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Faculty of Humanities

School of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

"Institutionalism in International Policy Formation: the Implications for Gender Mainstreaming and Development in Rwanda and South Africa"

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Research Report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations in the School of Social Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Johannesburg, Monday, February 15, 2010

DECLARATION

I, Tiara Dungy do hereby declare, certify and affirm that the work presented in this research is my own, and that I have received no other assistance than the stated sources and citations. It is hereby presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of International Relations in the School of Social Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Tiara Dungy

Signed……

Date……...

ACKNWOLEGEMENTS

Thank you to my mom and dad for providing a solid foundation and the funding for my adventures in academia.

Thank you to Spelman College for providing me with a safe space to blossom.

Thank you to my handsome fiancée for inspiring me to always think bigger than most people dream.

DEDICATION

This is for Eric, Jordan, Jade, Justin, Jason, and any as yet to be named Dungy children: I dedicate this to you all. Accept it as a symbol of my humble attempt to convey the importance of appreciating and exploiting the exceptional opportunities we have all been afforded by virtue of having parents like ours. Always remember, you are entitled to as many mistakes as you can make up for with your positive contributions to the universe.

This is for Jamie: You are never more than a thought away. This is dedicated to your memory..

This for all the girl children: Go to Spelman College, it is the best preparation for an exceptional life. This is dedicated to all of your futures.

ABSTRACT

Gender mainstreaming is defined as "[the] efforts to scrutinize and reinvent processes of policy formulation and implementation across all issue areas to address and rectify persistent and emerging disparities between men and women (True 2001)". This explanation serves to highlight the dynamic nature of the concept while recognizing the eternal presence of the relational aspect of female/male interaction within society. What strand of institutionalism is employed in the diffusion of gender mainstreaming in the process of development at the various levels of implementation; what are the consequences of improperly conceived institutions as they apply to gender mainstreaming and development; what are the implications for the future institution construction; What if anything is hindering the progress of gender mainstreaming and development; How was relatively similar gender mainstreaming progress achieved by two countries with such different economic capacities? This paper will further consider the answers to these questions as supplied by international organizations, non-governmental organizations, as shown through their development initiatives in Rwanda and South Africa.

Gender mainstreaming is the innovative inclusion and dramatic reshaping of power hierarchies through the manipulation of both formal and informal institutions. This paper will reveal the importance of contextual considerations in the creation and reform of institutions in developing states, as they strive to adhere to international standards of gender inclusive development.

KEYWORDS: Beijing Platform for Action; Development; Gender Mainstreaming; Institutionalism; Institutions; Transformation; Rwanda; South Africa.

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ACRYONYMS

ATIC	AIDS Training and Information Center
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CUBP	Clinic Upgrading and Building Program
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
EC	European Commission
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
GAD	Gender and Development
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
GFP	Gender Focal Points
GMS	Gender Management System
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MTEF	Medium Term Expenditure Framework
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women Department of Economic and Social Affairs
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
PPP	Public Private Partnership
RDP	Reconciliation and Development Program
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
TDCA	Trade, Development and Cooperation Act
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda
UNCW	United Nations Conference on Women
UNDAF	United Nation Development Assistance Framework
UNDG	United Nations Development Group
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
US	United States of America
WBI	Women's Budget Initiative
WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

AIM

This paper will use a theoretical framework inspired by institutionalism to explore the components that serve as path stones to the eventual destination of total gender inclusive consideration in the developing world. The discovery of over arching themes that define the global response to gender issues in development as well as the illumination of contemporary concerns, especially in Africa will informs this exploration. This discussion of gender inclusive development policy will be examined through the lens of agendas belonging to international organizations, global forums, and development organizations with the implications being considered in detail through the progress towards the above goal by comparing Rwanda and South Africa. This will be an academic conversation that ventures from theory to contemporary issues of transformation in policy and common consciousness. There will then be an overview of successful components that will influence considerations for future planning and action.

This research was born from a curiosity about the progress of gender mainstreaming when a simply perusal of local newspapers will show that women are still disproportionately affected by the negative consequences of poverty, are victims of gender based violence and continue to remain a subjugated group. In the same newspaper there are articles outlining the newest accomplishments of empowered women. The question at the heart of this research is: have institutions gone far enough to effectively disseminate gender mainstreaming into the daily experiences of women in Rwanda and South Africa? Using this question as a point of departure for the following body of research, a literary consideration of institutionalism and comparison of current policy to international standards will demonstrate that there are glaring shortcomings that persist amidst shining examples of progress. Barriers such as poorly implemented institutional initiatives, class warfare, predatory patriarchy and poverty are blocking the full realization of gender inclusivity in Rwanda and South Africa.

The ultimate goal is to give the reader a comprehensive explanation of major concepts related to gender mainstreaming, highlight milestones in the movement and allow for further thinking about gender inclusive development policy.

Women are considered to be a part of a traditionally disadvantaged group in both public and private sectors and have been systematically excluded from the construction of institutions that govern social behavior (Raj 1988). It has become more apparent that the importance of including their issues in the creation of systems and processes that will lead to social and economic development is paramount to the well being of all states (Raj 1988; USAID 2010; Eurturk 2004). I will explore the theoretical beginnings, the major topics, current debates, implications for public policy, and the future of ender mainstreaming in development policy.

The different foci of development initiatives sponsored by international organizations like the European Union and the United States Agency for International Development are similar in their ultimate mission to help to support successful regional development programs dedicated improving conditions in places like Rwanda and South Africa, but can be found to have divergent implicit agendas. These agencies generally consider their foci to be support for good governance and democracy, human rights, as well as economic development initiatives ("Joint Country Strategy Paper" 2007). They tend to recognize gender issues as a niche concern that could be more widely incorporated into all aspects of African development if it is as a result of democracy, transparent government, and protection of human rights ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009). The agenda of the United Nations is an example of a set of international standards that have been influenced by participation from individuals who will be affected by policy based on the standards, NGOs that support them, and governments that will be implementing policy collaborating to form a consensus based, widely accepted development agenda. Who/what informs the direction international organizations take when engaging with development initiatives in Rwanda and South Africa, as well as whether these agendas are serving to help or hinder the country's progress towards addressing the 12 Critical Areas of Concern as published in the Beijing Platform for Actions produced by the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women.

This is an important vein of inquiry because there is a swell of criticism gaining momentum that concerns that the validity of Western leadership in development initiatives globally (Jacoby 2005) and the possible exclusion of gender issues because of their historical place as 'special interest issues' in the global dialogue about development (Eurturk 2004).

The concern is that historically patriarchal, Eurocentric, and privileged[1] values do not always appropriately inform new policy to align with unique regional foci. Development as a modern concept is intrinsically centered on a specified set of core values that guide its trajectory. There can be a misalignment in interests (Jacoby 2005) due to the apparent destructively hegemonic current of value-laden historical foreign policy and how it overshadows the needs of groups found in the developing world[2]. So, the need for an examination of the nature of the mainstream foci of foreign bodies like the United States of America, the European Union, and the United Nations is needed.

RATIONALE

In the developing world the blinding pace of progress has provided a unique caveat to the promises of globalization for Africa. As the speed of economic and technological advances continues to intensify as it has for the last thirty years, the disparity in social power between women and men has grown exponentially (True 2001). Problems such as the social and economic disenfranchisement and the continued political exclusion of women are exacerbated by both informal and formal institutions. As found to be the case in many African states the legacy of European colonialism and the subsequent short term solution that took the form of poorly monitored foreign aid injected into economic systems that have historically ignored women (Moyo 2009; Dejene 2008); international organization inadvertently empowering patriarchal cultural practices; and the institutionalized gender insensitive social, cultural, economic and political norms. This will be further explored in the consideration of the institutional progress South Africa and Rwanda have made in gender considerate development.

Gender mainstreaming and development are analogous concepts that are too often separated by policy makers and the general public who, due to years of institutionalized inequality, have come to see gender mainstreaming as shortsighted (Purkarthofer 2006[3]) or as the sole issue to be championed above economic development (Eurturk 2004). The separation fosters a sense of misunderstanding where both sides are unable to accept that

[2] Jacoby (2005) speaks of Cultural Determinism implicit within the domestic values in some Western states that impact international relations.

[3] Purkarthofer (2006) considers the shortcomings of gender mainstreaming in post-conflict situations.

without one, the other will fail. The relational aspect of social interaction and the policy that it informs, in situations where entire populations are making the transition from subjugation to freedom and from a local to globalised consciousness, is exceedingly significant. This research arises from a swelling pool of critical opinions concerning the slow pace of development in Africa as a result of the continued reluctance to recognize 'women's issues' as ever-present components to each of development milestones (Mackay & Meier 2003). The segmented nature of this approach has hindered the pace of development and has left the process open to fatal shortcomings at the hands of mismanagement and incongruent implementation. The critical tide has risen against the antiquated segmentation by favoring a more holistic development process that considers the interests of those left out of the original processes and redraws the lines of institutional influence (Mackay & Meier 2003; Kalegaonkar 1997).

The consideration of gender mainstreaming and development should be continuously revisited. This has been achieved by the organized efforts of women and allies who are dedicated to the notion of total equity for women and the inclusion of men in that process (Eurturk 2004). This does not negate the realities of women's lives or their right to choose how they participate in equitable situations, but rather celebrates the tenacity of the institutionally supported architects of plans of action. A plan of action that encourages those concerned about the rights of women to actively participate in identifying problems and actively pursuing solutions (Hodgson 2002).

CASE SELECTION

The cases of Rwanda and South Africa have starting points of post-conflict development that seem incongruent.[4] On the surface they seem to be starkly different, but with deeper exploration one finds similarities in their respective histories that lead to the critical juncture in 1994 when there was a massive overhaul of formal institutions and a similar post –conflict institutional construction.

Rwanda and South Africa can be used legitimately as comparative case studies because:

[4] Rwanda has emerged from genocide, dissolution of institutions, and complete destruction of the economy. South Africa moving forward from a long term violent rule, ethnocentric infighting, but transfer and transformation of established institutions.

- Their critical juncture of institutional change (around 1994) was preceded by unique, but structurally similar forms colonialism, subsequent ethnocentric strife, and ethnic minority rule and that was punctuated by periods of exclusion from the global community.

- Rwanda and South Africa have both experienced a sudden mass repatriation of nationals after conflict officially ended in 1994, who had been forcibly and voluntarily exiled which led to complications in the post-conflict construction of global consensus orientated institutions.

- Both states have experienced unprecedented social and economic development in the last 15 years which has allowed for a modern gender mainstreaming agenda[5] to be implemented in ways that have not yet been successful in other African countries[6].

- Furthermore, they both enable a full exploration of the concept of gender mainstreaming because of their full acceptance into the international community after periods of alienation due to domestic conflict[7].

Since 1994 both states have explicitly engaged formal and informal institutions in their development guided by standards set forth by the United Nations. In these countries the already precarious power dynamic between men and women after significant moments of transition has been directly addressed by the government in tandem with gender mainstreaming in plans for sustainable development. This work is about transformation of institutions as it relates to special (but widely applicable) lessons from cases of African development and the dissemination of gender mainstreaming into each step of the process. These cases allow for a well-rounded discussion of the role that theoretical paradigm shifts, foreign international organizations, local non-governmental organizations, and social norms play in guiding development agendas.

Rwanda recently rose above development freezing civil unrest and genocide resulting in the relative dissolution of a highly centralized government (legitimate formal institution)

[5] Gendered language is found throughout the constitutions and both are considered as leaders in the field globally concerning gender equality.

[6] In terms of the aggressive legislation and public re socialization programs.

[7] Desmond Tutu (1999), with regards to South Africa.

and requiring the transformative rebuilding of a decentralized government while simultaneously influencing informal institutions to support the peaceful reconciliation of a fragmented population. South Africa's domestic unrest, which was largely politically motivated but ethnically influenced, was followed by massive change in institutions that remained in spite of conflict.

Rwanda's history of colonialism since the 1800's is punctuated with violence incited by foreigners causing the disruption of long established cooperation between resident ethnic groups who had a centralized society with largely similar practices. The Germans and Belgians used arbitrary physical distinctions[8] to separate resident groups by championing the newly defined Tutsi minority above all others[9], providing for elevated rights[10] in an effort to destabilize any alliances that may provide the infrastructure for an anti-colonialist uprising. Although the traditional social structure in Rwanda-Undi was hierarchical with the leadership being largely populated by Tutsi clan heads which formed a royal class, the distinctions between ordinary citizens belonging to the ethnic groups Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa did not struggle for power. Rather these groups had a symbiotic relationship that later served as the basis for a post-genocide[11] reconciliatory social structure.

The South African case has been selected because of the dramatic turn on gender issues that has been since the inception of a democratic government in 1994 compared to the policies of the previous government. The unique colonial settlement[12] and subsequent oppressive minority rule, lead to an environment that was hostile towards non-White[13] people

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[8] Similar to those employed by the colonists and settlers that became the foreign minority rule in South Africa.

[9] The author recognizes the pre-colonial social structure in the area, the ruling class being mostly of Tutsi decent. The "newly defined" Tutsi as created by the Germans and Belgians was based on physical characteristics and not on actual genetic relation, some Hutus became Tutsi or Twa, and vice versa (Uvin 1997)..

[10] Of course these were elevated rights among the original residents, the Germans and Belgians reserved full and superior rights for themselves (Uvin 1997).

[11] The author recognizes the occurrence of numerous genocide-like violent crusades against one ethnic group or another in Rwanda's history, but will use the term post-genocide to mean the era that followed the biggest, last, and the most influential act of ethnically informed mass killings that marked the immediate transformation of institutions in 1994.

[12] The presence of long term settled Dutch colonists, as well as the less permanently settled English, both white minorities that used classification and oppression of non-whites as a tool of domination (Worger 2003).

[13] "A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white – and not generally accepted as Coloured – or who is generally accepted as White – and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be

and women of all races and was accomplished by ethnic segregation based on imposed distinctions on provided by the ruling minority (Worger 2003)[14]. The institutional patriarchy was apparent in the Pass laws, which dictated who/how/if (one) was allowed to participate in formal society. Only (non-White) men we permitted to work in the urban centers, eliminating women of color from the formal economy and decision making processes (Treiman 2005). The Apartheid system was most concerned with the classification, separation, and subsequent class segmentation of the South African population (Treiman 2005). This facilitated a policy of exclusion that lead to the underdevelopment of formal institutions that serve the interests of the majority of the population leading to the slowing of formal social development in oppressed communities; thus, establishing a socio-economic barrier between women of different races that has lasted long after the formal segregationist policies were abandoned.

