of energies went into this and making policies on dealing with the organisation than a focus on the projects."

The internal management issues therefore, have also created a barrier to the effective functioning of the NGM. The CGE, being a key element of the NGM, needs to be well functioning to also play its significant role in the mainstreaming of gender within the public service. The CGE, as a major player in the gender landscape must therefore fulfil its role in the creation of an enabling environment.

As discussed earlier, the funded nature of the GM Project was a noteworthy factor in the success of the project rollout. The enabling environment for the uptake of the course was therefore influenced by resource availability. The Department has taken a strong stance in creating a receptive environment for the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan. Roanne, when engaged on the role of the Department in creating an enabling environment for the mainstreaming of gender, commented:

> "The 8- Point Principle Plan emanated from the strategic framework, the Department rolled this out through enforcing reporting. This was reinforced through conscientising departments through the rollout of advocacy workshops and then monitoring thereof through reports from departments. Here the Department is looking at challenges and

> an analysis of departments' challenges. This effort is ongoing until now, the unit supports the departments."

These efforts are to be commended as they reflect the role of the Department in creating an enabling environment for the implementation of the 8-Point Principle Plan even though implementation thereof remains at a compliance level. The interviewee went further to comment on the role of the NSG:

> "Critical involvement by the former PALAMA, now NSG, in the imparting skills is very important in creating a common understanding of GM in the public service. The main challenge experienced (in my opinion) was the accredited status of the programme; this created a barrier for some learners. People are reluctant to submit a portfolio. An informal strategy could go a long way in addressing this, in making the course more accessible. The course could be reframed to target different groups such as the GFPs separate to those working outside of this space."

These inputs are of value, as they address the lived experiences of GFPs in creating an enabling environment for not only implementation but access to the tools for implementation. This testimony speaks to the need to provide a better solution to the GM offerings currently offered by the NSG.

Mannell (2012) in her discussion on the barriers to gender policy implementation, puts forward an argument that resistance to social change is a major stumbling block in the plethora of barriers that face GM. She argues that because of a masculinist culture, as has been echoed by interviewees in this Chapter, gender is not perceived as an important consideration in organisations, which shapes gendered activities within the organisation. Notably, this point speaks to the broader focus of this Chapter in the creation of an enabling environment. With prevailing patriarchy, an enabling environment for GM cannot be achieved. She goes further to State:

> "This ultimately impacts on the distribution of resources to those individuals or communities the organisation is trying to help."
>
> Mannell (2012:52)

A huge failing, as is emerging from this study is the assumption that an organisation is a gender neutral space. This assumption is the current Achilles Heel of the NPF. The institution must be recognised as a gendered space and more importantly must

acknowledge the power dynamics associated with the gendered space. The patriarchal nature of the South African State cannot simply be changed with the drafting of a policy, rather the policy must seek to address the gender power imbalances in a meaningful manner that moved beyond compliance.

Rao and Kelleher (2003) claim that the majority of development work ignores the role development organisations play in reinforcing gender inequalities. They argue that development practitioners incorrectly perceive organisations as gender-neutral spaces; work that challenges gendered power relations is therefore seen as something organisations do rather than something that should be imbedded within organisations themselves (Tiessen 2007). The current status of the NPF as a policy does not forcefully acknowledge the gendered power relations that exist within the State. The latter needs to be addressed formally in order for the barriers to the gender projects at the Department to be adequately met.

The projects being delivered by the Department in the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project essentially seek to challenge the gender stereotypes and patriarchal notions in government and therefore are met with resistance from Departments attempting to implement. Resistance, however, can be overcome through the influence of political will as can be seen with the experience of the Department.

10.2 CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE IMPLEMENTATION OF GM INITIATIVES BY THE DEPARTMENT

The study reflects the need to acknowledge the failure of the bureaucratic structures put in place by the South African State to enable GM. Ironically, these structures were meant to assist the mainstreaming of gender and thus leading to more effective gender relations and a better gender status quo within the State. Notably, the NGM and the DoW have a major collaborative role to play with the Department in implementing policy for GM as a strategy towards gender equality. These structures however are under-resourced and noted in some cases as being defunct with interviewees unable to reveal the current status of the NGM for example. The poor resourcing of staff at the DoW and the CGE also has a major impact on the work of the Department.

The study also reveals the interconnectedness of the factors of political will, resourcing and an enabling environment. The emerging evidence shows that political will is by and large the most significant factor in the mainstreaming of the Gender Policy Framework through the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Project at the Department. Notably, as has been discussed earlier in this Chapter, political will is the most important influence in placing

GM on the agenda of the Department. Through the various interviews detailed in this study, many have indicated that the role of the Minister and/or Accounting Officer, Senior Management and external gender support structures such as the NGM and CGE; is a critical element in accessing resources and creating an enabling environment. This emerging evidence suggests that several role-players must act in order for GM to be an effective strategy towards gender equality in the South African public service. These role-players, it must be highlighted, are both within and external to the Department. Staff are not exempt from developing an enabling environment, the development thereof is however largely dependent on the input and buy-in from senior management. The latter speaks to the power dynamics currently at play with regard to the rollout of the gender projects at the Department.

The Ministry for Public service and Administration should consider making the 8-Point Principle Plan an obligatory exercise for heads of departments by mainstreaming this policy into the performance agreements of all heads of departments. By undertaking such a strategy, the Department will ensure that the 8-Point Principle Plan is led from the highest level of a department and implemented as such for all departmental operations. The mainstreaming of this policy into operations means that the current dilemmas faced by GFPs, at a lower level will be carried out by the head of department's office. The lobbying by GFPs for the need to be placed at Chief Director Level has up until now, not yielded much result. The latter must be considered in the structure of the directors-general or heads of departments offices. The responsibility of mainstreaming therefore must be everyone's responsibility, however, in the same vein the prominence of this aspect must be led at chief director level in order for GM Projects to receive the necessary space at executive level forums. The inclusion of the 8-Point Principle Plan into the performance agreements of Heads of Departments and Ministers is a major one and will also be influenced by the political will of Cabinet to prioritise and institute such an amendment.

