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Gender and Development: Understanding the experiences of young South African women in advancing the Sustainable Development Goals in South Africa.

University of the Witwatersrand

In Partial Fulfilment of the Masters of Arts in International Relations Degree

Nomathamsanqa Bonolo Celia Smith

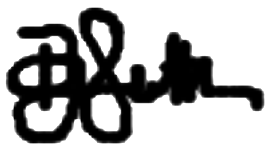
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November 2020

DECLARATION

I declare that this Research Report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Masters of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.



_____

(Signature of candidate)

_____10_____day of_____**November**_____**2020**_____in___Johannesburg

I dedicate the research to all the young women and girls who are future presidents, CEOs, leaders in training, and to all the women who are empowering them to break out of the cycle of poverty – against all odds.

Mama Raised A Continent.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AU	African Union
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
Global Goals	Sustainable Development Goals
DREAMGIIRLS	Dream Girls International
ISIZWE	Project Isizwe
B2S	Born2Succeed
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ANC	African National Congress
DA	Democratic Alliance
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
GBV	Gender-based Violence
WMG	Women's Major Group
UN WOMEN	United Nations Women
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
STEM	Science Technology Engineering Mathematics
STEAM	Science Technology Engineering Arts Mathematics
SA	South Africa
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
WID	Women in Development
WAD	Women and Development
GAD	Gender and Development
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
SADC	Southern African Development Community

Abstract

On September 25th 2015, countries adopted a set of goals to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all, as part of a new sustainable development agenda. Each goal has specific targets to be achieved over the next 15 years. 2015 marked the end of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which were also a set of internationally accepted frameworks to organize the international community's efforts to address global issues (United Nations, 2015). Post-colonial feminists criticized the MDGs for not having a clear framework to include women, particularly in 'developing' countries in their design and implementation, as with most global agendas and international norms, development was something that happened to women and not with women.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs/ Global Goals) have been recognised for vastly improving on the MDGs, by broadening the global development agenda to include environmental, social, economic and political concerns, and for, in the process of their formulation, engaging with member states and civil society groups and placing a great emphasis on women and youth participation. The SDGs have also widened the scope and action of the targets under SDG 5 – the goal on gender equality and women's empowerment, and most notably recognise that gender equality has multiple dimensions.

This research will explore how norms are cascaded or diffused locally; the transition from the MDGs to SDGs and the role young and women play in their respective communities to advance the 'Global Goals', actively participating in the development process. The research seeks to contribute to understandings of how young people, young women in Africa can be better supported to participate in the development processes using the SDG implementation in South Africa as a case study. The research will investigate and analyse the challenges and best practices learned by a sample of young women led organisations since the introduction of the SDGs in South Africa.

Key Words

Youth; Women; Global Goals; Gender; Civil Society; Equality; Development; Empowerment; United Nations; Youth Participation; Feminism; Sustainable development; Poverty; Education.

1. **Chapter One:** Introduction to the Study

1.1. Background

This chapter will provide the context of the study and background of the issues. It will situate the enquiry in the greater field of international relations and literature. The objectives, research methodology and rationale will be outlined herewith.

In the conceptualization of the SDGs great emphasis was placed on ensuring that all people were engaged in the process and that communities were involved in setting the global agenda for development. As a key learning from the MDG trajectory, there has been an increasing global effort to include youth in the implementation and advancement of these development goals and as such, this paper seeks to explore the efforts young women-led civil society organisations in South Africa are engaged in that directly advance the sustainability agenda. The research uses a sample of women between age 18-35 who are already familiar with the 17 SDGs and who are currently engaged in civic, business or political activities with the intention to participate in development and to advance SDG5 and other SDGs. This research will highlight their challenges, success and impact, ultimately providing a youth and female perspective on the support and commitment needed to further engage with the SDGs.

Spearheaded by the United Nations through a deliberative process involving its 193 Member States, as well as global civil society, the goals are contained in the 54th paragraph of United Nations Resolution A/RES/70/1 of 25 September 2015 (United Nations, 2015). The Resolution acts as the Post 2015 Development Agenda (successor to the Millennium Development Goals) and builds on the principles agreed upon under Resolution A/RES/66/288, popularly known as *The Future We Want*. It is a non-binding document released as a result of Rio+20 Conference held in 2012 in Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil (United Nations, 2015).

On 19 July 2014, the UN General Assembly's Open Working Group (OWG) on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) forwarded a proposal for the SDGs to the Assembly. The proposal contained 17 goals with 169 targets covering a broad range of sustainable development issues.

The Intergovernmental Negotiations on the Post 2015 Development Agenda began in January 2015 and ended in August 2015. Following the negotiations, a final document was adopted at the UN Sustainable Development Summit September 25–27, 2015 in New York, USA. The

title of the agenda is *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (United Nations, 2015).

Youth and the SDGs

Essential to the advancement of this Agenda for sustainable development are youth (UNDP, 2017). Organizations such as UNDP have recognized that achieving the 2030 Agenda will require strong partnerships between young people and all stakeholders so that the challenges faced by youth are addressed, their contributions recognized and that they are included at all levels of decision-making (UNDP, 2017). This focus and commitment is further emphasized in the UN Youth Strategy, launched by the United Nations end of 2018 to envision ways in which youth can engage with the SDGs and to outline a strategy for youth development (UNESCO, 2018). UNDP's human-rights based approach is founded on supporting youth empowerment and partnering with youth across all dimensions of sustainable development. UNDP promotes the empowerment of youth through programmes across its global network, which spans more than 170 countries and territories (UNDP, 2017).

There are 20 youth-specific targets spread over six key SDGs: Goal 2 (hunger), Goal 4 (education), Goal 5 (gender equality), Goal 8 (decent work), Goal 10 (inequality) and Goal 13 (climate change) (UNDP, 2017).

According to the UNDP young people's involvement is also key, the call for participation, inclusion, accountability and revitalized global engagement embedded in Goals 16 (peaceful, just and inclusive societies) and 17 (partnerships and implementation) is to be achieved (UNDP, 2017). With just under four years since the launch of the SDGs, the youth in the Global South, particularly South Africa have been actively supportive of global development agendas, which offer a new way for their voices to be heard. Organisations such as One Young World; Mandela Washington Fellowship; African Leadership Academy; Global Shapers Community; Meet the Women: Afrika -have taken on the role of including the SDG Agenda in their organizational programming, particularly because they believe the collective effort of youth can help transform communities. This paper focuses on young women, between 18-34 who are actively involved in SDG 5 – Gender Equality and empowerment of women and girls. Over the last 5 years, there has been a global focus on young women leading CSOs and actively participating in development (Guy-Allen, 2015).

Organizations such as *Meet the Women: Afrika (MTWA)* and *She Leads Africa* connect young women and support them to address the continents pressing challenges (MTWA, 2017). A new form of youth participation and gender and development is emerging, especially in light of rapid digitization and the 4th Industrial Revolution. This paper will explore the initiatives and experiences of South African women who are part of the MTWA network of female-led initiatives or are affiliated to development networks in South Africa, Goal 17 is 'Partnerships for the Goals' and as such this youth-led organization has positioned itself as a partner for the goals and engages young women between ages 18-34 who are involved in community work and have identified themselves as organizations advancing the goals. This study is the first of its kind in South Africa and forms part contributing to international discourse on the role of youth, young women in development it is also an effort to provide recommendations to local and international institutions on how to support the active participation of youth and women in global development.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

South Africa is young and female, 51% of the South African population is female. In the report released by Statistics SA in 2017, young people between the ages of 15-34 make up 36% of the total population (Stats SA, 2017). In South Africa the young population presents both a problem and an opportunity – a problem because of the increasing levels of higher education with very little post qualification job opportunity; and an opportunity to contribute to the economy in significant ways if the barriers to entry are eliminated. The education levels among youth increase, the unemployment rate remains high at 40% (Stats SA, 2017). Of the youth unemployment rate, women make up almost 60% of that figure. While education and economic productivity are not the only measures of development, South Africa finds itself in a position where a large number of its youth population need to gain skills, in order to contribute to the economy. Gender inequality persists in South Africa, and poverty continues to affect women more adversely than men this is seen in the growing numbers of Gender Based Violence, female unemployment rate and other factors that indicate an urgency for women and girls' empowerment.

Today, there is a new awareness of the importance of women issues in development policies and processes, however data still shows that women are not actual beneficiaries or agents of development policies especially in the global south (UN Women, 2018). South Africa's

National Development Plan was launched in 2015 to address the country's top development challenges and a high development challenge in the country remains gender inequality and particularly Gender Based Violence. The Sustainable Development Goals, have been lauded for a comprehensive approach to putting gender equality on the global agenda however, Post-colonial feminist critiques highlight that one of the key flaws of the development agendas and policies is that they do not sufficiently consider and involve women and are rather focused on economic, capitalist, patriarchal, state-focused gains (Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012:11-30). At a conceptual level the Global Goals have 'gender inclusion' written into them, even Goal 5 is a stand-alone goal to achieve gender equality- however, there is yet to be empirical data or information on the practical implications of those ideals.

The United Nation frameworks for the SDGs have identified ways in which previously marginalized groups such as youth and women can play an active role to advance the sustainability agenda, locally, such a framework does not exist. As such this study aims to explore the extent to which young women in South Africa have incorporated the global goals in their initiatives/projects and gain an understanding of the challenges they face as active participants of development in South Africa. This study will consider Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) framework on norms; Creation, Diffusion and Implementation. Furthermore, post-colonial feminist theory will be the lens in which we analyse the role of women in development in South Africa and the experiences of young women as champions of the SDGs. By 'young' this study will adopt the South African definition for youth being (ages 18-34).

Sustainable development has been defined in many ways, but the most frequently quoted definition is from *Our Common Future*, also known as the Brundtland Report:

> *"Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."*

The Brundtland Report became the first document to support sustainable development as a multi-disciplinary field, as it explained that the economy, society, and the environment were key to sustainable development (McManus, 2014). Development, in the frame of the SDGs is not purely an economic phenomenon but rather a multi-dimensional process involving reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. According to Todaro

and Smith (2015), Development is the process of improving the quality of all human lives with three equally important aspects namely:

1. Raising peoples' living levels, i.e. incomes and consumption, levels of food, medical services, education through relevant growth processes

2. Creating conditions conducive to the growth of peoples' self-esteem through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions which promote human dignity and respect

3. Increasing peoples' freedom to choose by enlarging the range of their choice variables, e.g. varieties of goods and services

The study will draw on this definition in understanding the role of young women in development and their experiences thus far in advancing he SDGs.

1.3. Purpose of the Study/Rationale

This study is important as it is the first of its kind. While there are existing contributions on the role of non-state actors in international discourse, there isn't a sufficient body of work specifically about youth, specifically young women as active agents of development. Much of UN analysis on this area is rhetoric and aspirational, meaning there is yet to be concrete data emerging from the global south unpacking the experiences of young women as participants of development. Development is often something that has "happened to" women and youth and "for" women and youth but not "with" and "because of". From an SDG localization perspective, there is very little to no evidence of how young women have partnered with local and international institutions to advance global development agendas. This study will thus contribute a global South, South African perspective on young woman driven localization of the SDGs using data emerging from the experiences of a small sample of young women led civil society organisations.

1.4. Research Design

1.4.1 Research Question(s)

The main research question that will be investigated in the research is

1. ***How are social norm entrepreneurs (young women in South Africa) advancing the SDGs and participating in South Africa's development agenda?***

To situate the discussion in literature and in the historical context of women's participation in development, the sub-question below will be applied in the literature review:

1.1 What role have women played in development?

As a way of consolidating the insights and making recommendations for future research and policy decisions, the research will answer the following

1.2 How can youth/young women-led civil society organizations be better supported to advance the SDGs in South and to participate in development?

1.4.2 Research Methods

This research is qualitative, although some elements of the data will be presented in a quantitative form. Elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e. g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) will be applied for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Natalia, et al. 2006). This research relied on open source information on women led civil society organisations and interviews with respondents to collect the data required. Data will be analysed for frequencies and these frequencies will be summarized as themes in the research report, thus employing a thematic analysis. Themes will also be derived from literature. The research will utilize thematic analysis to determine the themes in the data such as patriarchy; resources; political will; structural barriers; community buy-in; challenges in implementation; successes in implementation and others that may arise in the process of analysis. The interviews will also allow for a more open-ended response in-order to gather as much context and information from the respondents. However, the frequency of certain responses in the questions will be quantified and represented as percentages.

In analysing the results, this research provides a breakdown of how each organization addresses the SDGs by coding and grouping the data that is in line with a relevant SDG while considering fungibility, and the fact that data may have multiple and cross implications from a SDG targets perspective.

1.4.3 Sample Size and Selection of Sample

The sample size of the research is approximately 3 young women led civil society organizations, by young women-led we mean organizations that have women at executive level, between the ages of 18-35. The selection criteria was organisations that identified themselves as supporters of the SDGs and are advancing the SDGs through their respective organizations/projects. An open call was sent out through the Meet the Women Afrika network and participants self-selected on the basis of meeting the criteria. The research utilises interviews as a way of data collection with the CEOs of these organizations, as CEOs play an imperative role in setting the organizational strategy. A wide invitation was sent electronically to networks for women-led civil society organisations, the responses were analysed for suitability and ultimately, the three organisations were selected to contribute to the research, formal consent was obtained from the participating organisations. To address the gaps in data, and to triangulate responses, information on youth experiences was collected and clustered in order to respond to the outlined questions.

1.4.4 Sources of Data

The research will rely on primary and secondary sources of data such as the afore mentioned semi-structured interviews involving human subjects, secondary sources in the form of literature on the SGDs, newspaper articles, official policy documents, United Nations journals and desktop research, reports by the United Nations and other organizations, videos, documentaries, papers and presentations on themes related to the sustainability agenda and gender perspectives.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

Social norms were conceived as aspects of social structure that emerged from the actions and beliefs of actors in specific communities and in turn norms shaped those actions and beliefs by constituting actors' identities and interests (Adler, 1997: 21-24). Social norms were considered, in many ways, the medium of mutual constitution. In addition, the use of norms to study international relations directly challenged the orthodox assumption that the international realm was one largely devoid of sociality, merely a system of power calculations and material forces (Adler, 1997: 21-24).

Initial constructivist studies of social norms generally clustered social norms into three areas. (1) Normative behaviour – how an extant norm influences behaviour within a community. (2) Socialization – how an extant norm or a nascent norm from one community diffuses and is internalized by actors outside that community. (3) Normative emergence – how an idea reaches intersubjective status in a community. Focusing on these elements of normative dynamics led to progress in how constructivists understood conformance with normative structures, the spread of existing norms, and the emergence of new norms (Finnemore and Sikkink , 2001).