The pre-critical juncture policies of both countries efficiently enforced laws that institutionalized the: insufficient education of children; the splintering of the family unity, the confusion of ethnic identity; the dissolution of powerful social networks that crossed lines of (non-White) ethnicity; the liquidation of non-White trans-generational wealth and many other destructive policies (Treiman 2005).

Rwanda and South Africa provide examples of active gender mainstreaming paving the way for notable transformation by use of legislature and a change in institutions (Dejene 2008). I chose these particular cases because of their leadership and the fast pace of total gender mainstreaming policy; in the face of cultural barriers as well as for their being representative of very different national histories that have resulted in disparate levels of development, but substantially advanced gender policy. Their new policies reflect more cooperative and representative governments that are willing to serve the best interest of their people as well as engage in self-improvement practices. These countries were both in pursuit of international acceptance after having been cast out of the global community for many

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classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu..." (Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950 found in " Apartheid Era Laws: Population Registration Act no 30 of 1950")

[14] Although there have always been distinct ethnic groups in South Africa, the distinctions were not used as restrictive measures by original residents. The cultural distinctions were simplified and misused by the ruling European minority to incite mistrust which lead to the ethnic influence over politics and subsequent violence (Worger 2003).

years. While the starting point for these countries are developmentally miles apart[15], their commitment to gender mainstreaming and gains that have been made, show widely held paradigm shifts. Although there is little in way of direct comparison their differences provide the space for questions like: Why are challenges similar between states with disparate access to funding that supports gender inclusive initiatives (Dejene 2008)? This will lead to a discussion of possible consummate problems that will eternally be limitations to total diffusion of gender mainstreaming in developing situations. The illumination of common problems shared between countries with very different realities allows this research to be considered on a larger scale and will lead to conclusions that can be generally accepted.

METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE/LIMITATIONS

This research will be constructed by employing quantitative as well as qualitative methods of data collection. The goal of this project is to consider the institutional aspect of historical accounts, current data, as well as the greater body of academic work on the topics of gender mainstreaming and development in Rwanda and South Africa.

One consideration for this research that may serve as a point for reflection at a later date is the lack of original research. Due to time limitations, analysis of personally gathered data was not practical. This research depends on the accurate reporting of data from official sources[16], but is restricted by limited access to 'up to the minute'[17] data updates. While this particular research is a survey of agendas, theoretical concepts, and perceived progress; it should serve as a call to action for further research that incorporates new gender indices and grounded theory that better quantifies the effectiveness of large scale policy and general norm diffusion in the construction of individual consciousness.

This particular piece has the intent to move the discussion of the role of gender mainstreaming from publications to influence the conceptualization of development universally. There has been a great deal of care taken to include as much context as possible

[16] Such as the various branches of the United Nations, the governments of Rwanda and South Africa, monitoring agencies like Amnesty International, Women's Watch etc.

[17] Reports are often based on data gathered over a period of 10 years. This provides an idea of the likely progression and the impact of institutions, but leaves much to be desired as it applies to new trends in individual consciousness or generational interaction.

in an effort to produce the most accurate picture of gender mainstreaming and development. The aim is to inform and inspire action, while still maintaining the highest level of transparency and efficacy possible[18].

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

1. *Introduction:* Chapter one will outline the research as well as what motivated the undertaking of this specific project.

2. *Conceptual Context:* Chapter two will give a contextual outline of the concepts and considerations for the project.

3. *Theoretical Framework:* Chapter three is meant to give the reader a sense of the theoretical framework while placing this project in discussion with the larger body of academic work.

4. *Agendas and International Organizations:* Chapter four incorporates a discussion about the role of agendas in gender mainstreaming and development as well as the specific agendas of development wings of various international organizations.

5. *Current Gender Mainstreaming and Development: Progress of the implementation of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action in Rwanda and South Africa:* Chapter five is the presentation as well as exploration of the case studies Rwanda and South Africa; considering their approach towards dealing with contemporary GAD issues as identified in the Beijing Platform for Action.

6. *Conclusions:* Chapter six is where the conceptual contexts, successes, and failures are synthesized into a final analysis that will lead to a consideration for the future of gender mainstreaming and development as well as implications for change in public policy.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT

For the purposes of this research it is important that major concepts be understood and contextualized. These concepts will be used extensively throughout this piece and are directly tied to social and political histories that inform their use.

GENDERING THE CONVERSATION

Gender is understood to be "the social organization of presumed sexual differences and defines the roles and identities associated with femininity and masculinity and their entitlements" (Eurturk 2004:9). This definition begins the conversation of gender mainstreaming and development by expressing that there are in fact social constructs that have become institutionalized which dictate the way people behave. It is these expected behaviors that have shaped the social power hierarchies that have forced women into positions of lesser power, championing instead the power position of men. Where the power dynamic between women and men was initially enforced with violence (Eurturk 2004), as time progressed it became an unspoken part of social life where women were relegated to the home. In their public absence men created a male centered society that was hostile to women and reinforced private imbalances of power (Eurturk 2004).

This process is known patriarchy, and has been a great influence on the creation of formal and informal institutions (Guy-Sheftall 1995). Patriarchy became an institution by its own right acting as tool of socialization. This has allowed for lines between what are natural characteristics and what are socialized behaviors to become blurred (Guy-Sheftall 1995). Instead of natural abilities like that of child production being a sign of competence to handle other tasks women came to be seen as incapable of undertakings outside of the production and rearing of children. The problem endemic of conversations or discourses about women and their position within a society that is defined by men, the revealed influence oppressive social norms have over the way one experiences life (Lourde 1990).

While they are often used inter changeably, women's issues and gendered concerns both confront the issue of inequality[19], gendered concerns allows for responsibility to be shared by both women and men to reverse the damage caused by the institutionalization of patriarchy. Although widely diffused and internalized, patriarchy is still only a construction which can be deconstructed. It is when the value of the concerns of women is recognized to impact the "mainstream" concerns that change will happen.

[19] Based on gender.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING

What is mainstreaming? "[It is the] inter-related set of dominant ideas and development direction and the decisions or actions taken in accordance with those" (UNDP Gender Mainstreaming 2000). It is the whole consideration of ideas, the actions to be influenced by these ideas, and the movement these ideas are meant to inspire. In most cases the intended movement is meant to be outward in every direction, seeking total diffusion into previously untouched areas.

The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies are programs, in all areas ad at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (Independent Review on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006[20]).

The situations with which women are faced have historically been considered to be special interest issues. Seen this way, they were rarely if at all addressed and were relegated to issues of violence rather than civil participation, employment, or equality (Eurturk 2004). One of the concerns addressed at the 4th United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing was: how can women's issues are positioned within the context of foreign policy so that they are a part of the larger agenda? The answer came by combining the decidedly social gender relations as an issue that impacts more mainstream topics on the agenda. For instance they posited that "investing in female education [would] serve population control and child welfare goals, or the importance of women's participation in community organizations to improve service provision and assist anti-poverty efforts" (Baden and Goetz 1997:8). The burden of inclusion truly belongs with the historically exclusionary group; in this case the mainstream United Nations agenda had a broad scope and was able to accommodate a new perspective that re informs the consideration of other concerns. If we consider the twelve

[20] Quoted from UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Agreed Conclusions 1997/2

critical points of concern officially recognized[21] the Beijing conference, each is tied to an issue that is already on the larger UN General Assembly agenda (U.N. 2009).

Baden and Goetz (1997) however disagree with this practice due to the possibility that the relationships between women and larger issues are dynamic with frequent changes and it repositions the focus once again away from women. They refer them as "instrumental arguments" and contend that is places women in the position as a tool to be used instead of the principle concern (Baden and Goetz 1997). It is important to bear in mind that gender mainstreaming is a combination of conceptual institutions and the action of purposeful inclusion into a wider discussion of conceptual institutions. This even distribution helps to champion equality by engaging all parties with the process.

AGENCY

The conscious employment of decision making power as employed in an individual's life is called agency. It is assumed that those given the right and freedom to be agents of change have the best interest of the most people in mind while making decisions, the world has seen that without the equitable representation of those who will be most impacted by the decisions made there is little hope for a positive outcome. "A developmental perspective based on male priorities and male concept of women in a patriarchal society such as ours cannot ameliorate the lot of women, already inhibited by traditional gender-role expectations" ("Women's Participations in Decision-Making" 1991). Women provide a unique voice because they have for so long been relegated to the periphery of public life. Without women's voices being heard within the policy making bodies it is unrealistic to think their concerns would be never be seriously considered. The United Nations Conferences on Women provide numerous examples of what can be accomplished when attention and resources are dedicated to reshaping the consideration of universal problems. The personal investment quotient is quite high for the people involved in these conferences, allowing for the cooperation of NGOs, IOs and government officials that secured the remarkable transformation of the gender policy platform (Eurturk 2004).

Another result of the conferences was that women's issues were placed at the center of the discussion and the relationship between women and men was finally addressed.

[21] Comprised of more specific agendas as submitted by a number of regional meetings that sought to incorporate their own contextual and precise concerns, this will be addressed with a summary of the 5th Regional Conference on Women in Dakar, Senegal.

Women were able to view there relations with men and the world in general from a position of power, reframing their consideration of development. As newly acknowledged agents of change, women from developing nations also found a voice that had been silenced by many layers of social oppression[22]. Where women from developed countries[23] have the freedom to exercise individualism due to their access to income and infrastructure, women in the developing context must be mindful of their relation to the rest of their reality (Hill-Collins 1984). This includes men, children, extended family and community. Concerns like survival were rarely considered by women who were privileged with access to decision making bodies and monetary tools, where a woman without even basic necessities will have to focus on more than social validation (Hill-Collins 1984; hooks 1984). They represent the best examples of how cooperation between formal and informal institutions as well as the facilitation of communication across [personal] experiences can most affect change on a grand scale.

DEVELOPMENT: WOMEN, THIRD WORLD

One of the key concepts of this research will be development as the systematic and continuous improvement of a state's popular, economic, political and social conditions (Robinson 2002). Furthermore, there must be a conscious effort made to allow development to be defined by the people that participate in the most basic executions of policy. The economic and social development of a state is contingent on the successful internalization sustainable implementation of policy and new standards of holistic change. The process has historically[24] been driven by developed countries that set the standards for development This established a strange situation in which development goals became unrealistic and encouraged the establishment of a foreign assistance debt model that continues to hinder development in many parts of Africa (Moyo 2009).

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[22] See Beverly Guy-Sheftall (1995) "The Evolution of Feminist Consciousness among African American Women"; Patricia Hill-Collins (1989) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment;* and Audre Lourde's (1984) "Age, race, Class, and Sex: women redefining difference" for definitive explanations of the complexly layered social construction of the position of women of color.

[23] This is referring mostly to women of European decent that were victims of the damaging effects of patriarchy but did not have the added experience of racism and to a lesser extent classism (Lourde 1984; Hill-Collins 1989; hooks 1984).

[24] The author would like to clarify: there is recognition that modern development can in many ways be seen as redevelopment of societies/institutions that were purposefully deconstructed for the purposes of exploitation at the hands of European colonizers (Cesaire 1955).

At this pivotal moment in history as the world emerges from the 20th century having learned lessons from colonialism and moves toward a more mutually respectful global community, it is critical International Relations policy is reflective of thoughtful inclusion of all affected parties, with special attention paid to the equitable distribution of responsibility for successful implementation (Robinson 2002). Poor nations[25] are only considered as such because they are considered comparatively with how successful/wealthy nations identify themselves. Development is largely about the relationship between the center and periphery of the global community and the transitional nature of wealth and power (Robinson 2002). Historically riches have been moved across vast amounts of land and ocean via the vehicle of conquest, natural phenomena, and even the redefinition of what constitutes valuable material.

Understanding the history of Third World societies requires the fundamental recognition of their incorporation and survival into a global capitalist system of material and social relations in which the subordination of women has always been ideologically conceived as an integral part of the natural order and perpetuated by cultural praxis, religion, education, and other social institutions. It also entails drawing on the continuities of power relations rooted and molded in the era of European colonial expansion and examining the set of socioeconomic and political practices that the dominant nations developed for their acquired overseas colonies almost 500 years ago (Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990: 300). The widely accepted understanding of the First, Second, and Third World classifications are a direct result of the wealth accumulated by European domination of the rest of the world, and self identified as successful. The classification of the Worlds is a product of Euro-centrism that sought to establish an official hierarchy that could be propagated without much effort.

Acosta-Belen and Bose consider the subjugation of women[26] as "the imposition of European patriarchal relationships presupposed the universal subordination of women in many instances deprived native women of property and personal autonomy and restricted the productive function and any public roles they might have played prior to colonization" (1990: 306). Framing conversations about development with an implied power hierarchy produces an implicit internalization of conceivably unfair power structures (Hill-Collins 1984; hooks 1984 Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990).

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[25] Also referred to as Less Developed Countries, Third World countries, and Developing States.

[26] Globally

Archanas Kalegaonkar (1997) suggests that "the reality of poor women's lives points strongly in the direction of a preoccupation with immediate rather than strategic concerns". Although, it is true poor women have different (Hill-Collins 1989) foci, which is more development concerned and it is seen by outsiders as "short term/immediate", from the inside it is clear to see that their mission is simply more representative of their experiences. While the Western incarnation of Feminism aims to champion women as equitably capable to men and focuses on the banishment of traditional roles, Trinh Minh-ha explains in the 1987 work "Difference, Identity, and Racism" that women outside of the developed world see their path to inclusion as not only winding through their existing position as women, but also as a life line for their entire community pulling the entirety to a better position (Minh- ha 1987). In this way we see that the "immediate/short term" goal of supporting women's access to water wells, the implementation of sustainable farms, or improvements to health care are more strategic than they are given credit for. The dismissal of such concerns as outside of strategic planning further highlights the importance of simultaneously considering gender mainstreaming and development.

DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

The most prominent feature of international organizations' agendas in African development is their highly prioritized support for the proliferation of democracy and good governance. These concepts, however, can be a difficult place for international organizations to begin development work because of the complicated history of foreign instituted African-run democracies[27], there are historical problems with the idea of western democracy in Africa.