Reports on the 8-Point Principle Plan will therefore move from compliance reporting into the operations of a Ministry. The latter includes the Department. In order to ensure that the 8-Point Principle Plan is viewed as a valid project, the mandatory compliance through performance agreements will in effect be filtered into each Ministry from the highest level to the lowest level with the accompanying level of responsibility. If this is achieved, the Department will successfully have mainstreamed the 8-Point Principle Plan.

As was evidenced in earlier Chapters, the NSG must consider offering the GM Project as a non-accredited version and must go on a drive to ensure maximum capacity in departments and thus circumvent the minimum capacity restrictions placed on it by the former donor

funding model. By undertaking this strategy, the programme must be marketed more broadly to prioritise more than GFPs and include operational and senior staff at all levels. The non-accredited version of the course must be developed for recipients at a lower level to the accredited course. It is not suggested that all those working in the gender arena within the South African State do not meet the minimum requirements for the completion of the course. Instead, it is recommended that a formal workshop version of the course is developed instead of using the current accredited training materials to deliver both courses.

The NSG must consider seeking additional funding in order for GM skills initiatives to receive prioritisation by departments. In the current climate, GM is shelved for the prioritisation of mandatory skills programmes such as induction. The non-accredited version of the GM course will ensure that successful skills transfer begins in client departments. The Department has the responsibility to close the loop as skills transfer is but the start of an implementation process. Impact assessments of skills courses delivered as well as follow up visits including external partners such as the NGM and CGE must be put in place in order for the Department to begin to work in a more collaborative manner. The funding of the non-accredited version of the course must cover other elements such as course fee, venue allocation, catering, travel and accommodation of trainees in order for the model to be successful. Many Departments are facing budget cuts and therefore have to prioritise mandatory programmes of which GM does not feature.

Gender must be mainstreamed into the courses at the NSG in a meaningful manner. The last formal review for the inclusion of marginalised issues was instituted in 2009 using the funds availed by the GM Project's donor funds. There must be a move towards engendering assessments meaning that the course content is not where transformation of learning ends. The participant in a skills programme must be requested to apply learning in the activities provided considering gendered knowledge in their responses. For formal accredited programmes, meaning those that will result in a competency certificate, specific focus must be made on ensuring that learners apply their learning to the fulfilment of their assignments. The efficacy of the latter cannot be tested, the participant may request their personal assistant or friend to complete the assignment on their behalf therefore follow up monitoring, as has been suggested before, is plays a vital role in assessing whether gender considerations are in fact being operationalized.

The NSG must consider the lobbying of parliament to include GM as a mandatory training offering, with a choice of accredited and non-accredited course offerings by the NSG. The latter will ensure that gender is placed on the national agenda. Notably, a new Directive will need to be issued by the Department to ensure that compliance to training requirements is

met and will ensure a richer reporting by the State to the Department on matters concerning gender equality. The role of the Directive is a major protocol measure that Ministries respond to as this ensures that “new rules” are mainstreamed into operations. The Directive is an imperative step in the transformation process.

The NGM must be revived and led by the DoW. This body was assigned the role of leading GM and currently does not fulfil this function. The membership must also be widened to include more civil society organisations. The NGM must engage closely with key structures of government that are decision-makers such as the Department of the Presidency, the Department of Treasury, the Department and the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation. This may ensure that gender is mainstreamed beyond compliance reporting and may ensure a more holistic embracing of this key element into the operations of government. The NGM must play a leading role in driving the national agenda for gender equality not only in the public service but in all sectors. The NGM must be funded and led by the DoW and the Presidency in leading initiatives around operationalising GM and moving beyond raising awareness. Whilst the latter is important, the results must be monitored by the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, currently under the Department of the Presidency. The bureaucratisation of GM as a strategy for gender equality in the NGM must be addressed through the drumming up of political will by actors both internal and external to the machinery.

The NGM must be led and managed by the DoW. The staffing crisis in the DoW must be addressed at Ministerial level. With vacant posts being filled, this will enable the DoW to fulfil its mandate assuming that the correctly skilled and experienced individuals are assigned to the vacant posts in key portfolios. The DoW must forge relationships with the Department, the CGE, the DPME; and the civil society sector working in the field of gender equality to enable a closer monitoring and effectiveness of the operationalisation of GM. Unfilled positions and a clear mandate must be provided to the DoW in order for more collaborative work to be undertaken. The absence of human resources has a major impact on the work of the DoW and thus must be addressed. The testimonies reveal that the DoW is concerned to be a defunct Ministry without any real clout, this perception will be changed, albeit slowly, through the filling of posts and therefore assisting the Ministry in fulfilling its core function of gender transformation within the State, amongst other goals.

Further to this, the DoW, as the leader of the NGM, must ensure that a skills audit is undertaken for the various gender desks and GFPs currently employed within the State. This must be undertaken at local, provincial and national level to assess the competency and burden levels. The latter speaks to testimonies from the GFPs that indeed they have several

other Human Resource functions to attend to including issues of diversity, HIV/AIDS and Health and Wellness (to name a few). Of utmost importance is the role of the NGM is creating better networks with the provincial gender desks often based at the Office of the Premier. The Office of the Premier is an important office to have an allegiance with in terms of the implementation of a policy. The Office of the Premier is notably a powerhouse at provincial level and has the authority to implement policies at provincial level. This divide also causes the NGM to have a disjointed reach however through networking and relationship building, this office can be an asset to the DoW.

The NGM as a body must increase their support of GFPs and create a support forum which extends beyond the formal convening of meetings. It is suggested that an online forum be launched for GFPs nationally as well as those working in the gender sector (both in the private and non-governmental spaces) to share experiences and perhaps also resources (where meaningful and mutually beneficial partnerships can be developed) to ensure the success of gender projects in the South African State. The collaborations with the private sector and the non-governmental sectors must be undertaken in a meaningful manner with key indabas convened for the discussion of collaborations across sectors.

It can be deduced that the civil society sector has withdrawn from interactions with key departments such as the Department due to lack of confidence in their input. Civil society organisations, as can be seen from the interviews held, feel that government operations will continue under whatever Minister is at the helm and that their input is only valid when reporting to international and regional bodies. This can be noted from the shadow reports submitted to UNIFEM as well as from the interview held with the gender expert, Ardrie. The South African Women's Movement has a major role to play in the gender landscape and has since relinquished their role due to the disjointed nature of the Women's movement at present. It is put forward that the NGM must engage the Women's movement for its input into operationalising GM in the public service and the broader South African society. The South African Women's Movement played a leading role in the establishment of South Africa's democracy. This leading role must be revived in the protection of South Africa's democracy going forward.