Scholars usually distinguish between regulative norms, which order and constrain behaviour, and constitutive norms, which constitute new actors, interests or categories of actions. Another category, evaluative or prescriptive norms, is usually omitted, but Finnemore and Sikkink point out that they are of vital importance in their research framework about the evolution of international norms because of their intersubjective dimensions and standard of appropriateness**.**

There is general agreement on the definition of a norm as a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). Norms as shared assessments raise the question of how many actors must share the assessment before we call it a norm. In part this is a question of empirical domain. Norms may be regional, for example, but not global, as in the case of South Africa's National Development Plan. Even within a community, norms are ‘‘continuous, rather than dichotomous, entities. Norms come in different levels of influence, with different norms commanding different levels of agreement (Finnemore and Sikkink , 2001).

The norm framework developed by Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) asserts that: The characteristic mechanism of the first stage, **norm emergence**, is persuasion by norm entrepreneurs. Norm entrepreneurs attempt to convince a critical mass of states (norm leaders) to embrace new norms. These norm entrepreneurs are anything from policymakers, activists, states or concerned groups. The second stage is characterized more by a dynamic of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers. Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) do not provide a clear motivation for the second stage where the **norm cascades** throughout the population or groups of people however, they argue that the cascade can be a result of the pressure to conform, the desire to enhance international legitimation, and the desire

of state leaders to enhance their self-esteem. The authors further posit that the final stage of the norm cascade is what is termed **norm internalization occurs**; this is the process by which norm acquire a "taken-for-granted" quality and are no longer a matter of broad public debate. For example, few people today discuss whether women should be allowed to vote, whether slavery is useful, or whether racial segregation is justified. The authors make an observation that the completion of the norm ''life cycle'' is not an inevitable process.

There are cases where, norms are "stuck" in a particular stage and thus do not reach internationalization, and this can be as a result of a number of factors.

The subject of norm entrepreneurs in the norm cycle framework is a useful one as the authors argue that norm entrepreneurs are critical for norm emergence because -they call attention to issues or even ''create'' issues by using language that names, interprets, and dramatizes them. Social movement theorists refer to this reinterpretation or renaming process as ''framing'' (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 1-30). The construction of cognitive frames is an essential component of norm entrepreneurs' political strategies, since, when they are successful, the new frames resonate with broader public understandings and are adopted as new ways of talking about and understanding issues. This is evident in how celebrities and global icons have been at the forefront of communicating international issues and have successfully framed messages to garner support from international audiences.

Figure 1: Norm Life Cycle

	Tipping Point		
	Stage 1 Norm Emergence	Stage 2 Norm Cascade	Stage 3 Internalization
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
Motives	Altruism, empathy, ideational commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
Dominant mechanism	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

Source: Finnemore and Sikkink (1998, 898).

In their writing, Goldstein and Keohane also provide understandings on how ideas influence foreign policy and ultimately what is accepted internationally (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 1-30). The authors point out that norms help social actors to orient themselves in an increasingly complicated social world: "Our argument is that ideas influence policy when the principled or causal beliefs they embody provide road maps that increase author's clarity about goals or ends-means relationships, when they affect outcomes of strategic situations in which there is no unique equilibrium, and when they become embedded in political institutions (Goldstein and Keohane, 1993: 1-30)."

This thinking can be similalrly applied to the SDGs – which have a clear roadmap, but a key contributor to their success will be the level in which they are embedded in political and governmental framweorks.

In the first chapter of their book "Ideas and Foreign Policy" (1993) Goldstein and Keohane outline their thoughts on how ideas influence foreign policy decisions. According to the authors, ideas influence policy and help carry deliberate plans or strategies to their end goals. There are three types of beliefs. The first is a world-view, meaning how one sees the world through an economic, social or religious framework. The second type are principled beliefs that guide to what is wrong or right (i.e. they are judgment beliefs, e.g. murder is wrong). The third type are causal, meaning beliefs in a cause-effect kind of relationship (if the stock market crashes, there will be an economic depression, and if there's a depression, there might be riots in the streets).

This argument proves to be useful, particularly when read with the research by Finnemore and Sikkink, it draws us to the fact that ideas and norms can influence local policy and foreign policy decisions within states- depending on what has been internationally accepted and who creates those international standards of appropriateness. Of course, the real challenge here remains that those who have power and ideas – are ultimately the ones who shape the world.

Fakudo-Parr and Hulme (2009) introduce the idea of "Super-Norms" in their analysis of the MDGs, building on the work of Finnemore and Sikkink they argue that a super norm is a "cluster of inter-related prescriptive norms grouped into a unified and coherent framework" and thus in their analysis treated the MDGs as a super-norm which clustered a set of different norms targeted at eradicating poverty into a coherent framework (Fakudo-Parr and Hulme, 2009). While conceptually the "super-norm" is a useful way of thinking they however would

argue against seeing the MDGs and in this case SDGs as a singular "super norm" but rather when looking at the SDGs – seeing the 17 Goals as a set of super norms that have been clustered to address a set of different development targets, although interconnected. SDG 5 - Gender equality and women's empowerment is its own "super norm" due to the fact that there are multiple factors and norms embedded in this goal and underlying target.

Fakudo-Parr and Hulme (2009) also provide a useful distinction when it comes to the advancement of norms, they highlight the distinction between norm institutionalisation (the processes of making policy statements and public announcements about a norm) and norm implementation -the actual allocation of budgets and the undertaking of practical actions to achieve a norm (Fakudo-Parr and Hulme, 2009). Meaning that as opposed to acknowledging and agreeing to the need for global change in rhetoric, the norm implementation stage calls for a 'walk the talk' component, in order for real behaviour change to be effected. While the SDGs are still in their early stages of internalization – there has been a big emphasis on implementation and key indicators have been put in place for governments, civil society organizations to bench mark their progress on the set goals. What will be interesting to observe in the SDG paradigm is the level of commitment to the super norm on Gender Equality and the empowerment of women and girls which, as it stands in South Africa is recognized as a priority (at least in rhetoric), what will be a measure is the extent to which government has allocated resources and adequate funding in support of projects that implement this super norm.

Post-Colonial Feminist theory to explore the role of women in development and SDG implementation

Postcolonial feminism recognises that gender inequality has interconnected economic, political and social dimensions in which power inequalities and discriminatory norms are embedded (Cudd, 2005: 163). It intends to "challenge and transform prevailing patriarchal, economic and colonial power structures, both in the public and private domain" (Cudd, 2005: 170-182). This study will thus employ a postcolonial feminist theoretical framework to situate the research problem and to critique the experiences women in South Africa have had in participating in development. A theoretical framework is a "system of ideas or conceptual structures that help us to understand, explain and change the world" (Parpart et al., 2000: 54). Postcolonial feminism is a critical theory, which is normative, meaning it seeks to provides recommendation

for how the world could and should be improved (Cudd, 2005). Importantly, critical theory also supports the development of theories that emphasise, as well as attempt to dismantle, structures of domination. Post-colonial feminists also provide culturally grounded perspectives that are often neglected and even downplayed by liberal feminism. It seeks to dismantle the constant "othering" of Third World women and reframe the view that they do not have agency are, primitive backward by providing an analysis of their lived experiences (Mohanty, 1991).

1.6. Limitations & Delimitations

A limitation of involving human subjects in research is guaranteeing their objectivity and complete honesty in responding to the questionnaire. Subjects may be bias in their responses and so a process of triangulating the responses will be essential. Another limitation is the sample size, of the organisations interviewed. This was addressed by including perspectives from secondary sources and reports on women and youth participation. The research size was adjusted based on the quality of responses received. Another limitation is that many of the secondary data is still UN driven and therefore the content of sources may largely come from a "UN-lens". An attempt was made to use sources that are varied in their critique of the SDGs, gender and development.

1.7. Significance of Study

This study is significant because it will contribute to understandings of how women and youth-led organizations can be better supported to participate in global development, by using the SDGs as a case study. Many assumptions have been made and causal relationships between the involvement of women and youth in advancing the global goals, It also provides a basis for a larger project to test these findings in other parts of Africa and ultimately globally. The intention is for this research to also inform what South Africa's approach to investing in youth and women to advance its local policies, including the National Development Plan and similar development agenda's. Thus, highlighting the importance of ensuring development is not happening to women but rather with women as active participants and that African women's voices are well represented in development discourse.

1.8. Chapter Outline

Proposed Structure of Study:

The study is composed of six chapters that are structured as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction to the Study
This chapter will provide the context of the study and background of the issues. It will situate the enquiry in the greater field of international relations and literature. The objectives, research methodology and rationale will be outlined herewith.

Chapter Two: Literature review
This chapter will delve into an in-depth inquiry into the literature to understand the various theories and concepts that underpin gender, women and participation, global goals.

Chapter Three: From MDG to SDGs
This chapter involves an investigation of the international frameworks, policies and resolutions that have been adopted to advance the implementation and support of the SDGs– globally and in Africa.

Chapter Four: SDGs in South Africa – exploring the relationship between NDP and SDGs
This chapter will provide an analysis and comparison of state policy (National Development Plan) and the SDGs. Highlighting the efforts for localization of the goals in South Africa.

Chapter Five: Experiences of young women advancing SDGs
This chapter will draw on the findings in the research and explore the experiences of norm entrepreneurs (young women) in South Africa. The chapter will draw key trends and commonalities in the experiences of youth as agents of norm diffusion, within the development agenda.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations.
This chapter includes a conclusion of key findings, summary of implications of the study and directions for future research.

2. Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter will delve into an in-depth inquiry into the literature to understand the various theories and concepts that underpin global norms, gender, women and participation, global goals.

This literature review is conducted to outline the seminal authors in the fields of study of Global Norm creation; Women's Participation in Development and local vs global policy implementation. This review will place each work in the context of its contribution to understanding the research problem being studied. Describe the relationship of each work to the others under consideration and ultimately identify new ways to interpret prior research, while reveal any gaps that exist in the literature.

The SDGs have been in effect for five years, however, a body of work exists in support of, in critique of the ambitious development agenda and understandings of global norms. The review of literature is organized the key themes that arise in the literature on the SDGs as they pertain to women. A broader investigation will be provided into understanding women's agency; patriarchy and power; gender mainstreaming and the evolution of young women in the global south.

2.1. Understanding Global Norms: The Norm Lifecycle

2.1.1. Social constructivism and global norms

The theoretical lens that underpins understandings on global norms is social constructivism. Which, unlike more traditional IR theories, accounts for the agency of individuals as opposed to recognizing states as the only legitimate actors in international relations. Constructivism's arrival in IR is associated with the end of the Cold War, an event that the traditional theories such as realism and liberalism failed to account for. This failure can be linked to some of their core tenets, such as the conviction that states are self-interested actors who compete for power and the unequal power distribution among states which defines the balance of power between them (Adler, 2001: 100). By having a dominant focus on the state, traditional theories have not opened much space to observe the agency of individuals. After all, it was the actions of ordinary people that ensured the end of the Cold War, not those of states or international organisations. To bring it home, it was the actions of individuals who brought an end to the white supremacist

apartheid system and will it be incumbent on the actions of individuals to collectively dismantle patriarchal structures that hamper women's development and progress in society. Constructivism accounts for this issue by arguing that the social world is of our making (Willard, 1992: 145- 150). Actors (usually powerful ones, like leaders and influential citizens) continually shape – and sometimes reshape –international relations through their actions and interactions.

Constructivists argue that agency and structure are mutually constituted, which implies that structures influence agency and that agency influences structures (Willard, 1992: 145- 150). Agency can be understood as the ability of someone to act, whereas structure refers to the international system that consists of material and ideational elements (Wendt, 1991). Social norms are central to constructivism. These are generally defined as 'a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity' (Katzenstein, 1996). States that conform to a certain identity are expected to comply with the norms that are associated with that identity. South Africa, being a liberal democracy and progressive state, thus conforms to an identity that is aligned to liberal, democratic agendas in the international sphere.

This idea comes with an expectation that some kinds of behaviour and action are more acceptable than others. This process is also known as 'the logic of appropriateness', where actors behave in certain ways because they believe that this behaviour is appropriate (Wendt, 1991). As we observe in the literature on norms, these standards of appropriateness are further legitimized over time. In the case of gender equality and empowerment, prior to the 70s these, were not legitimate ideals, and until women appealed for equality and representation, demonstrating agency, the international paradigm was largely patriarchal and Eurocentric. The rise of the super-norm on gender equality and women's development was, as social constructivist theorists would argue socially constructed over time. Given the prevailing norms and standards of appropriateness which recognized the destructive nature of patriarchy and the need to focus- on gender and women's development as a global development imperative. Through the participation, lobbying of women who exercised agency – the gender equality discourse now occupies a place in international discourse.

Gender, International Relations and Development

The term gender itself has been highly contested in feminist sociology. Post-structural feminists, and social constructivists agree that gender itself is socially constructed and reinforced through socially accepted and defined behaviour and expectations of gender performance (Butler, 2004:42). Butler also argues that the political problem that feminism often encounters is the erroneous notion that 'woman' is a universal term (Butler, 1989: 6).

"The political assumption that there must be a universal basis for feminism, one which must be found in an identity assumed to exist cross-culturally, often accompanies the notion that the oppression of women has some singular form discernible in the universal or hegemonic structure of patriarchy or masculine domination. The notion of a universal patriarchy has been widely criticized in recent years for its failure to account for the workings of gender oppression in the concrete cultural contexts in which it exists " Butler (1989).

In our exploration of gender and development and the accounts of South African women, this paper recognizes that 'woman' is in fact not a homogeneous term and that women's experiences with patriarchy are deeply nuanced and contextual within their lived experience. For the purpose of the study, 'gender' will be understood as a term that holds this nuance.

Tickner (1992), introduces the gendered nature of international relations in her book, '*Gender in International Relations'*, a seminal text that introduced a framework for understand gendered, feminist perspectives in international relations. In this text, she argues that unless gender were included as a category of analysis in international relations and global paradigms and unless gender hierarchies were eliminated, hierarchies that continued to privilege male characteristics and knowledge and experiences – gender equality would not be achieved (Tickner, 1992: 5-10). The gender lens to social, economic and political life is essential in the third world, as it highlights the way in which women experience issues such as poverty, oppression and overall underdevelopment- which is very different to how men experience it. Critical feminist authors in gender and global development highlight the history of gender and development, the evolution in this field of study and the approaches that have emerged that prove useful to the global norm paradigm.

2.2. Gender and Development: WID, WAD and GAD

Connelly, MacDonald and Parpart assert that the sub-field of women and development can historically be divided into three approaches that were instituted in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1970s, liberal feminists challenged the assumption that the benefits from development projects would automatically reach and impact women and other disadvantaged groups in Third World. In the US liberal feminists brought the evidence to the attention of US policymakers, asserting that there wasn't an automatic, causal relationship with modernisation and the increase in

gender equality (Connelly, MacDonald and Parpart, 2000: 51). The term *women in development* (WID) became what was used at the time and this approach was influenced by western liberal ideals, which emphasized equality of opportunity for women. Advocates fpr WID argued that women needed to be integrated into development projects and plans, as well as have a say in policy design and implementation (Rathgeber, 1989: 20). To increase women's access to development, WID advocates called for accurate monitoring and measurement of women's lived realities and the improvement to opportunities men were exposed to such as education, training, credit, property and meaningful employment (Rathgeber, 1989: 20).