Risking inducing a sense of cultural determinism, the United States is engaged with the democracy issue as an example and financier. In his article "The Unique Case of African Democracy" (2003) Clarke Ake discusses the importance of "democracy as a large and amorphous concept is related to (but not always a precursor to/function of) increased consideration for human rights, global integration, economic stability, and encouragement for Western financial involvement" (Ake 1993:2). He goes on to say: "The democracy movement in Africa is a powerful, objective, historical force in that it expresses the desire of ordinary people to gain power and material improvement" (Ake 1993:3). The distinct

[27] i.e. Rwanda and South Africa

reference to African and Western incarnations of democracy reveals the significance that freedom to choose a government that is beholden to domestic values and institutions means to the individual. This is especially important in post-colonial Africa where a history of puppet democracies and unrepresentative governments are a reality.

It is imperative that good governance be discussed within the conversation of gender mainstreaming and development, as it is a pillar of all international governmental development initiatives[28]. The eight "major characteristics" of good governance are:

Table 1[29]

-Participation
-Transparency
-Effectiveness and efficiency
-Responsiveness
-Accountability
-Consensus oriented
-Equity and inclusiveness
-Rule of law

While the agendas of major international organizations will be more closely examined later in this research, good governance features prominently on all of them. Good governance is a relational concept that establishes the set responsibilities of an organization or government to its constituency with heavy emphasis on the exchanges between the two (United Nations 2005). These eight characteristics represent the foundation of the interaction between institutions and the individual. These characteristics are a good place to begin building litmus test to evaluate the saturation of gender mainstreaming.

International organizations (USAID, EU, and UN) cite good governance as a development goal because ("Good Governance" 2005) it is reflective of the over-all competence of a government. The history of colonialism and despotic rulers in Africa has hindered modern development because they did not incorporate good governance into their

[28] In this way gender mainstreaming becomes a mainstay of good governance (UN 2005).

[29] "Good Governance". 2005. *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization: E-Governance and Capacity Building website.* Retrieved from *http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=5205&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html* October 11, 2009.

rule. While in the agendas of development agencies cite them as a priorities, good governance and democracy are not the same concept. This in turn means that a great deal of development initiatives must focus on the bolstering of strong formal institutions that have the infrastructure, governmental support, and popular backing with informal institutions to grow with neighboring economies to develop.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Louis Henkin dedicates his article The "Universality of the Concept of Human Rights" (1989) to explaining the misconceptions and various definitions of human rights, finally offering a succinct unpacking of the term. He explains that although widely used, the term human rights can mean very different things in different situations. For the purposes of this research considering human rights to be: "[human rights is the] idea that every individual has legitimate claims upon his or her own society for certain freedoms and benefits." It is essential that a solid definition of human rights be included in this paper because while human rights have been accepted as a universal concept, women have still been systematically disallowed from enjoying full freedom in all situations. Human right refers to the mainstream concern area as mentioned earlier, where women have had to carve out distinctive forums to discuss their own issues. This encouraged the evolution of women's issues into gendered concerns, and then combined with human rights to become gender mainstreaming one finds the purpose of this paper. The UN states that "human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, language, or any other status" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 2010). Women are by definition expected to have human rights that are inalienable, but because there is explicit mention of various characteristics that cause some people's human rights to be violated by virtue of the different ways in which social position can influence how one engages with human rights a discussion about the need for dignity is necessary.

DIGNITY IN GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND DEVELOPMENT

Within the exchange about the general term human rights, the specification of women's rights and the legitimacy of the concepts of universal human rights and gender

mainstreaming, there is a vein of discussion that addresses the concerns of LDCs especially those in Africa[30].

The position of countries outside of the West is interesting in that they often occupy the periphery in the development of human rights policy while simultaneously managing to be at the center of human rights debates. Women and children are largely understood to occupy the most vulnerable position in society especially in situations of poverty (United Nations 2005), and are therefore most in need of dignified engagement. He expresses his definitions as beginning with: What kind of a *thing* are human rights? (Donnelly1986:304). Donnelly seems agree with the notion spoken of by authors like Cardenas (2005) and Hodgson (2002) who both maintain that the inaction of a powerful group on behalf of a disenfranchised could be considered a violation of rights. Donnelly (1986) expresses that violators extend themselves past "falling short of moral standards" by failing to furnish to the less powerful what they are due. Although Donnelly's main idea revolves around the idea that non-Western concerns with human rights and human dignity are substantially different than those of the West[31], he makes a strong effort to establish that 'rights' are as a matter of course to be treated as second seat to only the most pressing issues of necessity or scarcity[32] (Donnelly 1986:305), and further places the responsibility for the proliferation of human rights squarely on the shoulders of the holders of power. Donnelly (1986) speaks at length about the importance of self-definition; his argument can be used to explain the phenomenon of gendered poverty. Essentially it is taking a large mainstream problem (much like human rights) and reconstructing it to apply more representatively to a specific situation.

STATE/ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

The 2001 article by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink entitled "Taking Stock: the Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics" begins by addressing some socially constructed concepts found in international relations. As mentioned earlier the EU, UN, and USAID have all established an identity tied to social

[30] Referred to as such for their physical position outside of the powerful realm of former colonizers like the United States and developed European countries (Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990) and subsequent position outside of decision making circles resulting in a history of domination .

[31] Emphasis of non-Western incarnations of human rights to be dignity based and based on the respect of humanness.

[32] Food, water, clothes, and shelter

norms and values that are acceptable to their domestic constituency or consortium partners. The morality associated with international action is greatly influenced by the role the development consortium or organization wishes to be counted on to play. In their piece Finnemore and Sikkink address this concern by admitting a multilayered influence of international and domestic pressures on the identity formation and therefore state behavior, citing Wendt's systematic internationalism [United Nations] and Katzenstein's domesticism [United States] (2001). They explain that type identities (i.e. Democratic state) formed at the international level are important in modern international relations because it informs the nature of the rivalries, partnerships, and alliances that is a good predictor of behavior when reacting to an event (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001). They say "understanding about a state's [or organization's] perception of its own identity (both type and role) should help us to understand how the state will act" (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001: 337). They further explain that some constructivists believe that state identities are strategically formed, positioning them in a position of increased power or as perhaps even a moral authority.

Organizational and state identity is important for large IOs like the United Nations, because it is their strict adherence to a generalized and universal standard for all aspects of international engagement that gives them the authority to evaluate progress towards equality in international engagement. While there are states that refuse to recognize certain UN decisions as a result of personal initiatives, the quest to protect sovereignty and a unique state identity[33] informed by domestically supported norms, the UN has established itself as a reputable IO with a bevy of internal and external checks and balances which lend weight to its credibility.

NORMS

Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) outline the chronological timeline of the study of norms within international relations. They speak of "the tendency[34] [to ignore social issues like gender relations] was reinforced by the emerging infatuation of political scientists with economic methods in the late 1970s and 1980s" (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998:889). Interestingly it is during this time period when Finnemore and Sikkink locate the move by

[33] Israel has rejected the UN vote for an independent investigation and report on suspected war crimes and crimes against humanity in Gaza.

[34] Tendency to dismiss normative approaches in IR research because some theorists took issue with the apparent methodological shortcomings.

mainstream international relations thinkers to overshadow normative approaches, that there was a concerted on behalf of the periphery of policy making institutions to create new gender inclusive norms during the U.N.'s Decade on Women.

This paradigm shift gave the U.N. Women's Conferences the ideological and foundational space to develop into an influential force within mainstream standard holding institutions. While most theorists were following the fad norm of "utility maximization" and material concerns over all others (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998), those involved with creating new norms that support the goals set out in the Women's Conferences began organizing. As mentioned earlier the shift from normative discussions to rational choice discussions came about as the result of some theorists feeling disillusioned by the loosely defined methodological process needed to evaluate contributions and experiences from historically ignored segments of society. Without the prying eyes of a critical contingent the gender movement was able to focus on establishing a solid foundation and more standardized indices so when the paradigm lens shifted back to normative approaches gender mainstreaming would be accepted as a legitimate consideration.

Finnemore and Sikkink classify norms into descriptive categories: regulative norms which order and constrain behavior as well as constitutive norms which create new actors, interests or categories of action" followed by the less analyzed prescriptive norms which consider the "oughtness that sets norms apart from other rules" (1998:891). They posit that it is the subjective nature of norm creation and enforcement that lends this methodological approach to difficult to quantify but very revealing analysis. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) take up the issue of change and the evolution of norms by identifying the exchange between localized and international norms that lead to the creation of institutionalized normative behavior.

Conceptually vital within an institutional consideration of gender mainstreaming and development in international relations, is the reliance on norms to explain and predict state behavior. The disillusionment of traditional international relations was found in the varying understandings and rates of internalization that may cause states to react to international norms in unpredictable ways. This was corrected by shifting the understanding of norms back to consideration of the domestic value scale and admitting the subjectivity of the process (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001).

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The pragmatic aim of social construction within international cooperation as it applies to gender mainstreaming and development policy, especially in Rwanda and South Africa.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY FORMATION

Constructivism can be used as the larger theoretical context for this research as it embodies a number of issues that serve to shape the interests and behavior of states as well as international organizations dedicated to development and leads to an understanding of the creation of institutions that are involved with gender mainstreaming and development. For comparison the rationalist approach takes the state's identity as an eternal characterization and enigmatic determinant of future state/international organization action (Joachim 2003). The problem with this approach is that it negates the very long process of social interaction that becomes a generalized characterization. The *process itself* has to be considered to construct a fruitful and balanced partnership between gender mainstreaming and development (Joachim 2003) in Africa. If development is understood to be a fragile balance between encouraging social, economic, and civic growth it is paramount that regional participants construct their own identity within the process to achieve a reflective and sustainable plan of action (Gasper 2000). Each of these steps requires the participation of individuals, organizations, and institutions to accomplish established goals (Joachim 2003). The interests of the state and organizations are not random occurrences solely informed by value-choice evaluations; it begins at the low level interactions between agents and the structures in which they operate (Joachim 2003).

INSTITUTIONALISM

Institutionalism is a broad theoretical framework with many subcategories, incarnations, and applications. For the purposes of this research there will be a short overview of the general term institutionalism, but will focus on areas where gender mainstreaming and development can be most readily incorporated into the discussion. This will lead to a better understanding of the role institutions play in GAD.

This vein of analysis allows for a ground level interpretation of the direction development takes. It considers the agents of development. In her article "Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism" Martha Finnemore (1996)

reflects upon the emergence and validity of Sociological institutionalism in IR. This particular concept brings together the constructivist approach with the norms it creates while establishing the results of this process as its own identifiable theoretical paradigm. Finnemore's institutionalism concentrates on the appearance of institutions as a result of the internalization of social norms. Institutionalism holds that it is norms as building blocks that need bureaucratic control to become an organized and reproducible system. With enough structure these systems become physical buildings or groups of people that share the common goal of promoting the acceptance of agreed upon goals. The agreed upon standards become formal rules which support formal institutions. This is at the core of the formation of international organizations, which often begin as a value that became a social norm that needed to be housed by some sort of structure like the United Nations, where standards are defined according to the rules and can be universally accepted without need for interpretation. It is the traditional institutionalism that built the UN; that legitimizes the UN campaigns against informal institutions that gender mainstreaming seeks to eradicate like inequity, violence, and oppression. A discussion of new institutionalism is therefore necessary to understand the relationship of institutionalism to development.

NEW INSTITUTIONALISM

Gender mainstreaming and development have been previously explained to be concepts that are engaged in a symbiotic relationship, one being vital and beneficial to the other in their expansion. It must be recognized that the process of successfully mainstreaming gender and achieving development requires the transformation of both formal and informal sectors of society. While traditional institutionalism refers to the formal laws now imbedded in the UN standards or the mandates put forth by the Beijing Platform for Action, "new institutionalism" has come to represent the consideration of the relationship between formal and informal institutions[35]. Aspinwall and Schneider (2000) simply state that:

> The basic premise of neo [new] institutional analysis is that institutions affect outcomes. Institutions contain the bias individual agents have built into their society over time, which in turn leads to important distributional consequences. They structure political

[35] Laws and common practice respectively

> actions and outcomes, rather than simply mirroring social activity and rational competition among disaggregated units (Aspinwall and Schneider 2000[36]).

Essentially they are saying here that it is up to those who are governed by the institutions to create them. This explanation allows for a strong sense of personal agency when it comes to the large scale transformation of one's society as needed for the total diffusion of gender mainstreaming and development.

SOCIOLOGICAL VS. RATIONALIST INSTITUTIONALISM

In the case of gender mainstreaming and development in Rwanda and South Africa the politicians have taken to the rational choice approach. This approach can be understood to be most concerned with the use of rules to affect change (Mackay and Meier 2993:11). In this way the state identity is diffused into domestic policy by committing to international standards and allowing the laws to change institutions and people's engagement with them from the top down. This is a departure from the step by step deconstruction of existing institutions that will ultimately lead to the rethinking and subsequent transformation of what should be institutionalized basis found in sociological institutionalism. By focusing on the possibility of regulation of future behavior and distancing the gaze from "historical legacies and internalized values, norms and understandings" (Mackay and Meier 2003:11) rational choice fails to validate the experiences of those subjected to the new rules and how they negotiate these with their internalized cultural commitments. In a way this removes the human element from the intuitional creation process making it quite unreasonable for situations like those in Rwanda and South Africa where the legacy of history has a very large impact on the daily lives of citizens.

Aspinwall and Schneider cite Finnemore (1996) as saying that institutions are eternally tied to culture. She describes institutionalism as having a "cultural structure; it is a Western rationality and individuality that creates states, markets, bureaucratic organizations" (333). While this is a conceptually sound explanation of one type of institutionalism, it lends itself to criticism in the wording used. Although she clearly did not mean for this to be an exhaustive exploration it sheds like on a common concern shared that has been traditionally

[36] Cited by Aspinwall and Schneider March and Olsen 1984; Thelen and Steinmo 1992; Lindberg and Campbell 1991.

held by much of the post colonial developing states that were hesitant to accept and internalize institutions that have their origins in the West, because of the risk of implicit Western neo-colonialism.