The South African Women's Movement must be approached to play a more active role with the Departmental initiatives towards gender equality. Notably, the Movement has seen a decline in activities post democracy however this body still exists and must be engaged to play a more active role in the rollout of gender projects at the Department and with additional structures such as the JMC and CGE. The inclusion of the Women's Movement as a key contributor will ensure that the voices from the margins are not lost. The South African

Women's Movement must work closely with the JMC in order to ensure the monitoring of gender concerns into the work of all State Ministries, ensuring the Department is also included in their monitoring plan. This will assist in driving the gender at an operational level within the State.

The NGM must engage the civil society sector in the building of gendered networks to ensure the success of gender projects in government. Many have a role to play in advising government on the "how to" for policy implementation given their experience on the ground. The NGM must also look at engaging community development workers to ensure the success of gender projects at local level. The community development workers are inextricably linked to the civil society and non-governmental sector namely faith based organisations which are absent from all the reports that were reviewed in this study. The local level is actually where the change must be seen and felt. The coalface must be transformed to ensure a revolution in thinking. This local presence can result in the success of the State's gender projects on a large scale.

The NGM must engage local government in provinces, even though this is an arduous task, perhaps a special branch can be created at the DoW to ensure that transformation at local government level is ensured. This would mean that municipalities would need to be approached to implement gender transformation at a local level. The Department can play a monitoring and supportive role in this initiative as the Department currently provides support to those that request such support. The latter is an untapped resourced and could be further financed by the Department of Treasury should a need for these services be demanded.

The CGE is established to act as a Chapter Nine institution to ensure the protection of gender equality in all sectors. Currently, under the Act, the lines are blurred between being a player and being a referee. The Act must be rewritten to give the CGE more autonomy and attention must be paid to the role of Commissioners and the operations of the CGE. Clear plans must be vetted and rolled out to ensure amongst other things, compliance to legislation by government departments, the private sector and civil society organisations. Measures must be put in place and funded by the CGE in collaboration with the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation, amongst others. Unfilled positions and a clear mandate must be provided to the CGE in order for more collaborative work to be undertaken. The absence of human resources has a major impact on the work of the CGE and thus must be addressed. The CGE must also receive a higher vote from the Department of Treasury in order to fund projects that may assist with a more collaborative work process.

The CGE must foster better relations with the Department and the DoW in order to police the implementation of gender legislation in the South African State. Without these relationships,

the CGE is unable to adequately fulfil its policy implementation role. The funding of the CGE will be a great influence on its ability to police implementation however with adequate networks perhaps additional funding can be sources from donors working in the formal State gender space. The latter has not been explored as a feasible opportunity nor has the creation of posts been considered at the CGE for this purpose. The CGE must consider working with Parliamentary Portfolio Committees in influencing the inclusion of gender considerations into the work of each Ministry.

The CGE can and should consider playing a more supportive role for the rollout of gender projects at the Department through the availing of expertise for the support of the departments who request assistance in the formulation and implementation of their gender action plans and projects. This would position the CGE to be a more active Chapter 9 institution in the achievement of their mission and vision. The CGE must foster a culture of including men in the gender campaigns aimed at gender justice. In so doing, the CGE will assist in the fight for gender justice by including men in attempts to de-construct the patriarchal nature of the South African State. The collaboration with men beyond the State system and at societal level is ultimately where change needs to begin. The CGE must embark on including men with gender equality projects at local level i.e. with communities. In transforming the private spaces of people's lives, this will hopefully filter into the public spaces. Campaigns run by the CGE must also include initiatives aimed at the transformation of patriarchy with young boys. The current masculine culture at school and tertiary level is a major contributor to the overall violence and patriarchal practices reported in the media.

The Joint Monitoring Committee must also play a key role in the NGM with a strong focus on holding defaulting departments accountable for their lack of initiative with GM interventions into their operations. The Joint Monitoring Committee must also take the lead in requesting Departments for ad hoc reports on initiatives in key areas of development such as the Department of Trade and Industry. This Committee plays a major role in conscientising thinking and the development of the public service into a more holistic development-oriented public service. Hence, this Committee must be an integral part of the Department's task team in creating a sustainable intervention in terms of the 8-Point Principle Plan being embedded into the performance agreements of Heads of Department, as mentioned earlier. The work of the Committee is not popularised and this must be addressed in order for the Department to engage with the findings of the Committee at an operational level. Work of the JMC can inform the gender agenda at the Department. The political will must however emanate from both the Department and parliament in ensuring that a collaborative relationship can be established.

The JMC also has a strong networking role to play in the development of relationships with provincial gender desks and GFPs. The JMC must create a presence at provincial level and must establish a schedule for provincial and national visits to ensure that the work of the JMC and their research findings are understood and supported. Notably, the JMC is also under-staffed in terms of the number of committee members and the finances afforded to them. Parliament must revise the budgetary allocation for provincial and national visits as well as for the convening of forums to address the needs of the JMC. The JMC must also work closely with the Portfolio Committees in ensuring the consideration of gender equality into the operations of Ministries. Portfolio Committees have a lead role to play in informing the work of the Ministry and advising on better ways of mainstreaming gender through the rollout of gender projects.

The rollout of gender projects is successful with political will and buy-in from senior officials. This must be a more visible act and must not be reduced to the "talk shop" status it currently has. Heads of Department and Ministers must visibly support the fight for gender justice outside of Women's month on the South African public holiday calendar. The trend is that support is only rallied during the 16 Days of Activism period and at key periods with the correct media "face time". The visibility afforded to the political will of senior officials as well as implementers is often reduced to a photo opportunity. The mainstreaming of gender must be pushed as a standing item on the political agenda of all ministries.

The SMS Roundtable must be reviewed as a mechanism for the mainstreaming of gender. These forums notably exclude the interests of women at lower management echelons and thus provides a skewed representation of interests. The SMS Roundtable must be reviewed to include women at all levels to ensure that voices and barriers are solicited for the successful implementation of gender projects. The absence of these voices will lead to a muddied picture of what the issues at the Department may actually represent and perhaps may ignore more systemic issues that can influence the strategic decisions of the Department. Women appointed in senior management are not appointed with any form of strategic plan or target for their representation. The latter is evidenced from the testimony provided by Roanne. Notably the Department must lobby for a review of the Employment Equity Act for a specific target to be allocated for the appointment of women at senior management level. Targets for equity are currently met with most appointments being at lower levels.