WID was particularly criticised on the basis that it used tenets from modernisation theory, and measured development by the adoption of Western standards and norms (Mohanty, 2003: 500-520). Women's integration into economic life and increased participation in the labour market were regarded as the main solution to gender inequality. As a result, WID disregarded the deep and structural sources and nature of women's subordination and oppression, including the feminisation of poverty and employment; women's unpaid reproductive and care work; social reproduction; as well as the intersectionality that existed between vertical and horizontal inequalities based on class, race, sexual orientation, colonial history, and position in the global economy (Rathgeber, 1989). WID was further critiqued for discounting the agency of Third World women and for misrepresenting their diverse local realities (Kay, 2005: 1177-1183).

The 1970s saw another layer to the approach to women's development, this new approach borrowed from Marxism and Dependency Theory. *Women and development* (WAD) – WAD advocates argued that neo- liberal capitalism was the main cause of underdevelopment of the Third World (Kay, 2005). Proponents of WAD argued that WID's objective to integrate women into development served primarily to perpetuate existing global structures of inequality and maintain Third World countries' economic dependency. (Mohanty, 2003). WAD's analysis of development represented women as homogenous and one of many exploited groups within the modernised capitalist system as opposed to acknowledging the structural causes of women's subordination and exclusion from productivity (Singh, 2007: 102-106), and therefore also disregarded horizontal inequalities, especially those based on race, ethnicity and class.

Chandra Mohanty, also argues that much of the literature on women and development "discursively colonizes the material and historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world, and thereby, produces the image of an 'average third world woman' who is the

object of development" (Mohanty, 2003). This homogenization is problematic; because without acknowledgment of women's diversity- universal principles of gender and development will not be applied critically across region, class and ethnicity. This research is thus aware that "women" in South Africa have varying experiences based on these factors outlined by Mohanty, however it is useful to understand the experiences of individuals to highlight trends and commonalities and differences.

Gender and development (GAD) became a preferred alternative to WID and WAD in the 1980s. This approach came under spotlight as an alternative, based on experiences of grass-roots women's organisations and the work of postcolonial feminist scholars, and is widely attributed to the work and contributions of an organisation seeking to articulate an alternative rooted in third world understanding of gender and development.

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is a transnational organisation that articulated the GAD perspective (Dawn, 2013: 51). A key differentiator of the GAD paradigm is that it recognizes women as active agents and not passive recipients of development, it also does not assume that women have perfect knowledge or understanding of their social situation, meaning that women may have an understanding of their subordinate position but may not have a complete understanding of the structural factors of that discrimination (Yiubf, 1997.) DAWN called for an approach to women's development that recognises the importance of global and gender inequalities (Parpart, 1989: 3-8). The GAD school of thought argues that women's status in society is influenced by their lived conditions and by their positions in the national, regional and global economies. It looks at how society is organise and the, political and economic life holistically. The GAD approach further focuses on the interconnection of gender, class and race and the social construction of their defining characteristics (Connelly, Li, MacDonald & Parpart, 2000: 62- 63). Moreover, GAD recognises that development policies and practices affect women and men differently, and sees women as agents, not simply recipients, of development (DAWN, 2013).

If we analyse the MDGs, the predecessor to the SDGs – the focus was largely on the inclusion of women in decision making, their access to cash income and economic means as opposed to addressing the structural issues that enable the underdevelopment of women. The global development agendas have not committed to a GAD approach and that is mainly because an adequately implemented GAD perspective demands a degree of structural change that national

and international development agencies have found difficult to incorporate into continued development programmes and strategies (Mohanty, 2003). As a result development programmes have however largely failed to deliver substantive change.

Calls for autonomous, democratic development policies empowering women and emphasizing the variety of their experiences preceded Mohanty's critique of representations of third world women in the gender and development literature (Chowdry, 1995: 28-35). Academics and development practitioners exploring the implications of postcolonial and poststructuralist feminist theories have been particularly preoccupied with the deconstruction of development discourse based on homogenizing visions of third-world-women-as-victims and first-world-women-as-experts (Parpart, 1989: 3-18). Combined with a general rejection of top-down approaches to development, these critiques have led to the acknowledgment in development practice of third world women's diversity, their privileged knowledge of the circumstances facing them, and their right and ability to work for changes they perceive to be necessary (Chowdry, 1995). This is an important basis of interviewing young South African women who, are not homogenous in their grouping, do not speak on behalf of young women in the global south but rather provide an account based on their individual lived experiences as women participating in development – locally and internationally.

Other forms of recommendations in Gender and Development literature have supported Mohanty's critiques and suggest, that policymakers should listen to the silenced voices of third world women in new iterations of development. The most obvious is to ask women what they think and to allow their answers to dominate the creation and implementation of policy. This approach would make women "participants in, rather than recipients, of the development process. The demand that development rebuild itself on the basis of hearing what third world women have to say is thus an attempt to evade problematic structures of power and authority that permeate its contemporary theory and practice. This will also be useful in crafting authentic solutions to the development agendas in local contexts, underpinned by local voices and experiences.

2.2.1. Patriarchy and Power

A strong theme that emerges in post-colonial feminist literature is 'patriarchy' and 'power'. Patriarchy is the system of male -domination and female subordination in society, economy, and culture –this system has shaped the world as we know it. In the economic sphere- patriarchy

has shaped the division of labour within the family where women have been relegated to the home/domestic duties while men have participated in production activities and enterprise. Important to emphasize in the discussion on patriarchy, is that there isn't "one patriarchy" by assuming that patriarchy as a system operates the same universally, development interventions misses the opportunity to consider and respond to the lived experiences in differing cultures (Butler, 1989).

According to Cheryl McEwan "development is about power" (McEwan, 2009). She argues that relations of power are inherent to the operations, locations and unequal distribution of development and that it is therefore essential that development studies analyse the impact of power (McEwan, 2009). Postcolonial feminists argue that development is a continuation of European imperialism because it is largely entrenched in European cultures and espouses a hegemonic Western world- view (Esquivel, 2016: 9-23). This study therefore, challenges this perspective by exploring the key development challenges and aspirations of women in the global South.

The literature on global norms provides a strong perspective on the subjective nature of norm development and 'idea dissemination', the framework by Finnemore and Skikkink is most useful in creating understandings on the various stages of norm "maturation", so to speak, and will be the basis in which we understand the process of localization of the SDGs in South Africa, taking into account the synergies with local policy. The concept of norm entrepreneurs can be closely compared to the role in which the young women identified for the purpose of this study are currently playing in South Africa. By looking at how norms are formed, who champions these norms and by "listening to the voices" of the women in the third world context, this study will be able to contribute to understandings on how third world women can be better supported to be active in the development process, as recommended by proponents of the Gender and development (GAD) approach. The need for gender mainstreaming and sufficient budgeting is also a crucial perspective in the literature, as it ultimately determines the willingness of a state to implement the development goals, as opposed to the "just add women and stir" rhetoric which is not sufficient in addressing structural inequality. What is lacking in the literature, are clear accounts of the complexities of participating in development as a woman, in the third world context. As such, this study seeks to explore the first account challenges of implementing the SDGs and promoting gender equality and empowerment as a

woman in South Africa, this will contribute to closing that data gap in the field of international relations.

3. **Chapter Three:** From MDG to SDGs

This chapter provides an overview and analysis of the international frameworks, policies and resolutions that preceded the SDGs. In doing so, the chapter will explore the motivations behind establishing targets for governments to achieve and what measures of reporting/non-compliance accompanies the goal setting. The chapter will then turn to examining the barriers, challenges and obstacles that the Millennium Development goals faced and how the SDGs are committed to addressing these shortcomings.

3.1. Development before the MDGs

Prior to the Millennium, the UN held conferences focusing on the cause of international development (Ziai, 2011). The United Nations Development approaches underwent a complete shift because of these UN conferences, which introduced new concepts such as sustainability, participation, good governance, poverty reduction, gender, globalisation, and market-orientation (Ziai, 2011). The first UN Development Report was also released in 1990 (United Nations, 1990) and for the rest of the decade several other conferences took place that were focusing on development, human rights, population, social development, women and the environment (Hulme, 2009).

Before the millennium, the international development discourse was largely centred around income poverty, 'the third world' and human security (World Bank, 2001). The UN United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries was a seminal conference held every 10 years, preoccupied with how western nations could finance Africa's development through aid and relief programs. Reflected in the table below is excerpts from the United Nations Reports following the United Nation's Conferences on 'Least Developed Countries' – these demonstrate the problematic international discourse over the three development decades prior to 2000 and how, gradually, the top-down view that development was about rescuing poorer countries from themselves, as opposed to it being a global imperative shifted.

Figure 2: Timeline of Evolution of 'Development'

1950s-1970s ***At the opening of the United Nations development decade, we are beginning to understand the real aims of development and the nature of the development process. We are learning that development concerns not only man's material needs, but also the improvement of the social conditions of his life and his broad human aspirations. Development is not just economic growth, it is growth plus change."- UN Secretary General***	The UN declared the 1960s as the (First) Decade of Development, this term, at the time alluded mainly to advancing modernization and industrialisation, in third world countries. The Post world war II years saw a new commitment and partnership centred around ensuring global human security, increasing modernization and industrialisation. This movement led to a number of programs focused on ensuring the "Least Developed" countries in the world would receive aid, and donorship to advance their governance and societal needs, in light of their new found independence. In 1970 the UN declared the first decade of education, recognising the urgency for collective global efforts in driving education and training as a means to promote mutual understanding and ensuring international peace.[1]
1970s- 1980s ***"The ultimate end of development is to achieve a better quality of life for all, which means not only the development of economic and other material resources but also the physical, moral, intellectual and cultural growth of the human person.[2]"***	The UN Declares the Second Development Decade. During this period, major conferences on racism, women, law of the sea, water and the environment, among others, expanded the conversation within the UN on development. It is during this period that the UN also declared a Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. It is also during this time that that liberal feminism began to gain traction, and western ideals of gender equality are promoted.[3]
1980s- 1990s ***"The right to development is an inalienable human right and that equality of opportunity to development is a prerogative both of nations and individuals who make up nations"[4]***	The UN Declares the third Development Decade. The Declaration on the Right to Development positioned the concept of development within the human rights framework. It made multiple reference to dignity and the right to self-determination as a global imperative in conference resolutions.

1 United Nations.1967. Resolution 2306, http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/2306(XXII)

2 United Nations, Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, 1975 (E/CONF.66/34, para.16).

3 Ibid.

4 United Nations, Declaration on the Right to Development', Resolution 41/128

	The UN also recognized the importance of youth participation in shaping the future of development and declares a Year of Youth.
1990s- 2000s	UN (ILO) hosts the Copenhagen Social Summit and UNDP World Summit resulting in action plans. The Social summit called for more productive employment and reduction of unemployment as a means to development. Gender equality, environmental rights and social integration were highly emphasized in the strategy[5].

Source: United Nations (1970-2000)

What we see in the above outline and analysis of the 4 decades of development, is the way in which discourse on 'development' began to shift from mere modernisation and industrialisation terms, to a human security and human rights focus.

That being said, it is important to highlight the economic challenges that underpinned development during the shifts through the development decades– The income gap between the poor and rich widened; People living under a dollar grew from 1,2 – 1, 3 billion; In Sub-Saharan Africa civil war and political unrest grew and affected the 'development' of many African countries (United Nations, 1990). The World Bank and IMFs Aid programmes and structural adjustment policies were a big factor in Africa's underdevelopment (Easterly, 2001). While the United Nations had recognised the nuanced nature of development, in rhetoric, development was still largely understood in economic, infrastructural - western liberal terms (Easterly, 2001). The language used in the Human Development Indexes published by the UN in the 90s, also affirmed the fact that there was a prevailing dichotomy between the "developed" and "least developed" countries (United Nations, 1990).

[5] United Nations, 1995. World Summit for Social Development. Report of the World Summit for Social Development.

The millennium development goals were intended to shift development into a more holistic approach which considered other factors of structural inequality and drivers of underdevelopment, and to call for greater accountability from all states in ensuring that development was achieved. The MDGs and later SDGs span over three decades, thus making it seven decades of development (Koehler, 2015). In 2000 we began to see a shift in the development discourse, moving away from a human security preoccupation and to a development discourse that was more focused on broader human development needs (Koehler, 2015).

3.2. The MDG Era

In September 2000, building upon a decade of major United Nations conferences and summits, world leaders came together at United Nations Headquarters in New York to adopt the United Nations Millennium Declaration, committing their nations to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and setting out a series of time-bound targets - with a deadline of 2015 – These targets become known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations, 2015). The millennium development goals also came at a time where civil society, activists and movements were raising deep concerns about the state of health, poverty, education and other human conditions in poorer counties. The MDGs were a response to the world's pressing issues. In terms of the broader development timing, the MDGs characterized a shift in the international system from a 10 year development timeline to 15 years, thus constituting the 5th and beginning of the 6th development decade (Koehler, 2015). This is was also an indication of the global recognition that a decade was not sufficient in achieving the ambitious targets.

The eight Millenium Development Goals, each had set targets and indicators and ranged from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education. These goals formed a blueprint to tackling the world's socio-economic development challenges and was agreed to by all the world's countries and all the world's leading development institutions. Given the concerns raised by civil society groups, this development project required unprecedented global efforts to ensure government commitment to meeting the needs of the world's poorest (Bissio, 2003). This was a key moment in development discourse for norm emergence, as outlined in Finnemore and Sikkink's work on

the norm lifecycle (Finnemore and Sikkink's, 1998). The MDGs included broad ideals which were internationally influential, norm entrepreneurs such as celebrities, activists and other people promoted the MDGs as a legitimate means to addressing issues like global poverty, inequality and others, it was the first campaign of its kind as it was highly characterized by the adoption and sponsorship of mainstream channels and tools to inspire collective action (Bissio, 2003). The MDGs were internalized by many countries, particularly in developing countries who were still recovering from civil war, colonialism, aid programmes and other factors. What we begin to see in the emergence of the MDGs is the active role of non-state actors as a driving force for social change. The United Nations, while still shaping and owning the development agenda, had begun to have a new relationship with what Koehler refers to as the 'third UN' – civil society, groups, the private sector who played a key relationship within the UN system to hold countries accountable and to support the advancement of the development ideals outlined.