Aspinwall and Schneider juxtapose the rationalists who hold that "institutions [are] long-lived equilibrium patterns of rational behavior" with the sociological institutional idea "that institutions constitute identity and behavior" (Aspinwall and Schneider 2000:4). This comparison highlights the circular nature of the theoretical debates in international relations, the difference is found in to what depth or extent the thinker has been willing to examine how and why institutions are formed, what they do, and what stage in time are institutions evaluated for what they are presumed to accomplish. Rationalists tend to be most concerned with the short term decision making while sociological institutionalisms tend to hold out for the long term effect. The consideration of a time period allows for considerable variations in what is considered to be effective construction of institutions as well as their ultimate usefulness (Aspinwall and Schneider 2000). This usefulness can be understood as the degree to which institutional goals are effectively communicated, the level to which they are diffused and the extent to which they are 'internalized' (Aspinwall and Schneider 2000). The usefulness concept weaves seamlessly through the rationalist and sociological veins by recognizing the ways in which formal and informal institutions work together, but are studied separately. Rationalists focus on formal communicated institutional goals, like the newly fortified rights to land ownership for women in Rwanda. These rights have been formally accepted as law, but a sociological criticism of this institutional goal would be that a woman who has been socialized to believe she does not culturally have rights to land ownership may still deflect the formal laws in favor of informal internalized institutions of gender relations. In this way the law (formal institution) is less useful than a campaign to reform informally held notions may have been.

TABLE 2[37]

	Sociological Institutionalism	**Historical Institutionalism**	**Rationalist Institutionalism**

[37] Aspinwall, Mark D.; Schneider, Gerald. 2000. "Same menu, separate tables: The Institutionalist turn in political science and the study of European integration". *European Journal of Political Research* 38:1-36.

Preference Formation	Constitution of actors through institutions; endogenous process	Endogenous creation of institutions affects preferences	Exogenous to the model of decision theoretic explanation
Creation of Institutions	Evolutionary; occasional abrupt changes caused by new events of reinterpretations	Delegation; self-maintaining and potentially expansive	Distributional conflict, reduction of transaction costs or collective dilemma as driving force
Evolution of Institutions	Cognitive/memory-process of mythologizing common events	Contingent processes with path dependency and unintended consequences	Bargaining process, evolutionary selection

The multiple layers of new institutionalism have to be considered because of the patchwork nature of GAD.

New institutionalism provides the space for gendered discussions because has a wider scope of what is considered to be an institution while continuing to bear in mind the role of traditional/formal institutions. This lends itself to the gendered consideration of institutions (especially in development theory) because even gender itself can be classified as an institution. Many of the institutions that women are influenced by are not bound by formal rules but greatly influence their acceptance and internalization of formal rules.

CHAPTER FOUR: AGENDAS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations and states use agendas to establish their public identity by incorporating their purpose, with their public stance on issues, while directing their action for the issues at hand. As a powerful tool of communication, the key to an agenda is provisions of parameters for movement towards a goal. With this in mind it becomes quite apparent why there is great power in the position of agenda setter.

UNITED NATIONS

The internationally accepted standards concerning gender mainstreaming and development have been established by the United Nations and expressed in the Millennium Development Goals. "The United Nations is an international organization founded in 1945 after the Second World War by 51 countries committed to maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations and promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights." (UN at a Glance 2009). This description is vague as a function of its far reaching influence. This research depends heavily on the definitions and standards set by the UN because, as a matter of rule, they are considered to be the global consensus on concepts like gender mainstreaming and development. It has been advantageous to have a body like the UN to normalize historically disparate power hierarchies that have shown to allow the further solidification of unhealthy state level relationships that can manipulate standards to suit individual state interests. The Millennium Development Goals are set forth and standardized in a way that encourages both developing and countries who are investing in the development of countries to contribute to a quantifiable, self-sustaining, and empowering. The goals are: Key Objectives Put forth by MDG

TABLE 3[38]

Participation	Are women participating in government?
Transparency	Is gender data available and accurate?
Effectiveness and efficiency	Are goals being set and met in a timely fashion?
Responsiveness	Is gender policy being continuous reevaluated to correspond with contemporary issues?
Accountability	Are these countries held accountable by a proper system of

[38] "What Are Millennium Development Goals?". 2000. United Nations Development Program: Millennium Development Goals. Retrieved from http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml on October 10, 2009.

	checks and balances?
Consensus oriented	Are women of all stages of society as well as their male counterparts involved in the shaping of policy?
Equity and inclusiveness	Is the above done without social bias?
Rule of law	Is gender mainstreaming embedded in the laws of the land and enforced with vigor?

The first and most effective global initiatives to consider issues concerning women and the relationship of women to the rest of the global community were the United Nations' Global Conferences on Women that took place between 1975 and 1995[39]. There have since been many forums much like these established as contributors to gender policy. "A developmental perspective based on male priorities and male concept of women in a patriarchal society such as ours cannot ameliorate the lot of women, already inhibited by traditional gender-role expectations" ("Women's Participations in Decision-Making" 1991). Women provide a unique voice in the development of Africa because while they have largely been restricted to the private sector[40], they are directly impacted by the implications of development policy. Issues like the disparate impact of poverty, HIV/AIDS and poor infrastructure have come to be understood as needing to be considered within the context of gender relations. Without women's voices being heard within the policy making bodies[41] as both policy makers and the specially targeted beneficiaries of corrective policy. Without inclusion in agenda setting, movement definition, enforcement of new policies, and vocalization of concerns it is unrealistic that women's concerns can be seriously considered. The United Nations Conferences on Women provide note worthy examples of what can be accomplished when all of the interested parties are given voices in the process of decision-making.

The 1975 Mexico City conference was the first official meeting that was touted as a U.N. conference dedicated wholly to women's issues. It launched The Decade of Women and set the tone for the subsequent conferences.

[39] The author recognizes the many achievements of other conferences, discussion, plenary session, and forums that took place leading up to and interspersed through the twenty years but wishes to consider the most widely recognized and international policy changing UN conferences.

[40] As a result of cultural and colonial patriarchy.

[41] Explained further in the chapter on "Contemporary Gender Mainstreaming and Development in Africa"

When the Mexico City conference was launched the official support from international organizations for "women's issues" was minimal. The introduction of a new platform for women to be engaged with the change process was the institutionalization of the various initiatives on behalf of individuals and smaller organizations that have been fighting for equality for women for decades. The conference was largely an attempt to establish the UN's position on women's issues being presented as the international standards. They were:

Table 4[42]

-Full gender equality and the elimination of gender discrimination
-An increased contribution by women towards strengthening world peace
-The integration and full participation of women in development

These goals were mandated by the conference as non-negotiable directives for states and the United Nations to enforce. Unfortunately, "International experience has shown that constitutional mandates do not ensure women's political participation. Despite action plans and programs framed at various international conferences; there has been no improvement in the status of women, particularly in third world countries" (United Nations 2009). This particular sentiment can be considered critically when one begins to evaluate the effectiveness of the goals set forth in Mexico City. By neglecting to set bench marks, provide examples of proper implementation, and the absence of an effective timeline leaves too much room for creative interpretation on the part of intrinsically patriarchal societies where the allowance for the equality mentioned above may actually reveal itself as detrimental to the existing social position of women[43]. This conference had a variety of critical views that were expressed in the subsequent years that helped to reform the agenda to include more specific concerns.

1980 saw the halfway point of the declared Decade of Women pass some change in the daily existence of women, but also saw the new tide of questioning the emphasis of policy/institutions as the women of developing states were experiencing new challenges

[42] United Nations. 2009. "First Conference on Women 1975." *United Nations :Outcomes on Gender and Equality.* Retrieved September 20, 2009 (http://www.un.org/en/development/devagenda/gender.shtml).

[43] Possibly being left open to unfair prosecution, legislation, and private treatment.

under ineffective domestic governmental leadership forcing there to be more emphasis placed on postcolonial concerns. The next UN sponsored conference was held during that year in Copenhagen. The agenda of the Copenhagen meeting was considerably more focused on improvements in women's lives that could be more accurately traced and quantifiably analyzed.

Table 5[44]

-Equal access to education
-Equal access to employment opportunities
-Equal access to adequate health care services

Although access is not a quantifiable concept, it speaks to the responsibility of states to secure right to access in written form as law as a principle of good governance. [45]Participation in the activities above can be quantified and considered within social contexts compared to legislative mandates. This was a step towards in the legitimization of the gendered lens of viewing development and social policy because they are more easily lent to mainstream consideration and grand scale implementation. The end of the UN Decade on Women was marked by the 1985 Nairobi Conference. It was the first time the UN Conferences on Women were held in Africa and where more progress was made in the process of articulating effective demands of the global community concerning women's issues. "The Nairobi Conference recognized that gender equality was not an isolated issue, but encompassed all areas of human activity. It was necessary for women to participate in all spheres, not only in those relating to gender" (United Nations 2009).

Table 6[46]

-Constitutional and legal measures
-Equality in social participation
-Equality in political participation and decision-making

[44] "Second Conference on Women 1980." . 2009. *United Nations :Outcomes on Gender and Equality.* Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/development/devagenda/gender.shtml on September 20, 2009.

[45] The concept of access is can be abused as providing the theoretical opportunity and facilitating access are two vastly different processes. Arguments against the Women's Movement often contain reference to historical "open opportunities" where women have not been physically or legally restrained from participating or gaining access to something like education, employment, or adequate health services but were not provided with reasonable support to do so.

[46] "Third Conference on Women 1985." .2009. *United Nations :Outcomes on Gender and Equality.* Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/development/devagenda/gender.shtml on September 20, 2009.

The language in the goals for Nairobi is distinctly different from those of the earlier conferences. There was a new sophistication in the language that alluded to the implicit effects of wording the mandates and a heightened realization that women needed to be a part of the formal institutional mechanisms that create and implement policy if they were going to make the type of progress required for sustainable progress. The participants in the UN Conferences on Women were now at the end of the ten year push for bringing attention to and building infrastructure to diffuse their agenda into mainstream policy considerations, while equality is the overarching theme, with each conference a layer of boundaries to control of the means of change was traversed by gender sensitive operatives. By constantly engaging with the effectiveness of their programs the participants were able to guide the tide of change to suit what they found to be daunting but necessary tasks. Nairobi marks the very important step towards the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming.

As a matter of necessity the African Women's Preparatory Conference was held in 1994, ahead of the 1995 Beijing conference to address the progress achieved since the Nairobi conference while establishing concerns that would inform their agenda in Beijing. This important subcommittee meeting resulted in the release of an agenda paper called "Preparations for the Fourth World conference on Women: Action for equality, development and peace reports from regional conferences and other international conferences" (1994). It was a gathering that served as a meeting of African NGO's and UN representatives from LDC's in Africa that have the insight to contextualize their focus on gender mainstreaming within the realities of the third world (Hodgson 2002). The location of the Nairobi conference helped to shift the gaze of the international community to the existence of globally influential decisions that need to be informed by the experiences of the people most affected[47], but was refined by the Dakar conference. The result was an emboldened community of leaders that were dedicated to the gender inclusive development of LDC's who decided to hold their own plenary session in Dakar Senegal ahead of the Beijing Conference to establish an agenda informed by the African woman's concerns.

[47] Those being poor women and children of LDC's.

Table 7[48]

-Women's poverty, insufficient food security and lack of economic empowerment
-Inadequate access to education, training, science and technology
-Women's vital role in culture, the family and socialization
-Improvement of women's health, reproductive health including family planning and population-related programs
-Women's relationship and linkages to environment and natural resource management
-Involvement of women in the peace process
-The political empowerment of women
-Women's legal and human rights
-Mainstreaming of gender-disaggregated data
-Women, communication, information and arts
-The girl-child

These critical concerns are a more specific form of what would turn into the more generalized twelve critical areas of concern in the Beijing Platform for Action. The General Assembly meetings addressed women's concerns, the mainstreaming agenda was supported by the women's conferences, but it is important that the smaller gatherings are considered for their sizable contributions.

Ten years after Nairobi, another official U.N. sanctioned Conference on Women took place at the 1995 conference held in Beijing. The ten years that had elapsed since the last grand meeting of the minds allowed for the total reconsideration of the gender mainstreaming agenda. The agenda was completely different from ones in years past:

Table 8[49]

-Women and poverty
-Education and training of women
-Women and health
-Violence against women
-Women and armed conflict
-Women and the economy
-Women in power and decision-making
-Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
-Human rights of women
-Women and the media
-Women and the environment
-The girl child.

[48] Hodgson, Dorothy L. 2002. "Women's Rights as Human Rights: Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)". *Africa Today* 49(2):3-26. Retrieved from JSTOR March 6, 2009.

[49] "Fourth Conference on Women 1995". 2009. *United Nations: Outcomes on Gender and Equality.* Retrieved http://www.un.org/en/development/devagenda/gender.shtml on September 20, 2009.

There is a notable the shift in focus from a tunnel vision of women's issues as existing in isolation to the partnering of women's issues with mainstream issues. The decade between Beijing and Nairobi served as a time of intense work that involved using the newly employed gendered indices and research methods that developed from previous meetings to find more effective ways of measuring progress. The inclusion of women, relationships between women and men, as well as the impact the position of women has on their participation in social transformation has led to the noticeable refinement in the approach taken with partnerships between gender mainstreaming and development. But, the one of the more interesting products was the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

> [The mandates of the Platform for Action] were adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women, held from 4 to 15 September 1995 [in Beijing], by the representatives of 189 countries. The Platform reflects the new international commitment to achieving the goals of equality, development and peace for women throughout the world. It also strengthens the commitments made during the United Nations Decade for Women, 1976-1985 (United Nations 2009).

Beijing represents a modern model of what the gender mainstreaming planning process should look like and the change it can affect. It was relevant to women of all experiences and was the result of the newly incorporated input from some of the most un-empowered women of the global community. Moving the Women's Movement and Feminism into a safe space where it could be considered critically by women from outside of the West and developed state context allowed for a revolutionary change in consciousness for proponents of gender mainstreaming. Issues of disparate power[50], even within the Western movements, were finally used as a consideration in planning. Baden and Goetz (1997) claim that a key victory at Beijing was the successful campaign for the Platform of Action to include a commitment to the valuation of women's unpaid labor in satellite national accounts, making concrete long standing feminist rally cry. In this case, an organized feminist

[50] Considering the privileged/unprivileged, benefactor/beneficiary, donor/victim etc. relationship that had begun to emerge between women of the Western developed contexts and women of Southern developing contexts.

campaign was able to exploit the increasing sophistication of gender-disaggregated statistics and of statistical method in general (Baden and Goetz 1997).