The Department must also institute measures to create a supportive environment for women at senior and middle management echelons by including men in the gender agenda. As is evident by Ann's testimony, many of the initiatives are mainly aimed at women and leave

men out of the equation. Men are instrumental in the fight for gender justice and must be included in the initiatives that are aimed at developing a GM strategy in the Department and in the South African State. The absence of men from the forums and initiatives means that patriarchal practices and the need for transformation in thinking is often missed thus alienating men in decision-making positions.

The Office of the Presidency must lead the process of gender transformation and equality projects in the South African State by incorporating the 8-Point Principle Plan into performance agreements and ensuring that a Directive to this effect is put in place through the Department. The Presidency must lead other Ministries by example, y popularising projects that are both inwardly and outwardly focused to reflect the importance of GM projects in the South African State. A special Presidential Award could be considered for the best performing State department at national and provincial levels, and municipality, implementing gender projects aimed at transformation both within the State and communities.

Parliament must also play a lead role in the mainstreaming of gender projects in the South African State. Parliament can request this through mandating Ministries to submit Annual Performance Plans that are engendered. This will mean that Annual Performance targets will include gender considerations and will be customised for each department. The latter cannot be reduced to an exercise regarding employment equity targets, instead, parliament must develop broad criteria that can be applied to each Ministry with regard to operationalizing gender considerations into the work of each Ministry.

Finally, in looking at the role of the Department, the Department must consider working closely with the National Youth Development Agency in attempting to address gender equality relations at youth level. This is a key element that is currently absent from both the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Youth must be targeted in order for effective transformation to be sustained. If the schooling and tertiary institution thinking is transformed with regard to gender relations, this will ultimately filter into the new workforce. The Department must consider collaborations with the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Higher Education in ensuring that curricula is developed that addresses the need for gender transformation in youth. The current focus of the Department is on the skills capacity of the current State workforce in the area of gender however the Department must be forward thinking in preparing for succession planning.

10.3 CONCLUSION

The aim of the thesis was to critically analyse the Department's mechanisms that enable the operationalising of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (NPF) into the operations of the South African public service. The key research question addressed was "What are the factors that enable and/or constrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal?" The following sub-questions were also addressed: "Who within the State is responsible for the mainstreaming of the NPF?"; "How do these role-players understand their mandate?"; "What resources are available to the role-players in the implementation of the NPF?"; "What (if any) is the role of political will in the implementation of the NPF?"; and "What (if any) is the role of an enabling environment in the implementation of the NPF?"

The South African State has attempted to address the overall goal of gender equality, through the ratification of key international, regional and local commitments. This thesis explored the role of the policy ministry, the Department in fulfilling its mandate in ensuring that the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality is mainstreamed in the Public service. This policy is of particular interest as a research area as the policy has national application. The extent to which this policy takes into account and/or responds to international and regional commitments to gender equality will also be explored. The Department is an appointed policy ministry that is expected to establish norms and standards to ensure that the State machinery functions optimally and is meant to ensure that such norms and standards are adhered to.

The role of the Department is to implement interventions to maintain a compliant and functioning Public service; to promote an ethical public service through programmes, systems, frameworks and structures that detect, prevent and combat corruption; and is expected to contribute towards improved public administration in Africa and internationally through dialogue and sharing of best practices. Given the mandate of the Department, this study critically evaluated the Department's efforts through the analytical assessment of the following actors and systems at the Department:

1. The Diversity Management unit's efforts in the implementation of the Employment Equity Act by the Department into the operations of the South African public service;

2. The Diversity Management unit's efforts in the implementation of the 8-Point Principle Plan into the operations of the South African public service; and

3. The Diversity Management unit's collaboration(s) with key role-players such as the NSG (which falls under the Department) NGM, CGE, Women's Ministry and key civil society organisations selected for this study.

In order to answer the researcher's research question, an extensive literature survey as discussed in Chapter Three, on WID and GAD and the evolution of this in the Department was drawn upon. A case study analysis of official Department documents such as policies, Statements and reports on mainstreaming women and gender was completed. Qualitative interviews with appropriate Department and project partner (NSG) staff; former commissioners at the CGE; and key staff at Gender Links were interviewed for the study.

As explained in Chapter Four, Johansson (2003:2) claims that the case study is a meta-method, combining several research methods. If a case may be purposefully selected in virtue of being, for instance, information-rich, critical, revelatory, unique, or extreme (as opposed to cases selected within a representational sample strategy used in correlational research) (Stake 1995, Patton 1990). If a case is purposefully selected, then there is an interest in generalising the findings. The case study method was therefore pertinent to the study as the research presents an in-depth understanding of the Department and its commitment to the goal of gender equality through an analysis of the GM and 8-Point Principle Plan projects respectively; as well as its relationship to key role-players outside of the public service.

In framing the study, the historical overview of the South African NGM was explained at length in Chapter Six with the view to outline the key role-players in the gender landscape. The identified key role-players, as relates to the case of the Department were the NGM; the CGE; the DoW; the National School of Government; the South African Women's Movement and the NGO sector. These role-players were explored in the study with reference to the major factors influencing the mainstreaming of gender namely; the role of political will; the role of resources; and the role of an enabling environment in the context of the operational projects identified at the Department. These operational projects had a strategic focus with the GM Project focusing on capacity building and the 8-Point Principle Plan focusing on political buy-in and operationalising at the highest administrative level in a Department.

The Department as the overseeing policy Ministry has the mandate to influence the rollout of policy through operationalising projects and providing relevant support. The Diversity Management Unit is responsible for the rollout of the 8-Point Principle Plan and delivered the First Inaugural Gender Indaba to launch this project in 2008. Evidence suggests the progress in the implementation has been slow with poor uptake from Departments resulting in the Diversity Management Unit being overburdened with support interventions to

Departments. Many problems have been cited by scholars in Chapters Seven to Nine, however most notably is the link to under-capacitation of GFPs based in departments to enable the mainstreaming of gender. To this end, the NSG was tasked with the development and rollout of the GM Project to ensure minimum capacity creation in departments using donor funds.