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Figure 3: The 8 Millennium Development Goals



Source: UN Millennium Development Goals Org (2000)

3.2.1. The Successes of the MDGs

The final MDG Report, published in 2015 claimed that the 15-year international effort produced the most successful anti-poverty movement in history, key successes according to

this report include: Poverty Reduction - Since 1990, the number of people living in extreme poverty declined by more than half, however, relative poverty grew. The proportion of undernourished people in the developing regions fell by almost half. Education and literacy - The primary school enrolment rate in the developing regions has reached 91 percent, and many more girls are now in school compared to 15 years ago (South African Government, MDG Report 2015). South Africa has made great strides towards achieving gender equality in education. According to the 2015 Millennium Development Goals (MDG)7 report, gender parity on all education indicators has been reached. Moreover, females make up a higher proportion of persons enrolled in secondary and tertiary level education (MDG, 2015). Increased levels of education particularly among females have been found to have positive impacts on the overall empowerment of women and girls in the long run. This is because education equips them with the self-confidence, knowledge and skills that are necessary to participate fully in the development process within their communities (MDG Report South Africa, 2015).

Progress was also reported with regards to HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. The access and introduction of PMTCT drugs reduced the new HIV infections in infants. The under-five mortality rate declined by more than half, and maternal mortality is down 45 percent worldwide. The target of halving the proportion of people who lack access to improved sources of water was also met (MDG Report, 2015).

This was a significant shift in the policy agenda for international development in two important ways: first, because prior to the agreement of the MDGs, poverty reduction was not the top priority; and second, when it was mentioned, poverty was viewed as income poverty, rather than multi-dimensionally as a set of human deprivations (MDG Report 2015). Strategies over earlier decades had focused on economic growth, measuring progress by per capita income. These ranged from building infrastructure, human capital and an industrial base in the 1960s and 1970s, to economic liberalisation in the 1980s and 1990s to institutional reforms since the 1990s. Although issues like hunger, education and child survival had been areas of concern for a long time, they had not been at the top of the international development agenda. The MDGs reflect an important normative shift and an endorsement of poverty eradication and human well-being as the central objectives of development. The MDGs sought to directly improve

human lives and implicitly spell out that ‘growth is not enough’ for poverty to be ended. (Bissio, 2003)

3.2.2. Challenges in MDG implementation, transitioning to the SDGs

While the MDGs managed to decrease global poverty significantly, there were significant gaps identified, which the SDGs aspire to address. What was important in poverty reduction, was the ‘Jubilee- Drop’ the debt campaign that called for the cancellation of third world debt. This was important because, over indebtedness had led to poverty, inequality and general underdevelopment of many third world countries. The Jubilee campaign was largely successful, resulting in billions of debt cancellation. This is an example of how the work of civil society in the side-lines of global development agendas can be crucial in achieving development ambitions. Fukuda-Parr (2016) critiques the MDGs for being a North-South aid agenda that was driven by Northern development ministers and heads of development agencies with very little input from the real men and women, and boys and girls whose lives they aimed to improve (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016: 1). She states that even though the MDGs greatly assisted in mobilising public support and communicating a clear purpose for development aid, the goals were mostly relevant for developing countries only, and placed very little obligations onto the Global North to assist in the development of the Global South (Carant, 2017). This, being a historical critique of UN development agendas – that development was a ‘Global South’ imperative and less responsibility was placed on the West in the global development agenda (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016: 1-8).

Civil society organisations argued that the goals on global ‘partnership’ were especially weak given that they lacked quantitative targets that held developed countries accountable in aiding the development agenda (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016: 1-8).The MDGs have also been critiqued on the basis for casting development as a narrow and technical process of poverty eradication (which was defined as meeting basic needs), which the development community argued would be achieved if the productive capacity of economies would be enlarged (Fukuda-Parr, 2016) The belief that by growing the economy, the living standards of the poor will automatically improve has been refuted by the outcomes of many development projects that have been instituted since the end of World War II. These development programmes have only led to increased inequality, poverty and suffering amongst those most vulnerable and

marginalised by the global economy (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016: 1-8). Inequality continues to be exacerbated by the global focus on profitmaking, neoliberal globalism and persisting power relations between North-South (Fukuda-Parr ,2016).

3.3. The Sustainable Development Goals Era

On 1 January, 2016, the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development—adopted by world leaders in September 2015 at a historic UN Summit — officially came into effect. Over the next fifteen years, with these new Goals that universally apply to all, countries will mobilize efforts to end all forms of poverty, fight inequalities and tackle climate change, while ensuring that no one is left behind (United Nations, 2015).

The SDGs build on the successes and challenges of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and aim to go further to end all forms of poverty and to address the multi-dimensional factors in developing countries that contribute to underdevelopment (Esquivel & Sweetman, 2016: 1-8). The SDGs characterize the latter part of the 6th Development Decade, and the world is currently in the 7th development decade. The new Goals are unique in that the timelines are longer and more realistic, the goals also call for action by all countries, poor, rich and middle-income to promote prosperity while protecting the planet. They recognize that ending poverty must go hand-in-hand with strategies that build economic growth and addresses a range of social needs including education, health, social protection, and job opportunities, while tackling climate change and environmental protection (United Nations, 2015). The sustainable development goals move beyond a conceptual level but also ask the question of what policies will countries put in place to ensure that the development ideals are achieved (Koehler, 743: 2015).

Figure 4: The 17 Global Goals



Source: Sustainable Development Goals Org (2015)

Sustainable development has been defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainable development calls for concerted efforts towards building an inclusive, sustainable and resilient future for people and planet. In the new framework, the UN recognizes that for sustainable development to be achieved, it is crucial to harmonize three core elements: economic growth, social inclusion and environmental protection (United Nations, 2015). These elements are interconnected and all are crucial for the well-being of individuals and societies. The UN has also identified 5 elements that underpin the SDG Goals:

1. **People** - to end poverty and hunger, in all their forms and dimensions, and to ensure that all human beings can fulfil their potential in dignity and equality and in a healthy environment. (Goal 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6)
2. **Prosperity** - to ensure that all human beings can enjoy prosperous and fulfilling lives and that economic, social and technological progress occurs in harmony with nature. (Goal 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11)
3. **Planet** - to protect the planet from degradation, including through sustainable consumption and production, sustainably managing its natural resources and taking urgent action on climate change, so that it can support the needs of the present and future generations. (Goal 12, 13, 14 and 15)
4. **Peace** - to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies free from fear and violence. There can be no sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development. (Goal 16)
5. **Partnership** - to mobilize the means required to implement this agenda through a revitalised global partnership for sustainable development, based on a spirit of strengthened global solidarity, focused on

> the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable and with the participation of all countries, all stakeholders and all people. (Goal 17)

The Difference between the MDGs and SDGs

There are key differences between the MDGs and SDGs. In how the text has been written, but also in the way in which age old challenges are understood and in the emphasis of state driven monitoring and evaluation.

Zero vs Half: the MDG targets for 2015 were set to achieve at least "half way" to the goal of ending hunger and poverty, with similar proportional goals in other fields. The SDGs are designed to achieve a statistical "zero" on hunger, poverty, preventable child deaths and other targets.

Comprehensive and Expansive Goals*:* there were 8 MDGs, the SDGs have doubled in number. The High-Level Panel recommended 12 Goals, and the Open Working Group final report recommends 17 "Focus Areas" that go beyond the symptoms of poverty, to issues of peace, stability, human rights and good governance. The expansive nature of the SDGs does bring a complexity in monitoring and gathering data, however, the level of detail also ensures that there is clarity in how to approach each target.

Inclusive Goal Setting: As highlighted earlier, the MDGs were created through a top-down process due to insufficient involvement of broader and more representative groups in society and due to the highly-politicized process. The SDGs have been deliberate in promoting civil society participation in the design process, and mainstreaming gender in the multiple goals and targets.

Distinguishing Hunger and Poverty**:** In the MDGs, Hunger and Poverty were grouped together in MDG 1 – the assumption was that through addressing one, it would automatically solve the other. Over the MDG era, data had been gathered on factors contributing to poverty vs. factors creating hunger. The SDGs seek to take a holistic approach to addressing poverty by also recognising that it affects men and women differently and therefore policies would need to reflect this.

The MDGs were vague in structuring the monitoring, evaluation and accountability processes– the SDGs however target that by 2020 they will "increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts". South Africa, has been deliberate in monitoring progress in line with its NDP agenda, and releases baseline reports on SDG implementation (Struckman, 2015).

3.3.1. Monitoring and Implementation of the SDGs

According to the SDG implementation roadmap, the 17 Goals and 169 targets will be monitored using a global indicator framework. As the final piece of the architecture for implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the proposed global indicator framework for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) was agreed by the 47th Session of the United Nations Statistical Commission (March 2016). Governments are expected to take ownership and establish national frameworks for the achievement of the 17 Goals. Countries have the primary responsibility for follow-up and review of the progress made in implementing the Goals, which will require quality, accessible and timely data collection. The United Nation's has also been deliberate in generating toolkits and campaigns to involve civil society organizations, women and youth in holding governments accountable to the plans. Regional follow-up and review will be based on national-level analyses and contribute to follow-up and review at the global level. This is seen to be a fundamental breakthrough in the SDGs and an improvement from the way in which MDGs were conceptualized, monitored and reviewed. Governments, including the South African government have adopted SDG localization frameworks in line with domestic development plans, however the actual implementation of these plans is yet to be measured.

4. **Chapter Four**: SDGs in South Africa – exploring the relationship between the NDP and SDGs

This chapter will provide an analysis and comparison of state policy (National Development Plan) and the SDGs, particularly the implementation of SDG5 *(Achieve Gender Equality and Empower Women and Girls)*. Highlighting the efforts for localization of the goals in South Africa. The chapter will also outline the complexities of integrating National policies to international development agendas with their own set of targets.

4.1. Background

A number of international frameworks have informed South Africa's approach to development and to gender programming. More relevant to this paper and the goals outlined in SDG 5 are: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 (CEDAW) which was adopted by the General Assembly in December 1979 (Haysom, 2018). CEDAW was the culmination of more than thirty years of work by the United States Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). The CSW was established in 1946 to promote women's rights and monitor and report on the status of women. CEDAW is important in that it places women into the focus of human rights concerns and gives positive affirmation to the principle of equality by requiring member states to take appropriate measures in ensuring the full development and advancement of women (CEDAW, 1979). CEDAW expects member states to submit a national report to the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Committee) detailing the measures they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of CEDAW (Haysom, 2018).

The SADC Protocol on Gender is also a key instrument which informs the gender related components of South Africa's development plans. The Southern African Development Community (SADC Community) Protocol on Gender and Development (SADC Protocol) was adopted by SADC Community Heads of State in August 2008. The SADC Protocol encompasses commitments made in all regional, global and continental instruments for achieving gender equality (Haysom, 2018). It further enhances these instruments by addressing gaps and setting specific, measurable targets where those did not already exist. Moreover, the SADC Protocol provides member states with a forum for sharing best practices, peer support

and review. As a SADC Community legal instrument, the SADC Protocol, has laid the basis for mainstreaming gender in all other SADC Community protocols and policies, thereby making it central to the agenda of achieving regional integration, development and democracy.

4.1.1. South Africa and Gender Equality

In 2015, the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) released a report to measure South Africa's progress on gender equality as part of the African Gender Development Index (AGDI). This report indicates that the position and life experiences of the majority of women have remained unchanged and difficult over the last 21 years (CGE, 2015). This is especially true with regard to the multiple forms of violence experienced by women. These range from sexual violence and violence by intimate partners which is argued to increase the risk incidents for HIV infection for women- the challenges faced by women also include unemployment, underemployment and poverty (CGE, 2015). However, an added factor is that the women affected by these issues are mostly black and African. This is an indication of the deep-rooted and still experienced effects of colonialism, apartheid and pervasive patriarchy in South African society- Government's poor implementation and action in addressing these challenges is problematic, particularly because the pervasive violence experienced by women has both social and economic impacts. A 2014 study by KPMG revealed that GBV costs South Africa between R28.4 billion and R42.4 billion a year, or between 0.9 and 1.3 percent of annual GDP (KPMG, 2014: 2).

Problematizing the office of Women

One of the key national institutions responsible for ensuring and championing gender mainstreaming and women's rights in South Africa is the Ministry of Women, children and people with disabilities. The ministry was established in 2009 to focus on these issues and has been criticized for its lack of visibility and real action in response to the experiences of women in South Africa.

A desktop analysis of perceptions South Africans have with regards to the Ministry reveals that some young women have questioned the legitimacy and role of the department given its sluggish responses to the violence against women Rebone Tau in an article wrote : *"It pains me to see that we have a very dysfunctional Ministry of Women in the Presidency while we all know gender violence is a big problem in South Africa. As women are abused on a daily basis, I ask myself: what does the Ministry of Women do? What is its mandate?"* another article reflecting the

experiences of women in South Africa and their understanding of the ministry quoted then student Moho Khati

"*We need sustainable projects in all communities and the department of women doesn't have enough of those. We cannot celebrate isolated cases of success in particular places."* (Mail and Guardian, 2016). Until 2019, the Minister of Women had been Susan Shabangu who's statements had come under scrutiny because they support and reaffirm patriarchy. One such statement was *"Men are supposed to be protectors of society. Men are supposed to be protectors of families. We need to bring back these protectors of society. We need to mobilise our protectors,"* the challenge in this statement is that Shabangu, who has called herself a feminist still framed the agency and freedom of women in the context of patriarchy – where the patriarch exercises its power to "protect" the woman. This infantilisation of women is an example of the problematic language in an institution that is created to advance feminist ideals. Susan Shabangu was also criticized at the same event for reportedly nodding in agreement when a fellow speaker branded feminism as "unAfrican" and went on to say that women should submit to their husbands.

The relationship between women in "power" or "leadership" roles has been a difficult one in South Africa with many of these women leaders , particularly the likes of Susan Shabangu and Bathabile Dhlamini (Minister for Women in the Presidency) being criticized for not representing women and instead playing the political game to the benefit of their male counterparts, a criticism also leveled against the ANC Women's League which until, 2017 had not been able to put forward a female presidential candidate. It is this kind of internalized sexism and misogyny that continues to threaten the progress for women and the "performativity" of care that subsequently leads this institution to believe that they are responding sufficiently to the challenges women are facing in the country. internalized sexism occurs on the individual level and is the experience of taking in messages about the inferiority of women, believing them, and enacting them on oneself and others of the same gender. Like internalized racism and internalized heterosexism, individuals who have internalized sexism value themselves less based on the gender oppression they have experienced directly and indirectly, Bell Hooks (1986).