Here Baden and Goetz retrospectively laud the vitality of the movement while pointing to the need for a forward-looking strategy. Beijing offered a place where over twenty years of research, collaboration, and reevaluation converged with women and allies who had found the agency to establish new standards by which the global community must adhere.

The United Nations' Conferences on Women that took place in the years between 1975 and 1995 set the standards for gender conscious international policy. They established gender and the relationships impacted by gender as key considerations in the formation and implementation of policy. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action set the tone for future engagement, evaluation, and progress of gender mainstreaming.

Beijing +5

This forum provided another distinct turn in ideology where the relationship between women and men was deconstructed and there was great energy dedicated specifically to the role of men "in the full implementation of the [Beijing] Platform [for Action] and in ending violence against women…This emergent interest [on the part of international decision making bodies] in the need to work with men resulted in the inclusion of 'men's role' as one of the thematic issues on the agenda of the Commission and Status of Women" (Eurturk 2004:4). This is an example of the deinstitutionalization that often marks an evolution of ideology as spoken of in this paper's *Theoretical Framework.* The formal institution of women focused and women lead discussions had to be deconstructed to allow for the inclusion of an emerging norm of shared responsibility for success. The ultimate goal is to encourage the dismantling of the systems which have kept women oppressed (Ten Year Review 2005), but there must new institutions created be to replace the old.

Beijing +10

Ten years after the UNCW in Beijing and the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action as the standard agenda for future considerations in gender mainstreaming, the evaluation process has continued to scrutinize the progress and processes made by participating states. Later the self generated reports from Rwanda and South Africa will be considered in terms of their honesty (as compared to externally reported statistics) and general progress. The Beijing +10 also sought to consider the special session of the General

Assembly entitled 'Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century" and the continued empowerment of women and girls" (Ten Year Review 2005).

Beijing +10 is the forward movement of gender mainstreaming into a quantifiable and legitimate international relations concern. While the existence of women's issues was always apparent, there was not infrastructure or formal institutions that were dedicated to the empowerment of women and the inclusion of a gendered consideration of policy. By this forum gendered indices have been developed and employed to report more accurately on the position of women in the context of relational interactions between women and the larger society (Eurturk 2004; Dejene 2008). In this way personal experiences took center stage as participants sought to better understand the relationship between personal experience, formal institutions and the validity of indices (such as the Gender empowerment Measure) used to evaluate progress. This is also where the self-report on gender mainstreaming implementation was suggested and distributed in an effort to prepare for the next forum in 2010 (Ten Year Review 2005).

EUROPEAN UNION

Interestingly, in contrast to the historical manner in which Europe has historically engaged with Africa[51], the EU has established an effective geographical partnership with the continent of Africa that provides the engagement on behalf of the donor body to while encouraging the autonomy of regional development initiatives in Africa.

Current areas of concern being addressed by the E.U. are:

Table 9[52]

-Rural development through rural economic development/transformation in the context of sustainable development and decentralization
-Infrastructure for regional interconnectivity by reducing the transport cost and consolidating the transport sector.

[51] Destructive colonialism

[52] "EU Relations with Rwanda". 2008. *Development and Relations with African, Carribean, and Pacific States: Geographical Partnerships.* Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/development/geographical/regionscountries/countries/country_profile.cfm?cid=rw&type=short&lng=en on October 13, 2009.

The prescription for sustainable development in Rwanda, as provided by the EDPRS is that continued social transformation that continues to focus on post-conflict reconciliation as well as the responsible reintegration of former militants is essential. While the concerns mentioned above are not an exhaustive list, they reflect the European agenda. Rwanda has a constitution that institutionalizes gender mainstreaming into the state identity. There are a great deal of monetary donations on behalf of the EU in support of solutions to problems like lack of "social services, education, health and water" which constitutes 60% [ə175 million] of their budget. But little emphasis it put on gender-specific programs.

The involvement of the EU in the development of South Africa is a very special case within the context of the rest of Africa. Although the EU presence in the other countries is also described as a 'partnership' the report called *the cooperation Between The European Union and South Africa* outlines the leadership role South Africa takes in the agenda setting as well as negotiations in their interaction. In this way South Africa is in a position of equality were the state can enter into cooperative trade agreements and the like as equals rather than as the beneficiaries of EU charity. The Trade, Development and Cooperation Act (TDCA) were enacted in May of 2004 that establishes direct strategic cooperation on issues such as 'development, politics, economics, trade, and the environment etc'. The "Joint Country Strategy Paper" (2007) explains the E.U. and South Africa's joint development agenda is explained as "[the objective is to] reduce poverty and inequality in accordance with the Millennium Development Goals, promoting internal social stability as well as environmental sustainability". Once more (as with the Rwanda case) there is no direct mention of gender mainstreaming considerations. There is mention of governance, corruption, and social equity among many other considerations however the glaring absence of gender issues is cause for concern.

As evidenced by their similar agendas the development policy the European Union has created for or with these two African countries there is a staunch belief that trade and economic viability are the championed causes.

UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

USAID is an accurate representation of how what informs the US foreign development policy agenda, but compared to the European Union it seems that there are fewer countries served by their development initiatives. To understand this, it is helpful to

consider the state identity of the United States of America as well as the overarching USAID agenda.

Their agenda consists of:

Table 10[53]

-Enhance strategic partnerships
-Consolidate democratic transitions
-Bolster fragile states
-Strengthen regional and sub
-Strengthen regional security capacity
-Strengthen Africa counterterrorism cooperation and capacity
-Stimulate Africa's economic development and growth
-Implement presidential initiatives
-Focus on humanitarian and development assistance programs

The key to the US involvement is participation and willingness to become a partner in global security. There is recognition that developing a strong economy is one of the more important aspects of development, but there is an even stronger emphasis put on supporting democracy and creating an inhospitable environment for terrorism. The overarching themes of the European Union's European Commission for Development and the United States Agency for International Development in South Africa can be understood to be most concerned with trade/the economy and encouraging democracy/decentralization respectively.

USAID's main focus in Rwanda begins with supporting the decentralization and democratization of the government in an attempt to facilitate political transformation that may one day prevent the same type of violence that has so badly scarred the country in the past ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009). Democracy is a US foreign policy mainstay. As spoken of in Chapter Two most countries in Africa have had some experience of Western hegemony in the form of colonization creating a fragile and easily corrupted political climate[54]. The case of Rwanda[55] is one of democracy development, where long periods of undemocratic rule had lead to unspeakable destruction and violence and so the solidification of a democratic system may be the difference between sustainable development and complete

[53]"U.S. Priorities in Africa". 2009.*USAID from the American People: Sub-Saharan Africa.* Retrieved from http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/ on October 10, 2009.

[54] History is rife with instances where the United States facilitates the ascendance of a rebel leader into power because he has vowed to advance the American agenda against another more immediately dangerous foe only to fund the undermining of true democracy.

[55] Post- 1994

dissolution of peace and safety ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009). In 2008 Rwanda was accepted as a member of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which is a program facilitated by the United States of America that "strengthens the capacity and independence of the judiciary, expand opportunities for civic participation, and promote civil rights and liberties"[56]. This is a testament to the progress Rwanda has made in the last fifteen years. Rwanda's state identity has now been shifted from being informed by their social and economic problems to their triumphs and international achievement in the realm of democracy. The rewards are clearly financial in terms of special funding from the U.S. as well as simple association with other countries that have also been striving towards sustainable development by reforming their government processes ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009). On the institutional level, USAID support has assisted Rwanda in taking their agri-business programs from 0 to $8 million USD[57] establishing a small but steadily growing sustainable economy. While subsistence farming is widely practiced, it is necessary for the agri-business culture to be more widely acceptable is Rwanda ever hopes to join the international trade market. While the agri-business push has greatly improved Rwanda's position, it would behoove the budding economy to grow the agricultural and manufacturing sectors simultaneously.

The summary of USAID activity in South Africa is unique because of the apparent acceptance of democracy. There is mention of possible concerns about increasing corruption in the public sector; but there is by and large acceptance of a free market economy and democratic system of government ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009). So the USAID focus is largely the HIV/AIDS epidemic. There is an especially strong drive for health, political, and equality education in South Africa through the PEPFAR program. This is perhaps due to the incidence of infrastructure that is already established allowing for new medical education programs to be more easily implemented and largely controlled by local partners ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009).

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

[56] "Rwanda: Governing justly and democratically". 2009. *USAID from the American People: Sub-Saharan Africa.* Retrieved from http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/countries/rwanda/index.htm on October 10, 2009.

[57] "Rwanda: Economic Growth". 2009. *USAID from the American People: Sub-Saharan Africa.* Retrieved from http://www.usaid.gov/locations/sub-saharan_africa/countries/rwanda/index.html on October 10, 2009.

The governmental consortiums and international organizations representing state interests have been discussed at length leaving one of the last component of institutional purveyance (Hodgson 2002) of gender mainstreaming diffusion. NGOs have a special kind of social mobility that incorporates their grass-roots connectedness to the communities operating within the context of informal institutions they seek to influence but also have a formal structure that lends them elevated credibility. Unlike other organizations with consensus oriented international platforms, concern for benefit and formal structure, NGO's are able to specialize in focus thus making their agenda's more representative of the intricate nature of regional causes and grassroots/informal movements (Hodgson 2002).

According to True (2001) "the most compelling explanation for the diffusion of gender mainstreaming is the role played by transnational networks among non-state actors that link domestic institutional changes and international norms"[58]. On the ground level there must be active participation in the institutionalization of women as entitled to equivalent treatment in all aspects of life. As international organizations (especially those involved in helping to develop Africa) represent state interests by promoting their own agenda that is palatable to the international community, a state's commitment to realizing gender equality is limited by its own ability to align domestic interests with international character playing[59]. A declaration of state level commitment says very little for the domestic commitment unless there is a dedication of funds as well as the creation of branches within government that deal directly with NGOs and individual citizens who are the true agents of change as far as gender mainstreaming is concerned.

In this way the norms are first institutionalized and only after they have begun to inform the state identity are they diffused into domestic policy followed by individual personal practice by norm acceptance. Partnerships between NGOs and regional UN representatives are informed by a symbiotic relationship model (Hodgson 2002). Even more so than the direct interaction of NGOs and UN General Assemblies or even the major Conferences of Women, the NGO and regional representative relationship is important to maintain the integrity of localized agendas. The benefit of having narrow foci (as NGOs usually do) is that there is better delegation of responsibility and specialization in processes

[58] See Sikkink (1997).

[59] Chapter One see section on "Organization /State Identity"

of engagement The UNCWs were the meeting place for representatives of countries, IOs, individuals, and NGOs (Eurturk 2004; Hodgson 2002). The key to sustainable development and gender mainstreaming is the transformation of and subsequent partnership of formal and informal institutions (Finnemore and Sikkink 1996; 1998; 2001).

CHAPTER FIVE: CURRENT GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1995 BEIJING PLATFORM FOR ACTION IN RWANDA AND SOUTH AFRICA

The significant role the UN World conferences has been discussed extensively throughout this paper. The conference in Beijing marked the departure from the focus of allowing space for women to realize their own power to a context for the creation of a gender mainstreaming regime (Baden & Goetz 1997). Part of the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming in developing countries is the emphasis on self-sufficient implementation to international standards (Hodgson 2002). Respecting state sovereignty is instrumental in preserving the UN's identity as the holder of impartial standards and so to measure the success of implementation of the Beijing Platform and the progress made in addressing the 12 critical areas of concern the UN requested that states self-report according to a standardized questionnaire. States were encouraged to highlight: "[an] overview of achievements and challenges in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment; progress in implementation of the critical areas of concern of the BPA and the further initiatives and actions identified in the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly; remaining challenges and [future] actions (UN Beijing +15 Questionnaire)". The respondents are expected to use as much quantifiable and concrete evidence as possible (UN Beijing +15 Questionnaire).

One of the later additions to the UNCW dynamic agenda was the focused efforts to develop gender sensitive indices that would help with the gathering and analysis of the progress of gender mainstreaming and development data that could be evaluated according to global standards. The many plenary sessions for governments, international organizations, national organizations, and NGOs (like the Fifth Regional Conference on Women in Dakar) were instrumental in creating these indices and with keeping each other accountable. As explained earlier there were twelve areas of critical concern that were set forth in Beijing that have come to represent the most important points of reference for internal or external evaluation of progress. This chapter will explore a combination of the self reported progress reports supplied by Rwanda and South Africa, as well as other evaluative sources of each country's progress according to the twelve points in the Platform for Action. This chapter will consider the effectiveness of the formal standardized concerns as set forth in the BPA

while considering the subjective level of diffusion of gender mainstreaming in development policy.

FOURTH UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN BEIJING THERE 'TWELVE CRITICAL AREAS OF CONCERN' TO THE EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN IDENTIFIED AS:
Table 11[60]

1. Unequal access to educational and training opportunities of good quality at all levels.
2. Inequalities in health care and related services
3. All forms of violence against women and the girl child
4. Effects of persecution and armed of other kinds of conflict on women
5. Inequality between women and men in the sharing of power and decision making at all levels
6. Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women.
7. Promotion and protection of all human rights of women.
8. The role of women in the media.
9. Environmental issues and women.
10. The girl child.
11. The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women.
12. The role of women in the economy.

These points are especially fitting for the pivotal time in the histories of both Rwanda and South Africa. The areas of concern were commissioned as a direct response to the events that had transpired in both countries as well as the influence of the previous UNWCs.

South Africa considers its mission regarding gender mainstreaming as facilitating the social transformation that would eventually lead to "a non sexist non racist society" (South African Response 1999). This report is then a response meant to "look at South Africa's progress in establishing a gender machinery" (South Africa's self report). It considers the progress of establishing formal institutions that can more effectively affect long term gender inclusion. The preparation of the report includes information on the proposed institutional initiatives that will "establish a better understanding of the goals and objectives of the National Gender Program; Establish networks and structures that will accelerate delivery for both national and international commitments; and review progress made in the first five years of South Africa's democratic government" (South African Response 1999) . This will be further explored in the discussion of the 5th concern "inequality between women and men in the sharing of power and decision making at all level" (Beijing Platform for Action 1995).

[60] "Critical Areas of Concern". 1995. *United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women: Beijing Platform for Action.* Retrieved from (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat1.htm) October 15, 2009.