The role of political will, as highlighted in Chapter Six, is a critical success factor in the rollout of the GM Project and the 8-Point Principle Plan. Smigoc (2015:8) claims that "Majority of contemporary authors observe political will through the prism of functioning of political systems and public policies and through the analysis of institutional mechanisms and their human potential to implement political will." For the purposes of this study, political will is defined upon Smigoc's prism of functioning of political systems and public policies. However, there is some interplay between political will and political behaviour. As explained in Chapter Four, the 8-Point Principle Plan was developed as an initiative by the Department to enforce mainstreaming at departmental level by placing these principles squarely as the responsibility of the Head of Department. Initially, as has been reported in the Department GM Report (2013) it is noted that the Department was receiving poor reporting on the 8-Point Principle Plan in the years preceding and during the initial stages of the GM Project. The Department instituted a formal compliance measure for departments in this regard, known as the Senior Management Service Roundtable or "SMS Roundtable for Women" operating since 2014 in all departments at provincial and national level. The SMS Roundtable for Women is an annual forum hosted for all women at senior management in which the Director-General and/or Head of Department interrogates the 8-Point Principle Plan. (Department GM Report, 2013).

The researcher's own experience of this forum, as alluded to in Chapter Five, is that the SMS Roundtable is convened as a compliance measure during South Africa's Women's Month in order to reflect activities undertaken during the month. In order to elevate this exercise from merely compliance into a meaningful contribution, operational projects and criteria for the mainstreaming of gender must be developed and implemented. This opinion is reiterated through the interview processes undertaken for this study. "The department remains largely patriarchal in practices such as meeting chairing and elevation of projects. The GM Project, although internationally renowned, receives very little recognition internally" (Interview with project staff, November 2017).

The evidence has emerged in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight analysing the role of political will, resourcing and an enabling environment on the rollout of GM as a strategy for gender equality. The overall conclusion is that political will features as the major factor in the rollout

of GM for gender equality given the bureaucratic structures put in place by the South African State to institute GM as a strategy for gender equality. Interviewees have indicated as such and reiterated each other's testimonies by identifying political will as the main factor in the availing of resources and the creation of an enabling environment.

Political will, therefore, has emerged as the most important factor in this study in the pursuit of gender equality in the State. Other studies, as has been discussed earlier and in cases of other developing nations, show that factors such as skills gaps and resource availability are key stumbling blocks. The Department experience in South Africa, however, shows that even with these aspects of resource availability through the GM Project and various interventions for raising awareness of the 8- Point Principle Plan the major factor that enables the successful mainstreaming of gender is in fact, political will. Without this overriding element, initiatives that are funded and provided with adequate staff are still ineffective as political will is the major factor that drives the effectiveness of projects such as the 8-Point Principle Plan and the GM Projects.

The role of political will is also acknowledged by external actors to the Department, notably the DoW whose main portfolio is focused on gender equality in State administration. The DoW was reconfigured in 2015/2016 to fall under the Presidency and the previously associated roles for children and persons with disabilities were subsumed under the DSD. Notably, the Annual Report (2015/2016:24) States: "The location of the DoW in the Presidency reflects the political will to accelerate socio-economic transformation for women's empowerment and the advancement of gender equality." The DoW understands the value of political will. Its location in what is perceived to be the most important Ministry will essentially assist in the promotion of the work of the Ministry. The importance of political will at an operational level is also emphasised in interviews with GM Project staff. In the interviewee's response she noted that the main obstacle in her opinion, facing the public service in the rollout of gender equality measures is: "The resistance to change by officials, and the politics that exist in government." This testimony further reiterates the emphasis on the role of political will in the fulfilment of gender equality as a goal and points to the need for political will to be driven both internally and externally. These experiences as discussed in earlier in this Chapter are inextricably linked with the availing of resources and the creation of an enabling environment.

The ultimate factor that enables the mainstreaming of gender through the rollout of gender projects is in fact political will. This factor can enable and constrain gender project implementation in the State. The State actors both within and external to the Department are responsible for the mainstreaming of gender. These role-players currently have a confusion

over their mandate. In order to address this a forum must be called to address the overlapping mandates and iron out the current crisis with the NGM of which the Department is a key member. Mandates are in a State of disrepute with many of the actors viewing each other with distrust. Human and financial resources are needed in order to facilitate the effective implementation of gender projects at the Department. The additional factors of the development of an enabling environment and the allocation of resources is greatly influenced by the political will of internal and external actors.

For the Department to be successful in its mainstreaming initiatives political will must be revived for the implementation of the National Policy Framework for Women Empowerment and Gender Equality. In answering the key research question: “What are the factors that enable and/or constrain the implementation of gender equality in countries that have formally committed to this goal?”, the study concludes that political will is essentially the key driver in public service policy implementation at the Department in the area of gender equality and circumvents the bureaucratic structures put in place by the State to ensure gender equality. By considering the implementation of the suggestions put forward in this concluding Chapter, the Department will assist in realising the meaningful mainstreaming of gender into its operations. These initiatives and considerations will assist in ensuring that gender equality moves beyond compliance measures in the South African public service and takes the next step towards instituting political will both internally and externally to effect transformation and realise the ultimate goal of gender equality.

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ANNEXURE A

Interview: Dr Munira (Bunny) Subedar

Director: Governance

17 December 2017

1. How long have you been Director for Governance programmes?
   2 years

2. How was the Gender Mainstreaming Project initiated?
   A call for proposals was issued by the CIDA in late 2005. I drafted a proposal and initiated the processes to access funding. The proposal was approved with funding in 2006. However, the approval of funding did not mark the beginning of Gender Mainstreaming Projects at the then South African Management and Development Institute (SAMDI). A Gender Awareness Course along with other courses addressing what was deemed "marginalised" issues such as HIV/AIDS was also being rolled out by SAMDI. With the allocation of funding, a project around the development of an accredited GM course was initiated in response to the prioritisation of this programme by the Ministry for Public Service and Administration and the then OSW which resided with the Presidency at the time.

3. What are the objectives of the project?
   The aim of the project was to create minimum capacity in Departments for officials who were responsible for the mainstreaming of gender. This project by and large focused on upskilling GFPs and those who were working in "Gender Desks". The programme was also aimed at providing minimum capacity at a senior management level to ensure that mainstreaming initiatives would also be led from the top.