Based on the literature, and further highlighted in the CGE report are the key areas South Africa falls behind when it comes to gender equality. According to the South African Human Rights

Commission, among the complaints received - the right to 'Equality' remains the highest grievance (SAHRC, 2018). Post-colonial feminists define gender equality as the equality of women by ensuring their rights are respected and protected. It is the structural and systematic effort to remove patriarchy and all forms of limitations experienced by women based on their gender. The concept of intersectionality is important in the context of equality. Intersectionality refers to cases where people face multiple forms of discrimination, based on their identities and character traits (Crenshaw, 1991:1242). For example, whereas a woman may face direct and indirect discrimination, a Black woman may be discriminated against on the bases of gender and race, whereas a Black homosexual woman faces discrimination based on gender, race and sexual orientation, and a poor Black lesbian faces additional discrimination on the ground of socio-economic disadvantage (Crenshaw, 1991: 1245). In South Africa, poverty and socio-economic disadvantage intersect directly with race due to the legacy of apartheid, and affect women disproportionately (Fredman, 2014). A major gap in the literature is accounts of how gender inequality also impacts the LGBTIQ community.

The three key areas that South Africa is yet to improve on are economic, social and political. In terms of economic equality - If we consider the entire workforce, 44 in every 100 employed individuals are women, according to labour data released for the second quarter of 2017 (Stats SA, 2017). Women fill 44% of skilled posts, which includes managers, professionals and technicians. This figure hasn't shifted much over the years; it was 44% in September 2002 (Stats SA, 2012.)

With regards to leadership and positions of influence - although South Africa has made great strides, gender representivity is still below the 50% mark for positions that come with a great deal of influence, according to data from 2014. Women comprised 32% of Supreme Court of Appeal judges, 31% of advocates, 30% of ambassadors and 24% of heads of state-owned enterprises. If we take a brief look at the Top 40 JSE listed companies, only one company had a female CEO (Faku, 2017). In 2019, women make up 47% of cabinet positions, however that does not necessarily mean there's gender equality in who makes government decisions. Both the president and the vice president are men. Studies also often show that women have historically been "mainly allocated portfolios with 'feminine' characteristics and lower levels of prestige" (Africa check, 2019).

In parliament, the levels of women representation have improved significantly. South Africa is ranked as the tenth country in the world with the most number of females in parliament, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, with just over 4 in every 10 benches held by women.

In South Africa, civil society and women's movements have played a significant role in advancing and agitating for change. Since the 1950's when women were advocating for the right to vote to the anti-apartheid resistance movement, South Africa, in particular saw a shift in the role of women as political players and crucial to addressing the societal challenges in the country. Britton and Fish (2009), describe how in the decades of women's activism and struggle, a record number of women moved directly from political imprisonment, labour movements, political exile to positions of power within parliament and civil service (Bretton and Fish, 2009). These shifts provided a new sense of political optimism among women in South Africa as the post-apartheid South Africa provided new opportunities for women to rebuild the country and their communities. The authors highlight that while civil society occupies the space between the state and the household (the private and political) – it also works to engage the state and influence policy at micro and macro levels, organisational and structural levels. This links closely to Koehler's ideas on the 3 UNs- civil society groups being the third UN, holding a relative level of power and influence with regards to international development structures.

4.2. The South African National Development Plan

The National Planning Commission (NPC) was appointed to spearhead the national development plan project in 2010. The NPC comprised of an advisory body of 26 individuals brought in based on their expertise to investigate the key focus areas for South Africa's development (Bauer, 2011). In 2011, after months of consultations, the Chairperson of the Commission, Minister Trevor Manuel handed the draft National Development plan to President Zuma. The plan was officially adopted in 2012/2013 by the African National Congress (ANC) and the government as it set out the economic and socio-economic development strategy for the country (Bauer, 2011). The plan identifies the key components of a decent standard of living as: "housing, water, electricity and sanitation; safe and reliable public transport; quality

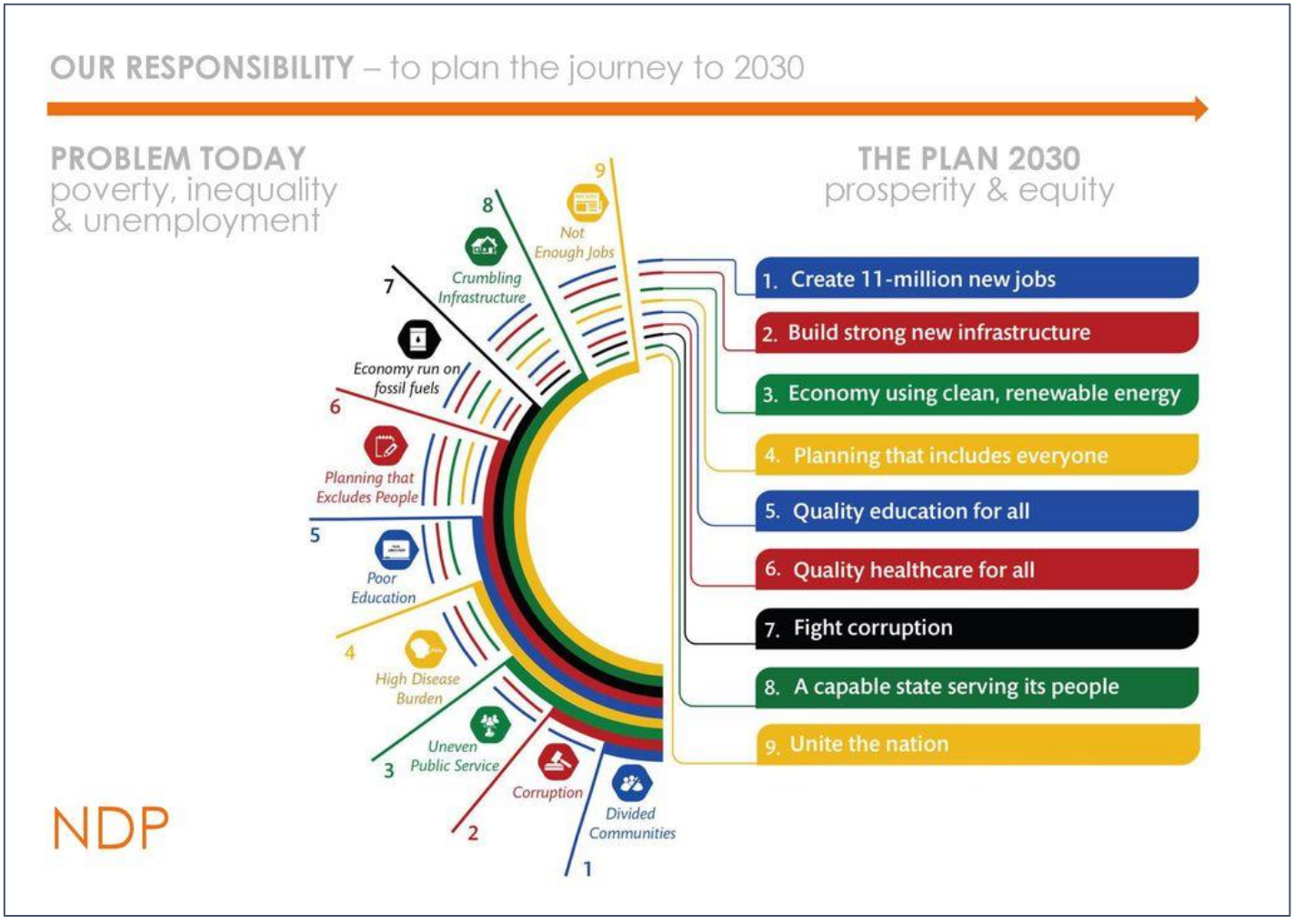
education and skills development; safety and security; quality health care; social protection; employment; recreation and leisure; a clean environment; and adequate nutrition (NPC, 2011).

Although this was the first development program of this magnitude, South Africa has had experience in establishing and driving social norms. An example of this is during the formulation of the Freedom Charter. In 1955 the ANC deployed 50 000 volunteers into South African communities to collect Freedom demands from the people (Jordan, 1986). All South Africans of colour were given the opportunity to voice their concerns and make recommendations of the freedoms they wanted to enjoy in the county. Demands such as "Land to be given to all landless people", "Living wages and shorter hours of work", "Free and compulsory education, irrespective of colour, race or nationality" were synthesized into the final document by ANC leaders (Congress of the People, 1955). The Freedom Charters had 10 ‘Ideals’ and within those were targets and aspirations that would drive South African’s forward (Congress of the People, 1955). The Freedom charter was South Africa’s first collective experience in creating, diffusing and adopting “universally” held norms. The NDP was intended to mirror this approach, in order to revisit and measure the progress of South African’s given the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter and constitution.

NDP Diagnostic Report

Prior to submitting a draft of the NDP, the commission released a diagnostic report that provided an analysis of South Africa's shortcomings and achievements since 1994. The diagnostic report highlighted 9 primary challenges:

Figure 5: The 9 Challenges for South Africa



Source: National Planning Commission South Africa

The Challenges identified by the commission upon conducting in depth research and analysis of the state of affairs in South Africa the key findings were that – *1. Too few people work; 2. The quality of school education for black people is poor; 3. Infrastructure is poorly located, inadequate and under-maintained 4. Spatial divides hobble inclusive development; 5. The economy is unsustainably resource intensive; 6. The public health system cannot meet demand or sustain quality 7. Public services are uneven and often of poor quality; 8. Corruption levels are high; 9. South Africa remains a divided society* (National Planning Commission, 2011). These challenges set up the key focus areas of the NDP. As such, the commission, upon public consultations and engagement of various stakeholders arrived at the below chapters and focus areas:

Figure 6: The 13 NDP Chapters and Focus Areas

Chapter	Focus Area
Chapter 3	Economy and Employment
Chapter 4	Economic infrastructure
Chapter 5	Environmental sustainability and resilience
Chapter 6	Inclusive rural economy
Chapter 7	South Africa in the region and the world
Chapter 8	Transforming Human Settlements
Chapter 9	Improving education, training and innovation
Chapter 10	Health care for all
Chapter 11	Social protection
Chapter 12	Building Safer Communities
Chapter 13	Building a capable and developmental state
Chapter 14	Fighting corruption
Chapter 15	Nation building and social cohesion

Source: *The Future We Want*, National Development Plan (2013)

The NDP combines elements of the Department of Trade and Industry's Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP) and the Economic Development Ministries New Growth Plan (NGP), both frameworks have a large emphasis on economic development and industrialization in South

Africa as a key development imperative (Zarenda, 2013). The NDP is divided into 15 Chapters (Areas) that will be implemented over 5 year periods. The 5 year plans are released periodically and key to the process, is data driven analysis and reporting which inform the next cycles of development. Reports are released after every 5 year period in conjunction with the department of planning, monitoring and evaluation and Statistics SA (NDP, 2011).

The NPC was deliberate in involving community service organizations, business and corporate representatives, youth and broader communities in the National planning meetings (DPME, 2012). A key factor emphasized in the plan is mobilizing society to support the plan and leveraging capabilities. The plan posits that "*a developmental state builds the capabilities of people to improve their own lives, while intervening to correct historical inequalities. Neither government nor the market can develop the necessary capabilities on their own*" (NDP, 2011). As such, this paper will later reflect on how government has built capabilities, platforms that empower civil society and individuals to address the developmental changes facing them. Namely women, who are implementing SDGs that target gender inequality and women empowerment which also forms part of the NDP imperatives.

The NDP and Youth

When the NDP was first launched, there was hope and optimism in the country about the role youth would play in advancing and taking ownership of the NDP, the title being "The Future We Want" evoked an understanding that the future belonged to youth and they were integral in defining this future state. To this point, in 2013, then Kwa-Zulu Natal Premier Zweli Mkhize, speaking at a youth dialogue session, remarked that *"The NDP is about the future and the youth, so our young people must look at the document and find out how they can make it work and how it can actually enhance their opportunities in skills development, in training, in improving the quality of life for all "* (Morris, 2013). In drafting the NDP, Trevor Manual involved a number of young people in the process of formulating the NDP to gain a perspective on youth challenges and how they could be addressed in the development agenda, the NPC launched a national campaign to draw in youth– in urban, peri-urban and rural communities to actively engage with the NDP, this campaign included the NPC Jam, a digital platform to solicit comments and feedback from a wide audience (Hlongwane, 2011).

Another platform to engage youth in the NDP was, the NPC Jam. The Jam was an IBM solution that enabled participants to participate in online collaboration and brainstorming sessions, discussing a range of ideas surrounding social, economic and business challenges- participants also had the opportunity to interact with NPC Chairperson virtually, who gave real-time responses and comments (Hlongwane, 2011). The NPC engaged over 10 000 participants in an online national discussion, which included business, youth, NGOs, community based organisations, civil society organisations, government officials and academics across the country (Hlongwane, 2011). Together with youth consultations, the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) launched the NDP Youth Ambassadors Programme in 2017 as a means to continuously incentivise youth participation in the NDP (SA News, 2017). To date, there is no data reflecting the impact this ambassador's initiative has achieved.

Government identified unemployment as a key challenge for youth and a threat to achieving the outlined targets. In response to this, youth entrepreneurship and investment in SMEs is what government envisions to be the solution to the youth unemployment crisis. Indeed, there has been an increase in youth entrepreneurship as a solution to unemployment. Launched by President Jacob Zuma in 2014, the mission of the Department of Small Business Development is to focus on enhanced support to small business and cooperatives, with an emphasis on programmes to advance entrepreneurship amongst women, the youth, and people with disabilities to stimulate to job creation and economic growth (DBSA, 2014). To support its work, DBSA launched the Small Enterprise Development Agency which provides non-financial support to small enterprises and cooperatives (SEDA, 2014). Seda has by far the biggest network of offices in the country, with 55 branches including 46 co-location points. Seda has presence in some townships and rural areas and has programmes targeting youth and women (SEDA, 2014). When reviewing these key opportunities provided to the youth, it is clear that the NDP was set with the right intentions to engage youth continuously. The challenge however, is the implementation and continued engagement with youth dwindled. The South African government needs to go further than merely making public statements and announcements, but also be accountable to ensuring there is budget and resources available to support youth in participating in developing agenda.

A critique to the MDG and its engagement with youth is that, while the campaign was implemented to raise awareness and participation from youth, the educated middle class youth

still dominated this process- creating a level of elitism to the NDP process. Those who participate in the social norm diffusion process of the NDP can be seen as the social norm entrepreneurs of the NDP process, tasked with harnessing the buy-in of other youth and the broader South African community. What can be challenging, is, understanding that 'youth' is not homogenous. Different youth have nuanced experiences that prevent them from progressing and engaging with the NDP. For rural and township youth to truly champion the NDP, their immediate and material conditions need to be addressed.

Mechanisms to evaluate the South African youth engagement with the NDP are virtually non-existent. Youth are central to taking South Africa forward but without meaningful support and a substantial national framework to monitor their role in the NDP, this will not materialise.