The report also identifies some of the problems facing the total diffusion of gender mainstreaming and the acceptance of the concept as a part of development, are 'financial and human resource limitations' (South African Response 1999) which are cited multiple times as a major concern for Rwanda. Interestingly there is no mention made of the informal sector and the influences of cultural and practices reminiscent of Apartheid era policies as being impediments to progress in South Africa. Conversely all of the literature about developing Rwanda highlights the extensive impact residual effects of the genocide has had (Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006).

Although this paper is concerned mainly with formal institutional development it is a glaring omission to leave out informal institutions like cultural patriarchy allows for the subjugation of women under the auspices of cultural gender roles and other considerations that have lead to continued violations against the dignity and human rights of women[61]. Social ills that have resulted from the shortcomings of poorly constructed formal structures have lead to the increase in "gender based violence, poverty, joblessness and the dramatic rise in the rate of infection of HIV/AIDS in the country pose serious threats to the government's achievements in the last five years [since the inception of democracy]" (South African Response 1999). These failings in the formal sector have devastating effects on the private relationships between women and men and wreak havoc on the position of women in society as their gains in social position are recent and more fragile. It is in fact this crux where Rwanda establishes a standard for total diffusion and shows South Africa to be a site for slow transformation in the face of the ever increasing speed of international communication.

1. Unequal access to educational and training opportunities of good quality at all levels.

As of 2005 the problems facing Rwanda's primary education system were mostly concerned with issues of "access shock" (Joint Country Strategy Report 2007). Having opened primary education to the entire population by dropping fees, interest and access for children who traditionally would have been prevented from attending school because they could not afford it, the infrastructure has begun to fail. The *Independent Review Report on*

[61] The author is in no way suggesting all cultures in South Africa are intrinsically and negatively patriarchal nor that all South Africans accept the subjugation of women as traditional culture.

Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda (2006) outlines some statistics from their research period[62].

Table 12[63]

Illiteracy rate (15yr+)	Women: 48%	Men 52%	**(2002)**
Proportion of girls in school	Primary: 50% Secondary: 49% HigherEd.: 26.9%		**(1998)**
Primary school enrollment	Girls: 82%	Boys: 95%	**(1998/1999)**

The figures above show a relatively poor performance of educational initiatives with very large disparities between the education levels of women and men. The report[64] refers to challenges facing the development of a functional education system as being largely the result of historical bias against women (and girl children), poor interest due to more pressing concerns about safety and survival being paramount and the lasting legacy of the 1994 genocide (2006:13). The relational aspect of gender interaction become central to this discussion when one considers the disparities in education levels just after the complete dissolution of social and political structure. This can be considered as one of the most telling times because it reflects the sensibilities of the general public/individuals by representing their personally held value sets. These statistics show that[65] adults may still hold male children as more deserving of education than female children. This is where the importance of socializing is found to be most apparent, because when the legislation and initiatives to support the educational development of women was included in the institutions like government and state run education, the enrollment rates for female children and the literacy of women increased. Rates of enrollment increased from 73% in 2002 to 92% in 2005[66] with what is considered to be gender parity for primary level enrollment. This is quite an accomplishment and is a testament to the effectiveness of engaging the general public in the

[62] 1999-2005

[63] The *Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda* (2006)

[64] *Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda* (2006).

[65] This is referring to the illiteracy rate in 2002.

[66] Republic of Rwanda and European Community: Country Strategy Paper (2008: 13).

development of society. The government's focus on education and the abolition of school fees for primary school in 2003 has provided momentum for the rapid expansion of education in a country that has historically had great disparities in the access to education for different segments of society[67].

Another problem facing the inclusion of girl children into the formal education system is the recurring problem of infrastructural short comings. There is an inability for schools to accommodate the greater volume of pupils with lack of space and learning material. This has caused the government to hire more teachers who are not necessarily qualified or prepared to effectively teach students. The secondary level education system faces a fairly stagnant drop-out rate due in part to the depressed economy and need for all members of working age to contribute to the family finances, but also due to the fees and incidental cost of education.

Table 13[68]

Rwanda	**2000**	**2004**	**2007**
Primary school completion ratio female/male	96.8	101.6	101.8

Table 14[69]

South Africa	**2000**	**2004**	**2007**
Primary school completion ratio female/male	95.3	96	96.1
Literacy Rate of female population			87.2

Tables 12 and 13 display the statistics concerning the *Unequal access to educational and training opportunities of good quality at all levels* from the BPA and display a an interesting phenomena. The numbers indicate that Rwanda has surpassed South Africa in its BPA implementation concerning access[70] to education. 2000 shows a near tie in the ratio of female/male children that completed primary schools as being nearly equal (higher in Rwanda). This statistic is worth noting from the outset because although the population of Rwanda the lack of infrastructure as a result of the civil unrest nearly ten years earlier would

[67] See summary of Rwandan History.

[68]"Gender Stats: Rwanda, South Africa". 2010. *The World Bank website*. Retrieved from http://go.worldbank.org/D45R2QQAM0 on July 30, 2009.

[69]"Gender Stats: Rwanda, South Africa". 2010. *The World Bank website*. Retrieved from http://go.worldbank.org/D45R2QQAM0 on July 30, 2009.

[70] Access also incorporating the expanding opportunities afforded by a child who completes primary education.

be assumed to serve as a barrier to completion. The 2007 statistic is shocking because it reveals stagnation in completion rates for South Africa, and total saturation for Rwanda. This introduces quantitative data that would suggest that established institutions may be inefficient in measurable change, and provide an argument for the deconstruction of old institutions in favor of newly constructed institutions[71] that are intrinsically geared towards the speed of change necessary for modern development. It also shows that the disparate amounts of money available to support initiatives like educational enrollment outreach have little to do with the success of an initiative. Population size could be considered a variable that would lead one to question the validity of directly comparing such statistics, but when one is mindful of the advanced methods of communication employed by South Africa and the relative inability for the Rwandan government to monitor educational process due to the lack of infrastructure assumed validity is restored. Rwanda's handicaps, lack of resources and small size could prove to be what sets this country apart from their much bigger, better established, better resourced counterpart, South Africa.

2. Inequalities in health care and related services

While traditionally success of a state's development progress has been judged by evaluating the quality of health care by considering number/education level of doctors; quality of facilities, and fertility vs. mortality rates; a country's handling of the pandemic of HIV/AIDS has become the new measure of health care standards.

According to UNAIDS in 2005 at least 64% of all people living with HIV lived in sub-Saharan Africa. This is a shocking statistic that speaks to a need for the focused attention of international organizations, governments, and individuals. The concern is especially important to the discussion of gender mainstreaming because of the disparate ways in which the HIV virus affects men and women[72].

In Rwanda HIV infection rates in women dropped from 11.1% in 1997 to only 3% in 2005 [73] due to better education about the virus as well as increased attention paid to mother to

[71] Sociological Institutionalism

[72] "A woman is significantly more likely than a man to contract HIV infection during vaginal intercourse" (European Study Group 1992).

[73] But these figures are only taken from Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda (2006)

baby transmission, prevention, and the increasing sense of agency for women within the context of sexual situations. This specialized attack on the compounding effects of mother/baby viral transmission is efficiency at its best. Considering budgetary restrictions, there was a more streamlined effort that would best serve the interests of the population. While issues like condom negotiation in sexual situations is still considered to be a large part of the prevention of transmission the less expensive education campaigns can address this to prevent new infections while reserving limited medical resources for the next generation. This period of time also served as a period of growth in agency and the inclusion of women in decision making processes which also has been shown to affect the rate at which HIV/AIDS is spread by empowering women with the confidence to take back control of their sex lives (Hill-Collins 1990). There have been great improvements in the Rwandan health care system that has allowed for better use of resources thanks to the wider implications of empowering women allowing power gained in formal institutions to transfer into agency in informal interactions.

Once again, the better resourced South Africa in 2005 approximately 5.5 million people, 18% of the adult population was found to be living with HIV[74]. The gendered implications of the incidence of this massive percentage begins when one considers that an estimated 1 in 3 pregnant women (in South Africa) attending (free) public antenatal clinics were HIV positive[75]. The problem is that this particular statistic only addresses the portion of the infected population that has been tested and is seeking some sort of medical treatment. There is still a large percentage of the population that does not have access to public medical care because of the slow pace of service delivery, lack of resources to meet the huge demand on behalf of the state and the questionable policies of the ANC up until 2008 when people were urged to try holistic methods of prevention and treatment of the virus. The South Africa Response (1999) notes weaknesses in awareness diffusion, sluggish bureaucracy, and lack of resources to the unacceptable incidences of new infections of HIV/AIDS (South Africa Response 1999).

Although education about HIV/AIDS through governmental initiatives and the leadership of the NGO sector has increased exponentially in South Africa in the last ten

[74] USAID Fact Sheet on Sub-Saharan Africa (2005)

[75] "South Africa" USAID Fact Sheet on Sub-Saharan Africa (2005)

years, it continues to have one of the highest infection rates in the world. There are a host of NGOs that engage directly with the population through educational/awareness campaigns, but they are often undermined by inefficient bureaucratic institutions that are unable to effectively distribute the free health care provided by the government. Inadequacies in health care becomes an issue of good governance and diminished transparency, also found in the MDG and accepted by a global consensus as imperative to sustainable development.

3. *All forms of violence against women and the girl child*

As discussed by Helga Jansen-Daugbjerg in her piece "The Strange Case of Schizophrenia in South Africa's Gender Politics" the role of patriarchal and political culture plays a large role in a society's response to violence against women. She spends a great deal of time exploring the phenomenal lack of interest in creating an anti-rape culture if it means treading on political ties or violating accepted norms. She briefly mentions a survey Violence against women and girl children is a very serious and widespread problem. The most common acts of violence against women are perpetrated by a person known to the victim (UNIFEM 2002). Unfortunately, the majority of incidences of violence against women that is of a sexual nature go unreported, especially in situations where there is a "deep sense of shame associated with [female] sexual issues" (UNIFEM 2002). This establishes an especially damaging norm in social situations like those found in Rwanda and South Africa where violence against women was used as an institutionalized tool of oppression. Government initiated violent campaigns targeting women in Rwanda and a the systematic non punishment of perpetrators of violence against women in South Africa have set a dangerous precedent that has implications for social norms even though formal institutions have criminalized such acts.

The case of Rwanda provides a very unique example of possible responses to corrective measures that will ensure the rights of women in a situation where gendered violence has been employed as an especially heinous result of oppression. During the genocide of 1994 sexual violence against women was used as a tool of war. Women were systematically raped, traumatized through various means, and killed as a means of intimidation and general brutality. The challenges facing Rwanda after the 1994 genocide include the lack of conformity on the part of the general public to the new laws of the land; detrimentally patriarchal social systems; the lack of quick action to bring justice to victims of violence; and failure to recognize the real causes of violence (Independent Review Report on

Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006). While these shortcomings speak to a large-scale lack of infrastructure and social enforcement, this is a problem that cannot only be fixed by investing in the bricks and mortar infrastructure. The investment must be made in the re socialization of the manners in which a woman engages with other women and men.

However, South Africa's citizens not seem to consider the crime of rape as warranting special sentencing. The survey conducted in 2009 (Shock over Rape Survey 2009) resulted in the statistic that "one in four South African men admit to rape", unapologetically considering it a part of sexual interaction (2009: 195). She further cites Rachel Jewkes (the chief researcher in the Rape Survey of 2009) as saying in response to the statistic 'rape is an expression of male sexual entitlement' (Jansen-Daugjberg 195). Jansen-Daugbjerg makes the connection between societal norms and the disappointing rape statistics by considering the patriarchal history of South Africa and vehement support for public figures even if it is an affront to the progression of women's positions. The South African law treats violence against women as a women's issue compared to the relational (female/male and power hierarchically informed) way in which Rwanda's legal system handles it. Although there have been some questions as to the validity of the 2009 Rape Survey, the general consensus is one of near apathy for victims of rape who have shown to ascribe to a questionable moral code or who "deserve" (Shock Over Rape Survey 2009) the violent treatment they received. There is a formal institutional arm that is dedicated to the eradication of violence again women by being recognized as the government as "one of the five National Priority areas of concern of the South African government" (South Africa Response 1999). South Africa further initiated the SADC Declaration on the "Prevention of Violence against Women and Children" (South Africa Response 1999). Some of the successful campaigns that have resulted from these institutionalized values towards the treatment of women are: the launch and diffusion of information through the '16 Days of Activism on Violence Against Women', resulting in victim empowerment, increased reporting on incidents of violence against women and legal reform that seeks to abolish the criminalization of rape victims touting the greatest success as the institutional transformation that has allowed all of the other achievements to happen (South Africa Response 1999).

4. Effects of persecution and armed of other kinds of conflict on women

A 2002 UNIFEM-sponsored report on the impact of armed conflict on women underscores how the chaotic and brutal circumstances of armed conflict aggravate all the

factors that fuel the AIDS crisis. Tragically and most cruelly, in many conflicts, the planned and purposeful infection of women with HIV has been a tool of war, often pitting one ethnic group against another, as occurred during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 (UNIFEM 2002).

The legacy of persecution and conflict is especially significant for Rwanda as their conflict is considered by many (Jones 2002) to be the most significant in modern time, and reveals itself to be one of the most deadly[76] in history. The genocide is believed to have been the most deadly in modern time because such a large percentage of a single ethnic group to be killed in such a short period of time, under the auspices of a legitimate centralized government with no international intervention (Jones 2002). In fact the refusal of the international community to immediately intervene or consider the campaign against the Tutsi population of Rwanda a case of genocide reinforces a deep seated mistrust of the international community n behalf of the people of Africa. Although it is believed that early in the death campaign only Tutsi men were targeted victims of a government sanctioned personal murder[77] at the hands of their male Hutu counterparts. Women were believed to have largely been victims of sexual abuse at the hands of men. There is emerging research that considers that more women were participated in and were victims of the physical murders than previously thought (Jones 2002). This legacy of mistrust of one's neighbor, family, men, government, and international community is likely to have long-term consequences.

To deal with the memories of atrocities the Rwandan government has instituted a plan of justice, reconciliation, and reintroduction that seeks to acknowledge the part many citizens played in the death campaigns while giving victims and perpetrators an opportunity to process what happened by participating in the International Crime Conventions (Gacaca Courts)[78]. Although there will never be a full recovery of normalcy after such an atrocity, the

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[76] Jones (2002) notes the Rwandan governments revisited count reflected at least 1,074,017 people killed between 1990 and 1994 with the campaign against Tutsis in July of 1994 producing the majority of deaths up to 800,000 people.