4. What role if any does the Department play in the fulfilment of the objectives of the project?
   The Public Services SETA, under the Ministry approved the programme and provided the course with an accredited status. Notably, the Ministry provided a formal launch of the programme at the First Inaugural Gender Indaba in 2008. At this point, the materials had been developed and trainers had been trained to deliver the programme however the programme was not publicised.

5. What capacity did the project have in order to fulfil its functions?

The Gender Mainstreaming Project was allocated 3.84 million Canadian dollars between 2006 and 2012. These funds were allocated through the Department of National Treasury to the National School of Government and ring-fenced for the implementation of the Gender Mainstreaming Project. The budget allocation was used to pay for the appointment of a Project Team. The Project team was made up of a Project Manager at R632 000, a Manager R380 000 and 2 Administrators (using a labour broker firm at approximately R150 000 per Administrator. The total wage bill per annum was R1,161, 000 000. Funds allocated to the development of the training programme was estimated at R2.3 million. The latter was developed over a period of 3 years and involved in the allocation of funds for actual course write up, training of trainers, piloting, accreditation, revision, national and international peer review. The balance of funding was allocated to the rollout of the training programme which included the procurement of venues, catering, payment to trainers and printing services. the human resources allocated to the unit did not remain consistent during the implementation of the project. The Manager for GM who was initially on contract was absorbed by the National School of Government as a Deputy-Director under the branch Curriculum Design. Given that the branch allocation was the same, an informal arrangement was made in which the former manager would continue responsibilities for the Gender Mainstreaming Project even though this post was paid from a different budget. In 2009, the Project Manager was re-allocated to the International Relations Branch though she was still paid from the Gender Mainstreaming Project funds and thus created a gap for overall Project Management. The latter was due to a breakdown in the relationship between the Project Manager and the Director: Curriculum Design. In addition, a consultant was appointed in 2009 to manage the Virtual Discussion Forum with an annual salary of R860 000, the contract for this consultant was terminated in 2009. The latter was approved by the CIDA. The project was moved to the International Relations branch in 2009 and then subsequently moved back to the Curriculum Design branch in the same year due to internal arrangements. Two administrators were also allocated on the National School of Government's budget therefore allowing for the remaining budget to be dedicated to the rollout of the training course, with no funds allocated to salaries. The fluid nature of the administrative arrangements within the Department had a major impact on the rollout of the project. The relationships between the project staff

members broke down and eventually necessitated the dissolution of the team in 2010 with the new structure proposed by the then Director-General, Professor Molo. The new structure saw the “Manager” of the Gender Mainstreaming Project being moved to the Induction team and an Induction Manager being deployed to fulfil the management of the Gender Mainstreaming Project. The latter is detailed in the NSG Annual Report, 2010/2011. I was also allocated to a new portfolio, Director: Good Governance. The project however remained under the Director: Good Governance. The new manager allocated to the Gender Mainstreaming Project however was subsequently moved back to the Induction team in 2011 thus leaving two administrators and the Director: Good Governance to roll out the project. In 2013, the Director: Good Governance allocated an Assistant Director on a permanent basis, this post was also paid from the National School of Government’s budget.

6. What evidence (if any) can you share with me regarding the successful implementation of the project?
   5034 Officials have been trained. Several Departments have been successful in the implementation of gender initiatives for example, the Department of Correctional Services. The initiatives brought about, is the direct result of officials being able to develop a Gender Action Plan, a key output of the course. These successes are however also dependent on other variables and cannot only be attributed to the successful rollout of the GM training.

7. What in your opinion are the obstacles to the rollout of the project?
   At present Departments face financial constraints and poor buy in from political principals. The programme is not promoted and the onus is therefore left on the project team to undertake marketing. Given the funded nature of the project, the marketing of the course was undertaken with a non-revenue generating focus. Participants on the course were allowed to attend the course for free and were only responsible for their travel and accommodation. Notably, the Gender Mainstreaming Project had to allocate a significant amount of the budget to the procurement of materials as at the time of rollout, there was no proper printing system to respond to the amount needed. The latter was undertaken on a 3 quote system in line with the procurement processes within the state. In addition, promotional bags were procured that was paired with the training materials and given to participants. These were also procured in the absence of specific branded marketing materials from the National School of Government.

8. What in your opinion are the obstacles to attendees of the programme?
   Attendees of the programme face the same barriers that we do at the now, National School of Government. Poor leadership for the prioritisation of GM means that initiatives to address gender equality are poorly supported by both senior managers and those at lower levels. Those who are responsible for mainstreaming gender often have additional portfolios to attend to and therefore have competing priorities and little access to financial and human resources.

9. If possible, could you share with me any stand out cases of successful mainstreaming in the public service that you are aware of? What factors do you think enabled this success?

   Rollout of Gender in Gauteng were 2000 officials were trained. This was an initiative taken by the mayor during that time. Given the political clout behind this case, the programme managed to go beyond reaching minimum capacity and was delivered to a wider audience. The success of this case lies in the fact that GM was identified as everyone's responsibility and not only that of the gender focal point or those working with portfolios addressing marginalised issues.

10. What in your opinion is the role of the NGM and the Commission for Gender Equality in mainstreaming gender equality in the public service? Have these two institutions assisted you or your organisation in any way in the achievement of your project goals?
    No formal interactions were undertaken with civil society except in the development of the GM Unit standard. The Unit Standard was published in the *Government Gazette* with input invited from all sectors. Formal participation in the rollout of the project has been absent. Civil society relations with the Department are very limited. I am uncertain if other units have much formal interaction. A recent call for interest in working with the NSG has been undertaken, allowing individuals and companies to apply to formally work with the NSG, the response to this was mainly from private companies and individuals. With less than 2% from the civil society sector. The Commission for Gender Equality was consulted in the development of the materials but no input was formally received. After the launch of the programme at the First Inaugural Gender Indaba, uptake for the programme gained momentum however the NGM did not punt this programme as much as they could have which was a pity given that this should have been driven from the Office of the Status of Women. As

mentioned earlier, the marketing and buy-in for the programme was largely driven by myself through marketing initiatives developed by myself and my team at the time.