4.2.1. The NDP and Gender

Gender Main Streaming and Budgeting

The 1997 agreed conclusions of ECOSOC defined gender mainstreaming as: "The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels (ECOSOC, 1997). It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetrated (ECOSOC,1997). The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality." Gender mainstreaming has been identified as crucial to women's development programmes, for gender equality to be achieved, it is essential for any development project to take into account the implications of policy on women and men respectively (ECOSOC, 1997). As such, gender equality is the overarching and long-term development goal, while gender mainstreaming is a set of specific, strategic approaches as well as technical and institutional processes adopted to achieve that goal.

South Africa has been largely criticized for its Gender blind policy making and budgeting, despite the attempts by the Joint Standing Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women in the first post-apartheid parliament to raise consciousness around gender sensitive policy and gender budgeting (CGE, 2012). By making policies in a "one size fits all" manner

the concerns of different political constituencies are overlooked such as women, children or people living with disabilities. All policies have an impact on men and women in a differential way and therefore policies can only be successful to the extent that they take into consideration the rights and needs of men and women through considering gender disaggregated data. When policies are gender blind they fail in their implementation because of the dissatisfaction of certain constituencies.

One of the striking differences between the NDP framework and the SDGs is the goals on Gender Equality and Women's empowerment. The SDGs have made this goal explicit by including it in the 17 areas of focus. The NDP does not have a specific chapter focused on Gender (CGE,2012). While some may argue that the intention of the NDP is to focus on the strongest areas that will move South Africa forward such as reducing poverty and driving the economy redressing the challenges created by the apartheid system- there is a strong argument to be made that gender equality should be one of the primary focus areas of the NDP particularly given South Africa's patriarchal racist legacy. Despite South Africa's favourable legislative context for the realisation of gender equality, equity and women's empowerment, multiple challenges still exist at implementation level (CGE, 2012). Women are the most affected by the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

Several bodies, civil society organisations and other groups have heavily criticized the NDPs stance (or lack thereof) on gender issues. One such body is the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), the aim of the CGE and its legislated mandate, is to review state policy from a gender perspective, to ensure gender-aware and responsive policy making. The CGE conducted a study of the NDP and its finding is that the NDP has been constructed in an entirely gender blind fashion, with women considered separately in an add-on feather entitled "Women and the Plan". Merely the fact that women are considered separately in a box titled "Women and the Plan" on p43 is an indication of the "add on" nature of analysis on women that shows that women do not form an integral part of the NDP (CGE, 2012).

What needs to be taken into consideration as well is the deeply racialized past of South Africa, combined with a deep patriarchal culture that have contributed to racial and gender inequality that still have a bearing today. Meaning, the apartheid legacy did not just create an economic problem, but also a deep-seated system oppression of women (Meintjies, 2011; 107:115). The

very serious deleterious effects of this past had the greatest impact on rural women. All policies have an impact on men and women in a differential way and therefore policies can only be successful to the extent that they take into consideration the rights and needs of men and women through considering gender disaggregated data. A criticism of the NDPs chapter 3 (economy and employment) is that, like the rest of the document fails to recognise that women have traditionally been - and remain – marginalised within South Africa's economy. This chapter also neglects to address the fact that women are under-represented in the workplace, particularly in positions of senior management, and that there is great disparity between types of employment opportunities for women as opposed to men. Women predominate in positions that are insecure, low paid and of inferior status, and are more likely to be part-time or temporary in nature (CGE, 2012).

The NDP has also neglected to apply a gender lens in understanding women's lack of access to housing in the country, which continues to be an obstacle for women- property rights have been a source of marginalization for women, particularly in rural areas. In Chapter 10 (Health for all) the NDP does not highlight women's health, it fails prioritize women's reproductive health, which accounts for South Africa's unacceptably high maternal mortality rate, given the fact that 38% of these deaths are due to health systems failures (Bronwyn et al. 2011).

4.3. The SDGs in South Africa

South Africa played an important role in the processes that led to the creation of Agenda 2030. South Africa's positions during the negotiations were informed by the priorities set in the NDP. The SDGs will have to be implemented in conjunction with the NDP in order to address local and global development concern. South Africa has affirmed that "the triple challenge of eradicating poverty, inequalities and unemployment will be prioritised in the implementation of Agenda 2030" (UNDSG, 2016).

As part of the process of domesticating the SDGs in South Africa, the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) in partnership with the United Nations conducted a mapping exercise which sought to assess the convergence between South Africa's National Development Plan and the SDGs (UNDSG,2016). The mapping exercise concluded that 74% of the SDGs are reflected in South Africa's National Development Plan, while 26% of the

SDGs are not reflected. Interestingly, of the 26% not reflected in the NDP, 73% are reflected in other sectoral strategies which means that they are part of the national planning system and only 27% of those not reflected in the NDP do not reflect anywhere mainly because they are not relevant to South Africa (DPME, 2016).

4.3.1. The SDGs and Gender

The SDGs have been commended for applying a consistent gender lens to the 17 ambitious goals, this can be credited to the fact that by including women, CSOs, activists and governments in the process, the outcome for gender is far more inclusive and reflects the complexities of how issues such as poverty affect women differently to men. The SDGs have however, not been without critique particularly from feminist organizations who highlight several oversights and gaps in how the plans have been formulated.

Esquivel (2016) argues that a search on the word 'power' in the Agenda 2030 document gives one result only. However, reports finding 'empowerment' in a number of instances, the word used very broadly in the SDG 5 itself. SDG 5 (gender equality and empowering women and girls) has several empowerment focused "sub-targets". Target 10.2 aims 'by 2030, [to] empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status (United Nations, 2015)'.

The targets for Goal 5 are ending all forms of discrimination against women and girls everywhere, all forms of violence against women and girls, and all harmful practices (Targets 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3); ensuring universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights (Target 5.6); ensuring 'women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life' (Target 5.5); reducing (and redistributing to a limited extent) unpaid care and domestic work (Target 5.4); and undertaking 'reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws' (Target 5.a) (SDG, 2015).

The Expert Group Meeting (EGM) in preparation for the CSW 60 (the sixtieth meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women) advises, women's empowerment has been used

'generously but loosely in the international development and human rights communities. Some definitions are explicitly political and others cautiously technical; some uses are favoured by donors and investors and others by social movements' (Expert Group Meeting for CSW60, 2015). Referring to the concept of 'empowerment' Mosedale (2014) accurately asserts that although genuine empowerment always involves changing unequal power relations, donors and investors tend to favour an apolitical use of the term, in which power relations may actually remain wholly or virtually untouched. When used in this way, the notion of empowerment 'risks becoming a signifier of righteousness – part of the process of mystification of dominant group interests' (Mosedale, 2014).

The SDGs are largely progressive from a gender mainstreaming perspective, unlike the NDP, however both development agendas will continue to face the conundrum of implementation. As Fakudo-Parr and Hume (2009) assert there is a distinction between norm institutionalisation (making policy statements and public announcements about a social norm) and norm implementation. It is only at implementation phase that the immediate progress and outcomes will be observable. The gender-blind nature of the NDP reflects a challenge that women will face in advancing the SDGs. The lack of political will, overt commitment and acknowledgement of the need to focus on gender issues coupled with the very poor budgeting process and provisions to advance and address gender issues in South Africa is an obstacle to achieving the ideals encompassed in SDG 5.

4.4. Key challenges to harmonizing the two frameworks

While similarities are found in the broader ideals of both development agendas- the stark difference in discourse, approach and implementation provides a challenge in harmonizing the goals.

The NDP was launched before the 2030 Agenda. Superimposing the global agenda onto the local plan is politically problematic because it can't be changed without seriously damaging its legitimacy, the challenge will be for policymakers to translate and cascade the SDG localization plans throughout government, while not compromising South Africa specific developmental focus areas. There is still however a glaring gap in the lack of institutional coordination across government and sectors. This, therefore to some extent, stifles the cascade and ownership of SDGs at provincial, local and ward levels. Efforts are underway to assist

various provincial governments to align their provincial plans to both the NDP and SDGs as an initial step of domestication.

The SDGs do not - and cannot - respond to national specific development challenges, for example, apartheid and dismantling apartheid legacies. The 2030 Agenda represents global commitments reached by the United Nation's 193 members states (United Nations, 2015). Thus, there is very little space in the core text of such an agenda for national development challenges. Building on the lessons learnt in the MDG process, the United Nations provides a framework for localizing the SDGs, the United Nations Country offices in South Africa have actively engaged government, business and civil society on approaches to localizing the SDGs.

Although there is a high inclination towards implementing the SDGs and achieving the national development goals in South Africa, a challenge that will remain is how the South African government is able to encourage public participation and support local organizations in promoting the development plans. The NDP will need to fight to maintain relevance given the inclination to adopt the SDG approach which has more global appeal.

5. **Chapter Five:** Experiences of young women advancing the SDGs

This chapter will draw on the findings in the research and explore the experiences of norm entrepreneurs (young women) in South Africa. The chapter will draw key trends and commonalities in the experiences of youth as agents of norm diffusion, within the development agenda. The chapter will address the research questions: How are norm entrepreneurs (young women in South Africa) advancing the SDGs and participating in South Africa's development agenda? And How can young women-led organizations be better supported to advance the SDGs and to participate in development?

The women interviewed as part of this research, represent organizations that support women's development. These organizations have either been founded to address issues that affect women, or have evolved to make women and girls' empowerment an organizational imperative. The organizations participate and view development from a GAD paradigm, which sees women as having agency and as active participant of development. The women interviewed in this research at a personal and political level represent different classes, geographies and levels of education. In the chapter below I highlight the themes that emerge from the research interviews. A thematic analysis was conducted to analyse the core messages and trends in the data. The findings from the interviews address the following research questions: **Firstly,** how are norm entrepreneurs (young women in South Africa) advancing the SDGs and participating in South Africa's development agenda?; **Secondly** - How can young women-led organizations be better supported to advance the SDGs and to participate in development? To respond to the first research question an analysis of the data will be provided by organization. To address the second research question, the analysis will be grouped by challenges and recommendations that arose from the interview data, comparisons will be made by organization.

Finnemore and Sikkink argue that norm entrepreneurs and their organizational platforms have a fundamental role in the first stage of the norm lifecycle. *"Two elements seem common in the successful creation of most new norms: norm entrepreneurs and organizational platforms from which norm entrepreneurs act. Norms do not appear out of thin air; they are actively built by agents.* The young women led CSOs can be viewed as agents advancing and

promoting the advancement of the Gender equality norm. The paper explores their role, approaches and challenges to promoting the internalisation of this norm in South Africa, including structural challenges.

Background

A 2017 report by Stats SA showed that South Africa is young, and female. There are 57.7 million people in South Africa – up from 56.5 million people in 2017 – and more than half of the population (51%) is female (Stats SA, 2017). Young people between the ages of 15 to 34 years old make up 20.6 million people – 35.7% of the total population. While these statistics are sign of the female potential in South Africa (Stats SA, 2017). A recent study by Unicef South Africa found that Girls aged 10-19 are eight times more likely to become infected with HIV than their male peers (UNICEF, 2017). Over 20% of adolescent women in South Africa report to have been pregnant. The study also found that 1 in 3 girls has experienced violence, and over 50 % of those cases will have experienced it more than once in their lives. Adolescence, from age 10-19, is a critical period of mental, physical, social and educational development (Stats SA, 2017). It is during this phase that children's values, behaviours and skills are developed and entrenched. Adolescents therefore require special attention, protection and guidance, as they take on more responsibilities, and search for new experiences and independence (UNICEF, 2017). Authors have written about "poverty's female face" alluding to the fact that poverty affects women very differently from men, and has a ripple effect of women.

In South Africa, a number of female-led organisations have worked over the last decade to address challenges faced by women and girls, data continues to show that poverty affects girls and boys very differently and thus the generational impact of poverty on girls needs to be broken if girls are to thrive and occupy equal positions to their male counterparts in society. Women between 18-35 have begun to participate in different kind of development, a development that is inspired by their personal challenges and struggles and has propelled them to ensure that other women and girls do not experience the same challenges. What is increasingly evident among South Africa young women is that as they break free from the poverty cycle, they take it upon themselves to do the same for another girl.

A girls education organisation 18Twenty8 states that as a team, being young, female and previously-disadvantaged ensures that their approach remains empathetic, skills-enhancing and relevant to the young women that they serve since they have experienced some of the beneficiaries' challenges first-hand (18Twenty8, 2019). Mmabatho Mokiti from Dream Girls Academy, Brenda Blose of Born2Succeed and Dudu Mkhwanazi of Project Isizwe also highlight the personal nature of the work they do in implementing SDG 5 (to empower women and girls). Their experiences were a catalyst to wanting to understand the varied experiences and challenges of South African youth and use the resources and opportunities at their disposal to address these. Altruism is not a new concept in international development, if we were to apply Finnemore and Skink's norm life cycle to the role of South African women in implementing SDG 5, beginning with the first stage **norm emergence**, which is persuasion by norm entrepreneurs, where norm entrepreneurs attempt to convince a critical mass of states (norm leaders) or actors to embrace new norms (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998). First-hand experience is often what leads others to spreading a call to action, these women have seen how being empowered through opportunities, education, skills and training has led to a better future and thus are well placed, amongst other factors to promote Gender equality and the empowerment of women and Girls. Norm entrepreneurs are anything from policymakers, activists, states or concerned groups. In this paper, the norm entrepreneurs explored are young women in South Africa who are concerned about the state of women and girls. The second stage, in the norm lifecycle is characterized by a dynamic of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers

A desktop study of "Female-led organisations for women and girls' empowerment South Africa" brings out just under 37 million search results. Among the organisations listed, the keywords for the programmatic focus include: "women's empowerment"; career guidance; mentorship; Girl-child empowerment; entrepreneurship development; coaching; personal development; Gender Based Violence workshops; girl's education, sanitary towel collections to name a few. The chapter will elucidate the key themes that emerged from the data.

5.1. Dream Girls Academy

Background

Ezylyn Barends, Mmabatho Mokiti and Marise Mckay are the founding directors and board members at DreamGirls Academy. A female and youth-led organisation that seeks to address South Africa's education challenges through mentorship and psycho-social empowerment and support for young women and girls.

In March 2012, DreamGirls Academy launched its first South African mentorship programme at a school in Yeoville with an inaugural group of 30 adolescent girls. To date, over 600 teen girls and young women have participated and have been empowered through the programme across Johannesburg, Cape Town and Polokwane and Durban girls (DreamGirls Academy, 2019). As an organisation, DreamGirls has aligned its programmes to Sustainable Development Goal targets and is committed to advancing the goals, in particular SDG 5- Gender equality and empowerment of women and girls (DreamGirls Academy, 2019).