[77] Personal murder refers to the close range and intimate method of murdering in this particular conflict. The weapon of choice was found to be machetes. This personal involvement on the part of a large number of ordinary citizens was a tactic used by the government to implicate such large numbers of people that responsibility would be diluted and projected on to others.

[78] This author recognizes the controversy surrounding the diminished effectiveness of such courts due to overcrowding, lack of resources, and lack of legal professionals to.

psychological process of engaging the memory and using it as a point of departure for future action is an incredibly effective way of ensuring that history will not repeat itself. This particular concern is where the need for dedicated machinery that directs participation of formal institutions becomes especially important. The impact conflict and violence has had on the women of Rwanda requires earmarked funding to insure the delivery of needed funding and support. While Rwanda has allocated budgetary resources to the social development of women, it is grossly inadequate and fails to meet the needs presented by the residual effects of the consequences of conflict which disproportionately place women in vulnerable positions (Independent Report on Rwanda 2005) as compared to how men may be affected.

6. Inequality between women and men in the sharing of power and decision making at all levels

Table 15[79]

Rwanda	**2000**	**2004**	**2007**
%of parliamentary seats held by women	17%	49%	48.8%

South Africa	**2000**	**2004**	**2007**
% of parliamentary seat held by women	30%	30%	32.8%

Once again these statistics are better compared by considering simultaneously showing disparate growth rates in relation to available machinery to monitor and encourage full implementation of policy. The South Africa Response (1999) guides the reader through planned action and many acronyms that are housed in the various arms of government, but as the statistics show their progress is slow and possibly even halted. This is a problem that can be attributed to not only the bureaucratic speed traps the derail progress but also by the enemy of gender mainstreaming and development: apathy. Apathy is a dangerous side effect of efficient institutions that quickly and wholly diffuse gender mainstreaming idea through society; people feel comfortable with the gains already won and are not motivated to continuously improve on past success. If total gender consideration is what the goal is at the

[79] "Gender Stats: Rwanda, South Africa". 2010. *The World Bank website.* Retrieved from http://go.worldbank.org/D45R2QQAM0 on July 30, 2009.

end of the day, quotas do the movement a disservice and encourage the loss of gained ground for equality.

6. Insufficient mechanisms at all levels to promote the advancement of women.

As mentioned earlier Rwanda has allocated budgetary resources to the social development of women but these sums are grossly inadequate and fail to meet the needs presented by the residual effects of the consequences of poverty, violence and disenfranchisement which disproportionately place women in vulnerable positions (Independent Report on Rwanda 2005). They have reached an impressive 50% representation of women in parliament, however this has shown less promise on the ground level than hoped for ("Independent Review report on gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda" 2006). There are numerous government commissions to address the lack of working machinery that would help to solidify the upward trajectory of women.

South Africa has been a leader in the amount of money and institutional support that is lent to gendered concerns. There is a formal acceptance that there is a need for formal mobilization for gender equality within a developing context. In their 1999 concerning the achieved progress towards gender mainstreaming South Africa, but very much like Rwanda, the lack of resources that can be specifically dedicated to the task of ensuring the advancement of women is hindering progress.

7. Promotion and protection of all human rights of women.

The rights of women are imbedded into all aspects of the new Rwandan constitution (Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006). The lingering effects of patriarchal institutions are still present in the minds and behavior of both women and men, but the groundwork that has been laid is based on the international consensus on the guaranteeing of every individuals human rights. There are still problems with enforcement of such commitments on the general population because of insufficient funds and the high incidence of rights being violated in private. Rwanda is progressive in institutional guarantees for human rights but still has quite a distance to go with the widely shared value for the human rights of woman in private spaces.

Some of the important steps that South Africa has taken in their progress towards meeting the needs of the 12 Critical Areas of Concern by protecting the human rights of women are; declaring that women and men have equal rights with regard to property

acquisition, change and retention of nationality, and by solidifying the progressive constitution of South Africa over customary law (South Africa Response 1999) when it comes to the inalienable rights guaranteed to women by the UN declaration of Human Rights. This is an important step for South Africa to take in becoming a trusted member of the international community because it shows a commitment to global consensus over the small scale interests of their constituency.

8. The role of women in the media.

Both countries have similar presence of pre-critical juncture media influence. Rwanda and South Africa ruling groups employed propaganda material to encourage the acceptance of oppressive rule. Since 1994 the media, especially television and documentary film has played a significant role in gender mainstreaming.

Unfortunately, Rwandan women do not feature prominently in mainstream media outside of coverage of conflict or development. The country's resources are small and there is little to no international media communication, the coverage of the 1994 genocide also created a divide between the consumers of news coverage of unbridled brutality and the subjects of their gross fascination (victims of famine and genocide). The depiction of Rwandan women is, however a prominent feature in movies about the genocide[80]. An encouraging but poorly researched aspect of women in the media of Rwanda is the use of media creation as a form of activism. The reclaiming of personal tragedy by recounting it through a highly transferable medium like cinema allows for women to establish a sense of agency. They are able to experience a cathartic release of painful memory while creating a lasting product that will serve as a reminder of where Rwanda has come from. Movie production and creation art has been used as a tool of reconciliation as so women's NGOs encourage the retelling of experience through art, allowing for unbridled expression of the complex emotions felt as a result of Rwanda's history (US Priorities in Africa 2009).

Although lightly addressed in South Africa's 1999 Response with the admission that there is government attention given to the increased participation of women more technical and managerial jobs within the media, the role women play in the media is largely as talent.

[80] Hotel Rwanda (2004) is one such example of an internationally acclaimed movie depicted the occurrences of the 1994 genocide but neglected to support the development of talent in Rwanda by choosing instead to employ international actresses and actors.

The majority of data on women in the media is focused on the subjective analysis of the positive, negative, and commodified portrayal of women in media. A positive result of the centralized government run television channels (South African Broadcasting Corporation) that has three channels is held to the same gender inclusive standards as reported for the government in the 1999 Response Report. The state run television channel's charter reflects the same principles of commitment to equity, transparency, and good governance as outlined in the government plan for gender mainstreaming and development. Although the synergistic nature of gender inclusive institutional is encouraging in theory, recent mismanagement within the broadcaster's ranks has lead to increasing mistrust in state run enterprises that fail to serve the interests of transformative development. The affirmative action program called Black Economic Empowerment has also played a role in the increased hiring of women in executive positions as well as allowed for an increase in senior vendor capacities for, as they can receive preference in hiring as well as business loans as a result of their previously disadvantaged social status (South African Response 1999).

9. Women and the environment.

"As the majority of the world's poor, women play decisive roles in managing and preserving biodiversity, water, land and other natural resources, yet their centrality is often ignored or exploited." This is a concern that was not a part of the original Conferences on women but reflects the dynamic nature of mainstreaming new concerns. Interestingly it is not a concern that was raised by the Regional Conference on Women in Dakar held in 1994 ahead of the Beijing conference. This is especially worth noting because of the above cited comment of the UN official, which highlights the disproportionate affect environmental concerns have on the poorest members of society. Women of the third world, especially in countries like Rwanda where most of the economy is dependent on agriculture and South Africa where there are concerns about extractive mining which greatly impact the environment, are both affected and integral in the future prevention of environmental degradation (UNEP 2004).

Although it was established that the developed world had a disproportionately large negative impact on the degradation of the environment at the 2009 Climate Change Summit in Copenhagen, the gendered consideration of environmental impact brings attention back to the Third world as changing weather patterns greatly impacts the largely agriculture driven economies of some of the world's poorest countries and the First world's inexhaustible need

for mineral resources also found in developing countries. The triangulation of concerns of a developing state, women, and the environment is an example of modern policy formation that the UN has standardized. (UNEP 2004)

10. The girl child.

"Young women are particularly vulnerable to coerced sex and are increasingly being infected with HIV/AIDS. Over half of new HIV infections worldwide are occurring among young people between the ages of 15 and 24, and more than 60 percent of HIV-positive youth in this age bracket are female" (UNIFEM 2004).

Like many less developed countries the incidences of violence against girl children, the low participation in secondary and tertiary education and well as the practice of forced early marriage is rife in Rwanda (Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006). A depressed economy and porous border make the girl children of Rwanda especially vulnerable to human sexual trafficking, coerced early marriage as a means of securing familial financial security, and the insecurity of childhood is a problem (Independent Review Report on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006). Girl children become a trading piece in the absence of money or property. This is a practice that further holds Rwanda back from achieving a high level of development. In Rwanda there is constitutional support for the protection of girls, however this is one area where extreme poverty has proven to be a barrier against the norm that girls be used as implements of trade, in the absence of material property. The formal economic institutions have not yet reached a point where they are much protection against the establishment of informal economies on the periphery of a fledgling formal society.

Although, the SADC has passed legislation called the "Child Care amendment Bill (1999) that provides for the prohibition of commercial exploitation of children" (South Africa Response 1999) it is a hub for this clandestine activity. Unfortunately, due the presence of a strong economic infrastructure and its position as the gateway to Africa, South Africa is in a prime position to be a prime destination for the human trafficking market ("US Priorities in Africa" 2009).

The legislation is the result of many interdisciplinary conferences where South Africa took the lead in pushing for resolutions that will protect the human rights of children, seeking most to curb the higher incidence of sexual exploitation of girl children. Interestingly, there

is little said about the crime of rape or the high incidence of rape committed against girl children in the 1999 Progress Report. This is an issue that also needs separate legislation that would spell out explicitly the rules of engagement between children and adults, laying out the consequences for improper interaction or exploitation of the child by the adult. As found but not largely enforced in Rwanda ("Independent Review Report on Rwanda" 2006).

11. The persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women

"The feminization of poverty" was another issue that was discussed at length in Beijing. The concept was essentially that women experience a disproportionately high rate of poverty in most societies but especially in the Third World. The burden on poor women is compounded by their inability to be the sole supporters of families in societies where women are not permitted to be contributing members of public society. This is where women's issues and general human rights once again collide. Poverty is a mainstay on the U.N. human rights agenda and is able to be validated by the international norm that speaks to the eradication of poverty. Interestingly enough some groups in attendance at the Beijing conference took issue with the concept because of conservative ideals. Baden and Goetz (1997) "Women Participation in Decision-Making" 1991; Acosta-Belen and Bose 1990) explain that the insistence on the "feminization of poverty" and subsequent actions to empower women as the leaders in their communities alienated the conservative contingent within the conference that held this practice would unravel the foundations of family values as it encouraged single parent households[81]. This particular criticism is especially Eurocentric and patriarchal because it dismisses the economic dependence of families in the Third World on the additional income, even low waged "women's work" income. There is no realistic basis for the assumption that an empowered female population would dismantle the family. In fact it seems that these situations provide a more powerful role for the woman, as she becomes an integral part of the public and private lives of the family and community.

"According to the UN Human Development Index, Rwanda is among the least developed countries, ranking 161st out of 177 countries (2007/07)" (Dejene 2008). This is an indication of a fairly building economy that is built around one industry and leaves little else for people to do to make a living. In Rwanda that industry is farming and the modern incarnation of agri-business pits large commercial farmers against small subsistence farmers

[81] UN 1995a:21 in Baden and Goetz: 1997

or small scale farmers, with the majority of the very poor participating in unpaid farm labor (often women because of institutional inaccessibility and informal power dynamics). It has been prescribed by Dejene (2008) that Rwanda needs to increase their pace in diversifying their economy if they ever hope establish themselves as a development success story. The gender sensitive transformation of institutionalized farming is necessary.

South Africa lists a bevy of concerns within their stated goal to "meet the basic needs and develop human resources" (South Africa Response 1999). It highlights one of the problems of gender mainstreaming in post-Apartheid South Africa, where meeting the basic needs of women in terms of housing, clothing and food still leaves them economically vulnerable to inequality even among women.

Simply put White women are allowed to reserve their claim to privilege and focus on personal attainment with socio economic status boosting activities like tertiary education. While the concerns of women affected by their status as Third world are heavily influenced by reaching a point of balance where survival is not the first consideration and personal fulfillment can begin to be considered, by using formal institutions in the form of state policy to put forth an agenda that serves to bolster inequality is quite irresponsible. This concern would have been better addressed by considering what poor women need in concert with what privileged women want, as a point of reference for what can be made into policy that will encourage the expedited ascendance of poor women to the same socio economic level as privileged women.

12. *The role of women in the economy*

As spoken of in the section on development and women in the Third World there are special considerations as it applies to how economic institutions can better serve a developing state. "In Rwanda, an estimated 41% of businesses are run by women" (Dejene 2008) but only account for 16 % of borrowers (Dejene 2008) from formal lending institutions. Even with the introduction of micro-credit loans (designed to alleviate some of the need for productive resources) as a solution for the depressed agri-economy that was destroyed by the civil wars. Some of the challenges women faces when attempting to enter the formal economic sector are: "unwillingness to use credit (mistrust in institutions); lack of monetary decision making power (bound by informal institutions); and inflexibility on the part of lending institutions (Dejene 2008). The systematic disenfranchisement also shows to be a hindrance to the economic inclusion of women because they do not have the proper training

or rules of engagement, this informal legacy as a result of mistrust and disenfranchisement is tough to overcome. Improved participation in secondary and tertiary education (Dejene 2008) and continued gendered consideration of encouraging total participation in the formal economy is necessary to positively respond to this critical concern.

Micro finance programs in Rwanda and South Africa have sought to address the problems women face obtaining financing for entrepreneurial activity. Traditional lending institutions such as state sanctioned banks are sources of funding for small and large businesses alike. The process of borrowing money from the bank to invest in business is fraught with gender insensitive pitfalls that have proved to be barriers for the social and economic development of women in Africa. South Africa and Rwanda have had a documented history of cultural bias, where in men were considered to be the only breadwinner and provider for the family. Beginning from this premises it was further established that material wealth in the form of house, land, cattle, or anything that could be used to evaluate wealth/be traded for other goods was considered to be the sole property of the head of the household (almost always men). Although a woman may also financially contribute or physically be in possession of property, as she was considered property herself (Baden and Goetz 1997) she was unable to use the property as collateral for debts. Large lending institutions are not interested in donations or good will grants and so the provider/recipient relationship between men and women kept entrepreneurism a strictly male arena. Redefining social roles as discussed throughout this paper has been instrumental in encouraging economic empowerment strategies. Micro-financing initiatives are some of the first on the ground to help women gain access to loans that will help them to generate their own capital that will one day hopefully provide the base for much larger initiatives.