Interview: Mrs P Matsapola

Assistant Director: Governance programmes

3 January 2018

1. How long have you been Director for Governance programmes?
   2 years

2. How was the Gender Mainstreaming Project initiated?
   The CIDA funded the rollout of the project.

3. What are the objectives of the project?
   Mainstreaming gender will improve their knowledge, skills, values and attributes to develop and implement policies and programmes that foster the achievement of gender equality, non-discrimination and tolerance.

4. What role if any does the Department play in the fulfilment of the objectives of the project?
   The Department does not formally support the work of the project. Besides promoting the programme at the official launch in 2008, there has been no further public political buy-in for the project. To ensure the rollout, the project largely relies on the staff of the National School of Government.

5. Who does the project target and how is this selection related to implementation?
   Managers, programme leaders/directors and project officers in organisations (public, private and civil society)

6. What evidence (if any) can you share with me regarding the successful implementation of the project?
   5 034 officials have been trained.

7. What in your opinion are the obstacles to the rollout of the project?
   At present is the financial constrains that government departments are facing. The funding has since ended and departments can no longer afford to attend the programme.

8. What in your opinion are the obstacles to mainstreaming gender with attendees in the public service based on the portfolios of evidence received?
   The resistance to change by officials in Departments and the politics that exists in government.

9. If possible, could you share with me any stand out cases of successful mainstreaming in the public service that you are aware of? What factors do you think enabled this success?

   Rollout of Gender in Gauteng were 2000 officials were trained, it was an initiative taken by the mayor during that time

10. What in your opinion is the role of the NGM and the Commission for Gender Equality in mainstreaming gender equality in the public service? Have these two institutions assisted you or your organisation in any way in the achievement of your project goals?
    In the 2 years I have been with the project, I have not had any interactions with either body. My sense is that they should push the gender agenda by supporting the work of the projects at the Ministry for Public service and Administration.

Interview Questionnaire: Prof A Gouws

Former CGE Commissioner

25 January 2018

1. What is your understanding of the role of the Department (Department) in assisting the South African public service to mainstream gender?

   The problem with the GM in South Africa is that officials have no experience and training, gender desks are ineffectual. It is very difficult for young women to go to the Director-General as often these positions are at a low level. Commitment must come from the top.

   Departments are restructured on a regular basis, people move and are promoted. This means the loss of historical knowledge. Not having a training in gender analysis results in the fact that there is an understanding that anyone can do it. People do not understand the feminist approach to policy. Equality becomes about numbers, people are not understanding the implications of policy for men and women. The lack of training also leads to a lack of understanding gender budgeting. All policies have to be costed. This was going strong under the first 5 years under Mandela, then fizzled out.

   In terms of the theory of GM, there was a plan for this to emanate from the previous Office on the Status of Women. The responsibility is metered out to widely and invariably no one took responsibility. Incompetence in the Ministry for Women now results in no champion of GM in government. In my experience there was only one formal programme at Khrom Rhee, most people were being reverted to Stellenbosch for training on gender.

   Department should organise and implement training just as any other public training. They do not seem to be driving the gender training programme, if it still exists.

2. Are you aware of any initiatives being undertaken by the Department in the achievement of gender equality?
I am unaware of any initiatives being undertaken by the Department barring the course being offered by the NSG.

3. As an expert in this field, what do you think are the major obstacles to gender equality in the South African public service?
As mentioned earlier, the lack of accountability and skills gap are major obstacles to GM.

4. What input has the Department made to your work in the achievement of gender equality in the South African public service?
National, provincial and local government commitments abound in terms of policy however there is a major failure at local government level. For example, in the Western Cape, a lot has happened at the provincial and metro level. Many champions had plans and projects until the change of administration. When Hellen Zille took over and these projects fizzled out. Gender desks should be in the Premiere's offices in order to gain momentum for GM initiatives.

5. How do you understand the role of the Commission for Gender (CGE) equality in the fulfilment of gender equality in the State and has the CGE assisted you or your organisation in the achievement of gender equality?

   As a former Commissioner, there is big problem in how the Act was written. The CGE is accountable to Parliament but have oversight of government. Any interaction with civil society was dismissed in favour of Parliament. Public hearings were held on gender discrimination and such issues with private and public sector, the problem with the departments. The CGE has no "teeth" when a department does not want to implement. It may have the power to issue fines but falls flat when it came to implementation. One of the four pillars to their mandate is to build the CGE. A lot of energies went into this and making policies on dealing with the organisation than a focus on the projects.

6. How do you understand the role of the NGM in the achievement of gender equality in the State and has the NGM assisted you or your organisation in the achievement of gender equality?
No idea as to the status of this. It is led by an ineffectual Ministry. This was closed by President Zuma.

7. What factors do you think are necessary for gender equality to be advanced in the South African State?

The biggest problem is that it is captured by the ANC's Women's League. Most of the Commissioners were from this organisation. The Women's League did not have a feminist outlook. Supporting Zuma with the "Hands off our President" campaign speaks volumes. In the first 5 years of democracy committed feminists got a lot of legislation passed. Those women left after 5 years because it became politicized. Points of entry into the state are few. The lack of an NGM means that we need new entry points and to start from scratch. GM is also about looking at critical mass, 50% of women in Parliament is not working as critical individuals are not there. In the run up to the ANC conference, no campaigns were run on gender equality but a clamour for just a woman. There is a lack of understanding of a feminist perspective.

Interview: Angela Montana

Gender Focal Point: Department of Public Service and Administration

12 December 2017

1. How long have you been the Gender Focal Point at the NSG?
   I have been a GFP for 3 years.
2. How are gender equality projects initiated at your Department?
   The projects that are initiated are informed by the activities as outlined in the department's Gender Equality Strategic Framework (GESF). The Department provides a template for the Framework; the Framework has key activities that must be implemented by different departments and as a department, we only select areas that are applicable or relevant to our context.
3. What are the objectives of the projects?
   I have provided the 2017 GESF Plan which captures the objectives of the project.
4. What role if any does the Department play in the fulfillment of the objectives of the projects?
   The Department provides a supportive role to departments in the implementation of programmes as well as ensuring that departments comply with reporting requirements.
5. What evidence (if any) can you share with me regarding the successful implementation of the gender equality projects?
   I have provided the 2016/17 GESF report which captures the work that we have done in the area of gender.
6. What in your opinion are the obstacles to the rollout of the gender equality projects at your Department?
   The biggest challenge is resources; both human and financial. Gender programmes are the last to receive activity-specific budgets because they are usually incorporated in the general HR budget. Even then, when there are budget cuts, gender projects are the first to go. In terms of human resources, there needs to be an office dedicated to gender activities. Unfortunately, that rarely happens and departments would include this and other special projects in the work agreement of one individual. As a GFP, my work also includes being a Disability Focal Point, Youth Focal Point, Change and Employee Wellness manager. I have one administrator, and between the two of us, we are able to perform enough functions to be able to submit good reports. The problem is that we are not doing as well as we potentially could because we have fingers in too many pies.