Below is a table on how and where the Dream Girls Programmes address the SDG Goals and Indicators:

Figure 7: DreamGirls Academy SDG Alignment

Programmes	Goal Targets	Indicators
Flagship Mentorship Programme	1- End Poverty	1.1; 1.2; 1.5
Alumni Programme	4- Education	4.1; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7; 4b
Dreamers to leaders	5 – Gender Equality and Empowerment	All 9 indicators
Advancing Girls in STEM	8- Economic growth	8.3; 8.5; 8.6

The DreamGirls flagship programme requires that young female professionals, entrepreneurs and leaders between 25 and 40 adopt a Grade 11 or Grade 12 female student and mentor them through a structured programme over eight months girls (DreamGirls Academy, 2019). DreamGirls focuses on empowering and mentoring teen girls in the areas of Life Design, Goal Setting, Financial Planning, Career & Entrepreneurship Guidance, Tertiary Education Options & Study Aid, Leadership and Active Citizenship and finally, Women Wellness. Dream Girl's focuses on the soft skills that enhance the education experience of girls, and ensures that they are guaranteed to succeed, having a qualification alone will not necessarily mean that you will succeed in the future girls (DreamGirls Academy, 2019).

Further to the flagship Mentorship program, DreamGirls runs the Alumni Programme –an opportunity to engage alumni of the flagship programme and provide continuous support and mentorship opportunities, mentees are also encouraged to come back as mentors once they have obtained work experience (Mokiti, 2019). Dreamers to leaders Program- A corporate mentorship program, paring executives and leaders within organisations with emerging leaders in the organisation; Advancing Girls in STEAM – promotes the STEAM career fields and education to encourage more women and girls in STEAM. Dream Code – this is a recently launched digital skills programme to empower unemployed women with digital skills to make them employable and to expose them to digitisation. This programme is also a case study that DreamGirls is currently running to measure the correlation between exposing women to digital skills and their employability girls (DreamGirls Academy, 2019). In the interview with one of Dream Girls Academy Founders, Mmabatho Mokiti, a number of themes emerged that speak to key areas in the sustainable development goals, I outline these below.

Girls Education

All South Africans have a right to basic education and the Bill of Rights compels the government to progressively make education available and accessible through reasonable measures. Human resources constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of a nation, and it is therefore vital that a country develops the skills and knowledge of its residents to the greater benefit of all (South Africa Bill of Rights, 2018). The education levels in South Africa and globally have, historically been an indicator of development – as outlined in the NDP 90% of teenagers in South Africa are enrolled in secondary school and only 40% pass matric (Stats SA, 2018).

To date, in rural communities such as KZN and Eastern Cape, for girls, attending school is still a luxury and families still prioritise the education of a boy over a girl. 18.5% of young girls are not attending school due to family commitments, while only 0.4% of young boys suffer from the same reason. In addition, 22.9% of young girls don't have money to attend school and this only affects about 20.6% young boys (Stats SA, 2017).

Mmabatho asserts that access to education can break their dependency and reliance on other sources of income, particularly those that put them at risk. Education is also a key factor that empowers girls to excel outside of the poverty cycle. A total of 307 mentees have graduated from the flagship programme and 71% of those graduates are studying at institutions of higher learning. A further 10% have graduated from institutions of learning and 14% have gained employment or in-service training (DreamGirls Academy, 2019).

Other female-led organisations in South Africa such as 18Twenty8, a girls' education programme, have also taken it upon themselves to drive girls' education (18Twenty8, 2019). Similar to DreamGirls Academy's approach - 18Twenty8 has identified that by empowering young women between the ages of 18 and 28, from disadvantaged backgrounds through education and personal development, they are more likely to succeed. Like DreamGirls, 18Twenty8 encourages young women to view higher education as an attractive and necessary tool for their empowerment. Through their experiences in empowering girl's through education, DreamGirls has learned that providing an opportunity for a girl to attend school is not enough, this needs to be augmented by psychosocial support and mentorship. There are multiple factors that keep girls from attending and complete school. MimiWomen, a women and girls empowerment social enterprise provides sanitary towels to young women in South Africa because of the frequent absenteeism in schools amongst girls, due to not having personal hygiene supplies like sanitary pads (MimiWomen, 2019). "We believe no girl child should come this far to get this far, research has shown that girls from disadvantaged backgrounds skip school when on their periods due to the fact that they don't have proper sanitary etiquette. We at MIMI believe in education and women empowerment, therefore we are committed to restoring the dignity of girls so they too become future leaders." (MimiWomen, 2019).

Mentorship

Mmabatho reflects on how, for many girls, having a representation or role model of "someone who has already done it before you, your chances of succeeding are stronger". Women in South Africa began participating in formal careers in the last 3 decades. Given the countries patriarchal colonial legacy where women were relegated to performing household duties – it is crucial that the prevailing gender inequality in places of work is addressed. "We are investing in women doing well, that's what mentorship is for us- having someone guiding you at different stages of your life. Whether it is with applying to university or preparing for a job interview" Mokiti, 2019).

In 2015 South Africans representing the Black and Jewish communities came together to envision how to stimulate the economy and address the socio-economic challenges in the country. This series of consultations resulted in an initiative geared at mentoring South African's across different sectors. The National Mentorship programme intended on creating a sustainable nationwide mentorship programme across all economic sectors of the South African economy (Awethu Org, 2017). "We will create a national platform which, within years, will connect 100 000 active mentors to 1 million mentees in order to groom existing and future entrepreneurs, create confident and successful individuals, transform the economy and create a sustainable future for South Africa" (Awethu Org, 2017). This organisation concurs that mentorship and access to information is crucial to driving employment and or entrepreneurship in the country.

Dream Girls has been able to partner with other CSOs particularly. "We had to take a step back and realise we cannot do everything ourselves" (Mokiti, 2019). The organization has been able to partner with large corporate institutions to provide mentorship to the women on their programmes who may be less experienced and need support in understanding and navigating the corporate world.

Local Government

In her personal capacity, Mmabatho was involved in the consultative process leading up to developing the NDP. However, the DreamGirls Academy as an organisation was not invited to participate in the creation of the plan. Mmabatho remarks on the lack of visibility

government appears to have on the work local organisations are doing to advance the nations development programme.

The Progress out of poverty index, and NDP are key frameworks that inform how DreamGirls measures their impact and success. Research shows that when one person in a family breaks out of the poverty cycle, they are able to change the economic status of their family. Just by impacting one girl- she is able to impact and support other girls and more people in her family. The over young girls who have graduated from Dream Girls Programmes have gone on to participate in the economy, by gaining employment or through starting a business.

5.2. Project Isizwe

Background

Project Isizwe is a female-led non-profit organisation which works with the public and private sector to bring internet access to low-income communities across South Africa. Project Isizwe facilitates and enables the deployment of free internet hotspots within a walking distance in low-income communities for educational purposes, economic development and social inclusion. During the course of the past five years, over 4.4 million people across South Africa have connected to more than 1500 Isizwe-enabled Free Wi-Fi hotspots. Project Isizwe, was not founded to only address the challenges faced by young women and girls, but youth in general. However, the organisation was included in the research due to the fact that a number of initiatives and programmes have and continue to address SDG 5.

Dudu Mkhwanazi is the Chief Executive Officer of Project Isizwe and a digital inclusion advocate and believes that "the best means of addressing inequality in our communities is the deployment of public -or privately funded Free Wi-Fi in low-income communities.

Below, is a table on how and where the Project Isizwe Programmes address the SDG Goals and Indicators.

Figure 8: Project Isizwe SDG Alignment

Programmes	Goal Targets	Indicators
Free Wi-Fi Access	1- End Poverty	1.1; 1.2; 1.5
Free Wi-Fi Champions	3- Health	3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.5; 3.7
Content Partnerships for Youth	4- Education	4.1; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7; 4b
Content Partnerships for women and girls	5 – Gender Equality and Empowerment	All 9 indicators
	8- Economic growth	8.3; 8.5; 8.6
	9- Infrastructure, Industrialisation, Innovation	9.1; 9c
	10- Reduced inequalities	10.2

Access to information – the internet as a human right

The World Bank estimates that for every 10% penetration of internet access, a country's GDP grows by 1,38% (Minges, 2015:3). The deployment of Free Internet Zones (FIZs) is a step in the right direction towards bridging the digital divide and building a sustainable future for South Africa (Minges, 2015:5). Project Isizwe offers their users up to 500MB per day per device depending on the partnership with the sponsor; the organisation has also developed a content portal called Tobetsa, which is designed to give users access to uncapped, curated content which focusses on education, skills development and employment (Project Isizwe, 2019). SDG 9- Indicator 9.1 seeks to Develop quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure, including regional and transborder infrastructure, to support economic development and human well-being, with a focus on affordable and equitable access for all (United Nations, 2015). Through provision of these free Wi-Fi zones Project Isizwe has driven the progress on Indicator 9c which seeks to "Significantly increase access to information and

communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least developed countries by 2020".

Community buy-in

Given Project Isizwe's operating model, community buy in and participation is key to ensuring uptake into the Wi-Fi-hotspots and that the reach improves the lives of those who need the information the most. Project Isizwe conducted a community survey in Mpumalanga in 2018, where over 50% of the community members reported that their highest socio-economic need was free Wi-Fi within walking distance in the community and schools (Project Isizwe, 2019). This highlights the way in which communities recognise the resource gap and the importance of internet access in achieving their personal aspirations and accessing information that will open them to economic opportunities (Minges, 2015: 2). To ensure communities access the Wi-Fi, particularly in rural communities, Project Isizwe partnered with the Social Collective in Bushbuckridge and Botshabelo to launch the Free Wi-Fi Champions Program which aims to leverage the power of young, motivated individuals to share, activate and educate Wi-Fi users about the uses and opportunities presented by access to free Wi-Fi thus creating micro-jobbing opportunities (Project Isizwe, 2019).

Women and the 4th industrial revolution

According to the World Economic Forum's most recent Global Gender Gap Report, it will take another 118 years for women to be earning the same as men (World Economic Forum, 2015). In 118 years, analysts project that the 4th Industrial Revolution will be in full effect, and beyond any current imaginations. The Fourth Industrial revolution will be characterised by rapid digitization and ways of work that are driven by technological innovations (World Economic Forum, 2016). The First Industrial Revolution used water and steam power to automate production. The Second used electric power to drive mass production (World Economic Forum, 2016). The Third utilised electronics and information technology to automate production and flows of information (World Economic Forum, 2016). Now a Fourth Industrial Revolution is building on the Third, the digital revolution that has been occurring since the middle of the last century. It is characterized by a fusion of technologies that is increasingly blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres (World Economic Forum, 2016). Klaus Schwab, World Economic Forum CEO remarks that *"The possibilities of billions of people connected by mobile devices, with unprecedented processing power, storage*

capacity, and access to knowledge, are unlimited" (Schwab, 2016*).* Studies have shown that these possibilities will be multiplied by emerging technology breakthroughs in fields such as artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things, autonomous vehicles, 3-D printing, nanotechnology, biotechnology, materials science, energy storage, and quantum computing all which never existed even as ideas, until the third Industrial revolution. While the 4th Industrial Revolution promises to improve the lives of many, it has the risk of perpetuating inequality, particular for low income countries that lag behind technologically.

Naadiya Moosajee, cofounder of WomEng, a South African Non-profit that trains women to be engineers, states that *"The Fourth Industrial Revolution may just see a gender revolution as a happy consequence"* (Moosaji, 2016). According to Moosajee, studies show that if we educate girls in STEM (science, technology, engineering and math) at a younger age and adequately prepare women to enter the workforce, we increase the potential for overall economic growth and development (Moosaji, 2016). Therefore, for Dudu, and organisations like Born2 Succed and DreamGirls Academy it is essential to expose the women and girls on their programmes to skills that will equip them for the future. While the SDGs do not make direct mention of the 4th Industrial Revolution and its' implication for women, Indicator 5.B "Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women" (United Nations, 2015) speaks to the need for women to be exposed to digital literacy and STEM fields that will create more opportunities for them. Dudu notes that a challenge in advocating for preparing women and girls for the 4th industrial revolution is that government, at all levels is still unclear in its practical approach to shifting with this global trend (Musgrave, 2018). Dudu believes that the global research and data on the need for rapid digitization, falls on deaf ears in the country and other African nations, due to the multiple development challenges faced by these countries, with exception to Rwanda which has been a continental pioneer for innovation (Russo and Wolf, 2019).

Local government vs corporate partnerships

Project Isizwe in its inception, had strong backing from the local government. Through the funding from then Tshwane municipality, Isizwe was the first organisation in South Africa to promote an advocate for free Wi-Fi access as a means of social inclusion. Political dynamics

led to the impactful project discontinuing its relationship with the Tshwane local government, which then posed a threat to the sustainability of the organisation and of course impacted the thousands of users in the Tshwane area who benefited from the partnership. For Isizwe, working with local governments is essential to delivering the Wi-Fi, however a key challenge for most municipalities in South Africa is the rising service delivery demands, and providing access to free Wi-Fi is not a top priority in their spending. This is an example of how the SDGs and local government priorities do not necessarily align. In South Africa, there are a series of contesting human rights priorities, and thus we lag behind on those that are perceived to be less urgent form a government spending perspective. Project Isizwe now relies on partnerships with private corporations to drive the free Wi-Fi and digital inclusion work. Dudu remarks, that, it was also important for them to consider a sustainability model to be able to continue the community work which they exist for. A key challenge here is that when corporates have concluded their campaigns using the Wi-Fi hotspots in communities, there isn't an incentive for them to continue invest in these Wi-Fi hotspots.

5.3. Born 2 Succeed

Background

Born to Succeed (B2S) is a Non-Profit Organisation operating in South Africa, it was founded in 2014 by Sandiso Sibisi, a young black South African woman under 35 who is actively involved in addressing youth unemployment and social change in South Africa and regionally. Born 2 Succeed is currently led by Brenda Blose, who took over as CEO in 2017 and continues to drive the organisations programmatic imperatives.

Born to succeed identifies itself as an organization that seeks to "educate and empower" young women in South Africa with the skills and resources they require to participate in the economy (Born2Succeed, 2019). The programmes and projects that this organization embarks on are embedded in the sustainable development goals, particularly- SGD 5 which strives for Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls.

The programmatic framework in which B2S carries out its women's development work is a 3Es model – Educate, Empower and Enable (Born2Suceed, 2019). By *Educate* – Born 2 Succeed serves as an education enabler, exposing young women and girls to information on

Agriculture, Hospitality, Information Technology. *Empower*- the programs are intended to provide training on sexual reproductive health, HIV/Aids awareness, Gender based violence and are exposed to mentorship programs to develop their personal leadership skills and emotional intelligence (Born2Suceed, 2019). Lastly, the *Enable* stage is where the young women on Born 2 Succeed programs are enabled to attain employment opportunities or start their own business to ensure sustained livelihoods and their participation in the economy (Born2Suceed, 2019).