In South Africa aside from the Micro-financing initiatives; the Women's Budget Initiative had had success in supporting the inclusion of women into the formal economy (South Africa Response 1999). Unlike the specialized earmarked budget as found in the Rwandan system (Independent Review on Gender Mainstreaming in Rwanda 2006), the WBI is committed to "developing a statistical data base on impact by gender, targets and indicators of gender equality, performance review mechanisms, [and a survey of] unpaid labor and GDP, time use study" (South Africa Response 1999). This approach however leaves quite a bit to be desired in terms of the goal that is intended to be achieved with these commitments. It seems as if (much like with the effects of poverty) that women who was under/un paid for work are not being encouraged to unionize to solidify their rights as workers and legitimize

their professions or that there is a push for increased vocational and technical training for women that would help them to be hired for jobs in the formal job market. One of the plans for future action includes making moves to standardize credits received at trade schools so that qualifications are more widely accepted. While a legitimate goal, it would take more involvement from a governing body that would be able to maintain the transferability of information.

There is however resistance to gender mainstreaming and development. It can be found in implicit behaviors in the form of slow or incomplete implementation; refusal to fully commit to total diffusion; and in contradictory messages from highest levels of governments (Borland 2003). As mentioned in Chapter One the repatriation of citizens that were displaced from Rwanda and South Africa created a population of people who later had to reintegrate into society. Their lives at home were essentially frozen in time when they left. Their return (some after months others after decades) had to have been disorientating. With their new consciousness and social compass having been influenced by their temporary shelter[82] there is distance from what has transpired at home that has to be traversed. However, the reconciliation and building process began immediately after the conflict ended, as those left behind learned quite quickly that it would take dedicated cooperation to survive. These early stages of reconciliation that began with cooperation in securing post-conflict survival were key to later stages that included "distributive, restorative, and transformative justice" (Gibson 2002).

Although, there has been research done about the reluctance of exiles to return to their homeland due to fears for their personal safety, little has been said about their expectation of a return to normalcy that would include a reinstitution of pre-conflict values held in their memories of home. This is legitimate concern especially with people that had been historically privileged, who expect a return to a privileged reality and may not be able to come to terms with the reality of a totally transformed society. The comfort one finds in returning home would be understandably different if nothing from physical structures, family ties, to formal rules and social values are the same as before. In many situations traditional values or staunchly held cultural norms are the only things left to remind people of the home the once had. This return to old ways of thinking is especially dangerous for a fragile developing state.

Patriarchy and ethnocentrism were endemic to both pre-critical juncture Rwanda and South Africa, but the implications are felt differently according to racial and socioeconomic status. The level to which cooperation across socially constructed boundaries occurs can be

[82] Many Rwandans had gone from normal living to refugee camps on the borders.

seen by evaluative bodies as descriptive indicators of potential success of institutional transformation. Archana Kalegaonkar (1997) outlines a plan where the 'immediate concerns [mentioned in the Conceptual Context Chapter] are addressed' and as a result strategic goals will inevitably become a part of policy formation. Kalegaonker (1997) demonstrates the pervasive albeit offensive assumption that the *consensual and self-chosen*[83] participation in what are considered traditional gender roles As if caring for the wellbeing of her community is a backwards way of setting priorities, the poor woman[84] is forced into a space where she is asked to question her preexisting value set and exchange it for an individualist view where cerebral concepts of gender equity drive a woman to focus on someone else's definition of successful development. This offers a substantial counter point to a great deal of the language of feminist literature that often dwells on the negative view "traditional" gender roles without recognizing the need for women and men to participate in private[85] and public[86] activities that may not be required of people in a developed context. In this way the feminist literature shows traces of hegemonic privilege. Just as women must enter largely male space of international policy non-Western/poor/Third World women must be well represented in decision making positions[87] of both informal and formal institutions, as prescribed by the Beijing Platform for Action.

One is lead to ask: What good will empowered women be if their basic needs are not met as is still the case in the new economy of Rwanda? Can the non-White disenfranchised women trust privileged White women in post-Apartheid South Africa to support an inclusive agenda?

In South Africa, where the object of development is first tasked with equalizing the positions of the privileged and underserved and second with bringing the country as a whole can pursue an internationally competitive development pace. This transformation process is disjointed because even with the total diffusion of gender mainstreaming into policy, there is still little to no cooperation between the different socio economic classes as a result of

[83] The key to this is that the women's rights are guaranteed, her position as an agent of change is acknowledged and her efforts are supported.

[84] In this instance women of low socio-economic classes, women in developing countries, and women who are outside of the Western (U.S./European) concept of individualism due to their communal environment.

[85] i.e.:Household chores; Child rearing.

[86] i.e.: Policy creation; Decision making.

[87] In this case Western feminists represent the powerful as they are seen to establish the global women's agenda.

Apartheid. White women simply did not experience the compounded subjugation that black women[88] experienced, thus after the institutional transfer from the National Party to the African National Congress their points of departure for gender equity were worlds apart, literally. The division between White women who were privileged over Black women, who were wholly oppressed, is so great that there is a lack of communication across experiences that have proven to be a sizable hurdle to clear.

In this vein an argument can be made that Rwanda has been able to achieve relatively comparable gender mainstreaming results in spite of beginning from a position of institutional stand-still, in stark contrast to South Africa's institutional slow down and subsequent peaceful reform. In the rebuilding of Rwanda's formal institutions and policy, Hutu, Twa and Tutsi women are able to join together and work towards the common goal to reestablish basic infrastructure and encourage progressive legislature because of their similar socio economic positions. In this way genocide could be considered to have had a leveling effect that destabilized the imposed construction of affluence of the colonial privileged Tutsis and the more recently politically influential Hutus. After the genocide, whether by virtue of actual genetic relation[89] or the situational economic equity, people were cooperatively working for social and economic development starting from nothing and working for a better life. This further illuminates the importance of honest communication, consideration of the interests of those to be impacted and inspired participation in the agenda setting.

When women in powerful positions reach their personal and professional goals, are their interests still the same? Will a parliamentarian who earns ten times the amount of a working class woman still have the passion for fighting for the rights of much poorer rural women? This concern addresses the damaging effects of complicacy on gender mainstreaming. Having attained a level of power and freedom to discuss other issues, many allow the mainstreamed status of gender as an excuse to find other platforms and concerns with which to keep busy. This is a misunderstanding; the penultimate goal of gender mainstreaming is to reposition *everything* to include the relational bond between genders.

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[88] As well as Coloured women and Asian women.

[89] The distinction of these particular ethnic groups are largely arbitrary and were simply a tool of division employed by Belgian colonists.

The progressive strides made by Rwanda and South Africa, with regards to the inclusion of gender mainstreaming in development policy, have been internationally feted. But, the total diffusion of sensibilities, norms, institutions and policy that will continue to support a gender mainstreaming agenda is only going to be achieved if policy makers adopt a gender considerate decision making process. The international standards of gender equality then need to be communicated effectively on the ground level. The institutional over-haul has already happened in formal institutions in the case study countries and has repaired their damaged their state level identities, but it is the social sensibilities of individuals that inform the way they engage with their community that is most challenging to transform (Tutu 1999).

The consideration for traditional cultural practices within the context of modern progressive policy has proven to be a difficult task. As mentioned in Chapter One the current tension between Africa and the West is mostly informed by their colonialist past. The fear of Western powers 'reclaiming their stake' in Africa by influencing the direction of policy so that it favors foreign interests to the detriment of the African continent as a whole is a real fear (Uvin 2002). However, due to the changing nature of global relations and the imminent need for international cooperation in trade and development, a balance of influences has to be achieved to establish more equitably and trusting relationship. In this sense the inclusion of cultural experience into the formation of modern policy; the recognition and reconciliation after colonial abuse (Tutu 1999)[90]; the encouragement of transparency in policy[91] making must be incorporated in the agendas of foreign bodies that seek to further interact with Africa. This will require a reconsideration of the way their agendas are formed and critically consider the role their organizational identity plays in their priorities, rather than the needs of the country receiving assistance.

As spoken of in Chapter One critics of foreign intervention in matters of sovereign protocol see hegemony and the dilution of local culture to be problematic (Moyo 2009; Uvin 2002) and formidable adversaries to universal diffusion of international standards for gender mainstreaming and development. But, with modern gender mainstreaming that has been

[90] Of the colonies both population and resources

[91] Consider for example Jansen-Daugbjerg explores in her piece The Strange Case of Schizophrenia in South Africa's Gender Politics, the notion that a substantial number of both men and women do not consider rape a crime, and where contrived cultural values to support popular opinion hold that women are property and questioning authority is detrimental to society (195-196: 2009).

constructed by groups most affected by resulting policies[92], there is a built in respectful disregard for individual practices that stand to violate the inalienable rights of women in Africa. The right to equity cannot be privately manipulated as a matter of global consensus (United Nations 2005), but often is even if there is normative acceptance in public spaces. Still, the private arena serves as a haven for antiquated human rights violations against women and is a reminder of the role informal institutions in the form of social norms play.

This paper has identified the relationship between women and men as a key aspect of gender mainstreaming and development. The expansion women's issues, into gender concerns, has provided the space for cooperation between the genders and allowed the space for critical consideration of how institutions are impacted by these relationships (Eurturk 2004). This pivotal turn to a more inclusive consideration of social realities has benefitted the both women and men bolstering the effectiveness of social action, progressive policy, and long term sustainable development and has facilitated the opening of society to all people. The 2004 Commission on the Status of Women was the first time where there was a concerted effort to include the role of men in the official agenda of a gathering dedicated to the advancement of women, without the consideration of reformation for problem males or the desire to operate in a system apart from the one built with patriarchy and maltreatment of women (Yakin 2004).

The best place to start incorporating gender mainstreaming into the social consciousness is by bringing it to children through required primary education. When education is spoken of as an issue with gendered concerns it is often limited to the issue of 'literacy'. While it should be a priority to push for a 100% literacy rate for all children, it is especially important that the education being given is up to date and relevant to the struggle for inspiring the global inclusion or Africa as a global partner. This being said, basic literacy is a start but nowhere near sufficient to break the cycle of underdevelopment. So-called 'hard social skills' and generationally transferable social capital are required of participants in the global exchange of ideas. At the outset of trans-national exchange, as discussed in Chapter Four of this paper, there is a power hierarchy established. The position of the participants most often depends on the one who is able to very quickly defend their role as leader/giver/teacher. Often people in developing states have had to take the position of follower/receiver/pupil, and there is little

[92] NGOs, Regional UN representatives

attention paid to the importance of the establishment of presence in a social situation (Guy-Sheftall 1995). Although controversial and perhaps unfair, the introduction of marketable social skills is what will help empower women, helping them assert their power within private spaces and to assume more positions of powering the public sphere to become competitors in the global arena.

How are formal institutions impacting social realities and how can they better be communicating with individuals? The answer to this question entails considering power dynamics, private and public roles, as well as the security of basic necessities. In effect the all-encompassing goal of mainstreaming is a moving target that requires a dynamic strategy that changes with the ebb and flow of social dilemmas while continuously working towards the realization of sustainable development (Hodgson 2002). Non- governmental organizations seem to be most well positioned to encourage a more extreme and revolutionary gender agenda that is informed by the depth of experience and raw emotions with the formal connections to be a legitimate platform to champion for individuals. The caveat here is that there must be solid formal institutions at the state level that will ensure the space and resources for NGOs to carry out their missions. Rwanda and South Africa both have a newly normative culture of state level protection for gender inclusive NGO projects, individual participation, and activism.

There can be no hesitation in implementing gender mainstreaming policy. The future success of sustainable development is contingent upon the participation of all segments of society. The empowerment of women is crucial to achieving the milestones set forth in the Millennium Development Goals.

Gender equality has been recognized as a requirement for successful development, and it has become a fixture in the international policy of countries seeking interaction with Western markets and global acceptance. The casual assumption that equality is an indicator of capacity is dangerously close to devaluing the progress developing countries have made in gender mainstreaming and development and is reminiscent of the foreign judgments that have scared much needed investment and entrepreneurial spirit from taking root. However, in the same vein, it would be remiss of the international community to assume that gender equality is practiced and the rights of women (especially in the relationship between women and men) are protected simply because there are formal institutions in place. While this paper has mentioned the ultimate goal of all the policy changes, norm creation and agenda setting is

complete diffusion; there is danger in allowing hard fought battles such as these to be lost to complacency ("South Africa response 1999). The self-satisfied relaxation that can accompany the attainment of a goal (like total diffusion of gender concerns into development) can leave hard won progression open to attack and renewed resistance.

In conclusion the enfolding of gender mainstreaming into the institutional machinery that governs development policy is paramount to the ultimate success of such policy. The machinery is composed of both formal and informal institutions that are formed either from the top down or bottom up as it refers to their formal or informal inceptions respectively. Although institutional machinery is referred to by South Africa ,the 1999 self-evaluative report on their progress with gender mainstreaming, as "government supported/funded programs, initiatives, or commissions" (South Africa Response 1999) this paper has shown alternative incarnations. International organizations like the United Nations offer the definitive last word on gender mainstreaming and development standards as a result of its organizational identity. Other development focused IOs like USAID and the EU development body adhere to UN standards to adhere to their own organizational identities of being global partners, but lay greater emphasis on democracy (USAID) and trade (EU). Developing states that wish to be included as partners in the global community must adhere to the UN's formal standards for gender mainstreaming as a sign of commitment to building better more sustainable institutions that bolsters global trust and transparency. While the state is responsible for the macro-level legislation that helps to define state identity, it is the role of non-governmental organizations to liaise with individuals and act as an advocate for their interests by voicing the concerns of the people to the decision makers. The NGOs' platforms are built by individuals organizing around a certain issue, which is bred from concern about the way in which the various forms of institutions are affecting their lives.

The trajectory of gender mainstreaming and development is determined by the efficacy of relationships between the levels of society. The implications of how institutional policy encourages or discourages the effective coalescence between the people's needs, the states interests, and global standards can be seen in the progress made towards sustainable development

Development policy must be rethought with a gendered lens in an effort to set forth a plan to balance the needs of all members of society from the outset instead of incongruently

adding addendums to policy to provide for the inclusion of relational interaction between a male conceptualization of gendered considerations.

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