7. What in your opinion are the obstacles to mainstreaming gender?
   The biggest obstacle is management. Until such a time that the management of a department recognizes GM as key, we will not be able to make as good a progress as we should. Despite having implemented GM training in departments over the years, there are managers who still regard GM as a 'nice to have' issue. GM should be one of the key projects within departments and should be reflected in departments' Strategic and Annual Performance Plans but it is not yet happening. The primary focus in departments is the achievement of EE targets. GM is much more than numbers.
8. What obstacles do you face as a gender focal point in fulfilling your portfolio?
   Please refer to 6 and 7 above.
9. What in your opinion is the role of the National Gender Machinery and the Commission for Gender Equality in mainstreaming gender equality in your Department? Have these two institutions assisted you or your organization in any way in the achievement of your project goals?
   These 2 structures are intended to support and complement the work of GFPs in departments. Departments however, not utilizing these 2 institutions. It could be because GM is not key in departments or because there is not enough capacity to engage with the institutions. From our side specifically, we have not utilised them because we are barely scarping the surface due to work overload.
10. What in your opinion is needed to overcome the obstacles facing gender equality in your Department?
    In my view, one of 2 things need to happen; ie, either change the Gender Focal Point to be someone on senior management level remove the layers between this individual and the Head of Department.

Ms Rhulani Mkhubela

Former Chief Director: Diversity Management Unit

16 December 2017

1. How long were you Chief Director at the Diversity Management Unit at Department?
   2 years and 9 months. I was appointed in March 2007 and moved on to a different unit within the Department 1 Jan 2010.

2. How were Gender Mainstreaming Projects initiated in your portfolio in the Diversity Management Unit?
   From a policy point of view, the Department advocated that GM happens in departments. The Department developed the gender equality strategic framework for the public service. This framework emanated from the Diversity Management unit and was based on cabinet expressions. At the time of formulation, 30 percent of women were represented at senior management level. The Department aimed to fast track gender equality in the senior leadership. I also recall that the Portfolio Committee on the status of women also expressed the need for this transformation.

3. What were the objectives of these projects?
   The main objective of the projects emanating from the unit was to standardise the gender balance in departments in accordance with cabinet pronouncements.

4. Can you briefly describe the factors that you think enable gender to be mainstreamed at the Department?
   The Minister at the time, Honourable Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was the driver of this (gender) agenda. Her openness to champion the gender work assisted in making the gender initiatives happen. The former Minister would discuss this with the cabinet colleagues and hence create buy-in at a very senior level. This meant that at cabinet level GM was discussed. In terms of resources, funding was not made available; human resources were not readily availed either, the Diversity Management Unit was expected to make this happen on our own. The political buy-in however made it easier to rollout projects through the Diversity

Management unit and the then, PALAMA through the Gender Mainstreaming Project. Currently, due to what I feel is competing priorities, GM is now shelved.

5. What role (if any) do you think the Department has played or can play, in the mainstreaming of gender equality in the public service?
The 8 point principle plan emanated from the strategic framework, the Department rolled this out through enforcing reporting. This was reinforced through conscientising departments through the rollout of advocacy workshops and then monitoring thereof through reports from departments. Here the Department is looking at challenges and an analysis of departments challenges. This effort is ongoing until now, the unit supports the departments.

Critical involvement by the former PALAMA, now NSG, in the imparting skills is very important in creating a common understanding of GM in the public service. The main challenge experienced (in my opinion) was the accredited status of the programme; this created a barrier for some learners. People are reluctant to submit a portfolio. An informal strategy could go a long way in addressing this, in making the course more accessible. The course could be reframed to target different groups such as the Gender Focal Points separate to those working outside of this space.

6. What in your opinion is the role of the National Gender Machinery (NGM) in assisting departments to mainstream gender?
The status of the National Gender Machinery (NGM) is unknown at this time. The agreement was that the Department spearheads the implementation, the NGM would be responsible for looking broader throughout the country beyond just the public service. The Department took into consideration issues raised in the NGM, however they (the NGM) are required to set the tone for GM in all sectors.

7. What in your opinion is the role of the Commission for Gender Equality in assisting departments to mainstream gender?
The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) is like the public protector in the gender space. They must protect the rights of women in the workplace. Their focus must be in all sectors but they could be the watchdog for GM in the public service for example requesting reports on gender programmes, achievements, challenges, looking at offenders for sexual harassment/ areas of concern that need to be flagged in the public service. The CGE could play a more direct role

in an evaluation role in producing knowledge, impact studies and advising departments on trends emerging from the evaluation reports. This could assist the Department in policy revision for implementation.

8. What do you suggest can be amended in the current Diversity Management Unit to enable the successful mainstreaming of gender equality in the Public Service? Political will is awkward to address, the talk does not necessarily translate to change. There is a male dominated cohort being appointed at a senior level, the Ministers must take into consideration the achievement of equity targets. Political will must be addressed in order to address the gender parity in senior appointments. The role of Cabinet must also be questioned for political will. When only males are recommended for appointment, there does not seem to be consideration of transformation. Have they thought about what the Women's Ministry is supposed to achieve, the Bill for gender equality is not publicised. There was an elevation of this office to a ministry, there does not seem to be political will to advance the Ministry. The difference between advocacy and implementation cannot be seen. All programmes must be gender mainstreamed in order to address this goal. Reforming the department (Women's Ministry) has not yielded any benefits. The push to establish the Ministry was more window dressing. What is currently being undertaken by the ministry is not different from how the former Office on the Status of Women used to operate. This indicates gaps between political will and implementation.