Born 2 Succeed programmes target previously disadvantaged women who have either matriculated, and are currently unemployed or who do not have existing formal education. These programs seek to change their economic status through the tools and opportunities provided.

Figure 9: Born 2 Succeed SDG Alignment

Programmes	Goal Targets	Indicators
International Day of Women in Science- Agronomy Career Day	1- End Poverty	1.1; 1.2; 1.5
	4- Education	4.1; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7; 4b
Khwela App and youth vocational training	5 – Gender Equality and Empowerment	All 9 indicators
Women and Girls in STEM	8- Economic growth	8.3; 8.5; 8.6
Corporate Mentorship	9- Infrastructure, Industrialisation, Innovation	9.1; 9c

Access to information and training

Brenda remarks that she did not come from a well-off family. After matriculating, her family did not have the financial means to support her higher education aspirations and it was only until after securing work that she managed to raise enough to further her studies. This informed her drive and passion to ensure that, she would be part of an organisation that promotes access to information and training to young women. Research shows that just over 2 million people aged 19-24 in South Africa are neither employed or in school. This is a group of individuals that Born 2 Succeed targets through their Khwela App and vocational training. The trainings directly advance SDG 5, 5.B "Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women" much like the Dream Code and Project Isizwes initiatives – there is an emphasis on providing digital sills training to empower women and make them more employable.

Mentorship

Similarly to Dream Girl's Academy, Born 2 Succeed suggests that mentorship plays a crucial role in women's development. Brenda Blose believes that mentorship needs to be embedded in every South African woman's thinking – *"It is so important for women, the minute you have opportunities and access to information, to start empowering others. When you start by impacting one person (a girl), you can impact millions".* Mentorship was a big theme in the data. Mentorship can be defined as the activity of giving a younger or less experienced person help and advice over a period of time, especially at work or school[6]. Born 2 Succeed has also partnered with corporate institutions to create in house mentorship programme and to place the women on their vocational trainings in their insitutions. The corporate partnership to address SDG 8, Indicator 8.5 "By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value" has driven the levels of youth employment.

Born 2 Succeed also champions women and girls in STEM education, and sees this as an opportunity to equip and expose the young women on their programmes to the skills required in the future.

[6] Cambridge Dictionary: Mentorship

Having identified ways in which young women led organisations are advancing the sustainable development goals, I now outline the challenge – related themes that emerged from the interview data.

5.4. Application of Finnemore and Sikkink's Norm Lifecycle to SDG norm entrepreneurs

In understanding the role of young women led CSOs in advancing the SDGs, we apply the Norm Lifecycle theory to understanding the progress and actions of these norm entrepreneurs in advancing the norms embedded in the SDG framework in South Africa.

Stage 1: Norm Emergence

The characteristic mechanism of the first stage, norm emergence, is persuasion by norm entrepreneurs. Norm entrepreneurs attempt to convince a critical mass of states (norm leaders) to embrace new norms. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998)

In the wake of the global Goals agenda, numerous campaigns and global conversations have ensued to raise awareness of the importance of the outlined norms in the SDGs. The UN structures have mobilized all levels of society to engage in the awareness and advancement of the norms, and the validity of the actual goals has not been under question given the fact that these goals are universally accepted standards of behaviour. Crucial to this effort, has been the work of CSOs who target the specific issues outlined in the norms and raise awareness at a grassroots level. It can be argued that the UN has played a greater role in convincing norm leaders (governments) to adopt the new norms, however, as the research shows, the local CSOs have also been playing an active role in convincing South African communities and players, government, corporate, communities to embrace and invest in the achievement of progress in this regard, holding the norm leaders accountable to the commitment of these new norms. Gender equality, improved education, access to information and personal development are key themes in the work that these CSO norm entrepreneurs have advocated for, ideals that are not new in the South African context, but however are lagging in progress.

Stage 2: Norm Cascade

The second stage in the Norm Lifecycle, is characterized by a dynamic of imitation as the norm leaders attempt to socialize other states to become norm followers (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998).

In this instance, the norm entrepreneurs in the research have worked to cascade the norm in their organizational policies and through their programming that addresses one or more of the SDGs. Finnemore and Sikkink argue that a *"combination of pressure for conformity, desire to enhance international legitimation, and the desire of state leaders to enhance their self-esteem facilitate norm cascades".* In South Africa, the data indicates that there is a strong desire by decision makers to maintain a perception of progressiveness and adoption of these norms, however, from the accounts of the norm entrepreneurs and the statistics presented in the chapters, it is clear there remains a challenge in gaining full political will and commitment to the accelerated advancement of these norms. Gender equality moves at snail's pace as more women continue to be slain in South Africa due to the lack of relevant laws and policies to address gender based violence and other forms of discrimination against women, for instance. The "Tipping point" of norm cascade has occurred in theory, however still lagging in practice.

Stage 3: Norm Internalization

At the far end of the norm cascade, norm internalization occurs; norms acquire a taken-for-granted quality and are no longer a matter of broad public debate (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998).

While the SDGs as a framework are not a matter of major public debate in South Africa, this also evident in how closely the NDP aligns to the SDGs from a development perspective, a key issue that remains is that the sub norms contained in the SDGs and that are being championed by the norm entrepreneurs are not yet at a "taken-for-granted" level. The norm for Gender equality for instance, is still under contestation given the patriarchal nature of South African society irrespective of social ranking, demographics, education the barriers to internalization cut across. Patriarchy remains an impediment to progress where development is concerned, and remains a barrier for young women norm entrepreneurs who lead these CSOs that advance the SDGs. Below we outline some key themes and challenges to the effective cascade and progression to internalization of the norms.

5.5. Challenges: Supporting and enabling young women as agents of development

Funding and resources

When asked to think about the key challenges to the advancement of the SDGs, Mmabatho states that funding, has been an area DreamGirls has needed to be innovative in addressing. For the first 5 years the Dream Girls' programmes were funded out of pocket, and with crowdsourced individual funding from South Africans who believed in the work they did. "We quickly learned that government was not going to be where our funding comes from." We started consulting as a way to generate revenue for the organisation and sustain the impact. Dream Girls Academy offers consulting services to corporate institutions in South Africa by creating in-house mentorship programmes and training for their staff members and creating other micro-mentorship workshops for corporates. In South Africa, given the gender equality and stagnant growth of women executives, multinationals like Microsoft, Accenture have implemented mentorship programmes as a way to accelerate women's development. Brenda Blose, in her experience working with corporates as partners in South Africa says that its mainly corporates and international donor organisations that have invested in the SDG programming led by Born 2 Succeed. In fact, she narrates the challenges the organization faced with the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) after being awarded funding in 2017, Born 2 Succeed has followed up countless times to receive the funding, to no avail.

"We have actually received more support internationally than locally". We have fostered strong relationships in the international space, and have been able to positon ourselves in line with the investment imperatives for organisations". That is how organisations are able to continue their impact locally.

It is challenging for women to continue the work they do through the CSOs, given the financial strain operating an NGO comes with. A key value for the DreamGirls team is to strive to compensate their team accordingly and competitively. To them, it is essential to operate the organisation as a business and professionally, this means ensuring that the right systems are invested in order to achieve this. For Born 2 Succeed

Being taken seriously – the "Why women" question – a manifestation of patriarchy

Organisations like DreamGirls continue to be questioned on why their programs target only women and girls, in so doing, the very legitimacy of SDG 5 (Gender equality) comes into question. According to Mokiti (2019) this question often comes from men who are either part of corporate donors, other organisations and those who hear about DreamGirls programming. The nature of patriarchy is such that it continues to be threatened by initiatives that seek to improve the material conditions of women, Batho remarks. While it is essential for all young people to receive development opportunities, DreamGirls has a strategic imperative to balance the scales of gender equality. "Our focus on women has worked strategically, given where the world is going and the existing budgets for women and girls empowerment. Male development programmes are struggling in this front and coming to us to ask how to approach fundraising." (Mokiti, 2019) this, also highlighting the fact that the imperative has been to accelerate the development of women, as they have been historically marginalized. What has contributed to dream Girls successes, in advancing the gender equality and empowerment goal, is how they run their organisation. The strong emphasis on measuring impact, reporting on the impact and continuous commitment to the development of girls has brought the organisation to a point where they have gained credibility with partners and potential partners for the SDGs. Brenda Blose (2019) agrees that it is difficult to be a woman in development, but "when you see the impact –it makes it all worth it". The organisations found that the best response to the "Why women and girls" question is always in the data, which indicates that poverty affects women and men differently and the work they do is essential to achieving gender equality.

Political will and engagement with local government

Mokiti (2019) reflects that in the very beginning of their efforts, DreamGirls reached out to ministries such as the Department of Women, and other government programmes. A key challenge is that, although organisations like Dream Girls are driving national development imperatives there has been little to no willingness on governments front to engage them on how they are addressing the SDGs or driving development in the country. "Government is working in silos and isolation from women." (Mokiti, 2019). A question Mokiti says is unclear is – "*when the president is making decisions and commitments- is he involving gender focused organisations in the decision making? We are also decision makers, we do the work at*

grassroots level, surely we need to inform those decisions". There is a growing dissatisfaction with government among local non-state actors, and it is apparent that CSOs are now taking it upon themselves to work independent of the state and state apparatus to drive development in the country.

Project Isizwe is the only organisation, from those interviewed that outlines, in their company documents and website the way in which their programmes advance the NDP. "Increase employment; Raise income per capital; Increase national income from the bottom up by 40%; Increase the quality of education; Provide affordable access to quality healthcare; Make broadband internet universally available; Broaden social cohesion and unity." However, Dudu also reports a lack of commitment on governments part to engage civil society on how to meet the SDG targets relating to information and access to technology. Project Isizwe is very active in international forums to drive digital inclusion and share their impact and case studies with the global community, however although they are part of working groups for internet access and inclusion in South Africa- there is still a vacuum in government budget allocations and spending in this regard. Evidently, at an international level, there is greater support for norm entrepreneurs than at a localized level.

These challenges outlined through the research points to a bigger issue with localising the SDGs. CSOs in South Africa are having to drive the development agenda 'against all odds' and with little to no support from government. The lack of government visibility on the work young women led CSOs have achieved in advancing the SDGs will prove to be a major challenge in SDG implementation (cascade and internalization) in South Africa. In the next chapter I address the main findings and make recommendations on how these can be tackled.

6. **Chapter Six:** Conclusion and Recommendations.

This chapter includes a conclusion of key findings, summary of implications of the study and directions for future research.

The research began with an outline and historical view of norms and explored the historical relationship of gender and development. The question addressed was:

What role have women played in development?

This question was addressed through a content analysis and review of the literature on development and women. Over the three development decades, understandings and approaches to the inclusion of women in development have evolved from WID which hardly recognized the agency of women as capable of participating in the development process, to WAD which, although was more progressive than WID and included women's voices, it had a Eurocentric and liberal lens in thinking about development leaving very little room for third world voices to be heard.

The introduction of the millennium goals and subsequently the SDGs has led to a discussion on the need for a GAD approach which, from the onset recognizes women as a varied group and takes into account the multiple experiences of women globally, particularly in the third world. The Gender and development approach is one that lends itself effectively to the research and the exploration of how women in South Africa have driven the adoption and implementation of SDG imperatives through their organisations. The research, in applying a GAD approach, invited the voices of South African women between the ages of 18-35 to share their experiences, challenges and recommendations on the Global Goals. The failure of many international development programmes has been the exclusion of young voices and their experiences.

The central research question this research sought to address was:

How are norm entrepreneurs (young women in South Africa) advancing the SDGs and participating in South Africa's development agenda (through their CSOs)?

The research outlined a number of initiatives in South Africa that exist to address gender inequality and empower women and girls. The most frequently used words in the research were "empowerment"; "the girl-child", "gender equality" and "personal development". The areas of focus in the three organisations that participated in the interviews are Girls education, Mentorship and STEM development all directed at advancing SDG 5, gender equality. The most prominent SDGs in the programming of women and girls are Education, Gender Equality, Poverty. These continue to be the main inhibitors of GDP growth and development in South Africa. The research found that many norm entrepreneurs in South Africa, have personal convictions for driving certain initiatives and programmes, and these propel them to continue the work despite government support and funding.

There is still a lot of work to be done in cascading the Sustainable development goals in South Africa. The data shows that there are pockets of excellence in driving the national development imperatives however government has no visibility into the impact and contribution these organisations have made to addressing SDG 5 and other development goals.

While women-led organisations have made inroads in norm emergence and norm cascade, the internalisation of Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls is likely to take much longer. The internalisation of this super-norm will only occur once governments, institutions commit to more structural changes that will dismantle systematic patriarchy and power. Only then can true gender equality and women's empowerment be achieved, as the research has highlighted, 'gender' has been a topic in international discourse for decades and for there to be significant shifts for women and girls, South Africa at a local level needs to commit to dismantling patriarchy and not just commit to women's empowerment in rhetoric and theory.

To arrive at recommendations this paper explored the existing critiques on youth participation in South Africa and the data from the interviews to answer the question:

> *How can young women-led organizations be better supported to advance the SDGs and to participate in development?*

An analysis of the challenges faced by young women in implementing development initiatives pointed to three key challenges – at the very core is lack of a local political will to draw young people and young women into policy and development discussions. The Department of Women, as a state mandated organization to address and promote gender equality very little visibility of how female –led CSOs, social enterprises, movements and networks are driving the NDP, let alone the SDGs. It is essential, as well for young women to have line of site of the initiatives carried out by state institutions, particularly those mandated to support them. From the insights into the programmes led by female organisations, it is clear that 1. Youth and women have the will and capabilities to address South Africa's gender and other development challenges, however it should not be left to women to solve women's problems, especially given the lack of support from government institutions. 2. The South African government runs the risk of alienating its youth, we see this in the low percentage of youth voters in the country, international organisations and corporate institutions are far more inclined to invest in youth-led initiatives as such, youth will look to outside investment and support to drive their aspirations for South Africa. 3. In the era of digitization and rapid flows of information, it is essential that the UN and local governments look to innovations by youth to address global development initiatives.

Concluding remarks

While it can be argued that the outcome documents of Agenda 2030 have not clearly articulated how the proposed initiatives a will adequately address the challenges faced by women and bring about a transformation to the currently patriarchal paradigm, the examples of how young South African women are no longer waiting for the government to address issues facing women, but are rather actively finding and implementing solutions speak to a shifting gender and development paradigm where, individual actors and independent CSOs are driving development while government lags behind in its commitments. While the NDP will inform South Africa's engagement with the SDGs, it will be essential for female movements, institutions and networks to continue to hold government accountable in ensuring gender mainstreaming in policies and continuous development. The inclusion and enablement of women and youth in development is a national government and business imperative.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the Millennium Development Goals
Appendix 2: National Development Chapters
Appendix 3: The Sustainable Development Goals